

A Profile of Liberian
Women in Development

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LIBERIAN WOMEN
THEIR ROLE IN FOOD PRODUCTION
and
THEIR EDUCATIONAL AND LEGAL STATUS

by

Jeanette E. Carter
assisted by
Joyce Mends-Cole

Profile of Liberian Women in Development Project
University of Liberia

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.P.	Ministry of Action for Development & Progress Renamed Ministry of Rural Development, December, 1981.
AGRIMECO	Agriculture Mechanical Corporation
B.C.A.D.P.	Bong County Agricultural Development Project
LAMCO	Liberian-American Mining Company
L.C.A.D.P.	Lofa County Agricultural Development Project
L.C.C.C.	Liberian Cocoa & Coffee Corporation
LISCO	Liberian Iron & Steel Corporation
LIBSUCO	Liberian Sugar Corporation
L.P.M.C.	Liberian Produce Marketing Corporation
L.P.P.C.	Liberian Palm Products Corporation
N.C.A.D.P.	Nimba County Agricultural Development Project

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Jeanette Carter
Project Coordinator

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INTRODUCTION

The rice which sustains life for most Liberians and the cultivation of which forms the base of the Liberian economy is primarily produced and allocated by Liberian women. Their critical role in rice production underlies the operation of the customary legal system under which the majority of Liberian women continue to live. The necessity of learning how to cultivate rice is a key constraint in the attendance of girls in the formal education system.

This report, which will focus on rural Liberian women, is intended to provide information to those working in development, either at the policy or project level, which will help them better understand the role played by women in food production, their access to formal schooling, and their legal status. The information is intended to assist in the integration of women in the development process.

A basic assumption of this report is that the issue of women in development in Liberia is a development issue, and not a feminist or "special group" issue or a fad. Without an appreciation and understanding of the critical role which women play in the rural economy, development policies and projects have little chance of success. Liberian society, like all other societies, cannot afford to ignore the productive efforts and abilities of half of their population.

Liberian women and girls live in a changing society and economy in which the new job expectations and opportunities of Liberian men have altered women's role in agriculture, in which formal education offers new options to some women, and in which the legal systems which establish the parameters of their lives are changing.

Liberian women are a diverse population with multiple statuses and roles. They vary according to age, marital status, place of residence, educational level, occupation, ethnic affiliation, and class. As there are multiple roles and statuses for Liberian women as a group, each individual woman has multiple roles and statuses. As such it is not possible within this report to describe fully all roles and statuses of all Liberian women. Rather, the report will focus upon the roles of women in those sectors which have a high priority in national development.

Development theory has tended to view women primarily as wives and mothers and as beneficiaries of development projects. Such a perspective has tended to overlook the critical role which African women have played as producers in their societies. It is in recognition of their role as producers that the full integration of women into the development process as participants, and not only beneficiaries, becomes a necessity.

More attention has generally been paid to women's reproductive and domestic roles than to their productive or economic roles. Data on women as reproducers tend to be more extensive and accurate than data on women as

producers. Reasons for this bias relate to conceptual and perceptual biases held by development planners and others with reference to women.

One of these biases relates to the concept of households as entities headed by men, with women and children economically and jurally dependent upon the male household head. Given this assumption, it has been assumed that improving the economic status of the head of the household would "trickle down" or indirectly benefit all other members of the household. This may have been a logical extension of earlier theories of development which assumed that development in one sector, most especially the industrial, would eventually "trickle down" to improve the lives of all in the society. Although the notion that economic growth and development are synonymous has been discounted for some time, and although there has been a recognition that growth and development at the "top" does not necessarily "trickle down," this understanding has not yet been extended to include the relative statuses and roles of women and men.

In most African societies, the domestic and economic roles of women have been complementary rather than mutually exclusive. From the earliest societies in Africa to the present day, women have played a major role in food production and distribution. In the hunting and gathering societies, which preceded agricultural societies, the contribution of women to the community's food supply through gathering of various plants was, and is, substantial. It might be argued that the first farmers in Africa were women who drew upon their substantial knowledge and utilization of wild plants in domesticating and cultivating plants.

Women perform a significant amount, if not the majority, of the agricultural work in the majority of agricultural societies in sub-Saharan Africa (3, 32, 60). The combination of productive with reproductive roles has a long tradition in African societies (53). Given this tradition of women as farmers making an economic contribution to their households and families, it is not surprising that this tradition has been extended to include other activities such as marketing. In Liberian society, as in most other African societies, the cultural norm is that a woman will contribute economically to the household. This often coexists with a cultural ideology which may stress the role of women as mothers and wives and stress men's dominance over and control of women (53).

Liberian women, like women elsewhere, bear much of the responsibility for providing the basic needs of their households. Women are central to the basic needs approach to development, which emphasizes an improvement in nutrition, health, housing, education, and so on, as the main goals of development.

A number of assumptions underlie discussion in this report. First, women's statuses and roles cannot be analyzed in isolation from the broader economic and social environment in which they live nor in isolation from the statuses and roles of men. The approach that will be taken is that women's roles and statuses, while analytically separated, must be viewed in context. In the real world, women and men work and live together. Men and women are different with biological and cultural roles which complement each other.

Men and women also share common goals and employ similar strategies to attain these goals (?). To understand women's roles one must understand these differences, complementarities, and similarities.

Women are actors, along with men, within a sociocultural and ecological system composed of a number of interrelated parts. The system of which they are a part are not static, but are dynamic, changing in response to a changing environment. In adapting to a changing environment, women and men draw upon their cultural traditions, their resources, and their personal experiences to create solutions to the problems which they face. The constraints faced by and options available to women and men are sometimes similar but often different.

By cultural traditions, we are referring to the historically created and transmitted ideas and meanings which are shared by a group of people, and which exist as guides for behavior. By resources, we are referring to anything which can be drawn upon to meet a need. In addition to resources such as water, land, or minerals, culture itself and people are resources to be utilized by people.

The term "tradition" will be taken in this report to refer to a historically-based and transmitted pattern of behavior or custom. A tradition contrasts with an innovation. By tradition we do not mean rural or primitive. Urban areas such as Monrovia have traditions just as much as rural areas. Nor do we contrast tradition with modern. The United States, for example, which is considered a modern country, has many traditions. In this report we will not refer to traditional agricultural systems unless we are referring to those aspects of the system which are historically derived. Traditional is often taken to be synonymous with static and, as we will discuss, the contemporary agricultural system in Liberia has changed in a number of ways, particularly in the last 30-40 years.

We also assume that what people do in a particular situation usually "makes sense" to them. People make choices based upon their perceptions of the situation or environment and their perceptions of the options available to them. Sometimes these choices are necessarily based upon short-term considerations or adjustments which are not necessarily compatible with longer range goals or adaptations. Because peoples' perceptions of situations vary, what appears to be a rational choice to one person may not be so viewed by another. What "makes sense" to a particular individual does not necessarily "make sense" for the society in either the short or long range.

In the contemporary Liberian situation, there are no Liberians living outside the context of the cash economy. All Liberians, female and male, need cash to meet certain needs, and all Liberians, female and male, have been affected by the development of the national economy, including those "left behind" in the rural communities. What differs is how much cash is needed for what purpose and how much and what kind of access an individual has to obtain cash.

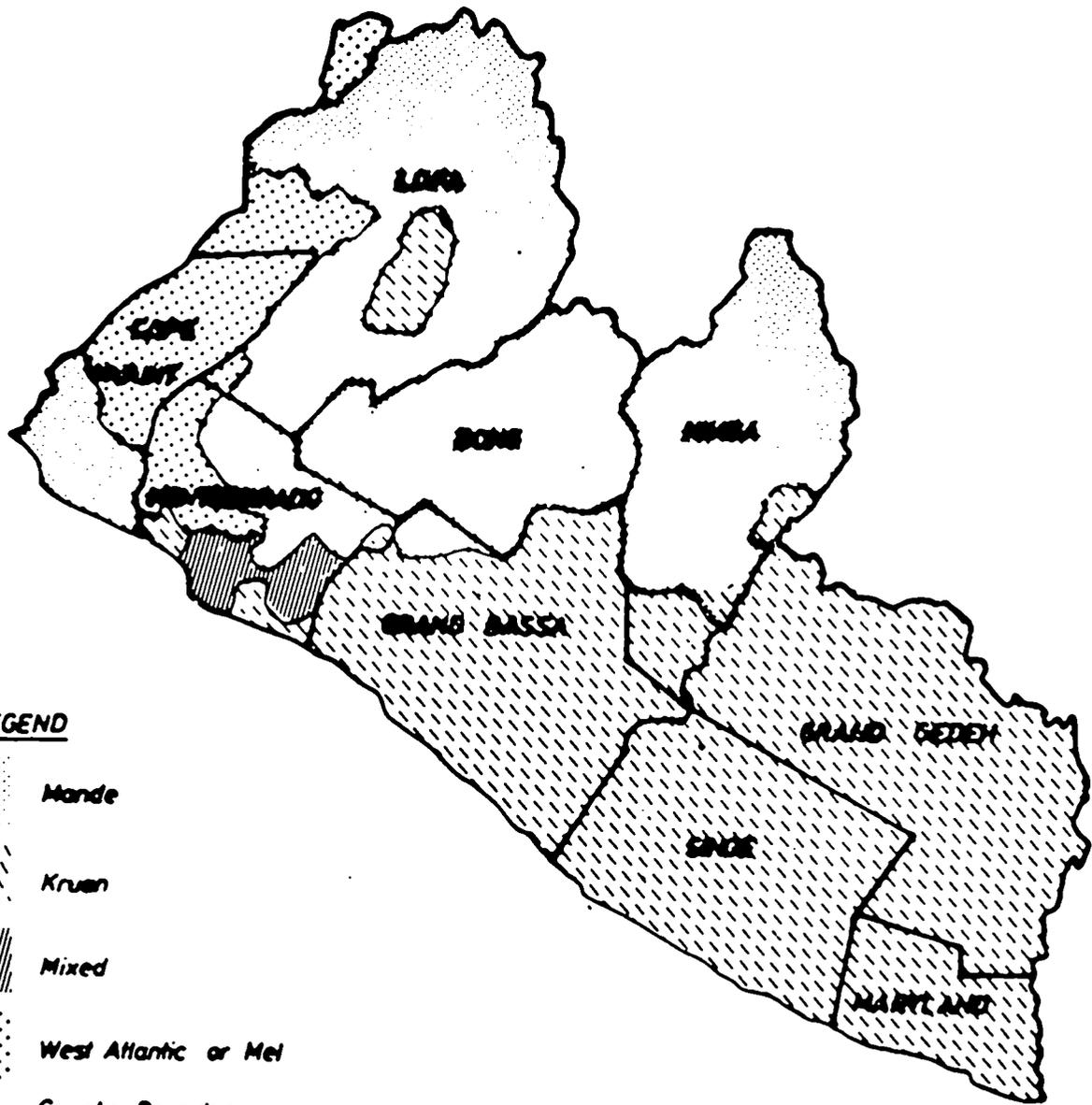
By productive roles we are referring to what anthropologists would normally refer to as "economic." Anthropologists define "economic" in a

broader way than do many who associate "economic" with money-generating activities. Since people may define "economic" in this narrower sense, we will use the alternative term "productive" role in this report. A productive role refers to any role involved in the production of goods and services in whatever context this production occurs: the formal sector, the informal sector, the rural subsistence sector, or the domestic sector. In analyzing rural communities such as those in Liberia, it makes considerable sense to consider activities with reference to the survival and maintenance of the community and household, rather than dividing activities into work, leisure, and so on. Ceremonial activities which might be viewed as "not work" may be essential to maintaining the social order and harmony, and no less important to the community than farming.

To provide a framework for the report, an overview of Liberian women within the context of the national socio-economic system will be presented. A section on statistical issues and problems will indicate some of the problems involved in providing an accurate data base on Liberian women. Then, the role on women in food production will be discussed. Traditional socialization and education of females in relationship to female attendance in the formal school system will be the next section. The status of women under the complex legal system will complete the sector reports. The conclusion will include the tentative identification of different categories of women farmers and will identify some policy implications for the integration of women in development. Finally, some recommendations will be offered for future project activities. Additional documentation of topics discussed in the report and the research methodologies are provided in the annexes.

LIBERIAN LANGUAGE FAMILIES

FIGURE - 1



LEGEND

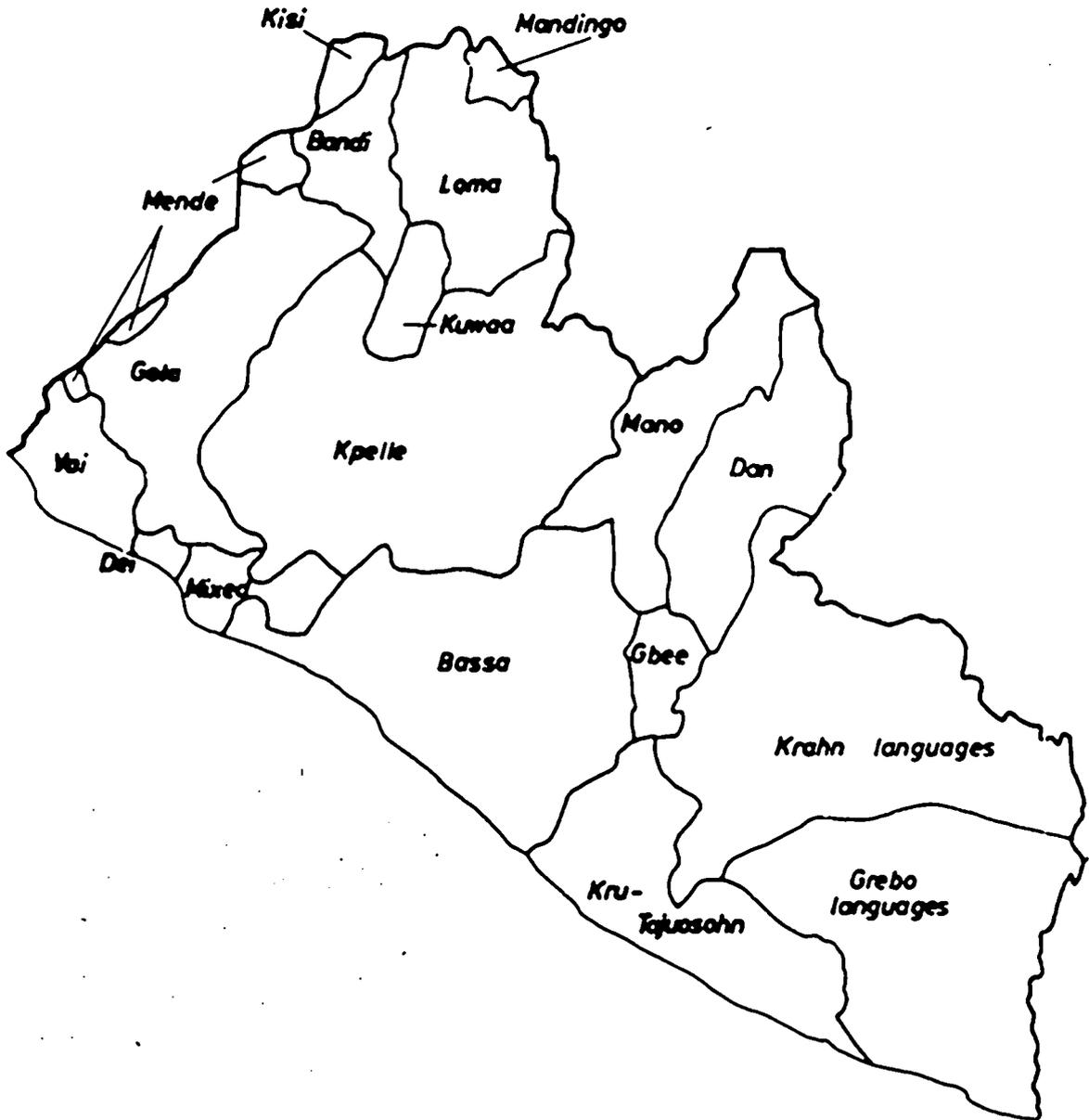
-  Mande
-  Kruen
-  Mixed
-  West Atlantic or Mel
-  County Boundary

Scale: 1: 3,000,000

Source: John Dufman, *Liberian Languages*.
Planning and Development Atlas, Ministry of
Planning and Economic Affairs, Monrovia, 1981
p. 5

LIBERIAN LANGUAGE — PRIMARY AREAS

FIGURE - 2



Scale: 1: 3,000,000

Source: John Duijsman, *Liberian Languages*
Planning and Development Atlas, Ministry of
Planning and Economic Affairs Monrovia, 1981
P. 5

LIBERIAN WOMEN: THE SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXT

The historical experience of Liberian women differs in some respects from that of women in neighboring countries. Yet some similarities obtain between the experience of Liberian women and their counterparts in other countries.

Liberia was originally populated by a number of ethnic groups representing three major language families in West Africa: the Mande-speakers, the Mel-speakers, and the Kruan-speakers (Figures 1 & 2). Although the dates of their arrival in the Liberian rain forest vary and although migrations into the area, especially from the northwest, continued into the 20th century, these groups were present in Liberia in the early 19th century when the settler population first arrived from the Americas under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. The settler population, although of African origin, brought with them a cultural system heavily influenced by their stay in the Americas. Later another population, the "Congoes," was added to the already complex ethnic-cultural system. The "Congoes," unlike the original settlers, were Africans who had never reached the Americas, but had been taken off slave ships in the Atlantic in the years following the abolition of the slave trade. Rather than returning these individuals to their homes, they were brought to Liberia for settlement. Although African, these people differed linguistically and culturally from indigenous Liberians. They were identified with the settler community and came to share many of its values. Yet, they were a critical component in the "re-Africanization" of the settlers.

The women of the indigenous ethnic groups had lives which were oriented around farming, spoke the language of their particular group, were accustomed to polygynous marriages, and often received their formal education through initiation schools of the women's society. The women of the settler community spoke English as their first language, were Christian, were accustomed to the ideal of monogamous marriage, and were likely to be educated in formal western-oriented schools.

The dichotomy between the settler/Congo and indigenous groups was not, and is not, as sharp and clear-cut as often portrayed in the literature. Intermarriage, the establishment of patron-client relationships, the ward system by which children of indigenous background were raised in the households of the settler communities, and the expansion of the educational system are some of the processes by which the various ethnic groups have blended together in the creation of a unique Liberian culture. Particularly within the past quarter century with the expansion of the economic system, the variables of class and ethnicity have become increasingly interwoven.

Liberia was established as the first independent republic in Africa in 1847. The effective extension of the Liberian government control over the territory which lie within its borders was a long process. Coastal areas were incorporated relatively early, while parts of the interior were not brought under effective control until the 1920's. Some areas of north-

western Liberia were more closely linked to Sierra Leone and Guinea than to Monrovia until the 1950's. The last major protest against central government control occurred with the Sasstown War of the early 1930's. The coup of April, 1980, brought to an abrupt end the rule of the entrenched oligarchy.

The administrative structure established by the central government was a dual system similar in some respects to the British colonial system of indirect rule. Originally the country was divided into counties and provinces with different administrative systems. That in the counties was governed by the statutory legal system and was for "civilized"^{1/} people. The second system was governed by customary law and was for "tribal" or "native" people.

Over the years the distinction between the two systems has become increasingly blurred with more and more of the judicial functions coming under statutory law throughout the country.

The administrative reorganization in 1964 which created new counties out of the former provinces eliminated the contrast between "civilized" and "native" at the country/territorial and district levels. Below that level, a dual administrative structure continues to exist, which itself is becoming increasingly complex.

One of the local administrative structures is composed of the chiefdoms, clans, and towns. This structure was established as part of the central government's hegemony. The chiefdoms and clans do not necessarily correspond to any traditional political or kin groups, nor do the chiefs which head each of these units necessarily correspond to traditional political leaders. Towns are often subdivided into "quarters" with "quarter chiefs."

The amalgamation policy of the Tolbert administration sought to rationalize the considerable disparity in size of these units. Towns were to be composed of a minimum of 200 houses, clans a minimum of 400, and chiefdoms a minimum of 800 houses. Particularly affected by the amalgamation were units in the Southeastern counties (Grand Bassa, Sinoe, Maryland and Grand Gedeh) and Kolahun District, Lofa County^{2/}.

In some areas, rather than consolidating towns and decreasing the number of chiefs, the policy has in fact created a new layer of administration and more chiefs. In Kolahun District, for example, towns and villages retain their own chiefs but now have a "general" or "section" chief for the amalgamated town.

^{1/} A Liberian term originally referring primarily to those of settler descent. It later came to be applied to any persons who spoke English, were Christian, and shared other cultural patterns and values with the settler community.

^{2/} These are all areas in which a dispersed settlement pattern is common.

MAP OF LIBERIA SHOWING COUNTY, TERRITORIAL AND DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

FIGURE - 4



SOURCE: Prepared by Liberian Cartographic Service
Ministry of Lands and Mines in conjunction
with Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs
Based on 1974 Census March 1976

The second administrative structure is composed of townships and cities. These have an area of eight square miles, a population of 2,000 or more, and are headed by a mayor. In recent years the number of these townships and cities has increased significantly. This has occurred as communities, especially district headquarters, have become increasingly diversified socially and economically, and, as the infrastructure has developed. Residents of these communities have seen the attainment of "city status" as being the mark of transition to a "modern" community.

Mayors of cities report directly to the district commissioner or, in some cases, directly to the superintendent of the county or territory. The chiefs also report through their hierarchy to the district commissioner.

Within the cities and townships a dual administrative structure operates. In those communities which have had city status since the 19th century, this dual structure developed with the community. Communities such as Greenville, Harper, or Robertsport were primarily settler communities. These communities were established in locations which were already inhabited by indigenuous people who had their own political systems. As the communities grew, other peoples, both from the same ethnic group as was already there and from other ethnic groups, came to live in them. What developed was a complex and diffuse administrative system. On one hand, there were the city officials and the judges under the statutory legal system. On the other hand, there were the "tribal chiefs" and "governors," with each ethnic group usually having its own chief or governor. These chiefs and governors have had judicial responsibilities under customary law. In recent years, the system has been further complicated as many of these chiefs and governors also hold commissions as justices of the peace under the statutory system.

In the newly established cities, the mayor and other city officials created a new layer of administration which in part supersedes the traditional political structure but also parallels it. While there is a mayor there also continue to be tribal chiefs. In those communities which are ethnically heterogeneous, there may be several chiefs.

This is the complex administrative system within which both women and men function. There are some women who would function entirely within the city system and the statutory legal system. There are several women mayors in the country. The majority of women, most of whom are not literate and do not speak English, would function under the system of chiefs and governors and under customary law. There is a growing number of women, mostly young with some education, who function under both systems, depending upon the situation.

Administratively, all local officials come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Local Government 1/. Judicially, however, cases "talked"

1/ Renames the Ministry of Internal Affairs in March, 1982. Prior to 1971, it was known as the Department of the Interior.

by officials under customary law are under the jurisdiction of Local Government, while those "talked" by officials under statutory law are under the Ministry of Justice.

Turning from the administrative structure, women have been incorporated into the national cash economy. Since the establishment of the Firestone plantations in the 1920's, Liberia's economy has been export-oriented and dominated by foreign-owned and controlled concessions. Tubman initiated his Open Door policy of encouraging foreign investment in the late 1940's. That policy has remained in effect through subsequent administrations. Firestone dominated the Liberian economy until the late 1950's when the establishment of the iron ore mines began to rival, and soon surpass Firestone, with reference to export earnings and revenues. Although the government and private Liberians have shares in some of these concessions, effective ownership and control remains foreign. Most of the job opportunities for Liberians with these concessions have been for men. Women have been affected, both directly and indirectly, by the employment of men in these wage jobs.

MIGRATION AND THE CASH ECONOMY

In Liberia, as other African countries, one of the major processes incorporating rural areas into the cash economy has been wage labor migration, one aspect of which has been the dramatic increase in the percentage of the population living in urban areas. Monrovia's metropolitan population more than doubled from an estimated population of 81,000 in 1962, to an estimated population of 188,000 in 1974. By 1982, assuming a growth rate of 7.1 percent (17, p. 24), metropolitan Monrovia will have an estimated population of 329,000. Information on migration patterns in Liberia comes from two different sources: (1) the national censuses of 1962 and 1974, and (2) studies of migration from the rural perspective (9, 49, 77), and of migrants in Monrovia (17).

Both men and women have participated in migration but in different ways. To understand how male migration has affected women and their involvement in migration, a brief overview of migration in Liberia is necessary.

The history of male labor migration in Liberia parallels that of other African countries. The first substantial involvement of Liberian men in wage labor began several centuries ago along the "Kru Coast" when European and other ships recruited local men to work on the ships plying the West African coast and elsewhere (5, 21, 49). The areas involved include what is now Sinoe County, Sasstown and Kru Coast Territories, and Maryland County. In addition to men from the coastal communities, the interior areas behind the coast also provided men for work on the ship. Women remained behind in their communities and were responsible for the maintenance of the households, including agricultural activities, with assistance from the men remaining behind. The length of time which men were absent varied from short absences if the contract were for a ship plying along the coast and

for longer absences if the ship were going elsewhere in the world. Some women did leave their communities to join their men who had settled more or less permanently in Monrovia, in port cities elsewhere in West Africa, or England, and so on.

The work on ships began to decline during World War I and continued its decline through the Great Depression of the 1930's and World War II. Although men from these areas still work on ships, workers are no longer recruited directly from the coastal communities and it is less important as a source of employment.

The interior counties were involved in a different pattern of labor migration. Prior to the 20th century, relatively few individuals from counties such as Nirba and Lofa had migrated for work. Beginning in the early years of this century, some men began to migrate "to the coast" for work. Loma men, for example, began to join the Liberian Frontier Force after the Liberian government had established control of that area (9). There were still relatively few wage jobs available. Women rarely, if ever, accompanied their men on these trips and the men usually returned to the rural communities, either seasonally or after longer absences.

For most Liberian communities, the first major involvement with wage jobs came with the establishment of the Firestone plantations in the 1920's. In this second phase, men began to work in various jobs, but most often as unskilled rubber tappers. The pattern in the early years was one of "go come" in which a man would leave the rural community to work for a period of time, perhaps during the slack part of the agricultural cycle, and then return to the rural community. Some men repeated this process a number of times during their working years (9, 77). At some point, a man would decide to "sit down" at home and not make further trips. During these trips, the women usually remained behind in the rural communities where they continued their farming activities, relying either upon the labor of their husbands during the time of the year when they were there or obtaining assistance from other men. In some cases, a woman may have become a member of a household headed by her own male kin or the male kin of her husband. The lengthy walks to the job sites made travel by women, especially those with small children, difficult.

A third phase began with the establishment of the iron mines and other enterprises in the 1950's and the growing number of persons attending school. Although some men continued the "go come" pattern, other men were beginning to be employed as more or less permanent wage employees. These men were more likely to be joined by their wives in job locations, that for some became relatively permanent.

Most migrants still returned to the rural communities at some point. In one community in Zorzor District in the late 1960's, many men who had migrated indicated that they had returned home when they had to assume family responsibilities, usually upon the death of a father or older brother (9). In that community, at least 48 percent of the men known to be citizens were currently absent (cf. 49, 77).

In the same community in Lofa, more and more women were beginning to migrate in the late 1960's. The extensive migration of women appears to have developed after the main motor road linking the area to Monrovia was completed in the late 1950's. Women who were formerly a comparatively immobile group became the most mobile group in the society (10). The migration of women differed from that of men. Few had the education or other skills to obtain jobs in the formal sector. Women often went to Monrovia or to the concessions to join husbands or boy friends. Few seemed to migrate on their own. Some women would "make market" at their new residence. In some cases, these trips were more akin to extended visits than actually establishing residence (10). Often the women would return up-country after a period and re-establish residence there. Often the return was linked to pregnancy and childbirth. A woman would become pregnant in Monrovia, for example, but would choose to return up-country for delivery and would continue to stay there, often with her own or her husband's family, until the baby was weaned. She might then return to Monrovia and the pattern might be repeated again. As these women migrants were usually not tied down by wage jobs, they could travel "up and down" more readily than could men (10).

By the late 1960's, a fourth phase was emerging. The expansion of the school system in the 1950's and 1960's had increased significantly the number of individuals receiving an education. The rapid growth of the economy in the 1960's had helped create a wider range of job possibilities. The number of high school and college graduates from the interior counties increased significantly. There were some migrants who did not plan on returning to the rural community, although many said they would return "someday." Many of the young men were permanently committed to wage employment and did not view subsistence farming as a viable option.

By the early 1980's, this pattern appears to have become firmly established as increasing numbers of young men and women migrated to Monrovia, other urban areas, or to the concessions.

A survey of migrants in Monrovia in the late 1970's indicated that approximately one-third of the female internal migrants to Monrovia had gone there for educational reasons. About one-fourth had migrated for marriage while 15 percent had migrated to join parents. One-quarter of the females had migrated for "other reasons" (17, p. 122). Those of "high" and "medium" socioeconomic status were more likely to have migrated for educational reasons while those of "low" were more likely to have migrated for marriage. Only 3 percent of the females in the sample, in contrast to 19 percent of the males, had migrated for employment reasons (17).

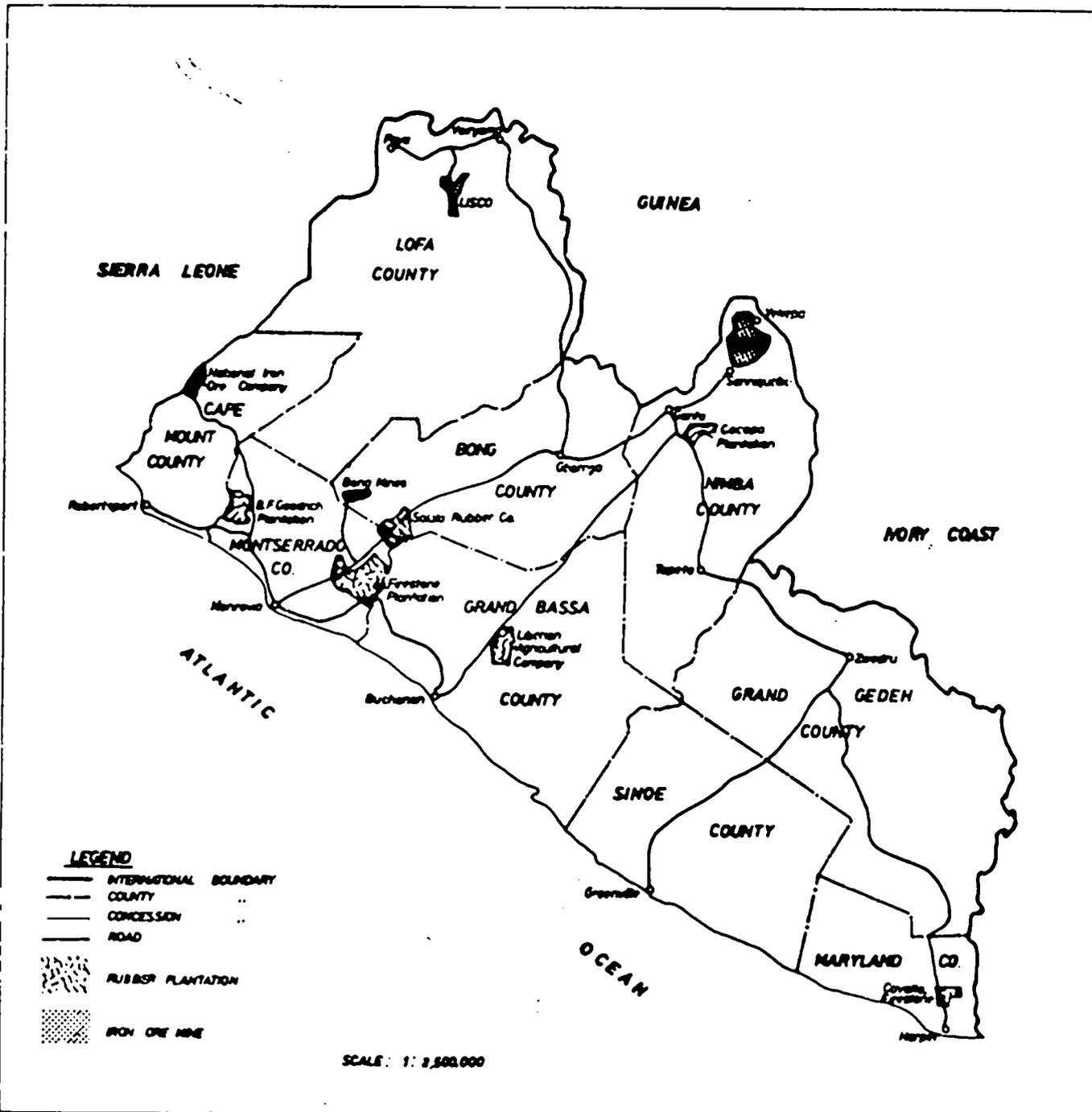
Although this historical discussion of migration might appear superfluous, it is critical to understanding the changes which have occurred in agriculture in Liberia during this century, which will be discussed in a later section.

Turning to the data from the 1962 and 1974 censuses ^{1/}, two broad

^{1/} Exact comparisons between the two censuses are sometimes difficult because of the administrative changes which occurred between the two censuses.

MAP OF LIBERIA SHOWING CONCESSION AREAS

FIGURE 5



trends in migration in Liberia in the intercensal period (1962-74) can be identified: (1) the incidence of internal migration has accelerated and (2) the sex differential in internal migration has narrowed (86, p. 4).

Labor migration in Liberia from that of neighboring West African countries in that the migration of Liberians is almost entirely internal. The work on ships did take some men out of the country, but the other major wage earning possibilities have been within the country. Immigration to Liberia comes primarily from neighboring countries, especially Guinea.

In 1962, 17 percent of those born in Liberia were enumerated outside the country or province of their birth. By 1974, the percentage enumerated outside the country of birth had increased to 21 percent (86, p. 40) ^{1/}. In 1962, male lifetime migrants outnumbered female migrants by a ratio of 149 to 100. That ratio had decreased by 20 points in 1974 (86, p. 5).

The data suggest that migration is primarily from rural to urban. Of those leaving rural areas, about 50 percent moved to urban areas. For those leaving urban areas, only 27 percent went to rural areas, indicating that people tend to move from urban to urban.

In 1974, the major net migration streams to Montserrado, which includes Monrovia, the capital and largest city, were from Lofa (44,000), Grand Bassa (41,000) and Bong (40,000) (86, p. 43). Especially striking is the comparatively low out-migration rate for Nimba, which includes LAMCO, a major concession, in comparison with its population. Montserrado received only 20,000 migrants from Nimba, second in population of the countries, but double or more migrants from Lofa, Grand Bassa, and Bong. Montserrado is the major receiving area (Table I-1). In all counties, there were more male out- and in-migrants than female.

The intercensal growth rate by sex showed that the male population grew at a faster rate than the female population in all the counties except Montserrado where the female population increased at a faster rate. The intercensal growth of the female population in Montserrado was 91.9 percent (86, p. 22).

In comparing the 1962 and 1974 census results, the excess of male out-migrants varied from 89 ^{2/} in Sinoe to 53 in the Western Province in 1962 (Table I-2). Out-migration from the interior provinces was more heavily male than the coastal countries (86, p. 63). By 1974, the numerical

^{1/} The census did not record the duration of past residence so it is difficult to assess the effect of temporary migration on the totals. Data from another government population survey revealed more migration than did the national census. The difference between the two sources suggests that rural-urban migration is often temporary (86, p. 60).

^{2/} Sex ratio of females per 100 males.

dominance of males had decreased. Lofa County still showed the most unbalanced out-migration by sex. "This shift in the sex ratios indicates that from 1962-1974, the internal migration of females increased more than that of males" (86, p. 63)

The sex ratios of out-migrants were highest in the coastal countries in both 1962 and 1974. Sinoe and Maryland had only slightly more male out-migrants than females.

In comparing male and female out-migration by county, there are some differences. For males, Lofa had the highest out-migration rate, followed by Sinoe, Cape Mount, and Grand Bassa. For females, Sinoe had the highest rate followed by Grand Bassa, Cape Mount, and Maryland. Montserrado, the most urbanized county, had the lowest rate of out-migration for both males and females. Of the "rural counties," Nimba, which includes LAMCO, had the lowest rate for males and females, ranking just above Montserrado (Table I-3). For all counties, the male out-migration rate was higher than the rate for females but the extent of difference varied. The difference between the male and female rate was only 1 percent in Sinoe compared with a difference of 7.5 percent for Bong, and 11.2 percent for Lofa (86, p. 40).

The rates of out-migration for both males and females varied considerably among the counties (Table I-3). By 1974, Sinoe had lost about 30 percent of the population born there and had the highest out-migration rate of any county and the lowest in-migration rate. Bong, Grand Bassa, Grand Cape Mount, Maryland, and Lofa had all lost between 25 and 28 percent of the population born in each (86, p. 40).

More females than males were out-migrants (sex ratio of 118) in the 15-24 age group from Sinoe and Maryland (Table I-4). The fewest female out-migrants for that age group were from Lofa and Nimba. For Montserrado, the relative numbers of male and female in-migrants was nearest equity (sex ratio of 99) for the 15-24 group. It might be hypothesized that the relatively higher percentage of female migrants in the 15-24 age group may reflect the migration of young women when they marry.

For females, the highest out-migration rate was in the 15-24 age group, while for males it was in the 25-34 age group (Table I-5). In Sinoe and Maryland, female out-migrant rates were higher in the 0-14 and 15-24 age groups than the male rates. In all other counties, the male rates exceeded those of females. The difference in rates is less in the younger age groups than in the older. For example, for Lofa, among men 35-44, the rate was 44.2, while for women of the same age it was only 19.2. For females, the highest out-migration rate for all age groups was for Sinoe County. Apart from Montserrado, the lowest rate for all age groups for females was Nimba County.

The change in the sex differential in migration is pointed out in Table I-6. Montserrado shows a net gain for all age groups and both sexes. For those under 24, however, the difference between male and female net gains is less than the difference in the older age groups. For the younger

age groups, the net loss of females is greater than males in Maryland and Sinoe. Sinoe shows the largest net losses of females in all age groups of the counties, while Nimba shows the smallest losses of females.

A brief examination of some demographic data from the 1962 and 1974 censuses provides additional insight into Liberia's population.

The estimated population of Liberia in 1981 was 1.9 million, assuming a 3.4 percent annual growth rate. Growth rates among the countries varied, with Montserrado having an intercensal (1962-74) growth rate of 5.2 percent, while Grand Bassa and Sinoe had the lowest growth rates of 1.4 percent (Table II-1).

In 1974, 29 percent of the population lived in urban areas of 2,000 or more. Two thirds of the population in Montserrado was in urban areas. Bong, Lofa, and Grand Gedeh had only 10 percent of their population in urban areas.

Population density in the country averaged approximately 40 persons per square mile (Table II-3). The range in density was from 11.5 per square mile in Grand Gedeh to 378.7 in Montserrado. Of the other counties, Maryland and Nimba had the next highest densities. Within each country there is a considerable range of variation in density among the clans and districts. When compared with the data on internal migration presented earlier, it appears that high rural density, reflected in land pressure, is not the main factor "pushing" people out of the rural areas. Sinoe, which has one of the highest male and female out-migration rates of any country, is one of the least densely populated. Nimba, on the other hand, which is one of the most densely populated rural areas, has a comparatively low rate of out-migration, both male and female.

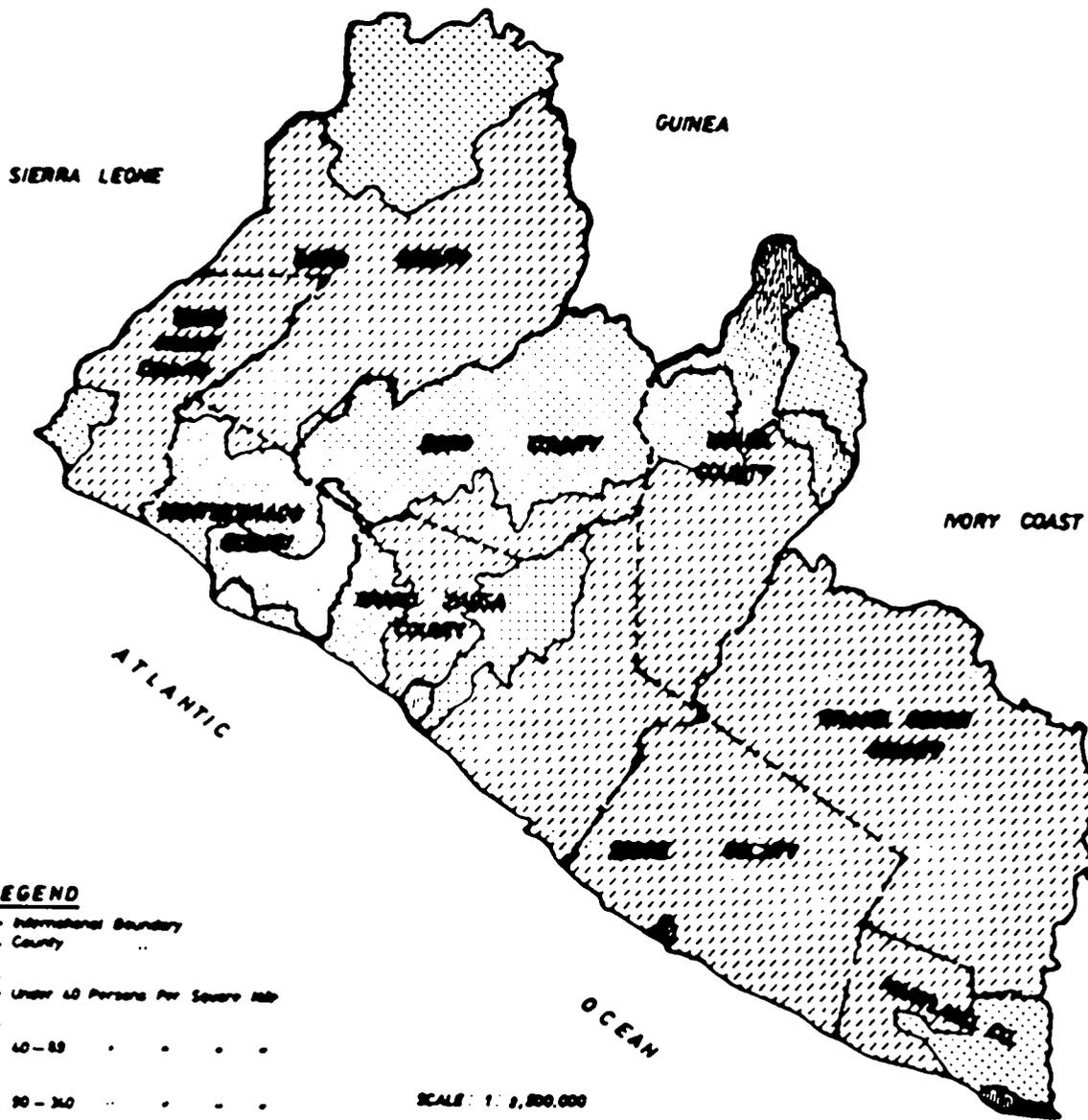
Sex ratios (females per 1,000 males) also provide evidence of the extensive migration within Liberia. In 1974, sex ratios ranged from 664 in Gbarma District, Lofa County, to 1,207 in Zorzor District, Lofa County (Table II-3). The range in sex among the districts was less in 1974 than in 1962, due to the increased female rural-urban migration which has helped "even out" the distribution of females in the country. In 1962, half of the districts in the country had sex ratios of 1,100 or more. By 1974, less than one quarter of the districts had ratios of more than 1,100.

All those districts in 1974 with a sex ratio of less than 900, indicating more males than females, had either urban areas or concessions within their boundaries. On the other hand, those with ratios of more than 1,100, indicating more females than males, were predominately rural areas. Those areas with high sex ratios also tend to be areas with low population density, again indicating that it is not population pressure which is pushing men out of the rural areas.

Although age data must be viewed with considerable caution, the population of Liberia is a young population. Two-thirds of the population is 29 years or younger. Only 6 percent of the population is enumerated as being more than 60 years old.

MAP OF LIBERIA DEPICTING POPULATION DENSITY

FIGURE - 6

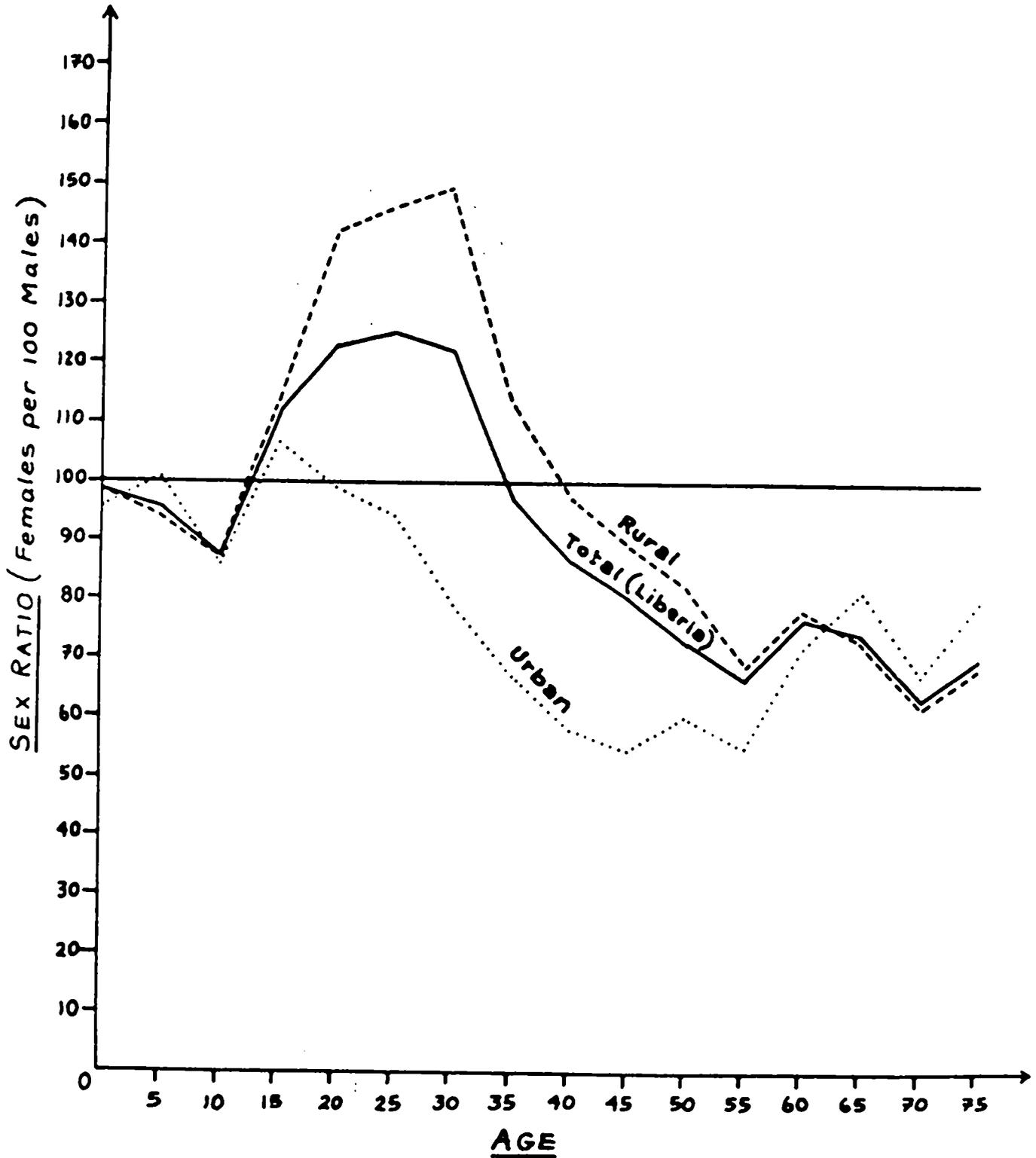


3122 Havana

SOURCE Prepared by Liberian Cartographic Service
Ministry of Lands and Mines in consultation
with Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs
Based on 1974 Census - March 1976

FIGURE 7: Sex Ratio by Age, Liberia 1974

Source: 1974 Population and Housing Census



Examining the census data by age category, there are fewer women 45 years and above enumerated than men (Table II-4). Sex ratios are similar for urban and rural areas for those under 14 years and more than 60 (Figure 7). For ages 15-59, there are fewer women than men in the urban areas and more women than men in the rural areas. The sex ratios for the 15-19 age group are highest in Lofa, Bong, Grand Gedeh, and Nimba.

The demographic and migration data indicate the linkages between the various sectors of the economy, the "modern" or monetary sector and the subsistence-oriented smallholder farming sector. The "modern" sector has relied upon and recruited a predominately male labor force from the rural farming sector of the economy. The assumption that this sector has not been affected by the development of the "modern" sector or has remained static is erroneous. The development of the wage sector of the economy has been dependent upon the withdrawal from the rural sector of its most important resource: people, especially young men and, more recently, young women. This withdrawal of labor has had profound effects upon the rural farming sector.

The agricultural system in rural Liberia was initially able to absorb the loss of considerable numbers of adult male laborers. The adaptations which were made to accommodate this loss of labor will be discussed in the section of food production. The increasing rates of migration of both men and women in more recent years is now seriously challenging the capacity of the rural system to function. This system is less able to absorb the loss of adult female laborers.

A brief summary of the state of the current Liberian economy concludes this section.

After a period of relatively rapid economic growth between 1964 and 1974 of 5.7 percent per year, the growth rate has stagnated. Between 1976 and 1980, the growth rate per year in the Gross Domestic Product was 1.7 percent. In 1980, the growth rate was a negative -4.4 percent.

These declining growth rates occur within the context of the stagnation of the world economy which most directly affects Liberia with respect to its main export and revenue earners: iron ore and rubber. From 1973 to 1976, iron ore and rubber accounted for 81 percent of the export earnings, and from 1977 to 1980, they accounted for an average of 70 percent. Iron ore, which provided 74 percent of export earnings in 1975, declined to 52 percent in 1980. Coffee, cocoa, palm products, and timber provide a larger portion of the export earnings than formerly, but still comparatively small. Coffee provided an average of 6 percent between 1977 and 1980, while cocoa averaged 2 percent during that period.

Recent years have seen a dramatic increase in the public debt which grew from \$175 million in 1976 to \$520 million in 1980.

The agriculture sector is the largest employment sector in the economy, accounting for approximately 80 percent. The Liberian government

is the second largest employment sector, accounting for 5 percent. The government employed an average of 25,700 civil servants during the period 1976-80. In 1982, there were 37,000 in the public sector. The mining sector, which dominates export earnings, provides only 3 percent of the employment.

The labor force or working-age population in Liberia is projected to increase by more than 100,000 from 1981 to 1984. An average of 25,000 individuals of school age will be added each year of this period. Labor demand is projected to increase by only 47,550 during the period, meaning that an additional 56,540 unemployed persons will be added to the estimated 97,000 unemployed in 1980. Most of the labor demand will be in agriculture with only an estimated 7,250 new positions to be created in the non-agricultural sectors.

The average annual demand for university graduates is projected to be only 477, while the average annual demand for high school graduates is only 948.

These projections on labor supply and demand in the monetized sector of the economy portray a serious picture. In this context, the economic options for women in anything other than smallholder agriculture and marketing in the informal sector are severely constrained.

WOMEN'S WORK: STATISTICAL ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

The program of action for the second half of the U.N. Decade for Women places a high priority on the improvement of the data base on women, suggesting that some of the concepts used in reporting productive activities such as labor, work, employment, and households; and the tools of research need to be re-examined. The program emphasizes the need for research on women in the rural sector. Research that has been done on women's productive activities in both developed and developing economies clearly indicates that the productive activities of women tend to be underreported and underenumerated in labor statistics.

The inadequate data base on women's economic activities is, to a large extent, based upon the deeply ingrained attitudes in many cultures that emphasize the function of women within the home as homemakers and child-bearers. "Women have been 'targeted' as concerns to development planners because of their reproduction...not because of their productive functions (8, p. 3). Especially in the rural sector and the lower class urban sector, women, rather than being "dependents," have had to perform multiple roles to insure the survival of their families.

Evidence of the deficiency of the data base for development planning has been pointed out in a UNDP report which notes that "village level studies indicate that women's work is of much greater importance than officially recongized." Women's relative contribution to family income tends to be largest among the poor. "Unrecorded family employment may include unpaid labour on the farm or other family enterprise; work performed within the confines of the home, 'occupational multiplicity,' involving many different kinds of work and therefore difficult to record..." (98).

The collection of data is basically a problem of operationalizing concepts in a manner which will record reliable and valid data. The task of operationalizing concepts, difficult within a single society, is made more complex by the need for comparative statistics by government agencies and international organizations such as the I.L.O. At the international level, accurate comparisons of various economies depend upon statistics which record comparable information and which have been collected in a comparable manner. Analytical concepts may distort cultural reality when applied to differing cultural settings. There is, for example, a considerable body of literature which discusses the concepts of "family" and "household" as having different referents or meanings in different societies. A definition of "household" which defined everyone living in the same structure as members of the household would distort the unit indentified as a household in much of Liberia. Households in Liberia may have members living in more than one structure or, a single structure may have more than one household

Problems also arise in recording data on economic or productive activities because of the range of economic systems and the number of sectors within these diverse systems. These sectors often overlap each other and are not always clearly defined. Systems may be contrasted as western vs. non-western, developed vs. developing, industrial vs. industrial-

izing, and so on. Within a given system, sectors may include the urban vs. the rural, "modern" vs. "traditional," market vs. non-market, formal vs. informal, market vs. subsistence, rich vs. poor, and upper class vs. lower class.

The underreporting of women's work is primarily due to the utilization in developing economies of definitions derived from developed economies. These definitions assume (1) a stable labor force, (2) a count of only those activities which yield monetary income, (3) a division of activities into work and leisure, and (4) recording the principal or primary activity of an individual. As these assumptions may be invalid for both male and female workers in many developing economies, statistics based upon these definitions tend to underreport the productive activities of both males and females (43).

Developing or third world economies tend to be characterized by unstable labor forces with high rates of unemployment. In addition to the formal sector in these economies, there is often a significant informal sector from which many individuals derive their monetary income. There may also be a subsistence-oriented or non-market sector.

In these economies, many individuals, especially among the lower classes or poorer people, engage in a multiplicity of activities in order to survive. Recording only the principal or primary economic activity of an individual tends to obscure or mask the importance of these part-time activities for both individuals and households. Defining work as only those activities which yield a monetary reward ignores activities in the non-market or subsistence-oriented sector.

A distinction between work and leisure in economic theory did not accurately portray the activities of people so a third category of home production was added to encompass the activities of individuals within the home in producing goods or consumables that yield utility (43, p. 8).

Although both men and women are affected by the biases, women especially tend to be undercounted and underreported in censuses around the world (43). The bias is also greater the less market-oriented is the economy.

A cultural bias in many countries leads both respondents and enumerators to record women's activities as "housekeeping" even when the bulk of their time is spent in other activities. Women may not perceive of themselves as economically active or "working" even when they are full-time farmers or traders.

Estimating the extent and value of non-market activities provides a better indicator of the economy's total output of goods and services than if based on market activities alone, especially in economies where much of the production falls into the non-market sphere. As much of women's activities falls into the non-market sphere or under domestic or home production, recording activities in these spheres will provide a better understanding of women's participation in the economy and should provide a

basis for designing programs and policies that will allow the efficient use of all available labor resources in the economy (43, p. 6).

Most countries, including Liberia, use U.N. and I.L.O. concepts and definitions in census and labor force surveys. These concepts are inadequate for developing economies for two major reasons: first, the definitions are designed for economies based upon stable wage employment, and second, they tend to focus upon dimensions which are more relevant for the urban upper middle class male than for the rest of the population (43, p. 24). Hence, there is both a class and sex bias to the definitions.

The category of "unpaid family labor" is often used for family members who are not paid wages. Strictly applied, the definition of "unpaid family labor" would exclude workers so classified from the economically active population. Data from several countries indicate that the proportion of women categorized as "unpaid family worker" tends to be greater than the portion of males so categorized. Women who are unpaid family workers are most likely to be in the agricultural sector while men so classified are most likely to be in the nonagricultural sector (42, p. 18).

The reference period used to record economic activity may affect the reporting of women's activities. The question may be phrased in terms of the last week or the last month in determining whether or not an individual is economically active. In situations in which productive activities are seasonal, the time at which the census or survey is conducted may significantly affect the numbers obtained. Censuses and survey are often conducted during the slack period of the agricultural cycle. If short time periods are used to determine an individual's activity, agricultural activities may be underreported. A reference period of one year would more accurately reflect contributions to the agricultural sector.

A final problem has to do with the activities within the informal sector which comprise a major source of income for many women. These activities, such as "making market," are difficult to apply within the parameters of the labor force concept since they involve "self-employment" with intermittent working hours, irregular returns, and skills which are difficult to classify (43).

Responding to the call made in the Mid-Decade Plan for Action for improving the data base on women's productive activities, various recommendations have been offered which are relevant to the Liberian situation. These recommendations focus upon the concepts to be used in data collection and the types of research to be conducted.

Conceptually, the focus upon the "principal/main activity" in enumerating the economically active needs to be expanded to include the range of both women's and men's activities and the multiplicity of activities in which women and men are involved. Labor force and household surveys should identify all the productive activities of individual women and men within a household and should identify ratios of time spent in these activities. Time-frames used in eliciting data must be long enough to account for seasonal labor. More attention needs to be directed

towards identifying the incidence and magnitude of women's economic participation in rural and urban informal sectors, both absolutely and relative to men. Culturally specific measures of home production which can identify potential shifts toward market activities need to be developed. Complementary studies identifying the social and economic constraints inhibiting women's full time wage employment will help measure the available supply of female labor (43, pp. 34-36).

THE LIBERIAN CASE

The problem with census and survey data which we have just discussed appear to be common throughout the world. As Liberia has utilized the U.N. and I.L.O. categories in the national census, it is not surprising that an examination of the Liberian census data indicates that the productive activities of women are significantly underreported. There are questions raised by the data which are difficult to answer with available data.

According to the definitions used in the census, a person was considered to be working if she or he "did any work for pay or profit during the past twelve months" (73, p. 12). The person did not have to receive money if she or he was working in an establishment, farm, or business operated by family members or if she or he was a servant working for food, clothing, and so on. The usual occupation of a person was based upon that which occupied her or him during most of the time during the past year.

The principal economic activity of the population ten years and older by sex and by administrative unit is presented in Table I-8. The relative percentages of males and females working varies considerably among the administrative units.

Of those working:

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Liberia (total)	73%	27%
Bomi Territory	82%	18%
Bong County	70%	30%
Grand Bassa County	72%	28%
Grand Cape Mount County	68%	32%
Grand Gedeh County	61%	39%
Kru Coast Territory	48%	52%
Lofa County	63%	37%
Marshall Territory	90%	10%
Maryland County	84%	16%
Montserrado County	86%	14%
Nimba County	70%	30%
Rivercess Territory	88%	12%
Sassstown Territory	78%	22%
Sinoe County	80%	20%

While some differences in the relative percentages might be expected since there are some differences in the division of labor from one area to another, some of the percentages seem puzzling. In the Kru Coast Territory, the working population is reported as being almost equally divided between males and females. But in adjacent Sasstown Territory and Maryland County, both of which are ethnically and ecologically very much like the Kru Coast, the working population is reported as being approximately four-fifth male and one-fifth female. On the basis of the ethnographic data, the figures for the Kru Coast are hypothesized to be the more accurate. It would appear that there may have been significant differences in the way in which the information was elicited and recorded in these units. Otherwise, it is difficult to account for the variation.

If one examines the percentages of women working in each administrative unit, there is again considerable variation from a high of 54 percent working in the Kru Coast Territory to a low of 7 percent working in Marshall and Rivercess Territories (see Table I-8). Do these differences represent enumerator/respondent biases or do they indicate major differences among the administrative units in the productive activities of women? The percentage for the Kru Coast again differs from that in adjacent Sasstown, Sinoe, and Maryland.

Among the Liberian working population, males comprise 92 percent of the paid employees and females 8 percent. The self-employed are 75 percent male and 25 percent female. As elsewhere in the world, females comprise the larger portion, 62 percent of the unpaid family workers. Among the "not working" category, males comprise 68.5 percent of the students in contrast to 31.5 percent female. Females are dominant in the "not working" category of "other," 54.4 percent female compared with 45.6 percent male. It is not clear what range of "not working" activities are grouped in the "other" category but we can assume that it includes individuals unemployed as well as some others who could not be clearly assigned one of the other categories. It might, for example, include a number of adolescents who are not students, not housekeepers, and not considered agricultural workers. The percentages in the "other" category are relatively consistent among the administrative units, with the females usually more than the males.

The percentages of males and females in the self-employed and paid employee categories are fairly consistent among the administrative units.

The percentage of women classified as unpaid family workers ranges from 2 percent (Montserrado, Marshall, and Maryland) to 26 percent in the Kru Coast. In this category, who were the women classified as unpaid family worker? Were they wives of household heads or were they other women in the household such as adult daughters or sisters doing farm work? Which males were so classified?

Some male farmers are clearly included in the self-employed category (see Table I-10) but it is difficult to determine if that category includes all the male farmers in Liberia.

For the "not working" category, for males there is a range from 31 percent to 53 percent not working, while for females the range is from 46 percent to 93 percent.

The figures for students are reasonably accurate and show a consistently lower percentage of females in school than males.

The figures for retired are relatively consistent among the administrative units. The questions, especially in the rural areas, is when do persons consider themselves to be retired?

The percentage of women assigned to the category of "housekeeping" shows considerable variation, ranging from 19 percent in the Kru Coast to 59 percent in Rivercess. Again, there are significant contrasts between neighboring areas: only 19 percent of the females in the Kru Coast are categorized as "housekeeping" compared to 52 percent in Sasstown Territory and 53 percent in Maryland. Were wives the only ones counted in this category? How were women in polygynous households recorded?

There is reason to question whether the definitions of "working" and "not working" were consistently applied. Clearly, however, the definition of working as being tied to monetary income excludes the productive activities of individuals not receiving incomes, especially subsistence-oriented farmers. To the extent that cash cropping in rural Liberia is dominated by men, the productive activities of women in agriculture are certainly not being fully reported. In Sasstown Territory, for example, 87 percent of the females ten years or older are reported as "not working" with 52 percent being categorized under "housekeeping." In reality, virtually every adult woman in the territory, excluding only those physically not able to do farm work, is making farm. For Lofa County, 65 percent of the women are listed as "not working." Observations made in rural communities in Lofa concur with those made in Sasstown: that virtually every adult women is involved in farming activities and that these activities comprise the bulk of the day's activities for the majority of the months of the year.

The number of women assigned to the category of "housekeeping" are hypothesized to be too high. In the rural areas, many of these women are engaged full-time in agriculture work. In the urban area, many of the women are engaged at least part-time in the informal sector. For example, the number of females "self-employed" in Montserrado is approximately 5,000. Of these 1,944 are listed as being in wholesale and retail trade. Yet, estimates of the number of market women in Monrovia itself are usually placed at approximately 6,000.

The assignment of women to the category of unpaid family workers may distort the labor inputs of women in the agricultural sector and their decision-making activities with respect to farming. It may also obscure the fact that many women have their own personal farms in addition to contributing labor to the household rice farm (11, 18, 19, 49, 77).

For Liberia as a whole (Table I-9), for both males and females, the categories of "self-employed" and "unpaid family members" are dominated by those working in agriculture and related areas: 87 percent of the males and 90 percent of the females who are self-employed in agriculture, and 87 percent of the males and 92 percent of the females who are unpaid family workers are in agriculture. Those females who are classified as employers are predominately in agriculture (74 percent). For men, paid employees are found primarily in production and related workers (33.4 percent) and in agriculture (29.9 percent). Employers are concentrated in the same two areas: agriculture (38.3 percent) and production and related workers (32.3 percent). For women, paid employees are concentrated in professional and technical workers (which includes teachers and nurses), 34.7 percent and clerical workers, 18.6 percent. Agriculture comprises 16.5 percent of the female paid employees.

In agriculture, 47.6 percent of all workers are males self-employed, 16.6 percent are females self-employed, 14.7 percent are females who are unpaid family workers, 11.6 percent are males who are paid employees, and 8.3 percent are males who are unpaid family workers (Table I-9).

With reference to the major occupational groupings, there is no group in which the percentage of paid employees, employers, or self-employed who are female exceeds that of males. The only grouping in which the percentage of females exceeds that of males is that of unpaid family worker in agriculture and related activities.

Males comprise 81.7 percent of the clerical and related workers, an area considered "female" in many countries (Table I-9). Apart from agriculture, the highest percentage of females is sales workers (31.3 percent), which appears to include market women. They comprise only 2.4 percent of the workers in production and related workers and only 8.3 percent of the administrative and managerial workers.

Turning to specific occupations within these groupings, the statistics are revealing. Among the professions, there are virtually no women in occupations such as architecture, engineering, and accounting. Women are 9.4 percent of the doctors and dentists, 48.2 percent of the nurses (including all categories), 97.9 percent of the midwives, and 14.7 percent of the judges. Among teachers, they are 30.0 percent of the university teachers, 32.2 percent of the secondary, and 26.5 percent of the primary. Women are 17.2 percent of the ministers or members of religious orders. In the clerical field, women are 42.8 percent of the stenographers and 24.3 percent of the bookkeepers. Women are 36.3 percent of the working proprietors in the category of sales workers. In agriculture, they are 36.0 percent of the field crop farmers, and 2.7 percent of the rubber plantation workers. Among service workers, women are 64 percent of the housekeeping supervisors, 13.9 percent of the maids, and 22.5 percent of the hairdressers. In the production and related workers group, women are 15.4 percent of the food and beverage processors and 6.7 percent of the tailors (73, Table 24).

In the Liberian case, the census data reveal that even in occupations which are considered female in many countries such as teaching, nursing, and clerical work, males outnumber females. Although it is true that one can cite a number of successful Liberian women in some occupations, especially professional, the census data suggest that these women are exceptional among the female population of the country as a whole.

Examining the distribution of the major occupational groups by sex (see Table I-II), we find that for Liberia, the percentage (84) of women who are in agriculture is higher than the percentage (65) of men in agriculture. The second largest group for men is production and related workers, 16.7 percent. In contrast, only 2 percent of the women are employed in that group. The caveat is that these percentages are based upon those considered to be employed. If all the productive activities of women were reported, their relative concentration in agriculture would be even more striking.

In each occupation group, men comprise at least two-thirds of those reported to be working. The percentage of men is lowest in agriculture and sales workers where women are one-third of the workers. It is highest in production and related work where men are 98 percent of the workers.

In urban areas, a higher percentage of women reported working than of men are in the professional, clerical, and sales group.

In the rural sector, agriculture dominates the employment of both men and women. The percentage of both sexes in agriculture is lowest in Montserrado County and Marshall Territory.

Only in Maryland, Montserrado, and Rivercess is the percentage of men in agriculture higher than the percentage of women. The smallest difference in the relative percentage of each sex in agriculture is in Maryland, followed by the Kru Coast, Rivercess, and Montserrado. The biggest difference with relatively more women than men in agriculture is in Grand Cape Mount, followed by Grand Gedeh and Nimba.

In Montserrado, a higher percentage of women are professionals (15.4) than are men (6.6). Women in administrative/managerial positions are concentrated almost entirely in Montserrado and Marshall.

Examining the census data on occupation grouping by ethnic affiliation, some differences are observed (Table I-13).

In the professional group, for women, the ethnic groups with the highest percentage representation are those of "no tribal affiliation," other African ethnic groups, Mende, Vai, Grebo, Kru, and Bassa. Those of "no tribal affiliation" comprise 30 percent of the professional female group followed by the Bassa, Grebo and Kru. Among the men, while those of "no tribal affiliation" are the largest percentage, the group is distributed more widely among all ethnic groups than is the case with women. For men, the same groups, Kru, Bassa, and Grebo, follow "no tribal affiliation."

The administrative/managerial group is insignificant for all ethnic groups except those with "no tribal affiliation." Of that group, 43 percent of the men and 48 percent of the women are "no tribal affiliation." For men, the next highest percentages are Kru, Bassa, and Grebo. For women, it is Grebo, Bassa, Kru, and Vai.

For these two categories there is clearly a coastal orientation. Since both categories assume higher levels of education, it is likely that the coastal representation in these categories is a function of a longer and greater access to education among the coastal population.

Among clerical workers, for females, the percentages of the ethnic group so employed is highest for those of "no tribal affiliation," other African, Vai, and Kru. Among men, it is highest for those of Kru and "no tribal affiliation." Of the women employed in the clerical group, "no tribal affiliation," Bassa, Kru, and Grebo are most common, while of the men so employed, Kru, Bassa, Kpelle, and Grebo are the highest percentages.

Higher percentages of Fante, other African, "no tribal affiliation," and Mandingo women are sales workers (including market women) than women of other ethnic groups. Of the women employed as sales workers, Bassa and Mandingo women are the highest percentages, followed by Kru, "no tribal affiliation," and Fante.

Agriculture is the largest category for virtually all ethnic groups. Among men, the percentage of the ethnic group employed in agriculture is highest for the Kpelle, followed by the Gio and Mano. Among women, more than 90 percent of the Gbandi, Gio, Loma, Mano, Kpelle, Kissi, and Belle women are in agriculture. All other ethnic groups except for the Fante, other African, and "no tribal affiliation" are between 70 and 89 percent. By the agriculture group, the Kpelle comprise the highest percentage among both men and women. For men, the Kpelle are followed by Bassa, Gio, and Mano. For women, the Mano, Bassa, Gio, and Loma follow.

The indication is that the Kpelle, Gio, and Mano are the most intensively involved in agriculture of the ethnic groups in Liberia. This is further borne out by the relative percentage of these ethnic groups which are rural versus urban. The Gio, Kpelle, and Mano have a higher percentage residing in the rural areas than they comprise of the national population.

The grouping of production and related activities is of almost negligible importance for women of all ethnic groups except for "other African" and Fante. Among the men, the percentage in this group is highest for "other African" and Mandingo, followed by Mende, Vai, Fante, and "no tribal affiliation."

For women counted as "economically active," those of "no tribal affiliation" dominate the female labor force with the exception of agriculture. To a considerable extent, this is probably due to the differential access to education which these women have had in comparison to those of other ethnic groups, especially those outside the coastal areas.

Beyond these data from the Population Census of 1974, little research has been done on women in the formal sector in Liberia. Beyond what can be extrapolated from the census, little is known about the women in professional and administrative positions, who they are, how they came to hold these positions, how they differ from women in the rural areas, and so on. They are mostly in the public, as opposed to the private sector. We do not have data on their wage relative to those of comparably employed men. Nor do we have data on their mobility within their occupation. These are all areas which will require further research.

The examination of the census data indicates that women's work in both food production and distribution is not being reliably recorded. As the national census provides the national data base for planners, it is critical that attention be given to the labor force definitions used in the census and their operationalization so that future censuses will more accurately record the activities of women in these critical areas.

WOMEN AND FOOD PRODUCTION IN LIBERIA

Liberian women provide the majority of the labor in food production, make most of the decisions regarding food production, and control the allocation of the food, whether it be for home consumption or for market sale. Liberian women farmers perform these roles at a time when Africa is the only region in the world in which per capita food production has declined over the past two decades (15) and at a time when the Liberian government is placing great emphasis upon the development of food production to decrease the country's dependency upon imported food.

To effectively address both the policy and project components of increasing food production in Liberia, it is essential and critical to understand how a changing agricultural system functions and the central role which women play in that system. In this section, we will attempt to answer two basic questions: (1) what is the food production system in Liberia? and (2) what role do women play in that system?

The agricultural sector of the Liberian economy, including forestry and fisheries, contributed 29 percent of the Gross Domestic Product in 1978 and had a growth rate of 4.8 percent per annum, higher than for the economy as a whole. Excluding forestry, monetized agriculture contributed 38 percent of the total production within the agricultural sector from 1973-78, while "traditional" agriculture contributed 62 percent. The monetized sector increased from 16.3 percent of the GDP in 1978 to 17.5 percent in 1980. Indicators point to a virtual stagnation of the "traditional" sector since 1979 (75).

The agricultural sector is estimated to provide 80 percent of total employment in 1980. The plantations and concessions accounted for 8 percent of that employment.

In this part of the report, the term "subsistence" farming or production will be used to refer to production or farming which is oriented primarily toward home consumption, as opposed to market sale. Subsistence-oriented production can and does occur within the context of a monetized economy. Individuals and household may be involved in both subsistence and commercial production. The term "traditional" farming will not be used in this report, in line with the definition of "tradition" provided in the introduction. Smallholder farming more accurately describes this type of agriculture which now includes both subsistence and commercial production.

There are four major types of farming systems operating in Liberia:

1. concession farms,
2. state corporation-managed or supervised farms,
3. Liberian-owned commercial farms, and
4. farms which are referred to as "traditional" or "smallholder."

The concessions farms include the rubber plantations operated by Firestone and Guthrie (formerly B. F. Goodrich). Examples of the state corporation-managed farms are those operated by Liberian Product Marketing Corporation (L.P.M.C.), Liberian Palm Products Corporation (L.P.P.C.), Liberian Cocoa and Coffee Corporation (L.C.C.C.), and the Mesurado Corporation. Liberian-owned commercial farms are involved in the production of rubber, and to a lesser extent, oil palms, cocoa, and coffee. There are a few commercial farms involved in the production of vegetables. Women's involvement with these three types of farms is marginal. Some women do own commercial farms. There are comparatively few women engaged in agricultural wage labor at either the concessions or corporation-managed farms. There is some indication that their participation may be increasing as women are now working as tappers on some rubber farms, including Firestone, and as laborers on the Docoris Oil Palm project in Maryland County. Women's participation in agriculture is concentrated in the smallholder farms.

The distribution of cultivated area by crop in 1978 was estimated by the Ministry of Planning & Economic Affairs to be:

rice	479,000 acres	43.1%	235,000 metric tons
rubber	295,000 acres	26.6%	83,000 metric tons
cocoa	65,000 acres	5.9%	4,000 metric tons
coffee	70,000 acres	6.3%	9,000 metric tons
oil palm	25,000 acres	2.3%	77,000 metric tons
sugar cane	50,000 acres	4.5%	191,000 metric tons
cassava	86,000 acres	7.7%	156,000 metric tons
others	<u>40,000 acres</u>	3.6%	
TOTAL	1,110,000 acres		

Smallholder agriculture contributed 62 percent of agricultural production during 1973 to 1978. The major crop grown by subsistence-oriented farmers is rice, usually upland.

RICE CULTIVATION IN LIBERIA: AN OVERVIEW

Rice cultivation dominates smallholder agriculture in virtually all of Liberia. All other tasks are adjusted around the demands of the rice cycle. The focus upon rice is a pragmatic concern of meeting the basic food needs of most Liberians. Among the Loma, for example, if an individual has not eaten rice during the day, she or he has not eaten, regardless of how much else might have been consumed. Rice is the food which sustains life. Rice is the prestige food which is served at feasts and given as gifts. A gift of finely-cleaned "country" rice is one of the finest gifts which a woman can offer to someone to whom she wishes to show respect or thanks.

Rice cultivation has a long history in Liberia. The Mande and Mel-speaking peoples moved into Liberia from the savannah areas to the north within the past five to six hundred years. A variety of rice, oryza

glaberrima, was domesticated in West Africa, probably along the Niger River in Mali, as long ago as 3,500 years (14). The people who moved into the rain forest from the savannahs must have quickly discovered that the cultivation of grains like millet and sorghum, which were dominant in the savannah, was not feasible in the rain forest. The technology of upland rice cultivation was known to them and rice became the dominant staple. It is less clear when the Kruan-speaking peoples began to cultivate rice. Historical evidence suggests that Southeastern Liberia was originally populated by people who were predominately hunters and gatherers. Some have argued that rice cultivation in that area is relatively recent, within the last one or two hundred years (22). Archival data suggest, however, that rice was being traded to European traders along the Kru Coast in the 16th century (88, pp. 37, 64). It is possible, however, that rice cultivation in that area may have had a different origin than among the Mande and Mel-speaking peoples. There is one major difference in the technology of upland rice cultivation between these two areas. In the Mande and Mel-speaking areas, rice is planted by broadcasting and hoeing. In parts of the Kruan-speaking area, rice is planted by drilling, with a flat-bladed hoe or stick, a small hole into which rice seeds are dropped. This method appears to be similar to techniques of planting described for Southeast Asia (34). This difference may indicate that rice cultivation in these areas has a different origin from the rest of the country. The time or process by which the Asiatic variety of rice, oryza sativa, was introduced into Liberia is not known.

Cassava, a secondary staple to most Liberians, is an American domesticate which was introduced into Africa in the 16th century. It could have been introduced into Liberia anytime from the 16th century on. It was introduced after rice had been established in the Mande and Mel-speaking areas, and probably after rice had been introduced in the Kruan-speaking areas. Apart from Nimba County, its acceptance has been greatest in the coastal areas, where soils are not suited to rice cultivation, or in areas where there are land and/or labor constraints.

Although rice cultivation continues to dominate farming in Liberia, rice imports have increased significantly in recent years. Food is the major category of imported consumer goods, with rice accounting for 45 percent of food imports in 1980. According to 1978 production and consumption figures, approximately 17 percent of the rice consumed was imported. By 1981, imported rice appears to have accounted for approximately 40 percent of the rice consumed.

Rice imports in 1969 were estimated to be approximately 25,000 metric tons (25, p. 21). Prior to 1975, the highest import year was 1971, when approximately 48,000 metric tons were imported. Imports declined for several years until 1975 when they once again began to steadily increase. In the last three years, imports have doubled.

RICE IMPORTS

	<u>Quantity 100 lb. bags.</u>	<u>Metric Tons</u>
1975	692,468	31,410

Rice Imports (Con't)

	<u>Quantity 100 lb. bags</u>	<u>Metric Tons</u>
1976	797,708	36,184
1977	1,162,837	52,746
1978	1,091,500	49,510
1979	1,409,837	63,950
1980	1,887,031	85,595
1981 (proj)	2,329,600	104,000

The reasons for increased rice imports are complex and will be discussed later. Whatever the reasons at the micro-level, the implications at the macro-level are that a substantial portion of foreign exchange earnings are committed to rice purchases and that the nation is dependent upon foreign sources for the supply of its basic food. Rice obtained under the U.S. sponsored Pl-480 program as a grant are part of the rice imports during the past two years. Pl-480 rice imports in U.S. fiscal years 1980 and 1981 totalled 20 million dollars or 46,000 metric tons.

Before we discuss the food production system and women's roles in detail, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the main features of the system.

The type of farming system traditionally practiced in Liberia is shifting upland cultivation, sometimes referred to as "slash and burn" cultivation or swidden cultivation. Technically, it is a horticultural system rather than agricultural, since hand tools are utilized, there are no plows, and energy inputs are all human. The system relies upon rainfall and there is no water control practiced.

Systems of shifting cultivation are adapted to situations in which there is a relatively light or low population density, plenty of land, and few tools. Rather than being "primitive" or "inefficient," shifting cultivation is as efficient as utilization of available resources permits. The system ceases to be efficient, however, if the relationship between land and population changes for whatever reason. Decreased amounts of land or an increased population produce a shortened fallowing cycle which leads to diminishing productivity. A historical study of rice cultivation in southern Thailand shows how the system of rice cultivation changed from shifting cultivation to broadcasting of naturally flooded areas to intensive cultivation involving transplanting and water control as land and population pressures increased (34).

The Liberian system is based upon shifting the site of the rice field annually. Each year a new area of the forest is cleared, burned, planted, and harvested. A tropical rain forest, such as that in Liberia, is in fact a fragile and delicately balanced ecosystem in which the topsoil is very thin, and in which, if vegetational cover is removed, rapid erosion follows. This system of shifting cultivation, rather than destroying the forest ecosystem, permits the utilization of the forest with a minimal disruption of the ecosystem, controls erosion, and provides

the maintenance and continuation of the ecosystem (28). The site is used for one year for rice cultivation, a second year for supplementary crops such as cassava or peanuts, and then is allowed to fallow, ideally for a minimum of 7 to 10 years.

A production unit has to have available to it more land than is under cultivation at any one time. Hence, if a unit makes a rice farm averaging 3 acres in size, and if it is maintaining a 10 year fallowing cycle, then that unit must have access to 30 acres of land to maintain the cycle, with only one-tenth of the land under cultivation at any one time.

The first step in preparing the site involves the clearing of foliage and felling of trees. Palm trees are not felled nor are the stumps of trees cleared. After the brush has dried, the site is burned. The burning is not the destructive practice that it is often claimed to be. Burning controls weeds and insects, and most important, converts nutrients in the vegetational cover to the soil and releases the nutrients for immediate use by crops. Without this conversion by burning, cultivation of the forest would not be possible. After burning, the site is cleared of unburned materials. Leaving stumps and large limbs intact in the field helps control erosion. Planting occurs next, followed after about six weeks by weeding. The rice is then left to mature at which point it is harvested. This process is repeated every year.

The allocation of the tasks in rice cultivation will be discussed in more detail later. Briefly, there is a sexual division of labor, which varies somewhat throughout the country. Generally, the tasks of brushing, burning, and clearing are male tasks while planting, weeding, and harvesting are female tasks. There is variation, both regionally and within individual household and communities, in the actual division of labor. Male labor inputs into rice cultivation tend to be higher in the northwestern section of the country (e.g., Voinjama District) where men may assist with planting and harvesting. Female labor inputs are higher in the southeastern section (e.g., Maryland) where women may do everything except felling the largest trees and the burning. The two tasks which are most rigidly assigned to either sex are burning, which appears to be done exclusively by men, and weeding, which is done exclusively by women.

Given the major responsibilities of women in rice cultivation, the rice farm tends to play a greater role in the life of a women farmer than a man. Women, more than men, have to adjust their time and other activities around the requirements of the rice farm. With the exception of the slack period following harvest, a woman will spend most of her day on the farm, going early in the morning and returning home as the sun sets.

Men are dependent upon women for the production of the rice which they consume. A man cannot make a rice farm without a wife (20, p. 49), but a woman can make a rice farm without a husband.

In discussing the food production system and women's role, the first issue to be addressed is access to land.

LAND TENURE AND ALLOCATION

For the majority of women farmers in Liberia, access to land is not yet a critical issue as it is in countries like Kenya, Tanzania, and Cameroon. For those women subject to the customary land tenure system, access to farm land is guaranteed through membership in kin groups. Land tenure in Liberia, however, is becoming an increasingly complex issue and there are several trends developing which may affect the access of women to land. To understand these trends it is necessary to examine the systems of land tenure in Liberia and the demographic and economic changes which are affecting land allocation.

Women hold the right to purchase and inherit property, including land, under the suspended constitution of Liberia. The constitution provides that property which a woman holds cannot be used to pay her husband's debts nor can the property be sold or taken from her without her permission. A widow is guaranteed one-third of the real and personal property of her husband, including land and houses, but she does not have the right to sell these. For women subject to the statutory legal system, there is no jural obstacle to ownership of land.

Two other provisions of the constitution have relevance to land tenure. Only citizens of Liberia can own land, with the exception of religious bodies, schools, or charitable organizations if using the land for their work. As citizenship is restricted to those of African ancestry, land in Liberia has not been alienated by non-Africans. The purchase of land from "aborigines" by citizens for their own use was prohibited in the constitution. A non-African man married to a Liberian could not own land, but his wife could.

The majority of women farmers, however, are subject to the customary legal system. The code for this system is the "Administrative Laws of the Hinterland." Article 66 of the Administrative Laws pertains to land:

- a. *Title to the Territory of the Republic of Liberia vests in the Sovereign State. The right and title to the respective tribes to lands of an adequate area for farming and other enterprises essential to the necessities of the tribe remain inherent in the tribe to be utilized by them for these purposes; and whether or not they have procured deeds from Government, delimitating by notes and bounds such reserves, their rights and interests in and to such areas, are a perfect reserve and give them title to the land against any person or persons whenever.*
- b. *This land interest may be transmitted into communal holdings upon application of a tribe made to the Government for that purpose, and such communal holdings would be surveyed at the expense of the tribe concerned.*

- c. *The communal holding will be vested in the Paramount Chief and Tribal Authority as Trustees for the tribe.*
- d. *The Trustees, however, cannot pass any fee simple title in these lands to any person whatever.*
- e. *Should the tribe become sufficiently advanced in the arts of civilization, they may petition the Government for a division of the land into family holdings in which event the Government will grant deeds in fee simple to each family for an area of 25 acres in keeping with Provision of Act of 1905.*

Article 67 of the Administrative Laws provides for the use of land by "strangers," i.e., immigrants to an area.

If an individual enters the territory of a tribe of which he is not a member for the purpose of farming, he shall observe the following procedure:

- a. *Obtain permission of the Tribal Authority prior to commencing his activities.*
- b. *Agree to pay some token in the nature of rent, such as five or six bunches of rice out of every farm.*
- c. *Pay taxes to the appropriate tribal Chief on all huts on the said lands erected or occupied by him.*

The Tribal Authority may cancel the authority granted and confiscate the crops, subject always to appeal to the District Commissioner, provided he neglects to comply with all or any of the foregoing provisions.

As implied in the excerpts from the Administrative Laws, the state retains ultimate control over much of the land. All land not in freehold or tribal trust belongs to the state to be utilized or allocated by the government. As such, government can itself develop the land for whatever purpose it deems appropriate or transfer usage of the land to concessions, state corporations, and so on. Such transfers do not necessarily include compensation to the groups having use rights to the land, although individuals may receive compensation for "life trees" located on the land. In the past such transfer to private concessions have often been made without any consultation with the residents of that area (6, 76).

Technically, subsistence farmers, including women, could buy the land as this right is guaranteed to all Liberian citizens. The process involved, however, is a lengthy -- and often expensive -- one involving some fourteen steps from the initial identification and survey of the land to obtaining the land deed itself (16, p. 15). The process requires

resources and knowledge of the bureaucracy which are beyond the scope of most women subsistence-oriented farmers.

To purchase land in the "tribal areas," a person must first secure a certificate from a tribal authority stating that the land to be purchased is not being used by anyone. The tribal certificate in itself is not recognized by the government as involving any transfer. The land itself is still legally owned by the state. After the tribal certificate is obtained, approval must be obtained from county officials and others before the request for purchase is finally turned over to the President or Head of State for final signature. Previous administrations encouraged the transfer of land from national holdings into freehold.

At minimum, obtaining a deed required a payment of one dollar per acre for the land itself and another one dollar per acre for the surveyor's fees. In addition, there are likely to be additional expenses in terms of gifts and transportation for the various individuals involved. Obtaining a deed for a plot of land sufficient for farming, perhaps a hundred acres or more, is likely to require a cash expenditure of several hundred dollars (6). There is also a fee for probating the deed.

"Given the low level of monetisation of the local economy, the illiteracy, low social status, and lack of political contacts and influence of most villagers, it is clear that this system of purchase does not work to the advantage of the vast majority of the rural population" (6, p. 120). Women are at an even greater disadvantage than men in this process because of their higher illiteracy rates and lack of political contacts.

Even if the purchase of land and obtaining a deed to land were within the means of most rural people, another aspect of the system makes it likely that relatively few would attempt to obtain a deed. Many people, both men and women, see little need and are reluctant to purchase land which they regard as being their own.

The Customary System

Under the customary system, allocation of farm land in Liberia is based upon use rights rather than private ownership. No individual or group "owns" land in the sense that one has the right to alienate or dispose of the land. Rather an individual or group has "custody" of the land which can be used by individuals for making farm. Custody of land is with kin units which are both localized and dispersed. In most parts of the country, land is recognized as belonging to several levels of kin. It would appear that the highest level to which land belongs is the chiefdom. The next level is the clan, below which is the town. In those parts of the country where chiefdoms and clans have little relationship to traditional social or political groupings, these levels may not be relevant. The unit which is most relevant in the actual allocation of land is the patrilineage or sib. Most communities have a lineage which is recognized as "owner of the land" by virtue of its being the first lineage to settle in the community. This lineage must be consulted on matters of land allocation. The chiefs are not necessarily members of this lineage (6, 9, 18).

The customary land tenure system is a dynamic system like other aspects of the "traditional" system. The basis of the system is embedded in kinship relations and local social and political history. Although there appear to be broad similarities among the various ethnic groups and regions in Liberia, there are likely to be some significant differences (80).

There is virtually no mention made in the existing literature on the issue of women's access to land. Although inquiries were made during the course of the field research, it should be emphasized that detailed and thorough information on women's access to and role in land allocation under the customary system can be obtained only through intensive interviewing of elders and women concerning local social organization and history. Such interviewing was beyond the scope of this research and was not feasible with the methodology used.

For women, there are five types of land which are relevant:

- upland rice land
- swamp rice land
- land for cash crops (cocoa, coffee and sugar cane) .
- land for cassava and vegetables, and
- land for houses.

Upland rice farms are made on a new site each year. Men appear to have primary responsibility for selection of the farm site in areas where household farms are being made. In these situations, women derive their

access to land through the male household head. If they choose to make a personal rice farm, it is likely to be on nearby or adjacent land. Men have access to land through their own kin group and through their wife's kin groups (9). Women appear to have access to land through their natal kin groups and their husband's.

Among the Sabo in Webbo District, Grand Gedeh, women retain their membership in the patrilineal kin groups and villages to which their fathers belong. As such, they retain the rights and obligations derived from such membership (49, p. 201). Farm land is controlled by the members of lineages in a given village. The village does not control the land as a whole, although the wishes of the village would be taken into account before land would be loaned. Normally, a man has first access to farming sites which he, or his deceased father has previously cleared. A woman may ask her own lineage for farming land, either for herself or for her husband. Further, women may "go to their mother's people" for farm land (49, p. 205).

Whether or not a woman or her husband exercise their right to land through her kin probably depends largely upon whether or not the woman is from the same community as the husband. If she is from the same community, then land to which she has a right is accessible. If, however, she is from a different community, then utilization of her land rights would be cumbersome, if not impossible. This may help explain the preference for community endogamy in some areas (9).

Once an area of land has been utilized for farming by an individual, that individual has "first claim" on the land when it is next ready for cultivation. Out of courtesy, another individual should check with the previous farmer to find out the plans for the farm site before planning to use it.

For some parts of the country, there does not appear to be great pressure with reference to upland rice farming. Anyone wishing to make a farm can gain access to land. In a community in Voinjama District in the early 1970's, it was observed that "the relatively relaxed approach to land use and the infrequency of disputes over land are indications that the amount of cultivable land is adequate for the community" (20, p. 83).

On the other hand, it has been suggested that the demographic limit for the long fallow shifting cultivation system with the types of soils most prevalent in Liberia is "just somewhat greater than 20 persons per square mile before the onset of ecological degradation and reduced production per acre" (80, p. 6). If this estimate is accurate, then there is serious land pressure in many parts of rural Liberia. Only Grand Gedeh, Sinoe, and Rivercess have densities of less than 20 per square mile (see Table II-1).

Communities in Liberia have traditional mechanisms for incorporating "strangers" ^{1/} and providing them with land. Strangers can petition the

^{1/} the local term for people who are not considered "born citizens" of a town.

town elders to use a piece of land. In most cases, the strangers will be required to provide the elders with some token gift. Requests to utilize land for rice farms are usually granted. Requests for land for "life trees" or tree crops are another matter. A situation described in Nimba County suggests that such requests would be examined more carefully (78, 97). In the late 1960's, people in Zoror District, Lofa, were explicit concerning this matter. Strangers, especially recent immigrants from Guinea, were permitted to plant rice farms but were prohibited from planting any tree crops on the land. Any trees so planted would either be destroyed or become the property of those having traditional rights to the land (12).

Men who are strangers may establish their membership in a community and obtain access to farm land through marriage to a local woman. Such men, who are viewed as having come "to sit down," would probably be permitted to plant tree crops.

In the late 1960's in Zoror District, Lofa, people were almost casual about "renting" land. People in several of the larger towns had to go to neighboring towns to obtain adequate rice land. In some cases, they had been farming on the land of another town for a number of years. Theoretically, they were expected to provide a gift annually to the "owner of the land" but in actuality this did not always happen.

Land for cash crops such as cocoa and coffee may compete with land for upland rice. Generally, individuals appear to have planted their cocoa and coffee trees on land to which they traditionally had "use rights." In most parts of the country, extensive planting of these trees is a development of the last twenty-five years or so. Initially, there was adequate land for both rice farming and tree crops. For the most part, these crops have been the monopoly of men. Access to land does not appear to be the constraint, in most cases, for women. There are instances of women who have cocoa and coffee farms (9).

There are areas of the country in which the planting of tree crops is extensive enough to be viewed as competitive with upland rice land. In Kolahun District, we were told that women were finding it increasingly difficult to find adequate land at a "reasonable" distance from town for upland rice farms because of the extensive acreage in cocoa and coffee. Hence, the women were turning to the swamps. In Voinjama District and a chiefdom in Nimba, on the other hand, communities and kin groups are beginning to restrict the planting of tree crops to protect access to rice land (77).

A system of "private property" has been reported in the Massambolahun area of Kolahun District, but no further elaboration on the details of the system were provided (97). On the basis of the evidence available, it is possible that the cultivation of tree crops in that area has sufficient time depth and is extensive enough for a system of private holdings to develop, comparable to systems in Ghana, Nigeria, and the Cameroons.

People in Zoror District in the late 1960's were clear that although trees such as kola, orange, cocoa, or coffee might be owned or belong to

individuals, this ownership did not extend to the land in which the trees were planted (9).

An understanding of the pattern of land allocation for swamps is tentative. As swamp rice has been viewed as women's activity in many areas of the country, women clearly have access to swamps. In areas of Kolahun District, swamps are allocated along the same lines as upland rice in which areas of "family bush" are recognized. In those areas of the district where swamps are being developed for permanent cultivation, swamps are coming to be regarded as "belonging" to particular individuals. Both women and men can "claim" swamp land. A woman can get a swamp rice plot from her father, her mother, or through her husband. If she obtains the plot through her husband, she may continue to use it after his death, if his brother doesn't want the plot or doesn't have the labor to cultivate it. Individual claims are recognized as long as the individual continues to cultivate the swamp. If the swamp is abandoned by an individual, others have the right to claim it. Individuals can transfer the usage of the swamp to whomever they please in the Bolahun area of Kolahun District. People said that swamp plots could be sold but it is not clear how often this actually happens. It should be borne in mind that Bolahun, established by the Holy Cross Order of the Episcopal Church, has a unique history as a "mission community" which may account for some practices.

Reports from the various swamp rice projects in the country indicate that women can obtain swamp plots but that the rate of participation is lower than that of men.

The land allocation pattern in Sasstown and other parts of the "Kru Coast" appears to differ from that found elsewhere in the country. Each year, the town as a whole makes a farm in a single area selected by the elders. The area is subdivided into plots for the different households and then further subdivided according to wives. A cassava farm in Sasstown also encompassed a single area and was subdivided into plots for individual women. In talking with the women, they indicated that they might use land which had formerly been used by their mothers. They might also get land from the panton (patri-kin group) of their father or husband. This pattern applies to land for rice and for cassava. The impression is that of a tighter system of land allocation than exists in other areas of the country. As described, the pattern of allocation would appear to fragment an individual's land into small plots dispersed around the community's territory. This more rigid system of allocation may be a function of less land suited for rice and other crops being available than elsewhere. Land boundaries between communities also appear to be more rigid than in other parts of the country. For example, a long standing land dispute between Sasstown and a neighboring community again erupted in 1981. More research is needed on land tenure in this area.

Land for the cultivation of other crops is a concern of women. Some crops are intercropped with rice and as such belonging to the individual women planting them. Women have access to the land which was used for rice the previous year to plant cassava, peanuts, and/or vegetables.

Women may also use the land adjacent to the town or village for cultivation of cassava or vegetables. In some cases, such plots appear to "belong" to particular women although how a woman comes to acquire a claim to a plot is not clear. Permission should be obtained from the women who last used the plot before another uses it.

The final category of land with which women are concerned is that of house plots. Women can have houses which they have built for themselves or which husbands, sons, or other relatives have built for them. Access to land for houses is also controlled by kin groups in most rural communities. There are no data which would indicate whether a woman is more likely to build a house on land belonging to her kin group or her husband's. One might hypothesize that she would be more likely to use her kin group's land if she herself is building the house, while a house built for her by a husband or son might be more likely to be constructed upon the land of the men's kin group. There is no indication that women would be denied permission to use land to build a house. Houses, however, are in most cases regarded as belonging to men whose choice of house plots may have priority over a woman's.

Women can also build houses on the farm. In the late 1960's, three of the farm villages ^{1/} along the motor road to a community in Zorzor District belonged to women (12).

Although the majority of women farmers still obtain land for rice farming under the traditional system, changes in land allocation patterns are occurring throughout the country. The establishment of concessions is one important aspect of the changing land tenure system.

The Impact of Concessions on Land Tenure

National land may be leased by the government for varying lengths of time to concessions. These concessions include the iron mines, the agricultural plantations such as Firestone and the timber concessions. Ultimate ownership of the land remains Liberian although the leases are, in some cases, for considerable periods of time. Firestone's lease, dating from 1926, was for 99 years.

It is difficult to obtain the data which detail how much of Liberia's land is under option or development by concessions. Most of these concessions are foreign-owned and managed so that effective control of a considerable area of Liberia is foreign. One estimate, twenty years ago, was that foreign-owned enterprises held options for nearly a quarter of the country's total land area (approximately 10,000 square miles) (93, p. 245). Further complicating the picture is the distinction between the amount of land under option and the amount of land actually developed. Firestone's original

^{1/} In Liberia, settlements referred to as farm villages are small, usually less than 10 houses, are near the residents' farms, and are not considered towns. but are usually attached to a town. Residents may spend much of their time in the farm village, only occasionally visiting their town.

lease was for an option of one million acres. In the 1970's approximately 90,000 acres were actually in production. The LAMCO concession agreement was for 500 square miles in Nimba. Most discussions of the operation of concessions in Liberia which provide data on number of employees, amount invested, revenues, and so on, are curiously silent on the issue of land.

The Firestone concessions at Harbel, Montserrado County, and Cavalla, Maryland County, are the oldest concessions. The impact of the Harbel plantation is part of the larger process of urbanization occurring in Montserrado, Marshall, and adjacent areas. The timber concessions are concentrated in Grand Gedeh and Sinoe, although there are some in other counties. The iron ore concessions are located in Nimba, Bong, Cape Mount, Bomi, and Lofa. Maryland County has been affected by a succession of agricultural concessions and state corporations, beginning with Firestone, then LIBSUCO, and most recently, Docoris Oil Palm.

A concession not only affects the land area included in the concession but also the surrounding areas. There is little information available on the impact of the establishment of concessions upon land allocation in the areas involved. Cocopa, a concession of approximately 25,000 acres in Nimba County, was established in the late 1940's. The land involved belonged to three Mano communities, which were affected in different ways by the establishment of the plantation.

One community was located in the middle of the concession area and lost more than 75 percent of its land. The former residents of that community are now dispersed throughout the Mano area of Nimba (76).

The second community is located on the edge of the plantation. It lost approximately 25 percent of its land. Individuals from those sibs ^{1/} which lost land approached the elders of one of the sibs in neighboring communities to which they had consanguineal or affinal ties. Farmers ask permission to farm a particular area with a particular crop and "beg" permission by a gift of local rum. If permission is granted, each farmer may also be expected to provide the sib with a bag of rice or a tin of rum at a later date (76).

The third community is located several miles from the concession. Two of the six sibs in the town lost land, representing about 35 percent of the town's land. Those without land approached other sibs in the community and arranged to "rent" land in the same manner as described above. One of the sibs which lost land had some remaining. This was divided among specific household heads within the sib and became, in effect, private plots to which only the owner had use rights (97, p. 26).

^{1/} A "sib" is an unilineal, in this case patri, kin group based upon stipulated descent. It is sometimes referred to in the literature as a "clan."

The first community had insufficient land of its own to continue to exist and could not approach neighboring towns which had also lost land to borrow. It ceased to exist. The other communities, even though they have lost land, have been able to engage in cash cropping. In the late 1960's, the majority of households in both communities were involved in cash cropping (76).

In this area of Nimba, sibs to whom requests are made for the use of their land are concerned about how it will be used. Permission is almost always granted if the land is to be utilized for rice and cassava production but less often granted for cash crops (97, p. 26). In some instances, sibs were denying members further expansion on sib lands for cash crops. An individual denied access by his or her own sib may appeal to another sib. One elder in a community had all of his coffee and cocoa on land belonging to another sib.

A paramount chief in a community in Maryland which lost all its traditional land to Firestone reported that the people had adjusted to that loss by going to adjacent communities for land. That had been satisfactory for a number of years until the 1970's when further land in the area was allocated to LIBSUCO. Much of that land belonged to a community from which the community dislocated by Firestone had obtained its farm land. The people were having to go even further and experiencing more difficulty in obtaining adequate acreage.

People in the neighboring Plibo area also expressed a concern about land pressure. They sometimes have to go to neighboring towns to find land for rice farming. Even then, the fallowing cycle was reported to be as short as four years.

In a community in Voinjama District, attempts were being made by educated citizens of the town in the 1970's to enlist the support of resident citizens in obtaining a tribal certificate for the community's remaining land. The town had already lost a substantial area of its land to the Wologisi iron ore concession, LISCO. Educated citizens of the town were reconciled to that loss, even though it involved sacred land, but were concerned about what would happen to other land belonging to the town as the concession developed. These citizens felt that it was imperative for the community to protect its land by having the remaining land surveyed and placed under tribal certificate in hopes that this would prevent outsiders from obtaining deeds to the land, especially that along the roads which would be developed in the area. A member of the local elite in Voinjama was already making inquiries about some of this land. To have the land surveyed required a substantial amount of money and it appeared that many of the local residents did not yet perceive the urgency of the matter and were not inclined to cooperate. As the community was located in a sparsely populated area with substantial areas of high bush, the loss of land to the concession did not have an immediate impact upon the farming activities of the community (12).

There is another component of land allocation in concession areas. The establishment of such concessions brings into an area a number of

women accompanying men working at the concession. There is little data available on what happens to these women and their farming activities. It is likely that it varies considerably depending upon the concession. Land usage patterns in the iron mines would appear to provide little opportunity for farming activities by women, especially rice cultivation. Some of the agricultural concessions may provide better opportunities for the cultivation of vegetable plots. At the Cavalla Firestone Plantation, some wives of workers cultivate small garden plots near the labor camps (52). At the Harbel Plantation, women use small swampy areas for cultivation.

Women at the military academy at Todee, Montserrado County, reported that they could not obtain land for upland rice cultivation and had to restrict their farming activities to vegetables and cassava. In addition to the military academy, there are several large private farms in the area.

Transfers to Freehold

In the coastal countries, considerable acreage has been in freehold for many years. Residents of those countries and, especially Monrovia, established private farms in the rural areas of the country or elsewhere. Over the years, as the road network expanded, the acquisition of farmland by the coastal elite has extended into the interior counties. In recent years, members of the "local elites" in the various counties have begun to obtain deeds for their private farms. As described earlier, the complicated process of obtaining a deed tends to favor the elite who have the educational, financial, and political resources to complete the process. Both women and men are obtaining land deeds, although one suspects that there are more men than women.

As a result of this process, much of the land adjoining roads, even secondary and feeder, in rural Liberia is now in freehold. For local people, this process means that their land base is being eroded. In some cases, this has meant that farmers, especially women, have had to go further into the "bush" to find adequate farm land (16).

In other cases, the new landowners may enlist the services of local people in developing the land. The landowner may allow the local people to use a site for a rice farm. After the harvest, the owner then uses the site to plant cocoa and coffee. This enables the owner to have his/her land cleared at minimal expense to the owner. In the short run, it might appear to be an advantageous situation for the local people. In the long run, however, such a process effectively removes the land from them as a resource and only postpones the crisis in availability of upland rice land.

There is little doubt that this process of transferring land under customary tenure to freehold which was accelerating in the 1970's was a major tension in some rural areas of Liberia prior to the coup of April, 1980. Local chiefs in some areas participated in helping members of the elite obtain land. Even when local people opposed the land transfers, as they often did, there was little that they could effectively do when faced with the power of the national government.

Changes are also occurring in land tenure due to urbanization in formerly rural areas. This appears most pronounced in the country headquarters and some district headquarters. In these communities, city lots are deeded. For those communities with the status of city or township, land within the eight square mile area of the city is considered freehold land. Individuals may find themselves in the position of having to obtain a land deed, including the purchase of their housesites, which was theirs under customary tenure.

More important for farming purposes, land surrounding the community is likely to be deeded. In Zwedru, for example, virtually all the land which belonged to the traditional community is now deeded. It seems likely that in all the country headquarters, there is now a population of landless people, including both migrants and life-long residents of the community.

In a district headquarters in Grand Gedeh, a form of land "purchase" has developed in a situation in which there is pressure on prime agricultural and residential land. Farm lots in the area of the headquarters are "sold" in nominal units of 100 acres for approximately \$35 per unit. Town lots are "sold" for approximately \$10 for an 80' by 50' plot. The purchase price is paid to the lineage which is the "owner of the land." These purchases are certified by a tribal certificate signed by local tribal authorities. Most of the main town lots and most farm lots near the town had been purchased by the mid-1970's (6, p. 116)

It seems likely that a similar process is occurring in other comparable towns. With land so "purchased" coming to encircle an increasing area around a community, those who have not purchased land will have to go beyond that land for their own farm land. They will be faced with walking increasing distances to their farms or with moving out to farm villages. To the extent that women have less access to cash to purchase land in this manner, they are the ones most likely to be pushed out to the marginal areas.

In summary, the issue of women's access to land is not yet as critical a constraint as it is in some other African countries. But processes are in motion which might lead to an increasing number of women finding themselves without access to the necessary farm land as has happened elsewhere in Africa. In the Cameroons, women have difficulty obtaining adequate land for their farming because of the acreage involved in cocoa and coffee production (33, 35). In Kenya, land registration which began under the colonial government has resulted in most land being registered in the names of men, even though much of the food production is done by women. Kenyan women frequently find themselves relying upon men, often absent, for the land which they need to support themselves and their children (53).

There is a need for a national land tenure study in Liberia which would demarcate those areas which fall under the various forms of tenure. Those areas considered by communities to be the lands over which their various social units exercised rights of allocation, use, and distribution need to be identified (80).

At this point in time, land tenure policy needs to protect the rights of small farm producers and guarantee their access to sufficient land to maintain productivity. This is necessary in the absence of sufficient jobs in the wage sector to absorb a landless population. The practice of registering land in the name of male household heads should be avoided if women are not to be denied access to a critical resource which has traditionally been theirs. Evidence suggests that both men and women independently had access to farm land under the customary system. Although women can hold property independent of men under the statutory system, women who are the food producers and who are now under customary law, may find themselves excluded if changes are introduced in land tenure and registration without considering the issue of women's access to land.

Although there is growing pressure on the land and changes in land allocation, the tools which women and men use in rice cultivation have not changed.

FARM TOOLS

The tools used in farming are the same throughout the country although there may be variations in size and shape. The basic tool used by women is a hoe while that of men is the cutlass. Women also use cutlasses for cutting firewood and in brushing or clearing farm. Also important are axes used in felling large trees and the small knife used in harvesting the rice. Especially in the Mande- and Mbl-speaking areas, there was a strong tradition of blacksmithing, originating in the Sahel, in which the blacksmith was one of the most respected and powerful men in the community. Tools were locally produced, in some cases from locally smelted iron. Smelting of iron is no longer done although there are several sites around the country which indicate smelting activities in the not far distant past. The blacksmithing tradition was less strong in the forest zone of the Kruan-speaking areas and may have been absent in some.

Today, imported cutlasses are available to substitute for locally-made ones. In some parts of the country, such as Lofa and Nimba, many men continue to prefer the locally-made cutless row usually produced from the springs of motor vehicles. They say that these cutlasses are stronger, shaped better, and do a more efficient job than the relatively light-weight cutlasses imported from Europe. In other parts of the country, such as Maryland and Grand Gedeh, some towns have been without a blacksmith for a number of years. Men and women in these areas use only imported cutlasses.

The hoes used by women are shorthanded. Although women do have to stoop to use these hoes, they are better-suited for the techniques used in planting rice and other crops and to the terrain than would be longhanded hoes. Women are also able to work more quickly with the shorthanded hoes.

The size and shape of the hoe blade varies. In those areas where rice is planted by broadcasting, the blade is angled or hooked. Where men assist in planting, such as parts of Lofa, a hoe with a larger and wider

blade may be used. People also appear to use a larger blade in intensive swamp rice cultivation, especially in the preparation of the land. The blades used in those areas where rice is drilled are narrower, smaller, and straight rather than angled.

Local blacksmiths produce the hoes throughout most of the country. They are sold in some markets, especially at planting time. In Maryland, people indicated that they made the hoes themselves, shaping them from old cutlasses.

The knives used by women in harvesting may also be produced by local blacksmiths. Small imported knives are also available.

These basic tools are relatively inexpensive, not more than a few dollars, and within the means of virtually all Liberians.

The major innovation in farm tools is the chain saw which is especially popular in those areas where people are cutting high bush and have large trees to fell. The chain saw permits the cultivation of sites which would not be feasible with a cutlass and axe. Relatively few farmers, however, have access to chain saws. They are most common in the vicinity of timber concessions. The chain saw requires a considerable investment with the current price in Monrovia being \$700 - \$1,000. Fuel is also necessary for their operation. Given these costs, chain saws are beyond the means of most Liberian farmers.

Those who can make the initial investment in a chain saw can obtain a return on that investment by renting the saw to other farmers. In an interior community in Sinoe, one man rents his chain saw for \$50 per day. A farm can be brushed in three days. At this rate the chain saw is paid for in less than a month.

While the chain saw is an efficient substitute for the axe and cutlass, a plow would not so readily mesh with existing field clearing and planting practices. The need to leave tree stumps and large limbs laying about the field to control erosion would make it impossible to use a plow efficiently. Further, a plow would cut deeper into the thin top soil and would probably increase erosion. The hoe, on the other hand, allows the farmer to work around the trees and limbs and not cut deeply into the soil.

HOUSEHOLDS AND FARMING

Labor is the third major input in farming. To understand the allocation of labor and the social organization of rice farming, it is necessary to discuss the characteristics of the household unit. Women perform most of their productive activities within the context of a household or domestic group. "Farm families" are often the target unit in development projects and, as such, it is important to understand what that unit is.

Liberians households have a fluid membership with individuals shifting their places of residence and productive labor for a variety of social, economic, and/or personal reasons. Liberian households are not sharply bounded or discrete units. Depending upon relationships among members of different households, the boundaries between the units may be fluid and flexible (11).

For most rural residents, the household of which they are a part is enmeshed in a patrilineal kin group, although the structure and organization of these kin groups varies among the ethnic groups. The household is the smallest social unit identified. Some, e.g., the Loma, and possibly all, of the ethnic groups in Liberia do not have a separate term for the mother/child subunit within the household, as is common in many polygynous societies (11).

The term "household" will be used in this report. There are several problems in defining this unit, but it is best conceived as composed of a group of people, kin and/or non-kin, who eat from the "same pot." The household is not coterminous with "family" which to most Liberians has a much wider referent than the household unit. The household is not necessarily a residential unit with all members living in a single structure. Households are both analytically and concretely distinct from the lineage and the family (1).

Cultural ideology among Liberian ethnic groups holds that a household should be formed around an adult male head who is recognized by the community and other members of the unit as the head. The growing number of female-headed households represent a social form which is not yet recognized as a cultural option. In the Loma area in the late 1960's and early 1970's, female-headed households were rare (9). In the same period, in a Sabo community in southern Grand Gedeh, one-fifth of the households were headed by women (49). A significant number of female-headed households were reported in the more urbanized area near Bong Mine (2). Census data also indicate a considerable number of female-headed households, especially among older women and in the urban areas (see Table II-5).

The household head is jurally responsible for those individuals considered to be members and ultimately decides who is a member (11). Women, especially widows, may in some instances be considered a jural member of a man's household, but may, defacto, be economically the head of her own household (12).

Households are not fixed membership units. There tends to be a core unit which is composed of the head, his wife or wives, and unmarried children (11). Other individuals may be affiliated through kin ties to the head or other members of the core. Non-kin may also be members. For able-bodied adults, the right to eat from the "household pot" is established by contributing one's labor to the cultivation of the household farm. For non-workers, their place in the household is established by their kin ties to the head, e.g., as a child or elderly parent, or through ties to other productive adults, e.g., as a child of a sister of the household. Individuals have potential claims through kin ties to membership in a number of households and may opt to activate these claims in different households at varying points in their lives (11).

For men living under the customary legal system, polygyny is the ideal and is a goal attained by a considerable number of men at some point in their lives (9. 18, 49). In one Loma community in the late 1960's, 43 percent of the married men were polygynous. In four Loma communities, the number of wives per married man ranged from 1.5 in two communities to 1.93 in a third, and 2.16 in the fourth. For several Krahn (Wee) communities in Grand Gedeh, an incidence of 1.67 wives per married man was reported (6, p. 62). In a Sabo community in southern Grand Gedeh, two-thirds of the married men were polygynous. The polygynous men had an average of 2.2 wives. The high incidence of polygyny in that community was partially due to the practice of the levirate by which a man "inherits" his deceased brother's wives (49).

Census data do not indicate whether men are married monogamously or polygynously. Women may be enumerated as "other wives" but it is not possible to identify the number of husbands involved. Polygyny appears to be more common in Lofa, Nimba, and Grand Gedeh (see Table II-5).

Polygyny was, and is, an integral part of the farming and political system of rural communities. Traditionally, a man's wealth and prestige in the community were based upon his control of a labor force composed of women, children, and junior men (53). The more wives a man has, the larger the farm that can be made. Wives also help create political alliances with other men and families. The more wives, the more alliances and political clients. In large polygynous households, the wives often have lovers who may be obliged to work for the husband, further augmenting the husband's labor force.

Polygyny is also common where a post-partum sex taboo for women is observed, as has traditionally been true in Liberia. Traditionally, this taboo was in effect until the child was weaned, a period of several years. This helped insure that a woman's children were spaced several years apart. Older women may be responsible for supervising younger mothers to insure that they observe the taboo. Having children "too close" together, especially within a year, is looked upon with great disfavor, and both the mother and father may be sanctioned. Women in polygynous marriages tend to have fewer children than women in monogamous marriages, while polygynous men tend to have more children than monogamous men (24).

Many women living in rural communities prefer to live in polygynous households since the work load is distributed among several women.

The existence of polygyny does not indicate a demographic imbalance. A polygynous system functions by men tending to marry later than women. Older women marry younger women. Census data for Liberia suggest that women do marry younger than men (see Table II-7). Younger wives are likely to become widows who will in turn marry a brother of their deceased husband (the levirate), further perpetuating the polygynous system. Traditionally, this system permitted older men to retain control over the labor of younger men who either remained in their households as young adult sons or who established sexual liaisons with wives in return for providing labor to the husbands. Labor migration modified this pattern to some extent as young adult men would migrate in the years prior to their establishing their own independent households and could thereby minimize the control of older men over them by working "for themselves." In any community, however, the interplay of demographic and economic processes limit the percentage of men who are polygynous at any given time. Communities or societies in which more than one-quarter to one-third of the married men are polygynous at a given time are regarded as having a "high" incidence of polygyny (24).

Census data indicate that Liberian men are most likely to be married when they are 40-59. Especially in the rural areas, a higher percentage of men over 60 years of age are married than are women of that age group (Table II-7).

Women are most likely to be married when they are 30-39 (Table II-7). After the age of 40, the marital status of women begins to shift to either the status of widow or divorced/separated. This pattern probably reinforces the pattern of older men marrying younger women. Younger women are more likely than older women to be enumerated as "other wives."

In a polygynous household, the head wife is responsible for managing and supervising the work of all the women. She is usually, but not necessarily, the senior wife. Upon her rests the responsibility of insuring that all the work in the household and on the farm is done as it should be, and of maintaining harmony among the women. In those areas where a "general household" farm is made, she is responsible for the allocation of the rice for the entire household. She decides what tasks each woman is to do and when they are to be done. Given the wide scope of these responsibilities and decisions, a head wife of a large polygynous household may be a powerful and influential member of the community. A man who does not have a good manager as head wife will have difficulty maintaining his household. How the cooking and other domestic chores are divided among the women depends, to a large extent, on the interpersonal relations among the various wives. In some households, cooking may be pooled while in others, individual wives will each do their own cooking. Each wife usually has the primary responsibility of looking after her own infants or small children, but the wives often assist each other in childcare.

As we will discuss later, the work to be done in a household is usually more than one woman can handle by herself. A wife in a monogamous household must look to other women in the household or to other households or else must work alone "limiting the scope of her undertakings and accomplishment" (59, p. 25).

The tradition of each wife in a polygynous household having her own hut or house, common in many African societies, is not common in Liberia. In some areas, each wife may have a separate room in the house. As in Ghana and Nigeria, it is possible that this was an adaptation to the imposition of the hut tax, which made it advantageous for a household head to have a single house. The ideal of each wife having her own house is noted for Webbo District, Grand Gedeh (49).

In Lofa, women live together in a "big house" while the husband lives in his own house, "the little house," with a wife joining him at night. There is no evidence that this pattern of grouping women together in a single house is an adaptation to the hut tax. Rather, it appears to be historically based. Formerly, the "big house" was a circular structure in which each woman had a sleeping stall on a ledge around the perimeter of the house. There was usually a cooking fire in the center. Now these stalls are often replaced by beds. In the newer rectangular houses, the women may still share a single large room, with a cooking fire in the center. Some head wives may have their own rooms. Some "big houses" accommodate a considerable number of women and their children.

The complexity and variation in Liberian rural households is indicated by a typology utilized in several studies in rural Liberia ^{1/}. Although a typology necessarily presents a static picture of a dynamic process, it is useful for comparisons and for indications of trends. Any particular household may progress through several different types during its "lifetime," and the addition or subtraction of a single individual may shift the household from one type to another.

The typology utilizes three major variables: (1) the sex of the household head, (2) the marital status of a male household head: not married, monogamous, or polygynous, and (3) the presence of any individuals other than the nuclear family (i.e., man, wife or wives, and children) of the household head. Although the size of a household does affect its economy viability, equally important are the age and sex composition of the household and the relationships of people within the household (11, 49). This typology does not provide information on the age composition of households, but it does provide some information on the sex of members and their relationships within the household. Nine types are derived from the three variables (2, 9):

^{1/} These data are comparable though obtained by different researchers in different communities. This typology has also served as a basis for typing households in the National Household Expenditure Survey (71) so that comparable data will be available on households throughout the country.

1. Simple monogamous: a man, his wife, and children.
2. Complex monogamous: a man, his wife, children and other kin and/or non-kin.
3. Simple polygynous: a man, his wives, and children.
4. Complex polygynous: a man, his wives, children, and other kin and/or non-kin.
5. Simple single male: a man alone or with his children. Man is divorced, widowed, or never married.
6. Complex single male: a man, his children, and other kin and/or non-kin. Man is divorced, widowed, or never married.
7. Simple female: a woman with or without her children.
8. Complex female: a woman with or without her children, plus other kin and/or non-kin.
9. Other: a group of people with no one acting as household head, e.g., a group of students living together.

McEvoy's typology differs in the handling of the female-headed households. He distinguishes between (a) single female households of a single adult female, and (b) consanguineal households consisting of an adult female head and other persons who are related to her through consanguineal ties (49).

Of the eight communities for which we have comparable data, complex households, either monogamous or polygynous, are more common in five of the communities: Lawalazu, Fisebu, Zolowo, Saboke, and Haindii (Table 1). Households in Digei, an isolated community in Bong County, are about evenly divided between simple and complex. Only in Wozi and Dohli Island do simple monogamous households predominate.

Polygynous households outnumber monogamous in two communities: Lawalazu and Saboke. The Kpelle communities in Bong had considerably fewer polygynous households than the other communities.

No female-headed households were reported for the Loma communities. The communities near Bong Mine had the highest incidence of female-headed households, nearly one-third in Haindii. Also striking is the incidence in the community in Southern Gedeh. According to census data, female-headed households are more common in urban areas than in rural and become more common with increasing age of the woman head. One-fifth of the women 60 years or older in rural Liberia are heads of households (Table II-5).

With reference to the complex households in the Loma area, those containing more than one conjugal pair, the classic anthropological joint

Table 1
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD TYPES (Percentages)

Household Types	<u>Towns</u>					Saboke ^c (N=46)	Digei ^d (N=80)	Dobli ^d Island (N=80)	Haindii ^d (N=86)
	Lavalazu ^a (N=61)	Fizubu ^a (N=52)	Wozi ^a (N=25)	Zolowo ^b (N=174)					
Simple Monogamous	16%	29%	40%	15% (3.3) ^e		8.7% (3.8)	30%	33.8%	15.1%
Complex Monogamous	26	31	24	34 (7.6)		10.8 (8.2)	32.5	18.8	30.2
Simple Polygynous	10	11	20	7 (7.7)		15.2 (6.7)	7.5	5.0	5.8
Complex Polygynous	46	21	16	30 (13.3)		45.7 (8.3)	5.0	6.3	7.0
Simple Single Male	--	--	--	8 (1.2)		--	6.3	7.5	8.1
Complex Single Male	2	8	--	5 (7.7)		--	2.5	--	2.3
Simple Single Female	--	--	--	--		4.4 (4.3)	7.5	13.8	8.1
Complex Single Female	--	--	--	--		15.2 (4.3)	8.8	15.0	23.3
Other				1					
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%	100%

^aCurrens 1974 Voinjama and Zorzor Districts, Lofa County

^bCarter 1970, Zorzor District, Lofa County

^cMcEvoy 1971, Pseudonym, Webbo District, Grand Gedeh County

^dBledsoe 1980, Salala District, Bong County

^eMean size of household. Data from Currens not analysed in comparable terms. Mean size of household in Bledsoe's sample:

Digei - 5.35

Dobli Island - 4.39

Haindii - 5.52

or extended family, are rare, and if they do occur, are usually transitional units while one of the men is in the process of establishing his own household (11). Rather, households are more likely to become complex through the attachment of single individuals, or the unit of a woman and her children. Individuals so attached to households are, however, the most likely of household members to shift to another household and to have a tenuous commitment to the household and its activities (11).

Census data provide some confirmation of these patterns. A higher percentage of women in all age groups and in both urban and rural areas are enumerated as being married than are living as a "wife" or "other wife" in a household. Nearly one-fifth of married women in the 20-29 age group in rural areas would appear to be living in households with a status other than wife. In the rural areas, a considerable percentage of women aged 20-29 are living in households as "children" of the head. Among older women, there are significant numbers living in households as parents or "other relatives."

For the Loma communities, household size was analyzed with reference to the composition of households by different age groups (Table 2) ^{1/}. The households in Lawalazu and Zolowo, on the average, contained more adults than those in Fisebu and Wozi. More important, perhaps, is that the categories of children in Fisebu and Wozi outnumber the adults in the households. The average size of households reported for these communities is above the average recorded in the national census and some other surveys.

The Grand Gedeh and Zolowo surveys report on household size by household type (Table 1). The Bong County material is reported by community. The largest households are the complex polygynous households in Zolowo which averaged 13.3 persons. Simple monogamous and female-headed households are smaller than the average. Saboke households were not as large, on the average, as Zolowo households. The Bong County communities were smaller than the others in the surveys. Consistent with these averages is an average household size in three communities in Grand Gedeh ranging from 7.1 to 7.5 persons (6).

The average size of household ranges from 4.7 in Marshall and Cape Mount to a high of 7.0 in Rivercess in the census (73). The national average was 5.64 while the urban average was 5.4 and the rural, 5.74. The averages are:

Liberia, Total:	5.64
Urban:	5.4
Rural:	5.74

^{1/} The data on household size and composition are not analyzed in the same way in all the studies so that it is not possible to compare all the communities with reference to size and composition.

TABLE 2

Household Composition: average number of infants, small children, large children, and adults per household for Lawalazu, Fisebu, Wozi, and Zolowo.

Category of household members	Average number per household			
	Lawalazu	Fisebu	Wozi	Zolowo
Infants	.2	.4	.7	.5
Small children	2.0	2.1	1.7	1.4
Large children	1.9	1.9	1.6	1.1
Adults	5.4	3.4	3.5	5.3
Total	9.5	7.8	7.5	8.3

The table in (18, p. 52) has been expanded to include figures for Zolowo.

The age categories may be defined as follows (18, p. 51):

- a. infant: children up to approximately two or three years of age who are walking and weaned.
- b. small children: children from two or three to approximately eight or nine years. During this age they are regarded as not being able "to do anything".
- c. large children: children from approximately eight or nine until their late teens or until they have had a child.
- d. adults: individuals from their late teens on. The category includes elderly adults who may no longer be working on the farm.

Source: Carter 1976

Bomi:	4.86
Bong:	5.84
Grand Bassa:	5.04
Grand Cape Mount:	4.7
Grand Gedeh:	6.0
Kru Coast:	5.91
Lofa:	6.04
Marshall:	4.67
Maryland:	6.16
Montserrado:	5.29
Nimba:	6.17
Rivercess:	6.99
Sasstown:	6.08
Sinoe:	6.36

Historical data for Liberia are not available which would permit a comparison of household size. Households, however, may be smaller in average size than in the past. There appear to be fewer of the large polygynous households which in the past formed around chiefs and other big men and which had more than 50 members. The households of many of the chiefs who died in the 1950's-70's appear to have fragmented and not been maintained. There is some evidence that female-headed households may, on the average, be smaller than male-headed households. If these households are increasing in frequency, then household size may be smaller.

In the Mende area of Sierra Leone, adjacent to Liberia, some data indicate that the average size of farming households may have declined by 60-75 percent between the early 1950's and 1970's (56). This decline was attributed to a decrease in polygyny and to the increasing independence of young men from their elders. Their independence is a function of the increasing monetization of the economy, increasing education, and increasing wage labor, all of which contribute to young men establishing their own households at an earlier age (56, p. 118). Similar conditions obtain in Liberia.

Both the size and composition of the household have a significant effect upon the farming decisions and activities of the household. The larger and more complex households are more likely to have the labor available to permit them to diversify and expand farming activities. Smaller households are more likely to have to recruit extra-household labor for farming activities.

In further assessing the viability of households and their likely response to development activities, the number of productive workers in a household in relation to the non-productive is relevant. Households appear to need more than one adult woman to be able to effectively cope with both farming and domestic chores.

Women, when questioned about their attitudes toward polygyny, are likely to indicate that they view it positively because of the labor demands placed upon a woman which are eased by being in a polygynous

household. Women married monogamously must either seek to incorporate adult women who are sisters, mothers, and so on, into the household or rely upon the assistance of daughters.

There is some confirmation of the need for more than one woman in a household in the data. In Zolowo, there was an average of 3.08 women per household (9). In addition to those who were wives, many were young adult women who were consanguineal or affinal kin (other than a wife) of the household head (9).

In the Sabo community, households had an average of 3.0 productive females between the ages of 10 and 65. As might be expected, the simple monogamous households had fewer, only 1.5, while the polygynous households had 3.7 and 3.6. Female-headed households had a low average of 1.4 productive females (49, p. 284). Girls begin to contribute substantially to the households at about age 10 and continue to do so until about 65 when women are usually no longer able to perform many of the female tasks. Complex polygynous households in that community had the highest average number of non-productive dependents, 3.3. The average for the community was 2.5 (49, p. 284). Female-headed households with few productive members also had relatively few non-producers (49, p. 288).

With reference to male members of households in that community, there were few households which had more than one or two male members older than fifteen present. The majority of the female-headed households had no male members fifteen or older (49, p. 283).

The issue of household viability pertains not only to the ability of the household to perform agricultural tasks but also to perform a variety of logistic and household maintenance tasks. Some of these tasks are daily such as drawing water and preparing food, while others, such as house repair, occur intermittently. Although men do participate or have responsibility for some of these tasks, the bulk of them are performed by women. When there are not enough women in the household to perform the logistic and maintenance tasks as well as the agricultural ones, household life begins to deteriorate. If the problem of insufficient productive women is further aggravated by the absence of adult males, the problems are magnified. "A household with too few women who are economically productive simply cannot maintain itself in the face of the labor needs imposed by the agricultural system and by the needs which arise in the course of day-to-day management of the household" (49, p. 300).

In summary, several major features of rural Liberian households and the status of women in these households have been discussed. Households are distinct from family, are complex in composition or membership, and have fluid boundaries and shifting membership. Ideally, households are headed by men, but there is a significant number of female-headed households, especially among older women. Polygyny is common and is critical to the allocation of labor in farming. Households with only one adult women member appear not to be viable, given the combination of agricultural and domestic responsibilities assumed by women. Women in rural farming house-

holds appear to prefer to be part of a household with several women to share the work. Household surveys tend to indicate an average household size of approximately five to six persons, although some surveys indicate a larger mean size.

Organization of the Rice Farm

The main corporate activity of most households in rural Liberia is rice farming. Three major patterns by which households organize themselves for rice farming have been identified.

The pattern of farm organization which appears typical of the Mande-speaking peoples of Liberia is focused upon the cultivation of a "household," a "big," or "general" farm. The members of a household all contribute labor to the cultivation of the rice farm, according to their sex, age, and physical strength. An individual's household membership is a function of the household farm upon which she or he works. The selection of the farm site is usually made by the male household head, upon consultation with the women of the household. The farms of a community are dispersed around the community on the community's land. The farm is under the control of the head wife who supervises all those tasks for which women are responsible and who controls the allocation of the rice from the farm.

She holds the key to the granary. The rice from the household is used to feed the members of the households during the year, to provide seed rice for the following year, and to meet any hospitality or ceremonial obligations. Individuals have a right to consume the rice from the farm by virtue of their having contributed labor to the farm or, if a dependent, by virtue of being related to a working member of the household.

Members of the household may also make their own personal farm. The person making these farms, most often a woman, is in control of the labor and the rice, which may be used for whatever purpose she desires.

Rice from the "general" or "household" farm is not sold: it is "for everyone." That which is cooperatively produced cannot be sold by individuals, even a head wife or a household head.

A second pattern of farm organization is found in southeastern Liberia among the Kruan-speaking peoples. As described by women in Sinoe, Maryland, and Grand Gedeh, the farm site is selected by the household head. Either before brushing begins or after brushing is completed, the farm site is divided among the wives. If the farm is divided among the wives prior to brushing, the man (and those assisting him) rotates his labor among the sections belonging to the wives, spending an equal number of days on each section. The women may assist in the brushing by working on their own section of the farm.

The head wife is usually allocated a larger section since she is responsible for fulfilling ceremonial or hospitality obligations for the

household. Each woman is responsible for her part of the farm and the rice is under her control. She is obliged, however, to fulfill her obligations for feeding the household. Women, if they are friendly, may pool the rice for cooking.

In these areas, women appear not to have the personal farms found in northwestern Liberia.

The man is responsible for allocating the seed rice for the next year. He takes equal portions from the rice of the various wives. Where each woman controls her rice, this system insures that adequate seed rice, contributed to by all the women, is available for the next year's farm.

The third pattern of farming is found in Sasstown Territory, Kru Coast Territory, and parts of Sinoe and Maryland. The data were obtained in Sasstown Territory and we are unable to say how far along the coast this pattern obtains or how far into the interior. The pattern has been reported in Buah District, Maryland County.

In these communities, each year the elders select the site where all households in the community will make farm. The area chosen will be referred to by the year that the farm was made in that location. A ritual is performed to mark the site. All households in the community are expected to make farm in that location. The area is demarcated and then subdivided into plots for each household. These plots are further subdivided among the wives in the household. The area is then cultivated by the respective households. In Sasstown, responses to questions indicated that plots were allocated within the town's site on the basis of kin group affiliation.

The male household head receives a section of the rice farm. This section may provide seed rice or rice for special occasions. The man is also responsible for selecting seed rice from among the women.

The explanation for this different pattern of farming is beyond the scope of this report, but it may lie in the history of this area. The pattern resembles the more common pattern among the Kruan-speaking peoples in the division of the plot by wife. It differs in the concentration of farms in one location. The "Kru Coast" is an area which has a long and intensive involvement with migrant labor, as men for several centuries have sought employment on ships. The area was also an area of considerable conflict between and among neighboring communities. Good rice land in the areas appears to be at a premium. By locating all farms within a particular area, men may have been able to provide needed labor for the women whose husbands were absent and also provide defense. People in Buah District, Maryland explained the pattern in terms of defense.

There is apparently strong community pressure on individuals and households not to break away from these community sites and select their own site. At the same time, since it is a collective decision, it may mean that no one in the community makes rice farm. For example, in 1981, one of

the sections of the city of Sasstown decided to make their rice farm on a section of land which has been disputed with the neighboring community for a number of years. President Barclay had resolved the dispute by establishing one boundary. President Tubman later reversed that ruling and established another boundary. In 1981, Sasstown felt that the land was once again under their control and one section decided to farm it since relatively high bush was available. The neighboring community protested and was able to halt further work on the farm. Since the required rituals had already been performed, people did not feel that it was appropriate to select a new farm site. Consequently, the section of the community did not make rice farms in 1981.

This pattern of rice farming may have implications for the cultivation of other crops by both men and women. In other parts of the country, individuals are often able to cultivate their cash crops in the same general area as their rice farm. Women often use the previous year's site to cultivate cassava, peanuts, and so on. The two farms are often close together. The amount of time which is spent in walking among the various farms is minimized. Further, they are able to keep their eyes on the fields that they are not currently working in. The pattern of farming described for Sasstown and surrounding areas means that the rice farm site may shift from one side of town to another from year to year. This would make it virtually impossible for individuals to cultivate their cash or other crops in the same area as the rice farm and would make the commuting time between the two sites too great.

Personal Farms

Individuals, most often women, may have their own personal rice farm which supplement the "general" or "household" farm in those areas where household farms are cultivated.

In one community in upper Lofa in 1971, approximately one-fourth of the households reported individuals having personal rice farms. Of these farms, approximately two-thirds belonged to women (19, p. 361).

Three analytical categories of personal farms have been identified. The first type is cultivated by a mother, sister, daughter, or some other women not a wife of the household head. Often these women are peripheral to the household. They do not have control over the rice from the household farming regardless of their contribution to its cultivation. That control lies with the head wife (19, p. 361). These women may need their own supply of rice from which to meet obligations to dependents or relatives or relatives or to provide cash income. Having a personal farm provides some independence from reliance upon the household farm.

These women rely upon male labor provided by a lover, a son, or migrant laborers. The male household head has no responsibility for assisting in these personal farms. Women may obtain money from the sale of rice, palm kernels, or vegetables to hire migrant laborers. If the personal farm is a

rain-fed swamp, it can be prepared without any male labor inputs (19, p. 361).

The second type of personal farms comprised almost one-half of the sample. These farms belong to the wife or wives of the household head. Unlike the first category of women, these women have full commitment to the household farm and full rights to its produce, even though the allocation of the rice is controlled by the head wife. These women do not need a personal farm for security or to establish potential independence from the household. The motives for such farms appear to be largely acquisitive and economic. The rice produced is surplus which can be used for gifts for relatives or friends and for sale in the market. Disposal of the rice can be done without consulting other members of the household or endangering the household supply. "Although...some rice from the household farm trickles into the market, almost all of the rice which is sold originates from these personal fields" (19, p.p. 361-2).

Husbands may contribute their labor for these farms but this is not usual. Husbands appear to approve of their wives making personal farms as the household farm is not neglected yet additional rice is produced. Wives have complete control over the yield. "In general, husbands maintain a preferred ignorance about the state of their wives' personal fields and make no claims to knowledge of what they do with the additional rice" (19, p. 361). In Kolahun District, several people indicated that a woman who has a personal farm should give some of the rice to her husband but that it wasn't compulsory.

These personal farms belonging to women are dependent to a considerable extent upon the availability of hired male labor.

The third type of personal farm is made by a son, younger brother, or nephew of the household head. These farms are usually made within a household which is in the process of fissioning. The rice is intended for an incipient household and is rarely sold.

People in Lofa reported that there has been an increase in recent years in the number of personal farms controlled by women, especially wives. The increased cultivation of personal farms does not yet "appear to be the threat to the integrity of the household as a production unit that Riddell ...found among the Mano...where wives increasingly insist upon personal farms to the exclusion of working joint household farms" (19, p. 362).

In Kolahun District, people said that it was getting more and more difficult to get people to work on a general rice farm. This was attributed to young people being educated, and, more importantly, the interest which everyone has in making money. Since no one can make money from the general farm, individuals turn to other activities which will permit them to make money.

One factor affecting the incidence of personal farms may be the availability of swamps since these may be cultivated, using traditional tech-

niques, by individuals with little assistance from others. It should be possible to predict the relative occurrence of personal farms by knowing the availability of swamps.

Upland rice farms require male labor for brushing and clearing. A woman must have access to such labor either through reciprocal labor provided by her husband or a boy friend or by having money to pay someone to do the work. Husbands or boy friends may not be willing to assist a woman, although one of the major benefits of having a husband or boy friend is the potential access to his labor. Women who hire labor for farm work may draw the suspicious eye of their husbands who may question whether they are actually paying cash for the labor. The willingness of men to assist women through non-contractual labor is influenced by the men's perception of the ultimate disposal of the crop. If the rice is sold, men are unlikely to realize any benefits from their labor since the cash would not be shared with them (11, p. 13). Men are dependent, however, upon the labor of women for their food and for their prestige.

In one area of Nimba, the pattern of women making their own upland rice farms is reported to date from the late 1940's. Riddell argues that the increase in personal farms is in part a response to the labor migration of males. Swamp rice farms in the area have traditionally been developed separately by each wife. In the late 1960's, wives were no longer making a single joint farm in half of the polygynous households in the community (77, p. 96). The older women felt that the old system of the joint farm was better. Then the head wife controlled the rice of the joint farm and the wives all slept together in the same room. There was more respect for the head wife. Younger women, on the other hand, support the new system. In addition to having their own farm, the women also want their own room or house (77, p. 96).

The data suggest that the trend in rice farming in Liberia is toward increasing control of rice farms by individual women.

THE RICE CYCLE

In this section, the various tasks involved in upland rice cultivation will be discussed in more detail.

Each task requires (1) interaction with the physical environment, (2) a technological component, which includes the tools utilized and the techniques for utilizing those tools, (3) a social component relating to the allocation of labor to perform the tasks, and (4) a decision-making component about who will perform the tasks and when they will be performed.

Table 3 summarizes the basic crop calendar for the countries of Liberia, indicating the month(s) when basic tasks are performed.

The first task to be performed each year in upland rice cultivation is the selection of the site. When a household is making a rice farm, the male

Table 3
CROP CALENDAR: Months of Main Farming Activity, by County, Liberia

County	UPLAND RICE					COCOA	COFFEE
	Brushing	Burn	Clearing	Seeding	Harvest	Harvest	Harvest
Bong	Jan. Feb.	April May	May	June July	Oct. Dec.	June July	Feb. March
Grand Bassa	Jan. March	April May	May	May July	Oct. Dec.	Oct. Jan.	Dec. Jan.
Cape Mount	Jan. Feb.	March	April	May June	Sept. Nov.	Oct. Jan.	Dec. Jan.
Lofa	Jan. Feb.	March April	May	May June	Sept. Dec.	June, July, Sept., Nov.	Dec. Jan.
Montserrado	Jan. Feb.	March April	April	May June	Oct. Dec.	Oct. Jan.	Dec. Feb.
Nimba	Jan. Feb.	March April	May	June	Oct. Dec.	Dec. Feb.	Oct. Jan.
Grand Gedeh	Dec. Feb.	March	April	April May	July Sept.	Oct. Jan.	Dec. Jan.
Maryland	Dec. Jan.	March	March	April	July October	Sept. Feb.	Jan. April
Sinoe	Nov. Jan.	Feb. March (?)	Jan. Feb.	Feb. March	June July	Oct. Feb.	Oct. Jan.

Source: Table 10.1, Statistical Handbook, Ministry of Agriculture, 1976

household head has the right and responsibility for selecting the site of that year's farm. He may consult with the women in the household but he has the final say. Men are knowledgeable about the characteristics of the forest and which types of vegetation and soil indicate a good yield. The last person to farm a particular site has first claim to its use. Men often select a site contiguous to the previous season's rice field, and it appears that farmers have first claim to any area contiguous to their last farm (18, p. 70). Women often use the previous year's site for the cultivation of cassava, vegetables, and/or peanuts so farming in the same area makes it easier for them to tend both. Farmers may plan for several years in advance the sequence in which they will utilize a particular area and may consult with other farmers concerning their plans.

An example of a farm village in Grand Gedeh illustrates how the shifting system of cultivation works. The area in which the household, consisting of an elderly man, his three wives, and several children, was farming is in one of the most sparsely populated areas of the country. The household spends most of its time on their farm village located about one and half hours walk from the main town and the main motor road. The walk to the farm village passes through relatively high bush with only a few other farms and only one farm village. One section of the path is an abandoned logging road. The farm village itself consists of three small round thatch-roofed ouses, one for each wife. The houses are surrounded by the previous year's farm which is now planted to cassava, vegetables, and bananas. The current year's (1981) rice farm is being made approximately five to ten minutes walk from the village. The village has been in its current location for two years. Previous to that, the household had had another farm village where they had lived for ten years, until the land in the area was "finished." A similar process will probably occur with this farm village. The village will remain located in the same site as long as there is suitable land for cultivation within a "reasonable" distance from the farm village, probably within a maximum of 30 to 45 minutes walk. When that land is exhausted, the village will again be moved.

Whether or not a community has farm villages appears to be a function of the size of the community and the distance which people have to walk to "go and come" from the farm. Women have to headload produce and firewood and, frequently, carry infants or small children on their backs. Under these conditions there appears to be a maximum distance which people are willing to walk daily to and from their farms. Observations suggest that the limit may be approximately one hour each way (two hours per day). This commuting time must be included in the day's farming and domestic activities. When the distance between the town and the farm is greater than approximately one hour, people, and most particularly the women, would prefer to establish a farm village nearer the farm where they can spend most of their time (12).

Since women spend much of their time on the farm and often cook there, access to water and firewood is important to them in the selection of the farm site.

In selecting a site, a fallowing cycle of from seven to ten years is believed to be necessary to maintain productivity. Younger bush will be used under certain circumstances, especially when there is no alternative. It is likely that there is a lower limit to the age of bush which people will cultivate. Below that age, productivity becomes so low that people may not consider it worthwhile to farm. Farmers are also not inclined to select high bush, i.e., bush older than thirty years, primarily because of the labor inputs required to prepare the site.

Data from different parts of the country suggest that the preference is for bush from about eleven to thirty years, if available. In Voinjama District, farmers selected forest of this age because it has a thick undergrowth and masses of dense foliage. This kind of vegetation is regarded as producing a particularly good burn, with the ash evenly distributed over the area, minimizing the amount of clearing necessary. "Forest with thicket and dense foliage is therefore chosen with a view to abetting the burning of the site and increasing the fertility of the soil" (18, p. 71). Also, trees in forest of this age are not yet so large as to be difficult to fell. In Grand Gedeh, farmers appear to prefer the same type of forest for similar reasons, especially the better burn. Forest of this age has a greater amount of foliage on small tree branches and small vines than does older forest where the foliage is restricted to smaller branches high on the trees (49, p. 329).

High forest of thirty to fifty years growth and the canopy forest of more than fifty years are not so often selected. In Lofa, this kind of forest is highly valued for rice production but the trees are much larger and the task of felling them is very hard work, now made easier by chain saws. A farm made in this type of forest requires more work in the preparation of the site but reduces the amount of time spent in weeding and assures high fertility (18). Relatively few households in Webbo District, Grand Gedeh were utilizing high forest because of the effort involved in felling and burning large trees (49). Apart from the lesser amount of foliage in the high forest, it also seems likely that the large trees would not burn as well as smaller ones. For farmers in that area, "it would appear...the benefits, stated in terms of possible yield per man-hour of invested labor, would not be sufficiently comparable to secondary bush farming to justify the effort involved" (49, p. 327).

Younger bush of from six to ten years may be selected under certain conditions because of the relative ease of slashing the undergrowth and felling relatively small trees. Younger bush, however, tends to increase the amount of weeds. In Voinjama District, men choose this type of younger bush because of poor health or advanced age. "A potentially good burn with lots of ash and a minimal amount of weeding is thus sacrificed for less expenditure of labor in the initial clearing" (18, p. 71). Women who have to do much of the brushing themselves may select younger bush as it is easier for them to work. When farmers are forced to utilize bush younger than six or seven years they are aware that the yield will be lowered.

Women who brush themselves are in a double bind. They are forced to

choose younger bush which they can manage alone. As a consequence, the amount of time spent in weeding is also increased. Having to brush farm herself not only adds to the woman's work load during brushing but also during weeding. She also has to accept lower yields.

The decision about the farmsite affects the relative labor inputs of women and men. In Webbo District, Grand Gedeh, for example, if a man chooses high forest it means that more of the actual labor of preparing the farm site will fall upon him because felling large trees is considered "man's work." If young bush is selected, women in the household will contribute relatively more labor to the preparation of the farm. Using their axes, women are able to fell trees up to about ten inches in diameter. With their cutlasses, they can cut and clear most of the other vegetation in the farm site (49, p. 330).

In some parts of the country, farms are located on steep hillsides which appear prohibitive to the outsider. In fact, farmers believe that farms located on steep slopes will burn better than ones on more gentle gradients or level ground (18, p. 73). Women also noted that it is easier to plant slopes than level ground. Women work uphill in planting, so they don't have to bend over as far as when planting on level ground. Such slopes are, however, harder to harvest.

Farmers mark the site of the farm by making notches on trees or utilizing other signs recognized by local people. The intimate and sophisticated knowledge of the environment which farmers display in the selection of a farm site is impressive. Rarely can a farm site be viewed visually in its entirety because of the vegetation. Utilizing other cues, farmers have a "feel" for the site which they have selected.

The first step in preparing the field is the cutting of the undergrowth, "brushing farm." The size of the farm is determined by the area brushed. The undergrowth is then allowed to dry. At this point, the contours of the farm become evident. The felling of trees is the next step. Certain trees such as palm trees may be trimmed but are not felled. No attempt is made to remove stumps and some trees may be cut relatively high on the trunk. Felling trees requires considerable skill and is potentially dangerous work.

In some areas, e.g., Webbo District and parts of Nimba, much of the labor involved in preparing the farm is now the task of women, even though cultural ideology holds that the felling of trees is a "male task" (49, p. 339).

Burning is the next step in the cycle. The few hours involved in this task are, in some ways, the most significant hours of the whole rice cycle. If the farm burns well, then the success of the farm is almost assured. If, on the other hand, the farm does not burn well, the amount of work required in the next step is significantly increased, and the yield of the farm may be decreased. This is one of the most tense periods of the farming cycle in which conversation in a community focuses upon whether or not a farmer got a "good burn."

The timing of the burn is critical. If the farm is burned too early, weeds will begin to grow before the farm can be planted. If the farm is burned too late, heavy regular rains may set in so that the foliage is not sufficiently dry to effect a good burn. The timing of the burn relates to the timing of planting. Planting cannot begin until the steady rains necessary for germination and growth have set in.

Rice farms made on a site with young bush need to be burned late or the problems with weeds will be great. With young bush, it is better to both brush and burn late, with a greater risk of the rains settling in before the farm is burned.

The rainy season sets in gradually in "normal years." Depending upon the region of the country, rains begin with sudden heavy downpours occurring initially at intervals of a couple of weeks. Gradually, the interval between storms diminishes. To get a good burn there should be a minimum of three to four days without rain. During this period, farmers view the sky with apprehension, knowing that if it rains during the night, they won't be able to burn the next day. In 1981, steady rains set in earlier than usual and farmers in some parts of the country were in anguish as to whether their hard labors were to be for nought. The burning of the farm occurs between early April and mid May in most parts of the country.

Although the women's role in this task is primarily to provide moral support and to cook the food for the workers, they are well aware that the amount and success of their future work is dependent upon the burn.

To achieve a good burn, the tree trunks and large limbs do not have to dry and burn. The important part of the burn is the burning of the brush, leaves, small twigs, and severed branches which if burned evenly deposit an even layer of ash over the field.

Burning serves two functions. First, it saves labor. "With a good burn, a slash covered completely with a thick impenetrable mass of dry vegetation is dramatically transformed into an open, cultivable 'field' with relatively large exposed areas of ground surface" (18, p. 84). The fire kills sprouting weeds and destroys dormant weed seeds and helps control insects. A successful burn reduces and may eliminate the onerous task of weeding the rice.

The second function of the burn is to transfer nutrients from the vegetative cover to the soil (18).

The farm is usually burned in the early afternoon hours, after the morning sun has had a chance to dry off the morning dew and at the time of day when rain is least likely. Long bamboo torches are lighted and men move through the field igniting the dried vegetation. Careful attention must be given to the direction of the wind and to the coordination of movement among the men burning. Accidents are not common but do occur. Plum trees left standing are only singed by the fire and the fire rarely spreads into adjoining uncut vegetation.

After the farm is burned, the men construct the "farm kitchen" or thatched shed which will be used by the household during the remainder of the cycle. Children will sleep in the "kitchen" while their mothers work in the field. Utensils and tools will be stored there, food will be prepared, and people will rest there during the day. During the busiest part of the cycle, people may sleep there at night.

Clearing of the field is done after the burning. How much labor is involved depends upon the quality of the burn. If the farm burned "well," there is relatively little work in gathering up any twigs, branches, etc. which don't burn. If the farm didn't burn "well," there is considerable work in gathering up the unburned material and reburning it.

Planting is the next step in the cycle. In most parts of the country, this is the sole responsibility of women, but in some areas, e.g., upper Lofa and Bomi Territory, men may assist. From this point on, most of the decisions concerning the rice farm are made by women.

The month that planting begins varies from one region to another (Table 3). In most parts of Liberia, it begins sometime in May and may extend into July. By this time the rains are usually coming regularly but have not yet peaked. Rice must be planted before the onset of heavy continuous rains.

The decision of which variety or varieties of rice to plant is made by women (18, 27, 90). Women are more knowledgeable than men about the varieties of rice and their characteristics. In one Kpelle community in Bong County, the women were able to identify more than 100 varieties of rice (27, p. 46). Women, in selecting the seed rice to be planted, "will not choose rice they do not know by personal experience, nor will they risk their entire crop on one new variety" (27, p. 38). Their decision about the varieties to be planted is based upon several criteria:

1. suitability for the terrain
2. length of maturation time
3. size of grain
4. flavor
5. ease of threshing, milling, and cooking
6. tenacity of mature spikelets, and
7. unattractiveness to birds

(18, p. 90, 27, p. 46). At least two varieties are usually planted, a fast-growing and a slower-growing one.

In much of Liberia, rice is planted or "scratched" by broadcasting. A woman broadcasts the seed rice over an area which may have a weed cover. Other women follow behind her with their short-handled hoes. The hoeing cuts these weeds and turns the seed under. The strokes used by the women are rather shallow, not cutting deep into the soil. Care is taken to insure that all the weeds are cut. Other seeds are mixed with the rice seed, including tomatoes, greens, pepper, okra, beans, corn, bitterballs, etc. Greens,

pepper, beans, and eddoes are often planted at the base of palm trees or tree stumps.

In Maryland, Sinoe, and Grand Gedeh, primarily the Kruan-speaking areas, the technique for planting rice is different. This technique of drilling is described for a community in Webbo District, Grand Gedeh. Women plant the rice using short-handled hoes and the shells of a large snail to carry the seed rice. Taking rice from the shell, a woman places a few seeds of rice and a few seeds of maize into a small hole dug with the hoe. The holes are placed at irregular intervals. When the seeds have been planted with one hand, the other hand is used to cover them with dirt (49, p. 340). As indicated earlier, data not available to explain this difference in technique or its implications.

A variation on the two techniques was demonstrated by women near Greenville. Each woman carried seed rice in a cup in her left hand while working with a hoe in her right. The rice is broadcast by each woman and then hoed.

Virtually all the data on labor inputs and yields for upland rice cultivation come from Lofa, Bong, and Nimba. We do not know what affect this different planting technique has upon the number of labor days required to plant, weed, or harvest the rice. Nor do we know what impact the difference may have on relative productivity. Data are needed on this topic. A comment was made in a community in Grand Gedeh by people familiar with both techniques, that when rice was planted by drilling, the stalks tended to be larger but that there were fewer of them than when planted by broadcasting.

Weeding begins about six weeks after planting. Women may have a short break of approximately two weeks between the completion of planting and the beginning of weeding. Men will not assist in the weeding, even if it means that it is not completed. Fields are usually weeded once. The amount of weeds is primarily a function of the age of the bush. People throughout Liberia observe that the use of fertilizers increases the amount of weeds to an intolerable level.

Women in Maryland County observed that while the age of bush influences the quantity of weeds, the inputs into weeding also affect the productivity of the farm. A well-weeded plot from younger bush may be more productive than a carelessly weeded plot on older bush. The women noted that weeding requires more work than in the past and was the hardest task to get enough labor for.

In contrast, women in a community in Grand Gedeh said that weeding was the easiest task in rice farming, probably because they are utilizing older bush than people in Maryland.

During the time when women are planting and weeding, men may construct a fence around the farm to protect the rice from animal predators, especially groundhogs. Constructing the fence requires considerable labor since

the logs or sticks must be cut, transported to the farm, roped together, and on. Some men choose not to fence the farm since the animals may get in anyway. Some households do not have sufficient male labor for this task. "This, of all the aspects of the farming cycle is most laden with potential conflict between a man and his wives. The man makes the decision as to whether or not he will put a fence around his farm, set traps, or both. If he does none of these and the rice is damaged, the women of the household easily become indignant..." (18, p. 95).

Between the time of planting and weeding, there is a period in which the rice is vulnerable to birds. Birds do most damage to the rice just after the seeds begin to sprout. During this time it is necessary to have someone on the farm during the daylight hours to "drive" or "scare" birds. This task is often assigned to children, particularly boys, who may sit on a platform with their slingshots, keeping an eye out for the invaders. Some people devise "noise systems" composed of tin cans, etc. which will frighten away the birds. When there are enough children in the household to perform this task, adults are likely to engage in other more productive activities. Birds are also a problem just before the rice is harvested and the same task must be performed.

Throughout Liberia women perceive their biggest problem in farming to be these pests. Most people believe that both birds and groundhogs are a bigger problem today than in the past, although they differ in the explanations of why they are a problem. Roads and young bush seem to be the most common explanations. For example, in Grand Gedeh, groundhogs were not viewed as a major problem in the area until the early 1960's when the motor road was extended into the area and logging roads began to open up remote areas. The ecological changes resulting from road extension appear to provide more favorable conditions for the groundhogs.

The type of vegetation represented in younger bush appears to attract both birds and groundhogs. In Maryland near the Firestone plantation, the rubber trees were believed to attract increased numbers of birds to the area. On the other hand, where people are cutting high bush, the problem with birds is less. In a district in Grand Gedeh in which there is considerable high bush, birds were not a major problem in the mid 1970's (6).

Some commented that birds are more easily controlled than groundhogs because they only come during the day at certain points in the rice cycle, and are interested only in rice. The rice is attractive to them about six weeks after planting when it is sprouting and just before harvest. Groundhogs come during the night when no one is on the farm, at any point in the cycle, and will eat anything.

Controlling both pests involves a labor problem. Many women said that birds were now more difficult to control because children who have much of the responsibility for driving birds are now in school. At both points in the cycle when birds are a problem, school is in session. Boys have more responsibility for driving birds than girls and are more likely to be 1.

school. In southeastern Liberia, women no longer make "hungry farms" because they don't have enough children to drive the birds. Other women did not perceive the absence of children as the problem. People in Pilibo, for example, said that the birds in their area were simply "too many" to be controlled.

The labor required for controlling groundhogs is primarily male. Fences must be built around the perimeter of the farm in an attempt to keep out the groundhogs. Even then they may get through and destroy the crops. Men regard the work of building the fences as arduous and may prefer to allocate their labor to other activities. In communities or households where there is a serious male labor shortage, the work simply may not be done. It may also be necessary to fence other crops such as cassava or sugar cane.

Apart from "scaring" birds, the other method of controlling them is with bird nets. These nets are effective only if everyone in the area uses them and are relatively expensive. If only a few farmers use the nets, the birds are only diverted to other farms in the area. The bird problem can be alleviated somewhat by making sure that one's farm is at approximately the same stage as other farms in the area. Farms which are planted earlier or later than others in an area may have more problems. The number of birds is finite and if they are attracted to a number of farms, the chances of completely ravaging anyone is less. On the other hand, having a relatively isolated farm also minimizes the bird problem.

People in Sinoe attributed their problems with groundhogs to people no longer using the traditional "medicines" which controlled them in the past. A recent letter in a local newspaper provided insight into this explanation. A writer from Maryland County, commenting on the problems with groundhogs in that area, suggested that groundhogs are in reality witches who have transformed themselves and who destroy people's rice farms. If people attribute the problem to this realm, then the solution for dealing with the problem will lie in the same realm.

At the present time, given available resources and technology, there are no options available to farmers to control these pests other than the inadequate ones which they already utilize.

Following the first period of driving birds, of weeding, and of fencing, there is a brief lull in work on the upland rice farm during the period of heaviest rainfall. During this time, women turn their attention to other crops and activities.

In much of the country harvesting begins in mid-October, approximately five months after the earliest maturing varieties are planted, and may continue until early December. In much of rural Liberia, Christmas is the major holiday which celebrates the successful completion of the rice cycle.

In southeastern Liberia, the harvest occurs considerably earlier (Table 3). In Webbo District, harvesting begins in mid-July and continues until early September during the long "middle-dry". The harvest in this area

must be completed as quickly as possible before the return of heavy rains which normally occurs in mid-September. Ripe rice will rot or grow moldy in the rain. The newly-cut rice must also be carefully dried to prevent germination or rotting.

Because of the urgency of cutting the mature rice before predators consume it or before rains resume, the population of the community is mobilized. People not able to do the hard physical work of planting are often able to participate in the rice harvest which is physically less demanding. The atmosphere on the farm as the rice is being harvested is usually a festive one, especially if it has been a good year. People see their year's work now complete and can take comfort in once again having rice to eat.

Each head of rice is cut individually with a small knife. Women do most of the actual cutting. Men collect the cut rice from them and tie it into bundles, approximately four pounds each (49). The bundles of rice are first stacked at the farm where they begin to dry. After it has dried some, the rice is headloaded to the farm village or town, where the "rice kitchen" or storage lofts or attics are located. At this point, the rice is quite heavy because of the moisture content. The rice is then stored in the "rice kitchen" or granary until it is to be prepared for consumption.

In most parts of the country, it is customary to give some of the "new rice" to those helping harvest. In several communities, people indicated that widows and other women not able to make rice farm themselves would assist others in harvesting as a means of obtaining some rice for themselves.

In Webo District, the women headload the rice into town, where it is initially stacked on the floor of the house. "If more than one woman lives in the house, separate piles are made. Later as the work load permits, the rice is stored in the loft...of the house, each woman's subfarm being stored in her own section of the loft. The head of the household is entitled to a portion of each wife's harvest" (49, p. 345).

If the field was unusually productive, it may be used a second year for rice. But productivity will be poorer and the weeds more numerous (18). Few farmers will plant a second crop of rice in a field but will use it instead to plant other crops such as peanuts, cassava, sweet potatoes, eddoes, other vegetables, or sugar cane. After the second year, the field returns to fallow.

In parts of Southeastern Liberia (Sinoe, Maryland, and Sasstown), women make what is referred to as a "hungry farm." They are solely responsible for these farms which are planted to produce rice which matures before the main upland crop is ready. Women will use a swamp area during the dry season or an area of young bush which they can clear themselves. They plant a fast-maturing variety of rice. In all the areas where women report having made "hungry farms" they now report that they are not making them. Some women indicated that the problems with birds were a major factor, especially when children are not available to help drive the birds.

The allocation of women's activities between the regular rice farm and the "hungry farm" are summarized below, on the basis of information obtained in Sinoe and Sasstown.

	<u>"Hungry Farm"</u>	<u>Regular Rice Farm</u>
January-February	pick weeds - done intermittently due to work with cassava and pepper	clearing cassava and pepper farm
March-April	watching birds	farm is burned and men clear, women plant rice
May	rice is harvested through early June	rice is weeded
June-July		bird scaring
August		rice is harvested from end of July-August
September	women start brushing	
October	continue brushing	women cut wood
November	farm is burned and planting begins	brushing begins and continues through February
December	bird scaring	

The different rainfall pattern (see Annex II) in this part of Liberia may be a key factor enabling the cultivation of the "hungry farm."

THE ALLOCATION OF LABOR

When asked about "how people were farming this time" and whether "the farms were good," a paramount chief in Bong County replied that people were making rice farms with their cutlasses as always, only there weren't as many people using cutlasses "this time." The chief and others in the group pointed out that opportunities for wage employment at the concessions and in the urban areas and attendance at school of young people were drawing people out of the rural community, leaving behind a diminished labor force to make farm, using the same technology as in the past.

The effective agricultural labor force in Liberia is decreasing at the same time that the total population is rapidly increasing. Earlier sections have presented data on migration and on settlements in rural areas which suggest that the agricultural labor force available in rural Liberia now has a profile different from the traditional labor force.

Technology has remained constant. Changes in land usage and allocation

patterns have placed pressure upon that resource in some areas. Under the shifting system of cultivation, the mechanism for increasing yields is to cultivate more land which in turn requires more labor. Yet at a time when increased production is being promoted, available labor is decreasing.

In assessing labor inputs and labor constraints as they relate to increasing agricultural production, it is necessary to discuss the ways in which labor is allocated among households within a community. The sexual division of labor was discussed in the previous section. Although men and women have different tasks to perform, the way in which their labor is organized and allocated within and among households in a community is similar.

The labor of individual women and men is allocated within the context of the household of which they are a member, their larger kin groups, and the community. Households are fluid with shifting membership. The viability of a household as a production unit is a function of the age and sex composition of the household, the number of non-producers to producers, and the size. In particular, households with only one adult woman tend not to be viable production units. The flexibility of household membership permits producers and non-producers to be redistributed in response to changing labor requirements or changes in production. Young adult women and men are the most likely of the producers to shift household membership and may be welcome additions to a household. Almost all households utilize people outside the household for assistance in farm tasks. The nature and extent of extra-household labor is influenced by household composition and size. The allocation of labor outside the household is based either upon contractual arrangements or upon reciprocal exchanges (11).

Given the fluidity of households, the allocation of tasks and recruitment of labor may shift for any given household from year to year. Although there is a sexual division of labor, there is considerable flexibility in the actual performance of tasks. An attempt to chart the sexual division of labor in rice cultivation by county proved futile as it quickly became apparent that, although there are regional trends, the variation in the allocation of labor occurs primarily at the household level.

Hence, although brushing is ideally held to be men's responsibility, there are many households in which women assist or do most of the brushing. Given the out-migration of men and given the other demands now made upon men's time, it appears that women are more likely to be assuming men's tasks than the reverse.

In a community in Sacleipea District, Nimba County, a group of women articulately expressed the changing labor constraints which they faced in their farming. In this community, the women were organized into cooperative work groups for brushing. Men in the community only contribute to the rice farms in the felling of the trees. The women have cooperative work groups for brushing, clearing, planting, and harvesting. The farms in the community belong to individual women.

One of the leaders of a kuu (cooperative work group) was the spokeswoman for the group. She was one of two wives. She said that women now make their own farms because their husbands are no longer able to do it. Apart from those who are absent working in the wage sector, she said that the demands for men to contribute to self-help projects such as building roads, schools, and clinics, had placed such heavy demands on men's labor that they were no longer able to do their work in the farming cycle. The wife of the town chief said that his position had become a burden to the family because of the time he had to spend in attending to his duties as town chief. The women said that they had begun to brush farm in the late Tubman/early Tolbert period, i.e., the late 1960's and early 1970's.

The leader further explained that their children attending school had created further problems for them. The community had only opened its own school in 1981. Prior to that, children attending school have had to do so away from home. Some commuted daily to a neighboring town, but some had to leave the community during the school year and live in other towns. As the women explained, they lost the labor of these children on the farm and in the household. Yet, they must produce enough rice to support these children in school with the necessary food and sometimes, with money to pay school fees and rent. Children who formerly contributed something to the household and to the farm have now become dependents. The women said that they must sell rice to obtain money to keep the children in school. The women must produce more rice with a smaller labor force.

All these things had made the women realize that they would have to take the initiative and do the work if they were all to survive. The people joked that some women could brush as well as any man.

These women had chosen one of the options for organizing labor among households, the cooperative work group or kuu. Labor for a farm may come from several sources: (1) household members, (2) kin and friends, (3) work groups, either informal or formal, and (4) paid or hired labor. Not all households or communities will utilize all sources (11, 18).

Some farms will be cultivated strictly by household members with no extra-household inputs. From the data available, such households would appear to be few. Household members are, however, more likely to perform certain tasks than outsiders, especially weeding, "driving birds," and constructing rice kitchens or fences.

Friends and kin may exchange labor on a reciprocal basis. There is an understanding that the labor supplied will be reciprocated at some future point, but not necessarily for the same task (20). This type of exchange may involve the formation of small ad hoc work groups in which people "help each other." There is no formal organization. The person or household for whom the work is being performed is expected to feed the laborers on any day that they work. At harvest time, this type of labor may receive a gift of some rice as compensation.

In some communities, small informal work groups are formed for particu-

lar tasks. The work is on a quid pro quo basis with each person receiving an equal number of days work for what she contributes. There are no rules or fines. In a community in Lcfa County this type of labor was most often used in planting (18, p. 311).

Formal or cooperative work groups and paid or hired labor involve contractual arrangements.

Cooperative work groups are contractual groups which are formed by a group of individuals to work at a specific task during a specific farming cycle. The groups provide equivalent amounts of labor for each member and there is no sharing or pooling of the outputs of the labor. All outputs belong to the individual farmer or household. Phrased differently, these work groups are formed for the purpose of cooperating in doing a particular task and are not formed for the purpose of cooperating in the allocation or distribution of the outputs of that work.

In cooperative work groups, "strict reciprocity is ensured by rules and penalties and, although these groups are reconstituted each farming season, their leadership and core memberships are perpetuated over several seasons" (20, pp. 90-91). The work group has officers who have authority over members. Monetary fines are imposed on members who do not work and individuals who establish a pattern of "not carrying their weight" are likely to find that the group will not work on their farm and that they will even be denied membership in work groups in future years.

Membership of a household may belong to different work groups, thereby increasing the labor force available to the household. Membership in the groups cross-cuts kin lines although members may be related (18, 79). Work groups are usually composed of both related and non-related individuals. The work group allows a productive unit to mobilize labor that could not be mobilized by kin ties alone.

The household for which the group is working is expected to provide food and drink. The quality and quantity of the food and drink influence the labor inputs of the work group and willingness of the work group to work on that particular farm. The cost of providing such a meal for a group, ranging in size from twenty to forty, is considerable. There must be sufficient rice, good soup with plenty of meat, and enough to drink.

These cooperative work groups may be hired by non-members to perform a particular task (9, 18). Those hiring a work group may be wage earners who are making a rice farm but are unable to provide labor themselves.

The existence of cooperative work groups does not decrease the amount labor expended by members because of the reciprocal obligation. The labor inputs tend to be more constant and intensive and may be more efficient in labor days per acre than is the use of household labor alone (19, p. 144).

Work groups often do their work in an atmosphere of sociability accompanied by singer and musical instruments. It may be hypothesized

that the collective situation backed by music and the pressure to work at a rapid pace is more efficient than individuals working alone. Hard work is somehow made easier by everyone working together and working harder than one would alone.

These cooperative work groups are, however, not as widely distributed in Liberia as is sometimes believed. They would appear to be most common in Bong, Nimba, and lower Lofa with some extension into neighboring counties. In other parts of the country, people will say that "yes, we know about kuus, but we don't do it that way here."

In Sasstown Territory, for example, there may be work groups but they are not organized like the kuus reported for the Kpelle. Planting may involve a work group known locally as a "club" (kompani) which has an entrance fee, officers, and special activities on holidays. The person on whose farm the group works is responsible for providing a sum of money and food and cane juice (90).

In Webbo District, formal cooperative work groups are not found. Women assist their kinswomen and friends in the planting, going from farm to farm. People do not appear to have had the kinds of cooperative groups found elsewhere. Nor do they have the "working companies" of young men and women who receive pay in goods for agricultural work (49, p. 340). Sometimes in this area, "working parties" are organized on an ad hoc basis to assist a household with the completion of some task. The head of household on whose farm the party is working is responsible for providing meat, rice, cassava, and palmwine for the workers. Such parties appear to consist of kin, affines, and friends (49, p. 341).

Ethnicity is not the key variable in influencing whether or not a community has cooperative work groups. In the Loma communities of Zolowo and Lawalazu, the formal cooperative work groups were not present, with people relying on reciprocal labor exchanges among friends and kin. In the Loma communities of Wozi and Fisebu, on the other hand, formal cooperative work groups were found (9, 18).

Male cooperatives may be smaller than female cooperatives. This would be consistent with the relative labor inputs which suggest that one man can clear enough land for at least two women. In communities having both male and female work groups, it seems reasonable to assume that farmers must calculate the relative area that can be brushed by a work group in relation to the area which can be planted or harvested by a group. The size of the farm is determined by the area which a work group can brush in a day. A calculation must be made concerning the area which a work group can brush and clear, the area which a work group can plant, and the area which can be weeded by women of the household, since it is this period that has the tightest labor constraint. Harvesting also requires considerable labor but the less demanding nature of the task permits more labor to be mobilized.

There are a number of issues on which more data are needed. Does a work group enable a small production unit to make a larger farm than it

could by itself? If a production unit is making a household or general farm, then the size of the farm will vary depending upon how many different work group's members of the household belong to for clearing and brushing. Hence, the size of the farms will vary within the community, with larger households having larger farms. In cases like those observed in Nimba County where individual women were making farms and were members of a work group to brush and clear, then the farm size of these women should be approximately the same.

More data are needed to provide a more precise understanding of how much area a work group can brush in relation to individuals brushing alone and how much additional work individuals in a household put in after the work group has completed the brushing.

Another constraint on the size of the cooperative work group deals with the reciprocal nature of the work group and the period of time within which a task must be performed. As pointed out earlier, there is some flexibility in the timing of most farm tasks although certain time frames result in better yields than others. A work group must spend at least one day working on the farm of each member. Hence, the size of the work group must be such that the work cycle can be completed within the time period during which the task must be performed. This may establish the maximum size of a work group.

For example, a cooperative work group of women in a community in Sacleipea District, Nimba, was composed of 27 women. The work group was organized for brushing and clearing with men contributing labor only for the felling of the large trees. The women indicated that the group would spend two nonconsecutive days working on each member's farm. To complete the cycle of 54 working days, they worked as a group for six days a week, taking only Sunday off for each women to tend to her own chores, either on the farm or in town. Hence, the cycle for the group requires nine weeks, meaning that if they began sometime in January, the cycle would be completed by late March. This is approximately the time frame within which brushing can be done.

There may also be a minimum size of a work group which people will accept. Smaller groups could compensate for their size by putting in more days on each member's farm. But there may be a point below which people are likely to turn instead to the more informal, less structured reciprocal labor exchanges.

A factor which may affect whether or not a community has cooperative work groups is the distance and dispersion of farms around the community. In some communities, the farms are dispersed around the community within an hour's walk or so. People sleep in town and go to the farm each day. In other communities, the farms may be widely dispersed around town, often more than one hour's walk from town. People may sleep in the farm villages and only rarely go to town. Given the distances involved, it seem unlikely that such communities would have cooperative work groups. People living in

farm villages tend to be related and their labor exchanges are likely to be of the informal reciprocal type.

There would also appear to be a minimum community size for cooperative work groups to be viable. Since work groups draw members from different households and kin groups, the community has to be large enough to constitute a group. It is unlikely that a town would have only one group. The minimum size which might be hypothesized is approximately fifty to sixty households. One community of approximately ninety houses in Nimba had two women's work groups for brushing.

In summary, it appears that cooperative work groups have developed in some communities in recent years. Further research is needed to indicate whether or not their introduction into other areas and communities is feasible. It has been suggested that these cooperative work groups might provide the basis for the establishment of marketing cooperatives. This is not the case as cooperative work groups and marketing cooperatives do not serve the same function nor is their membership constituted in the same way.

The use of hired labor has become common in most parts of the country since the early 1960's. Most of the hired laborers are itinerant migrants from Guinea, and in some areas, Sierra Leone. Their utilization is most common in Lofa, Nimba, and Bong. For some households, hiring the migrants compensates for absent local men, while for others it permits the male household head to pursue other activities. Hired labor is almost exclusively used for male tasks such as brushing. There is no comparable source of hired female labor.

Individual farmers negotiate contracts with migrants for the task which they want performed. There appears to be a considerable range in the monetary value of the contracts, with some farmers "getting a better deal" than others. The farmer is not obliged to provide food for these laborers.

In Lofa, men use money from the sale of their cocoa and coffee to contract the Guinean laborers. This money is available just at the time labor is needed in preparing the farm site. Men do not hire laborers to work in the cocoa and coffee groves nor for other tasks related to cash crops. "In Lawalazu, no local Loma would work for money on another's farm; only migrants or members of ethnic minorities temporarily residing in the town could be hired" (20, p. 90).

The labor of town citizens can be enlisted by a farmer only on the basis of traditional patterns of generalized reciprocity, specific agreements about the exchange of work, or the obligations incumbent upon kin (19, p. 359). The hiring of male laborers for the clearing of the farm site "is a highly selective allocation of this new labor resource and one not commonly found elsewhere in West Africa (19, p. 350). "The hiring of migrants, for one who can afford it, releases a man from the arduous task of brushing the household farm and provides about one month in which he can turn his attention to other, more pleasant duties" (19, p. 360).

In comparing the utilization of cooperative work groups and the hiring of migrant laborers, Riddell makes some observations about comparative costs. The cost of using a cooperative is a feast. "Today with cash and subsistence crops competing for the same labor, land, and time, feast costs become equal to what the same food items would bring on the commodities market" (78, p. 26). In the late 1960's, some people were finding it cheaper to hire migrant laborers to do the work rather than a local labor cooperative. A man who hires laborers no longer has to depend upon his wife(s) for the provision and preparation of the feast.

Today in Nimba, women indicated that they were no longer satisfied with the work done by itinerant laborers from Guinea. They commented that the laborers were becoming "too expensive." They said that the laborers were asking from \$200-\$300 to brush a farm, the area of which could be brushed by a kuu in one day. Further, they felt that the laborers were not doing a careful or thorough enough job in brushing. The goal of the laborers was to earn as much money as possible through a number of contracts. The laborers would finish a contract as quickly as possible in order to move to the next one. Careless brushing affects the quality of the burn which in turn affects the productivity of the farm. Although the cost of feeding a kuu is considerable, the women felt that the itinerant laborers were no longer useful and had turned to doing the work themselves.

Other parts of the country do not have access to these migrant laborers. In southeastern Liberia, students are sometimes hired for brushing. In Bomi Territory, some women reported that they hired rubber tappers from nearby plantations or farms to brush for them. The men would work after completing their daily tapping chores.

Access to these hired laborers would appear to be a critical factor in the current productivity of Life, Bong, and Nimba, both in rice production and cash cropping. A shift in the relative economic conditions of Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone, which currently attracts these migrants to Liberia, could remove this important source of labor, and might have serious consequences for agricultural production in these areas.

In summary, farmers rely upon the labor of both kin and non-kin to supplement their own labor in both reciprocal and contractual arrangements. Farmers in some areas are increasing their reliance upon cooperative work groups and hired labor and are reassigning tasks traditionally allocated to men.

THE ALLOCATION OF RICE

"But, if we sold rice, what would we eat?" and "only rice can help us live." These responses summarize succinctly the attitudes of many Liberian rice farmers to inquiries about selling rice. Rice is grown for home consumption while other crops or activities provide a cash income.

Quite apart from the constraints which may exist in land and labor with reference to increasing rice production, these responses suggest that a fundamental change in attitude toward rice production would have to occur before more rice would be sold to help meet the increasing urban demand.

The potential sale of rice is affected by the production unit. The assumption that households are unitary units of production and allocation is not supported by the data in Liberia and West Africa. West African husbands and wives seldom form a unified production unit (37, p. 123). The distinction between household and personal farms and between crops controlled by women and by men is a common characteristic of West African food production systems (e.g., 46, 47, 84, 95, 96).

In Liberia, women control the allocation of rice from the household farm. But, the rice is not owned by them personally. It is the responsibility of the head wife to see that the rice produced is allocated to provide for the household for the year. Throughout the country, people indicated that if a woman divorced her husband, she would not have the right to carry the rice with her. The rice would remain with the household to be used by the household. Individuals who choose to leave a household relinquish any claim they have to the rice of that household.

Men cannot sell rice. Any rice sold by a man is with the knowledge and permission of his wife(s). In one community in Nimba, when a group of women and men were asked "do men sell rice?" there was great laughter by all present to what appeared to be an incomprehensible idea. They simply said that a man cannot sell rice. For him to do so would be one of the "cheapest" things he could do to his wife and would practically constitute grounds for her divorcing him.

The allocation of money relates to the allocation of rice and other crops. In the pre-money economy, wealth, status, and power were attained through the production of rice and by the control and manipulation of labor of men and women. The control of labor and the production of rice continue to be important in attaining wealth and prestige but access to and control of money is essential. For men, this money comes primarily from wage employment and cash crops. Women also attain success and prestige through the control of labor and need money (2). Their opportunities for wage employment are limited. Women obtain their money through the production and sale of food crops and through their relationships with men (11).

Money, however obtained, is controlled and allocated by individuals (11). Individuals have obligations and responsibilities with respect to their household and kin. But individuals are not obliged to share their money with other members nor are they necessarily obliged to confer with others concerning its disposal (11). Men do not control money which their wives have acquired through their own efforts, although some will say that a woman should "show" her husband what she has earned. Cash is only rarely pooled by a marital couple and decisions concerning its disposal are not often made in an egalitarian manner between both individuals. This pattern of monetary allocation is a key factor in the distribution of crops (11).

The pattern of crop production and distribution is one in which the crop, upland rice, which requires the cooperative efforts of men and women for its production, and which is intended for household consumption is not likely to be sold. Those crops such as vegetables and tree crops which are produced and controlled by individuals are more likely to be sold (11, p. 19).

Given a situation in which cash is controlled by individuals, people are unlikely to engage in labor which will benefit others monetarily except when the labor is of a contractual or paid nature. For upland rice production this means that individuals would not willingly work on a household farm if they felt that any sizeable portion of that rice were to be sold. Their own security would be threatened by such sales and they themselves would be uncertain of receiving any monetary benefit. Women would resent the man receiving such money when they could not be sure that they would benefit from it, nor are women likely to relinquish willingly control over rice. Other women are not likely to accept the head wife's receiving money since they would have little or no control over its disposal (11, pp. 19-20). The sale of significant amounts of rice from the household farm would result in individuals moving to other households or their choosing to expend their own labor in activities which would provide them with a cash income (11).

Whether or not rice is sold also relates to yields and household consumption. There is a lack of sound data on yields and household self-sufficiency. The data available are from small samples which are necessitated in part by the problems involved in measuring yields and consumption.

In upper Lofa, Currens estimated that rice consumption averages about 500 pounds of milled rice per adult per year (20, p. 95). Data on the yields of eleven households indicated that only two households produced less than enough to provide sufficient rice for all members. The surplus produced in the other households ranged from 187 to 2,020 pounds of milled rice (20, p. 95). A surplus, however, is likely to mean increased consumption within the household. Other surveys suggest a considerable range in yields (20, p. 96).

National agricultural statistics indicate a considerable range in the number of households growing "sufficient" rice, and those buying and/or selling rice (Table II-11). These figures need to be interpreted with caution, however. The question of whether or not the rice produced is sufficient may be a function of the level of consumption and preference for other staples, e.g., cassava. Grand Bassa, for example, reports 68 percent of the households growing "sufficient rice." Few households sell rice in Grand Bassa but the country also has one of the lowest percentages of those buying rice. Cassava is widely grown and consumed, and for some is an acceptable substitute or even preferred to rice. On the other hand, nearly two-thirds of the households in Cape Mount do not grow "sufficient" rice and nearly two-thirds of the households report buying rice. Cassava is also grown by a comparable percentage of households to that of Grand Bassa. It may be that "sufficiency" in rice production is defined differently in these two areas, with cassava being consumed by choice in one and as a necessity in the other.

Comparative wholesale and retail prices of rice and other crops may influence the sale of rice. There is evidence that the relative return per work day for rice is lower than that derived from other crops. We do not know, however, how farmers value their work. It may be that they do not assign a value to subsistence production. Today, however, all foods have a potential market value. If value is assigned to produce, two different values may be used: the wholesale price which the farmer will receive or the retail price which the farmer would have to pay to replace the item. Farmers must consider what items they can buy from the wholesale value of their produce. This consideration becomes increasingly important in a situation in which subsistence-oriented production is becoming increasingly intertwined with commercial production. It may affect the mix of crops which a farmer chooses to grow. If a farmer, for example, makes a comparison between the wholesale price of cassava and the retail price of rice, she may decide that it makes sense to grow more cassava for which she can receive a good return for her labor and use the money to buy rice which is comparatively cheap.

A further consideration which may affect the decision to sell a particular product is the likelihood of being able to replace that item. This is especially critical with reference to rice. People have indicated that even if they have "surplus" rice to sell, they would often prefer to hold on to the rice and obtain money from other sources. One woman who had a swamp rice farm indicated that she could sell \$1,000 of rice per year but she preferred not to do this because she had many children to feed. She tried to get her cash from other sources such as vegetables. If there was a need for a large or immediate outlay of cash for school fees, and so on, she would sell however much rice she needed to meet that need.

Rice is viewed as a "bank" by rural Liberians in two senses: (1) it is a food bank -- if you have rice, you have something to eat, and (2) it is a cash bank -- if you have an unexpected or large cash need, you can always sell it whereas other sources of cash may be highly seasonal.

Women's inclination to hold onto rice and not sell is also undoubtedly influenced by their perception of the ease with which they could purchase rice if needed. If they perceive that replacement might be difficult due to a shortage of rice in the market, they will be more reluctant to sell, regardless of the farmgate rice.

Another perspective on rice as a "bank" was offered by some market traders in Greenville. They indicated that rice was not their main source of income in marketing and that, indeed, rice brought them very little profit. Rice was then selling for \$23 per bag in Greenville. If they sold at the controlled price of 25 cents per cup, there was little profit. But, they sold it anyway. What they didn't sell, they could always eat. Further, they explained, if you have money, the thing to do is to buy a bag of rice. Then the money is spent on something you need and the money isn't around to be stolen or spent some other way.

In considering the return per work-day for rice production in relationship to other crops and opportunities, the differing options available to

women and men need to be distinguished. While it is true that returns per work-day for rice production are below the returns for unskilled wage labor and the returns for cash crops (55), this only considers the options for men. It is men who are most likely to be engaged in wage labor and who are most likely to receive the returns on coffee and cocoa. With the production of rice, these comparisons are not appropriate. Men in Liberia who assist in the production of rice rarely control the allocation of rice. They, in effect, have a potential cash return of \$0 per work day for rice production. In a very real sense there is no incentive at all for men to grow rice. The proper comparison with respect to returns for work-day is with the alternatives that women have; most likely in the informal sector or in the production of other food crops such as cassava, bitterballs, peppers, and so on. In short, the opportunity costs are different for men and women. View from this perspective, the willingness of men to pay migrants to brush and clear farm for them makes considerable sense (19).

Women living in communities not accessible by road and with no markets available for produce are the women who have no disincentive to produce rice. They have no options available. Ironically, it is the creation of the infra-structure, roads and markets, which is intended to provide an incentive to produce and sell rice, which does exactly the opposite by offering women other options.

Once household consumption needs are met, the decision to cultivate more rice must compete with other cash crops. For women, rice may not compare favorably with other crops. The relative returns of various crops vary throughout the country depending primarily upon access to urban markets and season. In Lofa, for example, cassava is probably not competitive with rice or other crops because of the low rates of consumption in that country. They are not able to compete with women producing cassava nearer Monrovia and other areas where cassava is consumed. Cassava is perishable and transportation costs are likely to be high. In the Monrovia area, however, cassava is a good money earner. Returns from some crops vary during the dry season and cheap during the rainy season. Those able to produce peppers during the dry season receive a much higher return for them than received during the rainy season.

Although the opportunity costs of women and men are different, the strategies employed by them have been similar. For much of the country, the cultivation of upland rice provides a relatively efficient and secure subsistence base. Both women and men pursue a strategy in which the cultivation of rice for subsistence is emphasized, with other crops of activities providing cash. The selection of these crops and/or activities is based on their relationship to the upland rice cycle. There may be some variation in how strongly the "rice as security" strategy is adhered to. In a study of three communities in Nimba and Lofa, a contrast was noted. Women in Mano (Ma) communities in Nimba "have considerable influence in decisions with regard to what crops are to be grown and how the output of the traditional production is to be distributed. Further, the attitude

for security reasons, must be produced in abundance..." (97, p. 40). "Women in Gipo may be affecting a greater amount of rice production than would be undertaken if their husbands alone controlled output decisions" (97, p. 41). On the other hand, women in a community in Kolahun District appeared to place a lower value on the continued production of rice than did the women in Nimba County. Men perform more of the labor in rice farming than they do in Nimba. Women appear to have less influence on the decision-making and the indication is that "They are not significantly influencing the continued production of traditional crops" (97, p. 44).

Given the pattern of allocation of money, for those areas in which rice farms are organized as household farms, the increased sale of rice seems most likely to occur through the cultivation of personal farms (11, 18). Increasing the productivity of upland farms, either with reference to the unit of labor or land, will not itself guarantee that more rice will reach the market (11). Increasing productivity per unit of labor might help increase the sale of rice in that individuals would have more time to work on their personal farms after fulfilling their obligations to the household farm. But, constraints of labor and interpersonal relations may make it difficult for women to make their own farms under the existing system of production (11). Rice to be sold commercially must be produced by individuals, through their own labor or by utilizing hired labor or reciprocal contractual labor provided by formal cooperative work groups (11).

The argument presented is not particularly optimistic about increasing rice production or sales. Women farmers generally feel that they are doing the best they can under the circumstances. This is not to suggest that attempts to increase rice production and sales should be abandoned. On the contrary. It must be a priority item in terms of Liberia's self-sufficiency in basic food production. Liberians will continue to grow and eat rice.

The data presented in this report indicate that in some areas of Liberia, the traditional techniques of rice cultivation are no longer adequate to meet the needs of even the local population because of changing patterns of land allocation and demographic changes, especially rural-urban migration. Hence, there is the question of whether the rural residents of Liberia will be able to continue to meet their own consumption needs, not even mentioning those of the growing urban population. A system which was able to adjust to extensive male migration appears less able to adjust to the increasing migration of females (9, 49). If current trends continue, there is a question as to who will be the farmers to produce rice in Liberia in another generation.

SWAMP RICE

The development of swamp rice cultivation in Liberia has been suggested as the main mechanism for increasing rice production. Two methods of swamp rice cultivation are currently being utilized in Liberia: (1) a "traditional" method in which rice is broadcast on naturally flooded

swamps with no water control, and (2) intensive cultivation involving water control and transplanting of seedlings. The labor requirements of these two methods are quite different and must be understood to appreciate the response of Liberians to the introduction of intensive cultivation.

A relatively small percentage (5 percent) of Liberia's land is swamp (44, p. 8), with the incidence of swamps varying considerably in different part of the country. For example, in Plibo, people reported that there were few swamps in the area so that swamp rice was not a viable option. The swamps in the Greenville area were said to be "too wet" during the rainy season for rice cultivation. These swamps might possibly be utilized with water control techniques. They can now be used only during the dry season for "hungry farms." Most of the swamps in Liberia are long, narrow, and relatively small (1 to 4 acres) and are not suited to economical and efficient use of even small scale mechanization (44, p. 11).

A method of rice cultivation which appears similar to that of broadcasting with no water control has been reported historically in Southeast Asia. Per unit of work more rice was obtained from the broadcasting method than from either shifting cultivation or transplanting (34). In Southeast Asia, rice cultivation utilizing water control and transplanting emerged under conditions of a dense population and scarcity of land. Until that point, either shifting cultivation or broadcasting was a more efficient use of resources than transplanting, which increases yields per unit of land, but not necessarily per unit of labor (28, 34).

In the cognitive system of most Liberians, upland and swamp rice are categorized separately, with upland rice being accorded higher prestige. "In the Kpelle tradition, swamps are used for rice farms only in desperate cases by women who cannot clear upland rice farms for themselves and who do not have men to help them" (27, p. 29). Men regard swamp rice cultivation as "women's work" and the responsibility of women. Most people are not particularly attracted to working in the swamps. They perceive that there are health risks involved. Exposure to schistosomiasis may be greater for people working in swamps. Working in swamps during the rainy season may pose other health problems. Most rural Liberians prefer eating upland "country rice" to swamp rice.

Under certain conditions, however, swamp rice may be an option. Swamp rice may provide a supplementary or alternative source of rice for a household. If there is any indication that the upland rice harvest may not be sufficient, swamp rice can be cultivated (19). As the timing of the swamp rice cycle is different from upland rice, with clearing of the swamps not beginning until after the upland rice is planted, farmers may have some idea about the upland farm while there is still time to turn to the swamp. After the farm is burned, farmers are able to make some predictions concerning the harvest.

Swamp rice, which can be cultivated by a woman without the assistance of male labor, is attractive to women who do not have access to male labor. In those areas where a "big farm" is cultivated, the swamp rice can be co-

ordinated with the tasks on the upland farm, with women fulfilling their obligations to the household farm while making their personal swamp rice farm (19).

Swamp rice technology was introduced into Voinjama District by Mandingoes from Guinea in the 1930's (19). A Sierra Leonean teacher at the mission in Bolahun, Kolahun District, introduced the technology to the local people some years ago. Swamp rice was attractive to people at Bolahun who had wage jobs at the mission and were not able to walk long distances from town to cultivate upland farms. The swamps available near the town provided them with the opportunity to combine rice cultivation with wage employment.

The clearing of swamps in Voinjama District begins in July after the completion of planting and upland rice. Rice is broadcast over the surface of the water. The swamp rice is harvested in mid-December to mid-January after the upland rice harvest is completed (19). In the Vahun area of Lofa, people burn the dry swamps and then broadcast the seed, utilizing relatively little labor.

The second type of swamp rice cultivation which involves water control and transplanting of seedlings is a more recent introduction in Liberia. This type of intensive cultivation has been introduced primarily through government-sponsored projects. The technology involved is quite different from that of broadcasting. The fields have to be cleared and levelled and canals constructed. The clearing involves the removal of stumps. Calculations indicate approximately 150 labor days are required to clear an acre of swamp. This is work which cannot be done by women unassisted by men.

In 1980, in the Foya area of Kolahun District, Lofa, it cost approximately \$600 per acre to hire laborers, often migrants from Guinea, to prepare the swamp, or approximately \$4 per day. This represents a considerable financial investment, even if it is a one-time investment.

Transplanting rice has several advantages. It cuts down on one period of bird-driving, involves less weeding, and shortens the length to the maturation period. Covering the seedling nursery with a layer of straw minimizes the problems with birds.

One of the disadvantages of swamp rice, mentioned by farmers throughout the country, is that it does not permit intercropping, extremely common and important in Liberia. Some of the swamps can be used during the dry season for the cultivation of vegetables, but this practice does not meet the household's or woman's daily needs for these foods for their own consumption. The labor demands for preparing the swamps and for clearing bush for the cultivation of supplementary crops are too great for most households.

Some vegetables can be planted on the peripheries of the swamp but it is likely that the productivity would decline with successive years as the same site would be utilized. It is probable that the productivity of vegetables in swidden sites benefits from shifting the site annually.

In Kolahun District, where considerable acreage is allocated to swamp rice, people indicated that the organization of a swamp rice farm can parallel that of the upland rice farm, being either a "general" or "personal" farm.

A household head may divide the swamp rice plots among his wives. If a woman divorces her husband, she relinquishes her access to the swamp. If, however, she acquired the swamp prior to her marriage or through her family, the swamp remains with her.

In the Loia County Agricultural Development Project (LCADP), plots are being registered in the name of women. This registration, however, has no legal base outside the context of the project so that it is not clear how the inheritance or future allocation of these sites will be handled.

The involvement of women in swamp rice production is illustrated by a woman in Kolahun District. She is herself illiterate but is married to an educated man who has a wage job. In the swamp which she obtained from her mother, she has seventeen paddies which have been cleared and prepared. The labor is provided by the family, including the children. On the day of the interview, there were seven children working at transplanting the seedlings. She has participated in LCADP, but prior to that she cultivated according to the traditional techniques.

The cycle for swamp rice in that area begins in May and is completed in January/February. The cycle intermeshes with the upland rice cycle with some overlap. The biggest and most critical overlap is during the period when the upland rice is weeded and the swamp rice is being transplanted. In her view all phases of swamp rice cultivation require more work than upland rice. Women cannot make swamp rice by themselves using the new techniques. They need male labor to help clear the swamps. The technique for cultivation which she knows produces only one crop per year. Some of the agricultural extension people in the area know the technique for two crops per year. In spite of the more labor intensive requirements of swamp rice, people are turning to it because of the growing scarcity of upland rice land.

This woman indicated that traditional varieties of rice can be used in the swamp. In her view, these varieties are preferable to any varieties offered by the "World Bank" because of their shorter maturation time and "better nutrition" (probably better taste). She also felt that fertilizer wasn't worth the effort and the money and was not going to use any in the current cycle.

The AGPIMECO projects initiated in the early 1970's were an attempt to provide mechanized clearing of substantial areas of land which were initially planted with swamp rice. Longer range plans for the areas involved the cultivation of tree crops such as oil palm, cocoa, and coffee.

One of these projects was located in Grand Gedeh. A cooperative was set up with the AGIRMECO project which began about 1973-74. The cooperative was responsible for assigning the paddies in the project. Both men and

women could obtain a paddy by registering as individuals. The registration fee was \$6. Wives and their husbands might have several plots or an unmarried woman might obtain a plot on her own.

Several problems developed from the large-scale clearing of the land. The caterpillars which were used for the clearing turned under much of the shallow layer of top soil, lowering the productivity. Land was cleared all around the town and women now have to go beyond that cleared area for their firewood. The stream which the women had used for water was incorporated into the irrigation system of the paddies and is no longer available to them. People have hired Mandingoes to dig some wells in town for them but often these wells do not supply water throughout the dry season. A.D.P. did dig a trial well in the community, but has yet to dig any permanent wells. Residents assert that the clearing of the land has also changed rainfall and wind patterns in the area.

In 1974, when the area was planted to swamp rice, a larger share of that rice than anticipated by people went to AGRIMECO. Local residents reported that a number of Mandingo traders had moved into the community and obtained plots for swamp rice.

After AGRIMECO withdrew, L.P.M.C. took over the project, providing tractors for work on the paddies and maintaining a rice nursery. The water supply is not adequate to permit more than one crop of rice per year. Some of the land which was originally cleared has now been planted in oil palm, cocoa, and coffee which are under the control of L.P.M.C.

The local residents and L.P.M.C. appear to have different understandings concerning the responsibility for labor involving the tree crops and ultimate control of these crops.

The Foya area in Lofa County was the site of another major AGRIMECO project in the mid 1970's. Considerable money was invested in clearing the land and in building dams to control the flow of water in the swamps.

There was considerable interest in swamp rice, although the first year there were problems in obtaining sufficient labor to harvest the rice. Today, people continue to make swamp rice farms but have reverted to the traditional techniques.

Most of the dams constructed by the AGRIMECO project "have spoiled." People said that the engineers did not get accurate and sufficient data on water flow patterns prior to the construction of the dams. Drainage patterns of swamps must be studied during the rainy season to insure that the swamp is properly prepared. This wasn't done in the Foya area with the consequence that the dams weren't strong enough. Some areas of the swamp were drained so that there is now not enough water for swamp rice. Without the dams regulating the flow of water, the new techniques of rice cultivation are not feasible.

In the new Nimba County Agricultural Development Project, there are a few swamps which have sufficient water to permit two crops of rice per

year, but many do not. Some of the swamps are being utilized during the dry season for peanut or vegetable production. It appears that most of the swamps being developed in that project are for men. It is not clear who controls the crops.

An additional problem with intensive swamp rice cultivation is that the technology of water control essential to successful cultivation is not well understood by most farmers.

To many people, the agricultural projects have not yet demonstrated to people that they gain from participation. As a young man in Bong County phrased it, "Why go into debt for something that you can do yourself?" This young man has already planted several hundred cocoa trees on his own. He is interested in swamp cultivation, but not through the Bong County Agricultural Development Project.

A case study of an agricultural project in Sierra Leone similar to the Bong and Lofa projects provides some insight into the constraints of intensive swamp rice cultivation (85). Detailed data were collected on time and task allocation of 23 participating and nonparticipating households in a community. Households participating in the project tended to be larger than those not participating. Men spent a higher proportion of their time on the export tree crops than did women who spent more of their time on non-farm enterprises than did the men. Labor inputs increased for both sexes and for children and adults with participation in the project. But, increases in the work load were greater for males than for females. The data indicated that "it is the male children that have the greatest increase in their work load, especially during the first year of participation in the project (130 percent increase)...the work load of women is hardly affected, while that of men and male children is substantially increased" (85, p. 16). This increase is large due to the labor requirements in the preparation of the swamps. Women did work slightly harder in the development project, but "the increase in their work load was much less than the increase in the work load of adult males and children" (85, p. 21).

These data provide some verification of what has been identified by people in Liberia as a major problem with intensive swamp rice cultivation: the heavy labor requirements for males in the initial preparation of the swamps. Referring to the data on migration in Liberia by region, sex, and age, and the demographic data on sex ratios in districts in Liberia, it becomes apparent that in a number of districts in Liberia there is not an adequate supply of male labor, especially among the young adults, to perform the arduous work of preparing the swamps for cultivation.

Women may be interested in swamp rice and may be willing to accept heavier labor demands themselves but in the absence of access to the needed male labor to prepare the swamps, this technology is not a viable option to them. Lacking men in their own families to do the work, they would have to hire male laborers. Most subsistence-oriented women farmers do not have access to sufficient money to do this, even if hired laborers are available in their area.

Intensive swamp rice technology is most likely to be accepted in those areas of Liberia where there is a land constraint (for whatever reason) and where there is access to labor, either within the community or from hired itinerant laborers. In the absence of these conditions, the new technology does not "make sense" to Liberian farmers.

It should be possible with some further research to predict whether swamp rice is likely to be accepted in a particular district by addressing three major variables: (1) availability of land (incidence of swamps and pressure on upland rice land), (2) demographic: density of population and age and sex distribution of the population, and (3) access to hired male labor.

OTHER CROPS

Cassava Cultivation

Cassava is a secondary or co-staple with rice in Liberia. Women produce and control the allocation of cassava in Liberia. It is a woman's crop. The quantity of cassava which is grown varies considerably throughout the country. In Lofa, comparatively little cassava is grown or consumed, and it is viewed as an inferior substitute for rice. In some coastal areas such as Sasstown, people plant and consume as much cassava as rice. Of the interior counties, cassava is most popular in Nimba. The amount grown by individual women is a function of available land and labor.

Equally important to the root are the leaves of the cassava plant which are one of the most popular and nutritious greens in the Liberian diet. Even in areas where cassava itself is not particularly popular, the leaves are consumed.

Although cassava was introduced into Africa as early as the 16th century, it did not begin to diffuse rapidly until the late 18th century (41, p. 30). Its acceptance depended partially upon the development and diffusion of techniques of extracting prussic acid from the root. In some varieties, unless the acid is extracted, the cassava is toxic.

Liberians do not appear to distinguish between "sweet" and "bitter" cassava as is done in the Americas or some parts of Africa, nor are the techniques for processing as complex as some of those utilized in parts of Central and South America. Recent research on cassava/manioc has indicated that the distinction between "sweet" (which can be consumed with less processing because its acidic content is lower) and "bitter" is not as simple and clearcut as it was once thought to be. Processing cassava not only extracts the acid but may also alter the nutritional value of the root.

Cassava will grow in relatively poor soils, which are not suited for rice production, and requires relatively little labor. It produces more

calories per acre on poorer soils than rice (94, p. 30). In the Plibo area, women said that the soils were so depleted that not even cassava would grow well.

In those areas with access to urban markets, especially around Monrovia, cassava is a popular cash crop for women. Estimates of the return per labor day suggest that cassava may be one of the most profitable crops which a woman can grow. It is perceived by women in the Monrovia area as being a good crop which brings "good money." On the highways leading out of Monrovia, the numerous stands of pure cassava by the road indicate the popularity of the crop.

There are two cropping patterns for cassava. Throughout the country, it is intercropped with upland rice, the method most common in most areas. Or it can be planted in pure stands. This appears most common in areas with poor soils not suited to rice or when planted by women who do not have access to the labor necessary to cultivate an upland rice farm.

In intercropping, the point in the rice cycle at which cassava is planted varies. In Sasstown and Maryland, for example, the cassava is not planted until the rice has been weeded when the cassava "sticks" (trimmed pieces of the stalk) are simply thrown on the soil. In planting pure stands of cassava, women may either clear an area of land, usually from low bush, or may use last year's upland rice farm.

Women do virtually all the work in cassava cultivation. Boys sometimes assist in carrying the cassava "sticks" to the field. Cassava cultivation is well suited for women, such as widows, who do not have access to the labor needed for upland rice cultivation. Cassava can be cultivated by a woman working alone at her own pace. Children might assist in some of the work. Women do not perceive any labor constraint in cassava cultivation as they do with rice. Cassava has an additional advantage in that it can be "stored" in the ground until needed for consumption or sale. It is also an "ideal" crop for women who are too old or otherwise not able to do work on rice farms.

The most detailed data on cassava cultivation were obtained in Sasstown where it is both intercropped and cultivated separately. Virtually all women appeared to be involved in cassava cultivation. In 1981, the cassava farm for one section of Sasstown municipality was approximately 20 to 25 minutes walk from town. The women prefer to have the farm near town so that it is only a short, almost daily, walk to dig the cassava. Although cassava can be left in the ground for some time, once it is dug, it begins to spoil rapidly, especially if the bark has been cut. They also prefer the cassava farms near town because "farm kitchens" or "tents" are not necessary to provide a space for cooking and childcare.

The area of the cassava farm was grassy with low bush and soil unsuited for rice. The women tend to work alone, although kinswomen and friends may be working in adjacent plots.

As with the rice farm in Sasstown, the elders select a site for the cassava farm. The area is then subdivided into sections or plots for individual women. As described by the women, the allocation of the plots is based upon previous use of the site. A woman may utilize land which she has previously used or which her mother used. She could also obtain land through her husband's patri-kin group, but women indicated that they preferred not to do this since this would give the husband some measure of control over the cassava.

Each woman is responsible for brushing and clearing her own land. In a grassy area, the first step in the preparation of the site is clearing the grass which is then allowed to dry. The dry grass is then cleared away after which the cassava "sticks" are planted. The dried grass is spread over the area, acting as a fertilizer. The cassava must be weeded twice while it is growing. In approximately four months, the women said the young cassava would be ready if needed. Although there are a number of varieties of cassava grown which may differ in maturation time, most varieties require at least eight months before they are ready for consumption.

Although the women were somewhat vague about exactly how long an area could be cultivated, it appeared that an area can be planted twice with cassava before it is allowed to revert to bush. The second planting may be done at the same time as the cassava is dug, with the pieces of the stalk being put immediately into the ground. The fallow period for cassava land is a minimum of four years, shorter than that required for rice.

A woman is likely to have several plots in production at the same time to insure herself a continuous supply of cassava. She may be weeding one plot at the same time she is preparing the land for another plot. There is considerable flexibility in the tasks which can be performed at virtually any time of the year.

The relatively low labor inputs and the flexibility of timing in cassava cultivation also make it an attractive crop for women who are involved in other activities such as marketing or wage employment.

With respect to utilization of land and labor, cassava would appear to have several advantages over rice. For most Liberians, however, rice is strongly preferred to cassava. Apart from food preferences, the nutritional value is an important issue in whether a policy of encouraging the planting and consuming of more cassava is desirable. The substitution of cassava for rice or other staples has occurred in various parts of Africa where there are land or labor constraints. Nutritionally, a diet heavily reliant upon cassava is less adequate than a diet relying upon rice or millet. The quality of a cassava-based diet is in part dependent upon how it is prepared and what is eaten with it. In areas where a shift to cassava has occurred, an increased incidence of malnutrition in children has been reported. Given these considerations, promoting the cultivation of cassava as a substitute for rice should be approached with caution. On the other hand, the Liberian custom of eating the cassava leaves as a stew

or "soup," which seems to be peculiar to Liberia and Sierra Leone, should be encouraged because of the nutritional value of the leaves.

Vegetables and Fruits

In addition to rice and cassava, a number of other crops are cultivated, both for home and market consumption. Among the tree crops cultivated are kola, orange, grapefruit, lime, butter pear (avocado), plum (mango), breadfruit, and pawpaw (papaya). Maize (corn), eddoes (cocoyam), sweet potatoes, plantains, bananas, beans, pepper, okra, eggplant, bitterball, bitter tomato, collard greens, onions, beni seed (sesame), pumpkin, and pineapple are among other crops cultivated. Not all of these are grown in every part of the country. A few commercial farms also produce cabbage, sweet peppers, cucumbers, squash, green beans, tomatoes, and lettuce, which are primarily sold by men in the urban markets or supermarkets. Most of these crops have been introduced on the market within the last fifteen years.

There are regional differences in the cultivation of these crops. Of the trees, for example, oranges are common in Lofa, Nimba, and Bong, but rare in Sinoe and Maryland. Breadfruit which is common in Sasstown is rarely grown or consumed in Lofa.

Trees are individually owned and can belong to either men or women, although there may be tendencies in some regions for one sex to dominate in the cultivation of a particular tree. Plantains and bananas may be grown by both men and women in some areas, e.g., Maryland. In other areas, e.g., Grand Gedeh and Sasstown, bananas and plantains are grown by women. Pineapples appear to be grown by either sex.

The other crops, which are vegetables or condiments, are primarily grown and controlled by women. Most women farmers will grow peppers, bitterballs, okra, and so on for their own consumption. Whether or not they grow any for market sale depends upon access to markets. Money from the sale of these crops is for the woman and may be used as she wishes. She would apparently retain control of these crops in case of divorce.

The leaves of several plants, e.g., cassava and potatoes, are commonly eaten and may be sold. Women also utilize a number of other different leaves in cooking, some of which are cultivated, some appear to be semi-wild, and some gathered wild.

These vegetables may be intercropped with rice in some instances. Beans, for example, may be planted around the stumps of trees remaining in the rice field. Others are grown on last year's rice farm. Some may be grown near the "farm kitchen" or the house. Small garden plots are often located on the fringes of communities.

Another crop which is grown and controlled by women in some parts of the country, especially the northwestern area, is peanuts or groundnuts. Last year's rice field is often used. Although some of the peanuts may be for home consumption, the bulk is for market sale and may be the major source of

cash income for some women. They are sold unprocessed and processed. New peanuts may be boiled in the shell and sold. Unshelled raw nuts are sometimes sold. More often, they are sold shelled and raw. The nuts are shelled by hand, a time consuming task. Older women, unable to do heavy farm work often do much of this work, or it is done by women, often with the assistance of children, as they sit around the house during the evening or other quiet times. Peanuts may also be roasted and sold or may be eaten into "peanut butter" which is sold in the markets and used in making groundnut soup.

Peanuts are harvested at approximately the same time as rice is weeded, in mid-July to mid-August. Peanuts cannot be left in the wet ground once they are ripe or they will begin to germinate. At this point, peanuts are competitive with rice for labor. Because peanut cultivation competes most directly with rice cultivation, the plots tend to be small and often belong to persons who do not contribute as much labor to the household farm (19, pp. 358-59).

The palm nuts used in making palm oil and palm butter are usually gathered from wild trees which abound in most parts of Liberia. Much of the palm oil is consumed within the household but it may also be sold, especially in the urban markets. Some women obtain some cash from the sale of the palm kernels which they have cracked by hand. Some palm kernel oil is produced in Liberia, but it is not commonly available in all markets and is not a preferred cooking oil.

Although many of these other crops have been cultivated primarily for home consumption, it is evident from the amounts of produce available in the markets that significant quantities are being grown for market sale. More research is needed on this topic. It appears that there are some individuals, both women and men, who are beginning to specialize in the production of vegetables. Both women and men may begin to specialize in areas with access to the urban markets. Specialization may also occur in situations in which there is restricted access to upland rice land or male labor.

THE MAJOR CASH CROPS

The major cash crops grown by smallholder farmers in Liberia are cocoa, coffee, and sugar cane. Cocoa and coffee are export crops while sugar cane is processed into a local rum, "cane juice," which is popular in many areas of the country. These crops tend to be cultivated and controlled by men, although not exclusively. Women do contribute some labor, but they do not appear to receive any of the cash. There are a few women who cultivate these crops in their own right. The cultivation of tree and other crops, even if by men, can have profound effects upon women's farming activities, as has been documented in other African countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, and the Cameroons (7, 33, 36, 38). Women's access to farmland may be restricted as men allocate more and more land to the cash crops, and their access to men's labor may be affected as men choose to devote more time to the cash crops rather than fulfilling their traditional responsibilities in rice or other food cultivation.

Liberian farmers do not have the historical involvement with export crops of farmers in other West African countries, e.g., The Gambia, Senegal, Ghana, or Nigeria. The integration into the cash economy came first to most Liberians through labor migration. While the trade was thriving along the coast, farmers did produce palm oil, piassava, and other items for export sale.

The cultivation of cocoa and coffee is a phenomenon which has developed within the past twenty-five years in most rural areas of Liberia. With the exception of a few areas, most men farmers still view cash cropping as a supplement to and not a substitute for subsistence-oriented rice cultivation.

Cocoa and coffee are not suited to all areas of the country and would appear to do best in the more northern or interior areas. Coffee and cocoa are attractive to farmers because they require little capital investment. They can be cultivated using the same tools which are used in rice cultivation. The investment is one of labor and, perhaps, the purchase of seedlings. These trees do not compete directly with men's responsibilities in rice cultivation. Nor is any capital investment required for processing the produce for market. Some farmers have laid concrete slabs upon which the cocoa or coffee may be dried. The allocation of land as it relates to these crops was discussed earlier.

Sugar cane differs from cocoa and coffee in being locally consumed and requiring a sizeable capital investment. A farmer must have access to a mill to grind the cane and to the distilling equipment needed to make "cane juice." The cost of the necessary equipment in Monrovia in 1981 was approximately \$1,000 for the mill and \$400 for the distilling equipment for a total investment of \$1,400-\$1,500. This investment places sugar cane outside the reach of many farmers. Those who do purchase the equipment often get back part of their investment by renting the equipment to farmers who do not own their own. A still also requires a license, although many "cane juice" producers in the rural areas probably don't have one. Sugar cane is more flexible than cocoa and coffee in terms of labor inputs. It can be cut and processed any time of the year. Farmers often stagger the planting so that the cutting and processing can be worked into slack periods of the rice cycle.

In upper Lofa, coffee was first introduced in the 1930's from Guinea where it was initially marketed. Cultivation was limited, however, until the road link to Monrovia was completed in the late 1950's and marketing shifted from Guinea to local Lebanese merchants. In the late 1960's, L.P.M.C. established a warehouse and farm near Voinjama. Farmers also began to plant cocoa.

By the late 1970's, the Lebanese merchants had withdrawn from many of the smaller communities in Lofa and elsewhere in the country. L.P.M.C. had established a monopoly on the purchase of cocoa and coffee through buying agents, effectively cutting the Lebanese out. Many farmers continued to sell their coffee and cocoa in their own communities to middlemen, most often Mandingo traders, who in turn sold it to the official buying agents or, in some areas, to cooperatives.

Cocoa and coffee are cultivated primarily by men. In a community in

Voinjama District, "coffee and cocoa groves belong exclusively to men" (19, p. 357). But, there were several women who had their own coffee and cocoa farms in a community in Zorzor District in the late 1960's (9). Men do most of the work with the actual cultivation of cocoa and coffee but women assist in the harvesting of the crops and in preparing them for sale. This work utilizes traditional tools is labor intensive manual work. The income from cocoa and coffee, however, belongs to the men.

Although men dominate in the cultivation of these crops, people in various parts of the country appear to agree that women can also have cocoa and coffee farms. In the Kissi chiefdom of Lofa County, the paramount chief indicated that women can obtain land for these crops through her husband if she is dowried. If she is not, she can obtain land from her family. Her daughter, however, could not inherit the property since if the daughter were to marry, the property might pass from the family of the mother to that of the husband. In a community in Nimba, people said that some women were making cocoa and coffee farms for their children, with the work being done by women and their children.

Sufficient data are not available on the women who are cultivating cocoa and coffee to suggest more than tentatively what factors may encourage or constraint a woman's cultivation of these crops. Several women in a community in Zorzor District who had farms were all economically and socially independent. One of them was a head wife of a powerful elderly ex-chief in the area. Both she and her husband had political ties to the elite in Monrovia and Voinjama. Indeed, at her funeral feast in the early 1970's, a former secretary of state and a senator who was a former district commissioner in Lofa were in attendance. It is clear that she had both political and economic resources not available to virtually any other women in the area. The other two women were not currently married. They had obtained land from their lineages which had rights to the land along the motor road. Both women spent much of their time in the nearby district headquarters where they had houses and appeared to be influential women in the community. Another woman we interviewed in a community in another part of Lofa County was also not currently married. She has both swamp and upland rice, coffee, cocoa, oil palms, and a small sugar cane farm. All of these were women, probably 40 years or older, who had control over their own time and their own resources, including the ability to mobilize labor. Most married women do not have this control and would be constrained by the already heavy demands for their labor, both in agricultural and domestic chores.

In southeastern Liberia, cash crops are less important. Cocoa and coffee are less suited to the coastal areas, while oil palms and coconut palms are better suited. In Sasstown, people said that they had once grown cocoa and coffee, but that for many years there had been no dependable buyers in the area. They had also produced piassava.

In the Pilbo area of Maryland, men grow little cocoa or coffee. Coffee is viewed as involving too much work and being competitive with rice farming. This is one of the few areas of the country where there is small scale rubber farming, almost exclusively by men. Access to Firestone provides a market outlet for a cooperative of small rubber farmers. Sugar cane used to be grown in the area and processed into syrup which was sold in Harper.

Oil palms are viewed by people in several areas as being a "good crop" because a continuous income throughout the year is provided in contrast to cocoa and coffee which are highly seasonal. But, commercial oil palm cultivation appears feasible for smallholder farmers only where there are commercial extracting facilities available. The traditional methods of processing palm oil are labor intensive and not suitable for processing substantial quantities. Both men and women sell palm oil, although there may be regional differences as to which sex is the major seller.

The most recent major development of oil palms is in Maryland. It is organized as a major plantation, Decoris, with limited provision for smallholders. Women are working on this project as agricultural laborers earning \$2.25 per day rather than as independent producers.

In Sasstown, coconut trees were said to be owned by individuals both men and women. If this pattern applies to the remainder of the coastal areas, women would appear to have access to coconut production. Coconut seedlings are available through L.P.P.C. which has developed a variety which matures more quickly, has a higher yield, is a shorter tree, and has a nut which is easier to husk than traditional varieties.

The data suggest that men are more likely to cultivate these tree crops. But, the data also suggest that women are not necessarily constrained from cultivating these crops and that there are some women who are already involved and who are interested. Nor do people yet perceive it as inappropriate for women to cultivate these crops. As such, development projects involving these crops should not be targeted at men to the exclusion of women.

MODEL OF SMALLHOLDER FARMING IN LIBERIA

The allocation of labor in rice cultivation was discussed earlier. In the traditional system of cultivation, labor is the critical constraint. The allocation of labor in the cultivation of other crops is adjusted to the requirements of the upland rice cycle. Farmers' responses to agricultural innovations and change has been and will be heavily dependent upon the availability of labor to the production unit. The "mix" of crops produced by production units will be determined in part by relative labor demands of the various crops and the labor available to the unit.

A model of the labor requirements for smallholder farming in Liberia is presented in Figures 8 and 9 (44). This model is most applicable to farming in Bong and Lofa and cannot be assumed to be applicable to southeastern Liberia, where the different rainfall pattern dictates a different farming cycle and where there are differences in cropping patterns and division of labor between females and males.

The model differentiates between the labor inputs of females and males in the cultivation of various crops, consistent with the sexual division of labor discussed earlier. To reiterate an earlier point, the opportunity costs of women and men in the cultivation of crops differ and must be considered with reference to the allocation of labor.

The figures which were used to calculate the labor days per task (Tables 4 and 5) were derived from the literature and from field observations by personnel of the Ministry of Agriculture Agricultural Sector Analysis team. It is important to emphasize that the data available on labor inputs in smallholder farming are limited and from a small number of selected case studies, primarily from Bong and Lofa Counties. But, in the absence of larger and more detailed samples and observations, it is necessary to utilize that which is available. The figures must be treated with some caution and should be viewed as hypotheses to be verified through detailed field work. Even less data are available on the inputs into other crops, such as vegetables, coffee, cocoa, oil palms, and so on.

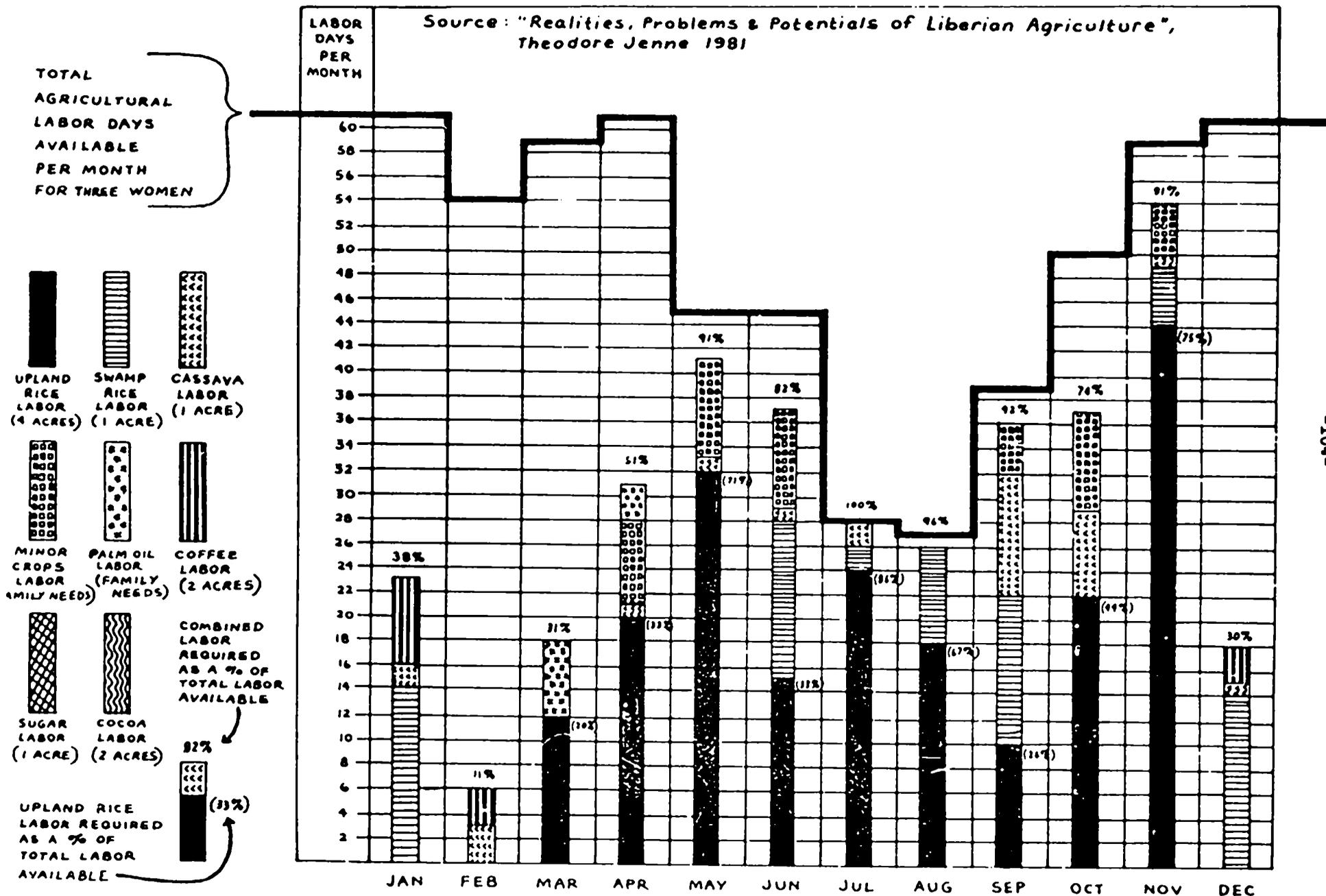
The model assumes a household of eight to ten people, with the equivalent labor of two men and three women. This is a household larger than the average size reported in several surveys, but approximates the size of household which is suggested to be most viable (11, 18, 49, 78). The household is large enough to permit its members to diversify their cultivation of crops, permitting the household to be considered relatively prosperous. Utilizing the labor days per task and per acre (Tables 4 and 5), it is possible to recalculate the labor requirements to show the labor constraints which would exist for a smaller household.

The number of labor days available per month has been calculated to reflect holidays, length of the month, and the constraints of the rainy season. The calculation of available labor days for women also incorporates an estimate of the amount of time spent in domestic chores. This is perhaps the most tentative part of the model since there are virtually no quantitative data available on the amount of time spent by women in domestic chores. Refinement of the model should also take into account the distinction between household and individual farming activities.

"The important aspects in the analysis of these models is the identification of labor constraint periods, the competing or complementary labor requirements of various crop mixes and the calculation of maximum acreage of different crops that can be grown with the available labor" (44, p. 5).

The upland rice cycle is the core activity around which other crops are adjusted. For men, the peak labor requirements in the upland rice cycle occur in January and February during the brushing and felling period. For women, the peak requirements are in May, July, and November when they are planting, weeding, and harvesting. The tightest months, or those in which the highest percentage of available labor days is used by women, are July and August, at the peak of the rainy season. Nearly 100 percent of the available labor days are used by women in these months. Women utilize a higher percentage of the available labor days than do men. For men, there is only one month, January, when more than 80 percent of the available labor days are utilized and four months when more than 70 percent are utilized. For women, there are five months, distributed from May to November, when more than 90 percent of the available time is used. In seven months of the year, more than 74 percent of the available time is utilized.

FIGURE 8: *Female Labor Requirements for Smallholder Farming In Liberia*



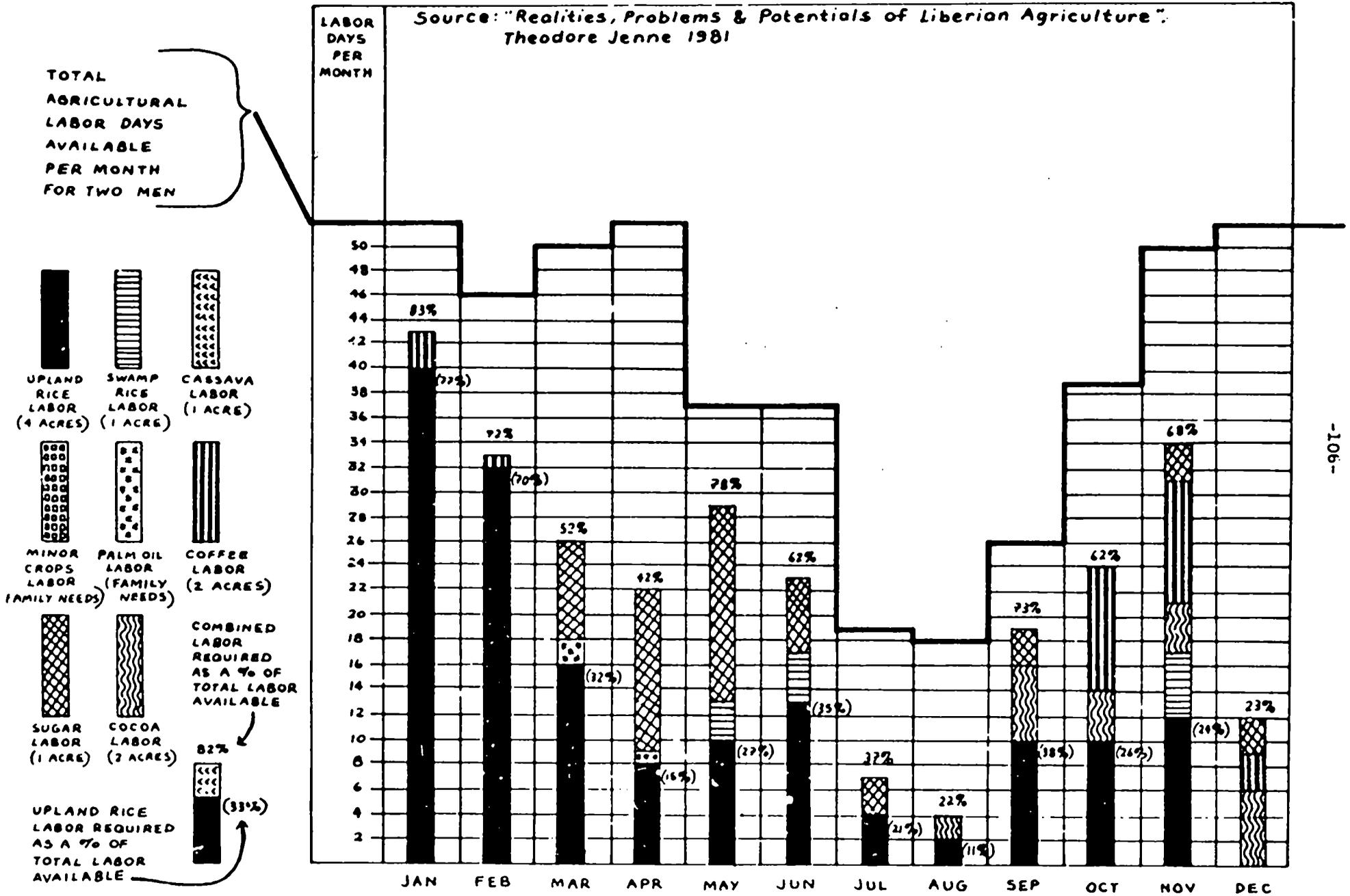
Female Labor Requirements for Smallholder Farming in Liberia per Month, per Crop, and by Task

Table 4

Female Labor Days Required	Total Labor Days Used	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Upland Rice - 4 acres	197			Burn and Clear (12)	Plant (20)	Plant (20) Bird Scaring (3)	Weed (12) Bird Scaring (4)	Weed (24)	Weed (16)	Bird Scaring (10)	Bird Scaring (6) Harvest (16)	Harvest (44)	
Swamp Rice - 1 acre	68	Harvest (14)					Clear (7) Plant (6)	Plant (2)	Weed (8)	Weed (12)		Bird Weeding (5)	Harvest (10) Bird Scaring (4)
Cassava - 1 acre	29	Weed (2)	Weed (2) Harvest (1)		Harvest (1)	Harvest (1)	Harvest (1)	Harvest (2)		Land Prep (8) Harvest (2)	Plant (5) Harvest (2)	Harvest (1)	Harvest (1)
Minor Crops - Corn, Vegetables, Groundpea - Family Needs	39				Land Prep (7)	Plant (8)	Plant (4) Weed (4)			Harvest (4)	Harvest (8)	Harvest (4)	
Coffee - 2 acres	13	Harvest (3) Process (4)	Harvest (1) Process (2)										Harvest (3)
Palm Oil - Family Needs	9			Process (6)	Process (3)								
Labor Days Used	355	23	6	18	31	43	37	20	26	36	37	54	18
Labor Days Available	509	61	54	59	61	45	45	28	27	39	50	59	61

Source: Jenne 1981

FIGURE 9: Male Labor Requirements for Smallholder Farming In Liberia



Male Labor Requirements for Smallholder Farming in Liberia per Month, per Crop, and by Task

Table 5

Male Labor Days Required	Total Labor Days Used	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Upland Rice - 4 acres	157	Cut Bush (40)	Fell (32)	Burn and Clear (16)	Build Kitchen (8)	Fence (6) Bird Scaring (4)	Fence (10) Bird Scaring (3)	Fence (4)	Bird Scaring (2)	Bird Scaring (10)	Bird Scaring (6) Harvest (4)	Harvest (12)	
Swamp Rice - 1 acre	12					Clear (3)	Clear (4)					Bird Scaring (5)	
Cocoa - 2 acres	22								Brush (2)	Brush (6)	Brush (2) Harvest (2)	Harvest (4)	Harvest (4) Process (2)
Coffee - 2 acres	27	Harvest (3)	Harvest (1)								Brush (10)	Brush (10)	Harvest (3)
Sugarcane - 1 acre	55			Land Prep (0)	Land Prep (3) Plant (5) Harvest (4) Process (1)	Plant (5) Harvest (8) Process (3)	Harvest (4) Process (2)	Weed (3)		Weed (3)		Trash (3)	Trash (3)
Palm Oil - Self Consumption	3			Collect (2)	Collect (1)								
Labor Days Used	276	43	33	26	22	29	23	7	4	19	24	34	12
Labor Days Available	478	52	46	50	52	37	37	19	10	26	39	50	52

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Source: Jenne 1981

The tight constraints on women, beginning in May and lasting until November, provide relatively little flexibility for shifting tasks from one month to another. The heavy labor inputs in May and June for planting cannot be shifted forward to April before the rains begin or postponed until July, although some planting is done in July. In July, upland rice requires 86 percent of their available labor. Nor can the heavy inputs in November be shifted to December, as the rice must be harvested when it is ripe.

Men's tasks provide more flexibility. Some of the work performed during January and February can be shifted to December or March. None of the other tasks involved in upland rice demand the majority of their available labor.

The model points out that in a relatively large household, individuals are able to meet the labor requirements of the upland farm. Labor constraints during the rice cycle are, however, greater for women than for men. Hence, decisions as to the area which men will brush have to consider the labor days available for the women's tasks.

Given the heavy demands on their labor during much of the farming cycle, women may well feel that they have "earned" the lighter work loads during December and January. In those areas where women are now assuming greater responsibility for brushing and clearing, their labor inputs during January through April will be considerably higher than indicated. In those areas, the only period of significant "leisure time" is in December.

The model assumes an upland rice farm of four acres. If the household were to cultivate an additional acre, they would be utilizing nearly 100 percent of their available time in the peak months (44, p. 6).

The model does not provide for time spent in marketing activities by the women. Such activities are another task which must be squeezed into an already crowded work schedule. This may explain the willingness of women to sell produce from the road when possible or to let children sell produce. It may also explain why women need access to markets within a relatively short distance from their homes and farms.

Recalculations indicate that if there is only one adult male available, the number of labor days required for the cultivation of four acres of upland rice exceed the number available in the months of January and February (Table 6). There are days available in both December and March to which the deficit could be shifted. It might still be possible for one man to cultivate four acres. Two women trying to cultivate four acres of upland rice would encounter more problems. The number of labor days required for four acres would exceed the number available in three months and equal it in one. Although there is some flexibility, it may not be enough to permit two women to successfully cultivate four acres. To do so would preclude the cultivation of any other crops. For one woman to try and cultivate four acres, the labor days required would exceed the number available in five months and equal it in two months. One woman cannot cultivate four acres of upland rice.

Decreasing the number of acres to three and decreasing the number of laborers to one man and one or two women indicates that while one man might have some difficulty in cultivating three acres by himself, two women would not encounter much difficulty. If the women were to help the man during January and February in the brushing and clearing, it would alleviate the constraint for the man. He can also shift some of the work to December or March. The month of July would be the tightest month for the women when they would utilize nearly 100 percent of their time on the upland farm. This might preclude the women making swamp rice farms. A three acre farm would be extremely difficult for one woman as the labor days required would exceed those available four months of the year and at a level that could not be shifted to other months.

For a woman, her decisions about the "mix" of crops which she will cultivate is in part a function of the size of the household in which she lives and her status within the household. It may be that a married woman whose husband has migrated to an urban area or concession considers it advantageous to be a member of a larger household where she can more easily contribute to the upland rice farm and still have some time to pursue her own crops. Women do have some choices as to whether or not they will invest their time in cassava or swamp rice or devote more time to other crops. The model assumes that the minor crops grown are primarily for family needs, but this is where a woman may decide to devote extra time -- or utilize all her available time -- to obtain a cash income. There are several months of the year when women have virtually all their time available to pursue whatever cash earning activities they can. They are constrained, however, by the absence of adequate water for cultivation during the dry season. If these figures are accurate, it would suggest that in most months of the year they can devote from one-quarter to one-third of their time to activities other than upland rice. If this is the case, it suggests that there may be an untapped market potential with rural women.

Examining male labor requirements, the lower level of male inputs in rice cultivation explains why many rural communities and households can absorb a relatively high rate of male out-migration and still maintain themselves.

In considering these labor requirements and assessing whether there may be "leisure time" which could be put to productive use, it is important to remember that there are other activities not shown on these graphs which are regarded as essential to the maintenance and survival of the community and households. Hence, while it might appear that there is slack time which could be allocated to farming activities, this may not be the case.

Some men spend considerable time in hunting. Other men engage in other work such as blacksmithing or leatherworking. Women may spend considerable time during the dry season fishing with nets. Both women and men have responsibilities for maintaining houses and other structures. The dry season is the best time of the year to repair roofs, make blocks, mud houses, and so on. Roads, paths, and bridges have to be maintained, usually by the men.

Table 6

Labor Requirements for Smallholder Farming

Labor Requirements: 4 acre upland rice farm

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1 adult male:												
Days available	26	23	25	26	18½	18½	9½	9	13	19½	25	26
Days required	40	32	16	8	10	13	4	2	10	10	12	0
2 adult women:												
Days available	40½	36	39	40½	30	30	18½	18	26	33	39	40½
Days required	--	--	12	20	32	15	24	18	10	22	44	--
1 adult woman:												
Days available	20	18	19½	20	15	15	9	9	13	16½	19½	20
Days required	--	--	12	20	32	15	12	18	10	22	44	--

Labor Requirements: 3 acre upland rice farm

1 adult man:												
Days available	26	23	25	26	18½	18½	9½	9	13	19½	25	26
Days required	30	24	12	6	7½	10	3	1½	7½	7½	9	--
2 adult women:												
Days available	40½	36	39	40½	30	30	18½	18	26	33	39	40½
Days required	--	--	9	15	24	11	18	13½	7½	16½	33	--
1 adult woman:												
Days available	20	18	19½	20	15	15	9	9	13	16½	19½	20
Days required	--	--	9	15	24	11	18	13½	7½	16½	33	--

Source: Derived from tables 5 and 6

Men spend a considerable amount of time "talking palavers" ^{1/}; indeed, some older men do virtually nothing else. There are ceremonial obligations, many of which are now concentrated in the dry season. Failure to perform these other tasks and activities can result in a deterioration of the quality of life and the cohesiveness and harmony of the community. In economic terms, the social costs of neglecting these activities may out-weigh the economic gains of purely "economic" activities.

With respect to returns to labor, the best returns for women on their labor come not from rice, but from crops such as cassava, bitterballs, and hot peppers (Tables 7 and 8). Men receive good returns from cocoa and coffee. For both women and men, oil palms provide a good return. Peanuts provide a better return than rice. In the Monrovia area, the returns on cassava and other crops such as peppers are probably even greater. The calculations on inputs, yields, and returns to labor are tentative for these crops. We do not know what affect the intercropping of these crops with rice has upon yields and other labor inputs of these crops.

DOMESTIC CHORES AND DAILY ROUTINE

In addition to their responsibilities in farming, women also have responsibilities for daily and intermittent tasks which are basic to the maintenance and survival of the household. Children assist women in the performance of many of these chores.

There tends to be a daily routine which may vary seasonally and individually, depending upon a woman's age, the size of the household of which she is a member, the age and number of children for whom she is responsible, her physical health, and so on. Whether a woman is living in a rural or urban community also affects the daily routine. The routine which will be described here is that of women engaged in farming. Their routine is most affected by the requirements of rice cultivation, with other tasks, both in other food production and domestic, being adjusted around the labor demands of the rice farm.

Among the Kpelle, the day is divided into five main periods (59, p. 19). It is likely that other ethnic groups/languages would make similar divisions. The periods are:

1. gile wala - "in the morning" from approximately 5:30 to 10:00 a.m.
2. fro nene a pana - "tho sun is getting hot," from 10:00 a.m. to 12 noon.

fro te wun man - "the sun is directly overhead," from 12 noon to ? p.m.

1/ Settling or adjudicating disputes

4. fro ma la - "the sun is going down," from 3 to 5 p.m.
5. wuli wili - "night time," beginning around 6 p.m.

The periods of maximum activity are from sunrise to late morning and from late afternoon to sunset or shortly after. The second period, which is when the main meal is often consumed, is a period of less activity while from noon to 2 p.m. is a period of moderate activity. From 2 to approximately 4 p.m., which is often the hottest time of day, is the slowest period (59, p. 19).

There are seasonal differences in the routine. The occurrence of rains during the rainy season influences what people are able to do at any time. Although rain may occur at any time of the day or night, there are somewhat predictable hours, which vary depending upon the stage of the rainy season, when rain is more or less likely. During the rainy season, when rain often sets in for the duration of the night soon after sunset, people tend to stay inside their houses and may go to bed as early as 8 or 9 p.m. In contrast, during the rainy season, especially when there is a full moon, people may stay up very late, talking, visiting, dancing, and so on.

In farming communities, people spend much of the day on the farm, depending to some extent upon the farm task currently being performed. There is in most communities one day of the week when people are more likely to be in town. This is most often either Saturday or Sunday, or in communities with a weekly market, that day. Women are less likely to stay in town, or be in town when they stay in farm villages, than are men on that day. Men use the day to talk palavers and to attend to other community or family matters. Women may stay in town if their presence is required in talking a palaver or if they have domestic chores which require their presence. The period immediately following the harvest is the time of the year when people, both men and women, spend more time in town. In most parts of the country that corresponds with the Christmas and New Year's season. During the height of the farming cycle, towns are virtually deserted from soon after sunrise until sunset, with only the very old and very young remaining.

Women who are living in farm villages may go for weeks or even months without a visit to town. Generally, women's movements tend to be restricted to a narrower area than men's. Most adult men will during the course of the week visit the different quarters in town. Adult women, however, are rarely seen outside their own quarter unless called for a special purpose.

Older women tend to spend more time in town, especially if they are not able to do the heavy work of rice farming. These women may have responsibility for minding small children, approximately two to six years, who are too small to walk to the farm on their own and too heavy for their mothers to comfortably carry them.

Table 7

Characteristics of Various Liberian Crops

Crops	Adaptability to Liberian Soils	Planting to Harvest Period	Timing of Crop Operations	Perishability of Produce	Expected Return To Labor Day
Rice;					
Upland - Traditional	good	5-7 months	seasonal	low	\$ 1.01 - \$1.58*
Swamp - Traditional	selective	5-7 months	seasonal	low	1.25 - 1.94*
Irrigated- Hand Technology	selective	4-6 months	year round	low	2.12 - 3.54*
- Partially Mechanized	selective	4-6 months	year round	low	2.70 - 4.73*
Tree Crops;					
Cocoa - Traditional	selective	4-5 years	seasonal	low	14.31 - 7.50*
Coffee- Traditional	fair	4-5 years	seasonal	low	9.50 - 5.75*
Oil Palm - Palm Oil	fair	3-4 years	almost year round	low	7.50
- Fresh Fruit Bunches	fair	3-4 years	almost year round	high	5.83
Rubber	good	7-8 years	year round	medium	1.50 - \$2.72
Field Crops;					
Cassava	good	6-8 months	year round	high	6.03
Sugarcane - Custom Processed	fair	10 - 12 months	almost year round	low	6.60
Vegetables- Traditional	good	1-3 months	seasonal	high	8.13 - hot pepper 12.41 - bitterball
Groundpea(peanut)	fair	3-5 months	seasonal	medium	5.37

*Based on proposed new price structure in October 1981

Source: Jenne 1981

Table 0

Estimated Labor, Costs, and Returns of Liberian Crops

Crops	Yield per Acre	Farmgate ¹ Price per Unit	Return per Acre	Cash Costs per Acre	Labor Days per Acre	Expected ² Return to Labor Day	Establishment ³	
							Labor Days	Cash Costs
Rice;								
Upland - Traditional	1000 lbs. ⁴	\$.10/lb.-	\$100.00 -	\$ 10.00	88.5	\$ 1.01 -	-	-
		.15/lb. ⁵	150.00			1.50		
Swamp - Traditional	1100 lbs. ⁴	.10/lb.-	110.00 -	10.00	00	1.25 -	-	-
		.15/lb. ⁵	165.00			1.94		
Irrigated - Hand Technology	3000 lbs. ⁴	.10/lb.-	300.00 -	75.00	106	2.12 -	200	\$100.00
- Partially Mechanized	3000 lbs. ⁴	.15/lb. ⁵	450.00			3.54		
		.10/lb.-	300.00 -	100.00	74	2.70 -	17	600.00
		.15/lb. ⁵	450.00			4.73		
Tree Crops;								
Cocoa - Traditional	250 lbs. ⁵	\$.65/lb.-	\$162.50 -	\$ 5.00	11	\$14.31 -	39	\$ 20.00
		.35/lb. ⁶	87.50			7.50		
Coffee - Traditional	300 lbs. ⁵	.65/lb.-	195.00 -	5.00	20	9.50 -	49	20.00
		.40/lb. ⁶	120.00			5.75		
Oil Palm - Palm Oil	50 gals.	3.00/gal.	150.00	10.00	20	7.50	60	32.00
- Fresh Fruit Bunches	2.5 tons	30.00/ton	75.00	5.00	12	5.83	60	32.00
Rubber	550 lbs.	.15 - .25/lb.	82.50 - 137.50	15.00	45	1.50 - 2.72	85	100.00
Field Crops;								
Cassava	60 bags	\$3.00/bag	\$180.00	5.00	29	\$ 6.03	-	-
Sugarcane - Own Equipment	115 gals.	4.00/gal.	460.00	30.00	65	6.61	15	\$5500.00
- Custom Processing	90 gals.	4.00/gal.	360.00	10.00	53	6.60	15	10.00
Vegetables - Pepper	3000 lbs.	.30/lb.	900.00	10.00	110	8.09	-	-
- Bitterball	6000 lbs.	.15/lb.	750.00	10.00	60	12.33	-	-
- Groundpea	500 lbs.	.30/lb.	150.00	10.00	27	5.19	-	-

Source: Jenne 1981

- ¹Faragate price - The market price minus transportation costs to and from the market for both the produce and the seller - based on September 1981 prices
- ²Expected Return - Net Returns (Gross returns minus cash costs) divided by the number of labor days required to Labor
- ³Establishment - The labor days and cash costs involved in establishing the crop before the harvest years
- ⁴Unmilled or paddy rice pounds
- ⁵Dry bean weight
- ⁶Proposed new price structure in October 1981;
- | | | |
|---------------------|---|-----------|
| Unmilled paddy rice | - | \$.18/lb. |
| Coffee(dry beans) | - | .45/lb. |
| Cocoa(dry beans) | - | .40/lb. |

Source: Jenne 1981

Women usually rise before or soon after sunrise and are usually at work before men. Except during the period when men are brushing farm, women tend to precede men to the farm, often leaving town by 7 a.m.

Obtaining water for the household is one of the major chores for which women are responsible. Water is needed for baths, preparing food, for drinking, and for washing pots, pans, and dishes. In most communities, the water is obtained from streams or springs in the vicinity of the town. Some wells have been dug in some regions of the country. During the rainy season, some households with zinc-roofed houses catch the rain water from the roofs in drums or other large containers. In Kolahun District, many households have sizeable water containers cast from cement, which are placed under the eaves.

In many communities, obtaining water becomes a problem during the dry season when some sources dry up or become contaminated. The distance which women have to go for water varies considerably. For some households, the source may be within a ten minute roundtrip walk while others may have to go further. The distances involved appear not to be as great as in some other West African countries, e.g., the Sahelian.

Women and children are responsible for headloading water from where ever the source to the house. Men may on occasion take a bath in a stream but they will not carry water from the stream to the bathfence ^{1/}. More often men take their baths, often twice a day in a bathfence near the house. Water, which has been carried from a stream, spring, or well, is heated over the woodfire by the women and then carried in a bucket to the bath fence. Men, especially household heads, expect a hot bath.

Women may also occasionally take their baths in the stream but usually do so in a bathfence. Small children are usually bathed near the house or kitchen. Older children are more likely to be left on their own, although older girls are likely to bathe with the adult women. Boys from about seven or eight years are often left on their own for bathing. Everyone bathes at least once a day and many bathe twice, in the morning and the later afternoon or evening. In households where there are enough women to permit a new mother time to do so, infants may be bathed several times a day (49, p. 299).

In addition to the water used for baths, a woman also needs water for cooking, for cleaning dishes, pots, and pans, and for drinking. Household consumption obviously varies, but it does not seem unreasonable that consumption probably averages at least 1.5 buckets of water per person per day. Each bath requires a bucket.

Each bucket or pan of water requires a roundtrip by someone to the water source. Both boys and girls are enlisted in carrying water. The amount they

^{1/} A bathfence is a small, enclosed area with a fence of bamboo or other sticks and without a roof. Gravel, stones and/or rocks usually cover the ground to facilitate drainage. There is an opening to the fence which is often "closed" by hanging a cloth when someone is bathing.

carry depends upon their size and age, with small children using containers proportional to their size. In the absence of older children who can carry a full bucket or large pan of water, a woman will have to make several trips for water each day, most often in the early hours of the morning or the late hours of the afternoon.

In a community in Webbo District, McEvoy estimated that physically-able women made from one to three trips to the "waterside" each morning and evening. In larger households, most of the water carrying was done by younger married women and girls above ten or so, but in some households, all women had to participate (49, p. 299).

Given these demands for water, it is not surprising that women usually carry the clothes to be laundered to the "waterside." Only during the rainy season when many households catch rain water from the zinc roofs, do women often wash clothes in town. Boys from about eight years old may be expected to wash their own clothes, unless their mothers or sisters have the time.

People in a number of communities expressed concern about their supply of water, especially during the dry season. An increasing number of people recognize that water can be contaminated, although they may not be aware of all the sources of contamination. Many communities have rules concerning the use of water sources, prohibiting bathing or washing clothes in areas where drinking water is obtained. Although such rules may help protect the people in that community, those living further downstream are not necessarily protected. Many people would welcome a good and reliable source of water.

Distance is, however, critical for women. Given the choice between a less desirable supply of water at a close distance and a good supply at a further distance, women may choose the closer source. For example, in a community in Maryland where wells have been dug by A.D.P. and were being used, we were told that in another nearby community, one of the newly dug wells was not being used by the women because it had been sited some distance from the houses. They continued to use a closer source of water. When wells are available, people may have to take measures to insure that the area around the well is maintained and that the well is protected from children. The constraint of distance poses a problem since it is not always possible to site a well in a location which is most convenient for the women.

Women are primarily responsible for gathering and splitting firewood. Men may assist them in cutting the larger logs and boys may sometimes be sent to gather wood, but the primary responsibility lies with the women. Wood is often headloaded into town in the evenings when women come from the farm. Sometimes there are other items which must also be headloaded so that a woman may be seen returning to town in the evening with a delicately-balanced load on her head, consisting of firewood, rice, vegetables -- and often with a baby or toddler on her back.

After the wood is headloaded into town, it is chopped into kindling for the fire. In southeastern Liberia, during slack periods of farm work, some women may spend whole days in cutting and collecting logs which are then

headloaded into town, and stacked neatly under the house eaves to be chopped into useable lengths of kindling. This lightens their work load during the heavier periods of the rice cycle. Other women collect firewood on a daily basis. There may be a relationship between these different patterns of wood collection and the availability of women in the household (49).

In Sasstown, women stack their firewood neatly in a rack behind the kitchen. The wood is neatly trimmed in uniform lengths. A women who does not trim and stack her wood carefully is considered lazy.

In most communities there are no viable alternatives to utilizing wood for cooling and heating water. People in some areas, e.g., Greenville, reported that it is harder to get firewood than in the past. Women near the Firestone plantations are permitted to collect wood when old rubber trees have been felled. In most parts of Liberia, access to firewood does not yet appear to be the critical problem that it has become in some other African countries, e.g., Upper Volta and The Gambia. It is, however, a bigger problem in the more urban communities.

The high price of kerosene makes it unacceptable to many people as a regular cooking fuel. Access to gas and electric stoves is limited to a very small portion of the population. In recent years in Monrovia and other urban areas, charcoal has become increasingly popular as a cooking fuel in many households. Charcoal is not produced in the rural areas surrounding Monrovia, including parts of Montserrado and Bomi Territory.

Although there is now no perceived problem with obtaining fuel, an increasing urban population which relies increasingly upon charcoal may lead to problems at some point in the future.

Another task for which women have sole responsibility is cooking. The quantity of cooking and the timing of cooking varies considerably among women depending upon the season of the year, the availability of materials, and the number of people for whom she is cooking.

Many adult men can cook for themselves, especially those who have attended school away from home or who have worked away from home. But men who have access to the labor of women do not assist women in cooking, except perhaps in cutting up meat or fish. The basic responsibility lies with the women. Boys living in households without girls may be enlisted in the tasks involved in cooking. Wives who are not able to cook, for whatever reason, must rely upon the assistance of other women or girls and not their husbands or sons.

Preparing a typical Liberian meal is a time-consuming task. The rice or cassava must be prepared for cooking. Rice must be beaten, cleaned, and rinsed before cooking. Greens must be pounded or cut into sliver-thin pieces for the "soup" ^{1/}. Fish or meat must be prepared. Peppers and onions are often beaten together in a mortar. When palm butter is prepared, the palm nuts must first be boiled, then beaten, the pulp extracted, and then cooked.

^{1/} "Soup" refers to the stew or sauce, usually consisting of greens, oil, pepper, and meat or fish, which accompanies rice or other staples.

Some meals require more time than others but there are a few "soups" which require less than an hour's preparation and most meals probably require two or more hours from beginning to consumption.

When the food is ready for distribution, a woman divides it according to those who will consume it. A pot of rice and a pot of "soup" may be divided into a number of different bowls which are distributed to different people. In large households, the number of bowls may be ten or more. Usually there is a separate bowl for the household head and for any guests. If there are other young men in the household, separate bowls may be prepared for them or for children coming from school. Men and women usually eat separately, although on the farm they are more likely to eat together, but not from the same bowl. Sometimes the men in the household and the women will each eat from a common bowl. Boys sometimes receive their food after the adult men have finished their own.

The processing of rice for consumption or sale is a major task. The responsibility for preparing the rice lies entirely with women. The local technology for processing rice includes mats, mortars, pestles, and "rice farmers" or winnowers.

After harvesting rice is stored in a granary, usually rectangular in shape, or in a loft. Each woman has her own granary, or, in the case of a household farm, the head wife controls the granary. Formerly, granaries had thatch roofs but now it is not uncommon for them to have zinc roofs. The rice is stored in the loft of the open-sided granary. The ground level of the granary may be used for cooking, with the smoke from the fire helping to keep the rice dry and to cut down on pests. In some parts of the country, the rice may be stored in the loft of enclosed kitchens or in the loft of a house.

The first step in processing rice is for the women to take whatever she wants to process from the granary. The rice, which is still on the stalk, is placed on a mat. Using her feet, the woman kneads the rice to separate the grain from the stalk. Then the unhusked rice is spread on a mat to dry. How long this takes depends upon the time of the year and the amount of sunlight. During the rainy season, it may be difficult to find enough hours of sunlight without rain to dry the rice. A woman may dry her rice at a time when she is around the house doing other domestic chores. But, the rice must be watched carefully to keep the free-roaming chickens, goats, and sheep from consuming it. A child is often given the chore of "minding the rice." The child's attention may be diverted by other activities or the child may fall asleep, giving the animals ample opportunity to nibble at the rice. Not "minding the rice" is a serious matter and an offense for which children may be severely chastised. People are quick to sound the alert when animals are seen nibbling at the rice and will drive the animals away, even if it is not their rice. Everyone -- men, women, and children -- cooperative in protecting the rice.

After the rice is dried, it is ready for the mortar. Girls begin to learn how to "beat" rice when only a few years old. They will be given a small mortar and pestle with which to play. At first it is play, but gradually they become skilled. Women may beat rice individually or may cooperate with another woman. In this case, the rhythm of the work is very important as each woman alternately takes her turn with the pestle.

The musical quality of the pestles beating the rice in the mortar is one of the most distinctive -- and characteristic -- sounds in a rural Liberian community. Especially during the cold mornings of the dry season, one may awaken to hear the rhythm of women beating the rice soon after they have risen, in part to keep warm until the fire and the sun begin to take off the chill. The more women working, the more complex the rhythm.

How much labor is actually involved in processing rice is difficult to determine. As women comment "It depends upon how strong you are." It is a chore in which there probably is considerable individual variation in productivity and efficiency. Individuals may vary themselves, depending upon their general state of health and motivation. Some careful time allocation observations are needed. It is also a chore at which women work sporadically, fitting it in among their other chores. Although it may be done at anytime of the day, it is most likely to be done early in the morning or in the late afternoon but not during the heat of the day.

The rice is beaten in the mortar, then winnowed, then beaten more. How many times this process is repeated depends upon how "clean" the woman wants the rice to be. Women appear to be more meticulous about rice they themselves will cook or rice they are preparing as a gift than about rice which they plan on selling. Women take considerable pride in being able to prepare "clean" rice.

One young woman estimated that it would take a week if "she was strong" to beat a bag of rice. This meant that the rice would be dried during the day while she did other things and that she would start beating it about 4 p.m. and would work until 6 p.m. In her town, there is a law against beating rice after 6, or sunset, in the evening. This would suggest approximately 12-14 hours in the beating and winnowing part of the process of producing a bag of rice.

Most women appear able to manage the preparation of the rice needed for their "normal needs." The preparation of rice, however, for a special purpose may pose a problem. Preparation of rice for sale is also difficult. If a woman doesn't have the time to do it, she may enlist the labor of a younger woman or a girl. Older women may also turn to younger women to assist them. For example, an older woman in Lofa County wanted to send rice to her daughter in Monrovia but didn't have the time to beat the rice. The school vacation, which comes after the rice harvest is completed in December, was a good time for beating rice. The mother requested that her daughter send her a teenage girl from Monrovia during the school vacation to beat the rice.

In one community in Webbo District, Grand Gedeh, observations suggested that in most households, one or two females above the age of ten would spend one or two hours each day in pounding, winnowing, and sorting the rice. Rice was hulled daily with sufficient rice being prepared for that day and for the morning meal of the following day (49).

Improved rice offers the advantage of not requiring "beating." For women whose time is severely constrained by other activities, this is an

important consideration, especially if the price is the same. Imported rice is also "cleaner" than "country rice" bought in the market which may contain stones and sand.

When women have access to a rice mill, they appear willing to pay the charge of a few dollars per bag to have the rice milled. Women appear to assign a value to the labor they expend in beating rice and consider it a good value to pay to have their rice milled, releasing their time for other activities. At current prices for paddy and milled rice, it is also economically sound for a woman to sell paddy and buy back milled or imported rice, assuming that approximately 165 pounds of paddy converts to 100 pounds of milled rice.

Discussions of labor inputs in rice cultivation often omit the amount of time and labor spent in transporting the rice, almost always by head, from farm to storage, increasingly often in town, and the inputs involved in processing the rice for consumption or sale. Although detailed time/task allocation observations are needed, observations suggest that the inputs of labor, most often by women, into these two aspects of rice production are considerable and must be calculated into any projects aimed at rice production.

Cassava may be prepared in a variety of ways. The simplest, and the least time consuming, is to peel the root, cut it into hunks, and boil it. It may also be peeled and roasted over the fire. The roast cassava is usually consumed by itself and is viewed more as a snack than part of a major meal. Boiled cassava may be eaten alone or may be eaten with a stew or soup, e.g., palm butter. Boiled cassava may be beaten in the mortar to produce "dumboy." Fermented cassava, known locally as "fufu," is popular with some people. It is often eaten with a "gravy" supplemented by a beni-seed (sesame) condiment.

The preparation time involved in "fufu" is considerable. This time should be compared with the time involved in the preparation of rice, either "country" or imported, to provide some indication as to whether women consider preparation time of various foods as a factor in their food selection.

Farina is not consumed as widely nor as often as it is in some other West African countries, e.g, Ghana. The preparation of farina is a tedious process, as observed in Sasstown. The raw cassava is first peeled and then grated using a locally constructed grater (a piece of zinc with holes punched in it by a nail). The grated cassava is parched in a circular shallow iron pot (said to come originally from Ghana) over a wood fire. The cassava must be stirred continuously and the fire must be carefully regulated. The women must be careful not to put too much cassava in the pot at one time. Time observations suggested that it takes approximately 30-40 minutes to parch a pot-full of cassava or several cups. After it has been parched, it must be sifted in a fanner to remove any burned particles. Although a woman does expend considerable time in the preparation of farina, it does convert the raw cassava, which spoils rather rapidly, into a form for storage and for future market sale.

There are ethnic and regional variations in the types of "soups" and "gravies" which are prepared for consumption with the staple food. Socio-economic status also influences the types and quantity of food consumed. The

cooking of settler is influenced by their American and Caribbean ancestry. Generally, more greens are utilized in soups in northwestern Liberia, while in southeastern Liberia there is a heavier reliance upon palm butter, with relatively few greens consumed.

Meat and fish are part of the soup or gravy. The quantity of these which are cooked varies considerably depending upon availability and accessibility. Fresh game is available in some parts of Liberia. Dried meat, e.g., deer or monkey, is often consumed, both in the urban and rural areas. Fresh "cow meat" or beef is available on a fairly regular basis in some of the larger urban communities, e.g., Voinjama or Gbarnga. Elsewhere it is consumed only with major feasts. Pork is not widely consumed in most of Liberia, especially in those areas with a large Muslim population of influence. Goats and sheep are consumed only on special occasions. Chickens are regarded as a special treat but are consumed more often than goat.

Fresh saltwater fish is available in most coastal communities, although there is seasonal variation. Fresh fish is less often available in interior communities although there are varieties of freshwater fish. Women fish with nets during the dry season and men may fish with lines. Most of the fish obtained is consumed by the household and relatively little reaches market. The fish supply up country has been dependent upon the distribution of frozen fish by the Mesurado Company. Due to cut-backs in Mesurado's operation, this supply has diminished recently. That fish which is not sold soon after purchase may be dried for future sale. Dried saltwater fish are available in many markets throughout Liberia.

The basic cooking oil for most Liberian women is palm oil. In rural Liberia, this oil usually comes from the palm nuts gathered from wild trees which are abundant in most areas. Men or children are responsible for cutting the bunches of nuts from the trees. Palm kernel oil is occasionally made but is not commonly available in most markets.

In some of the coastal communities, coconut trees are abundant. Women may make coconut oil. There are relatively few markets in Liberia where one can find coconut oil on a regular basis. It is infrequently used outside these coastal communities.

Imported vegetable oil, usually referred to as "argo oil" (a common trade brand), is used in the preparation of certain dishes.

The food consumed is an important component in determining the nutritional level of a population. Although reliable data on the nutritional status of Liberians, including small children are scanty (94), some observations can be made. A nutritional survey of pre-school age children in the coastal areas of Montserrado and Grand Bassa, including both urban and rural areas and the Firestone concession at Harbel, concluded that coastal diets were, on the average, adequate in protein and inadequate in calories, iron and B vitamins (94). The provision of adequate iron appears to be one of the more difficult nutritional problems (94). Otherwise, the provision of an

adequate diet appears to be a function of access to and proper utilization of locally available foods for all age groups.

The same survey revealed a significant percentage of children under six suffering from some degree of malnutrition and from anemia (94). The practice of bottle-feeding children appears to be becoming more prevalent, with serious implications for the nutritional level of these children. Children who are breast-fed for more than one year often do not receive adequate supplementary food. Fresh milk is not available from local sources, Imported infant formula and other infant foods are economically beyond the means of most Liberians, if they are properly prepared in sufficient quantities. The utilization of imported infant foods is an economic drain on most households and many Liberian women do not understand how these foods should be prepared and utilized. Because of the expense of powdered milk or formula, women may try to stretch the powder by mixing less than directed with the water. Since the nutrients are in the powder rather than the water, the child does not receive adequate nutrients for growth.

Mothers may, however, turn to formula because they believe that it is "modern" or "kwi" to use it. Others may wean their infants at an earlier age than traditionally and leave the infants with someone else in order to return to school or to work. Husbands and boy friends may encourage women to wean their infants and shift to formula so that the women no longer have to observe the post-partum sex taboo.

Programs aimed at increasing food production should include nutrition education programs which will assist women in better utilizing locally-grown foods. With reference to child nutrition, education programs which stress the importance of breast-feeding and the introduction of supplemental locally-grown foods after four to six months should be given priority (94). In addition, consideration should be given to placed restrictions upon the promotion, and possibly, the importation of infant formula and other foods.

Most women cook two meals a day if rice or a substitute is available. In some situations, rice may be cooked only once a day. Although there is variation in the time of the major meal, in most farming households, the major meal of the day is prepared on the farm and eaten there mid to late morning. A woman may also prepare a meal after she returns to town from the farm in the late afternoon or evening. If a woman is in town, she is also likely to prepare the major meal of the day in the morning.

This pattern may change, especially in urban areas where bread and other foods are available. In the urban areas, it is not unusual for people to eat rice once a day, substituting other foods at other times of the day.

Meals prepared on the farm are usually prepared in the vicinity of the "farm kitchen" which is usually built every year on the site of the rice farm. In town, there is variation in cooking arrangements, depending upon the ethnic group and the number of women in the household and their kin and personal relationships.

Particularly in older houses, the cooking fire may be located inside the house. Some houses, e.g., the "big houses" in parts of Lofa, may have more than one cooking fire, indicating the number of women who are cooking individually. A pattern which appears to be more common with more recently constructed houses is to have a structure detached from the main house, usually behind, as the kitchen. In some cases, each adult woman in the household will have her own kitchen.

In Sasstown, for example, in households with more than one adult woman, a "row building" divided into several rooms may be constructed. Each room is a "kitchen" for an individual woman. In this kitchen, she has her fire, stores her rice and other produce, and stores her other belongings. She usually has a rack above the fire area on which a smaller enclosed area is constructed for storage of rice (and other items). A drying box for fish may hang over or near the fire. The fire hearth in this area, and other parts of southeastern Liberia, consists of three clay pedestals between which the wood is placed while the cooking pots balance on the pedestals.

In other parts of Liberia, the cooking hearth is usually a metal grate.

Storing rice over the fire has the advantage of helping to control insects which might infest the rice. Such rice acquires a smokey taste not removed in the milling. The presence of a fire in thatch roofed structures is also important in controlling insects in the roof.

In some areas, cooking is done in private areas where strangers are not likely to be present or be able to view the cooking activities. To cook in a public area is not acceptable. This is partially explained as a concern about food being tampered with by passers-by.

Generally, women are responsible for the preparation and maintenance of the floor and walls of the house. When floors are not poured concrete, this maintenance involves periodic daubing of the floor.

Childcare is another important task of women. Men do assist in some ways in childcare but the primary responsibility lies with the women. The feeding, bathing, and dressing of small children is done by women or girls. Small children, who are hanging around men when they are eating are likely to be given some food. Men assist by helping to keep their eyes on small children who are permitted to hang around men as long as they are quiet and not troublesome. Most people tend to be indulgent of small children who behave themselves. There are some situations in which a man may assist in carrying a child who is unable to walk on its own.

By the time an infant is three to four weeks old, it will be carried on its mother's back. Women with new-born infants may not be expected to go to the farm. But as soon as an infant can be carried on her back, a woman is likely to resume her farm chores. Infants are often left in the farm kitchens under the supervision of the woman who is cooking or children while the mother is working in the field.

About the time a child is 18 to 25 months old, carrying the child begins to be a burden for the mother, depending upon how far she is going and what has to be headloaded. From the time a child is too big to be carried on the mother's back until the child is big enough to walk on its own to and from the farm, the child is likely to remain in town under the care of someone else, usually the older women no longer able to go to the farm. Except in emergencies, once a child reaches a size too heavy for the mother to comfortably manage, the child is confined to an area within which she or he can walk. Children from about age 2 to approximately 6 seldom go to the farm or visit communities which can be reached only by a lengthy walk.

Women often delegate the care of small children to older siblings, especially females. The amount of responsibility which can be delegated to children depends upon the ages of both children. Many women attempt to enlist the assistance of a girl in her early teens who can perform most of the tasks involved with children.

While there is some flexibility in the tasks involved in farming, there is virtually no flexibility in the domestic chores which are assigned to women. With rare exception, even if a man has "nothing to do," he will not assist or substitute for a woman. This is one of the major reasons why a household is not viable with only one adult woman. If a woman is sick or otherwise unable to perform her domestic chores, these must be performed by another woman.

These domestic tasks are part of a woman's work load above and beyond those tasks involved with the agricultural cycle. "When there are not enough women in the household to perform them, especially those which are daily necessities, the organization of the household life begins to deteriorate" (49, p. 300). Household maintenance and logistic problems are further magnified in households with an insufficient number of economically productive females and absent husbands. "A household with too few women who are economically productive simply cannot maintain itself in the face of the labor needs imposed by the agricultural system and by the needs which arise in the course of day-to-day management of the household" (49, p. 300).

WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS

There are a number of women in Liberia who are engaged in various business activities, some of which involve them in market selling and some in which they rely upon the marketing of others. It is difficult to estimate how many of these women there are because many of them engage in these activities on a part-time basis, sometimes working from their homes.

The type of activity in which women can engage is influenced by the type of community in which they live and the market for various goods and services. The amount of capital required for the activity and the technology required to maintain the activity are also important considerations. A woman's ability to control her income and her labor and to have access to the labor of others, especially children, appear to be crucial factors in determining a woman's business activity.

Several cases illustrate the types of activities in which women become involved and the strategies which they may pursue.

One woman, probably in her late 50's or early 60's, had migrated as a young wife in the mid 1940's to her present residence in one of the coastal headquarters from her hometown in an adjoining territory. She learned to bake several types of bread from another woman in the coastal headquarters and started baking and selling on her own. Her main customers were school children.

She has five children, all of whom have been educated. While her children were still young, her husband left her. She decided that it was best not to marry again as another husband might not want her money to go to her children. She wanted them to go to school and felt that she could best achieve that goal by remaining single and independent.

Her children helped her when they were younger as she would give them the bread and send them to the various schools in town to sell it. She misses their assistance but has been able to recruit other children to help her.

Over the years, utilizing the money from her bread business, she has built several houses, including one currently under construction. She rents the rooms for as much as \$30 per month. As she said "with money you can do any thing." But, she also indicated that one must be careful in choosing how to use it. From her perspective, taxis are not a good investment. Taxis depreciate rapidly and may be ruined in an accident. A house is there to stay and there are always renters. She probably receives an income of at least \$200 a month from her houses. Her decision about alternative investments is a rational one. If she owned taxis, she would have to have a driver(s), and might experience problems with them not reporting money accurately. She knows little about cars and would experience problems in having them adequately maintained. With houses, she is able to maintain some control over their construction and maintenance and the income derived goes directly to her. Further, houses can be built over time as money is available, while the purchase of a taxi requires a substantial outlay of cash at one time. As the capital for her investment is generated initially from her food processing activities in the informal sector, her ability to accumulate such large sums at one time is constrained. A house can be built as money is available.

In the absence of loans for house construction, many people build houses in stages, e.g., laying the foundation or laying blocks to window level. People buy materials as money is available or on L.P.A.s (Limited Power of Attorney). L.P.A.s are available only to people on a regular salary. The merchant from whom the goods are purchased receives a portion of the check each month. People who depend upon the informal sector have to utilize available money.

Besides selling bread and her houses, she also has a garden, and sometimes, a rice farm. The garden plot is next to her house but she has problems with the domestic animals which are allowed to roam freely about the

city. Although she is using her own land, she indicated that it was possible for a women to obtain a garden plot from someone else. But such land could not be used to plant "life trees." She has access to land in the "interior" for making a rice farm for which she must hire labor. Her decision as whether to make a rice farm is based in part upon the other options for the use of her money. In 1980, she didn't make a rice farm because she needed the money for the house she was constructing.

She belonged to several susus in the past and is currently a member of one which has approximately six members. Each contributes \$20 per week. She expressed an interest in obtaining a bank loan from a bank if such an opportunity were available. She would use the money to expand her bread business and to diversity her activities by opening a shop and selling more commodities. She also indicated that she would be interested in assistance from agricultural extension agents as she feels that she could do better with her farming. The woman feels that she is "all right," that she is doing well, but that she could do better.

Another enterprising woman was interviewed in a country headquarters in one of the interior counties. She is not from that county but migrated there to join her husband, a local citizen. She is employed as a professional by one of the government agencies in the community. Her husband, currently on leave from his job, is obtaining further training in Monrovia and is absent much of the year. The household includes seven children and a young adult man who is a high school student. The children are the couples' three sons and one daughter, her daughter, his niece (an orphan), and an unrelated girl whose mother is dead. The children do much of the work around the house and provide the labor for her business activities.

Currently, her major activity is a comparatively lucrative "kool-aid" business. She has been involved in the kool-aid business since 1979 when she switched from selling small bags of popcorn. The four girls in the household prepare the kool-aid, dip it into the sandwich-size plastic bags and then freeze them. The woman has a refrigerator and a second-hand freezer which are used to freeze the kool-aid. She has two coolers or "cold boxes" from which the three older girls sell at the daily market, the parking station, and near the schools. She grosses a minimum of \$10 per day and as much as \$25-\$30. The amount depends upon the season, with the best time being the hot months which conclude the dry season when there are many students in the community.

She switched from selling popcorn because "too many" were entering that activity. The investment required for popcorn is minimal since a seller only needs access to a fire or stove and a pot. Kool-aid selling, however, requires no capital. The major investment is the freezer or refrigerator needed to freeze the kool-aid. Electricity to operate the freezer is another cost. The "kool-aid boxes" or freezer chests are a necessary investment. In Monrovia, these boxes vary in retail price from \$60 to more than \$100.

The girls use a large enamel basin in which they prepare the kool-aid, using large dippers to fill the bags. The large basin is filled with water, several dippers of sugar, and two small packages of kool-aid which sell for

15 cents each. The plastic bags sell for \$2.00 for 150 and appear to be the major expense. The frozen kool-aid, or "sweet mother," sells for 5¢ per bag and yields an estimated net profit of 2-3¢ per bag. On days when she grosses \$10, the children sell 200 bags. Assuming a net profit of 3¢ per bag, she has a net profit of \$6 for the day.

This money meets many of the daily operating expenses of the household. The woman also makes a rice farm and raises a few vegetables. Her monthly salary can be used for major household expenses. She would like to open a shop in their house but is waiting until her husband returns to help manage it.

If she received a minimum of \$6 per day from the kool-aid business, she would net approximately \$1800-\$2000 per year or approximately \$150-\$180 per month. Not everyone selling kool-aid earns this amount, but it does indicate the amount of income which can be generated from what appears to be a "petty" marketing activity.

Another business woman in an interior county headquarters was also a governor for two ethnic groups. She was born in a coastal community, grew up in another West African country, and moved to her present community more than 35 years ago. She has nine children. The basis of her marketing activities is selling bread which she herself bakes. She also engages in farming and has a land deed in the area, growing rice and vegetables. She is the governor for two ethnic groups who are "strangers" in the community and talks cases for them. As the number of members of both these groups has increased in the community, she will become governor for her ethnic group while another governor will be selected for the other.

Another woman was interviewed in a community in Lofa, She is probably in her 40's or early 50's. She has had no schooling but speaks and "hears" considerable English. As she put it, "everything is for herself." She has swamp and upland farms, coffee, cocoa, 20 acres of oil palms and a small sugar cane farm. She has built her own house. A migrant into the community from a neighboring rural town, she has obtained the land for her farming activities from the town. She is currently unmarried, having had several husbands. She indicated that garden produce provides small money which will buy the "soup." To her, there is more money in rice. Oil palms are, however, a better source of income since they provide a regular source of money throughout the year.

Another woman, who is professionally employed in the same community, has 17 acres of oil palms and a swamp rice farm. She is now divorced and has no plans to remarry. Both these women expressed the opinion that marriage has no advantage for women and that it is better to be on one's own.

With these examples in mind, let us return to the issues of market and technology. The market for various goods and services is a function of the size and type of community. In the small rural communities, there is a very limited market for most processed foods. Most people do not have the cash for such expenditures on a regular basis and many have not acquired a taste for these foods. The market for processed foods appears to be "best" in the urban communities where there are populations of students, often living on their own, or wage earners with somewhat regular cash incomes. There is also a

for these foods wherever there is a "taxi stand" with drivers, carboys and travelers. These are all situations in which people have some cash to purchase food but may not have the time nor the labor to prepare it themselves.

The variety of processed foods available in Liberia has increased during the past 25 years. Hard-boiled eggs, "boi eggs," are sold primarily by boys or young adult men. In some areas, a type of French bread is sold primarily by boys or men, usually Mandingo. Other types of bread, e.g., corn bread or shortbread, are more likely to be baked by women, although men may sell them. The various processed foods which are available in Liberia, although not necessarily in all parts, vary in their requirements for preparation.

Roasted peanuts, for example, can be prepared by any woman with access to the usual household utensils and a fire. All that is required to sell peeled oranges is a knife and an enamel pan. Roast foods, such as corn, cassava, or plantain, require a coal pot and access to coals. Breads or cookies require an oven of some type, although not necessarily in a gas or electric stove. Popcorn, sold in small plastic bags, requires a pot and a fire. The frozen kool-aid requires access to freezing facilities and a cold box and is likely to be sold only in communities with electricity. The increasing cost of kerosene, which now exceeds \$3 per gallon in many areas, has made the operation of kerosene refrigerators prohibitive for many people.

In addition to processed foods, women often sell beverages. They may operate a small shop selling only cane juice or they may operate a bar and "disco." In many rural communities, the most popular drinks with local residents, besides palm wine, are cane juice and Liberian-distilled gins and rums. Although most men will drink beer, it is not the usual drink of non-wage earners, probably because of the cost. Those with a little cash for alcoholic drinks appear to "get more for their money" from cane juice and the Liberian-distilled gins.

For a woman to sell cane juice requires only a few glasses and a place for people to drink. She often obtains her supply locally and does not have to worry about problems with empty bottles, deposits, and so on. For example, in a community in Nimba located off the main road, one woman who was divorced and without access to male labor for rice farming, was the only seller of cane juice in the community. Selling soft drinks and beer requires a refrigerator and access to a supply network for beverages originating in Monrovia.

The type of labor which a woman needs also influences her business activities. Children are most often used -- or allowed to -- sell items which are fixed in quantity and price. Price is not negotiable and is known to everyone, e.g., "sweet mothers." A woman knows how much money the child should report, giving her some measure of control over the activities of the child. Nor is the child faced with arithmetical calculations beyond her or his training. To sell a variety of items from a shop or items which do not have a fixed price or quantity requires more skill. Women who have to depend upon others to run a shop or bar may encounter problems in controlling their inventory. If unable to do it themselves, they need teenagers or young adults. A woman who has only younger children available to help her in marketing may be

restricted to certain items. Some women use children to market processed foods because the labor of children has a very low opportunity cost. This is especially important to women who are wage earners or engaged in some other activity.

Although we do not have sufficient data to state conclusively who these women entrepreneurs are, it is possible to make a tentative suggestion. The women who have been described, and others that we know of, have been approximately 40 years or older. Those without education or wage employment, have been mostly unmarried, either divorced or widowed. Those who are wage earners may be married but are receiving a salary over which they have considerable if not exclusive, control. All of the women described have control over their own labor or have access to the labor of children.

Some of the women expressed a strong opinion that they preferred to remain unmarried (cf. 2). At the same time, having been married provides them with a status in the community which unmarried women may not have.

Women who are wives in households engaged in subsistence-oriented rice cultivation don't have the time nor the access to cash and labor to engage in money-earning activities except for selling produce in weekly markets or selling items such as roasted peanuts or snuff from their house.

If a woman is married, she is under pressure to produce for the household, although she may be able to make a personal farm and grow some vegetables. Some entrepreneurial activity may be supported by her husband and others in the household, especially if the cash generated is used in ways which benefit the household. What would happen in a polygynous household if one wife were clearly more entrepreneurially oriented and economically successful than other wives is not evident. Such a situation might create considerable jealousy and suspicion within the household, especially if the other wives felt that the husband was providing financial support for the successful one.

For some people, a married woman who engages in too much independent activity is looked upon with suspicion and disfavor. There may also be pressure upon a woman who has more cash than others to redistribute that money within the household, making it difficult for her to reinvest.

Women throughout Liberia have demonstrated that they respond quickly and with ingenuity to incentives to earning money. Processed foods are one example of this response. Many women attempt to diversify their cash-earning activities. It is not unusual for women who are wage employed to also be involved in the informal sector through the sale of foods and other items. They often prepare the foods themselves and then have someone else, often a child, sell for them. Some women who are wage employed earn money by selling informally clothes, cosmetics, Christmas cards, and so on from their offices or home. One young woman, for example, worked her way through the university by making and selling ties to men.

Liberian women, it might be argued, are more entrepreneurially oriented than are men. Men tend to think in terms of "a job" which means wage employ-

ment. Men may seek to hold more than one job to augment their income. There are indications of ingenuity and responsiveness to opportunity, especially among the boys and young men who are itinerant traders. Some men who are wage employed, if they have the capital, will invest in taxis or real estate. Some women also pursue this strategy. But the majority of women do not have access to wage employment due to the nature of jobs available and their lack of training for them. Women are forced into the informal sector and have to think of creative ways of obtaining cash.

SUMMARY

For rural Liberian women, there has been both continuity and change in their roles. They continue as farm managers, contributing much of their labor involved in food production, and making the decisions concerning the allocation of that production. Yet, they now live within the context of a nation state and a cash economy. Women need cash, but their access to obtaining it varies considerably and is often less than men. The traditional agricultural system provided a reasonably secure life for people. The system was initially able to adjust to the incorporation into the cash economy. In recent years, the increasing out-migration of the young adult population, male and female, threatens that security. At the macro-level, the national policy and economy are not, under present conditions, able to provide alternatives for all to the economic and social security which existed in the rural communities. Given an economic situation in which government support of development is likely to be seriously constrained in the immediate future and in which there is a serious economic crisis, the capacity of the rural economy to adapt and to sustain itself becomes critical. To the extent that women have played a major role in the rural economy, the survival of the national economy may be dependent upon their continuing contribution.

The rural Liberia of the 1980's is a very different one from that of even forty years ago. The changes which have occurred have been a result of governmental and foreign investment and through the initiative of rural residents themselves. Indeed, it can be argued that much of what exists in rural Liberia today is there because of the initiative and investment of the local people who themselves have sought ways in which to improve their lives. Both women and men in rural Liberia have shown that they do respond to new ideas and new ways of doing things when they see that it will benefit them.

People have been receptive to additions to the agricultural cycle which complement rice cultivation and to diversifying their activities to fill slack periods with new tasks. In a community in upper Lofa, women and men noted the pressures on their time and said "We no longer devote ourselves to a single task. We rely on too many different crops now" and regretted the loss of leisure time which they once had (18, p. 118). In rural communities, people respect those who work hard and who are known to be serious about their farming activities. People do not respect -- and may even ridicule -- those who are lazy and not serious.

The innovations adopted include new crops, new technology, and new types of labor. The new crops have primarily been cash crops such as coffee, cocoa, sugar cane and peanuts. But also included are some citrus fruits and some vegetables such as cucumbers.

Both women and men have adopted swamp rice in several parts of the country. The technology adopted has utilized the same basic tools already available to farmers and has not required any substantial amount of capital. The data suggest that women have been more receptive to this innovation than men. On the other hand, the adoption of swamp rice technology involving water control and transplanting has had limited success. Women farmers appear interested if they have access to the male labor required initially to prepare the swamps.

Little is known about the process by which new seeds/varieties are introduced into the smallholder system. The number of varieties of rice which are cultivated is considerable. Some women have accepted LAC-23 which was developed locally. More would probably use it if the seed were more readily available. Research should be conducted on the issue of varieties of seed, both rice and other, and how varieties are diffused and adopted. A better understanding of how new varieties are introduced and adopted within the existing system might indicate how an agricultural extension service might most effectively operate.

Apart from the new technology associated with cash crops and swamp rice which involve utilization of traditional tools, the major technological innovation has been the chain saw. Men have learned to use the saw through concessions and have transferred that knowledge to preparing a farm site. Although men are the operators of the saw, women benefit when the farm site is cleared more efficiently and when the site is in high bush which decreases the amount of time they have to spend in weeding and which provides a higher yield. Access to saws is limited to those who either own or can rent a saw. Apart from the money needed to purchase or rent the saw, fuel is also required to operate them. Their use is still limited.

Women have responded to the introduction of rice mills and palm nut processing facilities. Women save considerable time and energy when they use a rice mill for a relatively low cost.

Farmers have not accepted the use of fertilizers on upland rice nor, on the basis of limited evidence, on improved swamp rice. The use of fertilizers increases weeding problems and does not improve the yield sufficiently to justify the cost.

In addition to new crops and new technology, people have also adopted new ways of organizing and recruiting labor. The use of hired migrant labor for some farm tasks is a development of the past 25 years or so. Cooperative work groups have been introduced in some towns and there has been a shift in who performs what task. Women now have cooperative work groups for brushing and clearing farm sites, a task which was formerly male.

Most of the innovations in the agricultural cycle have occurred independent of any government or donor agency-sponsored project.

Rural markets have developed in response to a growing urban market demand. Women have responded to their growing need for cash by producing and selling produce. Women have also responded to the growing demand for processed foods.

Markets in Liberia are "same day" markets in which most participants both go and come from the market in the same day. The market cycles which have developed in rural Liberia are based on this principle, so that they are either within a walking or driving distance feasible within a single day from the participating localities.

Farmers in southeastern Liberia are not in a competitive position with respect to those nearer the urban markets of Monrovia and Buchanan. The cost of transporting produce from southeastern Liberia is prohibitive. Further, the time involved is critical, especially when dealing with goods that are perishable. Both the length of time and the cost of moving produce by road from Sinoe, Maryland, and Grand Gedeh make it unlikely that those areas can respond to the urban demand for food. A critical issue is whether the re-establishing of shipping links along the coast or building a coastal highway would facilitate the expansion of the market system in these areas.

The pursuit of these new opportunities by women and men has in part been dependent upon the creation of an infrastructure. Especially important has been the construction of roads. Although there are still many communities not accessible by road, the road network has expanded significantly in the last quarter century.

Roads are a necessary but not sufficient condition to move produce from farm to market. The term "farm to market" road is a misnomer. Most of these roads are actually town or village to market roads. Most produce must still be headloaded from the farms to the towns, usually by women and children, ranging anywhere from a fifteen minute walk to a couple of hours.

Women also headload produce to market but the amount which can be headloaded is determined by the weight which can be managed by an individual woman and those whom she can mobilize to assist her in the walk to market. How far a woman is willing to walk and headload is not clear. Markets in Liberia begin early in the morning, unlike some places in West Africa where they do not begin until later in the day. For a market which is in full swing by 8 or 9 a.m. it seems unlikely that the women will have walked more than two hours to reach the market. In Bomi Territory where there are several markets which appear to serve the Monrovia urban area, the markets begin as early as 6:30 a.m. and are virtually finished by 9 a.m.

Women will also use public motor transportation to carry their goods to market. In deciding whether to use motor transportation, a woman must calculate the cost of transporting herself and the produce against the quantity of produce which she has to sell and its potential cash return. Obviously the greater the cost of transportation, the more which she must carry and receive to make the effort profitable. This is why some women will place their goods on the road for sale, either to travellers or wholesalers.

Utilizing motor transport permits women to reach markets and return home the same day. For many women, staying overnight is not a viable option because of childcare, husbandcare, and other domestic chores.

The high cost of transportation in much of southeastern Liberia provides a major constraint in the marketing of produce in that area. Roads are available for transporting produce but the cost of using vehicles is so prohibitive that people use the roads only for walking.

The types of produce which are placed along the roadside for sale fall into certain categories. Usually they are items with the exception of meat, which are not highly perishable. Palm nuts, palm heart, pineapples, bunches of bananas and plantains (which are quicker to spoil), eddoes, and sweet potatoes are among the more common items. Rice is not sold by the roadside nor does one often see greens. On the roads closer to Monrovia, e.g., the Bomi Hills road, large bundles of greens, such as cassava leaf, will be seen along the road to be sold to wholesalers and/or retailers. Palm wine and meat, which usually belong to men, are seen along the roads.

Although people recognize that roads also have negative impacts (16), most see the positive impacts as the more important. Access to motor transportation increases significantly the mobility of women and children, and the economic options of women.

The communities in which Liberian women live are becoming increasingly diverse. This diversification provides women with differing options and constraints. For the National Household Expenditure Survey, communities and localities were stratified into six strata (71). These strata encompass the range of variation of communities in Liberia, especially with reference to access to wage labor and to infra-structure. Each stratum has different implications for women.

In Monrovia (Stratum I), women have little opportunity to engage in agriculture. A woman's educational level is a major factor in determining the type of economic activity in which she can engage. For women with little or no formal education, the only opportunity is in the informal sector, primarily marketing. Women with formal schooling may participate in the formal sector. Some women are primarily housewives while others are students.

In the concession areas (Stratum II), there are few wage earning opportunities for women. Some agricultural concessions such as Firestone now employ some women as unskilled laborers. Mining concessions have virtually no jobs for women except in the clerical and service areas such as education and health. Women are likely to be in marketing or to be unemployed. There is little opportunity for farming, except for small gardens near homes. The local farming population in the area of the concession has been dislocated, creating further pressures on available farm land.

The country headquarters (Stratum III) present another situation for women. There is a contrast between the headquarters in the coastal and the interior counties. Buchanan in Grand Bassa is a special case since it

combines a country headquarters with a major concession, LAMCO. Robertsport, Harper, and Greenville are old settler communities which are now in economically depressed areas. These communities are all ethnically heterogeneous. Much of the land in the vicinity of these coastal communities has been in freehold for some time so that there is relatively little opportunity for upland rice cultivation by women. There is some wage employment for women with formal education. There are some opportunities in the informal sector but none of these communities has a particularly large market.

The interior county headquarters, Voinjama, Gbarnga, Sanniquelle, and Zwedru, have all experienced rapid growth in recent years. They are "boom towns." There are some wage jobs available to women. The informal sector provides opportunities for women, which in some situations have developed into small business activities. In all these towns there is a "core" community which held traditional rights to land in the area, but which now is a minority of the population. Land surrounding the town is rapidly coming under freehold so that the "core" community is increasingly finding itself without access to land. Opportunities for subsistence-oriented farming within walking distance of the community are becoming restricted. All these communities have sizeable markets, although Zwedru's is the least developed. All these communities are now ethnically heterogeneous and have substantial student populations.

The large rural towns (Stratum IV) are often district headquarters. There is some wage employment, concentrated in the public sector. There may be a few small businesses such as drugstores or bars which women may operate. Although many of these towns have an immigrant population, usually from the surrounding rural areas, the "core" community in the towns probably comprises a larger portion of the population than in the country headquarters. The towns are likely to be more homogeneous ethnically than the country headquarters, but less homogeneous than in the past. The student population is likely to be an important sector of the community. Some land surrounding the town may be in freehold, but there is still opportunity for subsistence-oriented farming, although the bush may be comparatively young. There may be some market or other informal sector opportunities.

Living in communities such as the country or district headquarters provides women with some options which they do not have in the rural areas, but also introduces some new constraints. In the rural communities where everyone is a farmer, a woman's husband derives his income from the sale of cash crops. Food is provided by the woman from what she produces. Food may be sold to obtain needed household items. Men's income in rural communities is allocated for the construction of houses or the payment in taxes and school fees. School fees may be taken care of by women, however, if the husband has more children than he can take care of, often the case in the large polygynous households.

In the larger communities, however, husbands may no longer be farmers but have some type of wage job. People are living in an environment in which the need for cash has increased substantially over what obtains in the rural community. The definition of responsibilities within the household is likely to parallel that of the more rural community and of a subsistence-oriented household. Women are likely to be held responsible for providing

food, requiring that they have access to cash. Husbands may be employed in jobs with unreliable or intermittent incomes or face at least periodic unemployment. Or women may find themselves heads of households. The burden often falls upon women to generate the needed cash to keep the household operating on a day-to-day basis.

Some women in Greenville, for example, indicated that they wore in marketing because they were responsible for feeding the families and could not depend upon their husbands' incomes to meet their cash needs. Some said they didn't have access to the necessary male labor to make farm.

For women in the urban communities who have access to land for rice farming, their ability to make farm may be dependent upon their husbands' employment. If he is employed in a regular job with a reliable income, he will be able to provide the necessary cash to hire laborers to brush farm. For women whose husbands are either unemployed or have very small or irregular incomes, even with access to land, they may not be able to make farm. The husband may not be able to provide the necessary money to hire laborers and may not be willing to brush farm himself. Such women have few options but to engage in some activity in the informal sector.

The fifth stratum is that of other rural population centers. These communities are located on roads. There are usually no wage jobs available except in the school or clinic. There may be a few small shops or a bar providing income for women. These communities usually do not have a daily market, except perhaps for a few women selling from their houses. The communities may have a weekly market, although that is less likely in the southeastern region. Virtually all women will be engaged in farming. Most land will be customary tenure. In some communities there is good opportunity to combine subsistence rice production with cash cropping. On the other hand, there may be a shortage of male labor since there are few wage opportunities for men and there is unlikely to be a school past the elementary level. In such communities almost all women will be illiterate and few will speak more than "small" English.

The sixth stratum is composed of the dispersed or inaccessible rural communities. These are either the very small farm villages on the roads or the communities inaccessible by motor road. There are no wage earning opportunities in these towns, no markets, no shops or bars. Land will be under customary tenure unless it is a farm village or deed land. There is limited opportunity for cash cropping unless the community is within walking distance of weekly or daily markets. The sex ratio in the inaccessible communities may be skewed due to the absence of both wage earning and cash cropping opportunities for men. These communities are also unlikely to have a school. Subsistence farming is the activity of both men and women in these communities.

Some of the farm villages on the roads have developed on deeded farm land which may belong either to individuals from the coast or to the local elite. Residents in these farm villages are farming for the landowner who may be kin of the workers. These villages may be engaged in rice production

both for themselves and the landowner and in cash cropping such as cocoa, coffee, and sugar cane, or in some areas, rubber. Land is likely to be sufficient in many of these farm villages for women to engage in vegetable production. They may have access to weekly or daily markets for the disposal of their produce.

Rice production continues to be the core of women's farming activities. The identification of these categories of women farmers points out that Liberian women farmers are not a homogeneous population. There are several target groups among women farmers who will need development activities to assist them in expanding their farming activities.

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Statistics on school attendance by females indicate clearly that female enrollment in formal schools is less than male and that females have completed fewer grades in school than males. The explanations for the lower attendance rates of females are economic and sociocultural.

In Liberia today there is a small elite of well-educated women, many with degrees from abroad, whose access to formal education has been greater than that of many men in the society, and the vast majority of other women in the society who have had little or no access to formal education.

This section will discuss the socialization of females, especially in rural Liberia, and relate that socialization to adult female tasks. It will then turn to the issue of formal education and women.

Several terms need to be briefly defined. Socialization or enculturation refers to the process by which individuals learn the various ascribed or achieved roles of their society. This process can occur in specialized institutions such as schools or churches. It also occurs informally through day-to-day living and "on the job" experience. Individuals do not necessarily have to or need to go to school to learn adult roles or occupations. Education is usually taken to refer to the formal, western-oriented school system in Liberia. A number of ethnic groups in Liberia have their own educational institutions of initiation or "bush" schools, often associated with the Poro and Sande secret societies.

The formal educational system in Liberia is modeled on the American system, beginning with kindergarten or pre-school and running through the 12th grade, followed by four years of university. The language of instruction is English. The distribution of schools by type is indicated in Table 9. Schools in Liberia have traditionally been closely associated with the churches, with many originating as missionary schools. The public or government school system is a more recent development, with most of the government schools having been established within the last 25 years. Until the 1950's, schools were concentrated in the coastal areas. Children, mostly male, from the interior either attended boarding schools or were sent to live with families.

Boarding schools, usually mission or church, have traditionally been important in the Liberian system, although they are declining in importance. The current high cost of operation makes them prohibitive to maintain. People, in talking about their school experiences, often refer to the time they were "on the mission."

Government schools are now located in many communities. Some communities have constructed schools themselves and pay the teachers themselves. Rural communities, if they have a school, usually have only an elementary school, or perhaps one reaching the 7th or 8th grade. Secondary schools tend to be located in the urban communities, especially district and county headquarters. In Grand Gedeh, for example, all the county's high schools

EDUCATION STATISTICS FOR LIBERIA - 1980
SCHOOLS, TEACHERS AND ENROLLMENT BY COUNTY,
SEX AND MANAGEMENT - 1980

Area	Management	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	Enrollment		Total
				Boys	Girls	
Monrovia	Public	58	1004	18815	11533	30348
	Mission	53	609	9284	7993	17277
	Other	78	495	7605	6722	14327
	Sub-Total	189	2108	35704	26248	61952
Grand Bassa	Public	108	417	7167	3389	10556
	Mission	60	237	4718	3416	8134
	Other	18	78	2038	993	3031
	Sub-Total	186	732	13923	7798	21721
Bong	Public	72	438	9033	3975	13008
	Mission	14	105	1813	1192	3005
	Other	21	156	4506	2814	7320
	Sub-Total	107	699	15352	7981	23333
Cape Mount	Public	38	136	2310	1228	3538
	Mission	10	41	906	654	1560
	Other	6	33	783	480	1263
	Sub Total	54	210	3999	2362	6361
Grand Gedeh	Public	96	383	8348	4475	12823
	Mission	29	151	3028	2022	5050
	Other	7	22	512	286	798
	Sub-Total	132	556	11838	6783	18671
Lofa	Public	137	544	14392	5662	20054
	Mission	18	127	2111	1187	3298
	Other	15	70	1717	873	2590
	Sub-Total	170	741	18220	7722	25942
Montserrado	Public	115	650	13119	3014	16133
	Mission	50	497	5203	4621	9824
	Other	57	361	7636	4536	12172
	Sub-Total	222	1508	25958	12171	38129
Maryland	Public	150	616	11599	6292	17891
	Mission	27	171	2883	1986	4869
	Other	3	10	369	134	503
	Sub-Total	180	797	14851	8412	23263
Nimba	Public	177	537	17528	9607	27135
	Mission	37	299	5209	2922	8131
	Other	30	277	5468	3903	9271
	Sub-Total	244	1113	28205	16332	44537
Sinoe	Public	126	427	7635	3134	10769
	Mission	36	175	2380	1350	3730
	Other	5	33	476	223	699
	Sub-Total	167	635	10491	4707	15198
Total	Public	1077	5152	159946	52309	162255
	Mission	334	2412	37535	27343	64878
	Other	240	1535	31110	20864	51974
GRAND TOTAL		1651	9099	178591	100516	279107

Source: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education, 1980

are located in Zwedru. This distribution of schools means that students often have to live away from their hometown when they reach secondary level, if not before. Students in boarding schools are provided with board and room. Many students, however, have to find a place to live and make their own arrangements for food. Some students may be able to find housing with relatives, while others have to rent rooms. Food is often provided by their families, with students making periodic trips home to obtain their rice, which they often have to cook themselves.

According to Ministry of Education statistics, one quarter of the nation's schools are located in Monrovia and Montserrado County. Mission and other schools outnumber public schools in Monrovia. On the other hand, public schools comprise approximately 80 percent of the schools in Lofa and Maryland. Nearly two-thirds of the schools in the nation are now public.

The expense of attending schools varies considerably, depending upon school and grade. Boarding school costs have increased steadily. The yearly fees at one church-supported secondary schools in an interior county are now \$700. Even when there is no tuition charge, students often have to provide their own books and uniforms and may have to pay various activity or other fees. For many families, meeting these expenses is one of their major cash outlays. For students who want to continue their education, finding enough money to meet their expenses, including living, is often a struggle.

In rural communities, people will express pride in their town's school, and, if they do not have one, will probably put a school among the priority development projects for the community. At the same time, there is often a deep ambivalence about the school. The school is a symbol of the community's "modernity." But, by its being "modern," it is not part of the community. It represents a way of life different from, and, in many ways, alien to the rural community. This difference is often manifest in the physical isolation of the school from the community. Schools are almost always on the margin of rural communities and may even be located some distance from the community. Adults are aware that whatever is being taught in the school has little relationship to their way of life centered around farming. While children may attend school, adults also continue to need their labor and attempt to teach the children the skills which they need to survive in the rural world. Given the labor involved and the skills which they need to learn, it is easier for boys than girls to attend school and still maintain themselves in the rural community.

CHILDREN: THEIR LABOR AND SOCIALIZATION

Reference has been made at several points to the contribution of children to the performance of various agricultural and domestic tasks. Women are often dependent upon the labor of children for the performance of productive and domestic chores (82). Tasks are assigned to children commensurate with their physical and intellectual abilities and the amount of responsibility and initiative required for the task. The labor of children has a very low, if not zero, opportunity cost. Although it can be argued to what extent women operating primarily in the subsistence-oriented sector attach value to their labor, it does appear that women assign tasks to

children in order to free their own time for other tasks or activities which children are not capable of doing. Between their agricultural and domestic tasks, women often have more to do in any given day than they are able to do themselves. Children's labor is critical to getting the work completed. Another aspect of assigning tasks to children is that in the process the children learn the various tasks which they will have to perform as adults. They learn tasks by proceeding from the easier, simpler level to more complex, demanding tasks.

Girls begin to learn at an early age some of the basic tasks and skills which they will need throughout their lives. A girl of two or three years will accompany older girls and women to the waterside and return with a small pan of water on her head. As she grows older, the size of the container will increase until by the time she is ten to twelve years old she is carrying a full bucket of water. Girls who are little more than toddlers will be provided with a small mortar and pestle with which they will begin to practice beating. They will not be given real rice to beat until they are somewhat older or are closely supervised by older girls or women but they will begin to imitate the motions of their elders.

Children are expected to do certain things when they are "ready" to do it. Pressure is applied on a child only when she or he is far behind others of the same age. For both sexes, there are certain tasks which all adults of that sex should be skilled in, especially those involved in rice cultivation, while there are other tasks which are optional.

Children less than eight years are believed not to have "sense" and not to be able to retain effectively or take learning seriously. At about eight, children are believed to have "sense" or reason. From that age, children can learn and be taught. After about sixteen, an individual is considered to be "a man or woman 'for himself' and is expected to teach instead of being taught" (59, p. 80). These attitudes affect both the time when children start western school and when they leave it.

In learning at any age, the emphasis is placed upon imitation, following orders, and observation (26, 45, 59). Children are discouraged from asking questions (26).

Girls and boys play together when small, but by approximately eight years, they rarely play together. By age four, children are permitted to leave the house and its immediate area for play. Boys continue to go away as they grow older, but by age five or even earlier, girls begin to be assigned domestic chores and are more restricted to home (26, 59). By six or seven years, a girl is expected to regularly assist her mother and other adult females.

Boys are allowed more independence and are supervised less. They may be expected to assist in bring water and gathering firewood. If there are no girls in the household, they may be expected to look after younger children (59, p. 78). Adult male tasks are perceived to involve greater strength and physical dexterity and boys begin these tasks at a later age, leaving them more time to play (45).

In the farming cycle, the major task allocated primarily to children is birdwatching, most often boys. Girls of comparable age are usually involved in assisting in domestic chores.

Children often assist in marketing activities. The child's age influences the amount and type of produce sold. Women make up a pan or tray of produce and tell the children the price of the produce (45). Children of five to seven years begin to carry a tray or pan of produce such as peanuts on their heads around the town. "They say nothing and do nothing, but because of their height everyone can see what's on their heads" (45, p. 144). The youngest children who cannot yet add or subtract sell the goods in predetermined units and do not make change. There is no bargaining about the price. The child doesn't return home until all the produce is sold. The proper amount of money must be reported to the woman who provided the goods. In return, the woman may give the child some small money (45).

Older children are permitted to sell more varieties of produce and to make change. Children are not permitted to sell for less than the price set by the woman and may have to consult with her if the customer demands a lower price. Approximately one-third of the children aged six sold regularly and about 80 percent of these aged eleven sold in a small community in Bong (45, p. 145).

One reason given by people for children selling produce around town in this manner is that to do so requires walking about the town and in and out of people's houses. Adults who did this would be suspected of other motives and required to observe formal etiquette. Children are free of such suspicions and can move about freely (45, p. 146, cf. 82).

Women may also send children to daily or weekly markets to sell produce. They are especially likely to do this when they do not have the free time to go themselves, or when the quantity to be sold is too small to justify either the expenditure of her time or her cost of transportation. Opportunity costs for children are low. For example, in Plibo, we met a brother and sister, both in their early teens, along the road. They were in Plibo to sell some palm nuts and cassava, the market value of which was only \$2-\$3. They had walked to Plibo from a neighboring town off the main motor road, approximately 8 to 10 miles from Plibo. Although there is a feeder road into the community, transportation was irregular and unreliable. From the junction of the main road to Plibo was \$1 each way, for approximately five miles. The roundtrip would require a minimum of \$2 plus the time spent in walking to and from the main motor road. The amount of produce being sold was small, so that there would be no transport charge for it. But, given \$2 for carrying an equivalent amount of produce to market, there would be no profit, not even considering the return for labor. The woman for whom the children were selling was not willing to walk herself nor could she justify the transportation expense, so she sent the children. By sending children who had no other responsibilities during the school vacation and who could afford the time spent in walking, the woman was at least obtaining the value of the produce.

We have elsewhere provided examples of women in urban areas being dependent upon access to the labor of children for their economic activities.

A study of children's social and economic roles in Kano, Nigeria, found that changes in the occupation of women were correlated with the age, gender, and number of children whose labor they had access to. "The lack of child helpers is the most frequent reason for 'a woman's' stopping a particularly occupation" (82, p. 118). The dependency of women in Kano upon children is increased by the Muslim society in which many of the women are in purdah (cf. 84), a constraint not faced by Liberian women.

The Kano study also found that school attendance of children was affecting the economic activities of women by making it more difficult for married women, especially those in purdah, to pursue independent economic activities. Although people there recognized the long-term benefits of western education, they also recognized the more immediate socio-economic consequences of children attending school (82, p. 133).

Comment is frequently made in Liberia about the discontinuities between western education and the traditional farming and social systems. The socialization received in western-oriented schools may conflict with the values and skills necessary for traditional farming (26, 59). Parents are often ambivalent about schools and may hesitate to lose the help of children. "... For many of the pupils, there is a constant conflict between the demands of regular, successful school attendance and the demands of their parents for contribution to the upkeep of the family under a traditional economic system" (59, p. 89).

Among the Loma, the knowledge and experience necessary for rice farming is "considered to be essential to the upbringing of every boy and girl no matter what their aspirations for the future may be" (18, p. 117). Students are expected to work on the farm in the afternoon and on weekends. "During peak periods of labor of the farm, this is enforced by cooking the evening meal there before returning to town. If a student wants to eat, he must show up on the farm (18, p. 117). A CARE-sponsored free food program at the local school failed because of lack of parental and community support. Everyone in town understood the reason except the CARE field representative (18).

The peak period for male labor is during the long school vacation when boys are free to help. Once school begins, they continue to go to the farm in the afternoon or on weekends. The peak period for female labor, however, comes during the middle of the school year. Even though girls may not directly participate in planting or weeding, they provide valuable assistance in daily household chores and caring for smaller children, relieving adult women for the farm work (9).

School drop out rates appear to be higher among girls than boys. Generally, adults are more supportive of boys continuing in school than girls. Also, many children begin school late so that they soon reach an age at which they are taken to be adults (59, p. 90). For females, this means that they are considered old enough to bear children and to assume adult female tasks on the farm.

The data presented on education and females suggest several inter-related issues. Girls have responsibilities within the household which

exceed those of boys and which begin at an earlier age. These responsibilities are a major constraint on their attending western schools. In any case, western schools in the rural community are not well integrated into the community and impart skills which have little relevance to adult life in the rural community.

Women rely heavily upon the labor of their children. The withdrawal of the labor of children would only increase their work load. In her research on Kenyan women, Pala Okeyo found that older children were essential to women who were in marketing. For women to engage in business they had to have someone attend to their domestic responsibilities. She asked the question "When you are away on business, who takes charge of caring for your husband and small children, minding the livestock and chickens, cleaning the house, and fetching water?" (57, p. 34). She goes on to say: "The most striking aspect of the women's responses is that, for every category of work, the labor of older children is the most frequently substituted for adult women's labor when women are away on business...The presence of older children, however, enables rural women to pursue an income-generating activity, such as food marketing, for long periods away from home (57, p. 340).

Girls' attendance at school, then, must be viewed in a broader perspective than simply emphasizing the desirability of their going to school. One recommendation might be to lighten their work load and that of women. A careful distinction needs to be made between those chores which are part of their socialization and those which have become merely repetitive. Until major changes occur in the rural environment, skills such as headloading water are essential to survival and must be learned. Further, it is essential that the curriculum of the rural schools be more relevant to the community.

In addition to closely examining the chores of girls, the chores of women which must be passed on to others when they are working or absent need to be identified. Programs which aim at increasing women's productive activities and increasing female attendance in school will be counterproductive unless the issue of domestic chores is addressed.

Although much of a girl's socialization is "on the job," an important part of her socialization in much of rural Liberia is the "bush school" or initiation school which is most often associated with the Sande Society for women and the Poro society for men. As these are secret societies, little is known about the "bush schools" by noninitiates. There are public events associated with these schools which are open to all, especially "the coming out" when the school concludes its session.

The Sande society is found primarily among the Mande- and Mel-speaking peoples. Other ethnic groups have "bush schools" which may be a variant on the Sande society school. There is considerable difference throughout the country as to the age at which individuals are most likely to attend the "bush school" and the duration of the school.

Traditionally, the Sande society alternated with the Poro society in holding their respective "bush schools." The length of the cycle accorded to each varied, but in the past the "bush schools" would be in session for

several years. During that period of time, those being initiated were in an isolated hamlet in the forest where they received instruction on a range of topics, both practical and esoteric. Their "coming out" provided the initiates with a new status in their society. Formerly, these "bush schools" were the major educational institution in much of Monrovia.

Today, the "bush schools" continue but in an altered form. Sande still alternatives with Poro, but the length of time allocated to the sessions has shortened. Although there are still some communities in which the "bush school" may be in session for one or two years, the regulation that these schools should not interfere with the government-regulated school system has meant that the length of session has often been shortened to the long school vacation, December to February. Obviously, the shorter time period affects what the initiates are taught. Some children may spend as little as a week in the school.

Other factors are changing the "bush schools." The cost of operating a "bush school" is considerable for individuals and the community. Each initiate pays a fee for attending and each initiate is provided with food by her or his family. The school may also detract from farm work, affecting production. In one large community in Lofa in the late 70's, a minimum total expenditure of \$25,000 was involved in a Poro school attended by 2,300 boys. It is not unlikely that the total cost of that school was closer to \$50,000 by the time all expenses were calculated, including food and the new clothes which all initiates must wear when they "come out" (12). Costs for a Sande school would be comparable. Lengthy sessions have become economically prohibitive.

In addition to children residing in the rural community, children from Monrovia and the concessions are often sent "home" for initiation. The initiates may be younger than in the past. For some, it would now appear that the important thing is to be initiated and not necessarily what is learned. Toddlers are now often sent in the concluding phases to be initiated.

The bush schools are temporary hamlets in which a number of children and adults may be concentrated. In addition to the costs of the school, people are often concerned about the health conditions. Once a child goes into school, she or he is not permitted to "come out" until the session is formally ended. If a child becomes ill while in school there is a problem of access to medical care. There is also a risk of epidemics such as measles in such situations. In some communities, local medical personnel who are themselves members of the societies work closely with those conducting the school to deal with health problems and minimize the risks.

Although changes have occurred in these schools, the large number of children who attend them indicates that they continue to be an integral part of life.

FORMAL EDUCATION

Of the total female population 20 years of older of 363,180 enumerated in the 1974 census, there were only 1,992 who had completed four years or more of college (.5 percent). People are able to identify fewer than ten Liberian women who have completed a Ph.D. In the 1974 census, there were 40

Liberian women who have completed a Ph.D. In the 1974 census, there were 40 women medical doctors and dentists enumerated and 30 women lawyers and judges.

Less than one percent of the female population over 15 years of age has completed some college, in comparison with 1.8 percent of the male population. Three percent of the females over 10 years have had some high school or above. Less than one percent of females in the rural areas 10 years or older have completed some high school, compared with three percent of the males. Of the female population 5 years or older, 88 percent have completed no grade, compared with 72 percent.

In rural Liberia, of approximately 273,000 women 20 years or older, there are only 233 women with four or more years of college. Of approximately 252,000 men, there are 649 men with a comparable level of education.

Census data on educational level attained and current school attendance are summarized in Tables I-14 and I-15.

For Liberia, of women more than 25 years of age, more than 90 percent have not completed any grade and less than 1 percent have completed college.

The educated population is concentrated in the urban areas where 39 percent of the males and 19 percent of the females, 30 years or older, have completed some grade. In the rural areas, on the other hand, only 8 percent of the males and 2 percent of the females, 30 years or older, have completed some grade.

For both sexes, access to education is, in part, a function of living in an urban area. In the urban areas, a majority of both males and females in the 10-14 age group are in school. In the rural areas, 71 percent of the males and 84 percent of the females in this age group are not in school.

The greatest disparity in the educational level attained between males and females is in the 20-24 year group. This age group was young at the time when the Liberian educational system began to expand in the rural areas and it is likely that educational opportunity went first to boys.

In the urban areas, within the 20-24 year old group, there is a greater disparity between the level of grade completed for males and females than in the rural areas.

The smallest difference between females and males, with reference to current school attendance, is in the 5-9 year group, with 86-19 percent not attending school for both sexes. (Table I-15).

The difference between the percentages of males and females attending school is greatest in the 15-19 year group. The question is whether the smaller difference between those now 10-14 years will continue as they grow older or whether the difference will again widen as girls leave school earlier than boys. Data are not available which indicate the comparative dropout rates for boys and girls.

School attendance percentages are higher in the urban areas than the rural. For females, only in the 10-14 year group are more than 50 percent in school. Although attendance figures are higher for both sexes in the urban area, the rate of female attendance is not comparatively better relative to male attendance than in the rural. Only among the 10-14 year group is the difference between males and females smaller in the urban area than the rural. While females living in urban areas have a better chance than their rural counterparts to be in school, their comparative position with respect to males is not improved.

In comparing the percentages for male and female attendance, attendance rates for females are highest in the 10-14 year group in all counties/territories, while rates for males are highest in all counties/territories for the 15-19 year group.

There are considerable differences among the counties/territories in the relative percentages attending school. Montserrado ranks highest in percentage attending for both males and females in the 10-14 year group and for females in the 15-19 year group ^{1/}. Rank ordering of the counties/territories indicate relative differences between the percentages of males and females attending. Attendance for both sexes tends to be higher in the coastal areas with the exception of males 15-19, with Grand Gedeh ranking fourth in the percentage enrolled. For males, the areas with the highest attendance are Montserrado, Kru Coast, Sasstown, Sinoe, and Marshall. For the girls, the highest attendance areas are Montserrado, Maryland, Marshall, Kru Coast, Sinoe, and Sasstown.

The area of lowest attendance for both males and females is Rivercess Territory, with the exception of males 15-19, with Grand Bassa ranking lowest. For males, after Grand Bassa and Rivercess, the next lowest are Bong and Grand Cape Mount. For females, after Rivercess, the areas of lowest attendance are Lofa, Bong, Cape Mount, and Grand Bassa.

In 1980, female students were 42 percent of pre-elementary students, 35 percent of elementary students, 29 percent of junior high, and 27 percent of senior high students (Table 10). Women were 27 percent of the students at the University of Liberia and 37 percent at Cuttington University College. Female enrollment at the elementary and secondary levels declined 1 percent from 1979 to 1980, according to Ministry of Education statistics.

Females are a higher percentage of students at mission schools than at government or "other" schools. In 1980, 42 percent of the students in mission schools were female, compared with 32 percent in government schools and 40 percent in "other."

The percentage of students in mission schools who are female is highest in Monrovia and Montserrado. The percentages range from 36-46 percent in

^{1/} An anomaly is the higher percentage of males 15-19 years attending school in Sasstown than in Montserrado.

the various counties. The percentage of female students is also higher in "other" schools in Monrovia.

The percentage of students in public schools who are female is also highest for Monrovia (38 percent), but lowest for Montserrado (19 percent). In the other counties, the percentage varies around one-third. The percentage of all students who are in public schools is highest in Maryland and Lofa. In Lofa, 77 percent of the students are in public schools, but of those only 28 percent are female.

Monrovia and Montserrado account for 36 percent of the total enrollment in schools and 38 percent of the females enrolled.

By grade, the percentage of students who are female declines steadily by grade in all three types of school from pre-elementary to 11th grade. Female enrollment in the 12th grade is stable or increases slightly. In the public schools, the decline in the percentage of female students is from 41.3 percent in kindergarten to 18.1 percent in the 11th grade. The biggest decline is between elementary and junior high.

The decline in the percentage of female students is considerably less in mission and "other" schools than the public. With the mission schools, the decline is from 46.4 percent of the students in kindergarten to 37.3 percent in the 11th and 12th grades. In other schools, the decline is from 45.2 percent in pre-elementary to a low of 29.6 in the 10th grade and an increase to 34.8 percent in the 12th grade.

These trends in female enrollment need to be placed in the context of trends in total enrollment. Total enrollment declines steadily by grade in all types of school, but the decline is less in the mission and other schools than public schools. The relative percentage of students in mission schools increases from 21 percent of total enrollment at the pre-elementary level to 34 percent at the senior high level.

At the teacher training institutes at Kakata and Zorzor, females were 12 percent and 13 percent of the students. At B.W.I., the major government vocational training institute, females were 21 percent of the students, with 62 percent of them registered in bookkeeping and secretarial science (74).

At the University of Liberia, the percentage of women students has averaged around 25 percent since 1975. In 1980, 26.5 percent of the students were women. There is considerable variation in the percentage of women enrolled in the various colleges. Using 1980 enrollment figures, the percentage was highest in Liberia College (38 percent), followed by the Busin ss College (33 percent). The percentages were lowest in agriculture (13 percent) and science (15 percent). 26 percent of the law students and 23 percent of the medical students were women. The percentage of women students has consistently been lowest in the agricultural college.

EDUCATION STATISTICS FOR LIBERIA - 1980
 Number of Pupils by Grade, Type of School and Sex

Grade	Public		Mission		Other		Total	
	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls
Kinderg.	22252	9194	9124	4237	7881	3559	39257	16990
Pre-Grade	23961	9117	7473	3322	9524	4316	40958	16755
Total Pre-Elementary	46213	18311	16597	7559	17405	7875	80215	33745
1	23591	8633	7639	3153	7499	3170	38729	14956
2	17767	5791	6203	2667	5489	2257	29459	10715
3	15185	4725	5371	2266	4525	1778	25081	8769
4	12490	3656	4750	1994	3749	1349	20989	6999
5	10523	3080	4254	1772	2906	1055	17683	5907
6	8826	2221	3899	1640	2551	922	15276	4783
Total Elem. (1-6)	88382	28106	32116	13492	26719	10531	147217	52129
7	6643	1553	3443	1431	1960	601	12046	3585
8	5533	1231	3081	1253	1681	521	10295	3005
9	5208	1129	3042	1123	1482	468	9732	2720
Total Jr. Hi. (7-9)	17384	3913	9566	3807	5123	1590	32073	9310
10	4393	871	2343	897	949	281	7685	2049
11	3265	590	2170	809	841	261	6276	1660
12	2618	518	2086	779	937	326	5641	1623
Total Sr. Hi. (10-12)	10276	1979	6599	2485	2727	868	19602	5332
GRAND TOTAL	162255	52309	64878	27343	51974	20864	279107	100516

Source: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education, 1980

Table 11
 Women Graduates, University of Liberia, 1978 & 1980
 by County of Origin

County/Territory	1978		1980	
	Female Graduates	Total Graduates	Female Graduates	Total Graduates
Grand Bassa	6	16	10	28
Bong	5	15	1	8
Cape Mount	6	14	8	21
Grand Gedeh	1	8	2	12
Lofa	3	34	6	47
Maryland	5	22	11	24
Montserrado	25	58	33	66
Nimba	8	24	6	23
Sinoe	5	11	2	13
Bomi	1	6	3	5
Kru Coast	1	5	1	6
Gibi	0	4	2	3
Rivercess	1	3	0	6
Marshall	0	0	0	5
Sasstown	0	0	0	3
Foreign students	5	31	7	31
Total	72	251	92	301

While the percentage of students who are women has been fairly stable, the total enrollment at the university has increased from approximately 2,000 in 1975 to 3,400 in 1980.

The University of Liberia graduated its first women in 1905 when four of the eleven graduates were women. It was not until 1949, however, that there were women graduates annually. 37 percent of the graduates were women in 1954, the highest percentage ever. That dropped, however, the following year to 4 percent. During the last 20 years, the lowest percentage was 14 in 1965 and 1971. Since 1972, the percentage of women graduates has ranged from 20 percent in 1976 to 32 percent in 1977. In 1980, 31 percent of the graduates were women.

With reference to Home County, the percentage of 1980 graduates who were women was highest for Montserrado and Maryland, followed by Cape Mount and Grand Bassa. The lowest percentage of women graduates were from Lofa and Bong, except for three of the territories who had no women graduates. Lofa had more male graduates (41) than Montserrado (33), but had only 6 female graduates compared to 33 from Montserrado (Table 11).

Two-thirds of the women graduates of the university in 1980 came from Montserrado, Maryland, Cape Mount, and Bassa.

These statistics would appear to be consistent with a survey of university students conducted in 1975 which indicated that there were considerable differences in the socioeconomic background of male and female students at the University of Liberia. 27 percent of the 713 students surveyed were women (13).

Nearly half of the surveyed women were born in Montserrado in contrast to only one-fifth of the men. More than one-third of the men had graduated from a government high school in comparison to only 14 percent of the women. Nearly one-third of the women students had graduated from St. Theresa's or C.W.A. (College of West Africa) in comparison to only 9 percent of the men from St. Patrick's or C.W.A.

Approximately 30 percent of the women had lived in Monrovia for most or all of their lives in contrast to 14 percent of the men.

One-third of the men reported that their father had "no formal education" in contrast to only 4 percent of the women. More than one-third of the women had fathers who had completed some college or more. In contrast, only 12 percent of the men reported that level of education for their father.

More than half of the men had mothers who had no formal education in comparison with 21 percent of the women. 40 percent of the women's mothers had completed high school or above, but only 12 percent of the men had mothers with that level of education.

The women students started school earlier than the men: 73 percent of the women reported that they started at 5 to 6 years, but only 35 percent of the men. Consistent with current enrollment figures, the women were more likely than the men to have attended mission or other private schools. 40

percent of the men attended government secondary schools in contrast to 12 percent of the women.

Nearly two-thirds of the women reported that the language they spoke most often before school was English, in contrast to slightly more than one quarter of the men who reported English. Nearly two-thirds of the women reported that English was their first language in contrast to one-fifth of the men.

Women were more likely to be receiving most of the support from their parents (41 percent) than were the men (23 percent). More men than women relied upon government scholarships or their own earnings/savings.

The data indicate that those women who are able to maintain themselves in school to reach the university level come from a small sector of the Liberian population. They are more likely than men to have come out of the private school system and are more likely than men to have parents or guardians with the financial resources to support them in school. Comparing the educational background of the surveyed students' parents with the educational background of the population as a whole indicates that they are an elite group. Of the surveyed students, both sexes have parents who are better educated than the population as a whole, but those of the women are even better educated than the men. Of Liberian men over 30 years, only 1.5 percent have had some schooling at the college level. More than one-third of the surveyed women had fathers who had completed some college. Of Liberian women over 30, only 2 percent have had some high school, in contrast with the 40 percent of the women's mothers who had completed high school or above. For a woman to attend college requires the completion of high school and the statistics on school attendance point out that relatively few complete that level. Those that do are more likely to come from the coastal counties and to graduate from mission or other private schools than public. Attendance at these schools is constrained by available space and by the increasing financial costs.

An educational system which is inegalitarian from the lowest grades becomes increasing so as it moves to the higher levels. Lower class and rural women are those least likely to make it through the system. To understand both the class and sex bias it is necessary to place the educational system in a wider socio-economic context.

At the class level, among the traditional ruling elite of Liberia, a value system existed which accorded support for a good education for both men and women and which attached a high value to education. The education of their women served a particularly purpose for the oligarchy. Supporting the education and training of their women appears to have been a mechanism by which men of the oligarchy could exclude the advancement of men of indigenous background. Women of their own class could be appointed to positions in lieu of men of indigenous background. The emphasis on education for their own women was not extended to rural women. Both political and economic pressures necessitated the expansion of the educational system in Liberia, particularly in the 1950's and 1960's. Politically it was part of the Unification Policy which originated under Tubman. Economically it was necessary to provide the manpower for the jobs which were being created in the concessions and the

public sector. These were primarily jobs for men. As such, there was little reason to encourage the education of girls in the rural areas.

From the rural perspective, sexual inequality in access to education continues to exist. As indicated earlier, there is considerable ambivalence in most rural communities about the benefits of formal western-oriented schooling. It is recognized, however, that getting a job in the "modern" sector is dependent upon "knowing book." These jobs are primarily for men, and hence it is boys who need to go to school and for whom the limited financial resources are allocated first.

More important, however, than the limited financial resources and the availability of schools, is the necessity of girls learning the skills necessary for farming. The task of an adult woman in rural Liberia is to make farm. She must learn these skills while growing up. Farming, which might appear to outsiders to be relatively simple, is in fact a complex system involving knowledge of the environment, the varieties of crops to be planted, and the techniques of cultivation. Learning in rural Liberian society occurs primarily through observation, imitation, and practice. The knowledge which a girl must learn to be an adult farmer is not available through books, but must be acquired through working on the farm. This is not compatible with attending school. By the time a girl is considered eligible for marriage, she should have acquired the basic knowledge necessary to "make farm," even though she may be working under the supervision of older women for a period of time.

The survival of rural communities is dependent upon their peoples' making farm. That responsibility lies primarily, and increasingly, with women. Whether or not articulated, adults appear to correctly perceive that the formal school provides little for girls relevant to their adult status. Not sending girls to school in the context of contemporary rural Liberia is a rational choice. Sending girls to school is a luxury which these communities simply cannot afford under the present economic and technological systems. Attendance at elementary school may be possible but by the time a girl is ready for secondary school she must turn her attention to farming.

There are further problems with sending girls to school. The current situation in which children often have to leave their families in order to attend school is not in the best interests of girls, boys, or their families. All too often it results in situations in which both sexes are left to fend for themselves at an early age with minimal adult supervision and concern. It is all too easy for both teenage girls and boys to "get into trouble" under the type of living situations which many of them face if they want to continue in school. Student pregnancies are one of the consequences of this situation. The young mothers involved bear a heavier cost than the fathers. For the young women, it means a minimum of an interruption, if not the end, of their education. They and their families often have to assume responsibility for the children. In some cases, the infant is sent to the young woman's mother or other kin for care at an early age and is consequently weaned. The families involved are often not able to assume the economic cost of bottle feeding an infant, and often do not know the technology involved. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that families are reluctant to send their girls away to school into situations over which they have little control.

The discouraging conclusion is that the goals of educating rural Liberian women and of maintaining, and possibly, increasing food production are at the present time and under the present economic and educational systems contradictory and not feasible. Even if the necessary expansion of the educational system to provide access to education for all Liberian children occurred, this expansion will not increase female enrollment unless there are major changes in the curriculum of the schools and in the percentage of girls attending school will not increase significantly and may even decline within the foreseeable future.

The current situation in which illiteracy rates among women in rural areas are extremely high is therefore likely to be perpetuated for some time.

An examination of data from the 1974 census reveals that the rate of illiteracy in English is 90 percent or more for women of all ages over 20 (Table 12). The illiteracy rate among females is consistently higher than that among males and is higher in rural areas than in urban. The largest difference between females and males is in the 20-29 age group in the urban areas where more than one-third more women are illiterate than are men. The difference between female and male illiteracy rates narrows with increasing age but the percentage of those illiterate also increases. In the rural areas, i.e., towns of less than 2,000 population, more than 98 percent of the women 30 years or over are illiterate. Among males, only in the urban area, of those under 30, are less than 40 percent of the males illiterate. The lowest percentage of illiterates for females is in the urban areas among the 10-19 year group where just over 50 percent are illiterate.

An underdetermined percentage of the Liberian population is literate in Arabic. Some are also literate in indigenous languages such as Vai, Kpelle, Loma and so on 1/.

Initially it might appear that one solution to the current dilemma would be a strong adult literacy program which would reach both women and men in the rural areas. That, however, would not focus on a more critical issue. In a culture such as the Liberian which relies heavily upon verbal communication, it is more important to be able to hear and speak English than it is to read it. Trying to learn to read in a foreign language is difficult and discouraging. Speaking and reading a language, although related, involve different processes and can be learned independently.

Although there are no statistics available which report fluency in spoken English, experience and observation suggest that men are more likely to hear and speak English than women. Men often acquire spoken English through their jobs. Women do not have as much opportunity.

1/ The Vai script dates from the 19th century while orthographies in other languages have been developed by the churches for the translation of the Bible.

Table 12

Percent Illiterate by Age Group

		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
	<u>Age Categories</u>		
Total:	10-19 years	58.1%	75.8%
	20-29	57.6	89.5
	30-39	75.8	94.2
	40-49	83.3	94.9
	50-59	89.0	96.0
	60-69	92.4	96.6
	70+	94.9	96.6
Urban:	10-19 years	35.9%	53.8%
	20-29	39.4	76.7
	30-39	55.0	81.2
	40-49	61.7	79.2
	50-59	68.5	83.3
	60-69	76.1	85.3
	70+	78.4	82.9
Rural:	10-19 years	68.8%	86.1%
	20-29	66.7	95.9
	30-39	87.5	98.3
	40-49	91.5	98.5
	50-59	94.0	98.4
	60-69	95.3	98.6
	70+	96.9	98.5

Source: Compiled from Table 18, 1974 Population & Housing Census, PC-1.

Women -- and some men -- would benefit from a program in which they could learn to hear and speak English. English is the national language and is the language in which official proceedings are conducted. As pointed out in the legal section, women are often at a disadvantage in courts because they do not know English. It would also be an advantage in the economic system in which they often have to deal with merchants who do not speak the women's language. Anticipating future elections, a knowledge of English would better enable women to participate in the political process.

Such a program must reach the women in their communities. Interest would likely be greater in the more urban communities and might vary seasonably. The times of the year when women in rural communities are most likely to have time available are during the dry season and during the height of the rainy season when work outside is restricted.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF LIBERIAN WOMEN

by

Joyce Mends-Cole and Jeanette Carter

The legal system under which contemporary Liberian women live is a function of their socioeconomic status, their educational level, and their ethnic and religious affiliation. Depending upon their relative statuses, Liberian women are provided with differing options in seeking redress of their grievances. The legal situation of four Liberian women portrays the complexity and ambiguities of the legal system under which they function. Keebah is a Liberian woman of approximately 60-65 years. She speaks no English and has lived her life in an interior community except for a period of 10 to 15 years as a young wife, when she accompanied her husband to a coastal community where he was assigned as a soldier. Her husband paid "dowry" ^{1/} for her when she was in her early teens, approximately 45 years ago, and she is his head wife. In addition to her responsibilities in managing a large polygynous household, she is also the head of the women's secret society in her community and is regarded and treated with respect by its citizens. She regards herself as being subject to the customary legal system of her ethnic group and says that she "knows nothing of 'kwi' ^{2/} ways or laws." She is proud that she is the "property" of her husband and feels that having had dowry paid for her is an indication of her husband's respect for her.

Keebah's youngest living daughter, Korpu (her "society" name), or Rebecca (her "kwi" name) is a high school graduate in her mid-20's. She has two children by a man who has post-secondary training and who works for the government in an interior community. She, however, is not married. Her father is unwilling to accept dowry for her from any man because he is apprehensive that he might have to refund the dowry if his daughter should choose to leave her husband. But, as she says, to marry under the statutory system is "not easy." The customary system is no longer applicable to her life, but she does not feel comfortable with the statutory system.

1/ The term "dowry" as commonly used in Liberia does not correspond with conventional anthropological and sociological usage in which dowry refers to the money and/or goods provided by the bride's family upon her marriage. "Dowry" as used in Liberia corresponds with what is referred to in the anthropological and sociological literature as "bride-price" or "bride-wealth," meaning the payment or transfer made by the husband's family to the bride's family upon marriage. In this report we will conform with Liberian usage and use the term "dowry" to refer to "brideprice."

2/ "Kwi" is a Liberian expression which refers to a category of "things" and persons which share a configuration of traits regarded as "modern," "western," "civilized," and so on. The labelling of a person as "kwi" is relative, but usually includes speaking English, "knowing book," being Christian, wearing western-style clothing, being married monogamously under statutory law, holding a "modern" job, and so on. In Liberian usage, "kwi" is contrasted with "country."

Esther, a young woman of the same ethnic group and about the same age as Rebecca, has a graduate degree from an American university and is employed by the government in Monrovia. Unlike Rebecca, she is not of the first educated generation as both her parents are educated and professionally trained. Although aware of the customary system, she considers herself subject to the statutory system.

Bendu, Rebecca's eight year old daughter, has already lived in several different communities, and is now growing up in Monrovia and attending school. She speaks English most of the time, although she at other times has learned to speak three Liberian languages. Her father acknowledges her as his daughter, contributes to her support, and she uses his surname in school. Legally, however, she belongs to her mother and her mother's family as her father has not "dowried" her mother or married her under statutory law. If a man were to "dowry" Bendu, the payment would go to her maternal grandfather or uncle rather than her father. Her father is Muslim while her maternal grandfather is Christian. Which system will Bendu choose and for which situations of her life: the Muslim system of her father, the customary system of her grandmother, or the statutory system under which her mother sometimes functions?

This study, although conceived of before the event, comes at a particularly important time in the history of Liberia. A result of the military coup of April, 1980, was the realization that the institutions and social framework of the nation needed to be carefully examined, with a view to making the government structure more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people. The legal study took on additional importance with the formation of a Constitution Commission in April, 1981, whose task is to analyze the suspended constitution^{1/} in order to write a new one. As the constitution is the document from which women derive their basic rights, their input will be very necessary to make sure that their rights are safeguarded and implemented. The legal study should also play an important part in any effort made by the Constitution Commission at the harmonization of the statutory and customary systems by highlighting those particular issues that show clear inequalities. The harmonization of the systems is crucial if Liberia is not to have a divisive legal system which creates two classes of women -- separate and unequal.

According to the suspended constitution of Liberia, the women of Liberia are guaranteed equal rights with men and by two amendments, Article V, Sections 10 and 11, afforded special protective rights concerning ownership of property and inheritance from their husbands' estates. The reality of the situation does not seem clearcut, however, as any definitive statement on the legal status of Liberian women must take into account a legal system comprised of four parts. Each of these systems confers different rights, and in some cases, abrogate the rights guaranteed by the constitution. These four systems are: (1) the written general laws, i.e., the Liberian statutes and

^{1/} The constitution of the Republic of Liberia was suspended following the military coup d'etat of April, 1980.

such others as may still retain force in Liberia; (2) the general law or common law and equity, in so far as they have not been superseded by statute; (3) the unwritten customary laws, codified in the "Administrative Laws of the Hinterland;" and (4) the Islamic personal law, which applied to Muslims.

As this legal system is the result of the historical experience of the country, a brief look at the origins of the system is necessary. In other African countries, the dualistic systems of law were established when the former colonial powers imposed their countries' rules of law upon traditional legal institutions. In Liberia, the settlers enacted a constitution in 1847 that was very similar to that of the United States. The constitution and the statutes were seen as superceding the customary laws being used by the indigenous population, despite the fact that the settlers' knowledge of the customary laws was vague and limited.

In 1848, the statutory judicial hierarchy began to resemble the one today as the settlers made an effort aimed at strengthening the judiciary through an act that abolished all the former courts and created new ones. Under this act, magisterial courts were established and given jurisdiction of various areas, including matrimonial disputes arising under the "tribal" customary system under the jurisdiction of the paramount chief's court.

In the late 1940's, the government, in an effort to consolidate its control from the coast to the interior parts of Liberia, compiled a set of regulations and established a judicial hierarchy that governed "tribal" courts, customary marriage, cultural societies (such as Poro and Sande), land acquisition under customary law, and administrative procedures in customary law cases and decisions. With the codification of these "Administrative Laws Governing the Hinterland," all secret societies, except the Poro and the Sande, were abolished in an effort to extend the arena of "civilized" influence.

The administrative laws gave the "tribal courts" minimal powers. They were given jurisdiction over civil cases in which the amount did not exceed \$10 and criminal cases, such as infraction of the peace, where the fine would not exceed \$10 and imprisonment would not exceed three months. In addition to these, jurisdiction was granted over all matters relating to domestic relations such as adultery, separation, and divorce.

From the perspective of women, the major changes that occurred with the compilation of these laws were the establishment of a legal maximum amount required as dowry at \$40 ^{1/} and the introduction of a \$100 damage fee, paid by the wife to the husband, in addition to the refund of the dowry, where a woman seeking a divorce, could not prove cruelty. This limitation on the amount of dowry is in contrast to most of Africa where the amount required

1/ The Kissi, we were told, set the amount at \$140 by combining the \$40 dowry payment and the \$100 damage fee on the assumption that in divorce, \$140 would have to be paid to the husband and his family.

for brideprice has been continuously inflated. The damage fee was introduced to offset the losses incurred by the husband with the fixing of a maximum dowry, and was seen as a necessary reparation because the woman seeking a divorce was always suspected of leaving her husband for another man. The damage fee was apparently taken from the statutory system which requires a guilty co-respondent in a divorce case to pay damages to the injured party. However, in the statutory system the damages can be paid to either the husband or wife, although it is rare that damages have been paid to the wife.

Traditionally, the customary system was flexible with each case judged on its merits, and rulings given only after consideration of many factors. With the compilation of the administrative laws, a "static conception was given which was wholly alien to the flexible and adaptive nature of custom and prevented it from altering to fit changing circumstances" (48, p. 71). The effort of Tubman's government had been to codify customary law as practiced by the people. The administrative laws which were to apply throughout Liberia established, however, a single system of "customary law" which probably obscured sociocultural differences in the customary systems of the various Liberian ethnic groups. Further, many of the laws seem to have been misinterpreted as the sociocultural assumptions upon which they were based were not understood. As a study on the legal system of Ghana concluded, "the results of this compilation may have been to crystallize these rules in such a way that does violence to the open-textured quality that characterizes many of the laws and norms of traditional societies" (48, p. 71). The study goes on to show that the "received laws were usually at variance with indigenous customs, making their co-existence with customary law the source of substantial social problems and inconsistencies" (48, p. 72). From the data gathered, it is clear that a similar problem exists in Liberia which will be outlined in the section on the operation of the customary system today.

As we have seen, the administrative laws were drawn up in the early years of the Tubman government, 1948-49. These laws have remained unchanged and continue to govern marital relationships after a period of nearly four full decades, amidst changing socioeconomic conditions. In 1978, a committee was set up by President Tolbert to review these laws. In an interview with a former local government official who was a member of the committee, we were informed that some of the members had made short trips around the country and had made some recommendations for changes, based on their observations. The recommendations were never implemented and despite a search in the Ministry of Local Government archives, no copy could be found. The former official felt sure that two issues had been addressed: the first was the concept of a woman as the property of her husband under customary marriage and the second was the inequity of inheritance rules applying to widows.

In 1982, the majority of Liberian women continue to be subject to a customary legal system which is at variance with the statutory system with respect to rights accorded women.

The next part examines some of the issues that arise under customary and statutory law and how these are treated under each. As we saw in the historical review, the statutory system consolidated its hold over most cases except for marital and minor civil and criminal cases. Over the years, this

jurisdiction has been further encroached upon until customary courts nowadays ordinarily only arbitrate between parties on issues of domestic relations ^{1/}. The issues that will be addressed therefore fall under the category of family law: marriage and payment of dowry; property rights of women; divorce, child custody; inheritance, including dower's rights; and the legal status of widows.

LEGAL ISSUES

Marriage:

Statutory Law: Marriage, as defined in sub-section 2.1 of the "New Domestic Relations Act" (69), is a civil status contract where the three essentials are consent, license, and solemnization. Statutory marriage is a contract between individuals whereby a woman and a man agree to assume certain duties and rights once they have consented to the contract. Marriage is prohibited to males under 21 years and to females under 18 years, unless the consent of the parents or guardians is given before hand. With the consent of parents or guardians, both sexes may marry at 16. There are several other provisions and prohibitions, including those that bar certain relatives from marrying. There is no particular form for the ceremony but it has to be in the presence of a duly authorized officiating person with two witnesses. Once married, the two parties are governed by the legislation contained in the New Domestic Relations Act, where it is emphatically stated that these laws apply to the parties to every domestic relation except to parties where domestic relations are subject to and governed by customary laws and traditions. Children born in wedlock are considered rightfully belonging to the father, in case of divorce or separation.

Customary Law: Traditionally, a customary marriage occurs over a period of time with particular rituals to be enacted before the marriage is validated. The marriage is seen as a contract between families and as a process that culminates in the validation of the marriage. Customary marriage can also be viewed as an institution which exchanges rights in production and reproduction between individuals and groups. The marriage, therefore, gives a husband and his kin group legal claim to various rights in the woman: her domestic duties, her agricultural production, her sexual services, and the legal fatherhood of all children born to her; while it gives the woman's kin group rights to bridewealth (dowry) or brideservice ^{1/} from the groom (2). A woman acquires access to her husband's labor for farming and to his sexual services.

In her study of the Kpelle, Bledsoe also noted that labor, rather than land was scarce, and therefore rights in the productive and reproductive services of people, especially women, are essential both for basic subsistence and for the accumulation of economic surplus and consequent political support from clients dependent on this surplus (2).

^{1/} Brideservice provides for the husband-to-be or the husband to perform various services, often agricultural labor, for the family of the wife. In some situations this may be in lieu of payment of dowry.

In contrast with the statutory system, marriage is legal under the administrative laws as long as the female is 15 years old. There are no provision for a required minimum age for males. The customary laws also provide for an essential element that is not known in the statutory system. This is the payment of dowry. Prior to the codification of customary law in the 1940's, there was no set amount for dowry. The laws provide that dowry should be paid only to the parents, or relatives standing in place of the parents (in loco parentis) and should be refunded only by these parties. Therefore, a man would often insist on paying an exorbitant price for a woman, knowing that should she want to divorce him, the family would be reluctant or unable to refund the money. He could then insist upon the woman remaining with him, until the dowry was refunded. The lack of a fixed amount also worked well for parents, for as long as it remained unpaid, the parents could require certain services from the man. They, therefore, often demanded large sums, knowing the man's inability to pay.

The payment of the dowry was and is considered the seal on the marriage. Presently there are indications that the dowry payment is occurring later than in the past and that there are instances reported in which a father will refuse to accept dowry for a daughter so as not to have to refund it. Child betrothal is becoming less common as parents can no longer be sure that the daughter, once mature, will respect their wishes as to the choice of a husband. Some women themselves are refusing to have dowry paid for them. They explain it in terms of the undue hardship it could cause them, in case of divorce, to persuade their family to refund the dowry and to personally pay the damages fee of \$100. A second reason is the desire to retain custody of their children, for when the marriage is validated through the payment of dowry, the husband becomes the natural custodian and the child is a member of his kin group. The third reason offered is that, as long as the status of the marriage is in question, a woman's ownership and control of property in her own right is unambiguous. A further reason continues to be access to the labor of the husband by the woman's family.

To illustrate the importance of dowry payment as the validation of customary marriage, let us look at the case of *Hawa T. v. Matthew Z.*, in which Matthew had brought Hawa into the Commissioner's court in Monrovia and accused her of kidnapping their children. She explained that she had three children for Matthew, but that he had never paid dowry for her. The court therefore ruled that Matthew had no legal claim to the children unless he "redeemed" ^{1/} the children by paying a fee to the woman's family.

Child betrothal still occurs in some areas of Liberia, especially when a father wishes to establish an alliance with a chief or other "big man." When mature, these women may not wish to stay with their "husbands," especially when the man is much older or when she would be a junior wife in a large poly-

^{1/} "Redeeming" a child consists of the father of the child of a woman whom he has not dowried making a payment to the kin group of the mother. This payment transfers legal rights and obligations in the child to the father and his kin group. The amount of the payment may differ among the various ethnic groups, but in some it is currently \$24 for a girl and \$20 for a boy.

gynous household, subject to control by senior wives. When their parents insist upon their staying with the man, such women may have little choice but to emigrate, often to an urban area. In the absence of the refunding of the dowry and the payment of the damage fee, due to her family's refusal to pay and/or her inability to pay, these women, betrothed as children, are not free to enter into another marriage.

Summary:

Statutory and customary marriages differ in several ways. First, statutory marriage is a contract between individuals while customary marriage is a contract between families. Statutory marriage is not ambiguous -- one is either married or not. Customary marriage is a process with the payment of dowry required for validation and with ambiguity concerning a person's marital status. The status of the marriage can be and is usually argued by both sides, with the wife's parents usually arguing that the dowry obligations have not been fulfilled. One important difference is the rights that accrue to a woman upon marriage. Under statutory law, a woman has well-defined rights of inheritance from the husband while under customary law, a dowried wife becomes the man's "property" and cannot inherit from her husband. Validation of the marriage also denies the woman rights to her children, as the father is considered the natural custodian, as in statutory law.

Property Rights:

Statutory Law:

A woman who falls under the statutory system has the same rights as a male, in regards to the purchase and possession of property. These rights also extend to property transmitted to her by will or given as gifts. Therefore, we are here only concerned with married women. According to common law, the married woman, as regards property, was completely subjected to the male and husband who was considered to be the title-holder and possessor of her property. With the enactment of statutes such as the Married Women's Acts, a husband's rights in the property of his wife were abolished and a married woman was seen as owning and holding property in her own right and her husband could not dispose of it. In Liberia, the common law standard was repealed particularly by the constitution. In Article V, Section 10, an amendment to the constitution, the words could not be clearer:

The property of which a woman may be possessed at the time of her marriage and also that of which she may afterwards become possessed, otherwise than by her husband, shall not be held liable for his debts whether contracted before or after marriage. Nor shall the property thus intended to be secured to the woman be alienated otherwise than by her free and voluntary consent, and such alienation may be made by her either by sale, devise 1/ or otherwise.

1/ Transferral through a will

From the above, it is evident that a married woman's property shall continue to be her sole and separate property as if she were unmarried and shall not be subject to her husband's control or disposal. Moreover, the New Domestic Relations Law, in its provision that either spouse may convey or transfer to each other or partition their jointly held property, further implies the right to independent property ownership by a married woman (69). Only in a case where property is owned in tenancy in common is each partner free to divide and to sell his or her share.

Customary Law:

According to the constitution, all persons are born equally free and independent and possess certain inherent and inalienable rights, among which are the rights of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property. In spite of this, we have seen cases such as Jartu v. Konneh (1950) (see annex III) and Harmon v. Tempo (1963) (see Annex III) where women have been denied the right to property based on their customary law marriage, which is seen as making them a part of the man's property and therefore incapable of owning property in their own right.

There are several factors to be noted here. The concept of "property" does not necessarily mean the same thing in different cultures and may include different categories than found in the statutory system. There may be no word or concept which is the equivalent of property as used in English. For example, in a Bandi community in Lofa, the research assistant used the English word "property" when he wanted to show individual ownership of land and possessions. The issue of owning property has only recently become an issue as many persons now use both legal systems. An example of this is a man who is married under customary law but who has purchased a plot of land and received a deed for it. The types of property which are inherited under the statutory system either did not exist traditionally or were not considered as individual property to be inherited. Because of the growing individual and permanent acquisition of property, the question of inheritance by wives and children has to be reviewed in light of the interaction between the two systems.

Finally, the origin of the concept of "woman as property" has been difficult to trace as there are conflicting views. Some people told us that the concept had been misinterpreted by the central government at the time of the compilation of customary laws, making a married woman a chattel which had not obtained before. Other persons said that the concept was traditional and correctly interpreted. Others suggested that while a married woman was property, property could herself hold property.

In the customary system, there is not a concept of joint property. Hence, although a wife may contribute her labor or other resources to building a house, for example, that property is not viewed as being jointly owned by husband and wife. It would be viewed as belonging solely to the husband. The husband's rights to and control of a woman's labor and production make it difficult, if not impossible, for a married woman to acquire certain types of property such as a house in her own name. Some people expressed the opinion that it was "not good" for a married woman to do "too much" on her own. It is acceptable, however, for a husband or son to build for, or to assist in

building, a house for a wife or mother and to designate it as belonging to her. Traditionally, women inherited from women and men from men. It does not appear, however, that a house or other property belonging to a woman would necessarily be inherited by her daughter as such inheritance would transfer the control and ownership of that property from one kin group to another.

Summary:

The suspended constitution guarantees basic property rights to all Liberian people, regardless of age, sex, or ethnic origin. The constitution has been ignored, however, wherever it suited the convenience of the chiefs and statutory judges, and many cases brought into the statutory system by women married under customary law have been decided according to customary law. Statutory laws guarantee women dower's rights and other property rights, while strict customary law denies women these rights. The assumption on which the customary rule is interpreted are: (a) that property is not owned by rather one is given the use of it; and (b) the woman is the property of the man and therefore part of the property to be used and inherited.

Inheritance (Dower's rights and the legal status of widows)

Statutory Law: According to Article V, Section II of the constitution, it is provided:

In all cases in which estates are insolvent, the widow shall be entitled to one-third of real estate (of her deceased husband) during the natural life, and to one-third of his personal property, which she shall hold in her own right, subject to alienation by her by devise or otherwise.

The word "insolvent" is clarified further in a case *Williams v. Wynn* (63, p. 148), decided in 1914, which says that the Constitution of Liberia settles upon the wife one-third of her husband's personal estate, which she becomes absolute owner of, no matter whether the estate by solvent or insolvent ^{1/}. Again, in *Cole v. Dixon*, decided in 1938 (64, p. 37), the widow of R. Emmons Dixon, who had died interstate ^{2/}, was successful in her claim of

^{1/} "Solvent" refers to the condition of being able to pay all one's debts just claims as they become due: thus an estate which is solvent is one in which properties are adequate to satisfy any obligations. "Insolvent" is the condition of being unable to meet one's obligations as they become due. An estate that is insolvent is one in which properties are inadequate to satisfy its debts or obligations.

^{2/} "Interstate" means to die without leaving a valid will. When an individual dies without having a valid will, the estate of the deceased is referred to as an intestate estate.

of dower's right in land conveyed by her husband during his life time, as it was done without her knowledge and consent.

An interesting case that highlights the conditions under which conveyances can be done from husband to wife and vice-versa, and the consideration necessary is *Wolo v. Wolo* (65, p. 36). There a wife who was being divorced, petitioned for a cancellation of deeds for lands she had given her husband, because she argued, the conveyances were without valid consideration and based simply on love and affection. The deed were therefore cancelled by the court.

The rules of intestate succession, that is, the order of priority for those eligible to inherit in the absence of a will, are governed by the New Decedents' Estate Laws, approved in 1972. Among the most significant provisions is the fact that a surviving spouse becomes an heir. Under earlier statutes, a spouse was technically not an heir and could not succeed to property of the deceased spouse. When a widow was given a portion of an estate, it was essentially as a result of her dower rights. A man is now entitled to curtesy rights which gives him a life tenure of a portion of his wife's estate, should she die before him.

Customary Law:

Contrary to both statutory law and the Aborigines' Law, which states that "all Aborigines residing in the Republic of Liberia shall have the full protection of their persons and property and shall enjoy all rights, privileges and immunities granted to other citizens of the Republic of Liberia (62), a woman married under customary law has no dower's rights. This was stated clearly in *Harmon v. Tempo* (1963) (67, p. 272):

"This court says that until the legislature can enact a law granting to native marriages a dower right in the property of the husband, and unless the deceased or testator declares so in his will, a native wife has no right to administer the intestate or her late husband, even if she was legally dowried, for to do so would be infringing upon customs and traditions."

The case is particularly interesting because it shows that the legislature had the power to correct the situation but did not.

Another case was *Jartu v. Konneh* (66, p. 318) in which Jartu, one of the wives of the late Konneh, who had died without leaving a will, petitioned the statutory courts for her dower rights. The first judge or commissioner who heard the case awarded her dower's rights. However, the decision was objected to by the man's family and upon a second hearing, the ruling was reversed. The Supreme Court, however, upheld the decision of the first commissioner on the grounds that the second could not review a ruling by his predecessor. The court, however, also stressed that customary law does not give dower's right to wives. But, the court should have awarded the dower's right to Jartu based on the fact that Konneh and Jartu were Muslims, and that Islamic law gives a woman the right to own property in her own name.

In *Harmon v. Tempo* (67, p. 272), the court said "a native woman is also part and parcel of the man's estate and hence she cannot, under the law, claim any portion of her husband's estate." Plaintiff's counsel contended that "under the basic law of the land as well as the statutory provisions controlling native and Christian marriages, both types of marriage carry the same effect in law, because both are predicated upon the same rights, under our Constitution. Hence, a widow who had married according to native custom should also enjoy the same right, because both these marriages are recognized by law and are of the same effect in the sight of the law." These arguments were rejected by the court, which said "taking recourse to *Jartu v. Konneth*, we are of the opinion that our law does not permit the admeasurement of dower to women married according to our tribal customary law; and it is our opinion that the reason for this rule is that under tribal customary law, a husband can wed more than two wives" (66, p. 318).

This trend continued, as shown in the case of *Brown v. Bormor* (1946) (68, p. 227) where the Supreme Court ruled that Yello Bormor, the widow, was not eligible to receive letters of administration and stated: "A widow of a man married according to customary law cannot assert a claim or right to administer her husband's estate, since upon the death of her husband she is at liberty to either return to her relatives or to remain with this family, subject to their rule and control."

It might be argued that the holdings of the Supreme Court in the above cases are illegal, because (a) the constitutional provision guaranteeing dower does not restrict same to widows of civil or religious marriages, nor has there been any statutory provision restricting it; and (b) that customary laws may not hold where they are violative of the constitution.

An important fact must be pointed out: during our visits to the courts and during our interviews, we were unable to obtain much information on cases within the customary system where women had challenged the laws. This can be attributed to several causes. Firstly, one must realize that some women have no need to go to court because they receive a fair deal from their husband's family. Secondly, some women accept the laws as they now exist and would not conceive of challenging them. Thirdly, the women realized that the chiefs who would hear their cases have a vested interest in maintaining the systems. As one anthropologist studying the Kpelle noted, "The key to a big man's success is to marry legally." Thus a man obtains rights in women's productive and reproductive services, not only for his own use, but also to collect adultery damages from their lovers and exchange his wives' services for the labor and political allegiance of men who cannot afford legal marriage. The more women he can control and trade in this way, the more power he accrues. As his wealth increases, his status and power increases, for more people will seek his political and economic support in exchange for labor. Such people also bring him daughters and sisters as wives, whom he can redistribute to more male clients in an increasing spiral of success (2, cf. 29, 30). Therefore a woman wishing to assert her rights will not usually be given a favorable hearing by a chief. Fourthly, we found that some women have simply chosen either not to marry, or not to validate their marriages, or have divorced in order to become independent and remove themselves from the system. This is an interesting comment on the various ways that Liberian

women of differing socioeconomic educational, and cultural backgrounds tend to quietly actualize their needs as opposed to urban, better-educated Liberian women who tend to be more overt in their demands for change. It is clear, however, that women should not have to by-pass a system in order to acquire basic rights. Therefore, if this report is to have true significance, the above issues should be included in the on-going review of the two systems by the Constitutional Commission.

Summary:

The constitution guarantees all married women specific portions of their husband's estates. The New Decedents' Estate Laws, approved in 1972, also re-echo the rights outlined in the constitution, and assure that a wife is the first entitled to inherit in the line of interstate succession. The statutory courts have also been very protective of women's dower rights and have returned property to estates where the transferral or sale of the property was done without the wife's consent. The laws are also strict on the issue of conveyances between spouses and decisions have shown that conveyances must be done for other considerations than emotional feelings.

In contrast to the situation of the women under statutory law, the woman under customary law has continuously been denied all of the above rights and the statutory courts have looked at customary law to decide their cases. Customary law, as interpreted by the courts, holds that "a native woman" is part and parcel of a man's estate, and therefore cannot claim any portion of her husband's estate (67, p. 274).

Most women who live under customary law have not challenged the laws as they know that the chiefs, who would hear their cases, have a vested interest in maintaining a system which is the source of their power. Some women, therefore, have simply removed themselves from the system by divorcing or refusing to have their marriages validated.

Status of Widows

Under statutory law, a widow is entitled to a certain portion of her husband's estate outright. This is based on the assumption that his family owes her no obligation to take care of her and she therefore must be provided for by the individual with whom the marriage was contracted. Under customary law, the need for inheritance by a widow should not arise as it is assumed that (a) the woman is the man's property and, therefore, cannot inherit property; (b) the husband's family has an obligation to provide for her, with her being taken as wife by another brother or close relatives of her deceased husband, if she agrees; and (c) she would share in any property through her male children. If her sons were jural minors, she might be regarded as a custodian or property for them.

Under the customary system, land was not individual property and was not inherited as such by either men or women. A woman retained use rights to land if she remained with her husband's family. Also to be noted is the fact that there really is no place for a single, widowed woman in small rural communities. Unmarried girls are, of course, under the jural protection of

fathers and/or father's brothers, but an adult woman without the jural protection of a husband is an anomaly. With the levirate, a woman may become the wife of her deceased husband's brother. If she does not choose to remain with her husband's family, however, she may be required to refund the dowry and, in some instances, to pay the \$100 damage fee, as it is assumed that she is going to another man. Unless the dowry is refunded, she is not free to enter into another marriage. Some people said, however, that if a woman had "done well" for the family and had children for the family, she would be allowed to leave without refunding dowry. A widow who chooses to leave her husband's family forfeits her access to his house and his family's land and, most importantly, leaves behind her children.

Summary:

As we have seen, there is no concept of joint ownership of property in the customary system, while in the statutory system there is the concept of a conjugal or joint fund. The line of inheritance is also different in the two systems. Under customary law, inheritance passes through the same sex -- male to male and female to female -- while under statutory law, inheritance is by spouses and children of both sexes. The point that must be stressed here is that at another point in time, the system worked; but that this is becoming increasingly untrue. With urbanization, migration, formal education, and the adoption of values inconsistent with custom and tradition, the situation in which customary law provided security for widows and guaranteed their status and well-being no longer functions as it did. It has been turned by men to their own economic advantage, whereby they exclude women from access to land, make them pay back dowry and damage fees, and in some cases do not provide the needed male labor for rice farming. There is considerable evidence that the customary system is no longer functioning as it did.

Divorce

Statutory Law:

An action can be maintained for divorce by a husband or wife on four grounds: (1) cruel and inhuman treatment, (2) desertion for one or more years, (3) adultery, and (4) incompatibility of temper. The third must be viewed with interest as it is almost always only held to be a valid ground when the accusation is made against a woman.

The only bars to divorce are time limitation, connivance, recrimination, and condonance. Connivance would mean a tacit encouragement (without participation) by one spouse to the wrongdoing by the other. Recrimination is where the accused countercharges the accuser and condonance means where a spouse forgives or acts so as to imply forgiveness of a violation of the marriage vow. Should none of these grounds exist and the action is one of adultery, a co-respondent (a person with whom a spouse is accused of having illegal sexual relations) must pay the amount of damages the jury awards the injured party.

According to the New Domestic Relations Law, a simple declaration or confession of either spouse to a violation of the marriage is not sufficient

as proof, but other satisfactory evidence of facts must be produced. These statutes also award property rights to a wife who is successful in her action, which will not be less than one-fifth, nor more than one-third of his personal property outright, and not less than one-fifth or more than one-third of his real property for life. With the wife's death, the real property awarded her shall descend to her children begotten by the defendant's husband. If the wife died, leaving no children, the property would revert to her husband.

Customary Law:

The questions of dowry and property rights become very important in a divorce action. The prevailing rule is that the parents of the woman must refund the dowry, whether it is the man or the woman requesting the divorce. In addition to this, the woman must frequently pay \$100 damages. As one rural woman remarked, it is unclear as to who was damaged. The reason, however, behind this is that the woman is believed to have found another man and, therefore, should not be allowed to leave freely. Men apparently find it incomprehensible that a woman might have no ulterior motive -- or other man -- but might just wish to leave her husband. This is not surprising in a cultural setting where an unmarried woman in a rural community is almost unthinkable.

In addition to the above two costs, a woman must also confess any lovers she may have had, and they in turn, must pay \$10 each, or \$100 in the case of a head wife. It is clear when a woman is serious about a divorce because she will by-pass the conciliatory atmosphere of the "house palaver," ^{1/} and come to court prepared to pay all fees. The divorce proceedings are usually complicated by arguments on both sides as to the disposal of goods and property. The wife's family will usually argue that the goods given by the man were gifts and not part of the dowry and should not be given back, while the husband's family will try to argue that everything was part of the dowry and therefore refundable.

In a majority of divorce cases, unless a woman is able to prove extreme cruelty or impotence, she will be judged at fault. Some chiefs will then give a decision based on the rule that the woman is property herself and is not entitled to any property. Other chiefs will give a woman any property acquired before the marriage in her own right, or given clearly to her during the marriage. The property discussed includes clothes, pots, pans, and so on. Women, who divorce, usually forfeit any claim to the rice which they may have helped produce.

Among the Kissi and Bandi, the women told us that the chiefs did not usually grant them a share in the property. A Loma chief in Monrovia, however, told us that he takes into account the contributions and services that the wife has given to the marriage and judges accordingly. A former official of the Ministry of Local Government indicated that he felt that the rural chiefs were more likely to be equitable than those in the urban area.

^{1/} A house palaver is an informal meeting of those involved in a dispute, usually the family, in which the elders attempt to reconcile or harmonize a dispute. Decisions, however, are not binding.

As an inheritance, property in customary divorce cases is only recently becoming an issue, due to the acquisitions of deeded land, the construction of more expensive houses, the development of cash crops, and so on. Earlier there was little of the kind or amount of property usually contested in the statutory courts.

Summary:

Divorce in the statutory system can be based on four reasons, including adultery. In a divorce action, the wife is given certain rights concerning property, whether or not she initiated the action. Under customary law, the woman must depend on the good graces of the chief, as to whether she is allowed to carry with her those possessions that she has contributed to acquiring, or owns outright. A woman divorcing her husband in the chief's courts must have her family refund the dowry, pay \$100 damage fee, and any lovers' fines.

Child Custody

Statutory Law:

The father is considered the natural custodian of any children but normally, if a child is under the age of seven, custody will be given to the mother, with the father contributing toward the support of the child. To inherit from a father, a child must be either born in wedlock or legitimized by the father through a probate court procedure. The only way that a mother can prevent a child from being legitimized and thereby given into the father's custody is to deny that the particular man is the father of the child. Once she acknowledges the paternity of the child, she is forced to consent to the legitimization process.

Customary Law:

Again, the father and his kin group are considered the natural custodian of the children, if dowry has been paid in full. If the child is small, the mother can usually keep the child until he or she is older. Once dowry has been paid for a woman, all children born to her belong to the husband and his kin group, irrespective of the biological fatherhood. If dowry has not been paid, then the child belongs to the kin group of the mother unless the father "redeems" the child.

An example of this assertion of claim by the family is a case in which a husband and wife were living together in Westpoint (part of Monrovia), when the man died. The woman was asked by his family if she wished to marry a relative or be returned to her home village. She chose to remain single and to continue to live in Westpoint. She was given no choice, however, as to the residence of her children, as they were taken by the man's family to his community.

Illustrating the importance of dowry in a child-custody case was a case in Monrovia where a woman sought custody of her child, because she said that she had become pregnant with the child for another man a month before her

husband had paid dowry for her. The case was not resolved but temporary custody was given to the husband. An issue was when and if the dowry had been paid. If a man could verify that dowry had been paid, it appeared that the court would uphold his claim to the child.

There are indications that some men are less willing than formerly to assume responsibility for a child they know is not for them. Because of the financial expenses involved with the birth and rearing of a child which may make the child an economic liability rather than an economic asset, the biological father may be pressured to assume responsibility for the child.

Summary:

Under both the statutory system and customary system, in the case of a legal marriage, priority is given to the father with reference to the custody of children, except when they are small. Knowing this, women will continue to maintain a marriage which they would otherwise seek to terminate in order to maintain their contact with their children.

WOMEN AND THE COURT SYSTEM

As part of the dual legal system, there is also a dual court system, one statutory and the other customary. Women can take cases to court on their own in both systems and can testify on their own behalf. Both systems involve a hierarchy of courts; the statutory courts under the Ministry of Justice, and the customary courts under the Ministry of Internal Affairs (see Annex III).

Although women can be involved in cases at any level of either system, most cases are "talked" either in the courts of the chiefs or those of Justices of the Peace. In rural communities cases are usually "talked" in the local language. In the urban areas, however, and in the statutory system, cases are usually "talked" in English. For women who do not speak English, these courts can be intimidating and they are at a disadvantage in presenting their cases. Indeed, in one court where we observed cases, a young woman, who spoke almost no English, broke into tears because of her apprehensions about the situation, even though some of the proceedings were in her own language.

Cases which begin in the customary system may cross-over into the statutory system. This occurs most often at the level of the Justice of the Peace courts, especially in situations in which the judge is both a "tribal chief" and a Justice of the Peace.

The atmosphere of a house palaver is usually conciliatory. When cases are taken to court, however, opinions have usually hardened (31), and the court must determine innocence of guilt. In the "tribal" and "j.p." courts, especially, various fees and "costs," e.g., witness fees, messenger's fees, clerk's fees, bond, and "court costs," are assessed the parties in the dispute.

Observations in courts in the Monrovia area indicated that the most frequently-talked cases involving a women are "woman palaver" cases. These

are cases in which a husband will accuse his wife of having lovers and force her to "confess: their names, and possibly submit to a "sassy-wood trail" or other "ordeal" ^{1/}. This forcible confession is in strict contravention of Article I, Section 7 of the constitution which guarantees that no one will be forced to testify against him or herself. In other "woman palaver" cases, a husband may "sue" another man to court for adultery.

When the wife confesses that certain men have been her lovers, those men must then pay an adultery fine, usually \$10, to the husband. In one case, a middle-aged man brought his wife to a Vai court and told her to confess the lovers she had had since their arrival in Monrovia. He said that he had no interest in those in Cape Palmas, their former home, probably because they could not be brought to court and made to pay. She refused and had to submit to a "sassy-wood trail."

This type of case occurred so frequently and was so repetitive and predictable that this study includes only two cases as examples. It is, however, a crucial issue as one can see that men often use their wives' sexual behavior (alleged or real) to obtain money. It has been, and still is, a not unusual thing for a husband to encourage his wife to engage in illicit sex and then feign rage and demand his fee. This, in the statutory system, would be illegal because it is condonation and connivance. Court officials do little to discourage these cases because of the income from fees, and so on, which they derive.

According to some sources, such cases arise less frequently among the Kru and Grebo than among some other ethnic groups. Two reasons were offered. First, it would be humiliating for these men to sue for adultery damages, as it would indicate that they did not have control over their wives. Second, there may be a greater number of statutory religious marriages, especially Catholic, among these groups.

Although the "woman palaver" cases observed were in urban courts, these cases also appear to be common in rural courts (2, 29, 30).

The following cases were chosen to illustrate the types of cases that were observed in the "tribal courts" in Monrovia and to highlight instances of rulings on the issues discussed in the body of the paper. All cases were recorded from empirical observation but the names of the parties have been changed.

^{1/} In a "sassy-wood trial" the accused drinks "sassy-wood poison." If the accused vomits the "poison," she or he is innocent. If not, then the accused is guilty and may die. The practice has been officially outlawed for some years but in fact continues. In the "hot-knife ordeal," a hot knife is rubbed against the skin of the accused. If guilty, the knife burns. If not guilty, the knife does not burn.

I. Kru Court
January, 1981
Plaintiff: Pajibo
Defendant: Munsio

Pajibo, an old man, was renting a room from Munsio's husband. At first he lived alone but later took a wife, with whom the defendant, Munsio, could not get along. She therefore gave him notice but the notice was inadequate. The old man found a room and apparently was trying to leave without paying, so Munsio seized his bed. The old man had therefore come the previous day and lodged the complaint. The woman had been sent for but had not come, because she had no one to stay with the children. The court had actually wanted her husband but he was at work. She came to the court this day, and upon the basis of her story, she was awarded \$6 60. Her husband, upon hearing this, beat her, and brought her back crying into the court. She then explained that she had never been to court before, and had therefore been confused and unable to tell the story coherently. She then said that the proper amount owed was \$20.60.

Her husband made apologies for his wife's ignorance but the governor was unmoved and said that the amount awarded would remain unchanged.

This case was included simply to show that women are often unfamiliar with the court system and therefore unable to assert themselves as necessary on their own behalf.

II. Bassa Court
December, 1980
Plaintiff: Wesseh
Defendant: Gbali
Action: Damages

This action was instituted by a man who said that his wife had had sexual relations with him and another man and therefore the child she was carrying was possibly not his. The husband was demanding the expenses he incurred during the pregnancy from the other man. The acting judge was in the process of hearing the case when a "lawyer" entered the court and told the parties to ignore the acting judge as he had no right to hear the case, as only the judge is a justice of the peace. He then gave everyone a long speech on how the rights of the people were being trampled and told the acting judge that he was corrupt.

The parties, however, looked scared and did not follow his instructions. The acting judge appeared unperturbed and proceeded to charge the court costs before he would dismiss the case. An argument broke out, with the lawyer holding his ground. Finally everyone went outside to effect a compromise. They stayed outside until I had to leave so the outcome was not clear.

This case points out the fact that although normally a husband is considered the pater but not necessarily the genitor of all children born to a wife, a man is becoming less willing to accept the financial burden of children he suspects are not his.

III. Bassa Court
December, 1980
Plaintiff: Tokon
Defendant: Emmanuel
Action: Desertion

The plaintiff, a woman, instituted this action against Emmanuel, her husband. Apparently he had put her and their child out, she being three months pregnant with their second child. Emmanuel had informed her that if she continued to live with him, she would be staying with herself. In other words he would provide no food and shelter. The husband was called and questioned as to the truth of the accusation. He said that it was a lie. The judge immediately fined him \$5 as apparently it is a contempt of court to say that an action instituted against you is a lie. The woman was then brought on the floor and the questioning centered around where she had gone when her husband put her out. She said that she had gone to Bassa to relatives. The judge laughed and asked why she went so far and was she sure that she went to relatives. The audience laughed. It seemed that they were all sure that she had gone to another man. The questioning resumed and she was then asked if she and her husband were having sexual relations. She said that he had not touched her since she told him of the pregnancy. This then became the focus of the case as her sexual dissatisfaction was seen as the main problem and not threats to discontinue support. The judge then instructed Emmanuel to take his wife home and treat her well. He also told the woman's brother (who was there with her) that he should come back to the court if the husband refused to do this. Emmanuel was made to pay \$15 court costs and \$3.50 expenses to his wife.

IV. Vai Court
December 1980
Action: Confession of lovers

The ages of the husband and wife made this case unusual from a Liberian perspective. Normally a young wife would be accused of having boyfriends but both parties were in their fifties. They had apparently come from Cape Palmas three years ago and it was made clear that the husband was not questioning her about her activities in Cape Palmas but rather was only concerned with any extra-marital affairs that had occurred in Monrovia. The "sassywood man" (from Ministry of Local Government) was called and a boy was sent for wood and kerosene. When these were brought the "sassywood man" prepared the fire and set out several bowls with various materials in them, ointments and colored sand. Three soldiers, passing by, asked what was going on. The crowd which had gathered during the preparation of the fire, explained and the judge further explained and told the soldiers to wait. The "sassywood man" then heated the knife and rubbed it on his own leg to test it -- it singed his hairs which surprised everyone. So he placed it back in the fire and rubbed the woman's leg with some of his preparations. He then began to apply the knife to her skin but was stopped by the judge who repeated the husband's accusations and asked if everyone understood. Everyone nodded. This was repeated several times until suddenly the woman said she had something to say. She said that this was the third time that her husband was seeing the "sassywood man". There was a murmur from the crowd and the judge then told the "sassywood man" that the trial was suspended due to the fact that the woman was saying that the "sassywood man" had been bribed. We left at this point but later found that the case had been dismissed with court costs paid by the man. The "sassywood man" said that the man had tried to bribe him but he had accepted no money.

This case illustrates the frequent forced confessions of lovers by husbands wishing to collect adultery fines. The trial by ordeal is an abrogation of the constitution, as defined in the privilege against self-incrimination.

V. Vai Court
January, 1981
Plaintiff: Forkai
Defendant: Massa
Action: Confession of boyfriend

A case was introduced while we were waiting for the re-appearance of a witness in another case. This was an action instituted by a husband who accused his wife of having a boyfriend. The wife said that he was impotent and given her for that reason to his "son" (a cousin) who lived with them. She further contended that the child she had had was neither his nor the "son's", but that she felt no compulsion to confess as he had not fulfilled his marital duties. The husband was represented by an "agent" who was very old and eccentric and the wife by a younger agent. A long time passed before the case was talked. Finally the husband introduced three witnesses and was made to pay \$.75 each for them to be allowed to testify.

The wife's agent then objected to one of the witnesses who he said was Konneh, the very son to whom the woman was given. The judge over-ruled the objection. The swearing-in procedure was done by tapping a stick on the Koran, on which kola nuts and money had been placed. The witnesses were given the kola to eat while the judge prayed over the Koran. The third witness was a woman, and the judge asked her if her husband knew of her presence in the court and was willing to have her testify. He, the judge, did not want any trouble. She said yes and spoke in Mende to swear-in. Each witness was then given \$.25 and asked to wait outside. The wife's agent then introduced something for the record. He requested that a motion for dismissal (dismissal) be filed upon the grounds that it was supposedly understood by the court prior to this day that the plaintiff was impotent, and apparently at an earlier hearing had been ordered to pay \$35, although the agent never said for what.

The husband's agent then objected to the motion and said that the woman had already confessed to having a boyfriend. He felt that this made the impotency issue irrelevant. These objections took a long time as both agents seemed to be well versed in dramatics and took each opportunity to give long performances. The governor interjected several remarks about the length of the agents' statements. The woman then said that the problem was that her husband wanted her to sleep with other men from whom he would then collect the money. She then asked that her husband be tested by a doctor to prove whether he was impotent. The

case was adjourned here. When I returned, I found that the husband had refused to submit to an examination by a doctor and was appealing this instruction in the commissioner's court. It has not yet been assigned.

This case illustrates the interweaving of Islamic and customary law and illustrates the questions of connivance and condonation. By encouraging his wife as a collection woman, it would mean that the husband agreed to her outside relations and in the statutory system would invalidate the charge of adultery.

VI. Commissioner's Court
January, 1981
Plaintiff: John Johnson
Defendant: Sarah Kollie
Action: Decoyment (kidnapping)

The defendant, Sarah, was accused of keeping her three children, Old Man, Dedeh, and Barbu, away from their father. The plaintiff said that he and the woman had three children and that their relations began in 1970. In 1975, Sarah left him and took the children and the things in the house. He said that he had pleaded with her to stay but to no avail. He then asked her for his children in order to educate them, but she continued to refuse and said he should sue her, which he finally decided to do. The woman was then told she could question the man. She then asked him a long string of questions based on his statement and he stuck to his story. When she finished, the Commissioner asked him if Sarah was his dowried wife. She was not. Sarah then made her statement. She said that she was attending the Ganta Mission and came down for vacation. She met John and fell in love with him and eventually became pregnant in 1973. Her parents were angry and told her to bring the father to them. He refused to come but before she delivered she was able to introduce him to her mother. When the baby was born, John came to her and asked for forgiveness. She forgave him and began living with him until her mother heard about it and came down and took the baby away to look after it. John then apparently went there and told her that Sarah wanted the baby back. She, believing him, gave the child to him, but he never returned to Sarah. Sarah, therefore, was unwilling to allow him to have the one child she said was his in case he never returned. The issue here was whether she was his dowried

wife. As she was not, the court could not compel her to give up her children, but advised John to try and return to Sarah and patch up the differences.

This case illustrates the importance of the validation of a marriage and the reproductive rights that accrue to the husband with the validation.

VII. Commissioner's Court
December, 1980
Appellant Robert S. Tarpeh
Appellee Bary-yon-gar

This case was brought from a Bassa tribal chief's court in Bondiway, Firestone Plantation. The girl, the appellee, had told her parents that Tarpeh had taken her virginity and according to customary law he would have to pay her parents \$48 and marry her if all parties agreed. He, however, was contending that she had had a boyfriend before him and he had therefore not been the one to "initiate her into life." /The clerk told me that if the girl could prove her case, Tarpeh would have to marry her, but checked against the Administrative laws, this is supposed to occur only where both parties agree./

In the Bassa Court in Firestone, he was told to pay the \$48 and was appealing. There was no ruling that day, but upon my return, I found that the decision had been reversed due to the fact that the girl could not prove her case.

VIII. Commissioner's Court
January, 1981
Plaintiff Jimmy Sah
Defendant Fayah Morris
Action: Refund of dowry

This case originated in the Gissi chief's court but was dismissed with payment of \$7.50 court costs due to the fact that the wrong writ was issued. A second writ was issued and the case taken to an assistant minister. Jimmy Sah, an old man, said that Fayah Morris had taken his wife and married her without the dowry being refunded to him. Fayah said that Sah had deserted the woman and he had lived with her without marrying her for eight years at which time he paid the dowry to her parents. He said that he had now lived with her for an additional eight years

and it was only now, sixteen years later, that the man could think of his wife. He also said that it was the family's responsibility to refund the money to the man, but that they obviously did not because the man had deserted the woman. Sah meanwhile was requesting the expenses incurred in locating the woman. He had obviously taken the case to the assistant minister because of some friendship or tie and the assistant minister had awarded him \$51 and sent the case downstairs to have it enforced. The Commissioner stopped the case at this point and told me to give the decision. I told him that I was there to record and to learn but that I felt that Sah should have to list his expenses. Everyone agreed with me. When Sah did so, he could only come up with \$25. This sum included taking eight witnesses to the police station after a fight occurred between Sah's brother and the defendant.

At this point, a friend of Sah's was recognized and said that Sah was old and could not remember. He then proceeded to list expenses that were so outrageous that everyone laughed. However, as the Commissioner privately told me, since the sum had been authorized, the Commissioner did not feel that he could intervene. The woman was outside the courtroom all the time and was never asked to testify. In fact, the Commissioner commented that the whole problem was due to her as she should have made sure the first dowry was refunded before she accepted a second husband.

LX. Kru Court
January, 1981
Plaintiff: Putu
Defendant: Teah
Action: Ownership of land

The land in question in this case has been the focal point of several sets of persons who have claimed it. This instance is interesting because it involved a Kru woman, claiming it in her own right. The woman had lived in New Krutown since 1961 and contended that she had bought the land prior to her dowried marriage and therefore, her husband, who was also claiming it, had no interest in it. The governor agreed but said that he was not settling any land disputes as they were so complex and would require years of careful investigation. The woman was semi-literate but had been an independent businesswoman for years.

CONCLUSION

The women of Liberia live under a legal system that has two parts to it: the statutory and the customary. This section has attempted to investigate the interaction and the differences between the two.

Like many other African countries, the statutory system is the result of received laws which often were at variance with indigenous custom, thereby making the co-existence of the two system an uncomfortable one. The jurisdiction of customary law has been encroached upon, until its jurisdiction is presently confined to family laws. This, however, is an area that has particular relevance for women and their legal status.

The two systems are derived from different systems of social organization. The statutory system is based on the concepts of monogamy, bilateral inheritance, and the extended family.

The statutory system falls under the Ministry of Justice, with cases progressing from the Justice of the Peace Courts to the Supreme Court. The customary system falls under the Ministry of Internal Affairs (formerly Ministry of Local Government), with cases progressing from town chiefs to the Minister of Internal Affairs. Disputes are also settled through "house palavers," informal conciliatory discussions, which are utilized more frequently by women.

The payment of dowry in the customary system has no parallel in the statutory. Dowry is important because it validates the marriage and transfers a woman's productive rights to her husband. From the perspective of some women, payment of dowry indicates respect for them. From our observations, however, the refusal to accept dowry is becoming more common. This can be attributed to the apparent growing number of divorces, the woman's family's fear of their inability to refund it in case of divorce, and women's desires to be economically independent and to have custody of their children.

The differences between the two systems continue after the dissolution of a marriage, either by death or divorce. When a man married in the customary system dies, the marital contract is seen to continue with his family, who have certain obligations and responsibilities to the widow, but only on condition that she remain within the family as the wife of a relative. The inheritance rules, therefore, are appropriate when viewed against this background. Under customary law, a widow is not entitled to inherit from her husband. There are now growing numbers of widows, however, who choose to leave their husband's family for various reasons, and the rules become inequitable with this new situation.

The inheritance issue leads to the question of property ownership. The concept of individual ownership of land is alien to the customary system, as individuals had "use rights" to land based upon their kin and community affiliation. Therefore, the question of a woman owning property such as land in her own right is inconsistent with this view. Many persons are now straddling both legal systems and this necessitates women being afforded

equal and comparable rights in both systems. The example of a man married under customary law but owning a deed to land shows the possibilities for confusion.

The flexibility and adaptability of the customary system has been restricted by the codification of customary laws. These laws were intended to reflect the customs of the people, but in some cases were misinterpreted. The customary system is complex and interwoven, and rules that seem clear and final when written, often becomes less clear when view in operation.

The most persuasive argument for a revision of the system is the influence of socioeconomic change. With education changing socioeconomic status, or simply an awareness of inequities, many women no longer feel comfortable with the customary system, even though they cannot embrace the statutory. Many women are adopting values which are inconsistent with custom and tradition, creating pressures on the customary system to regain flexibility and adapt.

Finally, the influence of the request for participation of all persons in the shaping of a new constitution is having an impact on women who perhaps were previously unaware of their rights.

Harmonizing and revising the dual legal system while respecting the integrity of each is not a simple task. Law should be the embodiment of social consensus, and cannot go too far from existing social patterns and values without losing its effectiveness. From this investigation, however, it is clear that some of the basic assumptions from which the customary system is derived, are no longer valid, requiring a review of the system.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has emphasized the central role which Liberian women play in food production. The economic options available to most Liberian women will continue to be concentrated in food production and distribution for some years. Liberian women are, however, an increasingly heterogeneous group who have differing needs and who will respond differently to development activities.

The type of community in which a woman lives is one of the major variable affecting her activities, especially farming. In combination with several other variables, differing categories of women farmers can be identified who could be "targeted" for development projects. The major variables are: (1) the type of community in which she lives which affects the range of options available to her and to her husband, if married, (2) the status of a woman in a household which affects the control over her own labor and outputs and her access to and control over the labor of others, (3) her access to land under customary rights or under freehold, and (4) whether she is engaged in other occupations or activities. Identifying precisely how many women farmers are in each category is not possible from existing data. Trends can be identified.

1. Women Who are Wives in Households and Who have Access to the Labor of Men and Children

They are likely to be engaged in upland rice cultivation supplemented by vegetable production. Their husbands are also farmers. Rice production is oriented primarily toward household consumption. Access to land is through the customary system of use rights. In some areas, husbands may derive cash income from coffee, cocoa, or sugar cane. Whether or not the community is on a road and whether or not there markets will influence the extent to which they are involved in the production of vegetables for market sale. Whether the household is monogamous or polygynous and the number of adult women in the household will influence the allocation of labor. Head wives have more access to and control over the labor of other women. The more women in the household, the more likely they are to be able to engage in supplementary rice production or vegetable production.

2. Women who are not Wives in a Household and Who are not Heads of Households

Such women are likely to be adult daughters, sisters, or other kin the household heads. Such women will contribute their labor to the household farm in those areas where one is made. They may also be making a personal farm if they have access to male labor. Access to land is customary. In those areas where farms are subdivided among wives, such women appear to assist the wives in the farmwork and receive a portion of rice. A hypothesis is that these women produce more vegetables, when located in communities with access to markets, than do those in category one. Such production would provide cash to

help hire male labor to make rice farm or to provide cash to meet their needs if they are not able to make rice farm.

3. Women Who are Heads of Household, Either de Facto or de Jure

These women may be widows, divorced, or not married. Widows may be de facto heads of households if they have been inherited by men who are no longer able to mobilize the necessary young adult male labor force essential to the polygynous system. These heads of households may have no access to male labor except by hiring. Census data suggest that these women are likely to be 50 years or older. Older women may themselves not be able to work actively on a rice farm. Whether or not they cultivate rice will depend upon their ability to obtain male labor and their ability to mobilize the labor of younger women. If they do not have the resources to mobilize the necessary labor, they may turn to crops which do not require male labor and which do not require the heavy physical work of rice production. They are likely to cultivate pear, cassava, eddoes, plantains, peppers, bitterballs, and so on, by themselves. For those with access to markets, cash from these crops will be used to purchase rice. Women heads of households in the more urban communities may not be engaged in farming but may be in marketing.

4. Women Who are Primarily Market Women or Other Entrepreneurs Who Have Rice Farms

These women spend most of their time in market activities. Access to land is customary, although some of these women have the potential of obtaining land deeds. They may do some farm work themselves or may rely upon kin. They may also hire labor.

5. Women Who are Wage Earners Such as Teachers, Nurses, and So On

These women are likely to live in urban communities. Some may have deeded land for their farming activities. They may rely upon kin or hired labor for their rice farms. The rice produced is usually intended for home consumption rather than sale. They may be wives or heads of households. They have sufficient financial resources to expand into other commercial farming activities.

6. Women Who Perform Agricultural Labor for Hire

There are some women working as laborers on rubber plantations or other private farms. Women are employed at the Docoris Plantation in Maryland. In the Foya area, a young woman reported that she worked for cash on people's farms. Women's cooperative work groups may be hired for planting and harvesting in some areas. More information is needed on these women to determine to what extent these women are also making their own farms and to what extent they may be working for hire due to lack of access to farm land.

7. Women who Hold Land Only Under the Freehold System

These women, depending upon the size of their holdings, may not have sufficient land for upland rice cultivation. They may be involved in cultivating crops suitable for more restricted acreage.

These Liberian women farmers are the base of the Liberian economic system. The viability and development of that economic system is dependent upon the maintenance and strengthening of that base. The customary legal system continues to support the traditional agricultural system but changing socioeconomic conditions make that legal system increasingly unresponsive and inadequate for the concerns of women and the reality of their lives. The educational system in its present form is unresponsive to the needs of women farmers. Unless national institutions recognize and are responsive to the contribution of women farmers, the base upon which the Liberian economy depends may be endangered.

RECOMMENDATIONS

One of the objectives of this project was to identify potential projects which would address women's needs and goals. This report has argued that the issue of women and development is not a women's issue but a development issue with women integrated as full participants in the development process. To emphasize again, women's roles do not exist in isolation but as integral to society, complementing those of men. These points are central to the recommendations that follows.

Development projects should be sectoral projects, some of which may be aimed primarily at women because of their roles. Projects targeted, for example, at women entrepreneurs should be considered as business projects rather than women's projects. Experience elsewhere indicates that when projects are designed specifically as women's projects they tend not to be subjected to the same scrutiny with reference to their feasibility and viability and do not receive adequate funding (23, 89). A sectoral project targeted for women must be subjected to the same review process as any other project in that sector.

Rural Liberian women are primarily interested in improving their productivity and their income-earning capacity. Women have expressed little interest in or support of traditional home economics-type projects or those projects with a "social welfare" orientation. Further, unless women see that they will benefit from their labor inputs in any project, there will be little or no incentive for them to participate.

Projects must consider the regional variation within Liberia and the range of communities. Projects appropriate for areas surrounding Monrovia may not be appropriate for Lofa and Maryland nor would projects appropriate for women living in isolated rural communities necessarily be appropriate for women living in Gbarnga or Greenville.

Any agricultural project which involves food production must recognize that women are a primary target group. At this point in time and, probably for at least ten years, there is no viable alternative to upland rice cultivation to be offered to farmers. Swamp rice might be acceptable to some women if the resources are available to them for the clearing of the plots. As it will take time to develop a viable package as an alternative to current upland rice cultivation, agricultural projects should concentrate on other crops at this time. Some women would be responsive to projects which focus upon increasing vegetable and fruit production for market sale. It is recommended that such a project be identified, specifying appropriate areas of the country and identifying the markets. The initial target group should be those women who are unable to cultivate upland rice. For such a project to be economically viable, it may need to be linked to projects in small industry focusing upon the processing of these foods, either for the local or export market.

In business, there are women throughout Liberia who are already engaged in small business activities or who wish to be involved. These women need to be incorporated into projects directed at small businesses. Much of the assistance from which they would benefit is similar to that needed by men. Women should, however, be provided with access to credit in their own name, without reference to their husbands. This is consistent with both customary and statutory law concerning ownership of property independent of their husbands. There are also women and men operating in the small business sector who would be able to do better if they were literate. This is the category of individuals who are most likely to be interested in programs in literacy and numeracy.

Projects in appropriate technology could help alleviate heavy work loads associated with domestic chores and with processing crops. Production of oil palms and peanuts, for example, might be increased if there were less labor intensive methods of processing. Women have already responded to rice mills when these are available. Technology for processing these crops is being developed in other African countries. A necessary component of such projects is a time/task allocation which would more precisely identify the labor constraints and inputs and where they might be alleviated. Projects which improve local water supplies will affect primarily the work load of women and children.

In education, it was earlier recommended that a program be developed to teach non-English speakers English.

The resolution of current ambiguities and inequities in the legal status of Liberian women will not be an easy task. Experience from other African countries suggests that even when laws are introduced which might remove inequities under the customary system, the customary system continues to operate. Polygyny is central to the functioning of the food production system in Liberia and will continue to be as long as current technology is utilized. At the same time, property has become an issue for some Liberian women. As widows inherit under the statutory system, women married under

the customary system should also inherit. In polygynous situations, the property could be divided among the wives. Widows choosing to leave their husband's family after his death should not have to refund dowry. The refund of dowry is necessary, however, in divorce since that is how divorce is effected under the customary system. The practice of requiring women to pay a \$100 "damage fee" to their husbands should, however, be eliminated. This fee was not part of the customary system but was instituted when the limitation was placed upon the amount of dowry and has served primarily to bind women in marriages against their interests or wishes. This is part of the system which women appear to find most onerous. Women should be better informed of their rights. Concerned lawyers might establish a legal aid project which would assist women in processing their cases through the legal system.

Finally, an institutional framework to help insure that women are integrated as full participants in development projects is needed. At the present time in Liberia, there is no institutional framework which could perform this task nor though which projects could be implemented. It is suggested that consideration be given to the formation of a women's bureau such as exists in some other African countries to perform these functions. Such a bureau would be professional and technical in its orientation and operation. The bureau should either be a semi-autonomous unit comparable to the Youth and Sports Commission or should be incorporated into the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs. It should not be placed in the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare since that would restrict its policy-making influence in other sectors and would establish the notion that women's concerns are primarily a welfare issue rather than a development issue.

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Annex I

Demographic Tables

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LIFETIME IN-, OUT-, AND NET-MIGRATION BY LOCATION AND SEX, 1974

Country of Birth and Enumeration	Both Sexes			Males			Females		
	In-	Out-	Net	In-	Out	Net	In-	Out-	Net-
Bong	20,328	56,628	-36,300	11,657	32,863	-21,206	8,671	23,765	-15,094
Grand Bassa	12,297	52,598	-40,301	7,044	28,067	-21,023	5,253	24,531	-19,278
Grand Cape Mount	12,146	15,707	- 3,561	7,377	8,679	- 1,302	4,769	7,028	- 2,259
Grand Gedeh	5,906	17,134	-11,228	3,210	9,492	- 6,282	2,696	7,642	- 4,946
Lofa	9,731	62,465	-52,734	5,874	37,666	-31,792	3,857	24,799	-20,942
Maryland	6,265	27,198	-20,933	3,453	14,018	-10,565	2,812	13,180	-10,368
Montserrado	213,813	12,829	+200,984	119,305	7,129	+112,176	94,508	5,700	+88,808
Nimba	19,080	32,054	-12,974	10,704	19,178	8,474	8,376	12,876	4,500
Sinoe	3,517	26,470	-22,953	2,024	13,556	-11,532	1,493	12,914	-11,421
Liberia	303,083	303,083	0	170,648	170,648	0	132,435	132,435	0

Calculated from unpublished provisional data from the 1974 Census of Population and Housing in Liberia.

Source: Srivastava 1978: Table 12

Table I-1

Table I-2
SEX RATIOS (FEMALES PER 100 MALES) OF LIFETIME IN-
AND OUT-, MIGRANTS BY AREAL UNITS, 1962 and 1974

<u>Area</u>	<u>Lifetime Migrants</u>	
	<u>In-</u>	<u>Out-</u>
<u>Counties</u>	<u>1962</u>	
Grand Bassa	86	77
Grand Cape Mount	45	76
Maryland	77	85
Montserrado	65	87
Sinoe	81	89
<u>Provinces</u>		
Central	68	58
Eastern	81	68
Western	68	53
Liberia	67	67
<u>Counties</u>	<u>1974</u>	
Bong	75	72
Grand Bassa	75	88
Grand Cape Mount	65	81
Grand Gedeh	84	81
Lofa	66	66
Maryland	81	94
Montserrado	79	80
Nimba	78	67
Sinoe	74	95
Liberia	77	77

Source: Srivastava 1978: Table 21
Recalculated from males per 100 females.

TABLE I-3
 LIFETIME OUT-MIGRATION AS PERCENT OF POPULATION BORN
 IN AN AREA AND LIFETIME IN-MIGRATION AS PERCENT OF
 POPULATION RESIDING IN AN AREA BY SEX, 1974

Area	Lifetime Out-Migration as Percent of Population Born in an Area			Lifetime In-Migration as Percent of Population Residing in an Area (Excluding Immigrants)		
	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Bong	28.6	21.1	24.9	21.5	8.9	10.6
Grand Bassa	29.4	26.3	27.9	9.5	7.1	8.3
Grand Cape Mount	29.7	24.9	27.3	26.4	18.4	22.5
Grand Gedeh	24.0	18.0	20.9	9.7	7.2	8.3
Lofa	33.6	22.4	27.9	7.3	4.3	5.7
Maryland	25.4	23.5	24.5	7.7	6.2	6.9
Montserrado	6.7	5.5	6.1	54.5	49.1	51.9
Nimba	15.3	10.1	12.7	9.2	6.8	7.9
Sinoe	30.1	29.1	29.4	6.0	4.5	5.3
Liberia	<u>23.6</u>	<u>18.4</u>	<u>21.0</u>	<u>23.6</u>	<u>18.4</u>	<u>21.0</u>

Calculated from Unpublished provisional data from the
 1974 Census of Population and Housing in Liberia.

Source: Srivastava: 1978 Table 13

SEX RATIO (FEMALES PER 100 MALES) OF LIFETIME IN- AND OUT- MIGRANTS
BY AGE AND AREAL UNITS, 1974

Areal Units (Counties)	In-Migrants						Out-Migrants					
	Age						Age					
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45+	Total	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45+	Total
Bong	90	107	74	52	38	75	79	96	78	50	43	72
Grand Bassa	93	98	64	52	53	75	91	106	101	66	61	88
Grand Cape Mount	83	99	61	31	34	65	103	102	79	58	45	81
Grand Gedeh	94	112	84	53	50	84	96	106	79	50	38	81
Lofa	100	105	57	34	32	66	82	92	70	38	31	66
Maryland	88	88	118	75	53	81	109	118	88	65	64	94
Montserrado	89	100	83	55	49	79	91	99	71	59	43	80
Nimba	92	112	88	46	38	78	92	91	61	37	30	67
Sinoe	102	106	55	40	34	74	105	118	95	74	74	95
Liberia	90	101	80	52	46	78	90	101	80	52	46	78

Calculated from Unpublished data from the 1974 Census of Population and Housing

Source: Srivastava 1978: Table 32
Recalculated from males per 100 females.

Table I-4

Table I-5

AGE SPECIFIC LIFETIME OUT MIGRANTS AS PERCENT OF POPULATION
IN SPECIFIED AGE BY AREA OF BIRTH, 1974

real Unit Counties)	Males					Females				
	Age					Age				
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45+	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45+
ong	18.9	35.0	45.1	37.4	26.9	16.0	26.5	27.8	21.2	18.0
rand Bassa	20.0	36.0	42.8	37.8	28.0	20.6	32.6	32.9	27.0	22.4
rand Cape Mount	19.7	37.6	46.7	39.3	27.6	19.6	35.6	33.1	25.2	15.9
rand Gedeh	15.4	32.3	43.6	33.6	18.3	15.2	29.6	22.8	14.0	8.1
ofa	20.6	45.3	52.5	44.2	28.6	18.1	32.2	28.1	19.2	12.5
aryland	16.5	30.5	46.7	37.5	19.7	18.7	36.1	33.2	21.3	13.3
ontserrado	5.3	6.9	11.6	10.1	7.4	5.1	6.5	6.9	6.0	4.1
imba	8.6	21.0	28.3	21.3	13.5	8.3	15.9	21.0	8.0	5.6
inoe	18.1	33.7	49.4	44.5	29.5	21.3	39.4	37.2	29.6	24.7
iberia	14.4	29.7	40.2	33.7	22.2	13.9	25.9	24.5	18.2	13.5

Calculated from unpublished data from the 1974 Census of Population and Housing in Liberia.

Source: Srivastava 1978: Table 29

AGE-SPECIFIC LIFE TIME NET MIGRANTS AS PERCENT OF POPULATION
IN SPECIFIED AGE GROUP BY AREA OF BIRTH, 1974

Areal Unit (Counties)	M A L E S					F E M A L E S				
	Age					Age				
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45+	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45+
Bong	-12.1	-24.2	-29.9	-24.3	-15.3	- 9.4	-17.4	-18.9	-13.4	-11.1
Grand Bassa	-14.8	-28.5	-30.6	-29.3	-20.2	-15.0	-26.4	-27.1	-22.3	-17.0
Grand Cape Mount	- 0.9	-12.2	- 5.3	+ 1.9	- 7.5	- 4.5	-12.3	-10.3	-11.1	- 7.2
Grand Gedeh	- 9.3	-23.3	-29.7	-22.4	-11.9	- 9.2	-20.9	-15.0	- 9.1	- 4.4
Lofa	-17.2	-40.7	-43.6	-36.2	-23.8	-14.5	-28.4	-24.2	-16.1	-10.3
Maryland	-12.1	-24.5	-39.9	-28.4	-10.8	-14.6	-30.8	-26.7	-15.3	- 8.3
Montserrado	+43.9	+153.9	+258.8	+242.6	+143.9	+41.4	+147.3	+178.9	+133.8	+91.0
Nimba	- 2.3	-12.7	-14.4	- 7.8	- 5.8	- 2.2	- 8.1	- 3.6	- 1.8	- 1.6
Sinoe	-14.5	-29.3	-41.8	-38.7	-25.8	-17.2	-34.8	-33.8	-27.5	-23.3
Liberia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Calculated from unpublished provisional data from the 1974 Census of Population and Housing in Liberia.

Source: Srivastava 1978: Table 30

Table I-6

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE COUNTY/TERRITORY OF ENUMERATION BY AGE AND SEX
(Percentages)^a

County/Territory Age 6 Length of Res.	Total Both Sexes	Liberia		Urban		Rural		Bomi		Bong	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age 15 years											
Life time residence	89.4	89.3	89.5	85.0	84.7	91.1	91.5	76.8	76.8	92.5	93.4
Residence 0-4 years	8.8	8.8	8.9	12.2	12.6	7.4	7.3	18.4	19.2	6.5	5.7
Residence 5-9 years	1.4	1.4	1.2	2.1	2.1	1.0	.9	3.3	2.8	.7	.5
Residence 10 years +	.5	.6	.4	.7	.6	.5	.3	1.6	1.2	.3	.2
Age 15-29 years											
Life time residence	84.6	83.0	86.0	79.3	79.5	85.5	89.2	57.8	64.8	91.7	94.3
Residence 0-4 years	9.1	10.5	7.9	12.1	11.4	9.5	6.2	26.7	20.2	5.3	3.5
Residence 5-9 years	3.1	3.3	3.0	4.5	4.7	2.5	2.1	7.5	7.3	1.7	1.1
Residence 10 years +	3.2	3.8	3.2	4.0	4.4	2.6	2.5	8.0	7.7	1.4	1.1
Age 30-45 years											
Life time residence	84.6	79.5	89.4	75.0	80.0	81.8	92.3	56.0	72.1	90.9	96.1
Residence 0-4 years	6.5	8.9	4.2	9.9	7.8	8.4	3.1	17.8	10.1	4.6	2.0
Residence 5-9 years	3.0	4.1	2.2	5.1	3.9	3.6	1.4	9.8	5.4	1.8	.6
Residence 10 years +	5.9	7.4	4.4	9.9	8.3	6.2	3.2	16.4	12.5	2.6	1.3
Age 45 years +											
Life time residence	91.4	89.3	94.2	81.3	86.4	91.1	95.6	74.7	83.9	95.0	97.1
Residence 0-4 years	3.1	3.6	2.5	5.6	5.9	3.2	1.9	7.8	6.2	2.0	1.3
Residence 5-9 years	1.3	1.7	.8	2.8	2.0	1.4	.6	4.1	2.8	.6	.3
Residence 10 years +	4.2	5.4	2.3	10.4	5.8	4.3	1.9	13.3	7.1	2.4	1.3

Table I-7

1-7

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LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE COUNTY/TERRITORY OF ENUMERATION BY AGE AND SEX
(Percentages)

County/Territory Age & Length of Res.	Grand Bassa		Cape Mount		Grand Gedeh		Kru Coast		Lofa		Marshall	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age 15 years												
Life time residence	95.2	95.1	80.1	82.4	93.3	93.1	97.3	97.5	91.7	90.6	73.5	75.5
Residence 0-4 years	4.2	4.5	17.5	15.4	6.1	6.4	2.3	2.2	7.6	8.7	21.0	20.3
Residence 5-9 years	.4	.3	1.9	1.8	.4	.3	.2	.3	.6	.5	3.8	3.0
Residence 10 years +	.2	.2	.5	.4	.2	.1	.2	.1	.1	.1	1.8	1.3
Age 15-29 years												
Life time residence	94.4	96.0	69.0	75.1	93.6	95.1	98.3	98.5	83.8	91.5	50.4	58.3
Residence 0-4 years	3.8	2.6	21.7	16.4	5.0	3.6	1.1	.8	12.9	6.2	32.3	24.8
Residence 5-9 years	.8	.6	6.3	5.5	7.5	.6	.2	.3	2.3	1.4	9.5	9.4
Residence 10 years +	1.0	.7	3.2	2.9	6.7	.7	.4	.4	1.0	.9	7.8	7.5
Age 30-45 years												
Life time residence	93.2	96.4	64.9	82.2	92.6	97.1	98.1	98.5	83.5	95.1	52.2	73.2
Residence 0-4 years	3.8	1.9	17.7	8.3	5.0	1.5	.7	.9	10.1	3.0	22.2	11.3
Residence 5-9 years	1.4	.6	7.7	4.9	1.2	.5	.5	.3	3.5	.8	8.6	4.6
Residence 10 years +	1.6	1.1	9.6	4.6	1.2	.9	.8	.3	2.9	1.1	17.0	10.9
Age 45 years +												
Life time residence	97.1	97.9	82.0	92.2	96.0	97.9	98.2	99.3	94.0	97.5	80.2	84.3
Residence 0-4 years	1.4	1.3	6.3	3.3	1.7	1.1	.6	.3	2.8	1.5	8.7	7.9
Residence 5-9 years	.4	.2	3.7	1.8	.4	.2	.2	.0	1.0	.3	3.3	2.7
Residence 10 years +	1.1	.7	7.9	2.7	1.8	.9	1.0	.4	2.1	.8	7.8	5.1

Table I-7

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LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE COUNTY/TERRITORY OF ENUMERATION BY AGE AND SEX
(Percentages)

County/Territory Age & Length of Res.	Maryland		Montserratado		Nimba		Rivercess		Sasstown		Sinoe	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age 15 years												
Life time residence	90.9	90.3	84.3	84.9	90.8	90.7	95.8	95.5	93.2	94.3	94.4	94.3
Residence 0-4 years	6.9	7.6	12.3	12.3	7.4	7.6	3.8	4.1	6.4	5.2	4.6	4.6
Residence 5-9 years	1.3	1.3	2.4	2.1	1.4	1.4	.3	.3	.2	.4	.7	.9
Residence 10 years +	.8	.8	.9	.6	.4	.3	.2	.2	.2	.1	.3	.2
Age 15-29 years												
Life time residence	90.0	91.2	77.8	76.3	84.7	87.8	93.4	96.7	95.7	97.2	92.8	93.2
Residence 0-4 years	5.3	4.1	12.5	12.1	8.7	6.4	4.6	2.2	2.9	2.0	4.8	4.3
Residence 5-9 years	1.8	1.8	4.4	5.0	3.9	3.2	1.1	.5	.8	.2	1.5	1.4
Residence 10 years +	2.9	2.9	5.3	6.6	2.7	2.6	.8	.6	.6	.6	1.0	1.1
Age 30-45 years												
Life time residence	98.0	92.2	71.7	75.8	78.5	90.7	93.7	96.0	94.6	97.3	92.9	96.4
Residence 0-4 years	4.5	2.7	10.5	8.4	8.5	3.3	3.2	2.4	4.1	1.8	3.6	1.4
Residence 5-9 years	2.0	1.5	4.9	4.4	5.3	2.0	1.4	.2	.8	.2	1.2	.7
Residence 10 years +	5.5	3.6	1.3	11.4	7.1	3.9	1.7	1.3	.6	.8	2.3	1.5
Age 45 years +												
Life time residence	91.8	94.9	78.3	84.7	89.9	95.0	94.5	95.4	95.3*	97.5	95.6	97.8
Residence 0-4 years	1.9	1.6	7.0	6.5	2.8	1.7	2.4	2.2	2.0	1.1	1.5	.9
Residence 5-9 years	.8	.7	3.1	2.0	1.9	.8	.3	.5	.4	.4	.5	.2
Residence 10 years +	5.5	2.8	11.6	6.7	5.4	2.4	2.8	2.0	.5	1.1	2.3	1.1

6-1

Source: Compiled From 1974 Population & Housing Census, PC-I, Tables 8

Note that these figures do not accurately record migration; e.g., someone in rural area may report as "life-time" resident even though may have spent time elsewhere

Table I-7

* Percentage may not total exactly 100% due to rounding.

ADP

PRINCIPAL ACTIVITY OF THE POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY SEX

WORKING POPULATION 10 YEARS+

	Total: Working & Not Working	Total	Paid Employees	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker
Liberia	1,051,716	432,871 (41.2)	128,625 (12.2)	2,221 (.2)	223,233 (21.2)	78,792 (7.5)
Male	529,260	316,847 (59.9)	118,512 (22.4)	1,767 (.3)	166,742 (31.5)	29,826 (5.6)
Female	522,456	116,024 (22.2)	10,113 (1.9)	454 (.1)	56,491 (10.8)	48,966 (9.4)
Bomi	43,798	18,157 (41.5)	7,249 (16.6)	54 (.1)	8,368 (19.1)	2,486 (5.7)
Male	23,123	14,955 (64.7)	7,015 (30.3)	42 (.2)	6,402 (27.7)	1,496 (6.5)
Female	20,675	3,202 (15.5)	234 (1.1)	12 (.1)	1,966 (9.5)	990 (4.8)
Bong	134,036	58,832 (43.9)	10,770 (8.0)	140 (.1)	34,440 (25.7)	13,482 (10.1)
Male	64,761	41,133 (63.5)	10,022 (15.5)	111 (.2)	25,226 (38.9)	5,774 (8.9)
Female	69,275	17,699 (25.5)	748 (1.0)	29 (.04)	9,214 (13.3)	7,708 (11.1)
Grand Bassa	88,632	36,472 (41.1)	8,179 (9.2)	207 (.2)	21,509 (24.3)	6,577 (7.4)
Male	44,193	26,247 (59.4)	7,625 (17.3)	159 (.4)	16,188 (36.6)	2,275 (5.1)
Female	44,439	10,225 (23.0)	554 (1.2)	48 (.01)	5,321 (12.0)	4,302 (1.0)
Grand Cape Mount	39,764	21,064 (53.0)	4,157 (10.5)	119 (.3)	10,886 (27.4)	5,902 (14.8)
Male	21,042	14,408 (68.5)	3,901 (18.5)	55 (.3)	8,814 (41.9)	1,638 (7.9)
Female	18,722	6,656 (35.6)	256 (1.4)	64 (.3)	2,072 (11.0)	4,264 (22.7)
Grand Gedeh	48,854	20,969 (42.9)	2,809 (5.7)	41 (.1)	11,518 (23.6)	6,601 (13.5)
Male	22,468	12,779 (56.9)	2,695 (12.0)	40 (.2)	8,761 (39.0)	1,283 (5.7)
Female	26,386	8,190 (31.0)	114 (.4)	1 (.0)	2,757 (10.4)	5,318 (20.2)
Kru Coast	19,359	10,568 (54.6)	406 (2.1)	6 (.1)	6,864 (35.4)	3,222 (17.0)
Male	9,291	5,118 (55.1)	357 (3.8)	2 (.1)	4,050 (43.6)	709 (7.6)
Female	10,068	5,450 (54.1)	49 (.5)	4 (.1)	2,814 (27.9)	2,583 (25.7)
Lofa	124,005	62,469 (50.4)	7,266 (5.9)	303 (.2)	40,218 (32.4)	14,682 (11.8)
Male	57,682	39,358 (68.2)	6,855 (11.9)	231 (.4)	27,321 (47.4)	4,951 (8.6)
Female	66,323	23,111 (34.8)	411 (.1)	72 (.01)	12,897 (19.4)	9,731 (14.7)

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Table I-8

PRINCIPAL ACTIVITY OF THE POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY SEX

	Total: Working & Not Working	WORKING POPULATION 10 YEARS+				
		Total	Paid Employees	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker
Marshall	14,611	5,157 (35.3)	2,768 (18.9)	49 (.3)	2,046 (14.0)	294 (2.0)
Male	7,677	4,661 (60.7)	2,658 (34.6)	46 (.6)	1,806 (23.5)	151 (2.0)
Female	6,934	496 (7.2)	110 (1.6)	3 (0)	240 (3.5)	143 (2.1)
Maryland	43,835	12,136 (27.7)	4,341 (9.9)	71 (.2)	6,515 (1.5)	1,709 (2.8)
Male	21,671	10,253 (47.3)	3,884 (17.9)	65 (.3)	5,647 (26.1)	657 (3.0)
Female	22,167	1,883 (8.5)	457 (2.1)	6 (.03)	868 (3.9)	552 (2.5)
Montserrat	254,495	92,538 (36.4)	64,662 (25.4)	658(2.6)	22,315 (8.8)	4,903 (1.9)
Male	140,695	79,212 (56.3)	58,445 (41.5)	558 (.4)	17,379 (12.3)	2,830 (2.0)
Female	113,800	13,326 (11.7)	6,217 (5.5)	100 (.1)	4,936 (4.3)	2,073 (1.8)
Nimba	173,889	71,717 (41.2)	11,730 (6.7)	483 (.3)	45,367 (26.1)	14,137 (8.1)
Male	83,859	50,000 (59.6)	11,093 (13.2)	378 (.5)	33,559 (40.0)	4,970 (5.9)
Female	90,030	21,717 (24.1)	637 (.7)	105 (.1)	11,808 (13.1)	9,167 (10.2)
Rivercess	18,712	5,892 (31.5)	329 (1.8)	34 (.2)	4,063 (21.7)	1,466 (7.8)
Male	8,979	5,189 (57.8)	280 (3.1)	30 (.3)	3,840 (42.8)	1,039 (11.6)
Female	9,733	703 (7.2)	49 (.5)	4 (.04)	223 (2.3)	427 (4.4)
Sasstown	7,072	2,133 (30.2)	228 (3.2)	6 (.1)	1,483 (21.0)	516 (5.9)
Male	3,364	1,655 (49.2)	214 (6.4)	6 (.1)	1,327 (39.4)	108 (3.2)
Female	3,708	478 (12.9)	14 (.3)	- (0)	156 (4.2)	308 (8.3)
Sinoe	40,651	14,767 (36.3)	3,731 (9.2)	50 (.1)	7,641 (18.8)	3,345 (8.2)
Male	20,455	11,879 (58.1)	3,468 (16.9)	44 (.2)	6,422 (31.4)	1,945 (9.6)
Female	20,196	2,888 (14.3)	263 (1.3)	6 (.03)	1,219 (6.0)	1,400 (6.9)

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Table I-8

99%

PRINCIPAL ACTIVITY OF THE POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY SEX

NOT WORKING

<u>Area</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Housekeeping</u>	<u>Student</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>Others</u>
Liberia	618,845 (58.8)	233,583 (22.2)	133,681 (12.7)	27,807 (2.6)	223,774 (21.3)
Male	212,413 (40.1)	6,840 (1.3)	91,595 (17.3)	11,882 (2.2)	102,096 (19.3)
Female	406,432 (77.8)	226,743 (43.4)	42,086 (8.1)	15,925 (3.0)	121,678 (23.3)
Bomi	25,641 (58.5)	11,153 (25.5)	3,975 (9.1)	1,776 (4.1)	8,734 (19.9)
Male	8,168 (35.3)	384 (1.7)	2,820 (12.2)	848 (3.7)	4,116 (17.8)
Female	17,473 (84.5)	10,772 (52.1)	1,155 (5.6)	928 (4.5)	4,618 (22.3)
Botig	75,204 (56.1)	29,606 (22.1)	11,270 (8.4)	3,196 (2.4)	31,132 (23.2)
Male	23,628 (36.5)	786 (1.2)	7,934 (12.3)	1,384 (2.1)	13,524 (20.9)
Female	51,576 (74.5)	28,820 (41.6)	3,336 (4.8)	1,812 (2.6)	17,608 (25.4)
Grand Bassa	52,160 (58.9)	18,255 (20.6)	6,256 (7.1)	2,618 (3.0)	25,031 (28.2)
Male	17,946 (40.6)	817 (1.8)	4,335 (9.8)	1,183 (2.7)	11,611 (26.3)
Female	34,214 (77.0)	17,438 (39.2)	1,921 (4.3)	1,435 (3.2)	13,420 (30.2)
Grand Cape Mount	18,700 (47.0)	6,653 (16.7)	2,776 (7.0)	1,465 (3.7)	7,806 (19.6)
Male	6,634 (31.5)	259 (1.2)	2,032 (9.7)	566 (2.7)	3,777 (19.9)
Female	12,066 (64.4)	6,394 (34.2)	744 (4.0)	899 (4.8)	4,029 (21.5)
Grand GeJeh	27,885 (57.1)	10,973 (22.5)	6,176 (12.6)	597 (1.2)	10,139 (20.8)
Male	9,689 (43.1)	413 (1.8)	4,471 (19.9)	222 (1.0)	4,583 (20.4)
Female	18,196 (69.0)	10,560 (40.0)	1,705 (6.5)	375 (1.4)	5,556 (21.1)
Kru Coast	8,791 (45.4)	1,914 (9.9)	3,418 (17.7)	62 (.3)	3,397 (17.5)
Male	4,173 (44.9)	35 (.4)	2,538 (27.3)	28 (.3)	1,572 (16.9)
Female	4,618 (45.9)	1,879 (18.7)	880 (8.7)	34 (.3)	1,825 (18.1)
Lofa	61,536 (49.6)	26,416 (21.3)	8,884 (7.2)	5,269 (4.2)	20,967 (16.9)
Male	18,324 (31.8)	728 (1.3)	6,868 (11.9)	2,081 (3.6)	8,647 (15.0)
Female	43,212 (65.2)	25,688 (38.7)	2,016 (3.0)	3,188 (4.8)	12,320 (18.6)

I-12

Table I-8

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PRINCIPAL ACTIVITY OF THE POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY SEX

NOT WORKING

Area	Total	Housekeeping	Student	Retired	Others
Marshall	9,454 (64.7)	4,058 (27.8)	1,530 (10.5)	215 (1.5)	3,651 (25.0)
Male	3,016 (39.3)	198 (2.6)	989 (12.9)	157 (2.0)	1,672 (21.8)
Female	6,438 (92.8)	3,860 (55.7)	541 (7.8)	58 (.8)	1,979 (28.5)
Maryland	31,702 (72.3)	12,027 (27.4)	7,382 (10.8)	1,015 (2.3)	11,278 (25.7)
Male	11,418 (52.7)	351 (1.6)	4,851 (22.4)	524 (2.4)	5,692 (26.3)
Female	20,284 (91.5)	11,676 (52.7)	2,531 (11.4)	491 (2.2)	5,586 (25.2)
Montserrat	161,957 (63.6)	52,039 (20.4)	51,253 (20.1)	3,526 (1.4)	55,139 (21.7)
Male	61,483 (43.7)	1,383 (1.0)	32,622 (23.2)	2,019 (1.4)	25,459 (18.1)
Female	100,474 (88.3)	50,656 (44.5)	18,631 (16.4)	1,507 (1.3)	29,680 (26.1)
Nimba	102,172 (58.8)	40,895 (23.5)	22,423 (12.9)	6,119 (3.5)	32,735 (18.8)
Male	33,859 (40.4)	1,131 (1.3)	15,734 (18.8)	2,119 (2.5)	14,875 (17.7)
Female	68,313 (75.-)	39,764 (44.2)	6,689 (7.4)	4,000 (4.4)	17,860 (19.8)
Rivercess	12,820 (68.5)	5,805 (31.0)	1,310 (7.0)	1,225 (6.5)	4,478 (23.9)
Male	3,790 (42.2)	51 (.6)	1,050 (11.7)	476 (5.3)	2,213 (24.6)
Female	9,030 (92.8)	5,754 (59.1)	262 (2.7)	749 (7.7)	2,265 (23.3)
Sasstown	4,939 (69.8)	1,935 (27.4)	1,147 (16.2)	110 (1.6)	1,747 (24.7)
Male	1,709 (50.8)	27 (.8)	900 (26.8)	42 (1.2)	740 (22.0)
Female	3,230 (87.1)	1,908 (51.5)	247 (6.7)	68 (.0)	1,087 (21.2)
Sinoe	25,884 (63.7)	11,851 (29.2)	5,879 (14.5)	614 (1.5)	7,540 (18.5)
Male	8,576 (41.9)	277 (1.4)	4,451 (21.8)	233 (1.1)	3,615 (17.7)
Female	17,308 (85.7)	11,574 (57.3)	1,428 (7.1)	38 (1.9)	3,925 (19.4)

Source: Compiled from 1974 Population and Housing
Census PC-1, Tables 22 & 29

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE WORKING POPULATION, 10 YEARS AND OVER BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP AND SEX

LIBERIA TOTAL

Per Cent By Occupation	M A L E					F E M A L E				
	Total	Paid Employee	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker	Total	Paid Employee	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker
1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
2	3.6	8.6	5.4	0.5	0.6	3.2	34.7	4.8	0.3	0.2
3	0.3	0.8	2.3	2.0	0.0	0.1	0.9	0.7	0.0	0.0
4	2.8	7.1	3.6	0.1	0.3	1.7	18.6	2.6	0.0	0.1
5	3.0	2.6	10.1	3.6	1.1	3.8	3.3	4.8	6.1	1.1
6	4.4	11.4	3.7	0.1	0.7	1.4	9.4	1.8	0.3	1.1
7	65.1	29.9	38.3	86.8	85.1	84.0	16.5	74.0	89.5	91.7
8	16.7	33.4	32.3	7.1	2.7	1.1	6.9	3.1	0.8	0.3
9	4.1	6.1	4.2	1.8	9.5	4.6	9.7	8.1	2.9	5.5
Per Cent By Status	Total	Paid Employee	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker	Total	Paid Employee	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker
1	73.1	27.3	0.4	38.5	6.8	26.8	2.3	0.1	13.0	11.3
2	75.0	67.7	0.6	5.4	1.2	24.9	23.2	0.1	0.9	0.5
3	91.6	84.9	3.4	2.8	0.3	8.3	7.6	0.2	0.2	0.1
4	81.7	78.9	0.6	1.2	0.9	18.2	17.5	0.1	0.2	0.3
5	68.6	22.3	1.2	42.7	2.2	31.3	2.3	0.1	25.1	3.7
6	89.3	86.1	0.4	1.4	1.2	10.6	6.1	0.0	0.9	3.5
7	67.8	11.6	0.2	47.6	8.3	32.1	0.5	0.1	16.6	14.7
8	97.5	73.2	1.0	21.7	1.4	2.4	1.2	0.0	0.8	0.2
9	71.1	39.1	0.4	16.2	15.2	28.8	5.3	0.2	8.7	14.6

1 = All Occupations

2 = Professional, Technical and Related Workers

3 = Administrative and Managerial Workers

4 = Clerical and Related Workers

5 = Sales Workers

6 = Service Workers

7 = Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Forestry, Fishermen and Hunters

8 = Professional and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Laborers

9 = Workers Reporting Occupations Unidentifiable

Source: 1974 Population and Housing Census
PC-1, Table 19

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-OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE WORKING POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP AND SEX

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP		MALE					FEMALE				
		Total	Paid Employee	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker	Total	Paid Employee	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker
PER CENT BY OCCUPATIONS											
1.		1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
2.		18	68	37	02	03	09	279	29	02	01
3.		01	04	08	00	00	00	02	05	00	00
4.		10	40	34	01	01	01	41	16	00	00
5.		09	09	25	10	04	11	17	27	18	04
6.		17	72	14	00	03	03	12	00	01	03
7.		812	320	388	931	897	931	448	864	950	941
8.		87	250	251	42	14	06	82	19	04	02
9.		27	38	24	13	77	38	79	40	26	49
PER CENT BY STATUS											
1.		693	358	03	451	82	304	08	01	331	140
2.		810	710	11	71	15	189	163	02	13	08
3.		951	899	38	14	0	48	33	09	0	4
4.		942	879	14	31	16	57	44	02	4	1
5.		652	113	07	458	32	347	19	03	274	35
6.		924	839	03	09	22	73	34	00	06	32
7.		670	95	02	487	86	329	04	01	169	133
8.		972	634	12	306	18	32	11	00	10	04
9.		613	198	02	200	212	386	23	01	131	209

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OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE WORKING POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP AND SEX

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP		MALE					FEMALE				
		Total	Paid Employee	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid-Family Worker	Total	Paid Employee	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid-Family Worker
PER CENT BY OCCUPATION											
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	8.2	10.1	5.0	2.4	1.8	17.3	37.4	13.9	1.1	1.7	
	1.0	1.2	4.2	0.2	0.1	0.5	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	
	7.2	9.5	4.0	0.3	2.2	11.0	24.3	7.6	0.2	1.0	
	8.4	4.0	20.4	23.1	7.7	19.9	1.9	15.2	42.4	11.8	
	11.3	14.6	6.9	1.0	3.8	8.2	11.1	10.1	1.8	14.6	
	7.	19.2	12.7	10.8	39.0	40.5	29.1	5.3	15.2	45.6	53.7
	9.	36.8	40.0	41.9	28.7	15.2	4.6	6.4	8.9	4.0	1.3
	7.9	7.9	6.7	5.3	26.5	9.3	10.4	27.8	4.8	15.9	
PER CENT BY STATUS											
	84.5	62.9	0.7	18.2	2.6	15.4	6.8	0.0	5.8	2.7	
	72.1	66.1	0.3	4.5	1.0	27.8	26.5	0.1	0.6	0.4	
	90.8	81.3	3.4	3.1	0.4	9.1	8.6	0.1	0.1	0.1	
	78.2	76.1	0.3	0.7	0.7	21.7	21.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	
	49.6	24.7	1.4	41.5	1.9	30.3	2.6	0.1	24.4	3.1	
	88.2	85.1	0.4	1.7	0.9	11.7	7.0	0.0	0.9	3.6	
	7.	78.2	38.2	0.3	34.2	5.0	21.7	1.7	0.0	12.3	7.0
	9.	97.7	79.7	0.9	16.4	1.2	2.2	1.3	0.0	0.7	0.1
	82.2	61.2	0.5	11.8	8.5	17.7	8.7	0.2	3.4	5.3	

TABLE I-10

- 1 = Agriculture, Hunting, Forestry and Fishing
- 2 = Mining and Quarrying
- 3 = Manufacturing
- 4 = Electricity, Gas and Water
- 5 = Construction
- 6 = Wholesale and Retail Trade and Restaurants and Hotels
- 7 = Transport, Storage and Communication
- 8 = Financing, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Service
- 9 = Community, Social and Personal Services
- 10 = Activities not adequately defined

Source: 1974 Population & Housing Census of Liberia,
PC-1, Table 31

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE WORKING POPULATION, 10 YEARS AND OVER, BY MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUP AND SEX

Major Industry Group	M A L E					F E M A L E				
	Total	Paid Employee	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker	Total	Paid Employee	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker
Total	316,847	118,512	1,767	166,742	29,826	116,024	10,113	454	56,491	48,966
1	212,577	41,377	700	145,087	25,413	97,446	1,775	337	50,528	44,806
2	21,414	16,737	294	4,172	211	715	523	8	137	47
3	5,331	1,557	53	3,597	124	273	65	3	180	25
4	202	186	3	11	2	6	5	-	1	-
5	4,019	2,932	50	944	93	82	56	1	20	5
6	11,728	5,408	184	5,824	312	4,554	572	31	3,438	513
7	6,248	5,033	54	1,048	113	132	102	-	26	4
8	1,226	1,009	10	194	13	187	162	3	15	7
9	36,626	33,910	278	1,893	545	6,606	5,670	30	290	616
10	17,476	10,363	141	3,972	3,000	6,023	1,153	41	1,856	2,943
<u>URBAN</u>										
Total	89,679	66,786	756	19,369	2,768	16,425	7,235	79	6,214	2,897
1	20,282	11,513	88	7,562	1,119	4,807	411	11	2,824	1,561
2	11,330	10,411	109	763	47	437	406	2	22	7
3	3,282	1,057	39	2,108	78	180	50	2	118	10
4	167	154	2	9	2	5	4	-	1	-
5	2,667	1,995	29	594	49	43	35	1	6	1
6	9,513	4,801	159	4,329	224	3,444	513	21	2,575	336
7	4,505	3,613	39	777	76	100	77	-	20	3
8	1,066	882	7	164	13	173	151	3	14	5
9	26,333	24,558	174	1,296	305	5,306	4,688	16	168	434
10	10,534	7,802	110	1,767	855	1,929	900	23	466	540

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Table I-10

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OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE WORKING POPULATION, 10 YEARS AND OVER, BY MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUP AND SEX

Major Industry Group	M A L E					F E M A L E				
	Total	Paid Employer	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker	Total	Paid Employee	Employer	Self Employed	Unpaid Family Worker
				<u>RURAL</u>						
Total	227,168	51,726	1,011	147,373	27,058	99,599	2,878	375	50,277	46,069
1	192,295	29,864	612	137,525	24,294	92,639	1,364	326	47,704	43,254
2	10,084	6,326	185	3,409	164	278	117	6	115	40
3	2,049	500	14	1,469	46	93	15	1	62	15
4	35	32	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	-
5	1,352	937	21	350	44	39	21	-	14	4
6	2,125	607	25	1,495	88	1,109	59	10	863	177
7	1,743	1,420	15	271	37	32	25	-	6	1
8	160	127	3	30	-	14	11	-	1	2
9	10,293	9,352	104	597	240	1,300	982	14	122	182
10	6,942	2,561	31	2,205	2,145	4,094	283	18	1,390	2,403

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TABLE I-10

214

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP OF WORKING POPULATION, 10 YEARS AND OVER BY SEX (Percentages)

PERCENTAGES - AREA

Occupation Group									
Area & Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Liberia: Total									
Male	3.6	.3	2.8	3.0	4.4	65.1	16.7	4.1	100.0
Female	3.2	.1	1.7	3.8	1.4	84.0	1.7	4.6	100.0
Urban									
Male	8.2	1.0	7.2	8.4	11.3	19.2	36.8	7.9	100.0
Female	17.3	.5	11.0	19.9	8.2	29.1	4.6	9.3	100.0
Rural									
Male	1.8	.1	1.0	.9	1.7	83.2	8.7	2.7	100.0
Female	.9	.0	.1	1.1	.3	93.1	.6	3.8	100.0
Bomi									
Male	2.4	.4	2.7	2.3	2.7	64.9	20.0	4.7	100.0
Female	3.0	.0	.8	2.5	1.1	79.7	1.1	11.8	100.0
Bong									
Male	2.2	.2	1.2	1.3	2.1	80.7	8.8	3.6	100.0
Female	1.5	.0	.3	1.2	.5	91.1	.4	4.9	100.0
Grand Bassa									
Male	2.4	.2	2.0	1.3	2.2	75.6	11.8	4.6	100.0
Female	2.3	.0	.6	3.1	.3	88.3	.7	4.5	100.0
Grand Cape Mount									
Male	2.1	.3	1.8	1.5	1.5	64.6	25.7	2.5	100.0
Female	1.7	.0	.3	1.6	.5	92.7	.9	2.3	100.0
Grand Cedejeh									
Male	3.4	.5	2.4	2.1	2.0	76.4	10.6	2.7	100.0
Female	.9	.0	.0	.9	.6	95.3	.4	1.9	100.0
Gre Coast									
Male	4.3	.1	1.0	.2	.3	91.7	.8	1.7	100.0
Female	.5	.0	.1	.1	.3	96.6	.0	2.3	100.0

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Table I-11

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP OF WORKING POPULATION, 10 YEARS AND OVER BY SEX (Percentages)

PERCENTAGES - AREA

Occupation Group	PERCENTAGES - AREA								Total
Area & Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Lofa									
Male	1.8	.1	.9	1.5	1.4	77.9	14.7	1.8	100.00
Female	1.0	.0	.0	1.1	.1	94.9	.5	2.9	100.00
Marshall									
Male	3.5	.6	3.7	3.8	20.0	47.9	15.9	4.7	100.00
Female	6.9	.6	2.8	7.5	5.8	63.1	1.4	11.9	100.00
Maryland									
Male	4.9	.2	2.4	2.1	3.5	73.7	10.7	2.5	100.00
Female	10.5	.0	1.2	8.6	1.3	72.4	3.0	3.0	100.00
Montserrat									
Male	6.6	.7	5.9	7.1	10.8	36.6	24.6	7.8	100.00
Female	15.4	.6	12.2	18.5	8.8	28.5	4.2	11.1	100.00
Nimba									
Male	2.4	.2	1.5	2.2	1.6	71.6	18.5	2.0	100.00
Female	1.3	.0	.3	2.8	.5	91.1	1.1	2.9	100.00
Rivercess									
Male	2.4	.1	.8	.3	.7	87.8	3.3	4.7	100.00
Female	4.3	.0	.1	1.7	2.6	80.5	.4	10.4	100.00
Sasstown									
Male	6.6	.3	2.2	.5	2.8	82.7	3.0	1.9	100.00
Female	2.7	.0	.0	.0	.2	94.6	.2	2.3	100.00
Sinoe									
Male	4.4	.3	3.3	1.3	2.6	72.4	12.5	3.2	100.00
Female	4.2	.0	.8	1.8	.7	85.4	1.9	5.1	100.00

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Table I-11

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MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP OF WORKING POPULATION, 10 YEARS AND OVER BY SEX (Percentages)

		PERCENTAGES - SEX							
Occupation Group		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Area & Sex									
Liberia: Total									
Male		75.1	91.6	81.8	68.6	89.3	67.9	97.6	71.1
Female		24.9	8.4	18.2	31.4	10.7	32.1	2.4	28.9
Urban									
Male		72.2	90.9	78.2	69.7	88.2	78.3	97.8	82.2
Female		27.8	9.1	21.8	30.3	11.8	21.7	2.2	17.8
Rural									
Male		81.1	95.2	94.2	65.2	92.4	67.1	97.2	61.4
Female		18.9	4.8	5.8	34.8	7.6	32.9	2.8	38.6
Bomi									
Male		78.9	98.4	93.7	80.8	92.2	79.2	98.9	64.8
Female		21.1	1.6	6.3	19.2	7.8	20.8	1.1	35.2
Bong									
Male		77.8	97.0	89.0	70.6	91.1	67.3	98.0	62.7
Female		22.2	3.0	11.0	29.4	8.9	32.7	2.0	37.3
Grand Bassa									
Male		72.6	94.6	88.8	51.7	94.4	68.7	97.6	72.4
Female		27.4	5.4	11.2	48.3	5.6	31.3	2.4	27.6
Grand Cape Mount									
Male		73.2	93.9	91.9	68.0	86.5	60.1	98.5	69.6
Female		26.8	6.1	8.1	32.0	13.4	39.9	1.5	30.4
Grand Gedeh									
Male		84.8	100.0	99.3	78.3	84.4	55.6	97.9	68.9
Female		15.2	.0	.7	21.7	15.6	44.4	2.1	31.1
Kru Coast									
Male		88.4	75.0	92.9	56.3	47.1	47.1	97.6	40.3
Female		11.6	25.0	7.1	43.7	52.9	52.9	2.4	59.7

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Table I-11

ETHNIC AFFILIATION BY AREA AND SEX (Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Liberia: Total		Urban		Rural		Bomi		Bong	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bassa	14.3	14.2	17.8	18.8	12.7	12.5	4.1	3.7	6.1	5.8
Belle	.5	.5	.4	.3	.5	.6	.9	.7	.1	.1
Dey	.4	.4	.3	.3	.5	.6	5.2	6.4	.1	.04
Gbandi	2.5	2.7	1.8	1.5	2.7	3.1	2.2	1.6	.8	.5
Gio	8.5	8.8	4.3	4.3	10.4	10.5	1.8	1.2	1.5	1.0
Cola	4.5	4.5	3.4	3.4	5.0	5.0	36.2	42.5	.6	.4
Crebo	7.8	8.2	9.0	9.9	7.2	7.6	3.2	2.9	1.0	.8
Kpelle	19.9	19.9	10.5	9.3	24.0	23.9	11.9	9.9	75.1	79.1
Kissi	3.6	3.2	3.6	3.1	3.7	3.2	7.9	5.7	1.2	.8
Krahn	4.6	4.9	3.8	3.9	4.9	5.3	1.1	1.0	.3	.3
Kru	8.0	8.1	12.0	13.3	6.3	6.1	2.5	3.0	.7	.6
Loma	5.8	6.0	6.8	6.7	5.3	5.7	5.0	4.4	2.6	1.8
Mandingo	4.1	3.7	5.3	5.2	3.6	3.1	6.4	6.5	3.1	2.8
Mano	7.2	7.6	5.0	5.1	8.1	8.5	1.5	.9	3.7	3.4
Mende	.7	.5	.8	.7	.6	.4	1.5	1.1	.3	.2
Vai	3.3	3.3	4.4	4.5	2.8	2.8	6.1	6.3	1.1	1.0
Other Liberian	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.05	.04	.02	.01
Fante	.5	.4	1.3	1.4	.1	.06	.09	.1	.05	.03
Other African	.7	.4	1.5	1.2	.3	.1	.4	.3	.1	.8
No Ethnic	3.2	2.5	7.7	6.9	1.1	.9	2.1	1.7	1.4	1.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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Table 1-12

ETHNIC AFFILIATION BY AREA AND SEX (percentages)

Ethnic Group	Grand Bassa		Cape Mount		Grand Gedeh		Kru Coast		Lofa	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bassa	75.3	78.8	3.2	2.1	1.0	.6	.2	.1	1.1	.5
Belle	.04	.04	.3	.3	.1	.1	-	-	2.4	2.9
Dey	.1	.2	.4	.2	-	-	-	.01	.06	.04
Gbandi	.2	.1	1.8	1.1	.03	.02	.01	.01	14.2	16.4
Gio	1.0	.6	1.8	1.2	1.1	.7	.02	.01	1.0	.5
Gola	.2	.2	28.0	30.2	.6	.5	.1	.1	3.5	3.2
Grebo	.8	.7	1.8	1.8	42.1	43.6	28.7	27.7	.3	.2
Kpelle	12.0	11.6	4.5	2.8	.8	.5	-	-	16.7	17.0
Kissi	1.1	.7	3.1	2.2	.1	.05	.07	.1	16.4	15.1
Krahn	.3	.2	1.2	.9	48.4	50.0	.1	.07	.6	.4
Kru	1.9	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.3	1.0	69.4	70.9	.4	.3
Loma	.7	.5	1.8	1.3	.4	.1	-	.01	27.8	31.3
Mandingo	.6	.4	2.7	1.7	2.4	1.7	.01	-	11.5	9.8
Mano	1.5	1.2	1.3	.9	.3	.2	-	-	.5	.3
Mende	.2	.1	3.0	3.0	.05	-	.01	-	1.3	1.0
Vai	.7	.5	40.0	46.1	.3	.1	.02	.01	.4	.2
Other Liberian	.01	.01	.02	.01	-	-	.05	.01	.04	.03
Fante	.8	.7	.7	.6	.03	.01	.4	.2	.04	.02
Other African	.3	.2	.8	.4	.2	.1	.1	.07	.8	.3
No Ethnic	2.2	1.8	1.8	1.2	.8	.4	.7	.5	1.0	.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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Table 1-12

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ETHNIC AFFILIATION BY AREA AND SEX (Percentages)

Ethnic Group	Area	Marshall		Maryland		Montserrat		Nimba		Rivercess		Sassstown		Sinoe	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bassa		52.9	59.0	1.5	1.6	15.5	16.7	2.5	2.2	90.1	92.1	.08	.06	1.3	1.0
Belle		.3	.4	.08	.04	.4	.3	.05	.04	-	-	.4	.6	.02	.01
Dey		.3	.3	.01	-	.5	.6	.04	.05	.02	.06	-	-	-	-
Gbandi		2.0	1.8	.01	.01	2.0	1.7	.2	.2	.01	-	-	-	.09	.04
Gio		4.4	4.1	.3	.2	3.9	3.5	42.6	44.4	.3	.2	.04	.04	.2	.1
Gola		1.5	1.3	.04	.02	5.0	5.4	.3	.1	.07	.03	-	.04	.07	.04
Grebo		2.4	2.1	81.8	83.8	4.6	5.2	1.2	1.0	.09	.06	.04	.2	2.6	2.5
Kpelle		6.6	5.3	.3	.2	24.5	23.8	2.8	2.2	.09	.05	.2	.2	.4	.3
Kissi		2.2	2.0	.1	.07	3.8	3.2	.4	.3	.02	.01	.1	.1	.09	.06
Krahn		3.4	2.8	1.7	1.4	2.2	2.2	2.9	3.0	.6	.4	.3	.3	26.0	28.1
Kru		3.6	3.4	9.7	9.5	9.7	11.4	.7	.6	6.8	5.8	97.4	97.8	65.0	64.8
Loma		6.8	6.1	.2	.1	6.6	5.7	1.0	.8	.05	.02	.2	.2	.2	.1
Mandingo		2.7	2.3	.4	.3	3.0	2.8	6.5	5.2	.3	.2	-	-	.6	.5
Mano		2.6	2.3	.1	.04	2.9	2.3	35.0	37.3	.1	.04	.2	.2	.07	.05
Mende		.6	.5	.04	.02	.9	.7	.2	.1	.01	-	.02	.04	.09	.05
Vai		2.1	1.9	.2	.2	4.2	4.8	.6	.4	.01	.01	.1	.2	.2	.1
Other Liberian		.1	.1	.02	.02	.2	.2	.8	1.0	.03	.03	-	-	.03	.04
Fante		.9	.6	.9	.8	.9	1.1	.06	.07	.4	.3	.4	.2	.9	.7
Other African		.3	.2	.5	.2	1.4	1.1	.4	.2	.1	.07	.1	.06	.2	.2
No Ethnic		4.2	3.7	2.0	1.8	7.8	7.4	1.6	1.2	.5	.5	-	.3	1.8	1.3
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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Table 1-12

Source: Compiled from 1974 Population & Housing Census PC-I, Tables 14.

*Percentages may not total exactly 100% due to rounding.

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MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND SEX (Percentages)*

Occupation Group					
Ethnic Group & Sex	1	2	3	4	
Bassa: Male	3.0 (11.5)*	.2 (8.6)	2.9 (14.3)	2.4 (10.6)	
Female	4.4 (14.8)	.1 (10.4)	2.6 (17.1)	5.0 (14.4)	
Belle: Male	3.9 (.5)	.2 (.3)	2.3 (.4)	1.8 (.3)	
Female	1.9 (.3)	- (.0)	1.1 (.4)	1.4 (.2)	
Dey: Male	2.4 (.2)	.3 (.4)	2.2 (.4)	1.0 (.1)	
Female	1.3 (.2)	.2 (1.0)	.6 (.2)	2.7 (.3)	
Gbandi: Male	3.5 (2.3)	.2 (1.2)	2.5 (2.1)	1.2 (.9)	
Female	1.2 (1.4)	.1 (2.1)	.3 (.8)	1.3 (1.4)	
Gio: Male	1.6 (3.8)	.1 (2.4)	1.6 (5.0)	1.2 (3.4)	
Female	1.0 (2.8)	.02 (2.1)	.4 (2.0)	1.5 (3.5)	
Gola: Male	2.4 (3.2)	.2 (2.6)	2.7 (4.7)	1.0 (1.6)	
Female	2.3 (3.4)	.02 (1.0)	1.9 (5.4)	1.9 (2.5)	
Grebo: Male	5.8 (10.4)	.4 (7.1)	3.9 (9.1)	1.6 (3.3)	
Female	4.6 (11.9)	.1 (13.5)	2.2 (11.2)	2.2 (4.8)	
Kpelle: Male	1.5 (6.9)	.1 (6.0)	1.5 (11.7)	1.2 (8.2)	
Female	1.3 (7.8)	.01 (3.1)	.7 (8.0)	1.6 (7.9)	
Kissi: Male	1.6 (1.9)	.2 (2.0)	1.7 (2.8)	2.4 (3.4)	
Female	1.4 (1.5)	- (-)	.4 (.8)	2.8 (2.5)	
Krahn: Male	3.9 (4.6)	.3 (3.4)	3.3 (5.1)	1.3 (1.8)	
Female	2.5 (1.5)	.05 (1.0)	1.9 (2.2)	3.5 (1.8)	
Kru: Male	7.3 (14.6)	.4 (9.5)	6.1 (16.0)	1.9 (4.4)	
Female	4.3 (10.6)	.1 (8.3)	3.1 (14.7)	5.0 (10.5)	
Loma: Male	3.9 (6.1)	.2 (3.1)	3.1 (6.3)	2.0 (3.7)	
Female	1.2 (3.2)	.01 (1.0)	.5 (2.4)	2.4 (5.3)	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	

*First percentage figure totals 100% horizontally by ethnic group. Second percentage figure (in parentheses) totals 100% vertically column by occupation group.

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Table I-13

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MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND SEX (Percentages)

Occupation Group				
Ethnic Group & Sex	1	2	3	4
Mandingo: Male	1.3 (1.7)	.1 (1.5)	.8 (1.5)	12.3 (19.9)
Female	.7 (.8)	.02(1.0)	.5 (1.2)	14.1 (14.2)
Mano: Male	2.1 (3.9)	.9 (1.8)	2.0 (4.9)	1.1 (2.5)
Female	.8 (2.2)	- (-)	.3 (1.6)	1.3 (3.1)
Mende: Male	7.7 (1.7)	.3 (.8)	4.0 (1.1)	4.0 (1.0)
Female	5.5 (.8)	- (-)	2.9 (.9)	5.5 (.7)
Vai: Male	5.9 (5.2)	.4 (4.3)	4.6 (5.3)	2.9 (3.0)
Female	5.2 (6.1)	.1 (6.3)	3.2 (7.1)	5.0 (5.0)
Other				
Ethnic: Male	4.7 (.2)	.0 (.0)	3.5 (.2)	3.5 (.2)
Female	4.4 (.2)	.5 (1.0)	4.9 (.5)	1.6 (.1)
Fante: Male	5.1 (.8)	.3 (.6)	3.4 (.7)	6.3 (1.2)
Female	1.8 (.3)	- (-)	1.2 (.4)	66.7 (9.2)
Other				
African: Male	7.2 (1.9)	.5 (1.4)	2.9 (1.0)	19.0 (6.0)
Female	8.6 (.7)	- (-)	5.8 (.5)	38.4 (2.6)
No Tribal				
Aff. : Male	15.8 (16.4)	3.9 (43.0)	5.7 (7.6)	20.0 (24.4)
Female	37.3 (29.6)	1.5 (47.9)	14.6 (22.5)	14.6 (10.1)
Total:	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)

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Table I-13

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MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND SEX (Percentages)

Occupation Group						All
Ethnic Group & Sex		5	6	7	8	Occup.
Bassa:	Male	6.4 (19.7)	61.2 (12.7)	18.5 (15.0)	5.4 (17.8)	100 (13.6)
	Female	3.1 (23.8)	75.9 (9.9)	1.6 (15.9)	7.3 (17.3)	100 (11.0)
Relle:	Male	10.0 (1.0)	68.1 (.5)	10.3 (.3)	3.5 (.4)	100 (.5)
	Female	.9 (.4)	89.0 (.6)	- (-)	5.7 (.7)	100 (.5)
Dey:	Male	3.1 (.3)	71.1 (.5)	11.6 (.3)	8.3 (.9)	100 (.4)
	Female	.9 (.3)	76.5 (.4)	.2 (.08)	17.6 (1.7)	100 (.5)
Gbandi:	Male	3.3 (1.8)	70.1 (2.6)	15.8 (2.3)	3.1 (1.8)	100 (2.4)
	Female	.4 (1.1)	92.9 (4.4)	.5 (1.7)	3.4 (2.9)	100 (4.0)
Gio:	Male	4.2 (8.2)	77.7 (10.4)	11.1 (5.9)	2.4 (5.1)	100 (8.7)
	Female	.9 (5.6)	92.7 (9.8)	.8 (6.5)	2.7 (5.2)	100 (8.9)
Gola:	Male	2.0 (2.2)	73.1 (5.5)	14.7 (4.3)	4.0 (4.7)	100 (4.9)
	Female	.9 (2.9)	86.9 (5.0)	.8 (3.3)	5.3 (5.6)	100 (4.8)
Grebo:	Male	4.6 (6.7)	65.2 (6.4)	14.4 (5.5)	4.1 (6.3)	100 (6.4)
	Female	1.5 (9.1)	85.3 (8.6)	.9 (7.0)	3.2 (5.8)	100 (8.4)
Kpelle:	Male	3.0 (14.3)	80.3 (25.8)	8.6 (10.8)	3.7 (18.7)	100 (20.9)
	Female	.9 (11.8)	89.9 (20.5)	.8 (11.4)	4.9 (20.6)	100 (19.2)
Kissi:	Male	2.0 (2.0)	71.8 (4.8)	17.5 (4.6)	2.9 (3.0)	100 (4.4)
	Female	.8 (1.8)	89.2 (3.6)	.6 (1.9)	4.8 (3.6)	100 (3.4)
Krahn:	Male	7.1 (6.7)	64.3 (4.1)	16.4 (4.1)	3.4 (3.4)	100 (4.2)
	Female	3.3 (4.4)	82.4 (1.9)	2.6 (4.4)	3.8 (1.6)	100 (1.9)
Kru:	Male	6.2 (10.1)	53.9 (5.9)	18.7 (8.1)	5.4 (9.4)	100 (7.2)
	Female	1.6 (8.9)	79.4 (7.5)	1.6 (11.1)	4.9 (8.5)	100 (8.0)
Loma:	Male	11.3 (14.2)	58.9 (5.0)	16.5 (5.4)	4.0 (5.3)	100 (5.5)
	Female	.9 (5.2)	91.0 (9.1)	.5 (3.9)	3.5 (6.3)	100 (8.4)

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Table I-13

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MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND SEX (Percentages)

Occupation Group						All
Ethnic Group & Sex		5	6	7	8	Occup.
Mandingo:	Male	.7 (.8)	40.0 (3.0)	42.3 (12.4)	2.5 (2.9)	100 (4.9)
	Female	.7 (2.0)	77.6 (3.5)	3.2 (10.6)	3.2 (2.6)	100 (3.8)
Mano:	Male	3.6 (5.6)	76.9 (8.1)	11.6 (4.8)	2.7 (4.5)	100 (6.8)
	Female	.6 (4.0)	93.5 (10.4)	.5 (4.3)	3.1 (6.2)	100 (9.3)
Mende:	Male	1.7 (.3)	49.7 (.6)	28.0 (1.3)	4.7 (.9)	100 (.8)
	Female	2.8 (1.0)	77.3 (.5)	2.2 (.9)	3.6 (.4)	100 (.5)
Vai	Male	3.6 (2.6)	49.8 (2.4)	27.6 (5.2)	5.3 (4.0)	100 (3.2)
	Female	2.3 (5.9)	78.5 (3.5)	1.1 (3.6)	4.7 (3.8)	100 (3.8)
Other Ethnic:	Male	3.5 (.1)	65.5 (.2)	14.1 (.1)	5.2 (.2)	100 (.2)
	Female	2.2 (.2)	79.7 (.1)	1.6 (.2)	4.9 (.2)	100 (.2)
Fante:	Male	.3 (.03)	54.4 (.5)	25.1 (.8)	5.0 (.7)	100 (.6)
	Female	1.2 (.4)	20.8 (.1)	5.8 (2.7)	2.6 (.3)	100 (.5)
Other African:	Male	2.5 (.6)	10.8 (.2)	50.3 (2.9)	6.7 (1.5)	100 (1.0)
	Female	5.5 (1.0)	17.8 (.05)	15.7 (3.5)	8.2 (.4)	100 (.3)
No Tribal Aff:	Male	3.4 (2.9)	15.7 (.9)	25.9 (5.8)	9.6 (8.6)	100 (3.7)
	Female	5.7 (10.3)	12.0 (.4)	3.0 (6.6)	10.9 (6.1)	100 (2.6)

<u>Code:</u> 1 - Professional, Technical & Related Workers	5 - Service Workers
2 - Administrative & Managerial Workers	6 - Agriculture, Animal Husbandry & Forestry, Fishermen & Hunters
3 - Clerical & Related Workers	7 - Production & Related Workers
4 - Sales Workers	8 - Occupational Unidentifiable

Source: Compiled From 1974 Population & Housing Census PC-I, Tables 26

* Percentages may not total exactly 100% due to rounding.

225

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY SEX AND AGE (Percentages)*

	No Grade Completed	Some Grade Completed	Primary School	High School	College
<u>Liberia - Total</u>					
5-9 years : Male	88.3	11.7	11.7	.0	.0
Female	90.6	9.4	9.4	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	60.9	39.1	38.7	.4	.0
Female	72.1	27.9	27.5	.4	.0
15-19 years: Male	44.6	55.4	46.5	8.8	.2
Female	74.5	25.5	20.8	4.6	.1
20-24 years: Male	48.8	51.2	27.6	21.5	2.1
Female	86.7	13.3	7.2	5.2	.2
25-29 years: Male	65.5	34.5	17.1	14.7	2.7
Female	92.0	8.0	3.8	3.3	.1
30 years + : Male	83.4	16.6	8.2	6.3	2.1
Female	95.8	5.0	2.3	2.0	.8
<u>Urban</u>					
5-9 years : Male	75.0	25.0	25.0	.0	.0
Female	78.0	22.0	22.0	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	38.1	61.9	60.9	.9	.0
Female	46.1	53.9	52.9	1.0	.0
15-19 years: Male	26.1	73.9	55.1	18.4	.4
Female	55.3	44.7	33.3	11.0	.4
20-24 years: Male	32.2	67.8	28.0	35.6	4.2
Female	73.3	26.7	12.2	12.1	2.4
25-29 years: Male	46.6	53.4	21.0	26.7	5.7
Female	80.3	19.7	7.9	9.0	2.8
30 years + : Male	60.6	39.4	15.4	17.2	6.8
Female	81.3	18.7	7.1	8.2	3.4

I-30

Table I-14

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY SEX AND AGE (Percentages)

	No Grade Completed	Some Grade Completed	Primary School	High School	College
<u>Rural</u>					
5-9 years : Male	93.2	6.8	6.8	.0	.0
Female	95.5	4.5	4.5	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	71.0	29.0	28.9	.1	.0
Female	83.5	16.5	16.4	.1	.0
15-19 years: Male	54.6	45.4	41.8	3.6	.0
Female	84.1	15.9	14.6	1.3	.0
20-24 years: Male	61.7	38.3	27.2	10.6	.5
Female	94.0	6.0	4.4	1.4	.2
25-29 years: Male	78.9	21.1	14.3	6.2	.7
Female	97.3	2.7	1.9	.6	.1
30 years + : Male	91.7	8.3	5.6	2.4	.4
Female	98.4	1.6	1.1	.4	.1
<u>Bomi</u>					
5-9 years : Male	89.1	10.9	10.9	.0	.0
Female	92.5	7.5	7.5	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	64.1	35.9	35.6	.3	.0
Female	76.6	23.4	23.2	.2	.0
15-19 years: Male	53.9	46.1	38.2	7.7	.2
Female	80.3	19.7	16.4	3.3	.0
20-24 years: Male	59.6	40.4	20.4	19.1	1.0
Female	91.3	8.7	5.0	3.1	.6
25-29 years: Male	76.9	23.1	12.0	10.1	1.0
Female	94.8	5.2	3.0	1.6	.6
30 years + : Male	85.9	41.1	7.8	5.3	1.0
Female	96.6	3.4	1.8	1.1	.5

I-31

TABLE 1-14

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HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY SEX AND AGE (Percentages)

	No Grade Completed	Some Grade Completed	Primary School	High School	College
<u>Bong</u>					
5-9 years : Male	90.4	9.6	9.6	.0	.0
Female	93.8	6.2	6.2	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	73.1	26.9	26.8	.1	.0
Female	84.4	15.6	15.5	.1	.0
15-19 years: Male	59.7	40.3	35.1	5.2	.0
Female	84.9	15.1	13.4	1.7	.0
20-24 years: Male	62.3	37.7	22.5	14.0	1.1
Female	92.4	7.6	5.0	2.3	.3
25-29 years: Male	74.4	25.6	13.7	10.1	1.8
Female	95.7	4.3	2.3	1.5	.5
30 years + : Male	89.6	10.4	5.6	3.7	1.1
Female	97.7	2.3	1.1	.8	.4
<u>Grand Lassa</u>					
5-9 years : Male	91.7	8.3	8.3	.0	.0
Female	93.4	6.6	6.6	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	73.2	26.8	26.5	.3	.0
Female	82.1	17.9	17.7	.2	.0
15-19 years: Male	66.9	33.1	26.9	6.1	.1
Female	85.0	15.0	11.6	3.3	.0
20-24 years: Male	65.6	34.4	18.4	15.3	.8
Female	92.6	7.4	4.1	2.9	.3
25-29 years: Male	75.1	24.9	12.4	11.4	1.1
Female	94.9	5.1	2.5	2.2	.4
30 years + : Male	87.6	12.4	6.3	5.2	.8
Female	95.8	4.2	2.1	1.7	.3

I-32

Table I-14

228

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY SEX AND AGE (Percentages)

	No Grade Completed	Some Grade Completed	Primary School	High School	College
<u>Grand Cape Mount</u>					
5-9 years : Male	92.6	7.4	7.4	.0	.0
Female	93.3	6.7	6.7	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	72.8	27.2	27.1	.1	.0
Female	81.4	18.6	18.5	.0	.0
15-19 years: Male	63.2	36.8	32.0	4.7	.0
Female	85.0	15.0	13.0	2.0	.0
20-24 years: Male	66.8	33.2	18.9	13.3	1.0
Female	92.8	7.2	5.0	2.0	.3
25-29 years: Male	72.9	27.1	14.2	11.6	1.3
Female	95.3	4.7	2.8	1.5	.4
30 years + : Male	87.7	12.3	6.9	4.7	.7
Female	97.0	3.0	1.7	1.1	.2
<u>Grand Gedeh</u>					
5-9 years : Male	96.9	3.1	3.1	.0	.0
Female	98.1	1.9	1.9	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	73.6	26.4	26.2	.2	.0
Female	83.8	16.2	16.1	.1	.0
15-19 years: Male	42.3	57.7	53.4	4.4	.0
Female	77.4	22.6	21.3	1.3	.0
20-24 years: Male	45.4	54.6	36.2	18.1	.4
Female	91.4	8.6	6.9	1.7	.1
25-29 years: Male	61.6	38.4	24.7	12.8	.9
Female	96.0	4.0	3.3	.6	.2
30 years + : Male	84.1	15.9	10.7	4.4	.7
Female	98.4	1.6	1.2	.3	.1

I-33

Table I-14

bcc

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY SEX AND AGE (Percentages)

	No Grade Completed	Some Grade Completed	Primary School	High School	College
<u>Kru Coast</u>					
5-9 years : Male	91.0	9.0	9.0	.0	.0
Female	90.9	9.1	9.1	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	56.7	43.3	42.9	.4	.0
Female	71.7	28.3	28.3	.1	.0
15-19 years: Male	38.9	61.1	57.2	3.8	.1
Female	72.8	27.2	25.3	1.8	.0
20-24 years: Male	39.5	60.5	44.4	15.9	.2
Female	83.9	16.1	11.8	4.2	.0
25-29 years: Male	56.5	43.5	29.9	12.7	.9
Female	94.8	5.2	3.9	1.3	.0
30 years + : Male	83.7	16.3	11.7	4.1	.6
Female	98.3	1.7	1.4	.3	.0
<u>Lofa</u>					
5-9 years : Male	93.3	6.7	6.7	.0	.0
Female	96.3	3.7	3.7	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	66.2	33.8	33.6	.2	.0
Female	85.1	14.9	14.8	.1	.0
15-19 years: Male	52.3	47.7	42.9	4.8	.0
Female	89.2	10.8	9.8	.9	.0
20-24 years: Male	66.6	33.4	20.9	11.9	.6
Female	96.5	3.5	2.2	1.0	.3
25-29 years: Male	84.1	15.9	9.3	5.9	.8
Female	98.2	1.8	.9	.6	.3
30 years + : Male	93.5	6.5	3.9	2.1	.5
Female	99.3	.7	.4	.2	.1

I-34

Table I-14

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY SEX AND AGE (Percentages)

	No Grade Completed	Some Grade Completed	Primary School	High School	College
<u>Marshall</u>					
5-9 years : Male	85.0	15.0	15.0	.0	.0
Female	86.5	13.5	13.5	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	58.4	41.6	41.4	.2	.0
Female	69.7	30.3	30.1	.2	.0
15-19 years: Male	44.8	55.2	46.6	8.1	.4
Female	74.1	25.9	20.5	5.3	.1
20-24 years: Male	50.8	49.2	27.7	20.1	1.3
Female	87.2	12.8	7.6	1.7	.5
25-29 years: Male	65.8	34.2	16.6	16.4	1.3
Female	92.2	7.8	4.2	3.2	.5
30 years + : Male	81.2	18.8	9.4	7.7	1.6
Female	93.9	6.1	2.9	2.2	1.0
<u>Maryland</u>					
5-9 years : Male	91.0	9.0	9.0	.0	.0
Female	91.0	9.0	9.0	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	62.7	37.3	37.0	.3	.0
Female	64.5	35.5	35.4	.1	.0
15-19 years: Male	38.7	61.3	55.7	5.6	.0
Female	62.5	37.5	33.5	3.9	.1
20-24 years: Male	38.0	62.0	39.6	21.7	.8
Female	80.0	20.0	15.4	4.4	.2
25-29 years: Male	53.5	46.5	30.0	15.6	1.0
Female	88.6	11.4	8.4	2.4	.5
30 years + : Male	77.3	22.7	14.6	6.6	1.6
Female	93.9	6.1	4.2	1.1	.5

I-35

Table I-14

231

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY SEX AND AGE (Percentages)

	No Grade Completed	Some Grade Completed	Primary School	High School	College
<u>Montserrat</u>					
5-9 years : Male	76.6	23.4	23.4	.0	.0
Female	78.7	21.3	21.3	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	42.5	57.5	56.5	1.0	.0
Female	50.2	49.8	48.6	1.2	.9
15-19 years: Male	28.9	71.1	52.3	18.4	.5
Female	56.8	43.2	30.7	12.0	.5
20-24 years: Male	35.7	64.3	26.9	32.8	4.6
Female	73.3	26.7	11.0	12.9	2.7
25-29 years: Male	51.3	48.7	19.3	23.5	5.9
Female	80.9	19.1	7.1	9.2	2.8
30 years + : Male	67.8	32.2	12.3	13.8	6.1
Female	82.0	18.8	6.9	7.9	3.2
<u>Nimba</u>					
5-9 years : Male	90.1	9.9	9.9	.0	.0
Female	93.1	6.9	6.9	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	61.7	38.3	38.2	.1	.0
Female	74.8	25.2	25.1	.1	.0
15-19 years: Male	40.7	59.3	54.9	4.3	.0
Female	75.2	24.8	23.3	1.5	.0
20-24 years: Male	49.4	50.6	34.3	15.6	.6
Female	91.5	8.5	6.7	1.7	.2
25-29 years: Male	70.7	29.3	17.6	10.4	1.2
Female	95.9	4.1	2.6	2.1	.3
30 years + : Male	90.8	9.2	5.4	3.1	.8
Female	98.3	1.7	.8	.6	.3

I-36

Table I-14

232

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY AGE AND SEX (Percentages)

	No Grade Completed	Some Grade Completed	Primary School	High School	College
<u>Rivercess</u>					
5-9 years : Male	96.7	3.3	3.3	.0	.0
Female	97.8	2.2	2.2	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	77.1	22.9	22.6	.3	.0
Female	87.9	12.1	12.0	.1	.0
15-19 years: Male	66.8	33.2	31.6	1.6	.0
Female	91.2	8.8	8.0	.8	.1
20-24 years: Male	63.3	36.7	29.5	6.8	.4
Female	97.4	2.6	2.6	.0	.0
25-29 years: Male	82.3	17.7	13.9	2.9	.9
Female	98.7	1.3	1.1	.2	.1
30 years + : Male	93.7	6.3	4.6	1.3	.3
Female	99.0	1.0	.4	.2	.3
<u>Sasstown</u>					
5-9 years : Male	95.8	4.2	4.2	.0	.0
Female	97.2	2.8	2.8	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	62.2	37.8	37.8	.0	.0
Female	78.7	21.3	20.9	.4	.0
15-19 years: Male	32.1	67.9	65.4	2.6	.0
Female	76.3	23.7	22.2	1.5	.0
20-24 years: Male	35.2	64.8	50.7	14.1	.0
Female	88.6	11.4	7.8	3.0	.6
25-29 years: Male	53.0	47.0	28.4	18.0	.5
Female	95.8	4.2	2.7	1.2	.3
30 years + : Male	82.0	18.0	12.0	5.4	.7
Female	98.9	1.1	.8	.3	.0

Table I-14

223

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY AGE AND SEX (Percentages)

	No Grade Completed	Some Grade Completed	Primary School	High School	College
<u>Since</u>					
5-9 years : Male	89.9	10.1	10.1	.0	.0
Female	93.1	6.9	6.9	.0	.0
10-14 years: Male	60.3	39.7	39.7	.1	.0
Female	75.6	24.4	24.4	.1	.0
15-19 years: Male	39.1	60.9	56.0	4.9	.0
Female	72.9	27.1	24.1	3.0	.0
20-24 years: Male	41.5	58.5	40.1	17.7	.7
Female	86.9	13.1	9.6	3.2	.3
25-29 years: Male	55.5	44.5	30.5	13.0	1.1
Female	93.3	6.7	4.5	1.8	.5
30 years + : Male	79.3	20.7	12.9	6.7	1.2
Female	96.5	3.5	2.1	1.2	.2

Source: Compiled from 1974 Population and Housing Census of Liberia. PC-I, Tables 17.

* Percentages may not total exactly 100% due to rounding.

234

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 5 YEARS AND OVER, BY SEX (Percentages)*

	Attends	Does not Attend		Attends	Does not Attend
<u>Liberia: Total</u>			<u>Rural</u>		
5-9 years : Male	14.0	86.0	5-9 years : Male	8.1	91.9
Female	11.4	88.6	Female'	5.3	94.7
10-14 years: Male	40.2	59.3	10-14 years: Male	30.2	69.8
Female	28.7	71.3	Female	17.3	82.7
15-19 years: Male	50.7	49.3	15-19 years: Male	42.4	57.6
Female	20.4	79.6	Female	13.1	86.9
20-24 years: Male	30.0	70.0	20-24 years: Male	25.3	74.7
Female	5.3	94.7	Female	2.7	97.3
25-29 years: Male	9.0	91.0	25-29 years: Male	6.6	93.4
Female	1.3	98.7	Female	.6	99.4
<u>Urban</u>			<u>Bomi</u>		
5-9 years : Male	29.9	70.1	5-9 years : Male	12.0	88.0
Female	26.7	73.3	Female	7.9	92.1
10.14 years: Male	62.7	37.3	10-14 years: Male	35.2	64.8
Female	54.6	45.4	Female	23.1	76.9
15-19 years: Male	66.1	33.9	15-19 years Male	39.0	61.0
Female	35.2	64.8	Female	13.9	86.1
20-24 years: Male	36.2	63.8	20-24 years: Male	19.1	80.9
Female	10.1	89.9	Female	2.8	97.2
25-29 years: Male	12.3	87.7	25-29 years: Male	4.4	95.6
Female	2.8	97.2	Female	.5	99.5

I-39

Table I-15

97.6

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 5 YEARS AND OVER, BY SEX (Percentages)

	Attends	Does not Attend		Attends	Does not Attend
<u>Bong</u>			<u>Grand Cape Mount</u>		
5-9 years : Male	10.5	89.5	5-9 years : Male	8.5	91.5
Female	6.8	93.2	Female	7.9	92.1
10-14 years: Male	27.1	72.9	10-14 years: Male	27.8	72.2
Female	15.8	84.2	Female	18.9	81.1
15-19 years: Male	37.2	62.8	15-19 years: Male	31.8	68.2
Female	11.8	88.2	Female	9.3	90.7
20-24 years: Male	21.4	78.6	20-24 years: Male	12.4	87.6
Female	2.8	97.2	Female	1.5	98.5
25-29 years: Male	6.5	93.5	25-29 years: Male	3.0	97.0
Female	.7	99.3	Female	.3	99.7
<u>Grand Bassa</u>			<u>Grand Gedeh</u>		
5-9 years : Male	9.2	90.8	5-9 years : Male	9.6	90.4
Female	4.9	95.1	Female	6.4	93.6
10-14 years: Male	26.8	73.2	10-14 years: Male	37.6	62.4
Female	17.6	82.4	Female	25.2	74.8
15-19 years: Male	28.8	71.2	15-19 years: Male	58.5	41.5
Female	10.9	89.1	Female	18.6	81.4
20-24 years: Male	14.1	85.9	20-24 years: Male	37.6	62.4
Female	2.1	97.9	Female	3.2	96.8
25-29 years: Male	2.9	97.1	25-29 years: Male	11.5	88.5
Female	.5	99.5	Female	.6	99.4

I-40

Table I-15

251

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 5 YEARS AND OVER, BY SEX (Percentages)

	Attends	Does not Attend		Attends	Does not Attend
<u>Kru Coast</u>			<u>Marshall</u>		
5-9 years : Male	11.4	88.6	5-9 years : Male	15.1	84.9
Female	10.0	90.0	Female	13.9	86.1
10-14 years: Male	44.9	55.1	10-14 years: Male	40.1	59.9
Female	29.2	70.8	Female	29.4	70.6
15-19 years: Male	61.1	38.9	15-19 years: Male	46.5	53.5
Female	23.5	76.5	Female	19.3	80.7
20-24 years: Male	52.7	47.3	20-24 years: Male	17.7	82.3
Female	10.8	89.2	Female	4.1	95.9
25-29 years: Male	24.3	75.7	25-29 years: Male	4.0	96.0
Female	1.7	98.3	Female	1.7	98.3
<u>Lofa</u>			<u>Maryland</u>		
5-9 years : Male	7.8	92.2	5-9 years : Male	10.9	89.1
Female	4.2	95.8	Female	11.2	88.8
10-14 years: Male	34.2	65.8	10-14 years: Male	38.7	61.3
Female	15.0	85.0	Female	37.5	62.5
15-19 years: Male	45.0	55.0	15-19 years: Male	57.3	42.7
Female	9.2	90.8	Female	31.1	68.9
20-24 years: Male	24.3	75.7	20-24 years: Male	44.5	55.5
Female	1.8	98.2	Female	7.9	92.1
25-29 years: Male	5.7	94.3	25-29 years: Male	16.9	83.1
Female	.4	99.6	Female	2.0	98.0

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TABLE I-15

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 5 YEARS AND OVER, BY SEX (Percentages)

	Attends	Does not Attend		Attends	Does not Attend
<u>Montserrat</u>			<u>Rivercess</u>		
5-9 years : Male	29.4	71.6	5-9 years : Male	3.6	96.4
Female	26.4	73.6	Female	2.3	97.7
10-14 years: Male	57.7	42.3	10-14 years: Male	23.0	77.0
Female	50.1	49.9	Female	11.9	88.1
15-19 years: Male	62.7	37.3	15-19 years: Male	30.5	69.5
Female	34.5	65.5	Female	6.5	93.5
20-24 years: Male	34.2	65.8	20-24 years: Male	24.8	75.2
Female	10.6	89.4	Female	.7	99.3
25-29 years: Male	11.9	88.1	25-29 years: Male	4.2	95.8
Female	3.1	96.9	Female	.1	99.9
<u>Nimba</u>			<u>Sasstown</u>		
5-9 years : Male	11.3	88.7	5-9 years : Male	10.0	90.0
Female	7.9	92.1	Female	6.6	93.4
10-14 years: Male	39.4	60.6	10-14 years: Male	42.3	57.7
Female	25.6	74.4	Female	23.6	76.4
15-19 years: Male	56.0	44.0	15-19 years: Male	68.3	31.7
Female	21.0	79.0	Female	21.7	78.3
20-24 years: Male	35.7	64.3	20-24 years: Male	58.6	41.4
Female	4.4	95.6	Female	6.3	93.7
25-29 years: Male	10.1	89.9	25-29 years: Male	29.0	71.0
Female	.9	99.1	Female	1.2	98.8

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TABLE I-15

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 5 YEARS AND OVER, BY SEX
(Percentages)

	Attends	Does not Attend
<u>Since</u>		
5-9 years : Male	11.6	88.4
Female	7.7	92.3
10-14 years: Male	41.5	58.5
Female	25.7	74.3
15-19 years: Male	58.2	41.8
Female	21.0	79.0
20-24 years: Male	38.5	61.5
Female	5.3	94.7
25-29 years: Male	11.5	88.5
Female	.9	99.1

Source: Compiled from 1974 Population & Housing
Census of Liberia. PC-I. Tables 15.

* Percentages may not total exactly 100% due to rounding

ANNEX II

Population, Climatic, & Agricultural
Statistics & Discussion

- Table II-1: Liberian Administrative Units: Population, Area, & Density
- Table II-2: Liberia: Estimated & Projected Population
- Table II-3: Liberian Administrative Units: Population, Sex Ratios, Density & Growth Rates
- Table II-4: Population: Percentage Distribution & Sex Ratio by Age Category
- Table II-5: Relationship of Female to the Head of the Household by Age
- Table II-6: Relationships to the Head of the Household by Sex
- Table II-7: Marital Status by Age
- Table II-8: Fertility Estimates for Selected African Countries, 1975-80
- Table II-9: Fertility Levels by Region, Liberia 1974
- Table II-10: Percentage Distribution of Ethnic Groups of Liberia, 1974
- Table II-11: Agricultural Statistics by County, 1975
- Table II-12: Household Crop Production Estimates...
- Table II-13: Production Estimates of Major Crops in Liberia

POPULATION

Liberia's population in 1974 was enumerated at approximately 1.5 million people: 759,109 males and 744,259 females for a total of 1,503,368. The 1962 census enumerated approximately 1 million people, indicating an intercensal increase of 47.9 percent (487,000) with an annual growth rate of 3.4 percent between 1962 and 1974. Utilizing that growth rate, the population of Liberia in 1981 can be estimated at approximately 1.9 million.

At the time of the 1962 census, Liberia was divided administratively into five counties: Montserrado, Grand Cape Mount, Sinoe, Grand Bassa, and Maryland; and three provinces: Western, Central, and Eastern. In 1964, the country was reorganized so that the provinces were divided into counties ^{1/}. In creating the new counties, there were also some changes in the boundaries of the old counties. The new counties created were Lofa (Western Province), Nimba and Bong (Central Province), and Grand Gedeh (Eastern Province). In addition to the nine counties, there are six territories: Bomi and Marshall (sometimes included with Montserrado), Rivercess (sometimes included with Grand Bassa), Sasstown (sometimes included with Sinoe), Kru Coast (sometimes included with Maryland), and Gibi, which was created after the 1974 census and whose population is included in the figures for Montserrado. These units are in turn divided into 54 districts.

Population totals for the major administrative units are contained in Table II-1. Montserrado had the highest average annual growth rate of 5.2, compared with the national average of 3.4. The lowest annual growth rates were in the coastal counties of Grand Bassa (1.4), Sinoe (1.9), and Maryland (1.6). Nimba (3.7) and Grand Gedeh (3.4) had the highest rates for the interior counties.

Government estimates are that the population of Liberia will increase from 1.9 million in 1981 to an estimated 2, 182,000 by mid-1985, assuming current growth rates. The urban share of the population is estimated to increase from 29 percent in 1974 to an estimated 35-37 percent by 1985. By 1985, estimates indicate that four counties will have populations in excess of 250,000: Montserrado, Nimba, Bong, and Lofa (see Table II-2).

^{1/} The administrative reorganization of the country in 1964 presents some problems for comparing the internal distribution of the population in 1962 and 1974.

Two will have populations of over 100,000: Grand Bassa and Grand Gedeh. Maryland and Sinoe will be the smallest counties in population. Two of the current territories, Bomi and Gibi, will have populations larger than three of the counties: Cape Mount, Maryland, and Sinoe. Sasstown will continue to have the smallest population of any administrative unit, and is estimated to have a stable, if not declining population.

The population density of Liberia is comparatively low. The exact figure depends upon which population figures and which areal figures are used for computing the density. On the basis of 38,250 square miles and a population of 1,503,200, a density of 39.3 per square mile is obtained. Using an area of 37,130 square miles and a population of 1,503,368, a slightly higher density of 40.5 per square mile is obtained (35, p. 13). Converting to square kilometers (97,920) and a population of 1,503,201, a density of 15.2 per square kilometer is obtained (86).

Liberia's density (15.2) is lower than that of neighboring countries: a density per square kilometer of 44.5 in Sierra Leone, 21.9 in the Ivory Coast, and 20.2 in Guinea. The density is considerably lower than that of Nigeria (72.1) and Uganda (52.3), but approximately the same as Cameroon (16.5).

While the national density figure may have relevance in drawing broad comparisons with other African countries, it is of little utility for planning within the country. Examining the density by county, district, and even clan, reveals great contrasts and a considerable range.

At the county/territory level, the range in density is from 11.5 per square mile for Grand Gedeh to a high of 308.7 for Montserrado County (see Table II-3). Montserrado contains the largest urban area in Liberia, the capital city of Monrovia and its suburbs, and one of the largest concessions in the country, the Harbel Plantation of Firestone.

Four categories emerge with reference to density:

- 1) 300+ p/sm: Montserrado County
- 2) 50-90 p/sm: Bomi Territory, Bong County, Kru Coast Territory, Maryland County, Marshall Territory, Nimba County
- 3) 20-49 p/sm: Grand Bassa County, Grand Cape Mount County, Lofa County, Sasstown Territory
- 4) Less than 19 p/sm: Grand Gedeh County, Rivercess Territory, Sinoe County

These figures are still deceptive, since the extremely low density in a particular clan or district may obscure the very high density in other clans or districts (see Table II-3). For example, in Lofa County with an average density of 23.9, the range is from 6.4 in Guma District (one of the lowest in the country) to a high of 45.7 in adjacent Kolahun District. At the clan level, an even greater range for Lofa is indicated: from a low of 1.3 in Jawaie Clan, Gbarma District to a high of 133.1 in Tengia Clan, Kolahun District. Within Kolahun District, the range is from 5.8 in Yarweyahun Clan to 133.1 in Tengia Clan.

In 1974, there were four districts, one each in Grand Gedeh and Sinoe, and two in Lofa, which had population densities of less than 10 per square mile. The three urban districts of Monrovia, Buchanan, and Greenville represent the other extreme. Half of the districts in Liberia had densities of less than 40. All of the districts in Grand Gedeh, all in Sinoe except Greenville, and all in Grand Bassa except #4 and Buchanan were included in this group. Not quite one fourth of the districts had densities from 40 - 79 per square mile. Five districts fell in the 80-99 per square mile range: 4 of these were from Montserrado and adjoining territories while only one, Sanniquelle, was from a rural area. Sanniquelle includes the Nimba branch of LAMCO, one of the major urban concentrations in the interior counties. Finally, there were six districts with densities of more than 100 per square mile (range 112-214). One of these was the coastal district of Harper in Maryland. Four were from Montserrado County. Only one, Bahn District, Nimba, can be considered a rural area. As such, this district has the highest density of any farming area in Liberia. This district also has diamond-mining activity and is closely linked to the Ivory Coast.

Population density figures provide an indication of the areas in the country where land pressures may be developing. Land pressure can be hypothesized to be relatively unusual in those districts with a density of less than 40 per square mile. Land pressures do appear to exist in most of the districts with a density of more than 40, the national average.

There were five districts which lost population during the intercensal period. These were located in Grand Bassa, Rivercess, and Sinoe. These are all areas with densities below the national average in 1974. Indeed, one district, Bloni-Sinoe in Sinoe, has one of the lowest densities in the country.

A growth rate of less than 30 percent during the intercensal period of 1962-74 occurred in 18 districts. All but four of these were from the coastal counties, including all districts in Maryland and all but one in Grand Bassa, all of Rivercess and Sasstown. Two districts in Bong County located off the main highway were among those with a low growth rate. Two districts in Lofa were also included: Kolahun and Bopolu. High density and high growth rates do not necessarily coincide. The districts from Lofa illustrate this point. Kolahun has the highest density of any district but the lowest growth rate while Bopolu has the second lowest growth rate and density.

An almost equal number of districts experienced growth rates of more than 50 percent during the intercensal period ^{1/}. The highest rate, 194.7, was in Porkpa District, Grand Cape Mount, which is the location of the National Iron Ore Company, followed by the Commonwealth District of Monrovia with a growth rate of 141.6. With the exception of Garwula, Guma, Karnplay, and Zorzor Districts, which are predominately rural areas, all of the other districts with growth rates of more than 50 percent had either concessions within their boundaries, were county headquarters, or were within the Monrovia urban sphere.

With the exception of Kolahun District in Lofa, those districts with growth rates below 30 percent are those which are among the most remote or the most depressed economically. Examining Kolahun District by clan provides an indication of why that district may have the low growth rate that it does. 11.2 percent of the population of the district occupies 41.6 percent of the area, while 43.7 percent of the population occupies 16.2 percent of the area. The two clans with the lowest density, Lucasu and Yarweyahun, are relatively inaccessible. Tengia Clan, part of the Kissi Chiefdom, had the highest density and the lowest growth rate of any clan in the district. It is possible that land pressure in this clan has reached the point where people are emigrating. Wuam Clan, also of the Kissi Chiefdom, had the lowest density of the Kissi clans, but was the only clan in the district to show a negative growth rate, losing both males (-2.7 percent) and females (-20.9 percent). As this clan borders both Guinea and Sierra Leone, it is not possible to assess the affect of international migration on the population of this clan.

^{1/} The national average was 47.9 percent.

With reference to possible land pressure, Bahn District in Nimba had the highest density of rural districts, 130.3. Within that district, Zoe Clan had a density of 237.8, the highest for any rural area in Liberia. That clan also had the lowest growth rate, 23.3 percent, of the district.

Population density has a direct impact upon the land available for farming activities. The range in density among the counties and districts in Liberia must be considered at both the policy and project level in agriculture as the constraints and options of farmers vary according to density.

The differences in growth rates are, in part, a function of different economic opportunities in the various regions. Those districts with low growth rates suggest economically depressed or underdeveloped areas for which different development priorities are needed than for areas with high growth rates.

SEX RATIOS

The sex ratio expresses the number of females relative to males in a given population. This ratio is relevant in assessing the labor force available in an agricultural system in which both sexes have complementary productive or economic tasks. A ratio of 100 or 1000 indicates a population with an equal number of males and females. Ratios in excess of 100 or 1000 indicate more females than males, while ratios less than 100 or 1000 indicate more males than females.

In 1974, the sex ratio (females per 1000 males) ranged from 664 in Gbarma District, Lofa County, to 1207 in Zorzor District, Lofa County (Table II-3). Although this is a considerable range, it is less of a range than in 1962 when the sex ratio ranged from 679 in Firestone District to 1566 in Guma District, Lofa. Although it is not possible at this point to explain fully why the range in ratios is not as great in 1974 as it was in 1962, an important factor is the increasing female rural to urban migration, which has helped even the distribution of females between the rural and urban areas (86). As with density and growth rates, the variation in sex ratios within a county may be considerable. Lofa County has both the district with the lowest sex ratio (Gbarma) and the district (Zorzor) with the highest. Gbarma District is a sparsely populated area but has attracted male migrants because of the diamond mining within the district. The high sex ratio in Zorzor is partially accounted for by differential migration rates.

As might be expected, other low sex ratios are found in the urban areas of Monrovia, Firestone, and Marshall City District (which includes Camp Schefflin). All districts with sex ratios of less than 900 are either urban areas or have concessions.

Of the 12 districts with sex ratios of 1100 or more, 9 have densities of 40 or less. All districts in Grand Gedeh, except Tchien (which includes Zwedru, the county seat) and all in Lofa except Gbarma have sex ratios of 1100 or more.

A comparison of the sex ratios in 1962 and 1974 is informative. In 1962, 51 percent (27 districts) of the districts had sex ratios of 1100 or more. Ratios of less than 900 occurred in 21 percent of the districts, while 13 percent were less than 800. Only 28 percent of the districts had ratios between 900 and 1099. By 1974, these percentages had changed significantly. Fifty-nine percent of the districts had ratios between 900 and 1099. Only 23 percent had ratios of 1100 or more. In 1962, 12 districts had ratios of more than 1200. In 1974, only one district barely fell in this category with a ratio of 1207. Nineteen percent of the districts had ratios of less than 900 but only two districts had ratios of less than 800, in comparison with seven in 1962. These comparisons suggest that in 1974, the population was demographically more evenly distributed than in 1962.

LIBERIAN ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS: POPULATION, AREA, DENSITY

Administrative Unit	Population			% of Population	Area Sq. Mile	Density Sq. Mile	Annual Growth Rate
	Males	Females	Total				
Bomi Territory	32,272	29,868	62,140	4.1	757	82.1	
Bong County	95,262	98,924	194,186	12.9	3786	51.3	2.8
Grand Bassa County	62,207	61,193	123,400	8.2	3089	39.9	1.4
Grand Cape Mount County	29,599	27,002	56,601	3.8	1978	28.7	4.9
Grand Gedeh County	33,859	37,964	71,823	4.8	6255	11.5	3.4
Kru Coast Territory	13,303	13,812	27,115	1.8	518	52.4	
Lofa County	86,506	94,231	180,737	12.0	7542	23.9	2.8
Marshall Territory	10,757	9,975	20,732	1.4	237	87.5	
Maryland County	32,063	32,420	64,483	4.3	1241	51.9	1.6
Montserrado County	193,117	164,002	357,119	23.8	1157	308.7	5.2
Nimba County	122,215	127,477	249,692	16.6	4741	52.7	3.7
Rivercess Territory	13,803	13,943	27,746	1.8	1716	16.2	
Sassstown Territory	4,880	5,072	9,952	.7	373	26.7	
Sinoe County	29,266	28,376	57,642	3.8	3740	15.4	1.9
Liberia: URBAN	232,943	205,228	438,171	29.1	-	-	-
Liberia: RURAL	526,166	539,031	1,065,197	70.9	-	-	-
LIBERIA	759,109	744,259	1,503,368	100.0	37130	40.5	3.4

Source: 1974 Population & Housing Census, PC-I Table I

Hasselmann 1977: Table IV

Srivastava 1978

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Table II-1

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LIBERIA: ESTIMATED AND PROJECTED POPULATION

	<u>Estimated Population, 81/82</u>			<u>Projected Population, 84/85</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Bomi	41,840	39,715	81,555	48,388	46,425	94,813
Bong	112,786	117,231	230,017	127,269	132,143	259,412
Gibi	41,774	37,201	78,975	47,754	43,138	90,942
Grand Bassa	70,930	67,728	138,658	77,331	72,685	150,016
Cape Mount	41,343	37,062	78,405	49,240	43,854	93,094
Kru Coast	15,745	15,421	31,166	17,490	16,604	34,094
Grand Gedeh	44,307	47,141	91,448	51,434	53,509	104,943
Lofa	107,890	111,283	219,173	122,671	123,230	245,901
Marshall	14,203	13,601	27,804	16,533	16,057	32,590
Maryland	34,194	35,287	69,481	35,986	37,507	73,493
Montserrado	226,699	208,469	435,168	269,410	255,065	524,475
Nimba	156,862	166,284	323,146	180,615	192,789	373,404
Rivercess	12,710	11,537	24,247	12,176	10,176	22,352
Sasstown	4,744	4,713	9,457	4,733	4,551	9,284
Sinoe	34,668	32,244	66,912	38,478	35,090	73,568
LIBERIA	960,695	944,917	1,905,612	1,099,508	1,082,873	2,182,381

Source: Table 6, 2nd National Socio-economic Development Plan

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Table 11-2

BAC

LIBERIAN ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS: Population, Sex Ratio s, Density & Growth Rates

Unit	Population 1974	Intercensal Growth Rate *	Area	Density 1974	1962	Sex Ratio 1974
Bomi Territory	62,141	57.8%	757	82.1	922	926
Klay District	59,155	58.3	572	88.0	920	923
Mecca District	2,986	47.4	85	35.1	971	992
Bong County	194,191	38.9	3,786	51.3	1089	1039
Gbarnga District	107,287	31.5	1,755	61.6	1140	1106
Gibi Territory	6,040	21.6	487	13.0	1021	932
Kokoya District	11,117	41.6	384	28.9	1110	1101
Salala District	52,990	70.6	669	79.2	934	911
Sanoyea District	16,457	17.2	491	33.5	1192	1053
Grand Bassa County	123,179	23.7	3,089	39.9	1066	984
No. 1 District	20,835	14.1	649	32.1	1002	945
No. 2 District	21,254	3.8	763	27.9	1111	1052
No. 3 District	39,675	26.6	1,322	30.2	1120	1010
No. 4 District	17,040	6.8	327	52.1	1187	988
No. 5 District (Buchanan)	24,375	104.7	28	870.6	753	919
Grand Cape Mount County	56,604	75.8	1,978	28.7	992	912
Garwula	19,818	58.3	1,005	19.7	952	916
Porkpa District	20,395	194.9	663	30.8	887	856
Tewor District	11,713	30.7	248	47.2	1153	990
C.D. Robertsport	4,678	23.4	62	75.5	972	691
Grand Gedeh County	71,825	48.8	6,225	11.5	1282	1122
Gbarzon District	15,894	36.8	1,482	10.7	1397	1188
Gbeapo District	14,090	43.7	1,052	13.4	1390	1171
Konobo District	10,984	45.8	1,708	6.4	1253	1144
Tchien District	14,395	78.2	668	21.6	1158	987
Webbo District	16,462	46.7	1,345	12.2	1194	1129

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Table II-3

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LIBERIAN ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS: Population, Sex Ratios, Density & Growth Rates

Unit	Population 1974	Intercensal Growth Rate	Area	Density 1974	Sex Ratio	
					1962	1974
Kru Coast	27,134	27.5	518	52.4	1182	1038
Barclayville District	18,397	34.0	325	56.6	1255	1057
Lower Kru Coast Dis.	8,737	15.7	193	45.2	1061	997
Lofa County	180,737	37.4	7,542	23.9	1235	1090
Bopolu District	22,471	18.3	2,309	9.7	1152	1117
Gbarma District	17,450	93.7	1,326	13.2	722	664
Guma District	1,566	53.8	246	6.4	1566	1095
Kolahun District	56,369	13.1	1,233	45.7	1300	1129
Voinjama District	35,634	55.2	820	43.5	1330	1127
Zorzor District	47,247	59.0	1,608	29.4	1323	1207
Marshall Territory	20,732	63.7	237	87.5	902	928
Mambakaba District	16,553	64.4	191	86.7	964	971
Marshall City District	4,179	61.0	46	90.9	696	774
Maryland County	64,485	17.7	1,241	51.9	1033	1012
Buah District	13,759	17.8	676	20.3	1269	1120
C.D. of Harper	17,114	14.3	119	143.8	957	1018
Pleebo District	33,612	19.4	446	75.4	989	968
Montserrado County	357,125	86.8	1,157	308.7	741	850
Careysburg District	13,888	33.2	123	112.9	790	876
Kakata District	35,311	56.2	271	130.3	775	844
St. Paul River Bank Dis.	24,894	38.0	193	128.9	832	865
Todee District	19,917	55.4	235	84.8	898	865
Firestone District	58,902	37.7	275	214.5	679	848
C.D. of Monrovia	204,213	141.6	60	3403.5	719	847

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Table II-3

LIBERIAN ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS: Population, Sex Ratios, Density & Growth Rates

Unit	Population	Intercensal	Area	Density	Sex Ratio	
	1974	Growth Rate*		1974	1962	1974
Nimba County	249,702	53.3	4,741	52.7	1059	1043
Bahn District	49,501	38.3	380	130.3	1037	1049
Karnplay District	35,642	53.5	600	59.4	1122	1048
Sacleapea District	41,556	34.2	576	72.2	1202	1090
Saniquellie District	73,684	91.0	757	97.3	858	971
Tappita District	39,012	47.2	1,774	22.0	1160	1095
Yarwein-Mansonoh District	10,307	32.2	654	15.8	1223	1173
Rivercess Territory	27,747	3.5	1,715	16.2	1138	1011
Timbo District 5A	20,730	6.2	1,077	19.2	1117	1009
Morweh District 5B	7,017	5.6	639	10.9	1212	1016
Sasstown Territory	9,952	4.3	373	26.7	1131	1041
Jloh District	9,952	4.3	373	26.7	1131	1041
Sinoe County	57,647	29.1	3,740	15.4	1066	969
Bloni-Sino River Dist.	5,507	17.3	744	7.4	1085	1014
Juarzon District	22,177	78.1	1,658	13.4	1150	1017
River Sinoe District	19,811	1.6	1,308	15.1	1042	956
C.D. of Greenville	10,152	88.2	30	388.3	951	874
LIBERIA TOTAL	1,503,368	47.9	37,130	40.5	1018	980

*Between 1962 and 1974 censuses

Sources: Hasselman 1977

Srivastava & Hasselman 1976

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Table II-3

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URBANIZATION

In 1974, approximately 29 percent of the population lived in "urban areas". In the 1974 census, localities were defined as urban if they had 2,000 or more inhabitants. A few smaller localities were classified as urban if they had amenities such as schools, hospitals, electricity, and so on.

Approximately 28 percent of the female population lived in urban areas, compared with 31 percent of the male population. More than half the urban population is found in Montserrado County. The percent of a county's/territory's population living in urban areas varies considerably:

Bomi Territory	38%
Bong County	10%
Grand Bassa County	28%
Grand Cape Mount County	23%
Grand Gedeh County	9%
Lofa County	10%
Marshall Territory	16%
Maryland County	38%
Montserrado County	65%
Nimba County	20%
Rivercess Territory	21%
Sinoe County	21%

(Source: PC-1, 1974 Population & Housing Census, Table 1)

Sasstown Territory is not listed as having any urban population.

Apart from Montserrado County, the highest percentages of urban residents are in Bomi Territory and Maryland County, with 38 percent of their residents in urban areas. Three counties, Bong, Grand Gedeh, and Lofa, have the smallest proportion of their residents urban, averaging around 10 percent each.

Centers Classified as Urban in 1974 Population Census

	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Sex Ratio</u>
<u>Bomi Territory</u>		
B.F. Goodrich Concession	6,326	755
L.M.C. Concession	3,421	868
Tubmanburg	14,089	899
<u>Bong County</u>		
Gbarnga	6,896	952
German Camp	2,634	810
Bong Mine Concession	3,869	845
Bong Town	3,059	822
Nycabli	2,145	902
<u>Grand Bassa County</u>		
Owensgrove	2,356	922
Buchanan	23,999	919
L.A.C. Concession	8,243	808
<u>Grand Cape Mount County</u>		
Kongo Town	6,020	870
Mano River Concession	4,205	865
RobertSPORT	2,562	878
<u>Grand Gedeh County</u>		
Zwedru	6,094	930
<u>Lofa County</u>		
Weasua	2,729	638
Foya Airfield	2,350	992
Voinjama	0,343	953
Fissibu	2,540	1242
Zorzor	4,762	1164
<u>Marshall Territory</u>		
Smell No Taste	3,253	941
<u>Maryland County</u>		
Harper	10,627	1008
Pleebo	6,315	1031
Firestone Concession	7,846	904

	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Sex Ratio</u>
<u>Montserrat County</u>		
Rakata	9,992	913
Caldwell	2,463	848
Virginia	2,772	908
Harbel	11,445	828
Gardnersville	6,532	956
Paynesville	9,676	860
Monrovia Proper	166,507	836
Bassa Community	7,651	778
Bishop Brooks	8,991	814
Bushrod Island	48,566	931
Lorma Quarters	10,432	739
Executive Mansion	314	826
Mamba Point	15,633	812
Slip Way	6,923	733
Sinkor	20,560	866
Soni Wien	19,830	807
South Beach	10,025	742
West Point	17,582	804
Congo Town	21,495	886
<u>Nimba County</u>		
Bahn	4,283	1046
Cocopa Concession	2,525	791
Saclepea	2,786	1076
Ganta	6,356	1052
Sanniquelle	6,690	995
Camp Four	7,220	877
Gbarpa	2,739	898
Yekepa (LAMCO)	14,189	939
Tappita	3,927	973
<u>Rivercess Territory</u>		
Rivercess City	2,041	1007
<u>Sinoe County</u>		
African Fruit Company	3,388	786
Greenville	8,462	870

Source: PC-1, 1974 Population & Housing Census of Liberia

IMMIGRANT POPULATION

In comparison with some other West African countries, the immigrant population in Liberia is relatively small. Of the total population, 4 percent were born outside Liberia. Of the female population, only 1.6 percent were born outside Liberia. In the urban areas, 4 percent of the females were born elsewhere, while in the rural areas less than one percent were born elsewhere.

These figures need to be interpreted with some caution. Many of the immigrants to Liberia come from neighboring West African countries such as Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Ghana. Because the issue of birthplace and citizenship is sensitive, this is a question on which people may not have provided accurate data. People knew that it was a national census and, as such, may have claimed Liberian birth when that was not the case. National identities are situational and in the case of a national census, the situation was one in which people were likely to identify themselves as Liberians.

Of those females who identified themselves as foreign-born, 43 percent were born in Guinea, 15 percent in Ghana, 11 percent in Sierra Leone, 5 percent in the U.S., and 5 percent in Lebanon. Of those foreign-born women, 76 percent are listed as aliens. Foreign-born women are concentrated in urban areas where 68 percent of them reside.

The census data presently available do not permit us to identify the nature and extent of participation in the labor force by these foreign-born women.

AGE CATEGORIES & DISTRIBUTION & SEX RATIOS

Interpreting data on age from the census is difficult as this is one variable which has been demonstrated to be unreliable. Many people are not conscious of their age and do not know how old they are. Data on age may sometimes be linked to "significant events" which help pinpoint a person's age. Data are often elicited from the household head who may have little notion of the age of others in the household. Numerous opportunities exist for both under-reporting and over-reporting a person's age.

Grouping age data into broad categories helps compensate for errors in reporting age. The differing labor inputs of individuals of different ages are reflected in 15 year age categories. Computing sex ratios for each age category provides insight into the composition of the labor force essential to agriculture.

For Liberia as a whole, age categories of 15 years each reveal a slight deficit of females in the 14 and under age group, a considerable surplus of females in the 15-29 group, a slight surplus in the 30-44 group, and a marked deficit in the 45-59 and 60+ groups (Table II-4). 1/

Most striking is the marked deficit of females in the age groups 45 and above (Table II-4). This seems at variance with estimated life expectancy figures which indicate a slightly longer life expectancy for females. Those in the age 45 and above cohort in the 1974 census would have been born prior to 1930. It can be hypothesized that a partial explanation for the deficit of females in these older age categories may be due to maternal mortality during childbearing years. During the years when this group of women would have been bearing children, most women had less access to medical care than today. It is also possible that older women are underenumerated. Many of these women are widows who are marginal to households. Male household heads may have overlooked them in the enumeration. Community surveys which have been done by investigators residing in a community for an extended period indicate more women in the upper age brackets than men (2, 49).

With the caveat that age data must be interpreted with caution and must not be given too high a degree of reliability, the data do indicate trends which are relevant for agriculture and other economic activities.

Two thirds of the Liberian population are included in the 29 or younger age groups. Those over 60 years comprise only 6 percent of the population.

Comparing the urban and rural population reveals some trends. The sex ratios of those under 14 and over 60 are similar between urban and rural. Sex ratios for those between 15 and 59 are markedly different. Fewer females are present in each age category in the urban areas than males while in the rural areas there is a surplus of females in the 15-44 group. Although the ratio for the 45-59 group in the rural areas indicates a

1/ Regrouping the data by 20 year categories indicates that the sex ratio for the 19 and under group is 97.0, a slight surplus of males, which is not unusual for this age group. The ratios obtained in the 15 year groupings may indicate that there is a considerable misreporting of ages of both males and females in the 10-19 year group. The sex ratio for the 10-14 group is 86.6, while that for the 15-19 year group is 110.5. It would appear that the ages of females are being overestimated while those of males underestimated. There may be sex differentials in mortality operating. Underenumeration of females in the younger age groups may occur.

deficit of females it is a smaller deficit than in the urban areas. The sex ratio for the 45-59 group is 56.6 in the urban areas. This ratio is an indication of more migration of men in this age category than of women. The age group 15-29, which has the largest surplus of females for Liberia as a whole, is the group which is nearest equity in the urban areas but is also the group with the greatest surplus of females in the rural areas. The ratio for the urban area may indicate the higher migration rate for females of this age group than for other groups.

The relative distribution of the age groups also differs between urban and rural. In both areas the percentage of the population under 14 years is the same, 41 percent. The urban population, as might be predicted, is otherwise younger than the rural population. One third of urban residents are in the 15-29 group in contrast with approximately one quarter of the rural residents. The relative proportion of those 30-44 is the same for urban and rural. But after 45 years of age, there is a greater proportion in the older age categories in the rural areas.

The percentage of those under 14 is approximately the same among the different administrative units. The range is from 38.9 percent for Grand Bassa and Bomi to 44.6 in Rivercess Territory and 44.1 in Maryland. The data do suggest, however, that there is a slight tendency for a higher proportion of the population to be under 14 in the more rural units of the country. Although the percentage is the same for urban and rural, it should be remembered that the definition of urban is 2,000 or more. In the counties other than Montserrado, the county seats are classified as urban areas. The concentration of schools in these communities may help explain why the figure is equal for urban and rural.

For the 15-29 age group, the county with the highest percentage of the population in that group is Montserrado with 32 percent. The next highest are the adjacent territories of Marshall and Bomi. The lowest percentages in the 15-29 group are found in the coastal territories of Sasstown (21.7 percent), Rivercess (22.2 percent), and the Kru Coast and Maryland (23 percent). It can be hypothesized that these low percentages in the coastal areas are indicative of the relative lack of economic opportunity for young adults in these areas.

For the 30-44 year old group, the percentage of the population is smallest for the coastal territories of Sasstown (14.3 percent) and the Kru Coast (14.6 percent). The highest percentage for that age group is in Lofa (19 percent).

For the age group 45-59, the lowest percentage of any county is Montserrado (6.8 percent). The percentage is highest in the coastal territories of Kru Coast (12.1 percent) and Sasstown (11.9 percent). The rural percentage is 10.0.

In Sasstown, more than one fifth of the population is more than 45 years old in contrast with Montserrado where slightly more than one tenth are in the 45 year or older category.

A similar pattern obtains with those 60 years or older. Montserrado has the smallest percentage of the population over 60 (3.8 percent), which is slightly higher than the urban percentage of 2.8 percent. The highest percentage is in Sasstown, 10.8 percent, followed by the Kru Coast with 9 percent. The only counties which fall above the rural percentage of 7.2 percent are Lofa and Grand Cape Mount.

The trend which emerges from the above figures is most marked in Sasstown and the Kru Coast where a profile of a population older than elsewhere in Liberia emerges, combined with a slightly higher than average percentage of those under 14. Although not as extreme as in some other places in Africa, there is the suggestion of communities whose population consists largely of the very young and very old as the able-bodied adults have been pulled out or pushed out of the community in search of better opportunities.

Examining the sex ratios for these age groups, the ratios for Montserrado correspond more closely to the urban figures than do other counties. Montserrado has a lower sex ratio for those 60 or older, 61.2, than for urban areas, 74.7. The urban sex ratio includes a number of communities in the interior counties. It is possible that if Monrovia were isolated from Montserrado as a whole, that the sex ratio for those 60 or older might be even more skewed toward males, reflecting the extensive male migration in former years.

The sex ratios reported for those under 14 in several areas seem more skewed toward males than would be predicted. For example, Sasstown has a ratio of 85.5. Since 86.7, and Rivercess, 82.5. There may be reporting errors which help account for these ratios. It is possible that female mortality is higher in these years, but that is at variance with the usual tendency for male mortality to be higher. Females in this age group may be underenumerated.

For the 15-29 age group, the lowest sex ratio is in the Kru Coast Territory, 92.3. Montserrado has a ratio of 97.3. The ratio for the Kru Coast presents an anomaly which may be due to reporting errors. It might also be hypothesized that more females than males in that group are migrating or that there is a high mortality rate among females in that cohort.

The highest sex ratio for that age group is in Lofa County with a ratio of 150.8, followed by Bong 141.3, Grand Gedeh 136.4, and Nimba, 133.9. These are the interior counties, and with the exception of Grand Gedeh, are the counties which lead in rice production.

The highest sex ratios for any age group and any county are found in the 30-44 year group. The Kru Coast has a sex ratio of 165.1 and Sasstown a ratio of 177.6. Grand Gedeh's ratio is 147.8. Another pattern may be discerned which may be especially relevant for agriculture. In the Kru Coast, Maryland, Sasstown, and Sinoe, the sex ratio is higher for the 30-44 group than for the 15-29 group. In Grand Gedeh, it is slightly higher in the 30-44 group but not as marked as in either Sasstown or the Kru Coast. On the other hand, the sex ratio is highest for the 15-29 age group in Bong, Cape Mount, Lofa, and Nimba. With the exception of Cape Mount, these are the counties with the highest rice production figures.

For the 60 or over age group, the lowest sex ratio is in Marshall Territory with a ratio of 57.7, reflecting the heavy immigrant component of the population of that territory. Next lowest is Montserrado with a ratio of 61.2. Difficult to explain is the low ratio of 61.6 in Bong County. The highest sex ratios for the 60+ group are found in the coastal areas of the Kru Coast (101.3), Rivercess (91.5), and Sinoe (90.5). Maryland (83.7) and Sasstown (82.6) are also above the national or rural ratio. These ratios further emphasize the profile of the coastal areas of a population of older women.

With reference to the labor force in agriculture, it would be useful to examine the sex ratios by age categories at the district and clan level. Unfortunately, the data are not available to do this.

POPULATION: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AND SEX RATIO BY AGE CATEGORY

Age Category	Liberia:	Total	Liberia:	Urban	Liberia:	Rural
	Percentage	Sex Ratio	Percentage	Sex Ratio	Percentage	Sex Ratio
0-14	40.9	93.8	41.0	94.5	40.9	93.5
15-29	26.7	118.3	33.0	99.9	24.1	130.3
30-44	17.6	103.0	17.2	69.7	17.8	120.1
45-59	8.8	75.6	6.0	56.6	10.0	81.2
60+	5.9	72.4	2.8	74.7	7.2	72.0
	<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>	

Age Category	Bomi		Bong		Grand Bassa	
	Percentage	Sex Ratio	Percentage	Sex Ratio	Percentage	Sex Ratio
0-14	38.9	97.6	42.5	96.6	38.9	90.5
15-29	27.3	108.7	26.0	141.3	26.3	123.2
30-44	18.3	86.4	17.0	113.1	18.3	108.1
45-59	9.4	63.6	8.7	70.4	9.4	73.5
60+	6.2	68.9	5.8	61.6	7.1	77.9
	<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>	100.0	<u>100.0</u>	

Age Category	Grand Cape Mount		Grand Gedeh		Kru Coast	
	Percentage	Sex Ratio	Percentage	Sex Ratio	Percentage	Sex Ratio
0-14	39.5	92.8	43.1	97.3	41.3	89.6
15-29	25.9	106.0	23.2	136.4	23.0	92.3
30-44	17.7	84.2	17.2	147.8	14.6	165.1
45-59	9.0	80.6	9.9	94.8	12.1	126.8
60+	7.8	69.8	6.7	91.1	9.0	101.3
	<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>	

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Table 4

II-

POPULATION: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AND SEX RATIO BY AGE CATEGORY

Age Category	Lofa		Marshall		Maryland	
	Percentage*	Sex Ratio	Percentage	Sex Ratio	Percentage	Sex Ratio
0-14	39.6	96.2	39.0	97.2	44.1	94.9
15-29	24.0	150.8	27.9	124.6	23.0	104.7
30-44	19.0	122.0	18.1	76.2	15.9	132.0
45-59	10.1	88.7	8.6	60.7	10.4	92.3
60+	7.3	73.8	6.5	57.7	6.6	83.7
	<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>	

Age Category	Montserrat		Nimba		Rivercess	
	Percentage	Sex Ratio	Percentage	Sex Ratio	Percentage	Sex Ratio
0-14	40.2	92.2	41.6	95.2	44.6	82.5
15-29	32.0	97.3	25.1	133.9	22.2	126.5
30-44	17.3	68.7	18.3	119.1	16.6	140.2
45-59	6.8	54.9	9.0	78.4	9.6	94.0
60+	3.8	61.2	5.9	70.6	6.9	91.5
	<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>	

Age Category	Sasstown		Sinoe	
	Percentage	Sex Ratio	Percentage	Sex Ratio
0-14	41.3	85.5	41.2	86.7
14-29	21.7	111.2	25.1	101.1
30-44	14.3	177.6	17.0	131.5
45-59	11.9	118.8	9.9	86.8
60+	10.8	82.6	6.9	90.5
	<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>	

Sex Ratio: Females per 100 Males

Source: Compiled from Tables 4,
Population & Housing
Census, PC-1

* Percentages may not total exactly 100.0 due to rounding.

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Table II-4

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WOMEN'S STATUS IN HOUSEHOLDS BY AGE

The status of women in households changes as they grow older. Disaggregating the census data on the relationship of persons to the head of household by age provides insight into these changes of status. Women's status in households also varies between the urban and rural areas and among the different territorial units.

In Liberia, only six percent of all women are household heads (Table II-5). Significantly more older women are heads of household (Table II-5). Nearly one quarter of all women over 60 are heads of household in comparison with only 6.5 percent of women 20-29. Another quarter of the elderly are a parent in the household. The third quarter of elderly women are wives.

Women are most likely to have the status of wife in a household when they are in their 30's. From that age on, the percentage of women who are wives declines. Women are most likely to be a parent in a household when they are over 60 years. The percentage of women who are "other relative" or "other nonrelative" is also highest among those over 60. As women age, many women find their status in households shifting from being a core member to statuses which are marginal or auxiliary to the core, or as a head of household, a cultural anomaly.

More women over 60 in the rural areas are wives than for the nation as a whole. Among women under 30, the percentage who are wives is lower in the rural area than the urban. In the urban areas, only 17 percent of the women over 60 are wives.

A higher percentage than the national of women in the rural areas are likely to be "other wives". This trend is even more marked among the younger women. Of those 20-29 in the urban areas, 60 percent are wives compared to 47 percent in the rural area. The figures suggest that among young women, those married in the rural areas are more likely to be in a polygynous marriage than their urban counterparts. Of those women 10-19, 21 percent of those in the urban areas and 15 percent in the rural are identified as wives or other wives. Initially this does not appear to make sense. One might assume that women marry earlier in rural areas than urban. On the other hand, more women in the 10-19 year group in the rural areas are listed as a "child" (60 percent vs. 47 percent). The data are not disaggregated in such a way as to explain these

patterns. Women are assumed to marry earlier than men. It may be possible that for the young women in the rural areas, the men whom they would be marrying may have migrated, leaving them behind in the household as "children". Women who migrate in that same age group may do so for the purpose of marriage. As such they would be classified as wives in the urban area. The percentage of women in the 20-29 category who are listed as children is considerably higher in the rural areas.

The percentage of any age category who are "other wives" is highest in the rural area among the 20-29 category. The percentage of women who are "other wives" is considerably higher in Lofa, Nimba, and Grand Gedeh than in Maryland or the Kru Coast. This indicates a higher incidence of polygyny in these areas. The data further suggest that urban women marry earlier in monogamous marriages. 60 percent of the urban women between 20-29 are listed as wife and 9 percent as other wife. In the rural area, 47 percent are listed as wife and 17 percent as other wife.

The percentage of women who are head of household increases with age, with the percentage in the urban consistently higher than the percentage in the rural areas.

For women over 60 years, those in the urban areas are more likely to be a head of household than a wife, while in the rural areas slightly more women of this age are wives than heads of household.

Of those 60 years or older, 31 percent are heads of household in the urban area compared with 22 percent in the rural. Even among the 20-29 age group, the percentage is higher, 9 percent compared with 5 percent in the rural areas. The percentage of women over 60 who are heads of household is highest in Montserrado where 32 percent, nearly one third, are heads of household. The lowest percentage of female heads of household for those over 50 is in Sinoe.

The data are not disaggregated in such a way to identify more precisely who these female heads of household are, especially in the urban areas. Are many of them migrants? Are they migrants who are divorced or widowed? As indicated earlier, urban areas provide women with alternatives to subsistence cultivation.

Throughout Liberia, the relative percentage of women who are parent in households increases with age. This may indicate a tendency for widowed women to reside with their children.

Women are most likely to be a household head when they are over 60 in all regions except the southeastern area of Maryland, Sinoe, Kru Coast, Sasstown, and Grand Gedeh where the proportion of women who are heads is slightly higher among those in their 50's. In these areas, women over 60 are more likely to be a parent. These areas are those in which women have the heaviest responsibility in farming. In southern Grand Gedeh, it has been reported that women over 60 contribute relatively little in farm activities and should be considered as dependents or non-producers (49). Women over 60 may not be able to maintain themselves as independent heads of household and may begin to shift to other households.

The slightly higher percentage of females in the 10-19 age group who are listed as "other relative" in the urban area than in the rural area may be explained by the number of students in the urban areas.

Two other statuses are of interest: ward and servant. The percentage of any age group classed as ward or servant is highest among the girls 10-19. According to the census guidelines, foster children were included in the category of "ward". Servants included only those living in the same quarters as the household. A definitional problem is involved. It is unlikely that many of these teenage girls are servants in the strictest sense of the term. It is more appropriate to identify them as wards. Children are often sent to other households to be raised. A woman who does not have a teenage daughter will often seek a girl to assist in domestic chores. The amount of work which these girls perform varies considerably. In some cases they may work long hours and do most of the drudgery in the household. In other cases they will be treated virtually the same as any other member of the household. There is also an obligation to send the child to school, although given the school attendance rates for girls, relatively few of these girls probably attend. They are not paid wages as such but are provided with food and lodging. The two categories are more appropriately lumped together since the distinction between ward and servant is not clear.

The pattern of being a ward is more common in the coastal than the interior counties. Historically, these are the areas in which the pattern developed between settler and indigenous families. Today, the pattern of warding is both a class and ethnic phenomenon as any relatively well-to-do family may have wards.

The much higher percentage of servants listed for Sasstown Territory for all age groups is most likely due to enumerator bias. People conversant with that area indicate that the people there do not refer to individuals as servants but that the practice of warding is very common, especially between the interior and coastal communities.

RELATIONSHIP OF FEMALE TO THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD BY AGE (Percentages)*

Age Group	Total Liberia									
	Head	Wife	Child	Parent	Other Relative	Ward	Other Wives	Servants	Other Non-Relatives	Total
10-19	1.2	11.8	56.0	.0	11.3	2.1	5.1	4.1	8.4	100
20-29	6.5	51.4	13.8	.1	5.9	.7	14.3	1.4	5.9	100
30-39	11.1	61.9	4.5	.5	4.5	.4	12.2	.8	4.1	100
40-49	16.4	58.4	2.1	3.0	5.1	.5	8.9	.8	4.8	100
50-59	19.7	47.8	1.2	10.0	6.7	.5	5.9	1.0	7.2	100
60+	23.1	23.8	.7	24.8	11.5	.6	2.8	1.3	11.4	100
<u>Rural</u>										
10-19	1.0	9.4	60.0	.0	9.4	1.4	5.7	3.8	9.2	100
20-29	5.4	47.1	16.5	.1	5.2	.5	17.0	1.6	6.6	100
30-39	9.8	60.7	5.0	.5	4.1	.4	14.1	.9	4.4	100
40-49	14.6	59.3	2.2	2.9	4.8	.4	10.0	.9	4.9	100
50-59	18.3	49.3	1.3	9.7	4.3	.5	6.5	1.0	7.1	100
60+	21.7	24.9	.8	24.7	11.3	.7	3.0	1.4	11.5	100
<u>Urban</u>										
10-19	1.7	16.9	47.2	.0	15.4	3.6	3.9	4.7	6.6	100
20-29	8.8	60.0	8.4	.0	7.1	1.0	8.9	1.0	4.7	100
30-39	15.0	65.5	2.8	.4	5.5	.6	6.2	.5	3.5	100
40-49	24.3	54.4	1.5	3.6	6.7	.6	4.0	.4	4.5	100
50-59	27.1	39.4	1.1	11.8	8.4	.5	2.9	.9	7.8	100
60+	31.2	17.0	.6	25.0	12.6	.7	1.2	.7	11.0	100

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Table II-5

RELATIONSHIP OF FEMALE TO THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD BY AGE (Percentages)

Age Group	<u>Bomi Territory</u>									
	Head	Wife	Child	Parent	Other relatives	Ward	Other Wives	Servants	Other Non-Relatives	Total
10-19	1.7	16.2	55.0	.0	11.8	4.2	4.6	.8	5.7	100
20-29	7.8	55.9	13.5	.1	4.8	1.4	10.9	.2	5.4	100
30-39	12.0	63.7	5.8	.5	4.5	1.1	8.6	.1	3.6	100
40-49	16.9	64.5	2.2	2.6	2.1	1.0	5.2	.0	4.0	100
50-59	23.2	52.3	1.7	8.1	4.9	1.1	2.9	-	5.8	100
60+	26.8	32.3	.6	18.4	8.8	2.4	1.2	-	9.5	100
	<u>Bong County</u>									
10-19	.7	9.7	61.6	.0	7.0	.5	5.1	2.5	12.9	100
20-29	4.4	48.8	18.4	.1	4.5	.2	15.7	1.4	6.6	100
30-39	8.2	65.7	5.6	.4	2.8	.1	13.0	.8	3.4	100
40-49	12.1	64.8	2.2	3.1	3.2	.1	9.1	.6	4.8	100
50-59	14.3	55.5	1.0	9.9	4.3	.2	6.5	.7	7.7	100
60+	19.8	29.9	1.3	23.9	8.0	.4	3.5	1.3	11.8	100
	<u>Grand Bassa</u>									
10-19	1.0	13.1	58.1	.0	9.3	1.3	4.4	5.1	7.6	100
20-29	4.9	56.6	13.3	.1	5.9	.2	13.9	1.3	3.7	100
30-39	8.2	68.4	3.8	.3	4.7	.2	10.9	.9	2.6	100
40-49	13.8	65.5	1.8	2.5	5.1	.1	7.3	.6	3.4	100
50-59	16.1	52.8	1.4	11.2	7.6	-	4.6	.8	5.5	100
60+	23.4	23.8	.5	28.3	11.8	.1	1.6	.7	9.7	100

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Table II-5

RELATIONSHIP OF FEMALE TO THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD BY AGE (Percentages)

Age Group	<u>Grand Cape Mount</u>										
	Head	Wife	Child	Parent	Other Relatives	Ward	Other Wives	Servants	Other Non-Relatives	Total	
10-19	2.1	16.2	42.7	-	13.6	3.1	5.6	7.2	9.5	100	
20-29	7.7	55.5	10.1	.0	5.4	.8	11.6	.8	8.1	100	
30-39	11.7	62.0	5.5	.4	4.9	.5	9.3	.4	5.4	100	
40-49	18.7	57.1	3.5	1.3	5.6	.2	7.1	.4	5.6	100	
50-59	22.7	50.5	1.9	6.3	6.9	.4	6.1	.2	5.1	100	
60+	27.1	29.1	1.5	15.5	9.9	.7	2.9	.4	7.5	100	
					<u>Grand Gedeh County</u>						
10-19	.7	10.8	60.5	.0	8.8	6.2	6.2	.8	6.0	100	
20-29	5.5	48.0	11.5	-	4.2	2.6	22.1	.7	5.4	100	
30-39	11.3	57.2	3.2	.2	3.2	1.5	18.9	.2	4.1	100	
40-49	16.9	54.6	1.3	2.1	4.3	2.0	14.8	.2	3.7	100	
50-59	20.9	43.1	.9	9.5	6.0	2.2	12.2	.2	4.8	100	
60+	16.9	21.5	.5	31.8	9.5	4.0	4.3	.1	11.3	100	
					<u>Kru Coast Territory</u>						
10-19	.6	4.6	54.4	.0	15.1	1.4	2.4	12.5	9.0	100	
20-29	10.9	38.2	21.3	-	7.9	-	8.3	5.9	7.4	100	
30-39	19.4	59.2	4.0	.2	4.0	.1	7.5	2.0	3.5	100	
40-49	20.3	61.5	1.5	.7	4.3	-	6.5	1.8	3.3	100	
50-59	27.4	50.6	1.3	3.5	6.7	-	4.0	2.7	3.8	100	
60+	24.5	25.2	.5	17.3	15.1	-	1.1	5.0	11.2	100	

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Table 11-5

RELATIONSHIP OF FEMALE TO THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD (Percentages)

Age Group	<u>Lofa County</u>									Total
	Head	Wife	Child	Parent	Other Relatives	Ward	Other Wives	Servants	Other Non-Relatives	
10-19	1	9.2	49.2	.0	13.9	.8	9.9	3.3	12.1	100
20-29	5.2	36.7	15.8	.1	8.1	.6	21.2	2.4	9.9	100
30-39	9.9	47.7	6.3	1.0	6.7	.7	17.9	1.8	6.0	100
40-49	15.6	44.1	3.5	49.9	8.8	.7	12.2	1.4	8.7	100
50-59	18.2	35.1	5.8	12.3	8.7	.7	7.4	1.8	10.0	100
60+	21.1	18.2	.7	26.7	13.8	.6	4.7	1.7	12.5	100
<u>Marshall Territory</u>										
10-19	.8	19.0	46.6	-	9.8	3.1	3.6	3.3	13.7	100
20-29	6.5	62.6	12.3	.0	5.5	.5	7.7	.9	3.9	100
30-39	13.2	67.7	3.1	.5	3.9	.8	6.3	.6	4.0	100
40-49	17.6	64.1	2.3	2.6	4.6	.8	2.6	.3	5.2	100
50-59	21.7	51.9	.8	5.9	10.7	.5	2.4	1.1	5.1	100
60+	28.8	28.2	.8	17.6	11.0	.4	.8	.8	11.6	100
<u>Maryland County</u>										
10-19	1.0	7.0	56.2	.0	13.1	2.7	2.4	12.4	5.1	100
20-29	8.7	44.9	17.0	.1	6.5	.4	10.9	3.3	8.2	100
30-39	13.4	62.7	3.7	.2	4.5	.4	9.5	1.0	4.5	100
40-49	17.2	62.0	2.0	1.6	4.6	.1	7.5	.7	4.3	100
50-59	22.8	47.1	.7	7.6	6.9	.4	5.6	.8	9.1	100
60+	21.6	21.1	.3	27.9	11.0	.4	1.6	1.2	14.9	100
<u>Montserrado County</u>										
10-19	2.0	16.6	49.7	.0	15.3	3.7	3.0	3.8	5.8	100
20-29	9.4	62.0	9.4	.1	6.7	1.0	3.8	.7	4.0	100
30-39	14.8	68.9	3.3	.3	4.8	.6	4.1	.4	2.9	100
40-49	22.2	60.3	1.7	2.8	5.7	.7	2.5	.3	3.7	100
50-59	25.0	49.7	1.5	8.1	6.7	.5	1.8	.6	6.0	100
60+	32.1	26.2	.9	17.9	11.5	.8	.8	.8	9.0	100

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Table II-5

RELATIONSHIP OF FEMALE TO THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD BY AGE (Percentages)

<u>Nimba County</u>										
<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Head</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Child</u>	<u>Parent</u>	<u>Other Relatives</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Other Wives</u>	<u>Servant</u>	<u>Other Non-Relative</u>	<u>Total</u>
10-19	.8	8.4	65.5	.0	7.1	.9	6.9	2.8	7.5	100
20-29	5.4	46.3	17.0	.1	3.9	.3	19.8	1.3	5.9	100
30-39	11.2	60.2	4.5	.6	3.3	.2	15.2	.8	3.9	100
40-49	17.7	57.4	1.7	3.9	3.5	.2	10.0	.9	4.7	100
50-59	20.0	46.5	1.2	13.3	4.7	.3	5.9	.8	7.3	100
60+	23.1	21.4	.6	28.3	11.8	.2	3.0	1.2	10.4	100
<u>Rivercess Territory</u>										
10-19	.2	6.9	57.0	.1	12.9	.8	4.5	1.9	15.8	100
20-29	1.8	47.1	12.0	.1	5.5	.1	21.4	.7	11.3	100
30-39	3.8	62.2	3.4	.3	5.7	.1	17.9	.1	6.5	100
40-49	6.1	62.1	1.3	2.4	6.9	.5	14.0	.4	6.4	100
50-59	8.7	49.7	.7	9.2	10.6	-	8.0	-	13.1	100
60+	13.3	18.9	.3	27.9	13.2	.1	3.3	-	23.0	100
<u>Sasstown Territory</u>										
10-19	1.7	4.1	52.2	-	7.3	1.7	3.5	25.5	4.0	100
20-29	7.0	41.8	15.0	.1	2.5	-	19.0	10.8	3.6	100
30-39	10.6	61.0	3.0	-	2.3	-	14.6	4.7	3.9	100
40-49	16.2	57.6	1.5	.3	3.4	.2	13.8	5.5	1.0	100
50-59	18.3	53.9	.9	2.9	3.8	.6	8.1	6.4	5.2	100
60+	16.7	29.5	.6	14.0	13.0	.2	2.5	12.0	11.4	100

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Table II-5

RELATIONSHIP OF FEMALE TO THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD BY AGE (Percentages)

Age Group	Sinoe County									
	Head	Wife	Child	Parent	Other Relative	Ward	Other Wives	Servant	Other Non-Relative	Total
10-19	.4	11.0	56.8	-	14.9	.6	4.2	5.5	6.6	100
20-29	3.4	49.9	12.5	.0	8.8	.0	17.5	1.9	5.9	100
30-39	7.0	61.1	2.9	.1	6.3	-	19.0	.9	2.7	100
40-49	9.5	60.4	1.0	1.8	6.4	.1	16.3	1.1	3.4	100
50-19	13.4	47.8	.8	9.2	9.3	.1	10.7	1.8	6.9	100
60+	11.2	20.7	.5	31.1	13.4	.3	3.9	1.9	17.0	100

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Source: Compiled from 1974 Population and Housing Census, PC-1, Table 13

* Percentages may not total exactly 100% due to rounding.

Table II-5

RELATIONSHIPS TO THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD BY SEX (Percentages)

Relationship	Head	Wife	Child	Parent	Other Relatives	Ward	Other Wives	Servant	Non-relative
Liberia									
Male	34.9	-	42.5	.5	11.2	2.9	-	1.7	6.3
Female	6.2	28.1	38.7	2.0	9.0	1.2	6.4	1.4	6.3
Bomi									
Male	39.1	-	37.9	.4	10.6	4.5	.0	.6	6.9
Female	7.1	21.1	38.3	1.6	9.1	2.5	4.7	.2	5.4
Bong									
Male	33.9	-	49.8	.6	7.9	1.0	-	1.8	5.0
Female	4.3	28.0	43.4	1.7	5.9	.3	6.8	1.1	8.4
Grand Bassa									
Male	38.1	.0	43.3	.7	9.7	1.3	.0	2.3	4.5
Female	5.6	32.2	37.8	2.5	8.0	.7	6.0	1.6	5.6
Grand Cape Mount									
Male	36.4	.0	30.8	.3	11.9	6.7	.0	.1	13.6
Female	8.0	29.7	31.7	1.5	11.5	1.9	5.4	1.7	8.6
Grand Gedeh									
Male	31.9	.0	48.6	.4	9.1	6.1	.0	.1	3.8
Female	6.2	26.2	38.9	2.6	7.3	3.9	9.6	.3	5.0
Kru Coast									
Male	27.2	.0	44.4	.4	15.3	.9	.0	5.9	5.8
Female	10.3	25.6	34.4	1.9	10.9	.7	3.5	4.5	8.0
Lofa									
Male	33.4	.0	39.7	.8	15.4	2.1	.0	1.1	7.4
Female	6.2	22.3	33.5	2.9	12.8	.8	10.0	1.6	9.9

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Table II-6

RELATIONSHIPS TO THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD BY SEX (Percentages)

Relationship									
Area & Sex	Head	Wife	Child	Parent	Other Relatives	Ward	Other Wives	Servant	Non-relative
Marshall									
Male	41.3	.0	37.9	.3	9.2	6.3	.0	.4	4.6
Female	6.6	33.0	37.1	1.3	8.1	1.7	3.4	1.0	7.8
Maryland									
Male	29.1	.0	44.5	.4	12.7	4.3	.0	3.7	5.4
Female	7.3	25.3	37.4	2.3	11.3	1.3	4.2	3.4	7.5
Montserrado									
Male	38.0	.0	36.8	.3	13.0	4.7	.0	1.4	6.0
Female	7.2	31.2	39.2	1.0	10.2	2.0	2.9	1.2	5.1
Nimba									
Male	33.0	.0	48.7	.6	7.8	.8	.0	1.7	7.4
Female	6.2	26.5	42.4	2.3	6.2	.5	8.4	1.1	6.4
Rivercess									
Male	28.9	.0	47.0	.8	13.2	.8	.0	1.3	8.0
Female	2.7	26.6	36.3	2.6	11.5	.5	8.5	.5	11.7
Stastown									
Male	29.2	.0	41.7	.5	8.5	2.2	.0	10.8	7.3
Female	7.3	27.0	31.3	1.6	6.1	1.3	7.4	9.2	8.8
Siinoe									
Male	31.2	.0	44.6	.6	15.2	.7	-	3.5	4.4
Female	3.9	28.1	35.9	2.7	11.8	.4	8.6	1.9	6.6

Source: Compiled from 1974 Population & Housing Census PC-I Tables 13.

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Table II-6

MARITAL STATUS

The classification of peoples' marital statuses is not as unambiguous as might appear, as is discussed in the legal section. The data in the 1974 census on marital status do indicate some pattern, especially the differences between women and men.

Examining the data by age group provides insight into the marital status of individuals at various points in their lives. There is comparatively little difference in the urban and rural percentages of those never married in the 10-19 year group (Table II-7). There is, however, a contrast between males and females in that age group. Almost all males in that category have never been married in contrast with 3/4 of the females who have never been married. Females appear to marry younger than males.

The percentage of those males never married declines consistently with increasing age. A slightly higher percentage of men in all age categories living in urban areas have never been married than men living in rural areas. Although a higher percentage of men in all age categories have never been married than women, the gap tends to narrow with increasing age and in the urban area. For example, among those 60 years or older, almost the same percentage of women as men have never been married.

For women, a slightly higher percentage of those in the 10-19 year group in urban areas are married than those in rural areas. For all other age groups of women, the percentage who are married is higher in the rural areas than the urban. The highest percentage of those married for both the rural and urban areas is in the 30-39 age group with 64 percent of urban women and 90 percent of rural women married.

After age 40, a woman's marital status begins to shift, with increasing percentages in the widowed and divorced/separated categories. Although the percentage of women who are widowed is not significantly different between the rural and urban areas, there is a tendency for a higher percentage of women in the urban areas to be divorced or separated. The data are not disaggregated in such a way as to verify any hypothesis about why the urban rate is higher than the rural. It may be possible that the higher urban rate is due to women from rural communities who are divorced migrating into the urban areas. It may also be true that

conditions exist in the urban areas which contribute to a higher rate of divorce than in the rural. It might be argued that women in the urban areas have a wider range of options available to them which permit them to divorce their husbands, especially access to cash with which to refund dowry (cf. 2).

The age at which the highest percentage of men are married in both the urban and rural areas is between 40 and 59, older than women. Although the percentage of married men over 60 years declines in both the urban and rural areas, a higher percentage of men over 60 are married than women over 60. In the urban area, 69 percent of the men over 60 are married in contrast to 31 percent of the women. In the rural area, 75 percent of the men over 60 are married in contrast to 40 percent of the women.

The general conclusion which can be drawn is that women tend to marry younger than men but are less likely to stay married with increasing age than men. The data further indicate that in both urban and rural areas, there is a substantial portion of older women who could be considered to be on their own.

Comparing the data on marital status and the status of women in households (Tables II-5 & II-7), suggests that a higher percentage of women indicate that they are married than are living in households as wives or other wives. This is a consistent pattern in both the urban and rural areas and with all age categories. Individuals, especially women, often shift their residency from one household to another for a variety of reasons, including the absence of a husband because of his migration or the return of a woman to her mother's or an older woman's residence after the birth of a child and during the period of the post-partum sex taboo.

The difference between the percentage of women married and those living as wives is smallest in the urban area among the 10-19 age group (3 percent). These are likely to be women just married. We have also suggested that a number of married women in this age group may have migrated to the urban areas because of marriage. The difference is largest in the 20-29 age group in the rural area where more than 17 percent of those women who are married are living in households as other than a wife. Although women do tend to marry older men, women in this age group may be likely to be married to a man who has migrated to work. Apart from these extremes, for the other age groups in both urban and rural, about 1/7 of married women are living in households with a status other than wife.

Both respondent and enumerator bias may have entered into the recording of a woman's marital status. As indicated in the legal study, under customary law, marital status is ambiguous. Many individuals may claim to be married when in fact dowry has not been paid. Women may be recorded as being married when in the strictest legal sense (under both statutory and customary law) they are not married. Men may sometimes claim a woman to be a wife even when she does not perceive herself to be one. In other situations, women may find it convenient, especially when being enumerated by strange men, to state that they are married when they are not.

FERTILITY

Fertility estimates for Liberia indicate rates among the highest for African countries from 1975-80. The estimated crude birth rate (CBR), the number of births per thousand mid-year population, of 49.7; and the gross reproduction rate (GRR), the number of daughters a cohort of women will have assuming that all the women survive to the end of the reproduction period, of 3.4; rank Liberia behind Kenya and Ethiopia (CBR) and Kenya (GRR) (Table II-8).

At the same time it must be recognized that obtaining accurate birth histories from women is extremely difficult in countries like Liberia and the data must be viewed with caution.

The estimated total fertility rate (TFR) for Liberia, based on the 1974 census, is 6.5, with a gross reproduction rate of 3.2. A computed life expectancy of 47 years for males and 46 years for females has been reported. Government estimates in the early 1970's reported a crude birth rate of 50-51 and a crude death rate of 16-21 per one thousand population. The infant mortality rate was 137-159 per 1,000 live births during the same period.

Table II-9 presents the fertility levels in the nine counties of Liberia. Two measures compute the level of fertility: the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) and the Gross Reproduction Rate (GRR). The former represents the completed fertility of a synthetic cohort of women and computes what the level of fertility would be if the sum of the age-specific birth rate over all ages of the childbearing period was taken. The GRR is a special case of the TFR because it measures the number of daughters a cohort of women will have assuming that all females survive to the end of the childbearing period. The TFR was computed indirectly

MARITAL STATUS BY AGE (Percentages)

Age Group	<u>Male</u>			<u>Total (Liberia)</u>			<u>Female</u>		
	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated	
10-19	98.3	1.5	.0	.1	76.8	22.4	.2	.6	
20-29	57.9	38.7	.5	3.0	15.2	80.5	1.1	3.1	
30-39	17.3	75.2	1.3	6.1	4.4	88.1	3.1	4.4	
40-49	8.6	82.2	2.4	6.8	2.9	81.5	9.0	6.6	
50-59	5.6	82.3	4.2	7.9	2.8	68.3	20.2	8.7	
60+	4.5	74.4	10.4	10.7	3.3	38.7	45.7	12.2	

Age Group	<u>Male</u>			<u>Urban</u>			<u>Female</u>		
	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated	
10-19	98.6	1.3	.0	.1	75.8	23.7	.1	.4	
20-29	59.5	38.2	.2	2.1	18.1	78.4	.6	2.8	
30-39	18.3	76.0	.7	5.1	7.3	83.9	4.3	6.1	
40-49	10.0	81.6	1.6	6.7	6.4	72.7	9.1	11.8	
50-59	8.0	79.8	3.3	8.9	6.1	58.0	21.4	14.4	
60+	7.3	68.8	9.1	14.9	7.0	31.2	44.4	17.3	

Age Group	<u>Male</u>			<u>Rural</u>			<u>Female</u>		
	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated	
10-19	98.2	1.6	.1	.2	77.2	21.8	.2	.7	
20-29	56.7	39.1	.7	3.6	15.8	81.5	1.4	3.3	
30-39	16.8	74.8	1.7	6.7	3.5	89.5	3.2	3.8	
40-49	8.0	82.4	2.8	6.9	2.1	83.5	8.8	5.4	
50-59	5.0	82.9	4.4	7.7	2.2	70.2	20.0	7.7	
60+	4.0	75.3	10.7	10.0	2.7	40.0	45.9	11.4	

Source: 1974 Population & Housing Census, PC-1, Table 9

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Table II-7

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Table II-8

Fertility Estimates for Selected African
Countries, 1975-80

Countries	Crude Birth Rate (Per 1,000 ⁽¹⁾)	Gross Reproduction Rate (GRR)
Benin	48.7	3.3
Cape Verde	30.5	1.5
Gambia	47.5	3.1
Ghana	48.5	3.3
Guinea	46.1	3.0
Ivory Coast	47.6	3.3
Liberia	49.7	3.4
Sierra Leone	45.5	3.0
Upper Volta	47.8	3.2
Ethiopia	49.9	3.3
Kenya	50.8	3.6
Zambia	49.2	3.4
Chad	43.9	2.9
Sudan	45.8	3.2

Source: United Nations, 1979.

Table II-9

Fertility Levels by Regions, Liberia 1974
Total Fertility Rate (TFR)

County	Reported	Adjusted ^{1/}	Gross Repro- duction Rate (GRR) ^{2/}
Bong County	2.8	7.6	3.56
Grand Bassa	2.4	6.7	3.24
Grand Cape Mount	3.8	6.9	3.61
Grand Gedeh	3.2	7.2	3.52
Lofa	2.2	5.8	2.77
Maryland	3.6	7.2	3.65
Montserrado	3.1	6.6	3.25
Nimba	2.3	6.2	3.03
Sinoe	3.0	6.2	2.83

Source: Computed from tables in 1974 Population & Housing Census
PC-1

1/ See next page

2/ See next page

employing the Brass Technique (4, p. 14; 91, pp. 73-74). The method adjusts the observed TFR for faulty reporting (under enumeration) of children in terms of the reference period by assuming that younger females report their parity better than older women. After the computation of the TFR, the GRR was computed by multiplying the former by female births divided by total births.

The figures indicate the rather high level of fertility throughout Liberia. Total fertility of women ranges from 7.6 in Bong County to 5.8 in Lofa County while the Gross Reproduction Rate ranges from 3.6 for Maryland to 2.8 for Lofa.

The maternal mortality rate is currently estimated by the government to be 1.9 percent or 49/1000 mothers in the childbearing ages (15-45).

ETHNIC GROUPS AND LANGUAGES

There are sixteen major ethnic groups identified in the 1974 census. Linguistically and culturally, these can be divided into three major groups (39):

- 1) Kruan (or Kwa): Grebo, Kru, Wee (Krahn), Bassa, Dei, and Kuwaa (Belle).
- 2) Mande: Vai, Mende, Loma, Bandi, Kpelle, Manding, Ma (Mano), and Dan (Gio).
- 3) Mel: Gola and Kissi.

The percentage of the total Liberian population represented by these ethnic groups is indicated in Table II-10. The Kruan-speaking peoples are linguistically and culturally related to people residing to the east along the African coast as far as Nigeria. The Mande-speaking peoples are linguistically and culturally related to people in the savannah areas to the north of Liberia, including Senegal, The Gambia, Guinea, and Mali. The Mel-speaking peoples are linguistically and culturally related to peoples to the north but primarily along the coast, including the Susu, Temme, Wolof, and Fulani.

The census entry for "no tribal affiliation" refers to those individuals who do not identify themselves with any of the above-mentioned groups and who are primarily Africans of "settler" descent.

The largest ethnic groups in Liberia are the Kpelle (20 percent) and Bassa (14 percent). The other groups are of approximately the same size with the exception of several groups such as the Belle (Kuwaa), Dei, and Mende (concentrated in Sierra

Table II-10

Percentage Distribution of Ethnic Groups
of Liberia, 1974

Ethnic Group	Number	Percent
Bassa	214,143	14.2
Belle (Kawaa)	7,369	0.5
Dei	6,365	0.4
Gbandi (Bandi)	38,549	2.6
Gio (Dan)	130,300	8.7
Grebo	119,985	8.0
Gola	67,819	4.5
Kpelle	289,532	19.9
Kissi (Kisi)	51,318	3.4
Krahn (Wee)	71,177	4.7
Kru	121,414	8.1
Loma	88,351	5.9
Mandingo	58,414	3.9
Mano (Ma)	110,770	7.4
Mende	8,678	0.6
Vai	49,504	3.3
Other Liberian Tribes, N.E.C.	3,141	0.2
Fante	6,634	0.4
Other African Tribes N.E.C.	8,072	0.5
No Tribal Affiliation	42,334	2.8

Source: 1974 Population and Housing Census of Liberia, PC-I,
Table 14

N.E.C. = Not exactly classified.

Leone) who each comprise less than 1 percent of the population. All of the ethnic groups near the borders of Liberia are also found in the adjoining countries of Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Ivory Coast.

Linguistically, some of the ethnic groups are further subdivided into smaller linguistic units. This is particularly true of the Kruan-speaking peoples (42, 50). Those of "no tribal affiliation" speak English as their first language.

RAINFALL IN LIBERIA

Liberia is characterized as an area of heavy rainfall with a tropical climate. There is considerable variation in the amount and timing of rainfall within Liberia which has implications for farming, the major activity of women.

The heaviest rainfall area, nearly 200 inches a year, is along the coast between Monrovia and Robertsport, Grand Cape Mount County. The driest area is a belt in the interior which includes Suakoko, Bong County, and Tappita, Nimba County, and extends to the Cavalla River. This belt has less than 80 inches of rain a year (83). Higher elevations like the Nimba Mountains tend to receive more rain.

An erroneous assumption is that all of Liberia has a single rainy and a single dry season. There are four major patterns of seasonal rainfall in Liberia, shifting from the northwest of the country to the southeast. The first pattern in northern Liberia (including Voinjama, Bomi Hills, and Mt. Nimba) has one rainy season. The second pattern, extending through central Liberia (including Monrovia, Buchanan, Ganta, Suakoko, and Tappita) is characterized by one rainy season with a "middle dry". The third pattern in southern Liberia (including Greenville, Juarzon, Zwedru, and Pine Town) is characterized by two rainy and one marked dry season. The fourth pattern in southeastern Liberia (including Harper) is characterized by two rainy and two dry seasons, with no month having less than three inches of rain (83).

These different rainfall patterns probably account for the differences in the timing of the agricultural cycle in which rice is planted and harvested several months earlier in southeastern Liberia than in northwestern Liberia.

Peak rainfall occurs in different months in various areas of Liberia. The peak month for most areas is September. Harper's peak occurs in May. June is the peak month for Monrovia, Buah, Maryland County, and Jarzon, Sinoe County. Peak rainfall in

Robertsport is in July and at Bong Mine in August. Greenville's peak is in October. These peak rainfall periods constrain the farming cycle with respect to the tasks which must be completed before the heavy rains set in. In southeastern Liberia, the harvest must be completed during the relatively long "middle dries" before the rain resumes.

Lowest monthly rainfall averages vary considerably, both in the amount and time of year. Greenville's lowest monthly average of 5.6 inches occurs in January. August is the month of lowest rainfall, 3.8 inches, in Harper. In Kolahun, January is the driest month with only .44 inches of rain.

This variation in rainfall patterns is sufficient to affect the viability and adaptability of crops in Liberia. More research needs to be done on the relationship between rainfall patterns and various crops. This is especially important since the major agricultural research institute of the Liberian government is located near Suakoko, part of the area with the lowest annual average rainfall.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS

Reliable and valid agricultural statistics are difficult to obtain in Liberia. Collecting agricultural statistics is an extremely difficult and time-consuming task. Farmers do not have numerical data on yields or inputs and fields must be measured. The statistics presented here are from data collected in 1975 and 1977, the most recent available from the Ministry of Agriculture's Statistical Unit.

In 1975, Nimba County had the largest agricultural population, followed by Bong and Lofa (Table II-11). The average size of household obtained in the agricultural survey, slightly different from the national census, varied from 4.9 in Montserrado to 5.8 in Nimba and Sinoe. Cape Mount had the smallest agricultural population.

In 1975, the rank ordering of the number of households growing rice and the area of rice cultivation were approximately the same. Nimba, Bong, and Lofa are the leading counties. Cape Mount and Sinoe had the fewest agricultural households. Sinoe has the smallest acreage in rice. The average acreage for household is highest for Cape Mount (4.6 acres), followed by Lofa, Nimba, and Bong. The higher acreage in Cape Mount seems inconsistent with other data on the county and should be regarded with caution. The average acreage is smallest in Maryland and

Sinoe. The rank ordering of households growing rice in 1977 was not entirely consistent with the 1975 statistics.

Estimated yields per acre are highest in Bong, Grand Gedeh, and Nimba. Total production of rice is highest in Nimba, followed by Bong and Lofa. It is lowest in Cape Mount and Sinoe.

The counties reporting the highest percentage of households growing sufficient rice for household consumption are Bong and Grand Bassa with approximately two thirds of the households reporting sufficient production. The counties with the smallest percentage of households reporting sufficient rice production are Lofa, Maryland, and Cape Mount. Consistent with this, the counties reporting the highest percentages of households buying rice are Cape Mount, Lofa, and Maryland. Rice purchases are lowest in Bong, Grand Bassa, and Grand Gedeh. Households selling rice are fewest in Grand Bassa and Lofa. The county with the highest percentage of households selling rice is Bong with 35 percent. The relative low percentage of households selling rice throughout the country is striking: the national average is 24 percent.

These statistics need to be related to the demographic data. The counties which lead in production of rice are the largest counties in population, discounting Montserrado which is highly urban. Nimba and Bong have approximately the same density of population as Maryland, which is one of the counties with the least acreage in rice. Sinoe, which has a very low density and a small population, has the smallest area in rice and the smallest acreage and the lowest total production of rice.

The estimates on the type of bush being utilized in rice production indicate that a majority of households utilize "medium" bush, which was indicated earlier as providing the best "mix" for farmers. Young bush is utilized by an average of 19 percent of the households, while 30 percent utilize high bush. The highest percentage of households utilizing "young" bush are in Montserrado and Maryland. This is consistent with the population densities in these counties. The relatively high percentage using young bush in Sinoe is surprising, given the density of population in the county. This may be a function of labor constraints. Nimba has a relatively large percentage, one fifth, using young bush. The smallest percentage using high bush is in Maryland, consistent with the high density of that area.

Nimba is the second lowest in the percentage (19) of households using high bush, reflecting the density of population in that county. At the same time, Nimba led in rice production.

In Grand Gedeh, where high bush is abundant, only 27 percent of the households were selecting it, indicative of high bush not being chosen even when available, because of labor constraints.

Virtually every household in Grand Bassa reported making a groundhog fence. Approximately 3/4 of the households in Bong and Montserrado made fences. Grand Gedeh had the lowest percentage (33) making fences. The low percentage is a function of the lesser problem with groundhogs in that area. The percentage of households making fences in any area is a function of the magnitude of the problem and the availability of labor to do the work.

There is wide variation in the extent of participation in the three major cash crops: coffee, cocoa, and sugarcane. In 1975, the highest rates of participation by households were in Nimba and Lofa. Nimba led in the number of households growing coffee and in the percentage of agricultural households growing coffee (51 percent). Lofa is second highest in number and percentage of households. Lofa ranks first in the number of households growing cocoa, followed by Nimba. The highest percentage of households growing cocoa is Grand Gedeh. Bong led in the production of sugar cane, both in the number and percentage of households. Lofa ranks second, followed by Nimba. Cape Mount had 30 percent of its households growing coffee, but otherwise had virtually no involvement in cocoa or sugarcane. Sinoe had a very low rate of participation, with fewer than 10 percent of its households engaged in the production of any of these crops.

The counties which led in the production of cash crops -- Nimba, Lofa, and Bong -- are the counties which led in the production of rice. Sinoe, which has a very low level of involvement in cash cropping, is also at the bottom with reference to rice production. The data suggest that rice and cash crop production are not mutually exclusive.

The percentage of households planting cassava varies considerably within the country. The highest percentages are in Nimba and Sinoe. The lowest, by far, is Lofa where only 19 percent of the households grow cassava. The majority of the cassava grown in the country is intercropped with rice. In some counties, virtually no cassava is planted in "pure stands", e.g. Nimba, Sinoe, and Grand Gedeh. Only in Cape Mount and Montserrado are the areas in pure stand greater than those intercropped. In Bong and Grand Bassa, the areas are roughly equivalent. The average acreage planted to cassava per household is highest in Montserrado and Cape Mount. The other counties are clustered, with Grand Gedeh the lowest.

The 1977 statistics (Tables II-12 & 13) show some shifts in production of cash crops and cassava. It is not evident whether this variation is due to changes in production or due to differences in data collection.

Table II-11: Agricultural Statistics by County - 1975

	Bong	Grand Bassa	Cape Mount	Grand Gedeh	Lofa	Maryland	Montser-rado	Nimba	Sinoe	Total Liberia
Agricultural Households	26,500	16,000	6,400	10,000	23,800	8,900	16,600	32,600	8,800	149,600
Agricultural Population	140,000	82,000	33,000	54,000	133,000	50,000	81,000	189,000	51,000	813,000
Average Household	5.3	5.1	5.2	5.4	5.6	5.6	4.9	5.8	5.8	5.4
Acres of Rice	87,000	41,000	24,000	33,000	83,000	24,000	46,000	111,000	23,000	472,000
Yields per acres (lbs)	1,150	1,000	1,000	1,120	1,070	1,080	890	1,110	1,000	1,070
Total Production (mil. lbs.)	100	41	24	37	89	26	41	123	32	504
H.H.s growing rice	24,900	13,500	5,200	9,300	21,400	8,200	13,100	30,700	8,100	134,400
Average area p/h.h.	3.5	3.0	4.6	3.5	3.9	2.9	3.5	3.6	2.8	3.5
% rice-growing h.h.s. w groundhog fence	77%	95%	51%	33%	44%	38%	78%	36%	38%	56%
Type of bush utilized:										
% young bush	16%	13%	12%	11%	11%	29%	34%	21%	22%	19%
% medium bush	59%	45%	23%	62%	55%	64%	14%	60%	47%	51%
% high bush	25%	42%	65%	27%	34%	7%	52%	19%	31%	30%
Rice-growing h.h.s:										
% growing sufficient rice	68%	68%	38%	60%	42%	40%	54%	54%	61%	54%
% buying rice	39%	40%	63%	40%	62%	58%	51%	51%	44%	51%
% selling rice	35%	12%	32%	29%	12%	26%	31%	31%	32%	24%
Households:										
% growing coffee	14%	10%	30%	7%	49%	5%	4%	51%	3%	25%
% growing cocoa	19%	19%	9%	4%	36%	25%	9%	20%	8%	21%
% growing sugar cane	22%	22%	9%	2%	20%	15%	20%	14%	8%	17%
% growing cassava	69%	71%	70%	62%	19%	57%	43%	82%	77%	60%
Cassava - average area p/h.h	.7	.8	1.2	.6	.9	.7	1.5	.8	.7	.9

II-47

Source: Compiled from Tables in National Rice Production Estimates, 1975, Ministry of Agriculture.

Household Crop Production Estimates - Liberia, Table II-12, 1977^{1/}

	Bong	Grand Bassa	Cape Mount	Grand Gedeh	Lofa	Maryland	Montser-rado	Nimba	Sinoe	Total Liberia
Rice - percent of household growing	94.2	82.9	84.6	96.1	91.6	94.5	79.2	91.9	96.7	90.3
- average acres per growing household	3.7	3.1	4.9	3.6	4.2	2.9	3.5	3.7	3.0	3.0
Cassava - percent of households growing	61	57	69	62	29	80	59	79	82	62
- average acres per growing household	.9	.9	1.2	.5	.8	.7	1.5	.6	.5	.8
Coffee - percent of households growing	17	10	29	11	51	5	4	51	4	26
- average acres per growing household	2.0	1.8	1.3	1.1	2.1	1.4	2.8	1.6	1.7	1.8
Cocoa - percent of households growing	24	19	11	45	37	26	10	21	9	23
- average acres per growing households	2.4	1.3	.9	1.7	2.1	1.2	1.1	1.5	1.2	1.8
Sugarcane - percent of households growing	18	20	11	2	28	14	17	12	7	16
- average acres per growing household	1.1	1.7	2.3	1.7	2.1	3.8	2.1	1.1	.7	1.7

11-48

Source: Statistics Division - Ministry of Agriculture

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Table II-13
 Production Estimates of Major Crops in Liberia - 1977

	Bong	Grand Bassa	Cape Mount	Grand Gedeh	Lofa	Maryland	Montser-rado	Nimba	Sinoe	Total Liberia
No. of persons per household	5.3	5.1	5.2	5.4	5.5	5.6	4.9	5.8	5.8	5.4
Average rice acres	3.485	2.57	4.15	3.46	3.85	2.74	2.77	3.4	2.9	3.25
Average cassava acres	.54	.51	.83	.31	.23	.56	.88	.47	.41	.50
Cassava - mixed/pure	.31/.23	.28/.23	.39/.44	.12/.19	.10/.13	.25/.31	.25/.60	.45/.02	.38/.04	.29/.21
Total food crop acres	<u>4.025</u>	<u>3.08</u>	<u>4.98</u>	<u>3.77</u>	<u>4.08</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>3.65</u>	<u>3.87</u>	<u>3.31</u>	<u>3.75</u>
Average coffee acres	.34	.18	.38	.12	1.068	.09	.08	1.037	.08	.47
Average cocoa acres	.57	.24	.09	.73	.78	.32	.11	.32	.13	.41
Average sugar cane acres	.195	.341	.1076	.02	.588	.538 ^{1/2}	.36	.134	.04	.28
Total cash crop acres	<u>1.105</u>	<u>.761</u>	<u>.5776</u>	<u>.87</u>	<u>2.436</u>	<u>.948</u>	<u>.55</u>	<u>1.491</u>	<u>.25</u>	<u>1.16</u>
Total farm acreage	<u>5.13</u>	<u>3.84</u>	<u>5.56</u>	<u>4.64</u>	<u>6.516</u>	<u>4.248</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>5.36</u>	<u>3.56</u>	<u>4.91</u>
Total mixed acreage	4.815	3.56	5.17	4.52	6.416	3.99	3.95	4.9	3.19	4.62

Source: Statistics Division, Ministry of Agriculture
 Includes LIBSUOO, not including LIBSUOO - .2 acres per household.

b2c

ANNEX III

Legal

ORGANIZATION OF COURTS IN LIBERIAThe Statutory System

The "Act Adopting a New Judiciary Law" provides that the judicial power of the Republic of Liberia, except for "tribal courts", is embodied in a unified judicial system and shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in the following subordinate courts: The Circuit Court, the Debt Court, the Monthly and Probate Court, the Tax Court, the Magistrate Court, the Justice of the Peace Court, a Special Criminal Court, and Traffic Court, and the Juvenile Court.

The Peoples' Redemption Council, which came to power in the April, 1980 coup, and which suspended the constitution in one of its earliest decrees, reconstituted the judicial system, altering only the names of the courts.

The Supreme Court, of which there is only one, is the highest court of the country and as such, the court of final judgment. A Chief Justice and four Associate Justices, all of whom are appointed by the President (Head of State), upon approval of the Senate (Peoples' Redemption Council) comprise the membership of the Supreme Court.

Liberia is divided into ten judicial circuits, one for each county, except for Montserrado which has two, with a Circuit Court established in each circuit. The Circuit Courts hear appeals from final administrative determinations of government agencies and officials, and from decisions of courts not of record made within the county in which each court sits. There are twelve circuit judges, two of whom are relieving judges, all of whom are appointed by the President or Head of State, with the advice and consent of the Senate (or P.R.C.). In 1979, a Special Criminal Court was created in the Judicial Circuit (Montserrado) to handle theft cases with a jurisdiction to be handled concurrently with the magisterial and Justice of the Peace courts.

A Debt Court exists in each county and has exclusive original jurisdiction of all actions to obtain payment of debt in which the amount is \$500.00 or more. The judges of the Debt Courts are appointed by the President or Head of State, with the advice and consent of the Senate or the P.R.C. The Monthly and Probate Courts are established in each county and territory of the country. Monthly and Probate Courts have exclusive original

jurisdiction over all matters concerning the probation of wills and general supervision and direction of the estates of deceased persons, minors and mentally incompetent persons. Appeals from the Monthly and Probate Courts are taken to the Supreme Court.

The Tax Court and tax divisions of the Circuit Court have exclusive jurisdiction to review final administrative determination of assessment of taxes and license fees. There is a tax court or tax division in each county, with judges appointed by the President or Head of State, with the advice and consent of the Senate (P.R.C.). All appeals are to the Supreme Court.

The Magistrate Court has limited jurisdiction in applicable matters which are tried without a jury. In civil cases, the jurisdiction of these courts extends only where the amount of money sought or the value of chattels or real property does not exceed \$500.00. There is no set number of magistrate courts.

In criminal cases, these courts exercise original jurisdiction, concurrently with the Justice of the Peace Courts, over cases of petit larceny and all offences and violations of the vehicle and traffic law. The magisterial courts also have jurisdiction of filiation proceedings (judicial determination of parentage) and of matrimonial causes arising under "tribal" customary law, provided that appeals from decision in such cases shall be taken within the "tribal courts" of a Paramount Chief.

The Justice of the Peace courts are created by the President or Head of State who designates the geographic area, such as city, township, or other area, over which each Justice of the Peace shall have territorial jurisdiction. These are courts of limited jurisdiction wherein applicable matters are tried without a jury. The Justice of the Peace Courts, or "J.P. Courts" have jurisdiction over civil actions for the recovery of money or chattels, where the amount sought or the value of the property does not exceed \$50.00 or in debt cases where the amount sought does not exceed \$100.00.

"J.P. Courts" also have jurisdiction of filiation proceedings brought within their respective jurisdictions. Appeals from these courts are to the Circuit Courts of the county in which the "J.P." sits. All Justices of the Peace are appointed by the President or Head of State. It is not uncommon for "tribal" chiefs or governors, especially in urban areas, to concurrently hold appointments as a "j.p.", under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice, and "tribal" chief or governor under the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The final two courts within the statutory judicial system are the Traffic Courts and the Juvenile Courts. The Traffic Courts

exist in each county and for other areas such as the Commonwealth District of Monrovia. These courts, in conjunction with the Magisterial and Justice of the Peace Courts, have original jurisdiction to try without jury any violation of the vehicle and traffic law. Appeals from decisions of these courts are to the Circuit Court of any particular county. The President or Head of State appoints all judges of the Traffic Courts.

The Juvenile Courts, or the Magisterial Courts in areas that do not have a juvenile court, have exclusive original jurisdiction in special proceedings concerning any juvenile. Appeals from these courts are to the Circuit Court or provisional Probate Court. All Juvenile Court judges are appointed by the President or Head of State.

The Customary System

The settlers, for whom the statutory system was developed, did not give much thought to the need for a judicial system that would encompass the customs of the land to which they had immigrated. In fact, much of the early resistance by the indigenous population was based upon the settlers' disrespect for their religious, social, and political institutions (81).

In 1847, Liberia declared herself an independent nation and the settlers had to investigate means of extending their control throughout the country.

In 1862, the Liberian Supreme Court ruled that indigenous peoples were bona fide subjects of the state and not full-fledged citizens (81). Seven years later, the Interior Department was created, and its head given unlimited powers in all matters affecting the indigenous Liberians. Following this, in 1873, Commissioners of African Affairs were appointed to monitor the activities of the indigenous population, and in 1883, some of the chiefs were given representation.

The most elaborate attempt to systematize the relationship between the settlers and the indigenous Liberians was the Barclay Plan of 1904 (81). This plan divided the interior into political units called districts, headed by a Commissioner. At the same time, the Plan legitimized the customary legal system and two types of courts were instituted, the chiefs' and the District

Commissioners'. Appeals from these courts were taken into the statutory system.

The status quo remained until the 1940's, when under President Tubman, an effort was made to compile a set of regulations that governed customary courts, which were known as the "Administrative Laws Governing the Hinterland." These have remained in force without change since then, and are used by many chiefs in customary courts today.

The hierarchy of the customary court system differs from that of the statutory system in several ways. A case is often initiated in "house-palavers" which are informal discussions of a dispute among elders, relatives, and the disputing parties ^{1/}. The discussions follow recognized procedures and the decisions are not legally binding. Women's disputes with men are often aired in this setting, while men's disputes over women are more likely to be in a formal court. Disputes among urban residents may be taken to their town, or the representatives of their town in the urban area, for settlement.

Should either party be dissatisfied with the advice given, she or he can take the matter to the quarter chief or the town chief. From the town chief, a case progresses through the hierarchy of chiefs to the District Commissioner and the Superintendent. Further appeals are taken to the Monrovia appellate courts located at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. These are called the Commissioners' Court and the Superintendents' Court. If a party is still dissatisfied, the final arbiter is the Minister of Internal Affairs, but in some cases, litigants have reached cases to the Head of State. From the long process outlined, it becomes obvious that most people have neither the time nor the funds to take their cases through all the stages. People may circumvent the system by taking their cases to particular chiefs, or as in the case of women in Kolahun District, to the District Commissioner, where they feel sure of a fair decision.

In the urban areas, the customary system is represented by "tribal" or "governor's" courts, representing the various ethnic groups. In Monrovia, there are at least 55 such courts, presided over by "governors" or "tribal chiefs". These courts basically have jurisdiction over the respective ethnic group. Members of different ethnic groups, however, are free to take their cases to any court and do so.

^{1/} These "house palavers" or family meetings are also used by those subject to statutory jurisdiction to resolve conflicts or disagreements within the family.

The procedure in these courts is often confusing as there is usually a mixture of customary with statutory procedure. As mentioned earlier, these "tribal chiefs" may also hold a commission as a justice of the peace. Often, prominently displayed in each court is a copy of the "Administrative Laws of the Hinterland", drawn up in 1949.

Outside the customary court system, but linked to it are the "courts" of the Poro and Sande societies. These are usually used when a "society law" has been violated, which may sometimes include cases of domestic relations. There is no appeal to these decisions. Disputes concerning "society matters" may reach to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for settlement.

Summary: The two systems, customary and statutory, fall under two different ministries, Internal Affairs and Justice, respectively. The jurisdiction of customary courts is mainly limited to domestic relations issues, and in rural areas, jurisdiction is further limited to the particular community or chiefdom the chief is from. In the statutory system, jurisdiction is based on the nature of the case and the level that it has reached in the hierarchy. Stare decisis or precedent is a crucial factor in the statutory system, while in the customary, previous cases are not usually referred to directly, but precedence, relying upon oral history, and often expressed through parables, influences decisions.

Major Supreme Court decisions discussed in the legal section are briefly summarized here.

I. Supreme Court
Wolo v Wolo
May 8, 1942
8 LLR 36

Earlier, the plaintiff, Juah Weeks Wolo, had sued the defendant to obtain alimony after separation. The lower court held that alimony was barred by a legislative divorce granted the defendant. On appeal, the Supreme Court reversed the decision on the ground that the divorce was unconstitutional. Subsequently, Juah Weeks Wolo petitioned in equity for cancellation of certain deeds that she had turned over to her husband. The court held that the transfer was invalid because they were executed in consideration of the love and affection she had for her husband and lacked monetary consideration.

II. Supreme Court
Jartu v Konneh
June 8, 1950
10 LLR 318

This case concerned the estate of one Famudu, alias Famble Konneh, who died intestate in Monrovia. The Plaintiff, Jartu, one of his wives, had been granted dower by the Commissioner of Probate. Apparently the decedent's family objected and the case was reviewed by a second Commissioner who denied dower to all of the decedent's six wives. On appeal, the court said that they had to uphold native custom and disallowed the admeasurement of dower to the six wives of the deceased, since custom does not permit it, especially so since they had all left their husband's family and had either married or were living with strangers.

III. Supreme Court
Brown v Bormor
January 15, 1965
16 LLR 227

After the death of Moses Brown, his sister and brother asked his widow to remain on his farm and keep supervisory control of the property, both real and personal, until the family could come together with the chief to decide on the distribution. A year later, the widow filed a petition in the Probate Court, seeking letters of administration to control the estate. The Probate Court granted the petition. Six days later, however, she was obstructed by his family, on her attempt to take an inventory of the assets of the estate. She therefore requested the court to have them summoned to show reason why they should not be held to answer for interfering with the estate. Before this matter could be investigated, decedent's sister and brother filed a petition for revocation of the letters of administration. The Supreme Court then ruled that a widow who was married under customary tribal law has no right to receive letters of administration for her deceased husband's intestate estate.

IV. Supreme Court
Harmon v Tempo
February 8, 1963
15 LLR 272

Charlie Harmon died intestate and his widow, Mary, petitioned for letters of administration. She was granted her request but later, relatives of the deceased petitioned for the revocation of the letters, contending that she was not the legally dowered wife of their late relative. The Probate Court said that this contention could no longer be the issue as since she had been married under customary law, she could not control her husband's property as she herself was part of that property. Therefore, the letters were made null and void and new ones issued to the relatives. Her counsel contended in the Supreme Court that this revocation was illegal, because under the basic law of the land, as well as the statutory provisions controlling native and Christian marriages, both types of marriages carried the same effect in law, because both are predicated upon the same rights under our constitution.

The counsel for defendant argued that this should not be, as a native wife, upon the death of her husband, becomes the property of her deceased husband's family and may be wedded to any other member of the said family, unless she refunded the dowry paid by her late husband for her. He further said that since plaintiff did not present any constitutional issue in respect to her equal right under the law to enjoy dower, such an issue could not now, for the first time, be raised. The Supreme Court affirmed the judgment.

ANNEX IV

Research Methodology

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: PRODUCTIVE ROLES OF RURAL WOMEN

A review of the literature was conducted during the first phase of the project. On the basis of that review, the Project Steering Committee approved research on the productive roles of rural women. This investigation focused upon the following issues: division of labor among women, men, and children in agricultural and related activities, the nature and extent of participation by women in cash cropping, access to and control of resources such as land and labor and to credit, the relationship between agricultural activities and other community activities, and the effect of migration upon agriculture.

Statistical data for the study were provided by the Population Census of 1974 and other surveys. Given the time available for the research and the logistic constraints which existed, it was not feasible to conduct an extensive survey for statistical analysis nor rigorously test hypotheses. Rather, the field research was designed to provide qualitative data on relevant topics which would complement the existing quantitative data available in the census and other surveys. The research was also designed to ascertain patterns and trends which might be verified statistically through further research.

In line with recent discussions in the methodological literature on data collection for planning and implementation and the experience of other researchers in Liberia (16, 23, 40, 54), relatively informal open-ended interviews with groups and individuals were used. The intent was to utilize knowledgeable persons in communities to obtain information on typical patterns of behavior to indicate what and why people were doing particular things and to indicate trends.

The research design was also influenced by the experience of the researcher and other researchers in prior research in Liberia in attempting to obtain information from rural women.

Rural Liberian women are not easy to interview. The cognitive frame from which they operate is not conducive to formal interviews. They tend to be suspicious and may give misinformation. In some cases they will defer to men. They tend to have little patience with "talk". The attitude of many might be best summarized as "talking: that is men's business, we have work to do." Interviewing women is further complicated by their being extremely busy much of the time. During the months of the agricultural cycle when their labor inputs are especially high, it is almost impossible to do any interviewing. What can be done during these

times is participant observation. During the height of the farming cycle, women may spend much of their time on the farm, coming to town only occasionally. To interview them requires walking to their farms. The best months for interviewing rural women are during the dry season after the harvest has been completed.

In most rural Liberian communities, very few women speak more than "small" Liberian English. Interviews have to be conducted with them in their own languages. It is not uncommon in many communities, especially those off the main roads, not to find any woman over 25 years who speaks more than a few words of English. Even those who do speak some English are almost always more comfortable talking in their own language, especially important in an interview situation with which they may already be uncomfortable.

A further constraint on interviewing which is important is the attitude toward questioning found in rural Liberia. Liberians view questioning as disrespectful, impolite, and inappropriate. Women tend to be even more conservative about this than men. There are matters about which one should not ask a direct question. In rural Liberian communities, there are many matters which are "public knowledge" but which are never talked. Secrecy is highly valued. "Information is like property and is carefully controlled" (16, p. B2). Strangers are highly suspect and dealt with cautiously. People will often respond, when asked a question, "I don't know much about that" and refer the interviewer to an elder. Women will often decline to answer, referring the question to a man. Historical and current political conditions have made many rural Liberians suspicious of strangers and of government representatives. Men will sometimes indicate that "they can talk for the women". Many men obviously viewed talking to women as being foolish. Food production, however, is women's business, and a topic about which women are less reluctant to talk.

Between December, 1980, and August, 1981, visits were made to communities in different parts of the country. The selection of communities was influenced by logistic considerations, especially transportation, and knowledge and contacts in communities held by the researcher and her research assistants. Because of transportation difficulties it was not possible to include as many communities off the main road as would have been desirable. It should be borne in mind that there is a bias in the data toward communities on the main road.

The areas in which interviews were conducted were:

Sinoe: Greenville & vicinity
 Sasstown Territory
 Maryland: Pleebo District
 Grand Gedeh: Zwedru & Gbarzon District
 Nimba: Sacleipea District
 Bong: Gbarnga District
 Somi Territory
 Montserrado: Todee District
 Lofa: Kolahun District

In all cases, the researcher was accompanied by a male research assistant from the area in which the work was to be conducted. These assistants were university students in economics or social science in all but one case and all lived in their home county through completion of high school. Their knowledge of and contacts in their home counties or territories were invaluable in conducting the research. Interviews, with few exceptions, were conducted in the local language with the assistant translating into English. These assistants facilitated the research by explaining the purpose of the project to the people and by helping to alleviate the suspicion and cynicism which people held about such interviews. They were able to identify individuals whom they knew to be articulate and informed on the topics with which we were concerned. Often they provided observations or insights on the topics being investigated and suggested lines of inquiry. Although they were male, the fact that they were students and young adults helped counterbalance the effect which having a male interviewer might have had on responses. Many of the women interviewed were senior to them in age and hence did not view them in the same way as they would have an older male. At the same time, the fact that they were male helped "pave the way" with men in the community, providing a credibility that an all-female research team might not have had with the men.

Local etiquette dictates that visitors to communities must introduce themselves to local authorities, usually men. In those communities where we did not have prior contacts we had to rely upon the assistance of these men to contact the women.

Both group and individual interviews were used. Most interviews were conducted relatively informally, with minimal note taking and no tape recording during the interview. As soon as possible after an interview, the interview was written up in as much detail as possible. These interviews were later typed and at that point supplemented by general observations, and so on, concerning the community and the individuals.

A special effort had to be made to talk with the women. In one community in Kolahun District, for example, where we were primarily interested in the legal study, we talked with an all-male group. When we asked why the women were not called, the elders replied that the head woman was out of town, making it impossible to contact the women. In another case, a husband attempted to monopolize an interview with a woman concerning her swamp rice farm, telling his wife to be quiet. With group interviews, the men invariably gathered first, and only after additional calls were made, did the women come. The women invariably took their seats in the customary manner, by sitting on the edges of the group behind the men. At this point we had to indicate that we really wanted to talk with the women. This almost always produced laughter and, often, joking abuse between the men and women as the seats were rearranged. In one case, a woman told the men, "You men, whenever you think it is something important, you want to do the talking. This time, it is our turn to talk, so be quiet." In another interview, a very articulate woman was reprimanded by a man for talking "too much". Most of the group interviews were dominated by a few women who were the spokeswomen for the others.

The length of time involved in the interview varied. The group interviews usually lasted about two hours but people (especially the women) began drifting away after about 45 minutes. As one assistant observed after his grandmother wandered away from a group interview after about 30 minutes, "she has no patience for talk". Although we attempted to cover the same points in the interviews, those being interviewed emphasized different topics.

The researcher has also drawn upon her previous research experience in Liberia. The research has been conducted primarily in Lofa County and in Monrovia. The research in 1967-69 was conducted under a NIMH pre-doctoral fellowship and research grant; that in the summer, 1972 under a University of Iowa-NIMH biomedical research grant; and that from 1973-75 while she was a Fulbright-Hays Senior Lecturer at the University of Liberia. The research has focused upon socioeconomic change.

Data Collection & Interview Guide for Productive Roles of Rural Women

I. General information on community: including a physical description of the community, roads, availability of various services such as schools, clinic, churches, mosques, courts, markets, water sources, and so on. Type of houses, housing arrangements for polygynous households, etc. Transportation facilities, including frequency of cars and transportation costs. Administrative organization of community, including town officials, head women, etc.

II. Task/activity list: who does each task, who controls the labor and the outputs, and how often done?

Agricultural-upland rice

brushing
burning
clearing
planting
weeding
driving birds
fencing
rice kitchen construction
harvesting

tasks for other crops

Food/crop processing

cocoa & coffee preparation
shelling peanuts
beating rice
palm oil production
shelling palm kernels
processing sugar cane

Other tasks

hunting
fishing
gathering greens, etc.
getting water
getting firewood
laundry
cooking
heating bath water
house maintenance
community maintenance, e.g. paths & bridges

III. Crop list: for each community, whether crop is grown, where it is grown, who grows it, who controls it (has right to allocate), who decides when and where to plant it, and how it is allocated (home or sale):

rice - upland & swamp
corn (maize)
cassava
eddoes
sweet potatoes
plantains
bananas
beans

pepper
okra
eggplant
bitterballs
tomatoes
collard greens
onions

peanuts
beni seed (sesame)
pumpkin
pineapple
sugar cane

IV-6

trees: kola	plum (mango)
oil palm	breadfruit
coconut	pawpaw (papaya)
orange	cocoa
grapefruit	coffee
lime	rubber
butter pear (avocado)	

IV. Questions pertaining to agricultural and related activities

Do there appear to be differences in labor allocation between young adult women and older women? What about pregnant women? What are the constraints imposed on women by babies, toddlers, etc.?

Which crops are intercropped? Is there any difference in control/ allocation of those intercropped or planted individually?

How are rice farms organized? Is there a distinction between household and personal rice farms? Does the household farm come under the control of a single individual or is it subdivided?

Are there any agricultural cooperatives in the area? For what crop? Do women belong?

Is the labor supply adequate for the various tasks? For which task is it hardest to get adequate labor?

Are there cooperative work groups in the community? For which tasks? For men and/or for women? Do women hire male labor? Are women's cooperative work groups hired?

Who are the hired laborers? How are contracts negotiated?

Do wage earners in town have farms? Who does the work for them?

What are the sources of wage income in the community?

What activities are there besides farming?

What age bush is being cut in the area? Do women have a preference for a particular age bush? Why?

Land issues

What rights do strangers have to land? Can they plant "life trees"?

What happens to land in communities which are designated as townships?

Is land in the area under private deeds? Who has these deeds? Do any women have deeds?

If a woman wants to make an upland rice farm, to whom does she go for the land? Can she get land from her husband's family? From her own family?

If a woman wants to make a swamp rice farm, to whom does she go for the land?

If a woman wants to plant "life trees", from whom does she get permission?

If a woman has obtained land from her husband's family, what happens to her use of the land if she divorces him? If he divorces her? If he dies?

Can a woman get land to build a house? From whom? If obtained through the husband's family what happens with divorce or his death?

Are women considered in inheritance of land and other property?

Control/allocation of crops

Does each woman in the household have her own rice kitchen? Is there a single kitchen(s) for the household farm? Who has the key to it?

Can the head of household sell rice? Can the head wife sell rice from the household farm? Can anyone else sell rice from the household farm?

If a woman leaves the household, can she take the rice with her?

Do women help with cocoa, coffee, and sugar cane? Do they receive any money from these?

What crops are being sold? Locally? In weekly markets? To whom does the money go?

Migration/mobility

Are women leaving the community? Where are they going? Why?

Do women come from Monrovia or the concessions to help with farm work?

Are there enough men in town to do the farm work? Are there enough women?

Is more cassava being grown than in the past? Is more or less rice being grown? Which crops are best to grow for cash?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: LEGAL STUDY

The legal study was designed to investigate the legal status of Liberian women. A background paper, written by Olubanke King Akerele during the first phase of the project, provided an overview of the subject matter and delineated areas of empirical research, including the right to contract and sue, the access of women to land and property under inheritance rights, dower's rights, the status of Muslim women, and the effect of customary law of the transition from rural to urban settings. Each area was seen as requiring indepth empirical research. The research was conducted by a Liberian law student at the University of Liberia, Joyce Mends-Cole, under the supervision of Jeanette Carter, from December, 1980 to September, 1981. The study was not designed to rigorously test hypotheses but rather to provide relevant and timely information for planners. The very use of the term "profile" implies that the objective was not to do an exhaustive study but rather to obtain representative data on Liberian women. The on-going investigation concentrated on the major issues of customary law. These were identified as the customary marriage process, including the payment of dowry and the question of the validity of a marriage; divorce; widow's inheritance; women's ownership of property in their own right; and child custody.

The case study method was chosen in the hope that through analysis of cases, the controlling norms governing customary law regarding women would be discerned, with the long-range objective of identifying changes, regressive or progressive, in the legal status of women under customary law. In addition to this, resource persons were identified, in the certain knowledge that oral tradition would play a major role in the study. The statutory area was not seen as requiring further empirical research but rather compilation and analysis of controlling documented cases.

Fifty-five "tribal courts" were identified in the Monrovia area by the Ministry of Local Government and from these, seven were selected for observation of cases. The seven selected represented a sample of Liberian ethnic groups and it was thought that the rulings of these courts would be representative. It was also hypothesized that many rulings were based on a set of guidelines drawn up in the 1940's, which were not so much a compilation of laws common to all ethnic groups, but rather a set of laws established by the central government for its

effective administration of the former provinces. The seven courts selected were 1) Bassa, on Capitol Bypass; 2) Vai, on Johnson Street; 3) Kru, in New Krutown; 4) Kpelle, on Johnson Street; 5) Krahn, on Clay Street; 6) Loma, in Loma Quarters; and 7) Mandingo, representing Islamic law, on Camp Johnson Road.

In addition to these courts, the two "native appellate courts" located in the Ministry of Local Government were included. Initial introductory visits to the courts were arranged through the Minister of Local Government with the help of a junior assistant in the Superintendent's court. The seven weeks of the University of Liberia's vacation period in 1981 were allotted to investigating the development of the judicial system of Liberia and the initial compilation of cases in the nine courts. At the end of the vacation, cases in the Monrovia courts continued to be compiled but added to these were data collected through interviews with resource persons in Monrovia, Bomi Territory, Lofa, Bong, and Nimba Counties.

Open-ended interviews were conducted with resource persons concerning the legal issues affecting women discussed in the report. It was necessary to talk both with those who interpret and apply the law, primarily men, and with women who are affected by their decisions. The resource persons identified included former and present officials of the Ministry of Local Government, the Ministry of Justice, lawyers, and scholars. Finally, the opinion of people, especially women, would have to be considered as contributing affirmation or disaffirmation of customary law. This was shown clearly in our interviews in Lofa and Nimba Counties where the women were articulate and definitive about their status under customary law.

Due to logistic and time constraints, the observation of cases was restricted to courts in the Monrovia area. Although people indicate that similar cases occur in rural areas, it is not appropriate to generalize from this limited sample to other areas without further research. Especially needed is research in the southeastern region of the country and in those situations in which Islamic law is applied.