

LABOR MIGRATION AND RURAL AGRICULTURE  
AMONG THE GBANNAH MANO OF LIBERIA

by

JAMES COLEMAN RIDDELL

A THESIS

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APPROVED: V. R. Dorjahn  
(V. R. Dorjahn, Thesis Adviser)

## FOREWORD

To the anthropologist who is preparing to do research among the Mano of Liberia the descriptions by Harley of the blood-filled Poro ceremonies and the early maps that indicate territory inhabited by cannibals are enough to engender some second thoughts. There is, however, no relationship whatsoever between the reputation the Mano have in the literature and the way they treat visiting anthropologists. Not only did Paramount Chief Dahn and Clan Chief Bloh understand the nature of anthropology, but they so enthusiastically supported the research that the towns vied with each other to be included in the sample.

This study owes so much to the help given by several residents of Gbannah. My field assistant, Tom B. Sonkarley, approached the research with such vigor that he made it a pleasure to walk five or ten miles in the tropical heat to complete an interview or to witness a ceremony. Also, Tom and I were advised and helped continuously by S. Yini, N. Biin and N. Kokwei, three elders who personally checked any data they thought had been erroneously reported, and alerted us to all pending activities.

The citizens of the town of Gipo, who were our hosts for fourteen months, deserve a special note of appreciation. Their patience in the face of the constant interruptions caused by my interviewing was truly remarkable. I can only hope that they enjoyed our presence

half as much as we enjoyed their hospitality.

In spite of the fact that much has been said to malign the Liberian government, I can honestly say that I have never experienced such wholehearted support and friendship from any group of government officials as I did in Liberia. From President Tubman down to the local officials, I received nothing other than courtesy and assistance.

While in the field I had the chance to discuss at length much of the data with Jeanette Carter, John Atherton, Professor Vernon R. Dorjahn, and Roger Walke. The respite from my duties as an anthropologist provided by Mr. and Mrs. L. DeVroom and the missionaries and doctors at Ganta, Flumpa and Tapita is just as appreciated now as it was then. The amount of help given by these people was great and I shall always remain in their debt.

It is a common belief among graduate students that thesis committees are perverse inventions designed to obstruct any forward motion the degree candidate might make. In this regard I have been most fortunate. Professors Vernon R. Dorjahn, Theodore Stern, Homer G. Barnett and Daniel Goldrich have not only been friends but also real sources of support during the research and subsequent period of writing. A special acknowledgement should also be made to the U. S. Public Health Service and to the Institute of International Studies and Overseas Administration, University of Oregon, for providing the financial support for our work.

My wife Alma, and my friends Norman and Barbara Lane have been

my touchstones. They have discussed every phase of the study and they are the agents through which many ideas have found their way into the text. In addition, I cannot thank Professor B. Faggot and the staff in Academic Advising enough for providing such a congenial environment in which to write. A special debt of gratitude is owed to C. Harley, M. Foisy, E. Coleman, B. Swift, and I. Brady for reading and discussing various portions of the earlier drafts. Any errors that remain are by now pet eccentricities of mine and are not to be shared with anyone.

Finally, to Alma, Walter and Theresa, to my Father and to Victor, who first said it could be done, this Mano-graph is affectionately dedicated.

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CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

This is a study of labor migration and the changing village agricultural production of the Mano society of West Africa brought about by the participation in the developing western economy of the Republic of Liberia. These forces have been accelerating since 1926 due to the coming of the American owned Firestone rubber plantation, the largest such development in the world.

Students of African society have long been impressed with the degree to which African labor seems committed to labor migration and the concomitant social and economic effects it has had on the rural villages. The motivation for migration in West Africa involves a flight from the land in search of money, adventure and relief from the boredom of tribal life (Gussman 1953:137; Little 1965:9-10; Caldwell 1969). Adverse conditions in the rural area contribute to this phenomenon. As Prothero points out for Northern Nigeria, migration is often related to harvest failure, increased taxation, and to the fact that food and cash production in the home area is insufficient to meet rising expectations (Prothero 1957:253; 1965).

The migrants tend to be young, male and unmarried (Rouch 1960:

376). They are illiterate and employed in non-skilled occupations. A few married migrants may take their wives with them (Ardener 1961:89), but it is more likely that women are discouraged from leaving the village (Skinner 1960; 1965).

The migrants retain ties to the home area and are a source of income for their families that have remained behind (Caldwell 1969:153; Berg 1965: 178); they often migrate with others from their area (Rouch 1960) in order to stay with kinsmen who have migrated before them (Caldwell 1969). Frequently they form traditional social or political organizations in the industrial/urban employment center (Banton 1957).

Studies have demonstrated that labor migration can produce both rural decline and rural development. The mechanism involved in each case still must be determined empirically by field studies (Hellen 1968:25). The early research of Richards (1939) and Schapera (1947) documented the drastic conditions produced in the rural areas by labor migration. In Richards' study of the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) she found that so many males had left the villages to work in the mines that the matrilineal core of females could not maintain food production to meet minimal dietary standards. Watson (1958) studied the Mambwe, the patrilineal neighbors of the Bemba. It was observed that the Mambwe were able to maintain agricultural production by maximizing the patrilineal core of non-migrating males, thereby preventing dietary deficiencies.

In West Africa, Skinner has noted that, in addition to the generally negative impact of labor migration on Mossi agricultural

production, it has been associated with a decline in the number of labor cooperatives and also a breakdown in the traditional authority structure that determined the productive efforts of the younger Mossi males (1965:73). This breakdown of authority encompasses most of West Africa. Wallerstein has pointed out that migration has made it necessary for traditional authorities to be more tolerant of deviates if they are to keep young males from leaving the rural area altogether (1965:150). This has also led to a general decrease in the size of familial units, as males are now working toward their own goals rather than toward those of older kinsmen (Okigbo 1956; K8bben 1963).

Migrants are indirect vectors of change in the home villages. Caldwell, in his Ghana data, found little evidence that migrants brought many skills home (1969:60). One of the reasons for this is the inability of many migrants to speak the language of the host group (Greenberg 1965:55; Skinner 1960). The migrants are not so much vectors of new skills as they are of new attitudes.

Migratory work becomes economically unattractive to the West African laborers only when income possibilities in the village increase (Kuper 1965:18; Berg 1965:177). This usually means a change to the growing of cash crops for sale on the commodity market, which, as Allan (1967:348, 350) has suggested, has generally been forced upon the African farmer. Skinner noted that cash-cropping of cotton, which the Mossi were ordered to grow by the French, is not as profitable as migration and Berg has noted the same conditions exist for West Africa in general (Skinner 1965:70, 71; Berg 1965:168, 169). The evidence

from case studies of specific areas, however, has shown that cash-cropping is potentially a viable alternative to working for wages (Gulliver 1955, 1957 and 1965; Hill 1961). Cash-cropping, at the same time, creates another problem. Köbben (1963), Meillassoux (1964) and Uchendu (Ms.) all point out that the transition to a more modern exploitation of the land resources by West African agriculturalists leads to problems of land tenure. As more men emphasize cash crops and apply increasing amounts of technology to farming "...tenure will shift from one of 'easy access' to a question of 'how much access'" (Uchendu Ms.:10).

The investment in transportation and communication facilities by the independent African republics, has insured that the rural areas will remain involved, willingly or unwillingly, in the modern life and economy. It has also brought the marketing facilities of the world's international economy to the very doorstep of the most conservative tribesman. The greatest investment of capital has been made on the coast while traditionally the most dense population concentrations have been in the savannah regions (Forde 1960; Berg 1965). The migration of workers between the traditional sector and the employment centers began almost as soon as the job opportunities presented themselves (Plotnicov 1967) and today these movements account for most of the estimated total of two million West African wage earners (Berg 1965:161-162).



## THE ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH AND GENERAL METHODOLOGY

In order to examine the changes that are taking place in the rural sector, both to those involved in labor migration and to those who remain in the village, a study was undertaken of the 13 Gbannah villages of the Central Mano of the Republic of Liberia from November 1967 to December 1968.

Liberia is an export nation with its major economic facilities controlled by outside interests. Rubber and iron ore provide the bulk of the national revenue (McLaughlin 1966:86; Morris 1969:1). More than two thirds of the labor force working for wages are migrants to these foreign enterprises (Clower, et al., 1966:259), coming from rural villages that still contain the majority of Liberia's population (Morris 1969:1). Liberia has been undergoing a rapid reorganization of its economy in recent years as witnessed by the scale of foreign investments (Table 1).

The first month of research in Liberia was spent in a general survey of the Mano area with visits to towns and villages in the northern Sanniquellie Mah, the central Saclepea Mah and the southern Yawein-Mesono chiefdoms. The final selection of a town in which to reside was made in the first week of December. The town selected was Gipo, a famous center of Mano culture in the Saclepea Mah chiefdom.

It took all of the month of December and the first week of January to get a house rented in Gipo ready for occupancy by my wife, two children and myself. During this time the nearby Cocopa Plantation hosted all of us on the agreement that a study be done of what lay

TABLE 1. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF PRINCIPAL  
FOREIGN INVESTMENTS--LIBERIA, 1962  
(MILLIONS OF U.S. DOLLARS)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AMOUNT
United States	\$ 106.7*
Federal Republic of Germany	105.2
Switzerland	3.5
Italy	2.0
Netherlands	0.7
Spain	0.6
England	0.6
Sweden	0.5
U.S.-Sweden-Canada	215.0
U.S.-Germany	2.1
TOTAL	436.9

\*Includes \$8,500,000 of Liberian Investment  
in the United States controlled National  
Iron Ore Company

Source: Office of National Planning, Annual  
Report, 1960-1961, (Monrovia: 1961) and Office  
of National Planning, Annual Report, 1961-1962,  
(Monrovia: 1962). Taken from McLaughlin 1966:  
66.

behind the poor relationships between the Mano people and the company. Although the analysis below points out the harsh interface that has developed over time, changes have been made subsequent to this research that have removed many of the more onerous aspects of worker-management relations.

During the latter part of December and the first half of January a census was taken of the town of Gipo. Later, after the new farms were planted, a census was made from July through September of three additional Gbannah towns: Dea, Sehwi and Gbeibini<sup>1</sup>. Along with the census data a short questionnaire was given to the head of each domestic group in the towns (see Appendix B) to determine what crops were being grown, membership in village associations and a history of wage labor.

From the residents of Gipo two sample populations were randomly generated. One sample selected 50 domestic groups which were intensively interviewed on two aspects of their adjustments to the Liberian national economy. The first aspect was the history of labor involvement by the domestic group-head in the wage economy. This is referred to in the text as Gipo Labor History Sample. The second aspect that was examined with these 50 domestic groups was village life. This set of interviews is summarized in the text as Gipo Labor Sample. Almost all statistical data concerning Gipo refer to these 50 social units. The second random sample of 169 individuals was selected in order that

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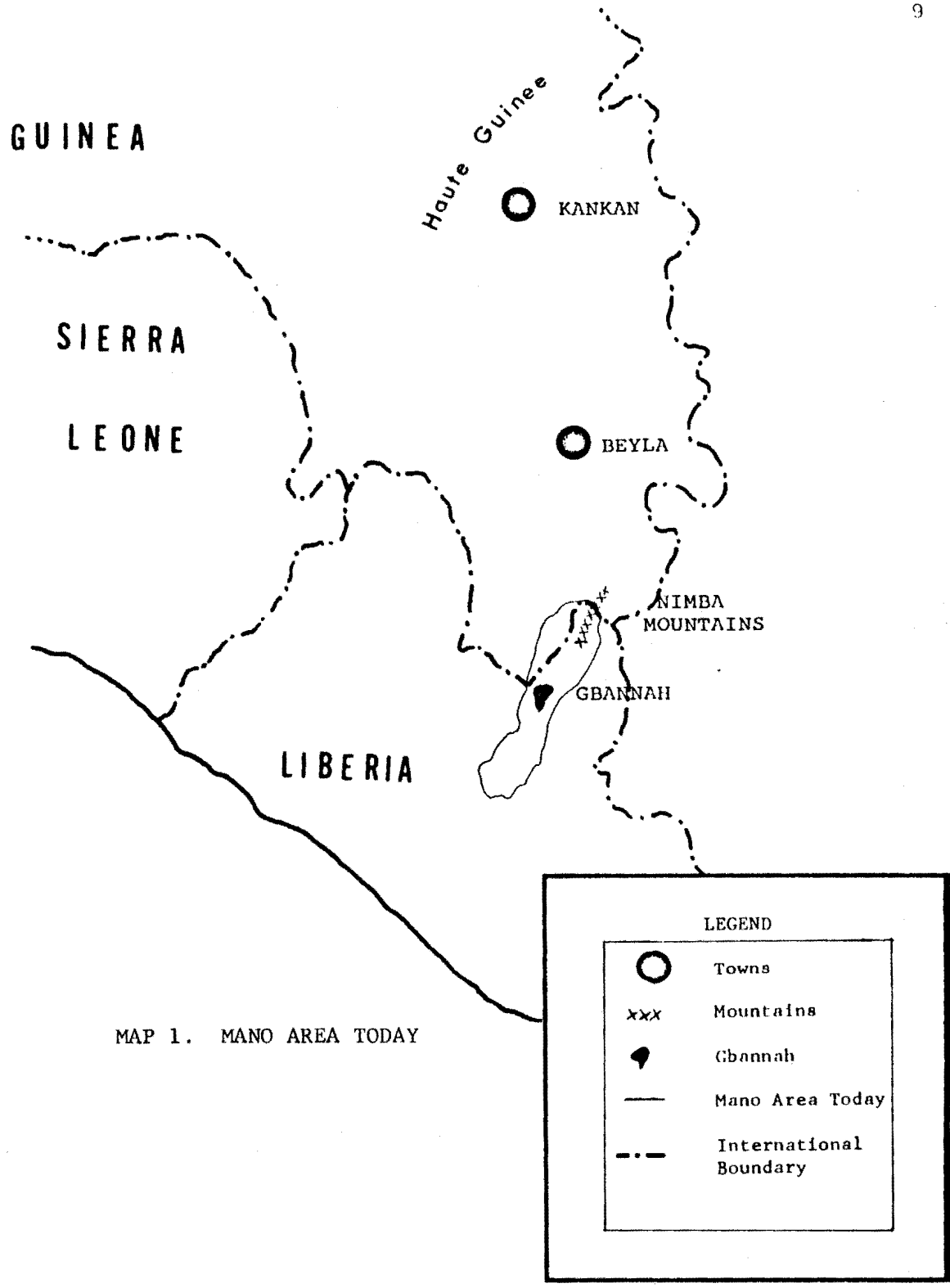
<sup>1</sup>Mr. Roger Walke assisted the research in Liberia by doing a census of Gbeibini. He has kindly made his material available.

various features of health and physical fitness could be determined.

Three sample labor centers were selected: Cocopa Plantation, Bong Mines and the capital city of Monrovia. The migrants from Gbannah were visited and those from Gipo were given a standardized questionnaire and a non-standardized interview schedule (see Appendix B).

In the villages a major research tool was participant observation in the activities of all the towns of Gbannah. Repeated visits were made to almost all the Central Mano communities. The conclusions drawn from this research, however, are applicable in their specific details only to the Mano of Gbannah and not to the Mano generally. In more general terms the results will be related to the kinds of situations faced by all rural West Africans.

Chapter II relates the ecological setting for the social units of Gbannah. In Chapter III the position of the Mano people in the general history of the Western Sudan will be examined. Chapter IV discusses labor migration for males from Gbannah villages and Chapter V analyzes the changes that have taken place in the organization of agricultural production.

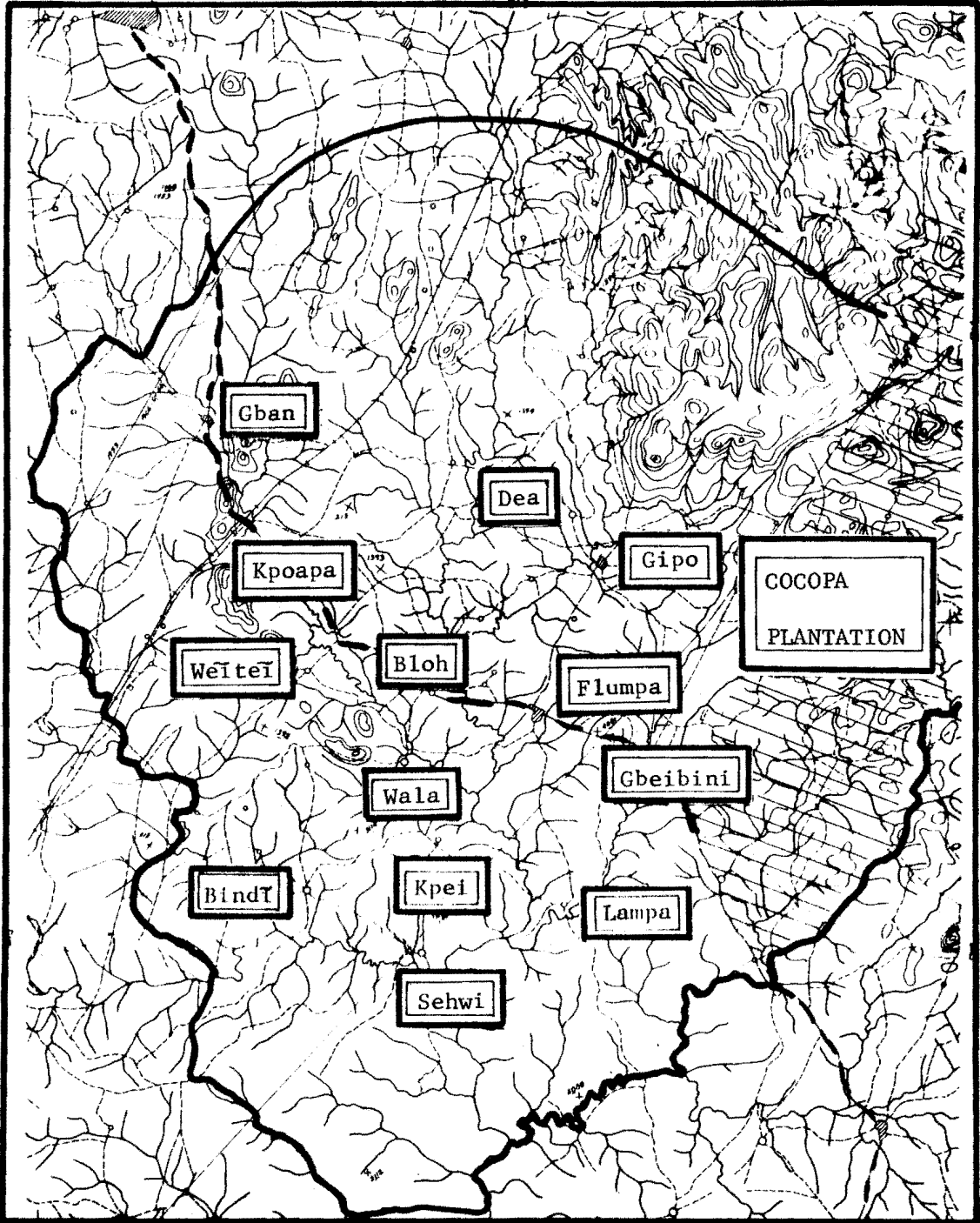


MAP 1. MANO AREA TODAY

CHAPTER II  
THE MANO OF GBANNAH

The Mano of Gbannah inhabit thirteen villages (see Map 2) in the central Mano Saclepea Mah Paramount Chiefdom of Nimba County in the north central section of the Republic of Liberia. The total number of persons who speak Mano as a first language has been estimated at 50,000-60,000 (Riddell 1970). The 1962 Liberian census gave the village population of Gbannah as 4,063. Population density for the area was estimated by Jürgens at over fourteen persons per square kilometer (37.8/square mile) and by Porter at over 100 persons per square mile in some places (Jürgens 1965:9; Porter 1956:74).

The Gbannah Mano are principally agriculturalists. In contrast to many other Liberian groups they intercrop their food staples of upland rice, cassava, corn and guinea corn. Porter (1956:108) has estimated that the area has .82 acres in crop per person with an appropriate fallow period of 17 years. These figures ignore the fact that there is a two to three year exploitation of intercropped cassava after an upland rice farm has returned to fallow. This increases the acreage in effective production well over .82 acres per person (see also Allen 1967:221).



MAP 2. TOPOGRAPHIC AND DRAINAGE FEATURES OF GBANNAH

TABLE 2. CENSUS OF GBANNAH TOWNS  
1962

TOWN	TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF MALES	NUMBER OF FEMALES
1. Bindi	199	84	115
2. Bloh	142	61	81
3. Dea	167	73	94
4. Flumpa	837	381	456
5. Gban	465	191	274
6. Gbeibini	489	217	272
7. Gipo	724	323	401
8. Kpei	120	53	67
9. Kpoapa	213	86	127
10. Lampa	136	60	76
11. Sehwi	264	114	150
12. Wala	144	54	90
13. Wei Tei	163	71	92
TOTALS	4,063	1,768	2,295

Source: 1962 Census of Liberia



In addition to the food staples the Gbannah farmers are involved in cash-cropping coffee, cocoa and sugar cane. The cane is processed into rum rather than sugar. Like all Mano they maintain and harvest kola from the traditional groves.

#### THE MANO

The Mano call themselves Mahmia (Mah people) by which term they refer to those who speak Mano and who share a common historical past, much like our use of the phrase "Anglo-American tradition."

The Mano are members of the southern branch of the Mande language family, often referred to as Mande-Fu (Delafosse 1904; Greenberg 1963; Welmers 1958; de Lavergne 1953). The Mano are most closely allied linguistically with the Gio (Dan, Yacouba, Yafaoba, Yaouba) and the Wõ (Toura) and are members of the eastern branch of the Mande-Fu group (Prost 1953:53), Himmelheber 1958 et passim). Traditional Mano histories recognize this relationship and the elders agree with Fried (1968:11) that "...ethnic groups are transitory phenomena with variable membership oscillating about mythic charters," and that there has been a long period of interpenetration and intermixture with their neighbors.

The elders in discussing Mah-ness refer to the segmentary nature of the myriad of totally independent and autonomous villages that make up the Mano. The present awareness, however, of a Mano "nationality" is, as Edel has pointed out for the Chiga of Uganda, the result of the national political scene in Liberia (Edel 1965; Fried 1968). That is, being a Mano takes on meaning in opposition to being Kpelle, Loma or of

settler derivation.

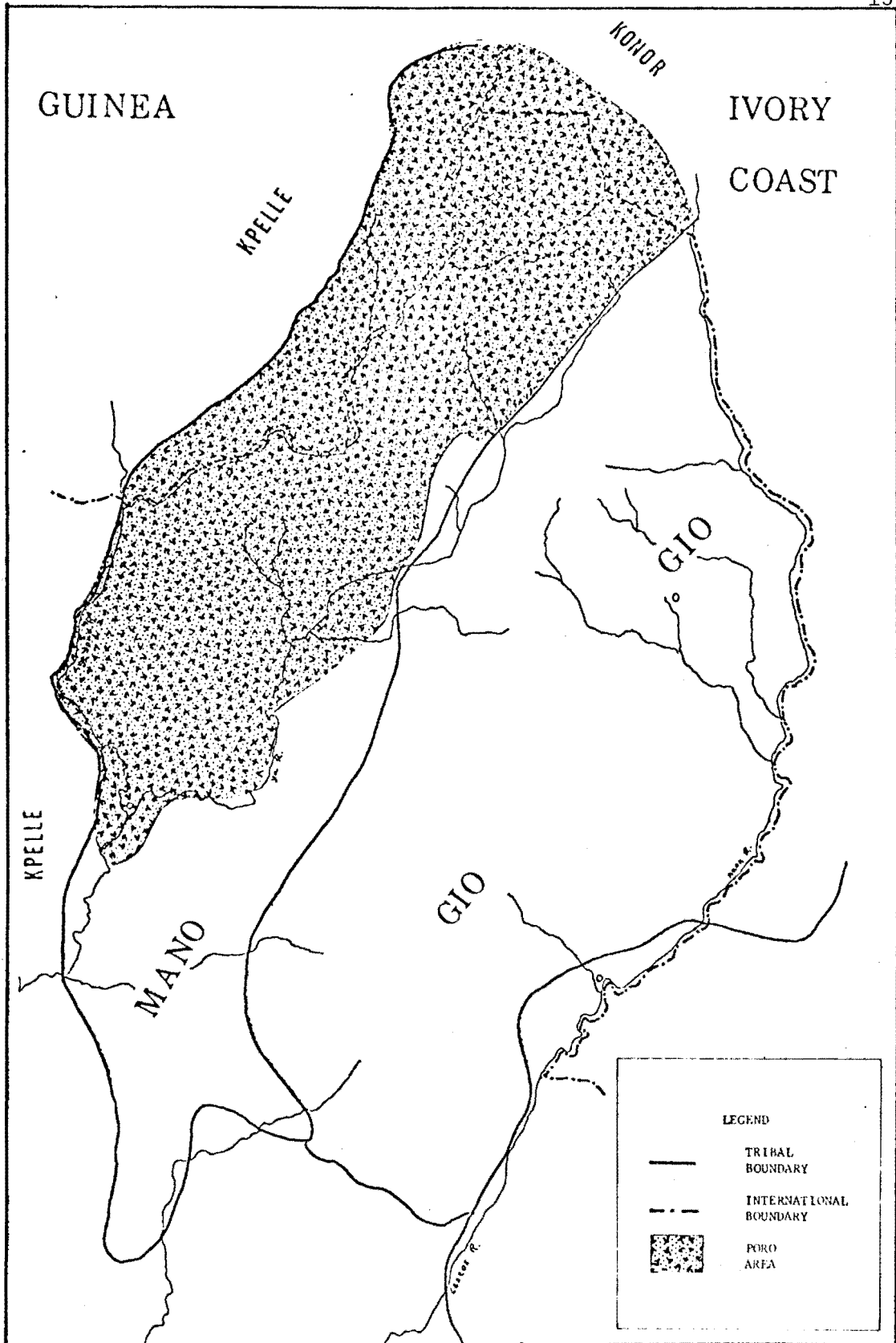
The impression is given in the writings of Harley that the Mano and their neighbors the Gio are Poro tribes (Harley 1941, 1950). All the Mano and Gio groups have secret societies but only a small proportion have Poro. The area where Poro groves are found is indicated on Map 3. Harley recognizes in his writings the distinction made here. He uses the term "Poro" to refer generically to secret societies for males having masked dancers. The map, on the other hand, follows indigenous usage and refers to that secret society which is found among the Loma, Kpelle, Gola and Mende (see d'Azevedo 1962; Little 1948). This distinction is most important to the people themselves and the possession of Poro serves as one of the principal sources of division among these groups (Himmelheber 1958). Those who do not possess Poro are just as proud of the fact as are those who do.

On many of the older maps (see Schwab 1947: end map) the Mano are bordered to the south by a group called the Geh. This is the result of the Mano reference to the Gehmia--people who speak Mano but do not have Poro and, by extension, to the Gio.

#### SIBS

Cross cutting the totality called the Mano or Mahmia are sibs based upon stipulated descent. Each Mano receives patrilineally at birth the food prohibitions he must keep for life and these taboos establish a putative kinship bond between any two people having them.

The food taboo categories take on different characteristics when analyzed at the minimal (local) or maximal (pan Mano) levels. Maxi-



MAP 3. AREA OF MANO PORO

mally they are agamous, dispersed, unorganized and non-hierarchically ordered.

The minimal sib (Gbein) is the localized segment of a maximal sib. Such provide a common name and place of origin for members and are grouped to form towns. These minimal sibs (gbein) form the segments of a town and are called quarters by the Liberian government. They are exogamous within towns but not between towns. That is, in Gipo, for example, a Mon man cannot marry a Mon woman from Gipo, but he can marry one from Gbeibini, even though she has the same food taboos as he. In addition he can marry a Mon woman from any other town. Exogamy is limited, then, to members of a particular gbein.

As has been suggested, these sibs are strictly patrilineal. One takes on the food taboos of that group which has paid the bride wealth for his mother. If bride wealth has not been paid then the children resulting from the unfinalized union have the prohibitions of the mother's father. At the gbein level the sib is organized, egalitarian, non-hierarchically ordered and today the land controlling unit among the Mano of Gbannah.

#### LINEAGES

The minimal sibs (gbein) contain lineages (Bea) based upon demonstrated descent. The genealogies seldom go back more than three or four generations beyond the present lineage elders. There will be several lineages in each gbein but they do not trace back to a common origin. This is due to the fact that there has been traditionally a movement of kin groups in search of land. As each group approaches a

town with a request to settle they apply through their sib mates already there. The first lineages to have founded gbeins are the owners of the town.

Each lineage will have a spokesman who is usually the eldest male, or the male with the most forceful personality. These elders select one man to be the gbein representative in dealing with the Liberian government (Gbein Domi: "Quarter Chief").

These same elders also select one man to be the "town chief" for governmental matters. They do not necessarily select the most powerful, nor the richest elder. The town chiefs of both Gipo and Sehwi were chosen because "they were always in town." It is also to the elders' advantage to have a town chief who is not powerful enough to take town matters into his own hands without first gaining the support of the majority.

#### MODERN ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

Counties. The county system was created in 1963 as a part of Tubman's Unification Policy to bring the interior tribal areas into the national political system. Nimba County encompasses the entire Mano and Gio area and is under the administrative control of the County Superintendent at Sanokwele. Previously the Mano area was part of the Central Province and was administered by District Commissioners in Sanokwele and Tapita.

Clans and Chiefdoms. The town was traditionally the largest normally constituted political unit. The "clans" and "chiefdoms" of the Mano

are administrative units which were imposed by the national government after pacification.

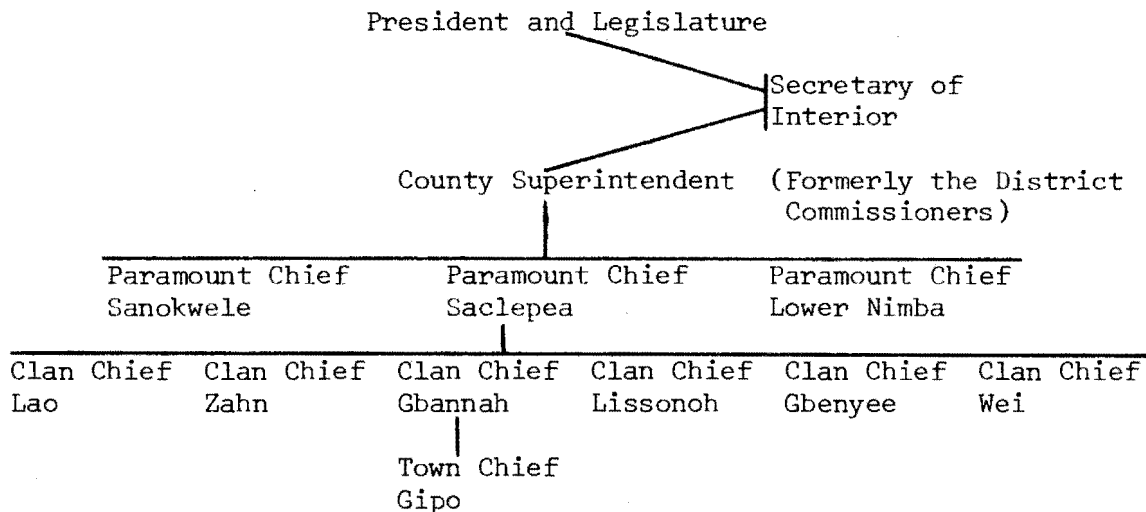
These administrative "clans" were created out of named territorial units composed of a group of villages that historically derived from the first town founded in the area. The thirteen towns of Gbannah constitute such a unit and are administered as a "clan" by the government. These "clans" have regional integrity, since each sib segment of the constituent towns jealously guards its territory. In the wars with the Mandingoes there were instances, related by the elders, of "clans" organizing for defense. This appears, however, to have been sporadic and the unity dissolved as soon as the crisis was over.

The "clans" are grouped into six paramount chiefdoms under paramount chiefs. These paramount chiefdoms do not represent indigenous units nor do the grouped clans have any necessary historical relationship with each other.

As Map 4 illustrates, the traditional ethnic regions and the modern administrative units do not coincide. In the border areas the towns are bilingual. Many towns historically considered Mano have been declared Gio for administrative purposes and vice versa.

From the point of view of the Liberian government the Mano area is administered as in the following chart:

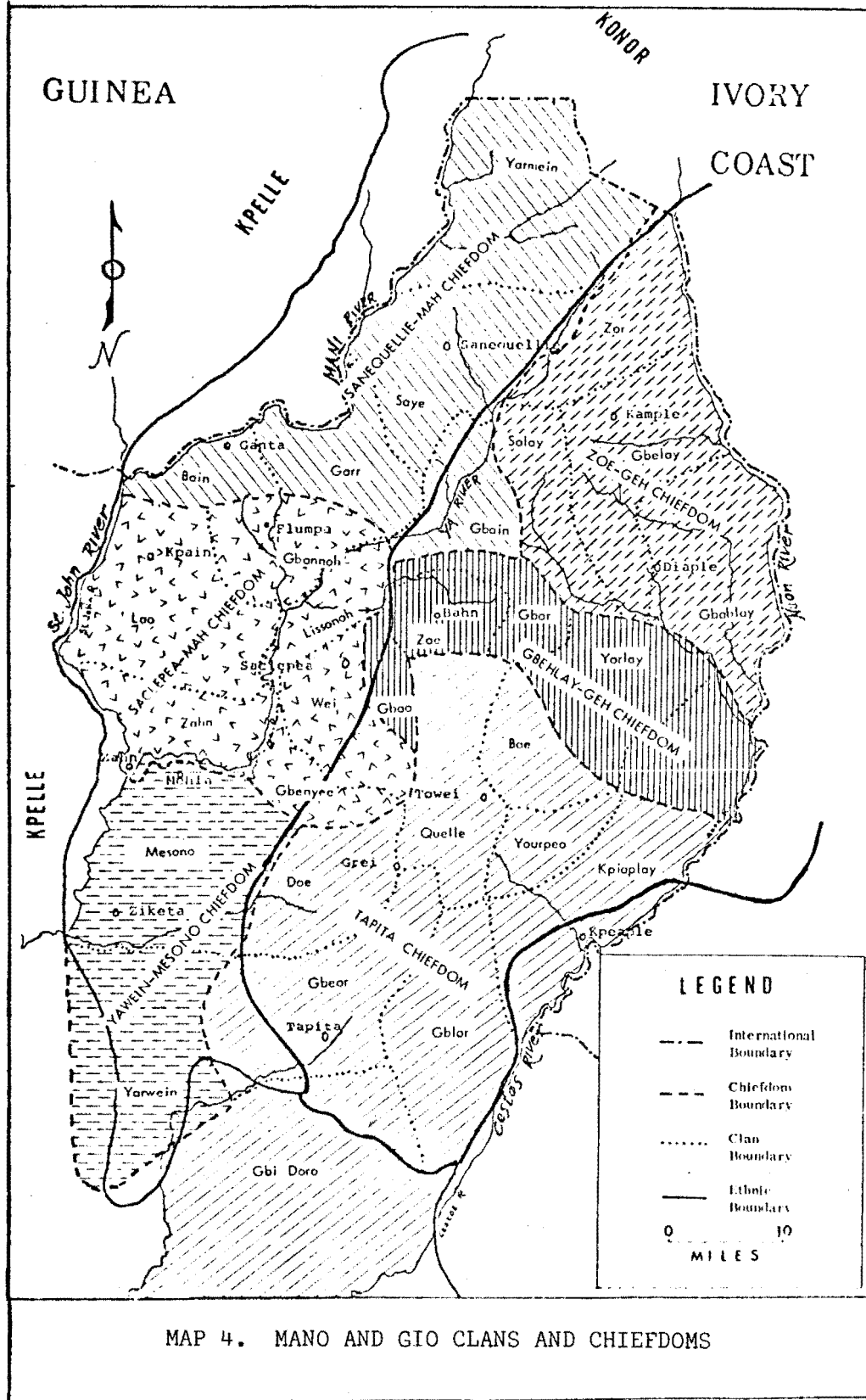
FIGURE 1. ADMINISTRATIVE HIERARCHY



THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Climate. The climate of the Central Mano region is governed, in general, by the seasonal fluctuations affecting most of tropical West Africa. From November 23 to March 21 the sun is overhead south of the equator. A low pressure area builds up above continental South Africa while at the same time a high pressure belt is forming over North Africa. The hot, dry and often dust-laden winds off the Sahara, called the Harmattan, blow from this high pressure area towards the area of low pressure. This brings the dry season to West Africa.

As the sun passes above the equator from March 21 to November 23 a low pressure belt forms over the Sahara and one of high pressure forms over the South African continent. West Africa then comes under the influence of the equatorial Maritime Air Mass, which is relatively cool and moist, as the air mass moves from areas of high to areas of



MAP 4. MANO AND GIO CLANS AND CHIEFDOMS



low pressure. This ushers in the wet or "rainy" season.

During the rainy season the temperature variation between night and day is relatively small due to the constant cloud cover. This cloud cover is absent, however, during the Harmattan and the temperature variation is correspondingly greater (see Table 3). It is amazing to find a need for wool blankets in the tropics at night in, say, December.

The line where the warm air masses from the Sahara meet the moist cool masses from the Atlantic is called the Inter Tropical Front. It is along this front that the rainy season ascends or recedes in West Africa. Therefore, for the area in question, the rainfall pattern is variable not only for altitude but also for latitude.

The rainfall for Gbannah is given in Table 4. The annual average for the period from January 1950 through 1967 was 83.9 inches. The rainy season comes to Gbannah in May and usually lasts through September.

The rainfall is highly erratic, and can vary greatly within relatively short distances. For instance, while a deluge may fall in Flum-pa, not a drop will be felt in Gipo a scant two miles away. The figures given in the table, nevertheless, are reliable as a general indicator.

Topography. The Gbannah towns are located on dissect table lands (see Map 2) undulating to gently rolling, averaging about 1,000 feet above sea level (Voorhoeve 1965:9). The bedrock is of pre-Cambrian age with igneous and metamorphic rock such as granite gneisses, sandstones and

TABLE 3. TEMPERATURE VARIATIONS FOR GBANNAH BY MONTH

MONTHS	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
MEAN DAILY MAXIMUM (°F)	98.0	98.5	98.5	99.3	96.4	93.2	88.3	90.0	92.3	96.7	98.3	96.2
MEAN DAILY MINIMUM (°F)	60.0	57.5	63.5	63.7	64.2	65.2	61.9	61.3	61.3	60.5	59.8	58.6

Source: Papadakis 1966, Vol II.

TABLE 4. RAINFALL FOR GBANNAH

MONTHS	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
RAINFALL INCHES	0.50	2.27	7.27	6.27	6.73	10.80	10.13	8.14	16.50	11.20	4.28	1.20
ANNUAL AVERAGE FOR:												
1950-1962	85 inches											
1963-1967	83 inches											

Source: Papadakis 1966, Vol II; Cocopa Plantation records.

schists. The soils fall into Reed's "Ganta Association" and are "... reddish yellow in color and consist of sandy clay loams and clay loams developed on granitic rocks" (Reed 1951:13). The major soils classified within the Ganta Association are similar in most physical properties but differ in color, tending towards red, brown yellow and grey brown. The lesser associates are the lithosols, grey hydromorphic and the half-bog soils.

These Ganta soils are, in Reed's opinion, best devoted to diversified agriculture. Because of the gentle topography and relatively lesser rainfall than in other parts of Liberia, these soils "...can be more successfully used for producing open-cultivating crops on an intensive basis" (Reed 1951:31).

The fertility of a soil depends on the type of parent material it is developed from and the quality of the unweathered minerals (Voorhoeve 1964). The farmer uses only the topsoil which is often not more than 9 to 12 inches deep. Normally found on top of the soil is a layer of mold or mull less than an inch thick. This uppermost layer is mixed with the topsoil during planting and adds to the organic matter found. The Gbannah system of intercropping is highly adaptive as it utilizes the relatively scarce nutrients available in the topsoil at various levels, depending on root depth (Johnston 1958:129).

There is considerable relative variation found in the topology of Gbannah. As Map 2 indicates, there is less variation in altitude, decreasing complexity in the drainage system and fewer swamps as one moves south. Only the land exploited by Gipo has any great proportion

of its arable land distributed in swamps and dissected tableland.

#### FLORA AND FAUNA

In the undisturbed state the combined factors of high temperature, high rainfall and low altitude result in a high forest vegetation. In Gbannah, however, the relatively dense farming population has brought about a secondary forest of hard, heavy, often leguminous trees (Mayer 1951:25; Voorhoeve, 1965:23).

Although game may have abounded in the days before firearms became plentiful (after 1948), today the largest animal seen in Gbannah forests is the "red deer" (Tragelophus scriptus). All species of monkeys, which are considered a delicacy, have disappeared and those that are eaten today come from the Tapita and Tchien regions.

Since the killing off of the leopards, smaller animal pests such as the "cutting grass" (Thryonomys swinderianus) have become numerous enough to cause considerable damage to grain crops.

In summary, it can be said that the flora and fauna of Gbannah today are the result of man's actions in his environment. The result is a forest devoid, for all practical purposes, of marketable timber, animal protein and the balance that kept small pests under control.

CHAPTER III  
GENERAL HISTORICAL SETTING

Rouch (1960) has suggested that the present migrations of West African males in search of labor is not unrelated to the traditional movements of populations in West Africa. This chapter will trace the movements the Mano have made in response to the general evolution of political states in the Western Sudan. Second, the chapter will analyze the impact of the transition to political control by the Liberian and French governments. The central thesis of this chapter is that the impact of the outside world on the Mano did not begin with pacification in 1912 nor after labor migration began in 1926. There has been a long process of adaptation and accommodation of Liberian ethnic groups to changing socio-economic conditions (d'Azevedo 1959). There are those processes set in motion by political developments in the Sudan and those relationships that have been conditioned by the economic and political policies of occidental society (Hargreaves 1960:63, 67).

Hair (1967) states that the Guinea Coast has been relatively stable for the last 500 years. This has not been true for the Mano and other Liberian groups at the forest edge. Following Fage (1969), the spread of population concentrations and political states towards the forest

region from the eighth century on was occasioned by a continued advancement of the Sahara into the sahel and savannah. Under these conditions, as population grows, agriculturally based economies and the savannah states can expand only to the south. The expanding states eventually reached the forest approximately 200 years ago (Person 1961). This interaction between the savannah and the forest was increased by trade with the coast after 1500.

According to the investigations of Person (1961) the forest fringe area was relatively stable from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Person, in the same publication, located the Mano to the south and east of Beyla, and north of the Nimba range and the forest (see Map 1).

During the first half of the sixteenth century the Malinke "... fuyent l'anarchi qui regne lors sur le moyen-niger..." occupied the territory to the south and east of Kankan and most of the area around Beyla (Person 1961:27; Hargreaves 1967:28). This movement caused repercussions and displacements of the populations previously inhabiting the area. Part of the ensuing reaction was the development of a sharp interface between the Islamic invaders and the non-Islamic people and between the speakers of northern and southern Mande which still exist in the region under discussion.

The Loma and Kpelle moved at this time into their present areas, pushing the Gola to the southwest (Hargreaves 1967:30; Person 1961:28; d'Azevedo 1969:5). The Mano and the closely related Gio began to move in parallel lines to the south of the Nimba range into the high forest.

The forest area was sparsely populated, most probably by Bassa

speakers (Fage 1969:45; Person 1961). However, the Mano say that the area contained only "talking chimpanzees." In fact, the Gbannah town of Lampa was named after one of these creatures (Pygmies?) named Lam who, it was claimed, was inhabiting the site when the Mano first came to the area. It is said that Lam and his family lived in a "hole in the ground" (see Atherton, 1968, for discussion of cave dwellings among the Limba, a West Atlantic speaking group in Sierra Leone. Also, see Atherton, 1969, for a discussion of stone tools which have been found to the south of Gbannah, possibly attributable to these people).

Not all the Mano and Gio have left the savannah but political developments in Haute Guinée generated pressure for continuing expansion into the forest. This was the result of essentially two factors. First, any population growth and land depletion could only be met by expansion to the south (i.e., the forest) because the Malinke states effectively controlled the territory to the north. Second, the trade with the Europeans on the coast brought more slave raids; which could be best avoided in the forest region where the cavalry of the Malinke was less effective.

According to Mano informants, these movements into the forest were not "national" migrations, but rather were made under the direction of "big men" who would take their followers with them. The research of the Himmelhebers indicates that this was the case among the Gio also (1958). As these "big men" settled, they and their followers, usually members of the leader's sib, formed towns. As smaller groups joined the town they would form new village segments.

These villages were always, it appears, undergoing a process of growth and attrition. Segments would split off and form a new town a few miles away, but the new segment remained connected to the old village by ritual and marriage ties, as well as those of affection. This process is still at work today. In 1958 the town of Dea was formed from the members of Gipo who wanted some independence from the Poro grove of Gipo.

All villages that have derived from or have been started in the area of the town of the first "big man" in the region recognize their common historical tie. These form the "clans" of the present administrative system discussed in the last chapter. The first town in Gbannah was Bloh, the second was Flumpa, the third was Gipo and so on for the other ten towns, the last being Dea.

What the political situation was like before the movement into the forest region remains unknown. Since their displacement to the south the Mano have never developed chiefdoms or states (Arcin 1907, 1911; Suret-Canale 1966).

This initial adjustment was completed by about 1700 and the situation stabilized (Person 1961:31f). The Mano were not directly involved in the political developments of the Western Sudan until the rise of Samory in 1850.

#### MANO AND THE COASTAL TRADE

During the 16th Century Sudanic trade became oriented towards the coast (Person 1961:46). The trade between the Western Sudan and North Africa did not stop. As the Europeans extended their power inland, the trade routes shifted to the east, and, in fact, 1875 was the year



in which the greatest amount of trans-Saharan trade took place (Newbury 1966). Trade to the north was only effectively terminated at the end of the nineteenth century with the partitioning of West Africa by the colonial powers. Trade with the coast and coastal trade was added to trans-Saharan and trans-Sudanic trade, not substituted for it.

Even so, the extension of Sudanic trade to the coast brought with it the southern spread of the customs, organization and material goods of the savannah. Traders from the Sudan were seen at the slave factories on the Ghana coast in the early sixteenth century (Rodney 1967). Sudanese political organization developed among the northern Kissi (Person 1961:46 et passim) and the eighteenth century saw the rise of the Mandingo dominated confederacy of Knodo at Bopulu in Liberia (d'Azevedo 1969:5).

The Mano were only marginally affected by this new trade. There were no major trade routes through Mano country and the Mano traditionally and until 1926 traded almost exclusively with the savannah. One of the best indications of this northward emphasis of Mano trade was the fact that salt was obtained from the north rather than from the coast.

Although the Mano were only marginally involved in the trade they were affected by slave raiding. The principal raiders were the Malinke to the north. Furthermore, a major source of slaves the Gola, Mondo and Vai used in their agricultural systems were the Eastern Kpelle, Loma and Mano (d'Azevedo 1959:60). Slavery was a well entrenched institution among the central Mano. Slaves were taken in battle or as

pawns for debt and perhaps wergild. As among the Yalunka (Donald 1968) the slaves were used principally for agricultural labor and were housed in slave or farm villages away from town.

#### THE HAUTE GUINÉE STATE OF SAMORY TOURÉ

The development of the 19th century state of Samory Touré was a very important event in the history of the Mano. It brought the last great conflict between the forest Mano and the savannah Malinke before both groups were brought under French and Liberian control.

Samoury Touré was born around 1840 (Niane and Suret-Canale 1961) and he began to establish himself as a power in Haute Guinée from 1870 to 1875 onwards. He has been characterized as an Islamic reformer. There is some doubt, however, as to how diligent he was in enforcing Muslem law. Legassick (1966:97-98) has suggested that Islam was a means to forming a new state rather than a return to the true caliphate.

In any event, the Mano that I met were strongly adverse to Islam. I see this as a development out of the general conflict in the Western Sudan between the Islamized and the pagan Mande speakers. This suggests that there is some relationship between this conflict and the fact that Poro is strongest in those areas that form an interface with the Mandinka (Mandingo) Muslims. Poro, as Person (1961:9) suggests, is a reinforcer of forest culture values.

The antagonism along this interface was intensified by Samory's later incursions into the area for slaves. After the French gained control of the Buré gold fields, Samory turned to raiding and slaving operations among the surrounding pagan groups in order to finance his

resistance to French advancements.

By 1885 the French were in effective possession of the Guinée littoral (Mary 1937:87), and Samory was given official recognition. A treaty was imposed in 1888 (Mary 1937:89) and Samory's state was made a protectorate of France (Niane and Suret-Canale 1961:121). This arrangement broke down because of continued French pressure and intervention in their attempts to isolate Samory as much as possible. In response to French actions against him, Samory moved his base of operations (capital) from Segula in present Guinée to Kong in the Ivory Coast.

Samory's position became increasingly precarious as the French were now able to stop his arms flow from Freetown. In a last desperate move he came south and west towards the Nimba mountains in 1898 (Fage 1969). The final campaigns were marked by great devastation and a few of them took place in Mano territory (Arcin 1911:600). Samory was captured in a surprise attack on his camp at Guelemou (Ivory Coast) while he was negotiating with the French for peace (Ifemesia 1969:288) and was deported to Gabon where he died two years later from malnutrition (Niane and Suret-Canale 1961:127; Arcin 1911:607, 608; Legassick 1966), thus ending one of the major epochs of this part of West Africa.

The period from the rise of Samory Touré until the pacification by French and Liberian forces was one of continued adjustment by the Mano people. With the removal of Samory, a power vacuum was created. This time is referred to as the Gbulu glii (war of the giants) and was characterized by the penetration of Mandingo influence into northern and western Mano groups. In reference to Poro, only those Mano areas

affected by the Gbulu glii have the society.

#### PACIFICATION

The Mano are split by the French Guinée-Liberia border which was preliminarily established on December 8, 1892 (Mary 1937:95). Attempts were made to finalize the border arrangements in 1903 but they miscarried. Talks between France and Liberia were started again in 1904-5 but failed as both parties were attempting to maximize their positions (Suret-Canale 1964:140). In this period two Liberian superintendents, Cummings and Lomax undertook the effective occupation of the Liberian hinterland. The uncertainty of the exact boundary and the lack of effective control facilitated the belated resistance of the Mano.

From 1905-1907 the French initiated military operations against the Loma and Kisi with the overall plan to make the forest the effective border with Liberia. This culminated in 1908 with the burning of the Loma town of N'Zapa that was associated with the trade route used by Samory before his defeat. The defeat of this town freed the French forces for the advances on the Kpelle, Kono and Mano. The taking of N'Zapa was considered so important an undertaking that its razing was hailed in Monrovia (Richardson 1959:126).

In 1908 the border was finally established by a mixed mission composed of Dutch and French officials and Liberia was forced to sign. From that date on, the French and Liberian governments continued to solidify and control their respective areas with only one major attempt by the Mano and Kpelle to assert their independence.

In 1911 the French factor Bartié provoked the resistance of the

two tribes. The French blamed the dissatisfaction that led to the uprising on Bernard, the Liberian counterpart to Bartié (Suret-Canale 1964). Lelong (1946:269) suggests that the cause might best be found by looking into the burdens the French placed on the population. Bartié was attempting to collect taxes that were impossible to meet and both he and Captain Hequet of the French Army were killed in attempting to quell the conflict.

For all practical purposes pacification was complete on the Guinée side in 1912 (Suret-Canale 1966) and by 1914 on the Liberian side. Resistance was sporadic and mainly passive from then on. The Guinée Mano, however, were under military administration until the period just before the Second World War (1939) (Suret-Canale 1966:471; Lelong 1946:260). On the Liberian side the town of Gipo, mentioned often in this thesis, maintained guerilla warfare for ten years.

#### POST PACIFICATION AND THE RISING INVOLVEMENT IN THE MONEY ECONOMY

Incorporation into the western-oriented political systems of the conquerers brought new kinds of situations. First, there was the loss of local autonomy, then the imposition of taxes. Perhaps the most burdensome change was forced labor. The Liberian government has been cited often for its labor policies, alleged or real (see League of Nations 1931a, 1931b). Liberia was not unique, as repression in labor policies among the Mano was equal in Guinée under the French, both in the eyes of the Mano and those of the historians Lelong and Suret-Canale (cf. Suret-Canale 1964; Lelong 1946:259 et passim). He is concerned only with the Kpelle).

The lack of a state or chiefdom level of political organization in indigenous times presented problems both for Liberian and French administrators. There were no traditional leaders who could amass labor and taxes. These positions had to be created and the "clans" and "chiefdoms" date from this period. The task of administration was far from easy as the following quote by a French administrative officer indicated (in Lelong 1946:264).

Note aux chefs de canton (No. 310)

Je vous rappelle que vous devez faire le champ du Commandant, le champ de corvée et le champ individuel.

Libérez les équipes de caoutchouc afin que les hommes de ces équipes puissent cultiver.

Un canton vaut ce que vaut son chef; il y a dans le Cercle de très bons chefs donc de très bons cantons. Il y a malheureusement de mauvais cantons, donc des chefs médiocres que doivent améliorer leur manière de servir s'ils veulent éviter les sanctions que je ne manquerai pas de prendre en cas de nécessité: révocation ou suppression pure et simple du canton qui sera rattaché à un bon.

N'Zerekore, le 23 février 1944  
Le commandant du Cercle

All the changes that were introduced were not as detrimental to the psychological and sociological adjustments to modern conditions as were the labor policies. The inter-societal and intertown conflict ended when matters of conflict resolution above the town level passed to the national states. This cession of hostilities stimulated trade. Traditionally trade was under the leadership of the "big men" (Domia) and was in the hands of the Leopard and Crocodile Societies. These societies, informants say, required the sacrifice of a wife or child as the criteria for membership. This effectively limited membership

to the elders of the largest lineage in a town. This afforded the representatives of the "big man" who sponsored the trading expedition protection as far as his reputation was known.

Trade was, then, a group activity sponsored by the most powerful men of a town and carried out by ten or twenty warriors.

The trade items did not change with pacification but the organization of trading did. Traditionally, and until 1926 when people began the trip to the coast, kola and local manufactures were traded to the north with the Mandingo for cloth, metal and salt. The end of conflict introduced the idea of, and made possible, trade and travel for personal gain.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF SOCIAL OVERHEAD CAPITAL IN GBANNAH

The development of transportation and communication systems along with investments in health and education are necessary adjuncts to the economic development of a region. (Higgins 1959;204, et passim). The development of these social capital facilities for the Liberian hinterland had long been the expressed desire of the Liberian government (see Richardson 1959). Because of the economics of scale of a road, transportation and communication network, to say nothing of a working educational and public health system, actual governmental involvement in providing these services had to wait for developments in the general Liberian economy and the initial thrust of the foreign concessions.

In one sense this was fortunate as the scale of the undertaking, the lack of planning personnel and the unpredictability caused by Liberia's position vis-a-vis the external economies would have meant

any investment errors would have long term effects (see Cootner 1963). As it is, these services have grown in response to the location and needs of the capitalized sector.

Before the Second World War there was no motor contact with the Gbannah area. All transportation of goods took place on the heads of men assembled for corvee labor and communication with the capital and the coastal areas depended upon hand carried messages. During this time government officials in the Mano area were able to rule autocratically with little correspondence or interference from the national government.

During this period also the migrants from Gbannah to Firestone would travel in groups, carrying their supplies and taking the better part of a week for the trip. Communications about job opportunities and labor needs at the concessions were possible only by word of mouth.

The period before the coming of the motor roads in 1948 was the time the missions made their greatest impact on Gbannah as they were the only agencies providing schooling or medical care. In 1926 the Methodists initiated their work in Ganta under the direction of the physician G. H. Harley, who was principally interested in hospital and school development (Wold 1968; Official Gazette 1966). It was not until 1947 that the Methodists really attempted any full time evangelical work among the Mano (Wold 1968:81).

In 1937 the World Wide Evangelism Crusade began work in the central Mano area and have since founded one of their missions stations in Gbannah outside of the town of Flumpa and other stations in nearby Saclepea and Bahn (Wold 1968). The major emphasis of this group is on



evangelism, but in response to a governmental requirement that missions could only preach if they also provide a school, they have established a clinic and a school at each of their stations.

In 1948 Gbannah was united with Monrovia by motor road (Stanley 1966). The development of roads and the subsequent possibility of rapid motor transport to the coast has had far reaching implications for the whole of Mano social organization. It has made possible the effective development of private rubber plantations, the American financed Cocopa Plantation and the enlargement of commercial centers like Ganta and Sanequellie. For the individual migrant it means that he need no longer travel to Firestone in a group for security. He can now board a "money bus" in Flumpa at eight o'clock in the morning and by two in the afternoon he will be with kinsmen or friends at Harbel. The trip to Monrovia takes about an hour longer. The road has had one other major role vis-a-vis labor migration. Because it has made the sale of cash crops practicable, it has also created an alternative to working for wages. This point will be discussed further below.

For Gbannah the road has also meant the development of a whole new local marketing structure. Mandingo shop keepers are found in Gban, Flumpa, Gipo and Gbeibini, and there are two Lebanese stores in Flumpa. In addition, both Flumpa and Gipo have Mano-owned shops. Traders and buyers now go from town to town purchasing cash crops and food staples which they transport to the road. Previously, the villagers had to head load their goods to Ganta in search of an interested party.

The new shops have meant that those items that used to be brought

back by returning migrants are now readily available locally. This has led to a decline in the manufacture of some of the traditional craft items. Pottery is still made in Kpei and occasionally someone is observed making cloth but in general, modern cookware, pots, pans and cloth prints have replaced the local manufactures.

This decline is not true, however, for agricultural tools. The traditional tools are preferred to the European made variety and the blacksmith is still an important figure in any town. The three blacksmiths in Gipo were so far behind demand during the farming season that imported machetes were bought because the traditional ones could not be made fast enough. Furthermore, Cocopa Plantation has a Mano blacksmith employed full time making tapping equipment which is found equal to that imported from abroad.

Of more than passing interest in the industrial states, with their highly developed systems of communication, is the question of what kind of information people use in making job decisions and just where the laborer gets his information. Although the communication network of Liberia is expanding each year, it does not in its more advanced techniques greatly affect the Mano laborer seeking work. The majority still depend almost wholly on verbal reports of job opportunities and working conditions at the various wage centers.

Another form of communication that is very important, however, is the transistor radio. Even though a majority of the mature males are illiterate and speak English poorly at best, they can keep abreast of national and international events by listening to the broadcasts in

Mano given by the Liberian Broadcasting Corporation and those transmitted by a church sponsored station. Each of these stations has a regularly scheduled program of news and special events in the various indigenous languages. In addition, the church sponsored station (ELWA) devotes time to messages and requests. In this way a migrant at Firestone or the capital can let those at home know how he is doing, of the birth of a child or he can relay a request for assistance. For this reason, at news or Mano Program time, the men of the towns are gathered into groups around the transistor radios of returned migrants or of the wealthy cash-croppers.

The provision of public education throughout the Mano area has been a relatively late phenomenon. For the Central Mano, mission schooling has been available in Ganta, Flumpa, Saclepea and Bahn for some time. These schools are self-supporting in most cases and although the tuition has not been placed at a prohibitive level it is higher than most families are willing to pay. Even so, mission schools still have more applicants than the facilities will accommodate. Public schools have been placed at each of these towns since 1948, and are manned in part by Peace Corps Volunteers. The quality of education given is not high by Euro-American standards, but is to all observations enthusiastically received by everyone. Since Mano parents do not insist on children going to school, only those that really want education go. However, since school is viewed by the children as more fun than staying home and helping on the family farms, the schools, both public and private, are filled to overflowing.

TABLE 5. NUMBER OF KNOWN MATURE STUDENTS STUDYING  
AWAY FROM GBANNAH FOR FOUR GBANNAH TOWNS

Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
15	6	3	0	4	1	23	3
Total: 21		3		5		26	

Number of 13-25 year olds remaining in  
the sample four towns: 416

Adult night school is offered sporadically in the above mentioned schools and mature men and women vie with each other for the opportunity to go. The enthusiasm, however, lies in going, and learning to read and write English is secondary. Few who do go, therefore, achieve any real proficiency in the national language.

The best vocational training is provided at Booker Washington Institute (Clower 1966:263-265) and at the Concessions. The two concession schools closest to the Mano are those of LAMCO and the German managed Bong Mining Company. As entrance into these schools is determined by competitive examination, with only the very highest accepted, the standards are high. The schools can guarantee jobs to all graduates as they are sought by enterprises all over Liberia because the need for skilled labor increases each year with developments in the economy (Clower et al 1966).

#### SUMMARY

The Mano in general and the Central Mano of Gbannah in particular have been adjusting over a long period of time to the political and economic pressures of West Africa. The adjustment has not only been to those of European derivation but also to those generated in the Western Sudan.

Toubal has pointed out (1966:285) that African societies did not exist in a political vacuum. Even those away from the coast and considered relatively isolated had dealings with neighboring societies and tribal authorities that were either superior or subordinate to them. They, therefore, were aware of some of the possible implications of the

new relationships emerging with the Liberian and French governments. In fact, the history of Mano expansions down from the savannah and the contacts they had with coastal slavers and their continued trade with the Mandingo made knowledge of the outside world available. The relative isolation and defense offered by the forest and the buffer given the Mano of Gbannah by the surrounding forest groups provided some relief from the dislocating aspect of political incorporation into the Liberian state.

## CHAPTER IV

## MANO INVOLVEMENT IN WAGE LABOR

The involvement of the Mano of Gbannah in wage labor has been in response to foreign capital investments. The locus of labor migration has changed with developments in the economy.

## FOREIGN CAPITAL INVESTMENT

Although the United States has always had an historical association with Liberia, direct American involvement in the internal workings of the republic came after 1909. In that year Congress authorized a commission to investigate Liberia's affairs. In its report (see Senate Document 457, 61st Congress, Second Session) the commission recommended assisting Liberia in administering its foreign debts (customs receivership) and military aid in training the Liberian Frontier Force (Buell 1947:24). President Taft authorized three American officers for service in the Frontier Force in 1910 and it was one of these officers who completed the pacification of the Mano and Gio areas in 1913 (Foreign Relations of the United States 1910:710; 1912:652; 1913:654).

Economic assistance came in 1912 with an American and European loan of \$1,700,000 at 5% which went principally to paying off Liberia's debts. Table 6 summarizes the major foreign loan negotiations from the

turn of the century to the founding of Firestone's concessions. Liberia's economic situation had become financially precarious by 1925. France was threatening its northern borders and had already occupied about ten Liberian villages (Buell 1928:II:793). According to Buell, the Liberian government was prepared to meet most of the demands of the Firestone interests believing that "...only by securing the investment of American capital in Liberia...the government could count on the continual support of the United States" (Buell, *ibid*).

TABLE 6. MAJOR FOREIGN LOAN NEGOTIATIONS  
1900-1927

YEAR	AMOUNT		
1906	\$ 500,000	British	For roads and reforms
1912	\$1,700,000	U.S., British, French and German	Pay defaulted debts
1918	\$5,000,000	U.S. First Liberty Loan Act of 1917	Never finalized. Liberty loans terminated 1921
1927	\$5,000,000	Firestone	Refunding previous debts

Sources: Foreign Relations of the United States 1908, 1911, 1912, 1917, 1925, 1926; Buell 1928:II:843; 1947: 24-33; Taylor 1956:48-52.

Liberia's interest in Firestone was intensified by its position vis-a-vis the world powers; Firestone's interest in Liberia was the result of the world rubber economy (Taylor 1956:42-47). By 1920 the United States consumed 70% of the world's rubber production. Table 7 shows the fluctuations and non-predictability of the world rubber



market price structure. The range in prices paid at New York varied between 11.5¢ to \$1.21 a pound in the five years before the Firestone agreement. In order to stabilize the rubber market at around 30¢ a pound the British adopted the Stevenson Plan in 1922. Although this plan of production control on British owned plantations in Ceylon and Malaya proved a complete failure by 1927, it caused strong reaction in the U.S. at its inception. In 1923 Congress appropriated \$500,000 for a survey of potential plantation sites for American capital. From the very beginning Harvey Firestone was an active opponent of the Stevenson Plan and considered areas of possible development: Mexico, Sarawak, the Philippines, and Liberia. The Liberian plantation was the only one that materialized (Taylor 1956:46).

TABLE 7. PRICE OF RUBBER (NEW YORK)  
1900-1926

YEAR	PRICE (PER POUND)	MAJOR EX- PORT AREA
1900	\$1.50	Brazil
1905	3.00	Brazil
1910	.65	
1915	.66	Asia
1920	.36	Asia
1925	1.20	Asia

Range of price fluctuation 1920-1925:  
11.5¢-\$1.21

Source: Taylor 1956:43,44; Buell 1928:818,819.

Firestone thus became the dominant economic institution in Liberia. From the time company agents began rehabilitating the former British Mt. Barclay plantation until 1948, Firestone was the principal employer of Mano males. In 1961 there were 1,189 Mano employed and they accounted for 7% of the total labor force (Clower, et al, 1966:307).

#### THE LIBERIA COMPANY

The Liberia Company's Cocopa Plantation opened in 1948 and was the first major economic enterprise in the Mano area. Its further importance for this study is the fact that it is located in the northeast corner of Gbannah (see Map 2).

The plantation was originally conceived as an altruistic enterprise. While he was Secretary of State, Edward Stettinius, the American industrialist, felt that Liberia needed to exploit its iron ore resources and to diversify its exports. In order to provide a model of regional development, jobs and cash income in an area as yet unreached by motor road, he proposed to finance a non-profit cacao plantation in the hinterland, among a tribe recommended by Firestone for its good employment record. The Liberian government presented a concession area of 25,000 acres which was initially planted in cacao. The soils proved unproductive and coffee was tried in 1954 but by 1964 the plantation had turned entirely to rubber production.

## LIBERIAN AMERICAN-SWEDISH MINERALS COMPANY

## (LAMCO JOINT VENTURE IRON MINES)

The LAMCO iron mine in the Nimba Range is the most recent concession and the only other major employer besides Cocopa Plantation in the Mano area. The LAMCO concession agreements date from 1953 but were rewritten in 1960 at which time Bethlehem Steel acquired a 25% interest and LAMCO and the Liberian government formed a fifty-fifty partnership for the remaining 75% (Clower et al 1966:211).

As was indicated in the previous chapter, the social capital facilities of Liberia were extremely limited. In order to mine in the Nimba area LAMCO had to spend over \$200 million in production and overhead social capital facilities at Yekepa (the main mining center at Nimba) and for a harbor and loading facility at Buchanan on the coast (Clower et al 1966:215). These investments, even before full production was reached, make LAMCO the largest capital investor in Liberia (Clower et al 1966:216; Qureshi et al 1964:295).

The Nimba ore is mined in open pits where it is blasted loose and moved to a crushing plant by heavy earth moving equipment. From the crusher it moves by a conveyor belt down the mountain to an ore train loading complex. From here the ore is taken directly to Buchanan where it is processed and graded and loaded on board ore ships. The whole process, then, is highly capitalized and automated, requiring a skilled and highly trained labor force.

LAMCO employed 735 Mano workers in 1961 during its construction period. Since it has gone into full time production its need for un-

skilled labor has largely disappeared and the number of Mano presently employed is less, although the exact number is not known because LAMCO no longer tabulates workers by tribe.

#### THE MIGRATION PATTERN

In Table 8 the data on all past wage labor experience of 174 domestic group heads interviewed in Gbannah is given. These data are summarized in Figure 2. The fact that Firestone has been hiring since 1924 is evinced in the figures. Most of those men now in charge of a domestic group would have made their first trip for wage employment before Cocopa and LAMCO were developed.

The past trips by these Gbannah males to two major rubber plantations account for 78% of the total migrations for wage labor. Other occupations such as soldiering did not loom large for the Mano as they did for the Kpelle and Loma (Carter Ms.; Liebenow 1969). The elders of Gbannah say this was the case because when they went to join the Army there were few who could speak Mano and all the available positions were always filled by the relatives of those who were already soldiers.

Since World War II the job market in Liberia has been expanding. In 1950 the wage earning labor force was estimated at 30,000; about 20,000 of this total were employed by Firestone (Clower, et al, 1966: 259). By 1960 the total number of wage earners had risen to approximately 80,000. Not only has the number of available jobs in foreign concessions increased but also there is a greater number available in the domestic economy.

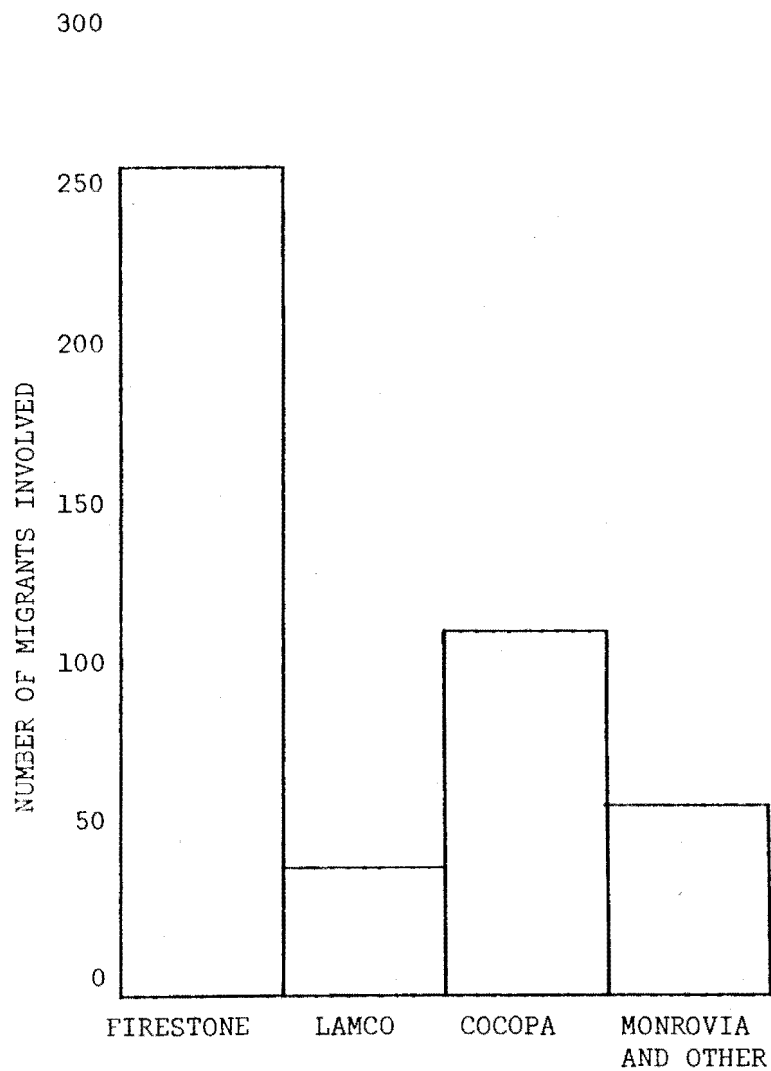
TABLE 8. NUMBER OF TRIPS MADE TO VARIOUS LABOR SITES BY  
DOMESTIC GROUP HEADS IN FOUR GBANNAH TOWNS

LABOR SITE	NUMBER OF TRIPS MADE							TOTAL TRIPS
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more	
FIRESTONE (1924-1968)	42	69	29	15	8	5	4	259
LAMCO (1957-1968)	138	29	5	1	-	-	-	42
COCOPA (1948-1968)	82	76	12	1	1	-	-	114
MONROVIA AND OTHER (1914-1968)	115	52	6	-	-	-	-	61

Total Number  
of Domestic Groups: 174

Number of Domestic  
Group Heads Having  
Made no Trips: 17

FIGURE 2. BAR GRAPH OF EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE BY  
LABOR SITE. SAMPLE OF 160 GBANNAH MALES  
FROM FOUR TOWNS



Source: Table 8

MAP 5. DISPERSION OF MIGRANTS FROM GIPO BY LABOR SITE

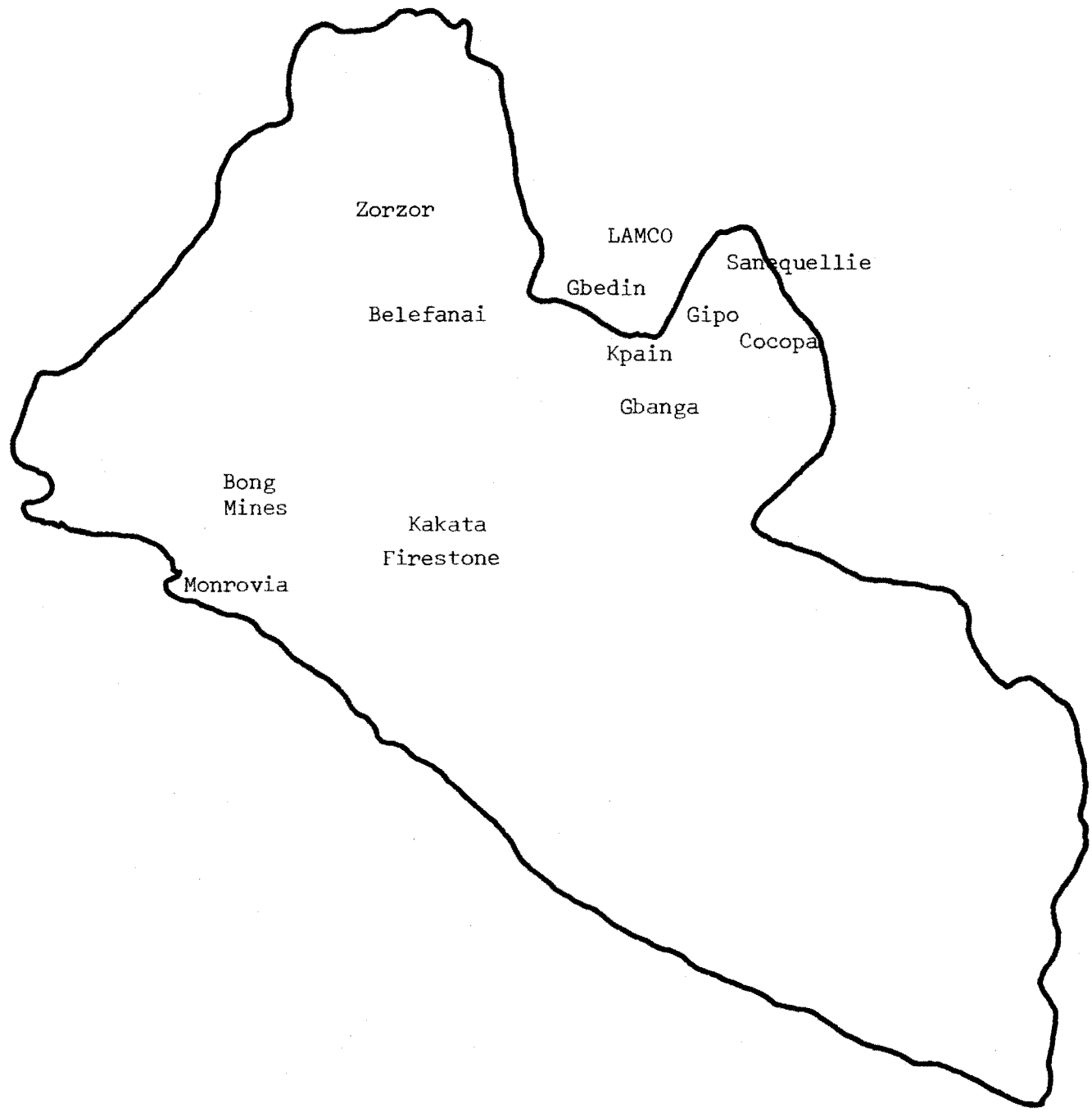


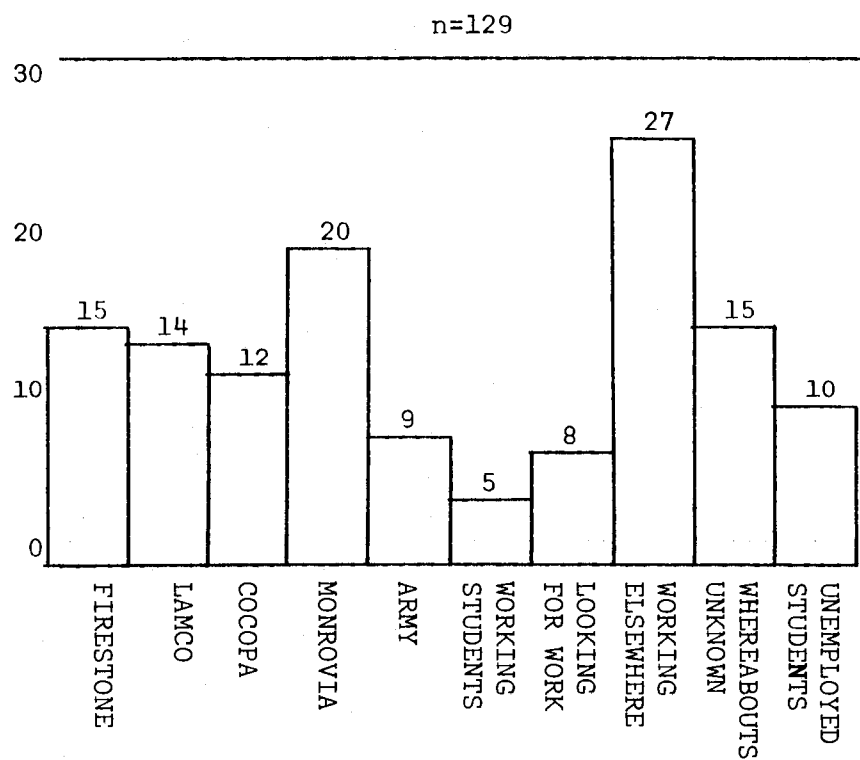
TABLE 9. DISTRIBUTION OF CURRENT GIPO MIGRANTS

PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT	FIRESTONE	LAMCO	COCOPA	MONROVIA	ARMY	OTHER	TRAVELLING, WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN
Number of migrants	15	14	12	11	9	27	15
Seeking employment <sup>1</sup>	Unknown	4	None	4	None	Unknown	

<sup>1</sup>Number of males living with an employed migrant while looking for wage employment.

Total Population in same age category: 273

FIGURE 3. BAR GRAPH: PRESENT GIPO MALE MIGRANTS



Source: Table 9



The information on the location of current migrants from Gipo (Table 9 and Figure 3) exemplify the expanding job market. Whereas 78% of the labor trips made by the sample of Gbannah domestic group heads were to two rubber plantations, only 21% of the current migrants from Gipo are now employed at these two sites while 59% are currently known to be employed at non-concession jobs. Taken site by site Firestone is still the most frequented labor concession; followed by LAMCO and Cocopa. Twenty of the mature males reside in Monrovia but only eleven are employed. The other nine were principally students and job seekers.

The labor histories of the Gipo domestic group heads indicate that the Gbannah Mano did not have a long tradition of labor migration to the coast or involvement in wage labor as did groups like the Sabo, Bassa, Kru and Grebo (see McEvoy Ms.; Fraenkel 1964). The places that initially attracted the Mano labor migrant were the large foreign concessions. The Firestone plantation was the first major real alternative known by the Mano to village life.

This situation began to change after World War II with the development of two concessions in Mano territory. In addition, investment of outside capital in new concessions in both the Mano and non-Mano areas has stimulated the development of an internal service and supportive infrastructure in the Liberian economy. This new job market accounts for the present dispersion of the migrants from Gipo when compared to that of their fathers. There has, thus, developed a dichotomy between the old and the young as to which labor sites are most desirable. The elders see the job market in terms of past conditions while the current

migrants must choose their labor areas based on present opportunities and skills (see Table 10). of the concessions, the older men preferred LAMCO because of its proximity and higher pay. However, because LAMCO hires principally skilled laborers the Gipo migrants must go elsewhere.

TABLE 10. COMPARISON OF TOWN ELDERS' FIRST CHOICE  
IN A LABOR SITE WITH THE ACTUAL CHOICE  
OF PRESENT GIPO MIGRANTS

FIRST CHOICE OF ELDERS	NUMBER	(%)	ACTUAL LOCATION OF MIGRANTS	NUMBER	(%)
LAMCO	11	(22)	LAMCO	13	(10)
Cocopa	8	(16)	Cocopa	12	(9)
Firestone	4	(8)	Firestone	15	(12)
Government	3	(6)	Army	9	(7)
Other	17	(34)	Monrovia and other	47	(36)
No preference	7	(14)	Travelling or not working	33	(25)
TOTALS	50	(100)		129	(99)

#### MOTIVATION

Mitchell has pointed out that there are many factors that may govern why one man leaves his natal village to seek wage labor and another stays (1970:31). This section analyzes the dominant themes and general environment of motivation that have emerged from the actors' perceptions of wage labor over time.

Conditions in Mano country at the time of initial migration to Firestone were; 1) freedom of long distance travel that resulted from

pacification and the ending of tribal hostilities, 2) increasing money demands caused by taxes and other obligations of the national state, and 3) limited access to goods and labor markets. Firestone began operations just at a time when Mano horizons and needs were expanding.

Table 11 summarizes the stated motives of Gipo migrants for their first trip in search of wage employment and Table 12 summarizes the same for all trips to labor centers. The Gbannah Mano have divided the period from the establishment of national jurisdiction in the area to the present into three broad categories.

TABLE 11. STATED MOTIVE FOR FIRST MIGRATION  
TO A LABOR CENTER FOR GIPO LABOR  
HISTORY SAMPLE

	1920-1932		1932-1940		1940-1960	
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
Ploto (Forced Labor)	3	(30)	12	(46)	2	(22)
Money and Consumer Goods	5	(50)	9	(35)	6	(67)
Other <sup>1</sup>	2	(20)	5	(19)	1	(11)
TOTALS	10	(100)	26	(100)	9	(100)

<sup>1</sup>Other category includes those who went with an older relative, joined the conquering army, and those who were in trouble in the village and wanted to get away until tempers cooled.

TABLE 12. STATED MOTIVE FOR ALL LABOR MIGRATIONS  
GIPO LABOR HISTORY SAMPLE

	1920-1932		1932-1940		1940-1968	
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
Ploto (Forced Labor)	3	(25)	23	(51)	24	(33)
Money and Consumer Goods	6	(50)	16	(36)	41	(57)
Other	3	(25)	6	(13)	7	(10)
TOTALS	12	(100)	45	(100)	72	(100)

The First Period. When the first migrants left Gipo to work at Firestone they were leaving a town that had been completely defeated, psychologically and militarily, by the Liberian Army. The town was rebuilding and every available man was needed. Therefore, when travelers from the Gio tribe (the neighboring group to the east and north) came through town on their way to the coast and told of the job opportunities at Harbel, the young men were forbidden to go by the town chief Gbianskwei. The men who left on that first trip did so in secret. The first men did not leave to get goods or money principally, but rather for the adventure.

During most of the first period of migration (1920-1932) the migrants left Gipo much the way Mossi migrants left their villages in the upper Volta to work in Ghana when studied by Skinner (1965). They met in secret and made plans on what to take, how to go, what they would eat, and when they would leave.

The first migrant returned to Gipo some four months after the first group had gone. He recounts how the town gave a feast for him, how the girls baked rice cakes and the other young men were "on fire" over his pants and shirts. When the other men, especially the young ones, saw how he was treated when he returned they all wanted to go and begged him to lead them. From that time on, migration was an established pattern in Gipo although it was resisted by the elders until forced labor came in the period from 1932-1940.

Although the adventure of a trip to the coast was very real for those who left, the desire for clothing dominates all conversations about this period. Never before nor since has it been possible, said an elder, for a man to show off his clothes to such an effect.

The Second Period. In recounting George Dunbar's administration (1932-1940) another theme becomes dominant in most of the interviews and conversations--what the Mano call ploto, i.e., "forced labor." Forced labor has a narrower connotation than ploto. When a Gbannah man or woman is called upon to help build a road, to cut the undergrowth along the edge of a motorway or to repair the fence around the district headquarters, that is, all those tasks that might be called civic labor, it is called ploto. Conceptually, then, this is the same as when he is sent to work on a government official's farm without compensation. However, the Dunbar years were severe as is amply testified by the physical scars carried by the elders and in the lists of men beaten to death at the whim of soldier or administrator. Although Dunbar may have indeed done much for the people under him, this was the period present domestic

group heads considered to have been the most filled with hardship. Thus the main stated motive for going to seek work during the 1932-1940 period, was associated with ploto. The category Ploto (forced labor) in Tables 11 and 12 groups all those men who took a job away from Gipo because: 1) they were forced to go, 2) they wanted to escape from a forced labor project, 3) they went on a ploto to carry a load to, or to pick a cargo up in, Kakata for an official and decided to stay once they got there, and 4) those who had finished some forced labor project and wanted to get away from the home area. If one was at the Firestone plantation at Harbel he was safe from any call. The reasoning employed by many was that as long as one was away from town working one should make some money at it.

The Third Period. The time since Dunbar's administration has been, by way of contrast, a distinct period to the Mano of Gbannah. The roads to Monrovia have been completed connecting Gbannah with the mainstream of Liberia's economy. It is also the period when the central government has become directly concerned with the area and Monrovia has supplanted Sanequellie as the center of decision making. Compulsory labor has decreased substantially. In addition, many alternatives to Firestone have been added to the horizons of the Gbannah migrants. Rather than escape from the conditions prevalent in the rural area, as was the case during the second period, the majority of the men are leaving now to get money and goods to bring back to the village.

The Recruitment Practices of Firestone. In discussions of motivation of migrant labor in Liberia one must consider the recruitment policies practiced until recently by Firestone (Clower et al 1966:309, 311; Taylor 1956; Buell 1947; Hayman 1943).

Part of the arrangements between Firestone and the Liberian government was concerned with the supply of labor. In 1926 a quota system was established whereby each district had to provide a certain number of workers. The Paramount Chiefs were then compensated for each man from their area. In 1954 the quote for the Sanequellie District (Mano and Northern Gio) was 3,050 (Clower et al 1966:311).

In the labor histories of the 50 randomly selected Gipo males who had made over 130 wage earning labor trips (Tables 11 and 12) it was discovered that only 5 of the trips were the result of forcible recruitment (ploto) by Firestone agents. Two of the five had made voluntary wage labor trips before being so recruited and another two made subsequent trips. The fifth man has never left the town to work again. What emerges from the Gipo data is that the Mano were seeking wage employment for reasons other than labor recruitment from the very beginning.

#### AGE AND OCCUPATION

Intensive work was done among the migrants from Gipo working in Monrovia, Cocopa and LAMCO in order to determine the age and types of social situations faced by migrants in various occupations at these employment centers which account for 36% of that town's mature male migrants. Cocopa was selected rather than Firestone as the sample

rubber plantation because of its intimate relationship with all aspects of Gbannah life.

Figures 4, 5 and 6 give the age pyramids for people from Gipo living at these places. The median age for mature male migrants to Monrovia is 22 years while that to LAMCO is 28 and to Cocopa is 35.

The number of Gipo migrants to Monrovia involved in each occupational category is given in Table 13. Students account for 30% of the sample. The student migrants tend to work part time while attending school and five of them held part time employment during the interview period. Education is important in the Monrovia job market and the three migrants who hold professional positions have attended high school. Among the uneducated migrants only those in the para-professional categories of soldiering and maternity ward steward did well. The soldiers receive food, housing, clothing and transportation in addition to their cash wages. The average monthly salary of \$73 a month for fully employed migrants is high by national standards. Counteracting these relatively high wages, however, is the cost of living in Monrovia which is among the highest of any urban center in the world "...with a cost of living index of 115 compared with the base of 100 for New York City" (Qureshi et al, 1964:297).

Cocopa, located in the northeast corner of Gbannah, tends to attract those older Gipo males who wish to remain close to home and do not have the requisite skills for work at LAMCO. This is reflected in the median age of 35 years for these migrants. None of the migrants to Cocopa have any formal western education and all of them are in the



FIGURE 4. POPULATION PYRAMID  
FOR 51 GIPO MIGRANTS IN MONROVIA  
BY SEX AND AGE

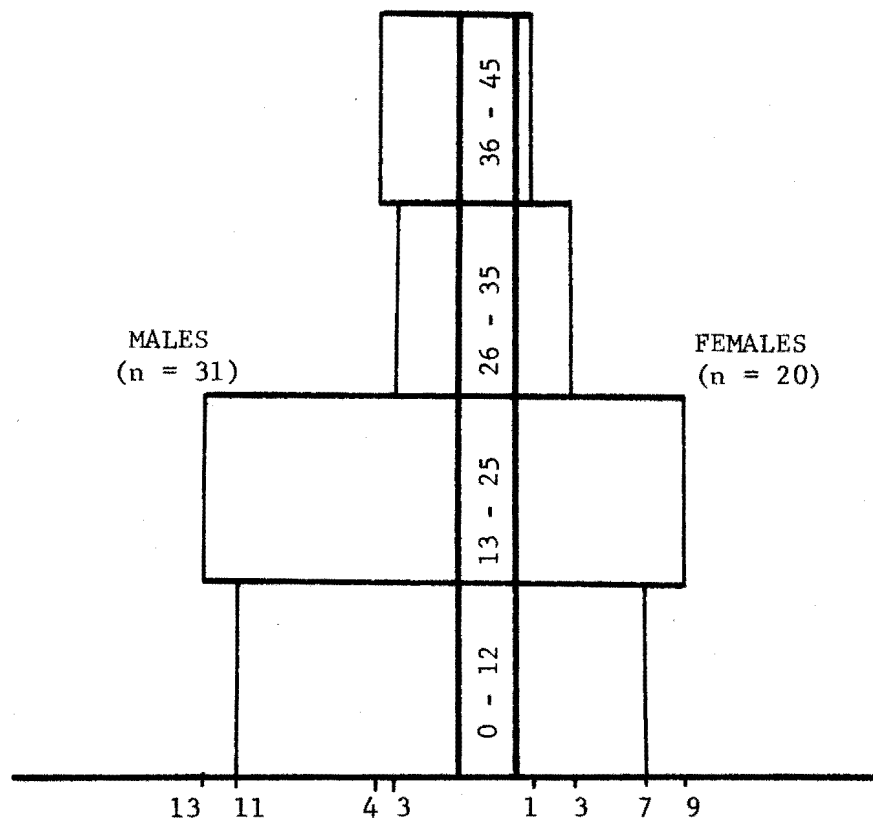


FIGURE 5. POPULATION PYRAMID  
FOR 31 GIPO MIGRANTS AT COCOPA  
BY SEX AND AGE

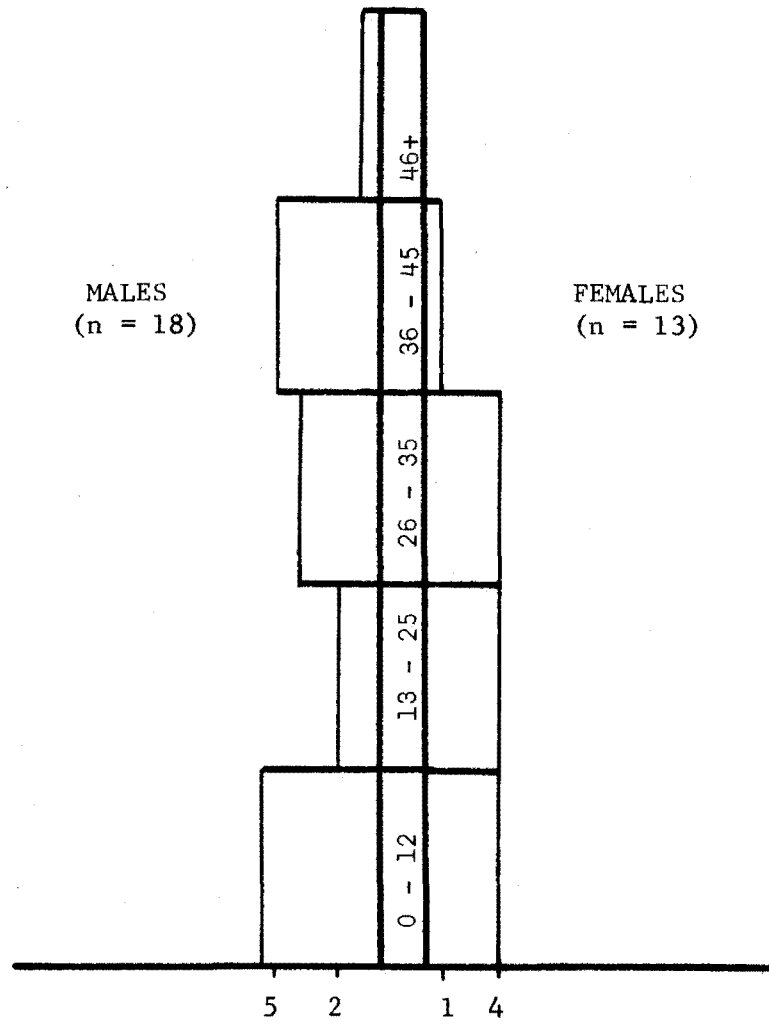


FIGURE 6. POPULATION PYRAMID  
FOR 39 GIPO MIGRANTS AT LAMCO  
BY SEX AND AGE

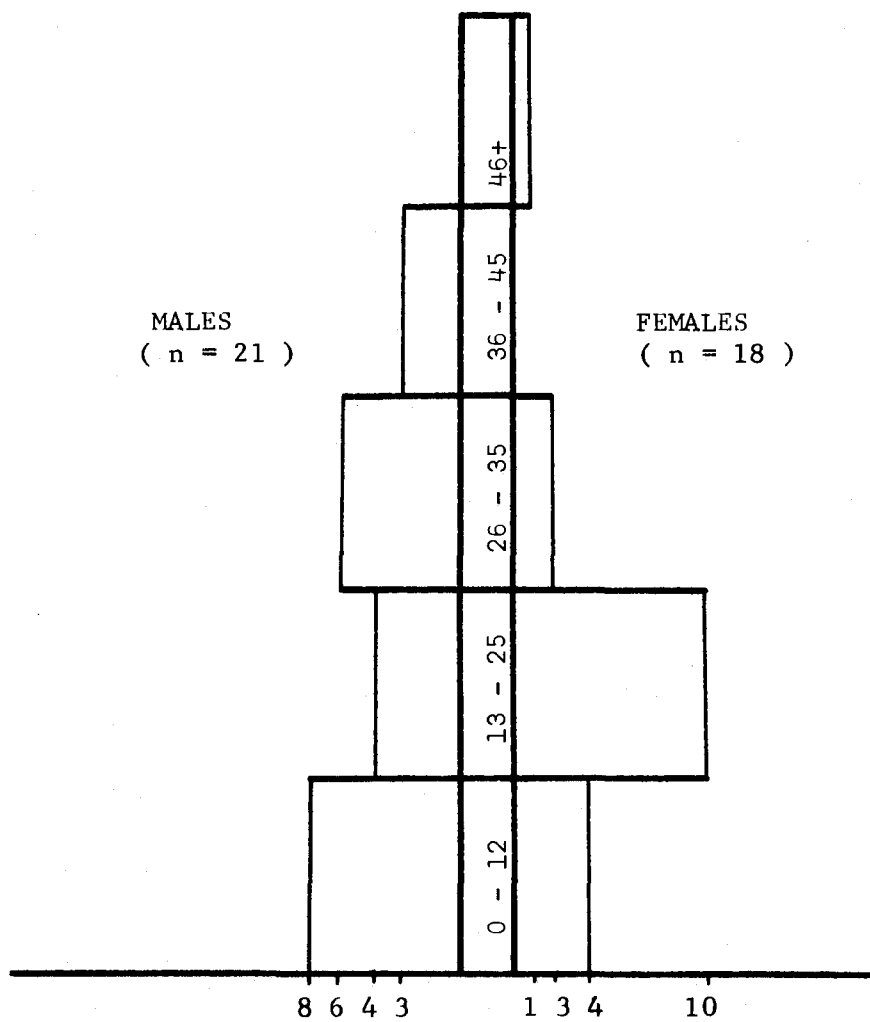


TABLE 13. OCCUPATIONS OF MATURE MALE  
MIGRANTS FROM GIPO TO MONROVIA

OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF MIGRANTS	AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGE
1. Student	6	part time work
2. Soldier	3	\$45-\$30-\$25
3. Store Clerk	2	\$36-\$45
4. Odd Jobs	1	Undetermined
5. Bank Teller	1	\$85
6. Bank Typist	1	\$175
7. Office Clerk	1	\$150
8. Steward at a Maternity Ward	1	\$75
9. Watchman	1	\$20
10. Laborer	2	\$25-\$20
11. Houseboy	1	\$25
	20	
TOTAL	20	

Includes many fringe benefits: housing, food, clothing, transportation

TABLE 14. OCCUPATIONS OF MATURE MALE  
MIGRANTS FROM GIPO TO COCOPA

OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF MIGRANTS	AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGE
1. Tapper	7	\$15
2. Weeding	4	\$15
3. Maintenance	1	\$15
TOTAL	12	

SUPPLEMENTARY ACTIVITY TO EMPLOYMENT AT COCOPA

1. Number of migrants making a farm at Cocopa	3
--	---

unskilled category with few opportunities for advancement. The mean wage of \$15 a month is the lowest of the three sample sites (Table 14).

All of Gipo migrants at LAMCO except two are in skilled labor positions. The necessary training accounts for the median age of 28. The mean salary at LAMCO for Gipo migrants is about \$62 and, while twice that of Cocopa, it is less than half the mean for Monrovia migrants. However, the cost of living is not high at LAMCO and the real incomes are probably equal, on the average (Table 15).

Wages at the concessions may be adequate but they are not high. The Ardeners and Wormingham (1960) have pointed out for labor migrants in the Cameroons and Cole (1964) for migrants in Liberia that the ability to save money for capital accumulating projects in the home village is almost impossible because expenses at the labor center often match or exceed cash wages. For this reason Gipo migrants to the concessions form money companies (pele gbua). The organization of pele

TABLE 15. OCCUPATIONS OF MATURE MALE  
MIGRANTS FROM GIPO TO LAMCO

OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF MIGRANTS	AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGE
1. Railroad Maintenance	3	\$90.00
2. Community Services	3	70.00
3. Saw Mill Worker	2	40.00
4. Laborers	2	40.00
5. Survey Party	1	45.00
6. Core Driller	1	45.00
7. Company Store Clerk	1	55.00
8. Pharmacy Assistant	1	90.00
TOTAL	14	

SUPPLEMENTARY ACTIVITY TO EMPLOYMENT AT LAMCO

1. A Small Shop	1
2. Making a farm at LAMCO	2
3. Making a small house garden	3
TOTAL	6

gbua found at the labor center is the same as that found in the Gbannah village, where each member contributes a fixed amount each month and the members take the entire total in turn. The money companies are made (usually) only with men from the same town, or, at the furthest extension, with men from other Gbannah towns. Most of the money companies investigated paid \$20 to \$40 to each participant in turn. An exception to the general rule was a \$200 club formed principally by Gbannah males working at LAMCO but also including Mano from other areas.

#### LIVING FACILITIES

Caldwell has pointed out for Ghanaian urban migrants that the biggest change is adaptation to a total money society (Caldwell 1969: 174). In the urban center housing, food and other amenities are available only on a market determined basis rather than by village reciprocity. In Gbannah a man builds his house on sib-held land but in Monrovia each house plot is privately owned and even the flimsiest structure must be rented at a value commensurate with the increasing demand for housing and rising price of land.

Housing for Gbannah migrants ranges from a basement cubicle without windows, ventilation, water, or toilet facilities, which rented in 1968 for approximately \$10 a month, to individual dwellings of up to 4 rooms, the latter renting for \$50 or more per month.

Since the Gbannah migrants are relatively late arrivals to Monrovia, the formation of ethnic enclaves (see Fraenkel 1964:Chapter III) never occurred. Rather, they were forced to live where housing was available and Map 6 shows the dispersion of the 41 Gbannah migrant

residential units throughout Monrovia. This diffusion decreases the social benefits that would normally accrue if one were surrounded by kinsmen in the same neighborhood (see Fraenkel 1964; Banton 1957; Marris 1961). Without the possibility of maintaining an attenuated form of village reciprocity in an ethnic enclave, the Mano migrant is forced more rapidly into the urban social network.

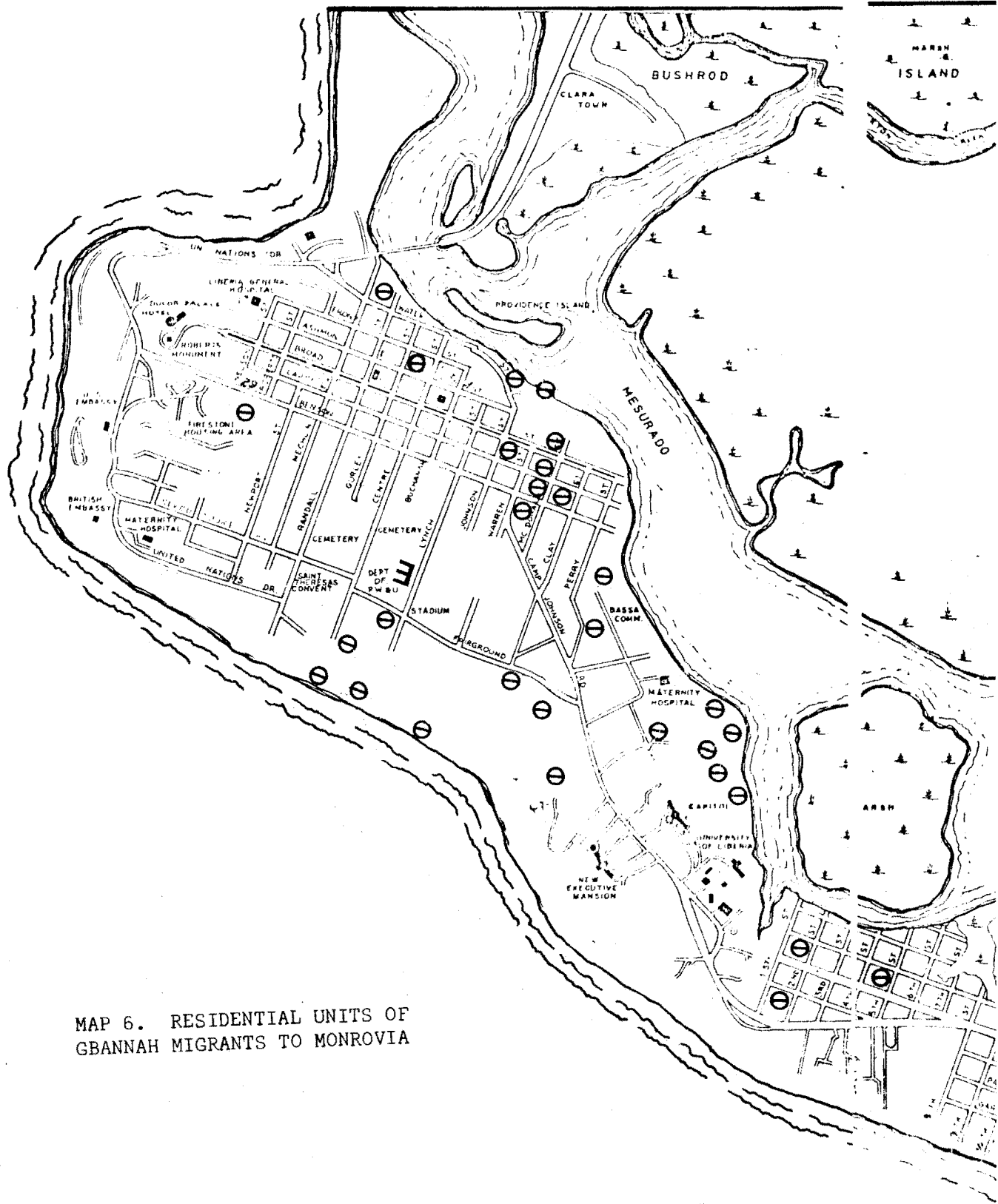
Both Banton (1967) and Little (1957) have suggested that voluntary associations help facilitate the integration and adaptation of rural urban migrants into the social network of the African city. This is no less true for Monrovia. Gbannah migrants have formed the Gbannah Social Organization, a self-help society that fills some of the roles of the ethnic neighborhood. Its major function is to help in case of trouble and to assist members in finding work. From the dues of the members it maintains a small cash reserve which will be loaned out if the club agrees. One also finds Gbannah males residing in Monrovia joining church clubs like Youth for Christ, the YMCA, and fraternal orders such as the Masons and United Brothers of Friendship.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to the situation in the city, the foreign concessions do not require complete involvement in the money economy. Housing, medical care, schooling and recreational facilities are provided. In addition, most of the concessions provide food to workers at subsidized prices. These benefits and supplements increase real income by 30% to 50% of cash wages (Clower et al, 1966:309; Qureshi et al, 1964:297).

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<sup>2</sup>Only those migrants who have completed high school and are in college or hold a professional position join these organizations. Such membership indicates an acceptance of the urban values of Liberia.





MAP 6. RESIDENTIAL UNITS OF GBANNAH MIGRANTS TO MONROVIA

—MAP OF—  
**Monrovia**

LEGEND



RESIDENTIAL UNITS  
OF GBANNAH  
MIGRANTS

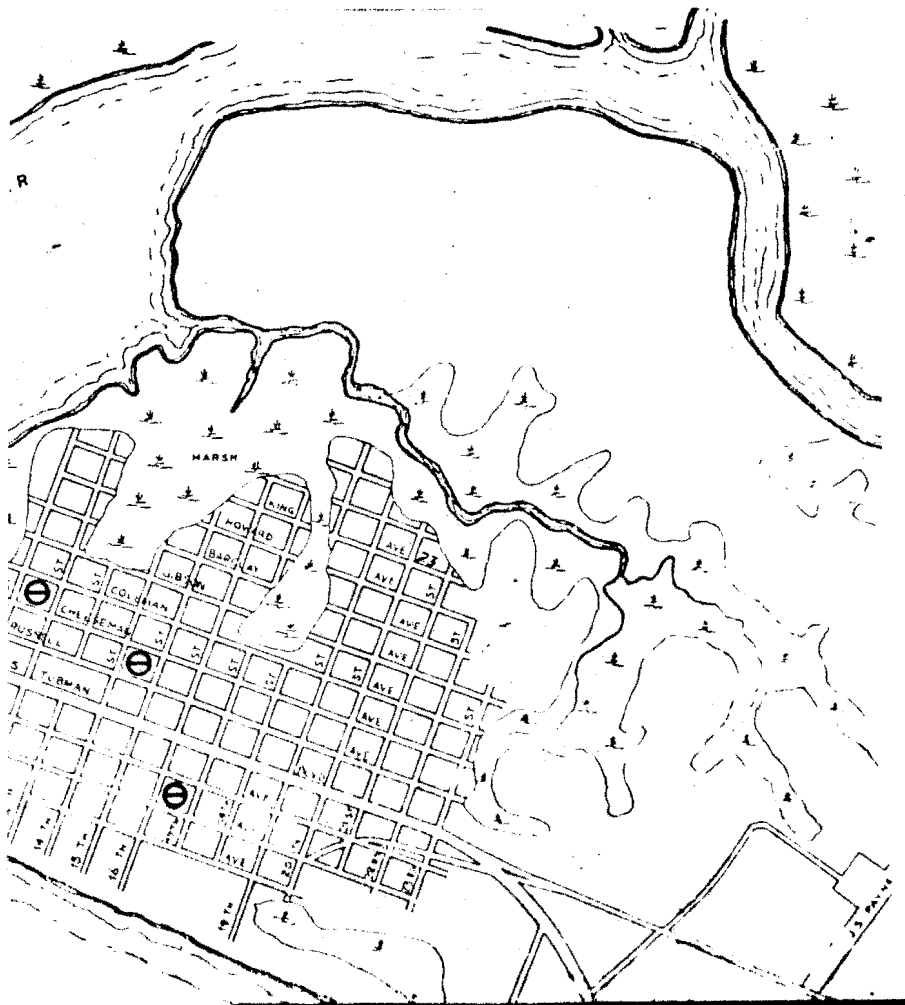
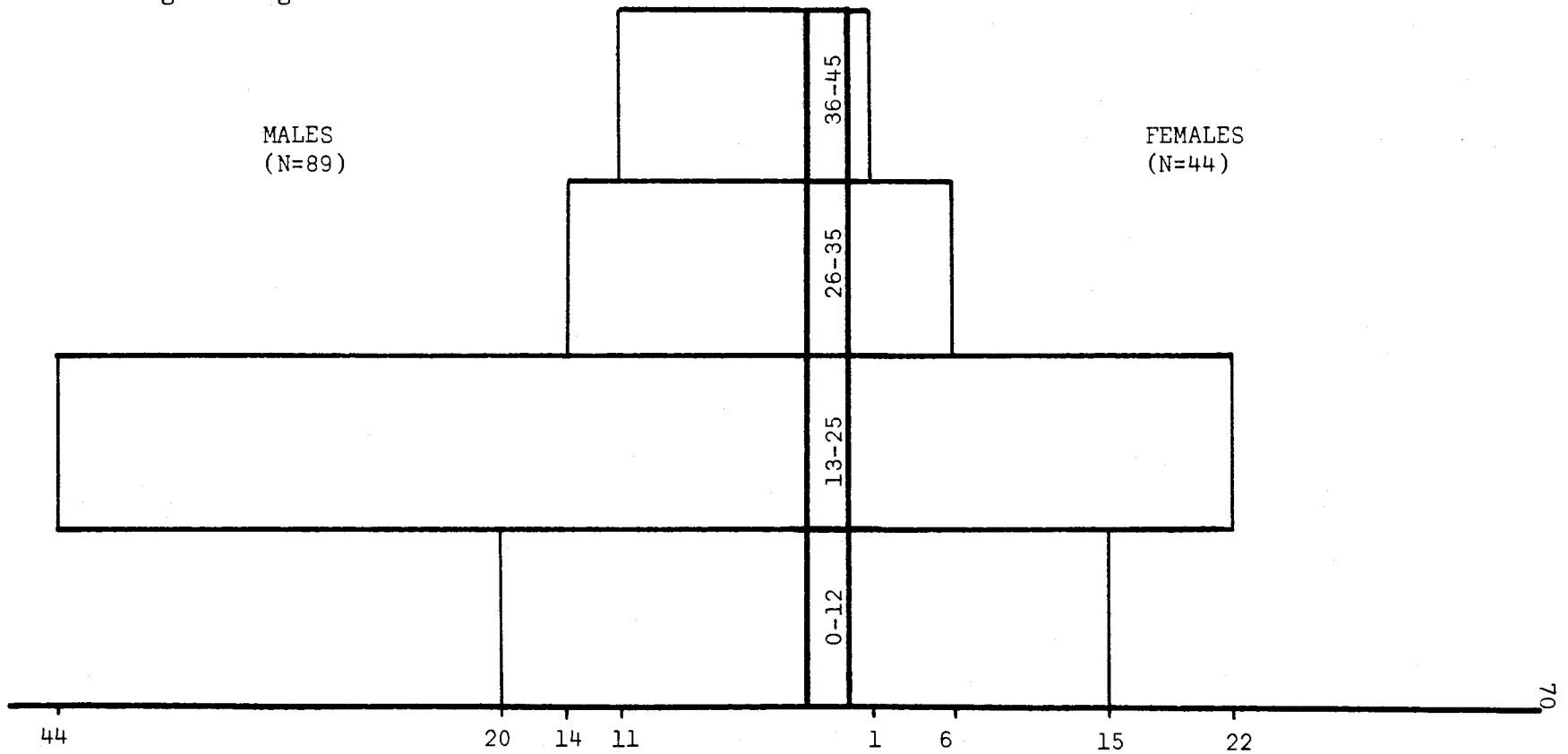


FIGURE 7. AGE PYRAMID FOR GBANNAH MIGRANTS IN MONROVIA

Residential units 41  
 Polygynous 5  
 Monogamous 14  
 Anomolous units not involving marriage 22

POPULATION PYRAMID FOR  
 133 GBANNAH MIGRANTS  
 TO MONROVIA BY SEX AND AGE



Furthermore, concession habitation compounds help enhance the formation of ethnic residential groups as migrants are able to live and work in the same labor camp as others from their home area. On 73% of the trips made by the selected 50 Gipo males they had lived and worked with others from Gipo.

Although LAMCO and Cocopa are continually upgrading their migrant labor camps, only three Gipo migrants at LAMCO and Cocopa lived in the most modern camps. The other Gipo migrants preferred to reside in the older labor camps, which are structured more in the fashion of the local village. At LAMCO this problem was investigated with the assistance of Lotten Zetterström, the company's staff sociologist. From her interviews in the main camp at Yekepa and outlying camps it was found that generally those workers living away from the main camp did so because they felt freer to continue tribal practices and because they said they were less restricted (personal communication).

In summary, Cocopa causes the least dislocation as it is closest to home, utilizes unskilled labor and is amenable to older migrants. LAMCO and Monrovia, on the other hand, offer the greatest opportunities for the ambitious and educated individuals. At the concessions the migrant is provided with housing and many of the social security benefits common to the fully industrialized nation. The Monrovia migrants, without the security of either the village or the concession social benefit programs, must adapt to the full impact of the money economy.

## THE RELATIONSHIP OF MIGRANTS TO THE HOME VILLAGE

The migrants of Gbannah do not leave village reciprocity behind them when they seek wage employment. During the migratory period they remain members of their domestic group, lineage and sib, and do not escape from their responsibilities to those who remain in the home village. While the migrants are working elsewhere they are expected to help those who remain at home. On payday at any one of the concessions a migrant can expect to have visitors seeking some kind of aid. Those at Firestone and Monrovia are, of course, less subject to visits than those at Cocopa and LAMCO.

It is interesting to note, however, that one of the reasons men prefer Cocopa to Firestone is because one can be "someone big" on payday. Although Cocopa is only an hour's walk from Gipo, people will leave the day before payday in anticipation. Booths are set up in each camp. One or another of the camps will host a "tall devil" performance and a soccer game. In the evening there will be parties and dances in each of the labor camps. The fellowship of payday festivities allows the migrant to contribute to in-town projects of his kinsmen and to reemphasize his importance to the village economy. Indeed, if an elder in Gipo is building a house or buying a sugar cane press he will make the round of the major concessions on payday, where he has younger kinsmen working, to collect contributions.

In addition to the money given to visitors from their home village, money is often "sent home" on a regular basis. Money was remitted on 100 of the 132 labor migratory trips by the random sample of

50 Gipo men, principally while working at Firestone. In 60 of the cases the recipient was the father, 30 of the times the recipient was a wife or wives, and the other 10 went to a combination of these or to other kinsmen. The money sent home and the contributions to the projects of older kinsmen accounts for the expenditure of the savings from the money companies by those migrants interviewed at LAMCO and Cocopa. In addition, no migrant returns to his home village empty-handed. There is an implied obligation on the part of the returning migrants to bring at least some small gift for those who stayed at home. This responsibility is sufficiently strong to prevent several unemployed migrants at LAMCO from returning to Gipo.

All the above mechanisms insure membership in the village social units and provide the migrant with at least some of the security he needs in dealing with the capriciousness of the western market place. As Gutkind (1968:149) points out, the African laborer does not have the security and protection of the state to guard him against the inequities of the industrial system. Given the limited range of opportunities for unskilled labor in Liberia and the fluctuation in the world price structure, the ability of the laborer to return home in cases of lay-off or dismissal is highly adaptive both for labor and for economic (see Berg 1965) development.

## CHAPTER V

## VILLAGE ADJUSTMENTS

This chapter will discuss the adjustments the Gbannah Mano in the villages have made: 1) to the loss of labor potential due to labor migration and 2) the changes wrought upon rural agricultural production by the incorporation of Gbannah into the money economy of Liberia.

## THE CHANGES IN USING, HOLDING AND LAND ALLOCATING UNITS

Each resident male of a Gbannah town theoretically has a use right to town land. As Bohannan has suggested, this "right in land" does not imply a relationship between a man and a "parcel of land" but to a temporary farm described below (1963:106). The land holding, allocating and using units have been changing over time in response to changes in the political and economic environment.

As was outlined in the historical section, the Mano expanded into the forest on many fronts at the instigation and leadership of "big men" (domia). These domia brought their sib and lineage mates with them and founded individual sib towns which were exogamous. Farms were made by lineages and the location was determined by the lineage head. Since labor demands for clearing tropical forest are high, towns split only when a new domi could gather enough followers to make fission

viable. The land using and land allocating units were the lineages and the Mano expanded into the forest in a small stepwise fashion.

With the increased amount of warfare during the last half of the eighteenth century the small lineage-based villages came together to form the minimal sibs of the towns of Gbannah. A man wishing to establish his lineage in a town would approach the elders of a minimal sib which had the same food taboos as himself (maximal sib membership). The elders of the minimal sib would call all the members together, and if they agreed, the new man could build a residence in that sib's quarter of the village and make a farm on its land. This membership procedure was pursued by the progenitors of all but the founding lineages in the towns today. In visiting the farm sites of the pre-pacification period it was found that they were allocated at the discretion of lineage heads or "big men" and the farm plots utilized by gbein members were located throughout town land.

Pacification by the French and Liberian forces brought both political stability and an end to random population movement. New towns have since been founded only with the permission of the government. In the generation of the present elders' fathers, land allocation functions passed to the minimal sibs. Lineage heads still allocated land but did so in common with all other lineage heads in their minimal sib. The town's territory was divided into sectors and the lineages exploited only the area within their minimal sib's sector. Since that time the individual domestic groups have become the land using units rather than the lineages, making their farms at will on



their patrisib's land.

#### SOCIAL UNITS OF THE AGRICULTURAL ROUND

There are two main categories of social units responsible for agricultural production: the domestic group (ka) and the labor cooperative (Gbua). The domestic units are most directly responsible for production and allocation of goods and services in the village agricultural economy. They are not, however, fixed membership units, rather they are collections of individuals organized for a set of activities over a given amount of time. There is, however, a fairly stable corpus of individuals based upon those who eat together regularly from pooled resources. This unit is called the domestic group as it "...is essentially a householding and housekeeping unit organized to provide the material and cultural resources needed to maintain and bring up its members" (Fortes 1958:8). The domestic group head is the one which determines who can and who cannot share in the pooled resources of the unit; the head may be either male or female but is most often a male.<sup>3</sup>

The productive resource of manpower and equipment are pooled by the domestic group. Access to these resources extends over the whole lineage on the basis of balanced reciprocity. Within the domestic groups of a lineage are definite domestic clusters within which generalized reciprocity exists. Within each domestic cluster almost all

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<sup>3</sup>In previous years these units included the slaves and pawns. Today one still finds clientship in effect. Young men unable to meet bride price requirements on their own or those who have been forced to leave their natal villages for some transgression will attach themselves to a wealthy man by becoming a lover to one of his wives.

items can be borrowed freely except for two very important exceptions: rice and the personal belongings of a wife. Both these items are under the direct control of the women, and since they have married in from another patrilineal group, they determine how much liberty can be taken with these things under their control. Even the husband cannot assume control over his wife's rice. The husband cannot sell, give or allocate the rice in any manner without the prior permission of the wife. The writer tested this condition on several occasions by asking Gipo men and women for rice on both a gift and sale basis. The husbands almost always asked their wives and those in polygynous unions invariably did so. The wives, on the other hand, seldom conferred with their husbands before selling or giving rice.

Four instances were observed where the wife refused to give any of the rice for her husband's meals. In each case the husband appealed to the patrilineage of the wife's father to approach the wife herself to reconcile the difference. All but one of the cases terminated in a divorce. Upon divorce the entire rice harvest came under the control of the husband. This, the elders said, was so that the lover of the divorced wife would not eat food meant for the divorced man and his children. In more structural terms, the rice harvest belongs in whole to the domestic group. It is the wife's duty vis-a-vis the patri-unit she has married into to see that all members are fed.

The labor cooperatives, on the other hand, are traditional voluntary associations among the Central Mano that do almost all of the heavy tasks in the village. There are both male and female cooperatives

organized by a senior man or woman of a minimal sib. All mature adults are expected to join and the cooperatives range in size from five to thirty members. Table 16 gives the actual percentage membership of domestic group heads in the four sample towns. The labor cooperatives for Gipo, the number of members in each and the number of times a member can rely on the help of the cooperatives during the year are given in Table 17.

The domestic group head is responsible for maximizing the management of land, labor and the timing of the farming activities. In January he must select the section of sib land that will be cleared for that year's farm. This he does every year as the Gbannah Mano make a new inter-cropped upland rice farm each year. The factors taken into account are the "feel of the soil," the kinds of undergrowth present and other edaphic features.

In order to maximize the labor available the Gbannah farmer must plan his activity so that it will not conflict in timing with others. The labor cooperatives meet in March and decide the order in which they will work on farms. The most important men declare the approximate date of their turn. The other men will then attempt to arrange that no one else in his domestic cluster, lineage, or sib makes a farm on the same day as himself. This management of resource timing is most important. For example, one case was observed in which a man attempted to make a farm the same day as an important elder from the same sib. The result was that only the minimal amount of help was available and most of the tools in the sib had been preempted by the elder.

TABLE 16. MEMBERSHIP OF DOMESTIC GROUP  
HEADS IN LABOR COOPERATIVES

VILLAGE	MEMBERS		NON-MEMBERS	
	n	(%)	n	(%)
Gipo <sup>1</sup>	30	(60)	20	(40)
Dea	10	(43)	13	(57)
Gbeibini	35	(61)	22	(59)
Sehwi	25	(57)	19	(53)

<sup>1</sup>Gipo Labor Sample

TABLE 17. GIPO LABOR COOPERATIVES  
FOR MEN<sup>1</sup> AND WOMEN<sup>2</sup>

	NUMBER OF COOPERATIVES	MEAN NUMBER OF MEMBERS	MEAN NUMBER TURNS PER MEMBER PER YEAR
Men	11	12.5	2.7
Women	14	19.3	2.0

<sup>1</sup>Membership is not exclusive. Men's labor cooperatives perform any duty requested by the man whose turn it is.

<sup>2</sup>Women's labor cooperatives are task specific.

Another aspect of timing is conditioned by climate. In order to have a successful farm the land must be cleared and burned before the rainy season comes, but not so far before that the undergrowth has a chance to reestablish itself. No less than five cases were noted in Gipo in 1968 where the domestic group's chances for a successful farm were eliminated when the rains came before burning was completed.

The final aspect of planning is the feast that must accompany any activity in which a labor cooperative is involved. This is most important and any domestic group known to provide anything less than an overabundance of food and alcoholic drink will have a difficult time getting sufficient help. One woman in Gipo stated that her farm had been poorly planted and was very small because her husband had not provided rum since he was a Christian. Most of the labor cooperative left at midday to express their displeasure and to sanction the husband for not sharing the results of common labor in common consumption at a feast.

#### LABOR UNITS AND THE CULTIVATION OF THE MAIN FOOD CROPS

The major activities of the Gbannah social units in terms of agricultural production are: 1) land preparation, 2) crop preparation, 3) crop maintenance, 4) harvesting, 5) storage, and 6) preparation of the foodstuffs for human consumption.

The land is prepared traditionally by the males of the domestic group and the labor cooperatives to which they belong. Since each of the males in the household will belong, ideally, to a separate cooperative, each domestic group will command considerable labor at peak times. The group of men going to prepare a farm will start at

approximately five in the morning. The first task of the farming cycle is to underbrush, that is, to clear away the undergrowth before the large trees are felled. All growth that can be cut easily with a machete is stacked in piles during this operation. After a space has been underbrushed, the men divide into two groups of approximately equal size. One continues to underbrush while the other group begins to cut down the trees. The very largest trees are left standing as are all palm trees. At around 10 A.M. the men are served dry rice (i.e., without sauce) and rum or palm wine. At this time the "owner of the cooperative," the man whose turn it is to have the group work on his farm, shows the men what their feast will be for the day. As the feast is the climaxing social activity of the day's work, the men will not continue unless they are all satisfied with every one of the arrangements. Once satisfied, the group goes back to work until approximately 2:30 in the afternoon when the main meal is served. After the meal, which lasts an hour or more, the men return to their tasks until five or six in the evening. The area they have cut in this one day determines the size of the farm. Measuring two of the smallest 1968 farms, the writer found that these were approximately one hectare each. From this it can be inferred that each domestic group can expect to have, on the average, more than two and one half acres of cleared forest for its upland rice farms.

The males of the domestic cluster will continue to cut and stack the refuse in the farm area for the next couple of weeks. The piles are then burned. The domestic cluster males then restack all those

pieces that have not burned sufficiently and these are reburned. No instances were observed where more than two burnings were undertaken.

With the coming of the rains in May the womens' cooperatives organize for the planting activities. Once the date has been selected by the domestic group head and agreed upon by the women's labor cooperative the matter is in the hands of the women of the domestic cluster. On planting day the women assemble at approximately six in the morning. One of the older women begins to broadcast rice, cassava shoots and corn. The labor cooperative then forms behind her and turns the seeds under, burying the seeds in a bed of green manure. The feasting ceremony is much the same as for the men discussed above with one additional feature. In the evening, all the women who worked together during the day will host a party at which the women can relax with their friends and drink rum and dance.

During "rice minding time" (crop maintenance), which starts as soon as the rice shoots come up, the old people and the children will spend many days at the farm. The most critical time is just before harvest when birds can ruin an entire crop in a day (Little 1951).

This is also the season when men will turn their attention to preparing and tending the cash crop farms of coffee, cocoa, and sugar cane. The women who did not put in swamp rice farms before planting their upland rice farms do so at this time.

The corn matures in August and rice harvesting starts in October and lasts through December. There will be women's labor cooperatives to do harvesting but many domestic clusters will depend solely on the

manpower available within the unit. The women cut the rice stalks about eight inches from the head and gather them into bundles which are tied by the men. Other men will then collect the bundles and stack them on a drying platform. The rice will not be stored until late December or January after the old storage facilities have been re-roofed or new ones constructed by men's cooperatives.

Cassava is not harvested until the following year. This means that the domestic groups will have two farms in production; the current upland rice farms which are made each year and the cassava farm that is left over from the inter-cropping of the previous year. This is supplemented by the produce from the swamp rice farms of wives. In addition to these major crops most domestic groups plant other foods in kitchen gardens such as eddoes, ochra, bitter-balls and so forth.

#### DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

It was stated in the last chapter that 42% of the adult males from Gipo were involved in labor migration. Figures 7, 8, 9 and 10 give the age pyramids for the four sample Gbannah towns.<sup>4</sup> The picture that emerges is a rural economy that has sufficient female labor force, but also one that must adjust to maximizing the efforts of those males that remain. Below, an analysis is made of the domestic group cycle in

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<sup>4</sup>The population figures given on the pyramids are good only for the period during which the census was taken. In Gipo there is a total number of 1053 persons who hold geneological space in the town. If the people are counted who are normally available during peak labor times the population is around 870. The pyramid, for Gipo, however, lists the in-residence "effective population" of 781.



FIGURE 8. POPULATION PYRAMID FOR GIPO  
 BY SEX AND AGE  
 (Resident Population = 781)

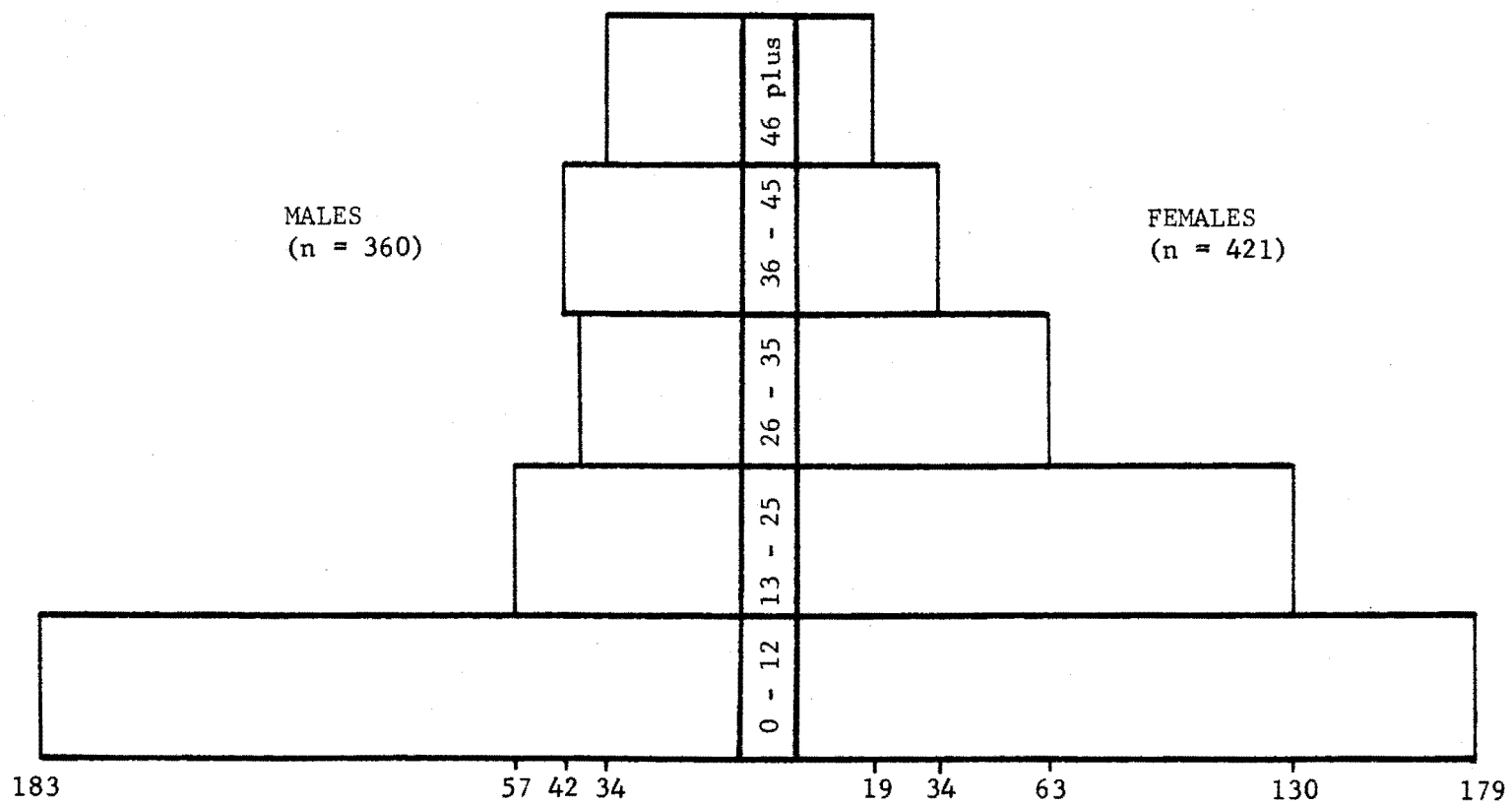


FIGURE 9. POPULATION PYRAMID FOR GBEIBINI  
 BY SEX AND AGE  
 (Resident Population = 481)

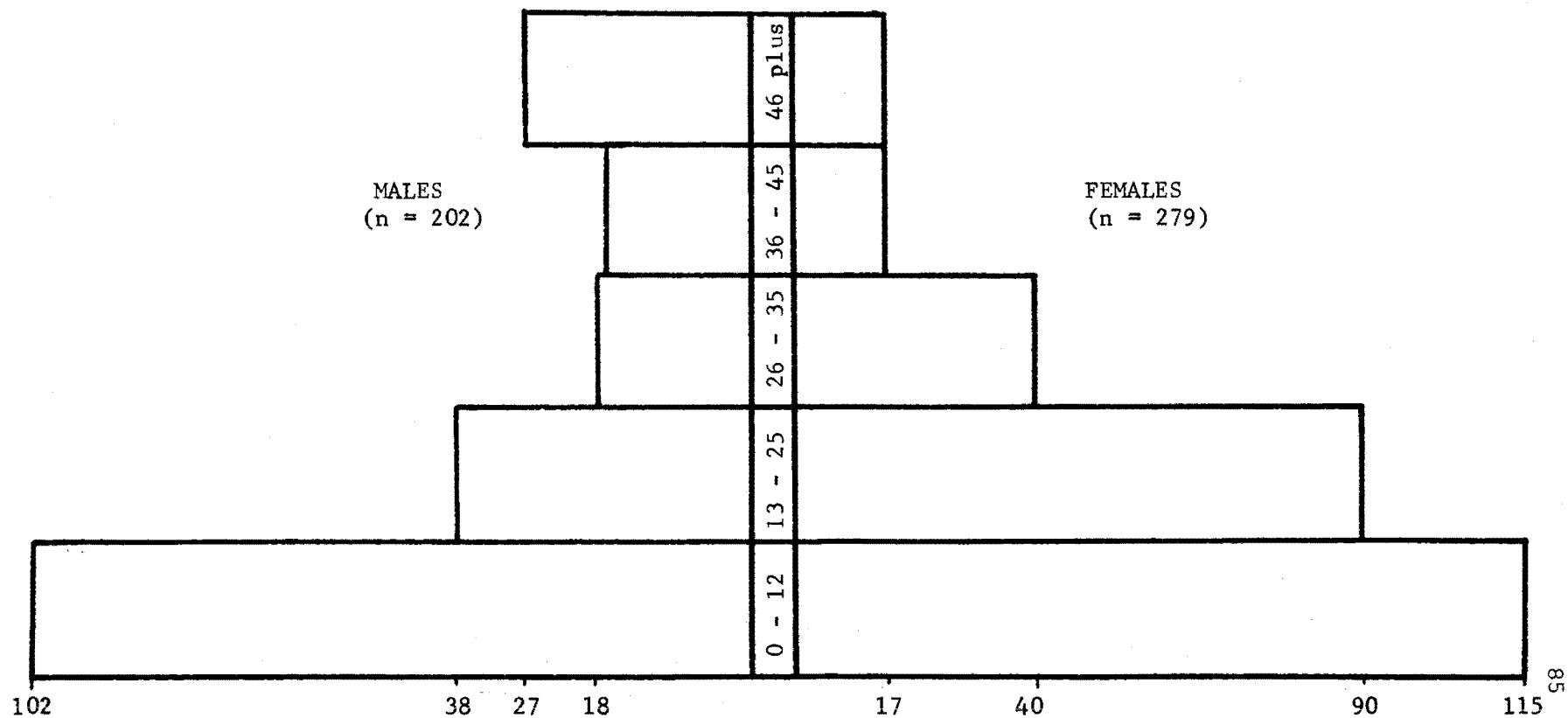


FIGURE 10. POPULATION PYRAMID FOR SEHWI  
 BY SEX AND AGE  
 (Resident Population = 272)

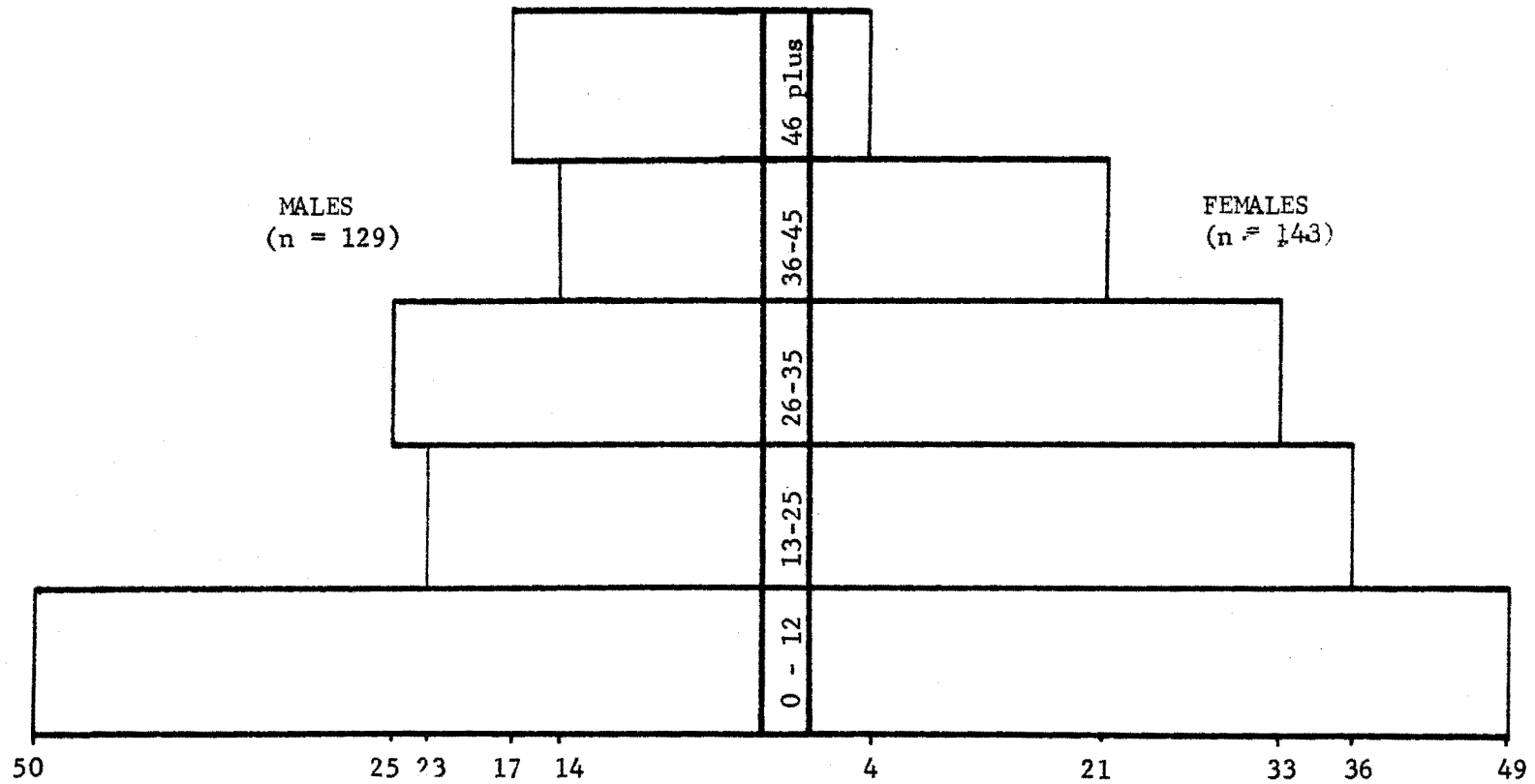
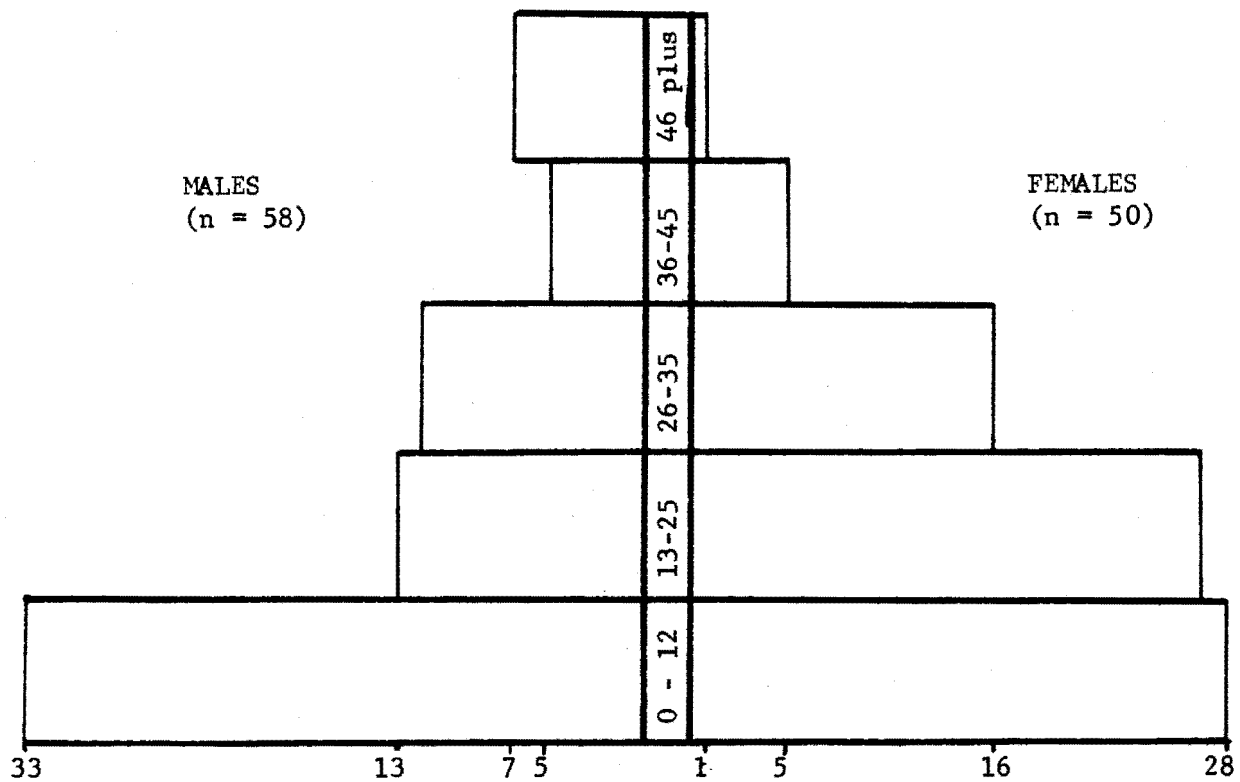


FIGURE 11. POPULATION PYRAMID FOR DEA  
 BY SEX AND AGE  
 (Resident Population = 108)



order to ascertain at what point male labor is lost. Then, the data are examined to see that adjustments have been made in the sexual role relationships in the domestic unit in terms of the numerical dominance of female labor.

#### LABOR MIGRATION AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP CYCLE

In this section analysis turns to the problem of how many times a migrant leaves the village to work elsewhere and at what point in the domestic group cycle he leaves. The mean number of trips by those men in the Gipo labor history sample who said they would never leave the village again was 2.8 (n=26). When, then, does a domestic group head lose the help of his sons and when does he leave himself? The phases of the Mano domestic group cycle that interest us here are those of the attainment of jural adulthood by male offspring, the establishment of new nuclear families within the domestic group and the process of segmentation or fission and amalgamation of domestic groups in relation to labor migration (Goody 1958:60, 61).

In Table 18 I have summarized the responses of the 50 men in the Gipo labor history sample as to their marital status and membership in Poro (Gebon) at the time of their first trip. Since the Gbannah Mano do not join Poro before reaching maturity, it is considered by them as the main criterion of full manhood. A man who has not become a member is not considered to be fully adult no matter how many years or wives he has. There is only one such older man in Gipo, and he has the status of a seventeen year old boy.

TABLE 18: PORO AND MARITAL STATUS ON FIRST TRIP BY PERIOD: GIPO LABOR SAMPLE

1920-1932				1932-1940				1940-1960			
Poro Membership		Married		Poro Membership		Married		Poro Membership		Married	
No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
8	2	8	2	13	13	22	4	0	9	7	2
(80%)	(20%)	(80%)	(20%)	(50%)	(50%)	(85%)	(15%)	(100%)	(78%)	(22%)	
n=10				n=26				n=9			

N=45. Does not include Mandingo trader.

What arises as most interesting out of Table 18 is the change that has taken place over the years. Of the ten men who made their first trip before 1932 only two of them were members of Poro at the time.<sup>5</sup> From 1932-1940 one-half were already members at departure and after 1940 every one in the sample was a member before making his first trip. The reason for this pattern is related to the whole history of Mano involvement in the money economy. As was mentioned above, the chief and elders were, in the beginning, against men leaving to go to Firestone. Only those who were not members of Poro could leave without fear of the sanctions Poro could invoke for disregarding the wishes of the elders.

The fact that 80% made their first trip to a labor center before marriage indicates the Mano statement, that working outside of town is

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<sup>5</sup> As an aside it is interesting to note that the first four men migrating to Firestone are now among the most influential men in Gbannah Poro. In Gipo, Poro is one of the prime agencies of change, having organized the town to dig wells, build a school, and undertake other projects.

a maturing experience, is substantiated in large part by common behavior.

In terms of the domestic group cycle one observes that young men leave on their first trip when one would expect their labor was most relied upon traditionally. This, however, appears not to be the case. The elders of Gipo say that formerly, as young men approached the age of Poro initiation, about 18, they were not expected to help to any great extent. It was to be a time of "play" before one really became a man--a member of Poro (Gebon), and they only helped at peak labor periods. This was conditioned, no doubt, by the fact that in traditional times Poro initiation lasted up to three years or more (Harley 1941:8; 1950:27-33; Schwab 1947:281). Therefore, according to Gbannah elders, the young men's labor was not missed when they went to Firestone, and it has only been since planting cash crops that young people have been relied upon to help on a continual basis with the farming.

Tables 19, 20 and 21 indicate the marital status and Poro membership of migrants for the second and subsequent trips. For the majority the second and later trips are made after one has both rites of transition behind him. These, then, are trips made by mature nuclear family heads. It is after the son has returned from the second or subsequent trips that he is able to establish his own domestic group within the domestic cluster of his father. When domestic heads leave, it is more likely to be target oriented and for a shorter period (see Table 22).

It was observed in the previous chapter that most of those migrants currently away are young. Their labor is lost to the domestic

TABLE 19: PORO AND MARITAL STATUS FOR SECOND  
TRIP BY PERIOD: GIPO LABOR SAMPLE

1920-1932				1932-1940				1940-1960			
Poro Membership		Married		Poro Membership		Married		Poro Membership		Married	
No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
0	2	1	1	3	13	7	9	0	20	8	12
				(19%)	(81%)	(44%)	(56%)		(100%)	(40%)	(60%)
n=2				n=16				n=20			

N=38

TABLE 20: PORO AND MARITAL STATUS FOR THIRD  
TRIP BY PERIOD: GIPO LABOR SAMPLE

1928-1932				1932-1940				1940-1968			
Poro Membership		Married		Poro Membership		Married		Poro Membership		Married	
No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
0	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	26	4	22
n=1				n=2				n=26			

N=29

TABLE 21: PORO AND MARITAL STATUS FOR FOURTH,  
FIFTH AND SIXTH TRIPS BY PERIOD:  
GIPO LABOR SAMPLE

1920-1932				1932-1940				1940-1960			
Poro Membership		Married		Poro Membership		Married		Poro Membership		Married	
No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	17	0	17
n=0				n=2				n=17			

N=19



groups but their productive efforts are not, for they contribute money to economic projects in the village. It would be anticipated that the largest domestic groups would have the largest number of its members away working. As is indicated in Table 23, this is not the case. The large units, however, are the ones most likely to exploit both the resources available in the village and those of wage labor.

In summary, migrants leave at a point in the domestic group cycle when traditionally they were not expected to contribute greatly to the labor needs of the town. The transition in the rite de passage of Poro initiation was one from dependent child to adult. In a sense, the first labor migration of an individual replaces Poro as the maturing experience. In former times, Poro, with its long schooling, prepared a man to meet the exigencies of forest life. Labor migration comes at the same period in a man's life and introduces the migrant to the exigencies of the wage labor economy. Poro initiation has become attenuated in the process. Those initiates who are in school or working for wages can complete the initiation in two weeks.

After the migrant completes his first trip he marries and forms with his father a lineal household. Their economic efforts are directed towards the goals of the father. After the second or third trip (target) the son builds his own house and forms his own domestic group. In the final stage the father resides with the son. The father's goals are now those of the son. Table 24 gives the frequency distribution of each stage for Gipo.

TABLE 22. MEAN NUMBER OF MONTHS GONE BY  
TRIP NUMBER: GIPO LABOR SAMPLE

	FIRST TRIP	SECOND TRIP	THIRD TRIP	FOURTH TRIP	FIFTH TRIP	SIXTH TRIP
Mean Months Away	21	19	13	23	40	12
Number of Migrants	45	38	29	15	3	1

Mean Months of all trips: 19.5.

TABLE 23. LABOR MIGRATION BY DOMESTIC GROUPS  
HAVING MATURE MALE MEMBERS OTHER THAN  
DOMESTIC GROUP HEAD

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF DOMESTIC GROUPS	MEAN MEMBERSHIP	MEDIAN MEMBERSHIP
A. No Members Involved in Labor Migration	19	10	9
B. All Available Males Migrating Except Domestic Group Head	8	8	7
C. Male Members Involved in Labor Migration and Village Production	23	14	11

$t(A,B)=1.23$

$t(A,C)=1.74$

$t(B,C)=2.46$

TABLE 24. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF GIPO  
DOMESTIC GROUPS IN FOUR PHASES OF SPONSORSHIP

PHASE	NUMBER OF DOMESTIC GROUP SPONSORS <sup>1</sup>
I. Younger males are attaining jural adulthood	37
II. Younger males are incorporating their nuclear families into the domestic groups of their father or "father"	14
III. Father and son have formed separate domestic groups <sup>2</sup>	14
IV. Father has joined the domestic group of his son or "son"	5

<sup>1</sup>Double counting is possible as a domestic group sponsor may be associated with two or more phases simultaneously.

<sup>2</sup>Only fathers are counted.

## CHANGING AGRICULTURAL RESPONSIBILITY OF WOMEN

Traditionally a polygynous family lived in a single dwelling and all the wives made a single joint farm. In the late 1940's this pattern began to change in response to the problems created by heavy labor migration.

While a married migrant is away working, his wife or wives often remain in the village. In the labor histories of the Gipo sample it was found that out of 73 completed labor trips where the migrants were married, the wives made a rice farm in the home village on 48 of them. Many of the wives who have accompanied their husbands to the concessions were observed to return to Gipo during planting and harvest time to help out.

When the husband/father is away working at a labor center, the responsibility for the organization functions of the domestic group must be assumed by the wife. It was observed in Gipo that these wives were turning to the village labor cooperatives to provide those male tasks of land clearing and storage facility construction. In most cases the migrants have sent money home for the purpose of hiring the cooperative. There were several observed cases, and even more reported in interviews, where the wife during the husband's absence would become the lover of a labor cooperative chief who would see that the necessary help was forthcoming. Lastly, several of the women in town have formed their own land clearing cooperatives and do not rely on male assistance in any aspect of the agricultural cycle.

When wives assumed the responsibility for the domestic group

farms while their husbands were away, other changes followed. Wives in polygynous units began making separate rice farms. This latter innovation is patterned after the traditional swamp rice farms that were separately developed by each wife. This pattern has become established in Gipo and in half the polygynous units the wives are no longer making a single joint farm.

This production independence has in many cases led to domestic independence for the wives in a polygynous unit (see Table 25). Traditionally a polygynous family resided in a single dwelling. Since wives have begun making their own rice farms they have been demanding and getting their own house or separate rooms.

In exploring the changes in the wife's role relationship vis-a-vis the production of rice, the wives of Mon gbein (Mon minimal sib) in Gipo were asked, as a group, if they thought the new way of farming and residential independence of wives was better than the traditional system. The older head wives agreed among themselves that things were better when the head wife controlled the rice of the joint farms and when all the wives slept together in the same room (?) because then there was more respect for the head wife. The younger wives, expectedly, supported the new system. The most independent of the group stated that now women have learned how to take care of themselves and wanted to have their own bed.

These organizational changes in production do not appear to have adversely affected agricultural productivity. A study was made to see if the nutritional requirements were being met and if the population of

the villages was physically fit and healthy. The data for these investigations, involving 196 Gipo individuals, is presented in Appendix A. In summarizing, nutritional status was judged to be adequate and the population was found to be generally healthy. In addition, the physical fitness of Gipo males compared favorably with workers at Liberian industrial sites and with Euro-American industrial labor.

TABLE 25. INDIVIDUAL FARMS AND RESIDENCES FOR WIVES  
BY DOMESTIC GROUP: GIPO LABOR SAMPLE

	INDEPENDENT RESIDENCES	ALL WIVES SHARE COMMON QUARTERS
Wives making individual farms	11	1
Wives making joint farms	7	7

$Q = .83$

$\chi^2 = 5.27$

$p > .02$

#### VILLAGE ADJUSTMENT TO THE ENCROACHMENT OF THE WESTERN ECONOMY

This section will analyze the impact of the coming of roads and the Cocopa Plantation in 1948 and the subsequent development of cash-cropping as an alternative to labor migration.

The desire to utilize West African resources by the industrialized nations and the push for economic development by independent African states have resulted in an increasing utilization of tribal lands for

capital development. In the Republic of Liberia 6.4 million acres, or nearly 25% of the land has been taken from the tribal holders for development by foreign concessions (Clower, et al, 1966:137-138). This figure does not include those areas alienated by influential Liberians for private rubber farms.

Cases of land expropriation for self-interested reasons no doubt abound but such a characterization ignores the ties between the rural African village and the western economy. The agents of the advanced economies and the representatives of the host governments view the benefits of economic development as outweighing any inconveniences to the country's indigenous population. The company asking for the concession offers to give considerable investment in time, capital, and managerial knowledge. The point that is often missed, however, is that the company has entered into a co-investment with the indigenous people who provide their own investment of labor, food staples for workers and the very land upon which is located those enterprises that are to develop their region.

As was pointed out in Chapter IV, both Cocopa and the road came in 1948. In that year the first plantation manager arrived to begin the task of getting farmers from three villages that had traditional rights to the land to leave after the 1948 rice harvest. The governmental agencies were asked to enforce the concession rights and soldiers were sent. Next, a survey team arrived to establish the exact boundaries.

The Three Villages. Yeibo was located in the middle of the plantation concession with a population of 300 to 500. At the time of expropriation, more than 75% of its land was lost and its inhabitants are today dispersed throughout the entire Mano area. Since Mano land use rights are held by village elements of sibs common to all the Mano, these people remained landless unless or until accepted by their sibs in other villages.

Gbeibini (see Map 2) is located on the edge of the plantation. At the time of expropriation approximately 24% of its land was lost. There have been two major adaptive changes made by the residents of Gbeibini since land alienation; cash-cropping and a system of land-use rent from the neighboring town.

The land-use rent system as practiced in Gbeibini is as follows: an individual whose sib has lost land approaches the elders of one of the sibs in the neighboring towns with which he has a consanguinal or affinal tie. The elders of that sib call together all the members and the applicant provides them with a gallon or more of the locally made rum. He states his case and the kinds of crops he wants to plant. If the sib approves, which it invariably does, the man is asked to give a certain portion of the produce to the sib as a whole, usually a bag of rice for a rice farm or a "tin" (5 gallons) of rum for a sugar cane farm. These "payments" are then used by the elders to meet the tax and feasting obligations of the sib.

Gipo is located approximately three miles from the plantation. At the time of expropriation two of the town's six sibs lost all their



land, which represented about 35% of the town's territory.<sup>6</sup> As in Gbeibini, the dispossessed members of Gipo have sought land elsewhere. In Gipo the applicant goes to a sib in town, not to any neighboring town. The process is the same--the application is generously fortified with rum and there is an agreement to give the host sib part of the produce.

Summarizing from the above examples, it appears that where land tenure is based upon kinship ties there must be sufficient land left to each village if it, or its constituent social units, is to remain viable (see Allan 1967). Yeibo could neither expand by borrowing nor could it survive on what little of its traditional farming area remained.

The interface between concession management and the village has always been abrupt and non-cooperative. A means of communication has never been established and even today the local inhabitants do not know why the plantation is there. The elders claim that they thought the Americans were coming to make a one-year farm for the United States president just as the Mano often did for the Liberian president.

In addition, between the two sides of the co-investment system, the plantation and the traditional villages, there is nearly a complete lack of communication. The host government and the management see the benefits as a "long term" sequence while the villagers are reacting to the "short term" effects of land loss.

A simplified and personalized view of cause and effect is the

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<sup>6</sup>It has also lost smaller portions of its farmland to two private Liberian rubber planters.

result. From the point of view of management the cause of poor village company relations is an intractable, non-cooperating population. To the inhabitants of the towns in question, it is the company's attitude towards the problems of tribal life that makes a modus vivendi impossible.

#### CASH-CROPPING

The adaptation to the new situation introduced by the presence of the plantation, the loss of land and the coming of the motor road necessitated the addition of new elements into the traditional agricultural organization. Cash-cropping was borrowed from the concession and all the villages of Gbannah have taken to cash-cropping to some degree. Table 26 summarizes the data on the frequency of cash cropping in the four sample Gbannah villages.

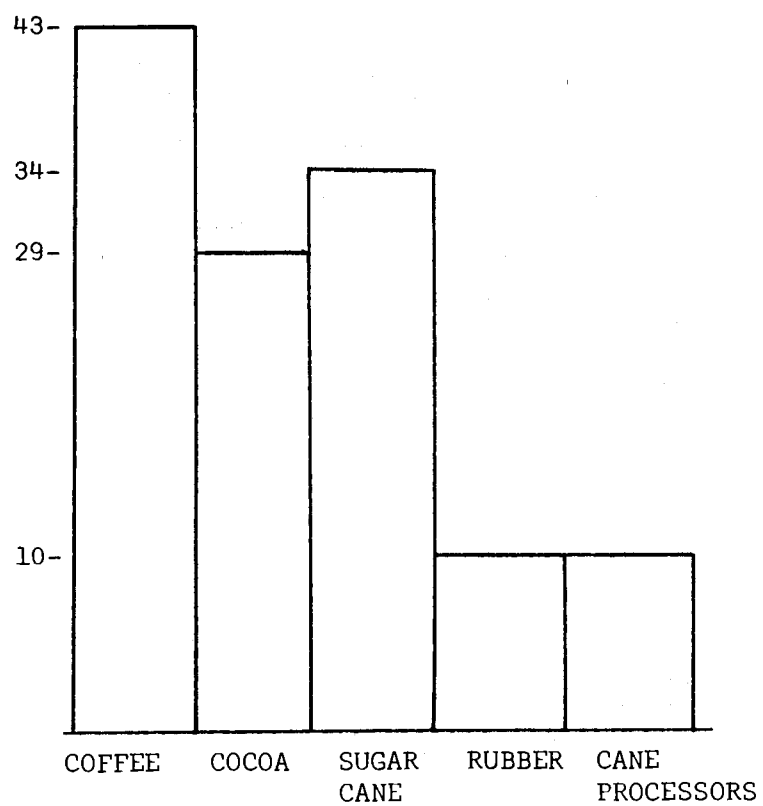
Once cash-cropping was undertaken, the knowledge of tree management gained at the plantation was readily applicable. In Gbannah the concept of a coffee or cocoa farm is different from that of a kola grove. Kola groves develop haphazardly around rice farm kitchen sites. Coffee and cocoa farms, however, are planted on land specifically cleared for the purpose. While kola groves seldom, if ever, number 100 trees, a coffee farm of over 1,000 trees is not uncommon. Furthermore, both the access to and initial experience with coffee and cocoa planting were gained at Cocopa, which began as a cocoa plantation, added coffee, and has now switched to rubber. This change has been paralleled in Gipo where, out of a random sample of 50, 43 families had coffee, 29 had cocoa, and 10 had planted rubber trees (see Figure 11 and Table 27).

TABLE 26. PERCENTAGE OF DOMESTIC GROUPS  
CASH-CROPPING IN FOUR SAMPLE  
GBANNAH TOWNS

TOWN	DOMESTIC GROUPS	DOMESTIC GROUPS CASH-CROPPING	PERCENTAGE
Gipo	49 <sup>1</sup>	43	88
Dea	23	16	69
Gbeibini	57	49	85
Sehwi	44	36	84

<sup>1</sup>Gipo Labor Sample. Mandingo trader is not included.

FIGURE 12. BAR GRAPH OF DOMESTIC GROUPS  
GROWING EACH CASH CROP<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup>Source: Gipo Labor Sample

TABLE 27. CASH CROPS BY DOMESTIC GROUP  
GIPO LABOR SAMPLE<sup>1</sup>

CASH CROPS	NUMBER DOMESTIC GROUPS	MEAN DOMESTIC GROUP SIZE
No cash crops	6	4.7
Coffee	3	6.0
Coffee and Cocoa	4	7.7
Coffee, Cocoa and Rubber	2	8.5
Coffee and Sugar Cane	9	7.8
Coffee, Cocoa and Sugar Cane	10	6.2
Coffee, Cocoa, Sugar Cane and Rubber	5	8.6
Coffee, Cocoa, Sugar Cane and Cane Mill and Still	5	12.6
Coffee, Cocoa, Sugar Cane, Mill and Still and Rubber	3	30.1
Managing Cane Processing Equipment, Coffee and Sugar Cane	2	5.5

49

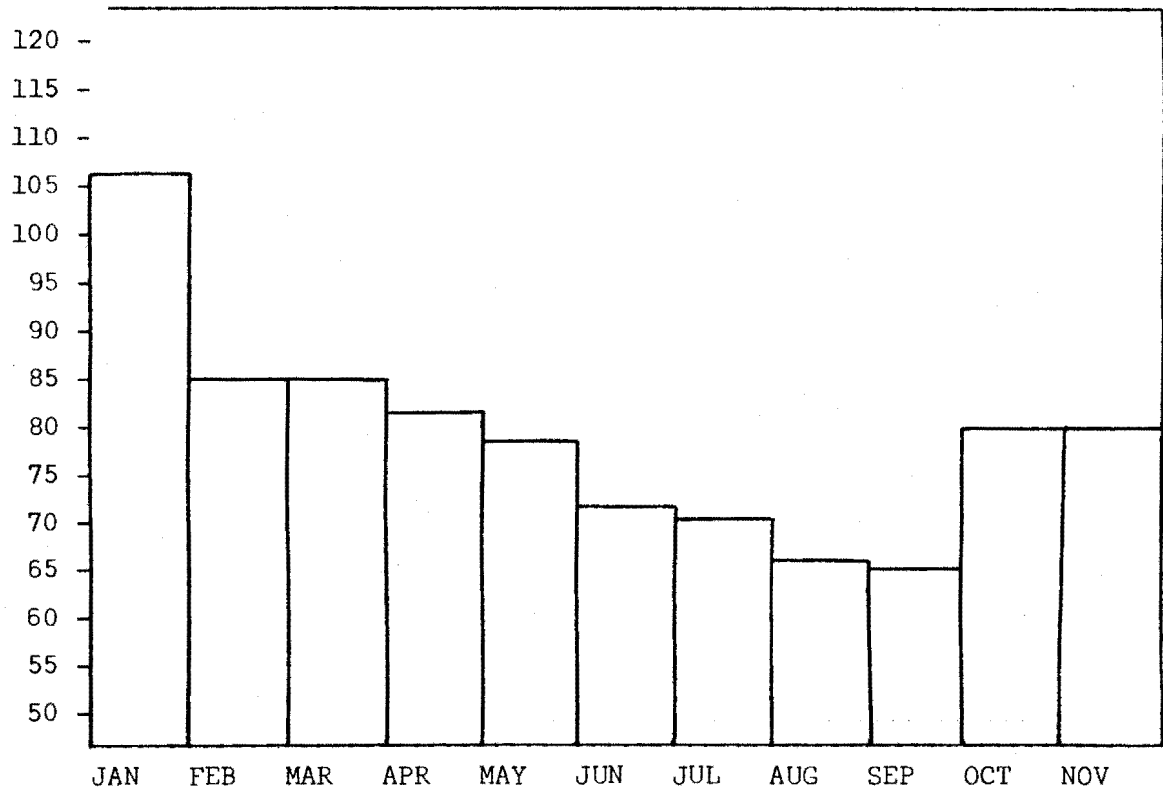
<sup>1</sup>Mandingo trader not included.

The villages and the plantation are tied together at many points. Figure 12 gives the number of workers hired from the 13 villages of Gbannah including Gipo and Gbeibini. The chart shows that labor drops off from February to May when the new rice farms are cut. What is unexpected is that the largest decrease is during the traditional slack times from June through September. Figure 13 is for another administrative district of the same size located in a more isolated area, roughly 20 miles to the east. By way of contrast it should be noted that the laborers from area 2 come into the plantation during the slack months. What is the significance of this difference? The villages of Figure 12 are engaged in cash-cropping while those of Figure 13 are not. The villagers around the plantation are using these slack months to take care of their coffee and cocoa farms and to collect and dry the harvest. In addition, it is the time to distill the fermenting cane juice and to prepare the new sugar cane farms. The price drop in local rum from \$8 to \$5 a "tin" between May and October indicated the increased supply.

This activity with the very cash-crops (coffee and cocoa) that were introduced into the area by the concession indicates that involvement in the money economy as independent producers is more rewarding for many men than seeking wage labor. The local inhabitants not only work for wages at the plantation, they will also leave that employment to compete in the same world commodity market.

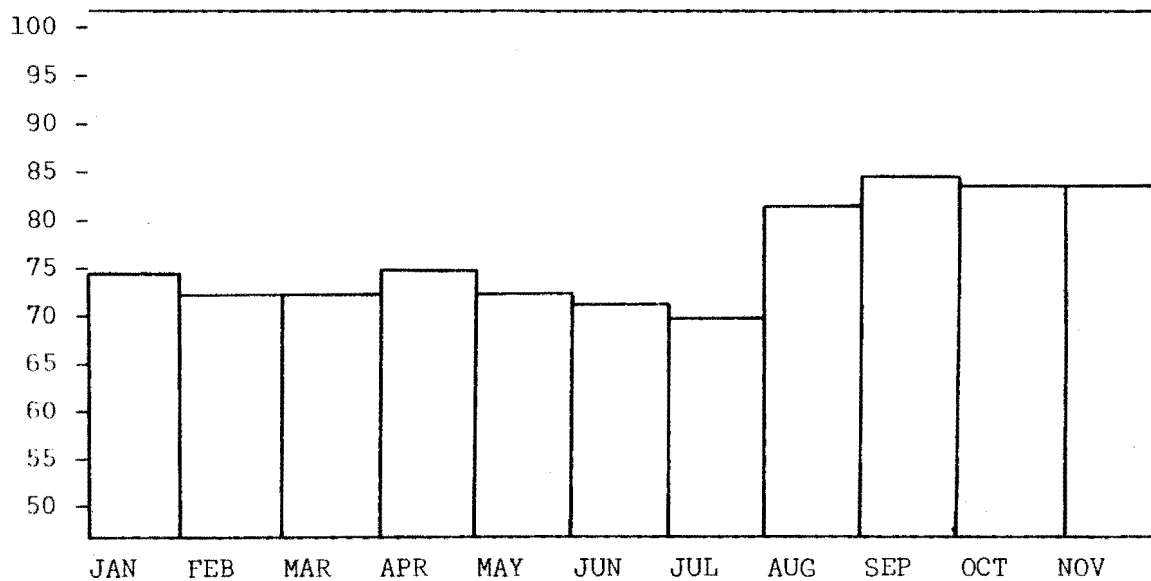
Much of the money for the initial involvement in cash-cropping of cocoa and later coffee came from labor migration. The seeds had to be obtained and the labor cooperatives that cleared the necessary land

FIGURE 13. NUMBER OF LABORERS EMPLOYED FROM THE 13  
VILLAGES IN THE SAME ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT  
AS PLANTATION BY MONTH



Source: Plantation Labor Files: 1967

FIGURE 14. NUMBER OF LABORERS EMPLOYED BY PLANTATION  
FROM RELATIVELY ISOLATED ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT  
OF 15 VILLAGES BY MONTH



Source: Plantation Labor Files: 1967



fed. Drying floors of poured concrete had to be constructed and trucks or money buses often hired to get one's produce to a buyer. The early profits made from coffee have financed the change to sugar cane, the cash crop requiring the greatest initial capital outlay. Cane shoots must be purchased and the processing equipment is expensive, by Gbannah standards. A cane mill costs approximately \$400, and a distillery, \$250-\$350. One man in Gipo has ordered a motor driven mill at an initial payment of \$1400. Gipo with its 10 mills, 9 distilleries, and one motor mill has a capital investment of \$7,650 in sugar cane processing equipment alone.

Because of the relatively large capital outlay for equipment, the domestic groups that process sugar cane into rum are the most involved in cash-cropping and commodity marketing. As is indicated in Table 27 these units also have the full complement of other cash crops as well. The domestic group head who owns his own cane mill and still gains in two ways. First, he is able to process the cane from his own farms. Second, he processes the cane from the farms of those who do not have the necessary equipment. The equipment owners took ten gallons of rum for every 25 they processed for others. The availability of a labor force to manage and operate the equipment is very important if the group is going to make any return on its investment. The mean size of the domestic group in Gipo which process the cane is more than twice that of the rest of the town (Table 28). It is these men who need the male labor at home and object if more than one younger member of their domestic group migrates to a labor center at a time. In general, then,

the more involved a domestic group is in cash-cropping the larger its size.

It was observed in the data presented in the last chapter that labor migration does not provide the worker with any great chance at wealth. This, it was pointed out, is because cost of living equals or exceeds monetary wages and because of the nature of the expected contributions made by migrants to those back home. The road to wealth, therefore, lies elsewhere for the Gbannah males. One of the best indicators of wealth in Gbannah towns today is membership in the higher echelons of Poro. The highest level in Gbannah is Gebuo (large Poro). Not all men of wealth will join, but all members are, by local standards, well off because the heavy financial dues and initiation fees eliminate all but the economically secure members of the society. Table 29 gives a breakdown of the major source of wealth the members of Gebuo in Gipo used in paying the initiation fees. The source of income is then with members who exploit the wage labor sector of the national economy through younger kinsmen who are away in addition to cash-cropping. This provides a contrast with those who exploit only one sector, either cash cropping or wage labor. As is seen, 21, or over 80%, gained wealth principally from the management of domestic group economies rather than through labor migration. This indicates that for the men of Gbannah towns, those who have been most successful as cash-croppers have utilized labor migration of the younger males to the advantage of village production. They are on the whole able to provide for larger numbers of people, with a mean domestic group

TABLE 28. SUGAR CANE PROCESSORS OF GIPO  
BY DOMESTIC GROUP SIZE AND MEMBERSHIP  
IN GEBUO

	NUMBER OF DOMESTIC GROUPS	MEAN SIZE	MEMBERSHIP IN GEBUO
Domestic Groups Owning Sugar Cane Processing Equipment	9	18	6
Domestic Groups not Processing Sugar Cane	105	7.1	19

Total domestic groups sampled: 114

Total membership in domestic groups (includes migrants): 913

TABLE 29. GEBUO MEMBERSHIP IN GIPO  
BY SOURCE OF MEMBERSHIP FEES AND  
ECONOMIC SECTORS EXPLOITED

SECTORS EXPLOITED BY MEMBER'S DOMESTIC GROUP	MEMBERSHIP FEES FROM CASH-CROPPING	MEMBERSHIP FEES FROM WAGE LABOR
Cash-cropping and Wage Labor of Younger Kinsmen	14	1
Only one Sector Exploited	7	4

N=26

Q=.78

size of 11.3 as compared to 7.1 for the town as a whole, and furthermore they can advance higher in the recognized status hierarchy.<sup>7</sup>

#### THE LABOR MIGRANTS AS VECTORS OF CHANGE

The migrants are both direct and indirect vectors of change in Gbannah. The goods and clothing of the modern sector were initially introduced to the town in any abundance by the first migrants. As was pointed out in the chapter on labor migration, this was a real stimulus for involvement in the money economy. The migrants have also brought back skills that are directly related to the current economic conditions and aspirations of the home villages, namely the knowledge of cash crop management. The main impact, however, has been indirect. Migrants were the first villagers to demonstrate the alternatives to village life. They also were the first men to opt for the new horizons available only in the modern sector and helped bring the revolution of rising expectations to Gbannah.

Migration and education together have also been altering the authority structure. The leadership at the village level has not changed in terms of its composition. It is still composed of older men who hold high positions in Poro. What has changed is the means these men use to gain wealth--the exploitation of the economy of the modern sector. Politics above the town level have decreed that the town chief is the spokesman vis-a-vis the national government. This has

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<sup>7</sup> Membership in Gebuo is based on wealth and not age. The range in age of membership is, in Gipo, from 30 years to approximately 70 years.

meant that the power of the town chief is increasing relative to that of the sib elders. Whereas the sib and lineage heads have only the weight of tradition and Poro to back up their authority, the town chief is able to request the assistance of the Liberian Army to enforce his decisions. It is small wonder, then, that the elders try to select a relatively weak man to be town chief (see above page 17).

Although Poro is still very important as the ultimate enforcer of traditional authority it is closely watched by the Liberian government and all the spokesmen and holders of high rank are licensed. Traditionally the highest body of Poro was KiLaa, the policy making body of the society. Shortly after the coming of the motor road all the members of this echelon were arrested and imprisoned. Upon agreeing to disband they were released and KiLaa was replaced by the government sponsored Gebuo, which serves the same function in the village but its membership is carefully controlled. This effectively eliminates Poro from any political or para-political role in the national political sphere at the present time.

Any of the migrants who have been away at school can claim the right to trial in the national courts rather than in tribal tribunals. This right is readily exercised and each educated man knows in which court he stands the best chance to win. Also, the educated migrant's aspirations are tied to the political fortunes of Liberia rather than to those of Gbannah. It was observed in the field that when these migrants came home from Monrovia for a visit they were decidedly apolitical in their behavior and acted in an advisory capacity. While

the illiterate farmer is subject to both the modern and the traditional authority structures the educated Mano is able to ignore as much of the traditional as he wishes.

Labor migration has also made it possible for the uneducated Gbannah male to escape village authority. An elder is powerless to bring a young kinsman to heel if he is away at a labor center. Also, the earning power of young migrants removes any hold the elders would have in withholding economic rewards, such as bride wealth. As Wallerstein (1965) suggests, the elders have to accept a much greater degree of deviant behavior today if they want to keep the young males from leaving. This is especially important to those elders most actively engaged in cash-cropping.

#### SUMMARY

The fragility of soils of the Gbannah region puts limitations on both subsistence and the cash crops alike. Any attempt at increased production through mechanical means, such as large scale clearing or plowing, increases the chances of erosion (Hellen 1968:253) and changes the fine ecological balance the Mano have established with their inter-cropped rice farms.

This chapter has shown the greater marginal efficiency of large groups in agriculture. Any attempts toward individualization of farming would, in this stage of economic involvement, lead to reduced productivity and capital accumulation (see Bady Ms. for similar situation in the Ellice Islands).

Finally, what emerges from the data is that cash-cropping has not

been forced on the Mano of Gbannah. It was accepted willingly, and their cash crops and cash crop farms were patterned after Cocopa. The ease of access to transportation and marketing facilities since the coming of the road system has made cash-cropping a viable alternative to wage labor migration. What is important, however, is that like elsewhere in Africa, cash-cropping has been grafted on top of subsistence farming and the fundamental production units have not changed (Allan 1967:359).

## CHAPTER VI

## CONCLUSIONS

The capital investments and the funnelling of population movements in Africa have led to the creation of large metropolitan and industrial employment centers patterned, for the most part, after those of the European nations. The phenomena of economic development and labor migration, however, involve more than capital growth and manpower development. There are two major changes involved for the indigenous inhabitants caught up in economic development schemes. On the one hand it involves a behavioral change on the part of the migrant when he moves from the rural to the urban and/or industrial environment. He leaves behind the systems of reciprocity that characterize his economic relations at home and participates in the behavioral patterns of the western market economy. An employer-employee relationship is established where the social contract is for a task and not for an affective, personal relationship. The labor migrant is, therefore, entering into a whole new system of allocation of goods and services that has been derived from a cultural tradition that is quite alien to his own. The wherewithal to meet the physical and emotional needs is available on a market-determined basis rather than upon social and kinship distances as was the case in his natal village. In addition, new kinds of



expectations must be developed if the rewards and sanctions of the new order are to lead to adaptation. The migrant, then, is changing from the sub-culture of peasant Africa to that of the modern national state.

On the other hand, economic development implies a vast reordering of the rural sector and way of life to meet the contingencies imposed by a national culture based on the money economy. The ultimate allocation of authority and power have shifted from the local to the national level. The overall allocation of goods and services is now tied to that of the national economy; land, labor and commodities are what the industrial sector demands from the tribal areas. Throughout West Africa this has led to land expropriation, out-migration in search of work, and increasing involvement by tribal agriculturalists in cash-cropping in proportion to subsistence farming.

Like other rural areas in Africa the Gbannah Mano are committed to labor migration and 42% of the young males are involved in wage employment. The motivation of these migrants has not been constant and has changed over time in response to changes in the political and economic environment of Liberia. As has been indicated in other West Africa studies, the earnings of Gbannah migrants are an important source of income for the home villages.

Labor migration has become an organized body of activities which articulates with the personal motivations of the migrants themselves and their relatives who have remained in the traditional village. The stay at the labor center is not a hiatus to one's membership in natal kin and territorial units. There is an expected role behavior towards

those in need and the migrant contributes continually to the village economy by sending savings home.

The other side of the adjustment has been the reorientation of the traditional Gbannah subsistence economy. There have been ramifying changes in all aspects of traditional agricultural organization. One set of developments has been to compensate for the loss of male labor and the other has been towards engagement in the world commodity market. The road to wealth in Gbannah lies in the village and not at the labor center. Those who are considered wealthy in Gbannah are not those who have been extensively engaged in labor migration. Rather it is those men who control the resources and labor of a lineage or domestic cluster. The resources controlled cross the boundary between the traditional and modern sectors. The earnings of those who are away from their kin groups are channelled into kin unit projects. Since the introduction of cash crops these kin unit projects have been directed toward increasing commodity production. The wealth of the elders has come from cash-cropping and it was observed, in considering the data, how men left the wage economy to get their cash crop farms into production. This in itself indicates where the Gbannah Mano see the greatest potentiality. Furthermore, food production in the villages has not suffered and the population has been able to maintain proper standards of nutrition, health and physical fitness.

The place of the Mano in the general history of the western Sudan shows that this is not the first time they have had to make choices in order to adjust to a new situation. Their initial adaptation was to

the forest fringe. Adjustments then had to be made to the rise of the Haute Guinée states and the evolution of a system for effectively exploiting the forest environment. Next came the accommodation to the western administration and economic control of their territory by Liberia. Since then the development of the infrastructure and concessions in Mano areas has brought the money economy to the village. The involvement in the national economy of Liberia has been accelerating. Further involvement in the western economy by the villages of Gbannah can only occur, however, on the terms of the westernized sector. In addition, as more men emphasize cash crops and apply modern techniques, the question of who controls the land will become increasingly important (Uchendu Ms.).

Locke has pointed out that..."Whatsoever, then,...[Man]...removes out of the state that nature hath provided and left in it, he hath mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property"(Second Treatise:27). Although the direction of this treatise has been different from that of Locke, it is nevertheless true that both the modern industrial and traditional sectors of the economy are organized for the exploitation of the available resources found in the physical environment. The rice farmer of Gbannah is no less dependent on those minerals found in the soil than is the management at the nearby iron mines and rubber plantations.

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## APPENDIX A

## HEALTH AND PHYSICAL FITNESS IN GIPO

Both Richards (1939) and Prothero (1965) have documented the fact that labor migration can have seriously detrimental effects on the health of the home village. In order to examine if this has been the case in Gbannah a study was carried out in Gipo (summarized in Haas et al 1969). A randomly generated sample of 169 Gipo residents was given physical examinations to determine nutritional status, parasite infestation and general health. In addition, the physiological requirements of traditional tasks were determined and the physical fitness of 16 Gipo males was established.<sup>8</sup> These data were then compared with the physical fitness and task work loads for a randomly selected sample of migrants at a rubber plantation (Cocopa) and an iron mine (Bong Mines).

The Gipo data summarized in Table 30 show that village agricultural production is meeting the nutritional requirements of the population. The poorest nutritional status was found in the very youngest age category and one case of severe malnutrition was found in a two year old

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<sup>8</sup>The health survey was done under the direction of Ganta Methodist Mission Hospital. The work load and physical fitness study was done in cooperation with the Liberian Station of the Hamburg Tropeninstitut. A fuller description of the methodology and equipment used is given in Haas, et al (1969:232-233).

girl. This perhaps indicates that the greater utilization of female labor has resulted in children being neglected. Only further studies will be able to determine if this is the case.

TABLE 30. GENERAL NUTRITION OF THE GIPO SAMPLE

Nutrition	Age (years)		
	0-5	6-12	Adults
Poor	3/40 (7.5%)	1/42 (2.5%)	0/87 (0.0%)
Fair	5/40 (12.5%)	2/42 (4.8%)	3/87 (3.4%)
Good	32/40 (80.0%)	38/42 (92.0%)	84/87 (96.6%)

Source: Haas, et al 1969:233

Although the parasite load carried by the Gipo sample is high, parasites are endemic to the local area and are not associated with migration (Table 31). The ravages of malaria, parasites and infections

TABLE 31. INCIDENCE OF PARASITIC INFESTATION IN GIPO (n=169)

Parasite	Age (years)			Total	%
	0-5	6-12	Adults		
<i>Ascaris lumbricoides</i>	22	24	52	98	58.0
Hookworm	8	25	20	53	31.4
<i>Strongyloides stercoralis</i>	5	1	5	11	6.5
<i>Schistoma haematobium</i>	3	11	9	24	14.2
<i>Entamoeba histolytica</i>	2	4	0	6	3.4

Source: Haas, et al 1969:234



that take such a heavy toll of the young were the same as those present in premigration days. It has been estimated that the infant mortality rate is in excess of 300 per 1000 live births for tropical Liberia and from the Gipo sample it was found that 39 of the 44 mature women sampled had been pregnant 242 times of which 200 were terminated in live births. At the time of our study 110 of the children were living, indicating a mortality rate of 45% for children of all ages (Haas, et al 1969:233). From the census data and genealogies it was observed that the mean number of children reaching maturity for women in menopause was 3 (Table 32). Child mortality is still a problem, but it is not affected by migration. In conclusion the general health of the adult population of Gipo is good. Only children under the age of 5 were found to be suffering from malnutrition and in spite of significant parasite infestation the population seemed biologically well adjusted to the physical environment.

In Table 33 the data on the traditional and concession work loads have been tabulated. As will be noted all male village tasks except blacksmithing and tailoring have an energy metabolism (Kilocalories/minute) greater than five. In contrast, the only industrial jobs that exceed this level are the contract occupations of cement block tamping at Cocopa and ditch digging at Bong Mines. These contract workers are paid a piece rate and are not on a regular salary. All industrial work, by way of comparison, in the Euro-American countries fall, on the average, below five kilocalories/minute. The harder work in the village is associated with the greater physical fitness found in village males as

TABLE 32. NUMBER OF CHILDREN REACHING MATURITY  
FOR TWENTY GIPO WOMEN PAST MENOPAUSE

Number of Children Reaching Maturity	Number of Women
0	3
1	2
2	5
3	2
4	3
5	2
6	0
7	3
8	0
Total 61	20

Mean number of children reaching maturity per woman: 3

TABLE 33. PHYSICAL FITNESS AS DETERMINED BY PULSE INDEX<sup>1</sup>

Sample Site	Sample Size	Mean Mean Pulse Index
Gipo	16	2.78
Cocopa (Plantation Workers)	8	3.30
Cocopa (Rubber Factory Workers)	5	3.50
Bong Mines	171	3.10
Norm for Euro-American Industrial Labor		3.00

<sup>1</sup>Pulse Index =  $\frac{\text{Pulse Rate Increase}}{\text{Minute}}$ . The lower the index number the greater the physical fitness.

Source: Haas, et al 1969

compared with the mean for workers at the two concessions (Table 34; a lower pulse index indicates a greater degree of physical fitness).

The impact, then, of labor migration on the physical health and fitness of the home village of Gipo has not been adverse. Because village work is physically more taxing than industrial work done by migrants, the village males are in better physical shape than the average industrial laborer. There is perhaps something to the statement of Gbannah males to the effect that they are going away to work in order to rest.

TABLE 34. PULSE FREQUENCIES AND ENERGY METABOLISMS  
OF TRADITIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL TASKS

RESEARCH AREA	TASK	n	PULSE/MIN	CAL/MIN
Gipo (men)	Tailoring	1	97	2.17
	Blacksmithing	1	107	4.09
	Blower operating	1	110	4.43
	Cane milling	4	119	5.14
	Daubing walls	1	120	5.40
	Underbrushing	4	135	5.89
	Sawing lumber	4	117	6.11
	Chopping wood	2	140	6.70
	Hauling clay	1	130	6.95
Gipo (women)	Carrying water	4	104	1.75
	Weeding	2	114	2.09
	Rice milling	2	117	2.79
	Cassava beating	2	157	5.25
Cocopa	Brick stacking	1	93	3.00
	Sheeting latex	2	101	3.61
	Tapping latex	3	99	3.71
	Hanging latex	2	97	3.88
	Collecting latex	2	106	4.44
	Tamping bricks	1	150	7.25
Bong mine	Euclid operating	3	79	2.30
	Electric shovel operating	2	86	2.40
	Drilling (level ground)	5	94	2.60
	Dustbin cleaning	1	102	2.60
	Diesel shovel operating	2	91	2.70
	Drilling (incline)	4	104	3.40
	Metal filing	8	108	3.40
	Garbage collecting	1	114	4.30
	Jackhammer operating	5	114	4.80
	Oremill repairing	4	118	4.90
	Ditch digging (shovel)	2	160	8.70
Ditch digging (pick)	2	170	10.00	

Source: Haas, et al 1969:236

APPENDIX B  
STANDARDIZED INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

- I. Questionnaire for domestic group heads in Sehwi, Dea and Gbeibini. The questions were derived from interviews with Gipo Labor Sample.
  1. Name given at birth
  2. Name given by Poro Society
  3. Joking name
  4. Name used when seeking wage labor or dealing with the Liberian government.
  5. Age
  6. Place born
  7. Present residence
  8. Sib membership
  9. Marital status
  10. Number of wives presently residing with respondent
  11. Number of wives deceased
  12. Number of wives divorced
  13. Years of schooling

14. Membership in labor cooperative
15. Membership in Poro
16. Membership in Gebuo
17. Membership in United Brotherhood of Friendship
18. Membership in Snake Society
19. Membership in a savings club
20. Membership in Gbannah Social Organization
21. Other voluntary association memberships
22. Religious affiliation
23. Wage labor experience:

No. of times  
employed

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- a. Firestone
- b. LAMCO
- c. Cocopa
- d. Independent rubber farm
- e. Other

24. Local agricultural involvement:

- a. How many upland rice farms are planted this year?
- b. Have you or your father ever made a farm on this exact piece of land before?
- c. How many swamp rice farms have your wives made?
- d. Are you making a sugar cane farm?
- e. Do you own a cane mill Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
- f. If no: Whose cane mill did you use last time?

- g. Are this year's upland rice farms large or small?
- h. In comparison to the upland rice farms of last year, are they  
Larger \_\_\_\_, Smaller \_\_\_\_ The Same \_\_\_\_?
- i. If there has been a change, why?
- j. Have you planted or harvested:
- |                                      |                  |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| (1). Kola                            | (7). Bananas     |
| (2). Cocoa                           | (8). Maize       |
| (3). Coffee                          | (9). Guinea Corn |
| (4). Rubber                          | (10). Beans      |
| (5). Palm kernals and/or<br>palm oil | (11). Eggplant   |
| (6). Plantains                       | (12). Pineapple  |
|                                      | (13). Peanuts    |
- k. Domesticated animals:
- | Animals       | Number | For food or sale? |
|---------------|--------|-------------------|
| (1). Chickens |        |                   |
| (2). Ducks    |        |                   |
| (3). Hogs     |        |                   |
| (4). Sheep    |        |                   |
| (5). Goats    |        |                   |
| (6). Cow      |        |                   |
- l. List any other domesticated plants or animals that you are in charge of.





19. Traditional association membership
  - a. Poro
  - b. Gebuo
  - c. Snake Society
20. Non-traditional association membership
  - a. Gbannah Social Organization
  - b. Religion
  - c. Religious club
  - d. United Brotherhood of Friendship
  - e. Union. If so, which?
21. How long do you plan to remain in this employment/location?
22. What are your plans when you do leave?
23. Supplementary income
  - a. Are you making a farm? If yes, what kind and where.
  - b. Is your wife/wives able to earn any money here? If so, how?
  - c. From what other sources are you able to earn money: shop, etc.

III. Standardized portion of Gipo Labor History Sample interviews.

1. Do you ever plan to work outside of town for wages again? If so, why?
2. Is going away to work a good or a bad thing? Why?
3. Where in your opinion is the best place for a person to work?  
Reason for this choice?

The following information is collected for each wage labor experience:

1. Wage experience number (first trip, etc.)
2. Where did you go to work?
3. How long did you stay?
4. Who was District Commissioner when you left Gipo?
5. Status in Poro Society at the time you left?
6. Marital status at the time you left?
7. Job (jobs) held at the labor center
8. What made you decide to go?
9. Did you go by yourself or in a group?

If group, give composition:

Name	Alternate names	Sib
------	-----------------	-----

10. Why did you go with these people?
11. Why did you go instead of someone else in your lineage or sib?
12. While you were at the labor center where and with whom did you live?

13. Membership:
  - a. Savings association
  - b. Labor cooperative
  - c. Labor Union
  - d. Company sponsored club
  - e. Other associations
14. Economic activity of wife, if married.
  - a. Wife (wives) at home in village. Give activity:
  - b. Wife (wives) at labor center. Give activity:
15. At which farming season did you leave Gipo?
  - a. Why?
16. At which farming season did you return to Gipo?
  - a. Why?
17. Remittances:
  - a. Did you send money home while you were working?
  - b. If yes, to whom, and how often and for what purpose?
18. What did you do with the balance of your earnings?
19. Personal estimate of earnings brought back to village
20. When you returned to Gipo for whom did you bring gifts?
21. To whom did your family turn for assistance in your absence?

Typed by: Barbara E. Lane

