

DOCUMENTING THE IMPACT OF CONFLICT ON WOMEN IN LIBERIA

*Presentation of Survey Findings
to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia*

July 14, 2008, Centennial Pavilion, Monrovia, Liberia



*Special Presentation by
Women's Rights International
and Voices In Empowering Women in Liberia*

Documenting the Impact of Conflict on Women in Liberia: Presentation of Survey Findings to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia is the result of a collaboration between Women's Rights International (USA), and Voices In Empowering Women (Liberia).

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*To the memory of the women
who lost their lives
during the Liberian civil war*

*And for our mentor
Herb Spierer
in recognition
of his vision, passion, and pioneering accomplishments
in the quantitative documentation
of human rights*

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INTRODUCTION

Mr. Nathaniel Kwabo (Executive Director, Truth and Reconciliation Commission): We will now call upon Counselor Pearl Brown Bull, Oversight Commissioner for Montserrado County, to give the welcome remarks.

Mrs. Bull: We have the United Nations Truth and Reconciliation Commission liaison, Mr. Raphael Aben, we have our partners in progress, fellow women groups who came to identify with this worthwhile program, by hearing it over the air, women groups, fellow colleagues. I welcome you as Oversight Commissioner for Montserrado County in continuation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission process and in compliance with the mandate of the T.R.C. Act where women have special privileges and mechanisms put in place for us to hear women. All the counties that we went to, there was a time set aside for us to hear about women, and we know we cannot hear from all the women in this country, but when we can get a group of women who have experienced what the majority experienced, and want to join us in progress, to see to it, and to find a way forward from our difficult past, we welcome you all. I will close with a comment that was written years ago [by Mother Teresa]:

People are unreasonable, illogical, and self-centered, love them anyway;
If you do good, people will accuse you of selfish ulterior motives, but do good anyway;
If you are successful, you will win false friends, and true enemies, but succeed anyway;
The good you do today, will be forgotten tomorrow, but do good anyway;
Honesty and frankness make you vulnerable, I admonish you to be honest and frank anyway;
The biggest women with the biggest ideas can be shot down by the smallest women with the smallest mind, but think big anyway;
People favor underdogs, but follow only top dogs, fight for some under dogs anyway;
What you spend years building up may be destroyed overnight, I admonish you build any way;
People really need help but will attack you if you help them, but help them anyway.

The women of Liberia bore the brunt of the violence during the war and we thank you all that this group since 1991, 1994, even before setting up the Accra Comprehensive Peace Accord, thought it wise to come and take down these things for us to know, for history, and also as Chair of the Historical Review for the TRC, I say to you, welcome.

Mr. Kwabo: Thank you Commissioner Bull. The next item, of course, is introduction to the occasion. Before I ask Mrs. Gladys Aryee to come to the podium, I would like to say that the TRC is really encouraged by the incredible resilience of women of this country, and also by the fact that this group braved all odds when bullets were flying all over this place to give women who themselves were experiencing their own trauma an opportunity to explain circumstances surrounding their own problems during the conflict. I would also like to mention that the TRC takes women issues very, very seriously. And we hope this presentation and all information gathered regarding this TRC process, will aid this Commission in coming up with concrete recommendations that will move this country out of its doldrums into a brighter future. I would like to know call on Mrs. Gladys Aryee to introduce the presenters.

Mrs. Gladys Aryee (Voices In Empowering Women): Good morning again. We are happy to be here. I want for everyone of us to be happy that we are here today. Honorable ladies, and gentlemen, all protocol observed. Hurray to the women of the Republic of Liberia. We are proud to be here today, to stand before you, to tell you what we gathered as women, from the women of Liberia. We were six women, the seventh person is the secretary, that worked along with a lady name Shana Swiss coming from America. She is a strong advocate against violence against women. This lady came here, a year or two before we started working together, and visited all areas where Liberian women were. And she decided that “I need to do more.” And so she contacted six professional women including a lawyer, for us to try to document what was going on, and what women were telling us about the things that were happening to them. And so, some of us, we lived in different areas of the country and we knew what was happening. We all passed through those things, and we experienced some of the same things, but then at the end, we wanted to know how many women in this country during the first five years of the war experienced these things. So we decided to have a survey done, and we went from churches, to mosques, to schools, to market places, and had discussions with women, and then we knew that we needed to do something more. So we came back and wrote some questions to ask our people, including our indigenous mothers. In so doing, we had to pre-test these questions, and we found out we needed certain wording to be able to gather our information from the adults and from the girls in the schools. We did that and got all our information. We did not just go from house to house, we use what we refer to as random sampling. That is, if we went to a community, we used the map given to us by the Ministry of Planning. We went to the houses that we randomly chose by lucky ticket. We did that the same way in the schools, in the market places, and we gathered information. But our information was not only to be put on papers and be kept or used under the table, it had to come back to you, the women who agreed to answer our questions as we give it to them. And so today is the day that we have planned to come and give the results to you. And then as God would have it, we have a TRC, representing both men and women, because we are not only looking at women here, we are looking at men and women, and we can bring our information to you.

The main purpose of women getting together is to be empowered. We are not telling you to tell your husband, “We are in power now and so we don’t want you to tell us anything.” No, we want you to be self-sufficient, for you to be able to buy for yourself, for you to be able to do something for yourself. That is self-sufficiency.

We gathered all this information and formulated it and we will use three ways of showing you the results today. We are going to show you two different types of dramas. One is pertaining to women who were living in displaced camps and women in the marketplace. And I am going to be the market woman so you all will see how the market women behaved during the war. Then after that, we will show the statistics. That means, the number of people that came to answer our questions, and how many bad things happened to them during the first five years of the war. We are going to show it to the TRC today. In doing that, we used the numbers that we got, and we got little pictures to show the women. You will see the pictures. There is nobody’s face drawn on that picture. We just want to show how many school girls that we talk to, and how many displaced women and market women that we talk to. Those that said yes, and those that said no, you will see it in the picture. Because when we were doing our papers, we told ourselves we are not going to mention anybody’s name. We are not going to put any women’s face on the TV. We are not going to do that because women and girls have already been traumatized. So rest assured that you will not see any special woman standing on the picture that we will show you. It is just something we put together for you to just follow how the numbers were put together.

We are all Liberians, so in our dramas, we used names we Liberians can relate to. My name can be Margaret, and Margaret could be right over there, or my name can be Sundaymar. Bassa women like Sundaymar business and we could still have still have a Sundaymar over there. But I am not talking to Sundaymar. We are just using the common names. So if your name comes up in the drama, please don’t feel bad and say, “Oh, how can you take my name and put it in the drama.” It is not so, we are just using all Liberian names in our drama. We want for you to rest assured that we are not just going to keep you here today. We are going to let you enjoy yourselves. Even the Commissioners will enjoy themselves, I hope they do not forget the questions they have to ask.

After the survey was done in Liberia, it did not stop there. We went to Ivory Coast in 1997 when we fled from here after the April 6 war. Our sisters that went from the south eastern region to the Ivory Coast, another war came back on them and a lot of things happened to them. I am not going to talk it now. That one is my secret. You will see it and hear it when we start reading about it.

So ladies and gentlemen, feel free and relax, we are not here to intimidate, we are not here to let old wounds be opened, we just want you to know what happened to us, and that we came back as we promised, “That what ever your tell us, we will bring it back to you.” That is why mothers, sisters, aunties, we are here today. May God bless us as we listen today.

Mr. Kwabo: Thank you very much, Mrs. Aryee. Like I said, the TRC takes women’s issues very seriously. And for public information some of you already know we have a general committee at the TRC on which all female Commissioners sit and headed by Commissioner Massa Washington. So I am sure you will be looking keenly and listening very carefully to the

presentations themselves. But before we do that the Commissioners will leave the stage to take the front row while they prepare the stage for the presentation.

Mrs. Bull: And before moving, and since I am from Montserrado County, and before the Commissioners leave the stage, we will introduce the Commissioners so you can know them. We have right here: Commissioners Gerald Coleman, Oumu Syllah, John H. T. Stewart, Massa Washington, Dede Dolopei. On the other side: Vice Chair, our own Sheikh Kafumbah Konneh, and of course, his truly, the Chairman, Jerome Verdier, in the center. You all know me, I am the Oversight Commissioner for Montserrado County, Pearl Brown Bull.

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS FROM LIBERIA 1989-1994

WOMEN IN THE DISPLACED CENTERS AND MARKET WOMEN

PLAY: ZINNAH'S STORY

Stage Directions: *The dialogue between characters takes place in the center, middle stage. The Narrator is at the side of the stage so she does not block the characters in the play. The actors in dialogue are animated and speaking to each other. The narrator is speaking to the audience.*

Props: *Bags or baskets or things that women and men will carry as they move from one place to another. Each time the characters move, they will put these things on their head, under their arms or on their backs as they walk from one place to another.*

Speaking Characters:

Narrator

Zinnah (Displaced Woman who is pregnant)

Nyanqueh (Son)

Sangai (Friend)

Bendu (Daughter)

Gbessay (Son)

Massa (Daughter)

Man (at Check Point)

Fighter (at Check Point)

Younger Fighter (at Check Point)

C.O. (at Check Point)

Nurse/ Ma Zoe (Midwife)

Boima (Zinnah's husband)

Kuboodoe (Friend)

Tenneh (Friend)

Weatta (Friend)

Leeyang (Friend)

Markplay (a market woman crossing a check-point)

Narrator: The Liberian war is being talked about by every Liberian, young and old. The suffering reaches to every aspect and sector of Liberia. In this story I am going to tell you about the experiences of Liberian women who fled the civil crisis to live in displaced camps. This story does not talk about any special woman or any special place. This is what happened to almost all Liberian women. If you remember any part of this story that reminds you of something...it is not talking about you. It is talking about the experiences that many women had during this war. Any name or any place that you hear in this play is not referring to any one woman's story. It is the story of what happened to women living in displaced camps and market women during the war.

Stage Directions: *Zinnah walks toward the middle of the stage as the narrator introduces her and then starts doing something in her house.*

Narrator: Here is Zinnah. She is 31 years old. She was born in a town in Cape Mount called Tienne. Her husband is from Lofa, but he stayed in Cape Mount from his youth days. Her parents were Muslims but she was raised by her aunt who is a Christian. When this play begins, Zinnah decides to go on the farm.

Stage Directions: *As the Narrator is talking to the audience, Zinnah's son walks onto the stage. As Zinnah and Nyanqueh begin to talk the Narrator watches them as if she is part of the audience. The narrator stays on the side of the stage so as not to interfere with the action.*

Zinnah: Nyanqueh, come let us go on the farm, you know that's the only thing we are depending on.

Stage Directions: *Sangai comes running out toward Zinnah.*

Sangai: Zinnah, you hear the news? They say war is in the country oh.

Zinnah: Where? Who told you? What happened?

Sangai: They say the soldiers are at Bo Waterside. What's wrong Zinnah?

Nyanqueh: Mama what they say?

Zinnah: There is war in the country and your father is not here. I hope your father will come back before the people war come oh.

Nyanqueh: Who told you about war?

Sangai: I heard it on the radio.

Nyanqueh: Mama, let go...

Zinnah: Nyanqueh, go and check the town for your brothers and sisters. Check to see any news of your father. *(Nyanqueh and Sangai leave)*

Zinnah: ...the people fighting this war are not looking for people like me. We'll be okay because we are not Mandingo. I am so worried about my husband. I hope Boima will come back before the war comes to our town.

Narrator: A few days later as Zinnah was doing her normal business on the farm, suddenly Nyanqueh came running back...

Stage Directions: *The narrator watches as Nyanqueh comes running onstage.*

Nyanqueh: Ma, all my friends joined. I saw Ma Kulah son, Varney, so I joined, too.

Zinnah: Eh my son why? Why you want to spoil my heart so? Don't follow those people...don't go...

Nyanqueh: All my friends are there! *(Nyanqueh runs out.)*

Narrator: Nyanqueh joined the fighting forces. Zinnah wanted to wait for her husband but when he didn't come she decided to go to the town. When she reached the town, she discovered that her house was destroyed and nobody was in the town. Zinnah cried...and decided to leave the town.

Zinnah: *(Zinnah crying)* I only know this town. I speak nothing but Gola and Kpelle. *(Screaming)* Where can I go? Where can I go? *(As Zinnah is crying and screaming, 'where can I go', Massa and Bendu come onstage).* My children...we have to go to the next town!

Children: Mama, what about the old people?

Zinnah: When I entered the town, the old people had run out of the house and were in the women's bush. So I went to the old people and they said that they are not able to run. I tried to encourage them, but they refused to come. My children, I left you here so I had to leave the old people and come.

Zinnah: Let us start walking. Let us go and trust God.

Stage Directions: *Zinnah and her children pick up their loads and begin walking across the stage. Ma Zoe comes onstage and joins them walking. On the side of the stage in the direction they are walking, a man is lying on the ground at a check point and a fighter is standing next to him. Zinnah and her children and Ma Zoe start walking towards them. Zinnah is in the lead.*

Zinnah: Wait, children! I hear somebody crying...

Old man: Please my son. I am not a soldier, that my brother who was in the army, not me.

Fighter: You liar shut your mouth. You are an AFL soldier!! *(The fighter shoots the old man. Zinnah is scared and shaking and falls to the ground. Her children run up to her.)*

Fighter: Hey, you woman, advance to be recognized. *(The children are helping to pick Zinnah up and walk her to the check point.)* What is your name and tribe?

Zinnah: I am Gola by tribe.

Fighter: Say something in Gola.

Zinnah: I can only speak Kpelle.

Fighter: You are lying! The man we just killed is your husband, that's why you fell off. Old ma we will deal with you. You and your husband want to trick us and pass. *(Zinnah is shocked as the fighter pulls her.)* Your pussaawa luck finish today. We will put you to the same place we sent your husband. You rotten human being. Come here take off your clothes because I know you got your husband gun under that lappa. We will kill you so the other people will see and know that we mean business. You people are our enemy force and you want to infiltrate our territory.

Zinnah's children: *(The children cry and beg the fighters.)* My people your come for us they want to kill our ma. We don't know the man they just kill.

Stage Directions: *Everyone looks scared at the check point.*

Narrator: While all the commotion is going on, a C.O. walks proudly up to the check-point with a boy at his side.

Commanding Officer: What is happening here? Who are all these people?

The fighters: *(They look surprised and salute the C.O.)* It for you, sir.

Nyanqueh: *(The young fighter runs up to his brothers and sisters)* What's wrong? Where is our mother?

Brothers and sisters: They arrested her. They say they will kill her.

Commanding Officer: *(Nyanqueh runs to his C.O. and whispers something to him.)* Who is Zinnah?

Zinnah: That's me.

Commanding Officer: Where are your children? Let the woman go.

Zinnah: *(She goes to her son)* Nyanqueh, thank you. God will bless you.

Nyanqueh: OK ma, you go with the children to the displace camp. I will come to look for your.

Stage Directions: *Zinnah and her family quickly run off the stage.*

Fighter at check point: Advance...

Fighter: What's your tribe?

Markplay: My boy, you know I'm always passing here. I just a poor market women oh...

Fighter: Go...

Stage Directions: *Zinnah and her children and Ma Zoe start crossing the stage with their loads. About half way across the stage Zinnah goes into labor...*

Narrator: Zinnah decided to go far from that area. She and the children walked all morning. By mid afternoon Zinnah begins to feel stomach pains. Not wanting her kids to notice what's happening, she slowly bears down. Bendu does not understand that her mother is in labor but does what the midwife tells her to do.

Bendu: Mama how you wasting time so. Let's hurry up it's getting dark.

Ma Zoe: Bendu, eh, hold this lappa. *(Bendu holds the lappa like a curtain in front of Zinnah).*

Stage Directions: *Baby cries.*

Bendu: Oh! Mama, you born the baby?

Zinnah: Yes, oh. Thank God the baby came safely. Let's stay here until the sun go down.

Stage Directions: *Zinnah lies down with her children and new baby. Ma Zoe stays with Zinnah. The rest of the people start walking to the displaced camp. Then Ma Zoe starts walking to the displaced camp.*

Narrator: Zinnah delivered a baby boy. She is resting and thinking about her life before the war when things were so easy. Even though they were many in the house, her husband Boima was a strong man and he always brush big bush for her to farm. Now Boima is not here. She has no one to help her.

Stage Directions: *Zinnah gets up and puts the baby (who is in a bundle) on her back. After that, Zinnah and the children slowly walk across the stage while the narrator speaks. They are exhausted.*

Narrator: It took Zinnah two weeks of walking in the bushes, crossing the river... She lost her slippers. No water to drink.... She suffered. It took her two weeks to reach to a very big displaced camp. When she entered the camp, luckily someone recognized her and took her to where her people were.

Stage Directions: *Zinnah starts slowly walking to the people in the displaced camp with her children as the narrator speaks. Then she starts walking among the people lying around on the stage representing a displaced person's camp. Sangai suddenly sees her friend, Zinnah. As the action starts, people in the camp can make simple movements as though they are doing something while Sangai and Zinnah are talking.*

Sangai: Zinnah, that you there? Where you coming from? And you just born baby again? What happened to you, Zinnah?

Zinnah: Oh Sangai, we walk from the farm to here. So many things happened to us. The boys almost killed me. Have you seen any of our family people?

Sangai: Oh! The same thing almost happened to me, too. Is it true that Nyanqueh joined the people?

Zinnah: Yes, oh. In fact he was the one God sent to stop the *boys* from killing me. They insulted us. I was so scared. They said they would kill me but Nyanqueh stopped them.

Sangai: You are lucky they only insulted you. My own they made me their woman. I was so shame since that day I don't go back that way. You are the first person I am telling because you are my friend. Anyway, have you heard from Boima?

Zinnah: No, oh. That's why I stayed in the farm for two days hoping that he would come back.

Stage Directions: *Zinnah takes the baby off her back...*

Zinnah: The baby stomach is running bad! The baby is getting weak! Bendu, go call Ma Zoe because the baby is too sick. Bendu...Bendu...go get...Ma Zoe.

Stage Directions: *Ma Zoe takes the baby and makes a sign like the baby is dead. Ma Zoe wraps the dead baby up and walks to the front of the stage where she places the bundle down on the stage.*

Narrator: After Zinnah's baby died she cried and cried. After some time of mourning she started to go about her normal business. She got registered in the camp and got her first ration...

Zinnah: Children, we have stayed one week with our relatives. We have one ration. This camp is hard! We have to eat every day. I want to sell some of the things that UN gave us. I want you to go around with some of the things to sell.

Stage Directions: *The children walk toward the front of the stage selling their goods. Zinnah sweeps in front of her tent. The children come running back to Zinnah.*

Children: Mama, the people bought all the things.

Zinnah: Who bought them?

Children: Some people came from town, they bought the things.

Zinnah: (Looking very pleased) Now I can get my own tent. I will use some of the money to build my own tent.

Stage Directions: *The children run off the stage as Tenneh comes running onstage.*

Tenneh: Zinnah, Zinnah, I saw Boima up the road asking about you.

Zinnah: Where? Show me. Come, let's go. *(Boima comes onstage looking around for Zinnah. Zinnah walks up to him. Boima is there with some bundle in his hand. Zinnah is happy to see her husband.)*

Zinnah: Boima, you ok? Where have you been?

Boima: Hello Zinnah, where are the children? How are they doing?

Zinnah: They are alright. They went to sell. This place is hard. The belly you left me with I delivered a baby boy but he died last week. Come inside.

Zinnah: Tell me what happened to you. *(Boima looks away for a moment)* What are you hiding from me?

Boima: *(He hesitates.)* Well, I went back to the village to look for you and the children. After I did not see you I decided to walk around the town. That's when I saw the old mom's body but I buried her. *(Zinnah begins to cry.)*

Stage Directions: *Boima tries to comfort Zinnah then leaves her to go do something off stage.... Zinnah is sitting inside her house. The other characters come on stage and slowly walk across the stage to Zinnah's house. Kuboodoe is walking with Tenneh and Weatta and they come across Leeyang.*

Narrator: A few months later, Zinnah is working in her house when she hears the voices of people coming.

Leeyang: Where are you going?

Kuboodoe: Someone is selling something we are going to check and see.

Leeyang: I want to follow but I promised Zinnah I would go see her tonight.

Tenneh: Who is Zinnah?

Leeyang: You know, Boima's wife.

Tenneh: Oh, she's here. Let me go with you to say hello. *(They go and enter Zinnah's house.)*

Leeyang: What happened again Zinnah?

Zinnah: You girl I am tired of this kind of living and don't know what to do.

Leeyang: Ummm, let me sit down first. *(Leeyang sits by Zinnah and they were all quiet for a long time. It seems each of the women has her own thoughts.)*

Leeyang: You remember when you passed by me in the other town?

Zinnah: Um hum.

Leeyang: The rebels came in the town and when they took over the town they forced me to cook for them. One day the C.O. asked me to clean his room. While I was in the room he came in and started touching my breast. When I tried to run out of the room he grabbed my hand and started taking off my clothes. I was scared first but something made me brave when I heard the voice of another C.O. I screamed and everybody came in the room. The C.O. that came was the most senior and he told me to get out. Since that day whenever I think about it my heart can tremble. I was forced to stay in that town because things were so hard and I could not get anything. Thank God for you at least have started making garden. This whole war is just throwing people backwards.

Zinnah: Leeyang what do you think will happen to our country? Already women were having plenty burden then this war has added more worries on us. The fetinah fighters say they came to free us but look at us. Our husbands got lost from us, my son has not come, I can't make farm. What is this?

Leeyang: The only thing I can think about right now is what to eat.

Zinnah: It's been long since I came in the camp. I have not seen my period since Boima came back. I don't know what to do. I am already suffering with the children then to be pregnant again, this war time when we don't know when we will run again.

Stage Directions: *Gunshots increasing in loudness and intensity.*

Zinnah: Boima! Massa, call your sister and brother! Let us run from here. The sound is getting too heavy!

Stage Directions: *There is another loud sound. Everyone gets up and starts to run. People run in different directions. The children follow Zinnah in one direction. Boima goes in another direction.*

Narrator: Zinnah and her children left this village and walked for many days to the area where soldiers had come from different country to make peace. They stayed in that *camp* for a long time. Zinnah carried her pregnancy for nine months. She continued to worry about her situation...

Stage Directions: *Sangai comes onstage and begins talking to Zinnah.*

Sangai: You got to stop doing this to yourself. Boima is not here. You are pregnant and you will not eat. You keep worrying.

Zinnah: If that was you what will you do, eh? I can't see my husband. Someone told me they saw him behind the line. My baby child just died like that last year. I am alone with the children and this belly. I'm about to born another baby. *(Zinnah grabs her stomach.)*

Sangai: What's wrong Zinnah?

Zinnah: My stomach!

Sangai: Let me take you to Ma Zoe.

Stage Directions: *Sangai takes Zinnah to Ma Zoe. Sangai holds up a lappa like a curtain in front of Zinnah. Again Zinnah can pantomime giving birth with Ma Zoe. She should go through the same actions as before because these will symbolize her two births. Leeyang comes onstage.*

Leeyang: Thank God you delivered a girl.

Sangai: At least a girl will help you with your work.

Narrator: Things went fine for a few months. The baby got a little older...Her friends decided to get together to make a group garden. Zinnah is not able to join right away because her baby is sick.

Sangai: Leeyang and Zinnah, I think it will be better if we join and make garden.

Zinnah: I am too worried about this baby. Since I born this baby she keeps getting sick.

Leeyang: OK we will go to the clinic so the doctor can look at her.

Stage Directions: *Leeyang and Sangai sing and pantomime making a garden.*

Sangai (to Leeyang): Let go rest...and see how Zinnah is doing.

Stage Directions: *They all sit down to rest. Zinnah takes the baby off her back and sees that it is dead. Zinnah starts to scream when she realizes her baby has died. The women start keening. Ma Zoe wraps the baby up like the other bundle lying on the stage. She walks to the front of the stage and gently places the bundle next to the other one at the front center stage. By placing this bundle next to the other, she is saying to the audience that this baby also died. The women follow Ma Zoe toward the front of the stage but they turn around and slowly walk off stage singing a song of grieving. Ma Zoe looks at the two bundles with despair. She slowly turns and walks off the stage.*

THE END



STATISTICAL NARRATION

WOMEN IN DISPLACED CAMPS AND MARKET WOMEN

Introduction

Madam President, Chairman and Commissioners of this unique body, invited visitors and guests present here, fellow Liberians, ladies and gentlemen: greetings.

The Women's Health and Development Program of Liberia was founded by a veteran advocate against violence against women. This is none other but Shana Swiss who is presently the Director of Women's Rights International. We could not have accomplished what we have today without the acceptance of Mother Patern College, under the Archdiocese of Monrovia. We want to express our appreciation for hosting the team. The goal for this project was to gather statistics of violence suffered by women during the civil crisis, analyze and return the findings to the women of this nation. To reach this goal we surveyed Liberian women.

In view of this, six professional women of various capacities accepted the challenge of the odds. We anticipated that the document will be used to enhance the preparation of empowering women of their rights in our country.

I am Grace Boiwu and these are my colleagues, Gladys Aryee and Rojatu Turay-Kanneh. This group, which represents Voices In Empowering Women (VIEW), is composed of six Liberian women and two American women. We all first got together 14 years ago to form the Women's Health and Development program housed at Mother Patern College. Today although most of us have gone on to other things, we still work separately in our own ways to continue the goal of empowering Liberian women. We have gotten back together this year as the original group to make a presentation to the TRC. The report we are about to make is the result of two different surveys conducted with Liberian women. The first was with 205 Liberian women living in different parts of Monrovia in 1994, and the second was with 126 Liberian women living as refugees in Cote d'Ivoire in 1997. The play that you just saw was a play that we wrote so that we could tell you what we found out about women's experiences during the war through our surveys.

All six of us experienced many things during the war and in 1994 we were scattered in various places. As professionals we were treating women at clinics with complaints that seemed war-related. Some women complained of illness they experienced for the first time in their lives. Women also confided in some health workers about some war-time experiences. Shana Swiss came to Liberia from the States with the objective of conducting a survey of women. It was through Shana that each of us was contacted in different ways and we all came together and started working on the Women's Health and Development Program.

We started our work at WHDP to get together and find out what's happening to women here in Liberia. None of us came to WHDP with the intention of doing a survey. Some of us came with the intention of earning a salary to feed our families because it was really tough at that time. But when we got to Mother Patern we introduced ourselves and we started to tell our stories. And we realized that all of us were women that experienced something in the civil war. And when we came every day it was like a routine thing. We started to tell our stories, our experiences, what happened to us, and that bond started to develop amongst the six of us.

Each of us went through the war. Whether we stayed in Monrovia, went through villages, or we went to another country, we crossed checkpoints, were abused, and strip searched (check

under lappa). We all experienced different types of violence during the war moving from place to place, and we just wanted to get documentation if what we experienced was what other women and girls experienced, and if some of the atrocities that we heard about actually did happen. We wanted something tangible and strong to document and show in the future that people really caused atrocities to women. Each of us had our own bottom line reason for doing the survey.

Another piece to it is there were a lot of groups coming up and talking about young girls being victims. One of the reasons we were in favor of us doing a survey was because we wanted to use the process which includes random sampling, confidentiality, and pre-testing. Those methods gave us the confidence that after we interview a woman who has had an experience we're not going to leave her traumatized for the second time because of the way we asked the question, the way we had them relaxed and made them to even talk more and wanting to talk more.

We started developing the survey by talking amongst ourselves and we came up with questions we wanted to ask. So we started the group discussions just among the six of us. We had to talk about what this war is, what did we go through, what happened to us, what did we hear, what did we see, and then we realized that if we are thinking this way, what are the women out there thinking? How can we get to them? How can we get to know what they are thinking? So we decided to conduct group discussions in communities. We listed down some questions based on what we experienced, and those were the questions that we took to all the other groups. We went to high schools, communities, market places, and religious places, and had meetings with women to ask them. We went with the hope of having just a 30-minute discussion but most of the time it took one to two hours.

The stories we heard from them were not that different from the stories that some of us experienced during the civil crisis. And as we talked with the women we revised our questions based on what we learned from them. And so the small group discussions and meetings with the various groups helped us to change the questions we had written to actually fit what they were saying. It was a challenge and it was exciting to go out and see if the things that we thought were things that actually happened. The survey was divided into five sections: Demographics, reproduction, events of war, sexual coercion, and coping skills and development.

When we formulated the questions, we wrote them in our own ways of understanding them. And later on because we knew we were going to our indigenous people as well as the educated ones we had to look at the terms that we were using. Because there are different approaches to elderly people than to young people, we had to reframe the questions, try the questions, call some women in and test the questions on them. They gave us feedback how they would respond to questions that were given them. And in so doing we were able to get the questionnaires to be able to get answers from elderly people as well as young people.

After we had the group discussions when we saw that people were responding well to the way that we had formulated the questions we started doing the random sampling and we started talking to individual women. We discovered it was dangerous. It was risky and we ourselves were kind of scary at first especially all of us going in the car but we got used to it.

Interviewees were selected by random sampling. Ministry of Planning provided census and maps for the community, and the LRRRC gave us information on the displaced camps. The team visited the market sites and drew out maps for the market tables. At the high schools we randomly selected the high school girls by having them stand up and count off in their classrooms.

In order to get an interview, several steps were taken to ensure the interviewees were randomly selected. The first step was to use the maps to randomly select a zone or block. The second step was to randomly select a house within that zone or block. The third step was to select a woman within that household.

Once a house was selected, we interviewed the woman who was the head of the household, except when we were interviewing girls. Then we chose a girl in the house.

When the woman was chosen to be interviewed, we would not even interview her in an open place. She took us to a safe place in her house away from eavesdroppers. Because the questions were pertinent to her, we did not want for any other person to hear. We talked to every woman by herself. The introduction itself would help the women to relax. This is how the woman was asked:

I am _____ from WHDP of MPCHS at STC. We are a group of six women interested in what women went through during the war. We feel strongly that women went through a lot during the war and we want to make sure what we are thinking is true by conducting a survey. We want to document our findings in order to prepare training materials for health workers that will enable them to treat or provide better care to women because they are aware of what women have experienced.

We want you to please take part in this survey and be truthful. We assure you that your name will not be put anywhere and all the information we gather will be kept in strict confidence. If the questions are too personal, or if you feel uncomfortable answering them at any time, feel free to stop.

Are you willing to take part?

And some women would refuse. If a woman did not want to take part her refusal was noted and the team moved on to the next house that was randomly selected. But those were very few. Most of the women cooperated.

If we went in an area where a woman would say “No, I don’t want to be questioned, my husband has to be asked,” we try to explain why we’re doing this with women. I think one or two areas we had to ask permission from the husband to agree for us to interview his wife. And then when he agrees we would interview this woman. Because women respect their husbands and they would not agree to be answering questions from strangers. We did not just go out to women who we knew had experiences during the war to ask questions. We did lucky ticket (lottery) to get the woman to be interviewed.

To compile the findings, the survey result was rechecked, proof-read, and computed into a data base by a coder. Then our statistician worked with us to analyze and summarize the data for us. We all spent a lot of time looking at what we found and talking about what it meant and how we could use the information. We wanted to be able to go back to the women who gave us the information so we could tell them what we learned. We wanted to be able to put the information into a role play for them, so our statistician developed characters for a story who would represent what our survey showed. With the characters, we wrote stories and role plays. The play you saw today was one of them. The character Zinnah was based on the survey results for the women we interviewed in the displaced persons camps.

To decide things like Zinnah’s age and how many children she had, we looked at the average of all of the displaced women. To decide ‘yes or no’ things, like whether she was married, we looked at percentages. If more than half (50%) of the women said ‘yes’ to

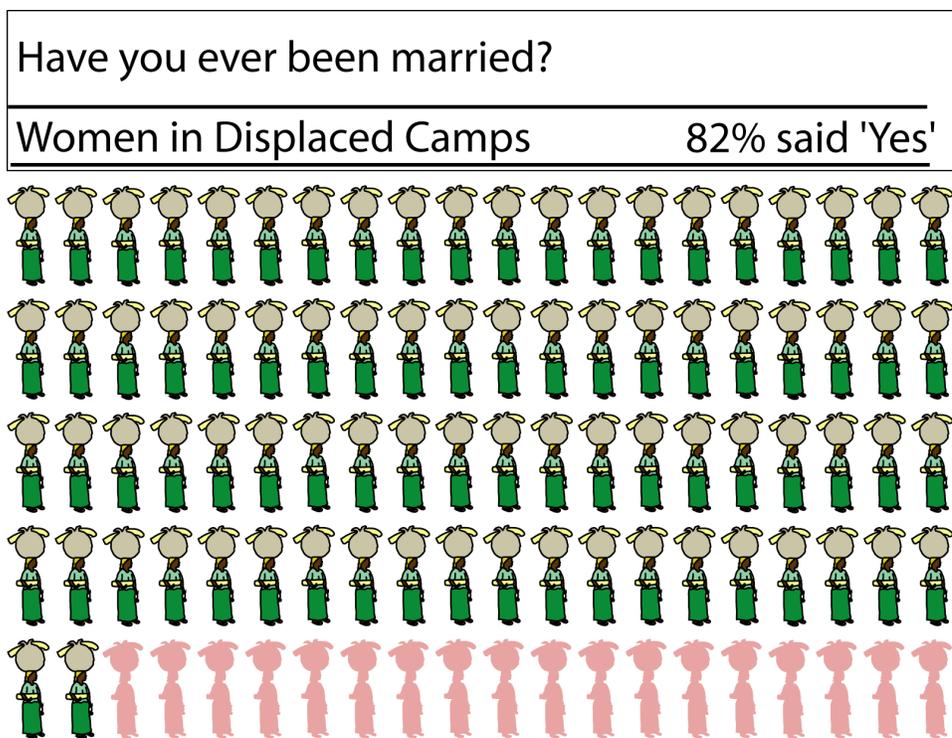
something, the story character was assigned that thing. For example, we found that 82 out of 100 of the women we interviewed in the displaced persons camps were married. That was more than 50% (50 out of 100) so we made Zinnah a married woman. We also found out that only 44 out of 100 of the married women were living with their husbands at the camp. That's less than 50% so we made Zinnah not living with her husband at the camp.

For the experiences of physical and sexual violence, the decision was more complicated because each woman we interviewed had a different number of bad things happen to her. Some women did not have any violence happen. Some women had one type of violence happen. Other women had many types of violence. To decide what kinds of violent experiences Zinnah went through, we first found out that an average of six violent things happened to women we interviewed in the displaced camps. We then selected the six types of violence that women most often said 'yes, that happened to me.' So the story characters were not based on any individual woman's story, they were created from the average characteristics and the most frequent experiences women reported in the survey.

We will show you the real statistics behind the story we just told you in the play through Zinnah. But first I want to tell you how to read the graphs we made.

How to Read the Graphs

The beauty of doing our survey the way we did, choosing women randomly, it lets us be able to think that this small number of women we interviewed were typical of women living in displaced persons camps and market women in the Monrovia area in 1994. So we can say that what we found was probably true for women in displaced persons camps and market women in Monrovia during that time, not just for those specific women we interviewed. Our graphs are made up to show this. We put 100 Liberian women on the page to represent any 100 Liberian women in displaced camps or market women. Then we put our findings on top of those women so you can see how many of those 100 women were affected by the thing we asked about in the question. Here is an example. Here are 100 women in a displaced camp. When we asked the question, “Have you ever been married?” we found that 82 percent of the women we talked to in the displaced camps were married. That’s 82 out of any 100 women living in displaced camps. So here the pictures of the women who have color are the 82 out of those 100 women who were married and said ‘Yes’ to the question. The pictures of the women without color are those women who have never been married and said ‘No’ to the question.



Now I’m going to show you what we learned about what happened to women living in displaced camps and market women in the Monrovia area during the first five years of the war.

House or Village Destroyed

Scene from Zinnah's play:

Narrator: A few days later as Zinnah was doing her normal business on the farm, suddenly Nyanqueh came running back...

Nyanqueh: Ma, all my friends joined. I saw Ma Kulah son, Varney, so I joined, too.

Zinnah: Eh my son why? Why you want to spoil my heart so? Don't follow those people....don't go....

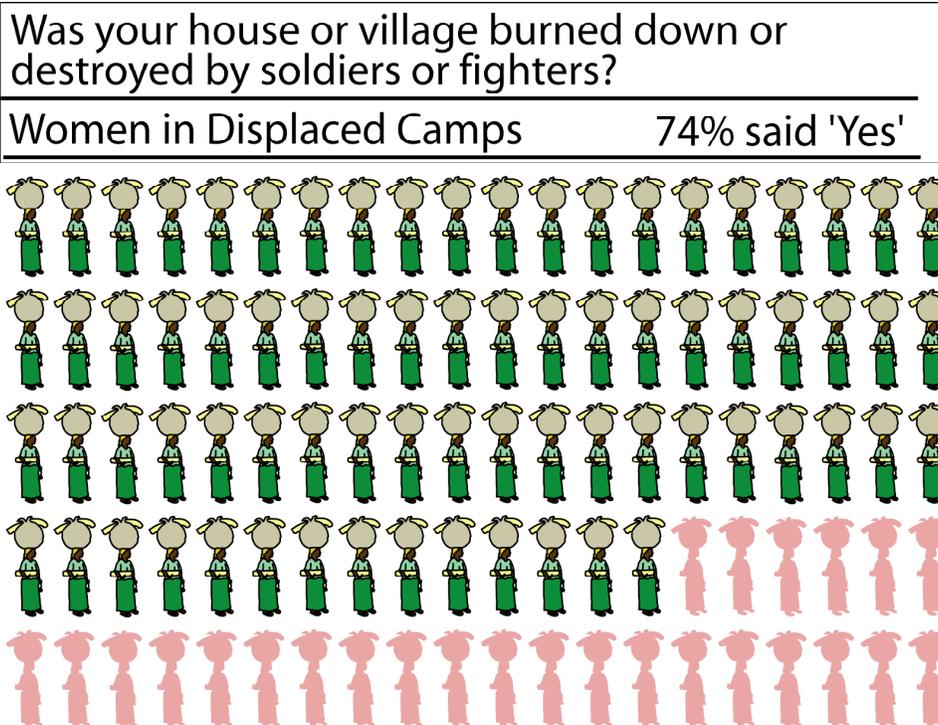
Nyanqueh: All my friends are there! *(Nyanqueh runs out.)*

Narrator: Nyanqueh joined the fighting forces. Zinnah wanted to wait for her husband but when he didn't come she decided to go to the town. When she reached the town, she discovered that her house was destroyed and nobody was in the town. Zinnah cried... and decided to leave the town.

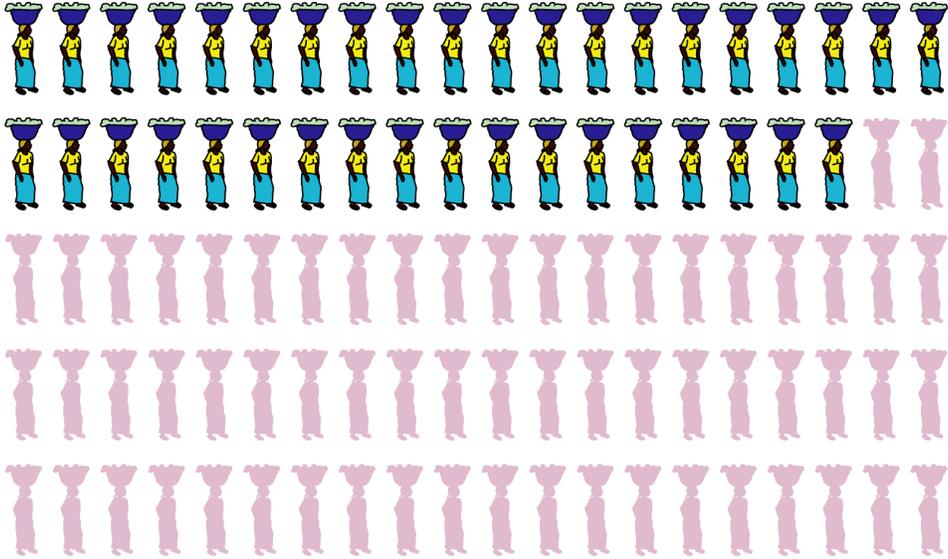
This is the way question was asked on the survey:

"Your house or village or area where you were living before the war started in Nimba, was it burned down or destroyed by soldiers or fighters?"

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 women living in displaced camps in the Monrovia area in 1994, you would find that 74 of those women had their houses or villages destroyed during the first five years of the war. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 market women in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 38 of those women had their houses or villages destroyed during the first five years of the war.



Was your house or village burned down or destroyed by soldiers or fighters?
Market Women 38% said 'Yes'



Forced Displacement

For most of us, this war made us face so many impossible decisions. We had to move in a hurry, we had to make decisions without any time to reflect, and we had to try to predict what was the best thing to do to keep our families alive. Most of us, when the war reached us, we were forced to move from our homes. This is the way the survey question was asked.

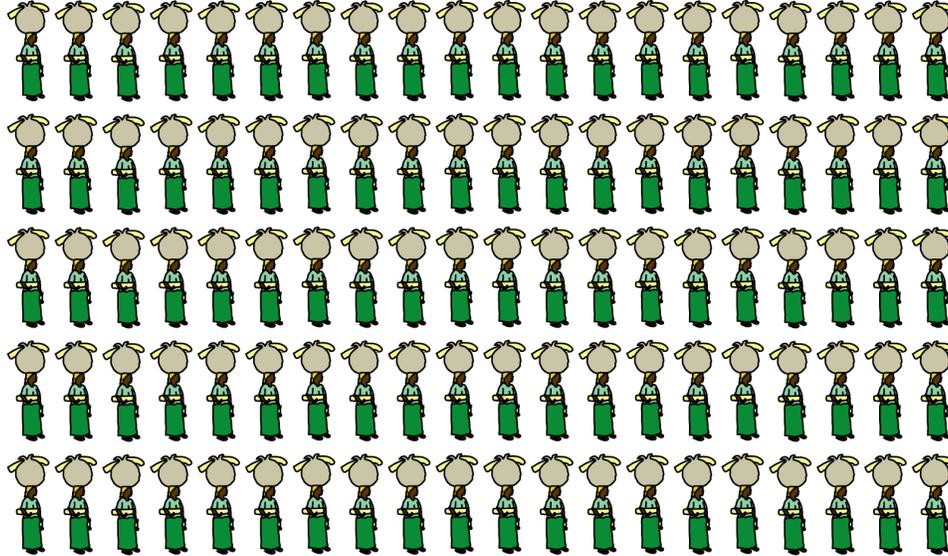
“Did the war make you to move from the place you were living?”

This picture shows that all of the women living in displaced camps were forced to move. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 market women in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 88 of those women were forced to move during the first five years of the war.

Did the war make you to move from the place you were living?

Women in Displaced Camps

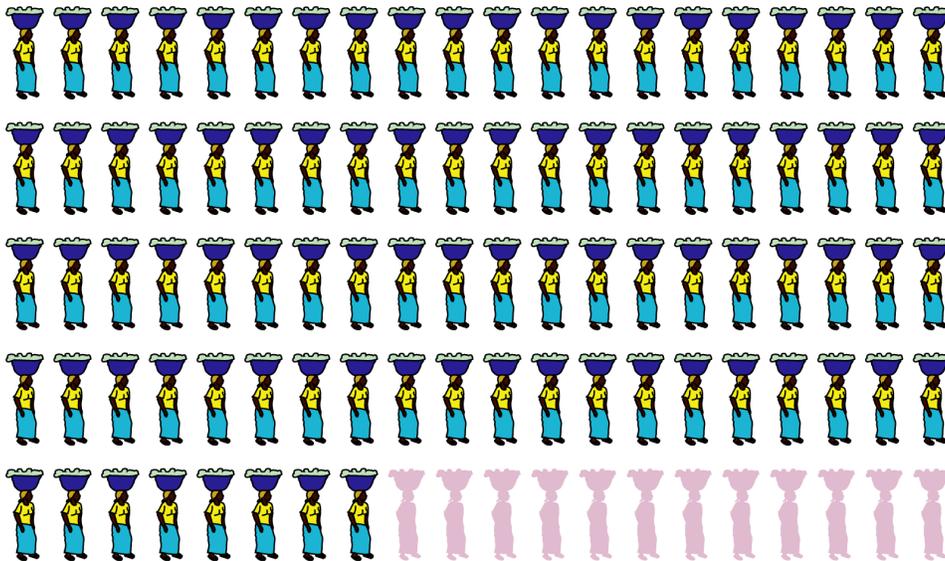
100% said 'Yes'



Did the war make you to move from the place you were living?

Market Women

88% said 'Yes'



Impossible Decisions: Leaving Elderly Behind

Zinnah: *(Zinnah crying)* I only know this town. I speak nothing but Gola and Kpelle. *(Screaming)* Where can I go? Where can I go? *(As Zinnah is crying and screaming, 'where can I go', Massa and Bendu come onstage).* My children... we have to go to the next town!

Children: Mama, what about the old people?"

Zinnah: When I entered the town, the old people had run out of the house and were in the women's bush. So I went to the old people and they said that they are not able to run. I tried to encourage them, but they refused to come. My children, I left you here so I had to leave the old people and come.

Zinnah: Let us start walking. Let us go and trust God.

Some of the most difficult decisions were about leaving elderly family members behind. This is the way the survey question was asked:

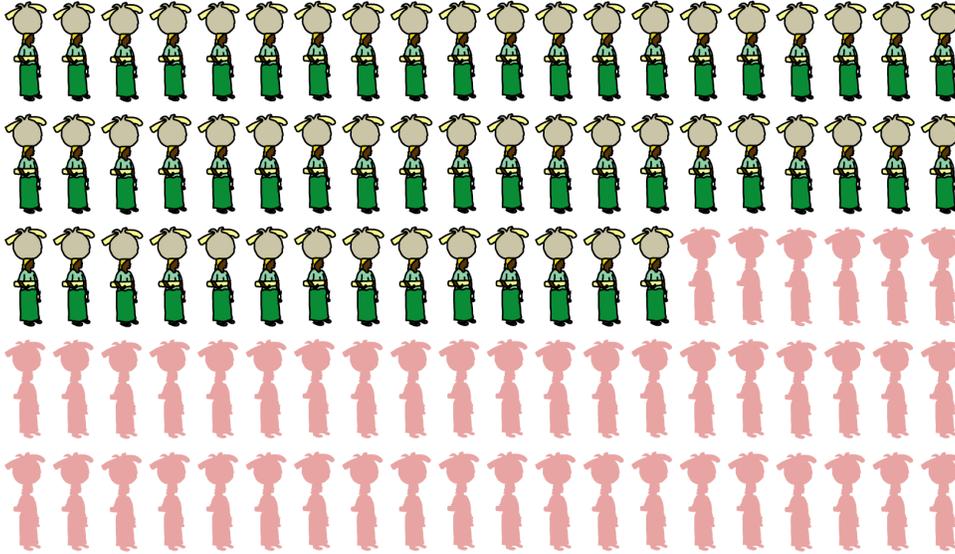
Some women had to do things during this war that when you sit down and think about it, it hurts your heart, so I have a few questions to ask you. (The war came, certain things jam you, you were running and you leave somebody behind. You didn't want to do it but you had to?)
"Did you have to leave any elderly relative or old person at home or in the village with other people or relatives or in the bush or along the way when you were running or when you went to look for food?"

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 women living in displaced camps in the Monrovia area in 1994, you would find that 54 of those women had to leave an old person behind in the village or in the bush when she ran, or had to leave a family member at a checkpoint where the soldiers or fighters there wanted to kill them. If you asked any 100 market women in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 28 of those market women had to leave an old person behind in the village or in the bush when she ran, or had to leave a family member at a checkpoint where the soldiers or fighters there wanted to kill them.

Did you leave any elderly relative behind in the village, or in the bush, or did you leave a family member at a checkpoint when you were running?

Women in Displaced Camps

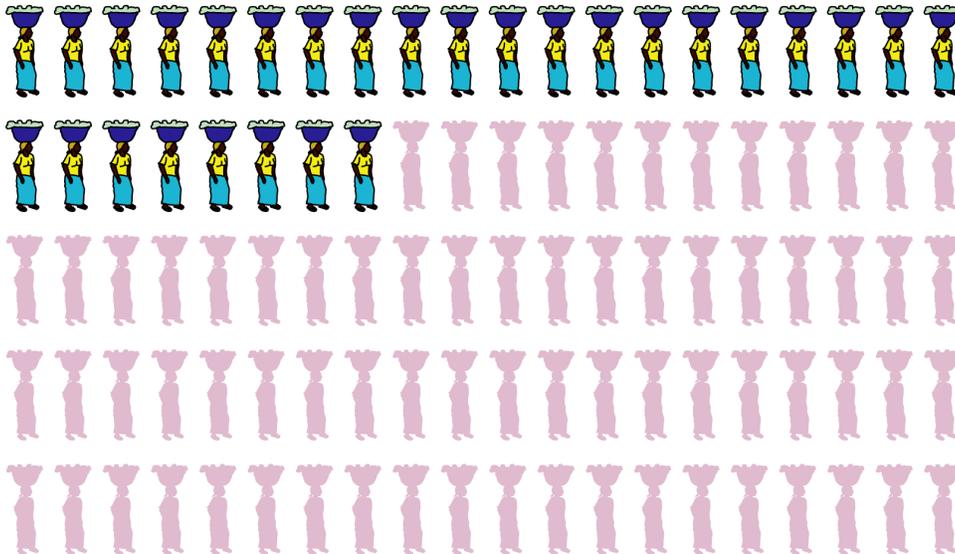
54% said 'Yes'



Did you leave any elderly relative behind in the village, or in the bush, or did you leave a family member at a checkpoint when you were running?

Market Women

28% said 'Yes'



Impossible Decisions: Leaving Children Behind

Some of us had to leave our own children behind or send them away to somewhere we thought might be safer. This is the way the survey question was asked.

“Did you have to leave any child or children behind at home or in the village with other people or relatives or in the bush or along the way when you were running or went to find food? Did you have to send any children away to another place thinking you were sending them to safety but you didn’t know for sure?”

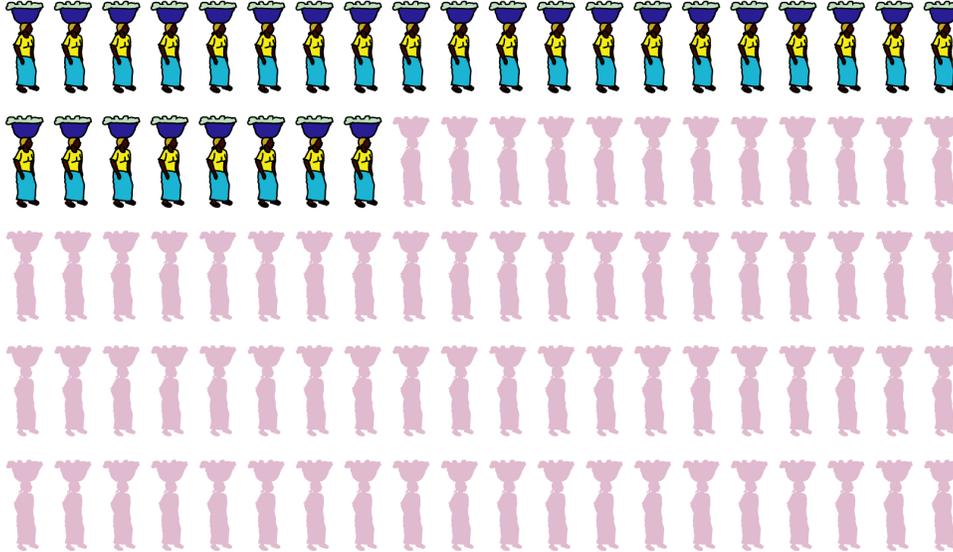
This picture shows that if you asked any 100 women living in displaced camps in the Monrovia area in 1994, you would find that 18 of those women had to leave children behind or send them to another place during the first five years of the war. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 market women in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 28 of those market women had to leave children behind or send them to another place during the first five years of the war.



Did you send any child away or did you leave any child behind in the village or in the bush when you were running?

Market Women

28% said 'Yes'



Accused Of Belonging To Tribe Or Fighting Group

Fighter: Hey, you woman, advance to be recognized. *(The children are helping to pick Zinnah up and walk her to the check point.)* What is your name and tribe?

Zinnah: I am Gola by tribe.

Fighter: Say something in Gola.

Zinnah: I can only speak Kpelle.

In the early days of the war, we thought that only certain people were at risk, maybe because of their tribe, maybe because they worked for the government. And that made things even more dangerous. If soldiers or fighters thought you belonged to one of these groups you were more at risk of bad things happening to you. But in the end, we were all in danger no matter what our tribe. This is the way the question was asked on the survey:

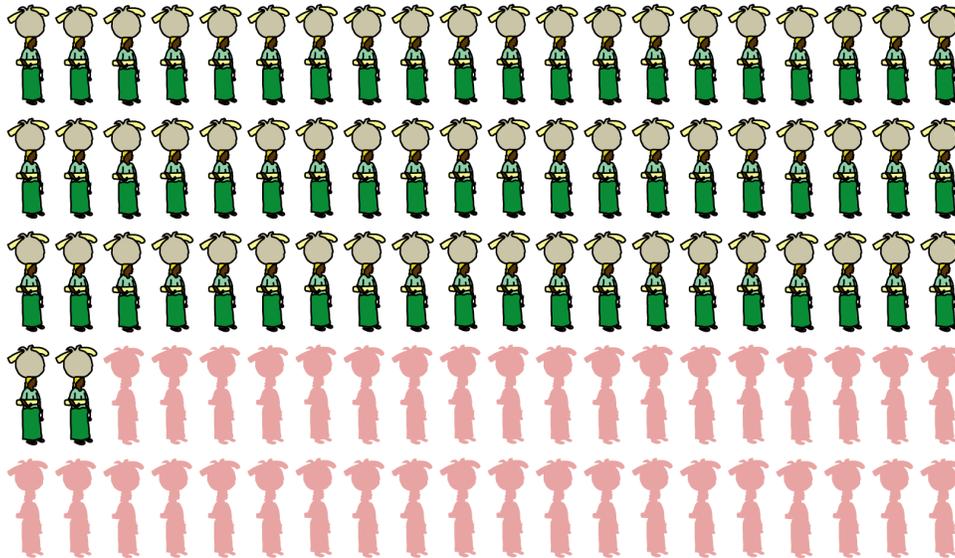
*“Since the war started did any soldier ask you to speak your dialect?
Any soldier or fighter accuse you of being Krahn, Mandingo, Gio, or any other tribe? Any soldier or fighter accuse you of being from any of the fighting groups like NPFL, ULIMO, LPC?”*

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 women living in displaced camps in the Monrovia area in 1994, you would find that 62 of those women were accused of being a certain tribe or fighting group during the first five years of the war. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 market women in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 40 of those market women were accused of being a certain tribe or fighting group during the first five years of the war.

Did any soldier or fighter accuse you of being Krahn, Mandingo, Gio, or any other tribe or any fighting group?

Women in Displaced Camps

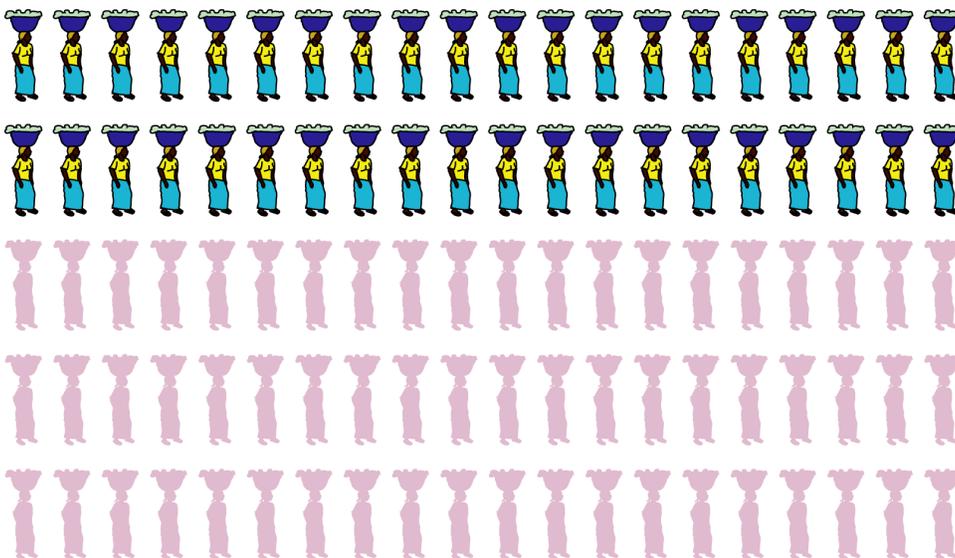
62% said 'Yes'



Did any soldier or fighter accuse you of being Krahn, Mandingo, Gio, or any other tribe or any fighting group?

Market Women

40% said 'Yes'



Accused Women Living in Displaced Camps Were Threatened

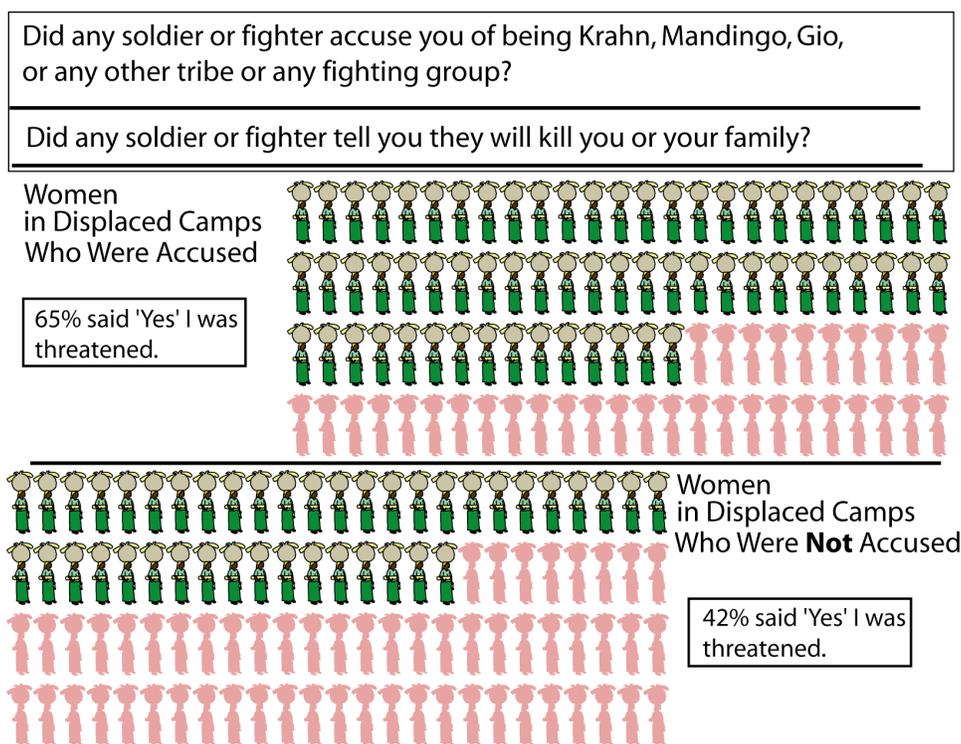
Fighter: You are lying! The man we just killed is your husband, that's why you fell off. Old ma we will deal with you. You and your husband want to trick us and pass. (*Zinnah is shocked as the fighter pulls her.*) Your pussaawa luck finish today. We will put you to the same place we sent your husband. You rotten human being. Come here take off your clothes because I know you got your husband gun under that lappa. We will kill you so the other people will see and know that we mean business. You people are our enemy force and you want to infiltrate our territory.

Zinnah's children: (*The children cry and beg the fighters.*) My people your come for us they want to kill our ma. We don't know the man they just kill.

Some of the most dangerous times for us all were when we were traveling or when we encountered soldiers or fighters. We had to cross checkpoints and we were exposed to all kinds of dangers. This is the way the questions were asked on the survey:

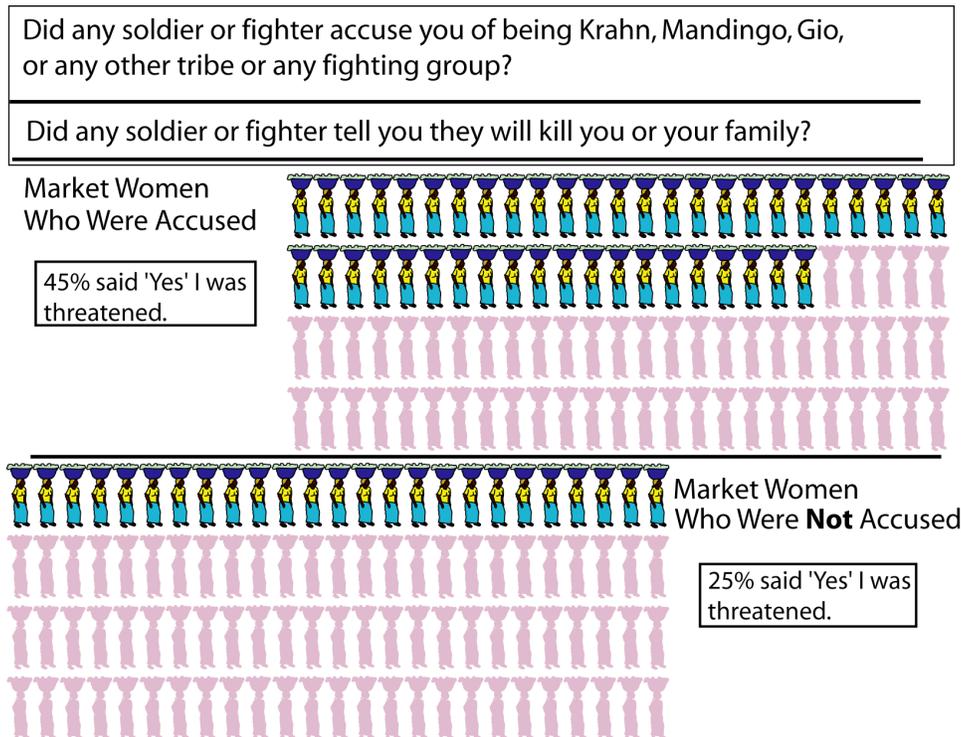
*“Any soldier or fighter tell you they were going to kill you or your family?
Any soldier or fighter show a knife or a gun or any other weapon and say I will kill you or your family?”*

The women who were accused of being from a certain tribe or fighting group were more likely to be threatened to be killed than the women who were not accused. First we will look at the displaced women. This picture shows that 65 out of 100 displaced women living in a camp who were accused of being from a certain tribe or fighting group were threatened to be killed by a soldier or a fighter, compared with 42 out of 100 displaced women living in a camp who were never accused of being from a certain tribe or fighting group.



Accused Market Women Were Threatened

Next we will look at the market women. This picture shows that 45 out of 100 market women who were accused of being from a certain tribe or fighting group were threatened to be killed by a soldier or a fighter, compared with 25 out of 100 market women who were never accused of being from a certain tribe or fighting group.



Witnessed Killing

Zinnah: Wait, children! I hear somebody crying...

Old man: Please my son. I am not a soldier, that my brother who was in the army, not me.

Fighter: You liar shut your mouth. You are an AFL soldier!! *(The fighter shoots the old man. Zinnah is scared and shaking and falls to the ground. Her children run up to her.)*

Many people were killed at the checkpoint or along the road, some of us witnessed other people being killed. This is the way the survey question was asked.

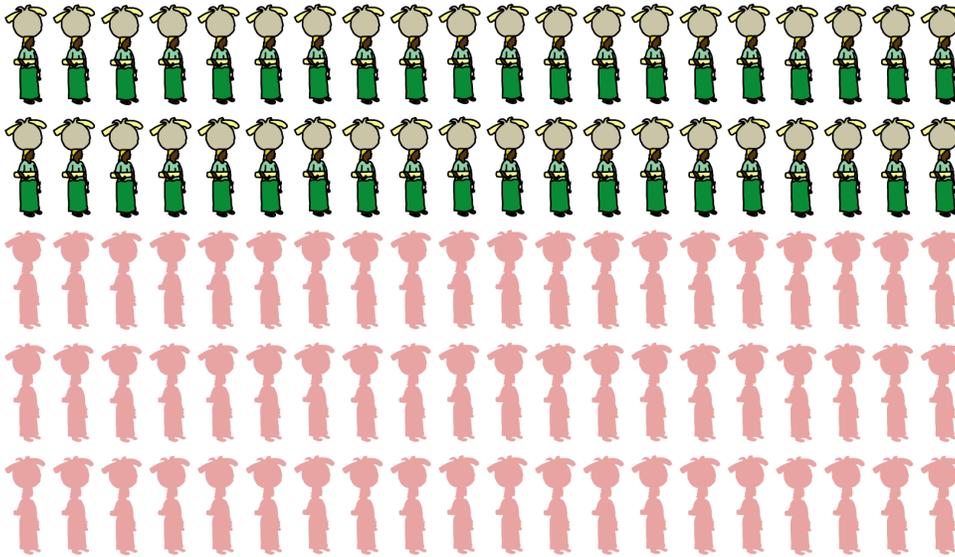
“Did you see a soldier or fighter killing anybody?”

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 women living in displaced camps in the Monrovia area in 1994, you would find that 40 of those women witnessed a soldier or fighter killing someone during the first five years of the war. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 market women in Monrovia in 1994, 38 of those market women witnessed a soldier or fighter killing someone during the first five years of the war.

Did you see a soldier or fighter killing anybody?

Women in Displaced Camps

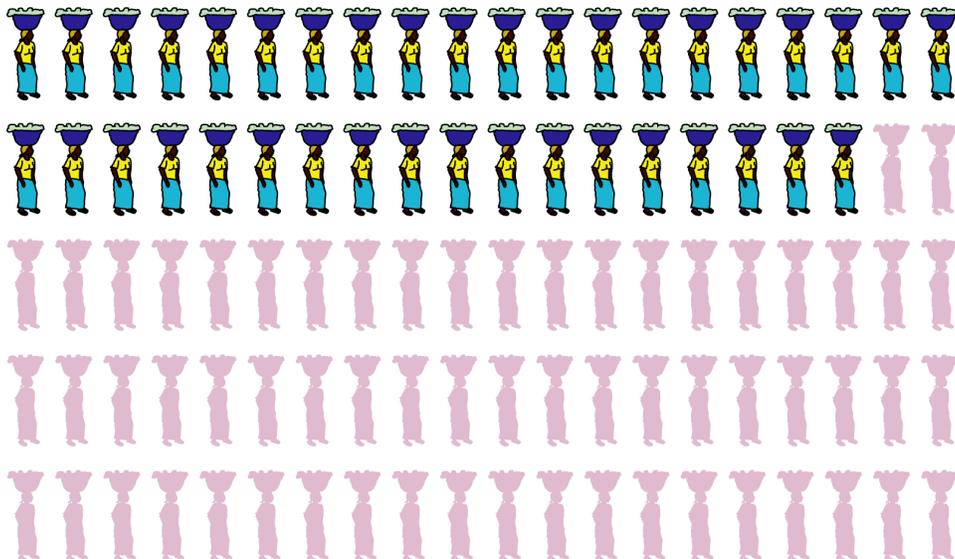
40% said 'Yes'



Did you see a soldier or fighter killing anybody?

Market Women

38% said 'Yes'



Rape

Sangai: Zinnah, that you there? Where you coming from? And you just born baby again? What happened to you, Zinnah?

Zinnah: Oh Sangai, we walk from the farm to here. So many things happened to us. The boys almost killed me. Have you seen any of our family people?

Sangai: Oh! The same thing almost happened to me, too. Is it true that Nyanqueh joined the people?

Zinnah: Yes, oh. In fact he was the one God sent to stop the *boys* from killing me. They insulted us. I was so scared. They said they would kill me but Nyanqueh stopped them.

Sangai: You are lucky they only insulted you. My own they made me their woman. I was so shame since that day I don't go back that way. You are the first person I am telling because you are my friend. Anyway, have you heard from Boima?

Zinnah: No, oh. That's why I stayed in the farm for two days hoping that he would come back.

This is how the question was asked on the survey:

Many things have happened in this war to both men and women, but there are some things that happen only to women and girls. Some women love to soldiers because they like them, some the soldiers force them, and for some hunger and war conditions make them give themselves to soldiers. The thing that happened to women during the war are nothing to be ashamed of and we cannot blame ourselves for what happened because war was fighting and we have to live. We want you to tell us the truth so we can get the facts of what Liberian women went through. Now I am going to ask you some questions about what happened to you and your experiences with soldiers during the war.

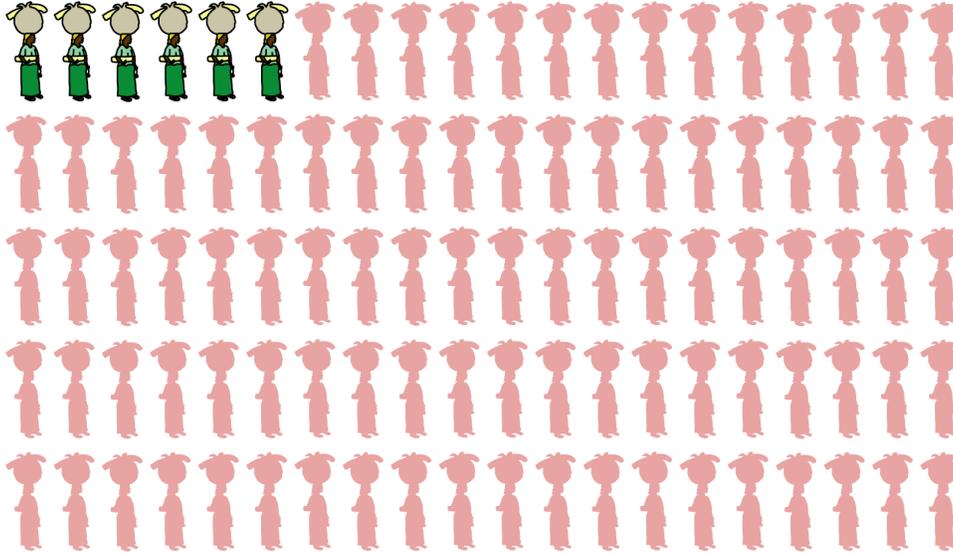
“Did any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG force you to have sex with him when you didn't want to”?

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 women living in displaced camps in the Monrovia area in 1994, you would find that 6 of those women said they were forced to have sex with a soldier or fighter when they didn't want to during the first five years of the war. The next picture shows that none of the market women we interviewed said they were forced to have sex with a soldier or fighter when they didn't want to.

Did any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG force you to have sex with him when you didn't want to?

Women in Displaced Camps

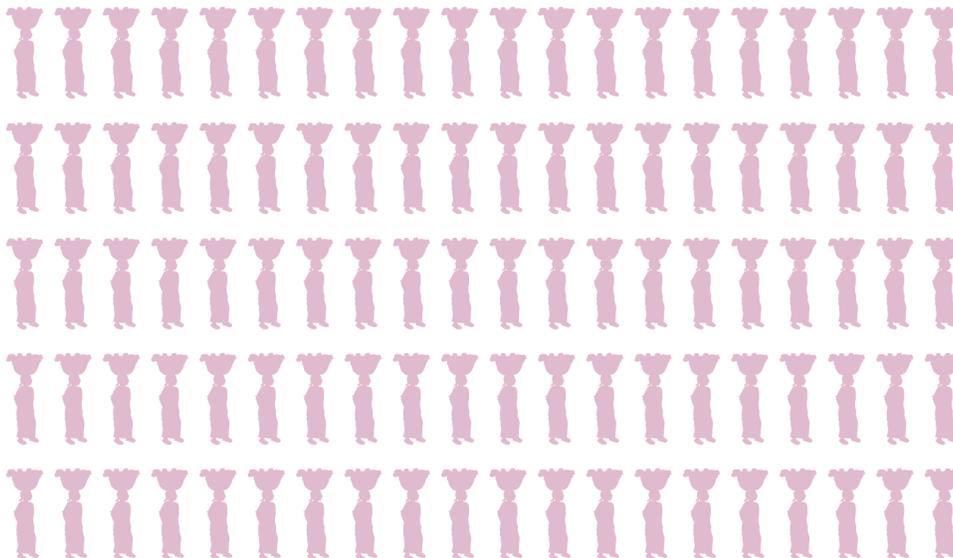
6% said 'Yes'



Did any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG force you to have sex with him when you didn't want to?

Market Women

0% said 'Yes'

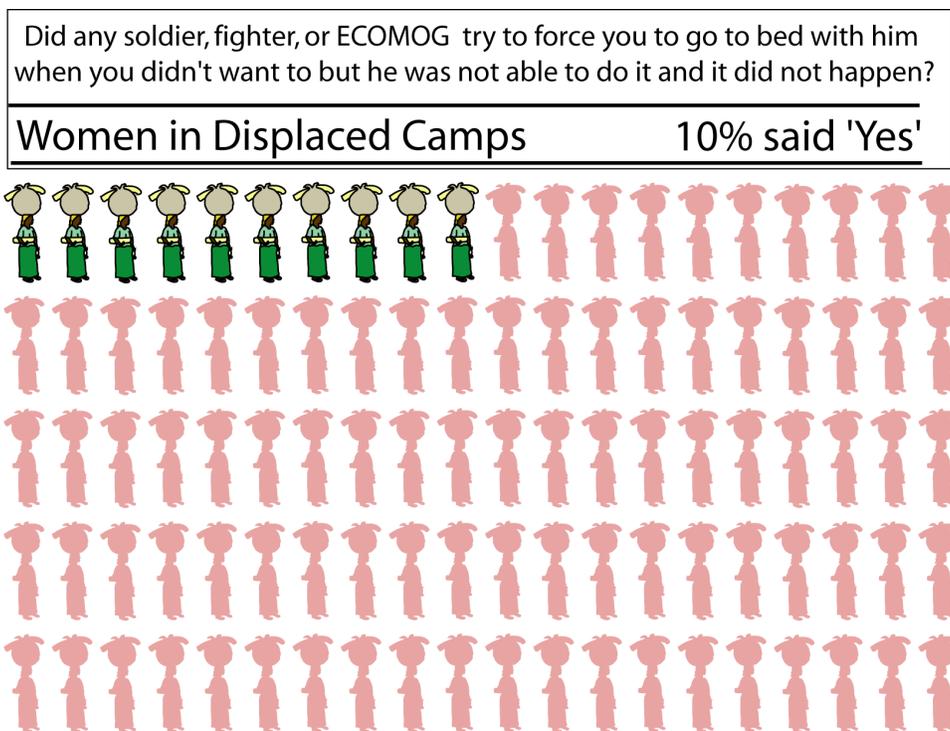


Attempted Rape

This is the way the survey question was asked:

“Has any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG try to force you to go to bed with him when you didn’t want to but he was not able to do it and it did not happen?”

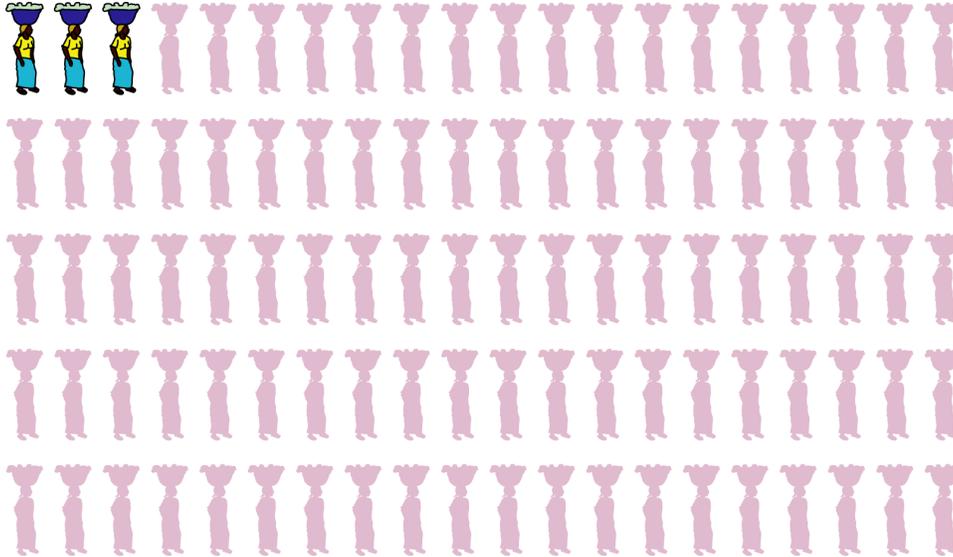
This picture shows that if you asked any 100 women living in displaced camps in the Monrovia area in 1994, 10 of those women said a soldier or fighter tried to force them to have sex but he was not able to. The next picture shows that 3 out of 100 market women said a soldier or fighter tried to force them to have sex but he was not able to.



Did any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG try to force you to go to bed with him when you didn't want to but he was not able to do it and it did not happen?

Market Women

3% said 'Yes'



Sexual Coercion

During this war it was hard to know how to survive. Sometimes women had to make impossible decisions about how to find enough food, money, or shelter to get by. Sometimes this meant loving to a man who would give her those things. This is the way the question was asked.

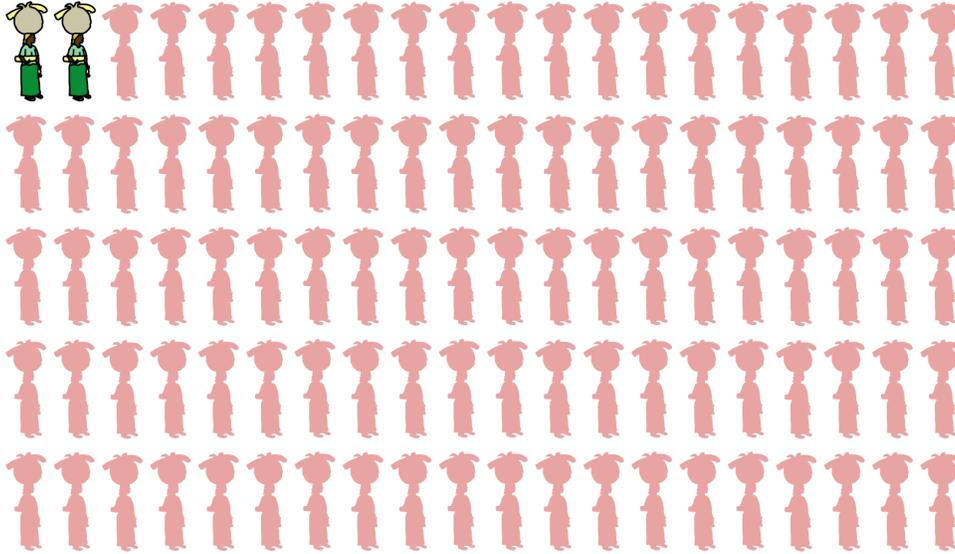
“Did you love to any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG because of war-time conditions? For example, in order to feed yourself or your family, get shelter, clothing, or for protection and safety?”

This picture shows that 2 out of 100 women in displaced camps said they loved to a soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG because of war-time conditions during the first five years of the war. The next picture shows that 3 out of 100 market women said they loved to a soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG because of war-time conditions during the first five years of the war.

Did you love to any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG because of war-time conditions?

Women in Displaced Camps

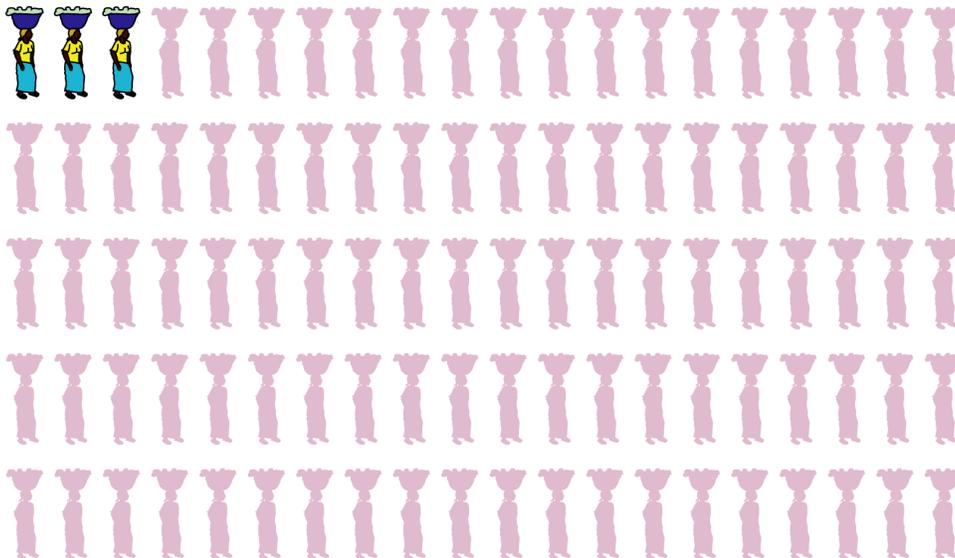
2% said 'Yes'



Did you love to any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG because of war-time conditions?

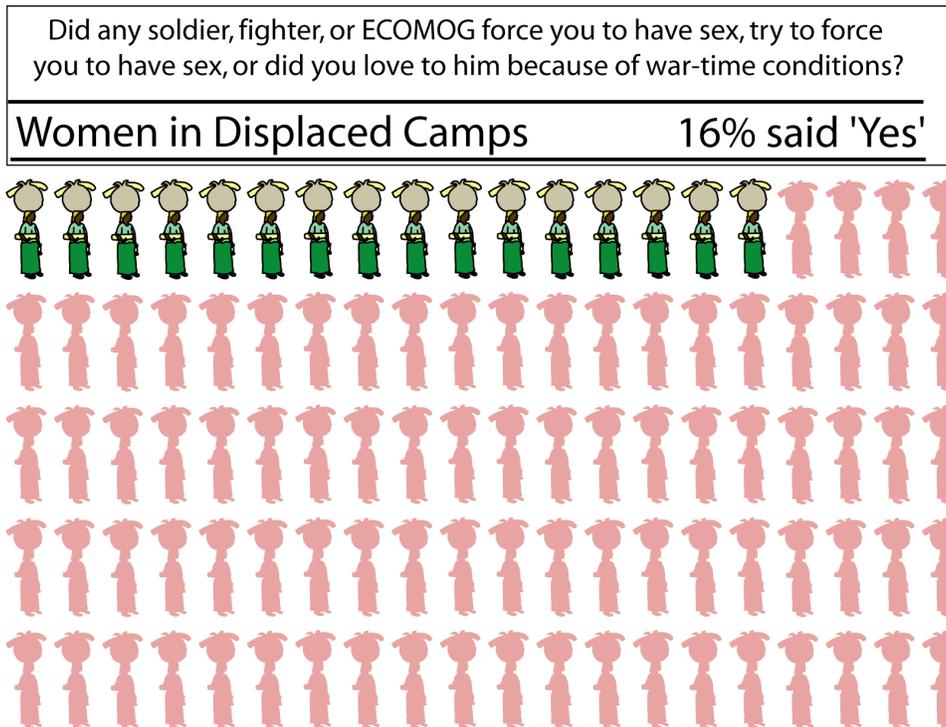
Market Women

3% said 'Yes'



Summary of Sexual Violence and Coercion

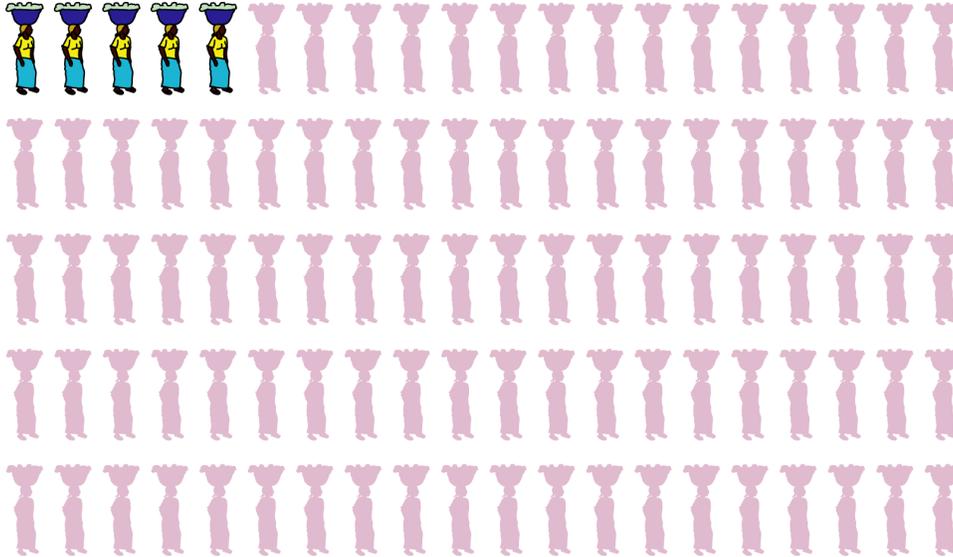
During this war women were abused in so many ways. Rape is not the only way that women were abused and exploited sexually. It also happened that women were forced to have sex with men in order to survive and feed their families. When we put together all of the women who had one or more of these things happen to them, we found out that 16 out of 100 women in displaced camps had one or more of these things happen to them during the first five years of the war. The next picture shows that 5 out of 100 market women had one or more of these things happen to them during the first five years of the war.



Did any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG force you to have sex, try to force you to have sex, or did you love to him because of war-time conditions?

Market Women

5% said 'Yes'



Witnessed and Heard About Rape

All women and girls were in danger of being forced to have sex by soldiers and fighters. We saw it happening to them with our own eyes, and many of our family members, friends, and women in our villages told us it happened to them. This is the way the questions were asked on the survey:

“Did you ever see a woman forced to have sex with a soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG when she didn’t want to?”

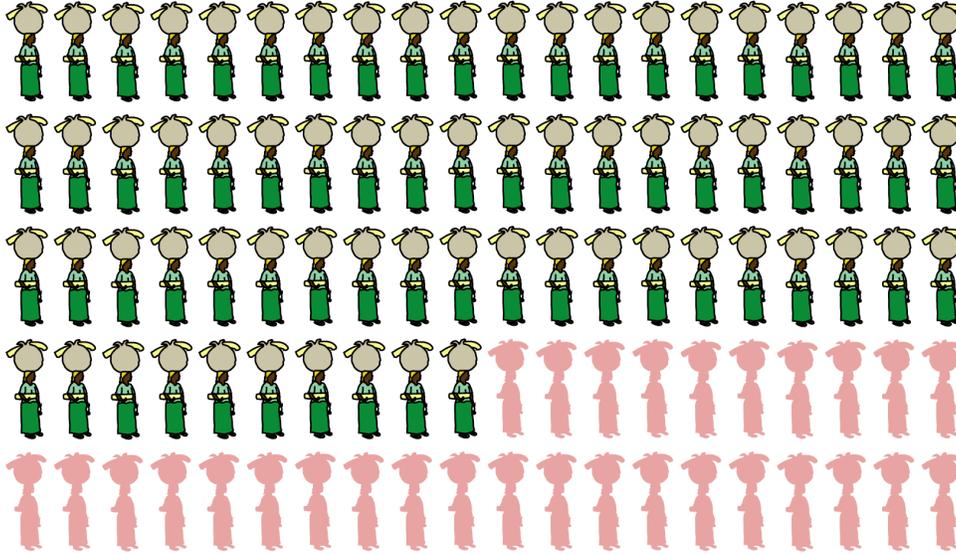
Did any of your relatives or friends tell you that a soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG made them have sex when they didn’t want to?”

This picture shows you that if you asked any 100 women living in displaced camps in the Monrovia area in 1994, you would find that 70 of those women either saw another woman being raped or heard from a relative or friend that she was raped during the first five years of the war. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 market women in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 40 of those market women either saw another woman being raped or heard from a relative or friend that she was raped during the first five years of the war.

Did you ever see a woman forced to have sex with a soldier or fighter when she did not want to, or did any relatives or friends tell you that a soldier or fighter made her have sex when she did not want to?

Women in Displaced Camps

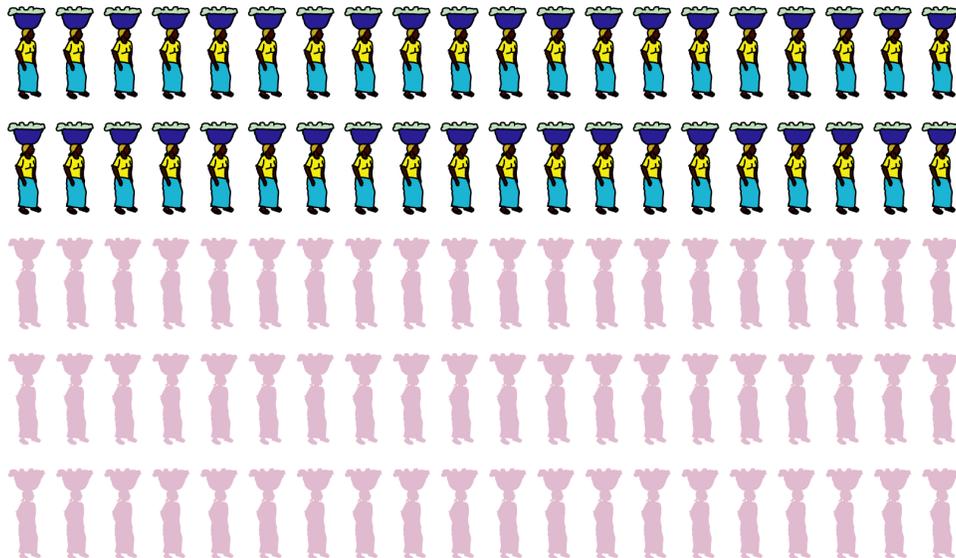
70% said 'Yes'



Did you ever see a woman forced to have sex with a soldier or fighter when she did not want to, or did any relatives or friends tell you that a soldier or fighter made her have sex when she did not want to?

Market Women

40% said 'Yes'



Forced to Cook

Zinnah: You girl I am tired of this kind of living and don't know what to do.

Leeyang: Ummm, let me sit down first. *(Leeyang sits by Zinnah and they were all quiet for a long time. It seems each of the women has her own thoughts.)*

Leeyang: You remember when you passed by me in the other town?

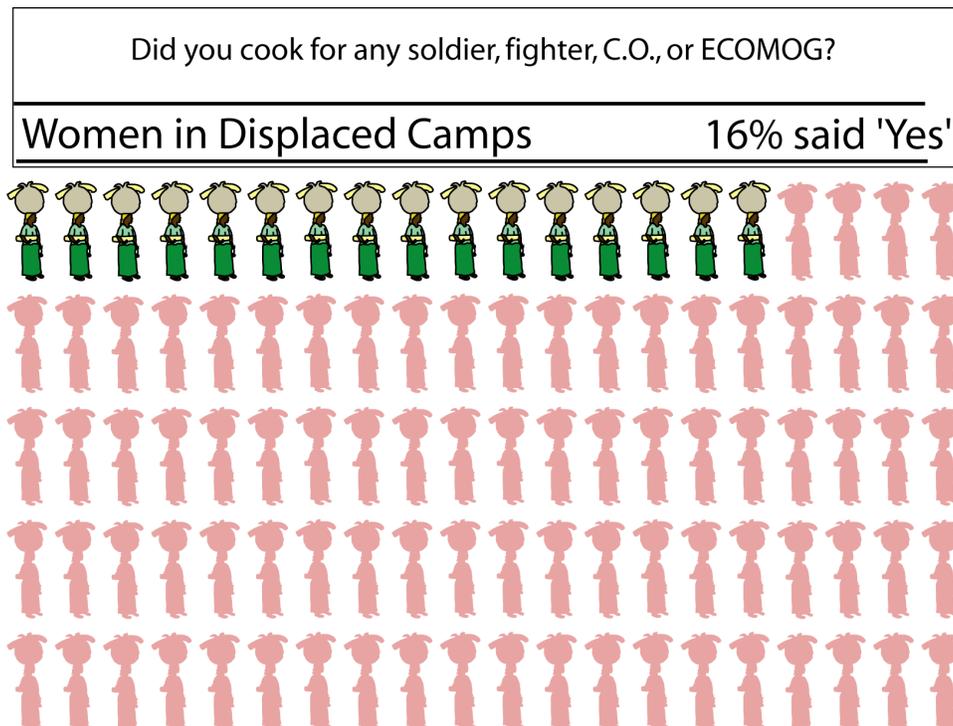
Zinnah: Um hum.

Leeyang: The rebels came in the town and when they took over the town they forced me to cook for them. One day the C.O. asked me to clean his room. While I was in the room he came in and started touching my breast. When I tried to run out of the room he grabbed my hand and started taking off my clothes. I was scared first but something made me brave when I heard the voice of another C.O. I screamed and everybody came in the room. The C.O. that came was the most senior and he told me to get out. Since that day whenever I think about it my heart can tremble. I was forced to stay in that town because things were so hard and I could not get anything. Thank God for you at least have started making garden. This whole war is just throwing people backwards.

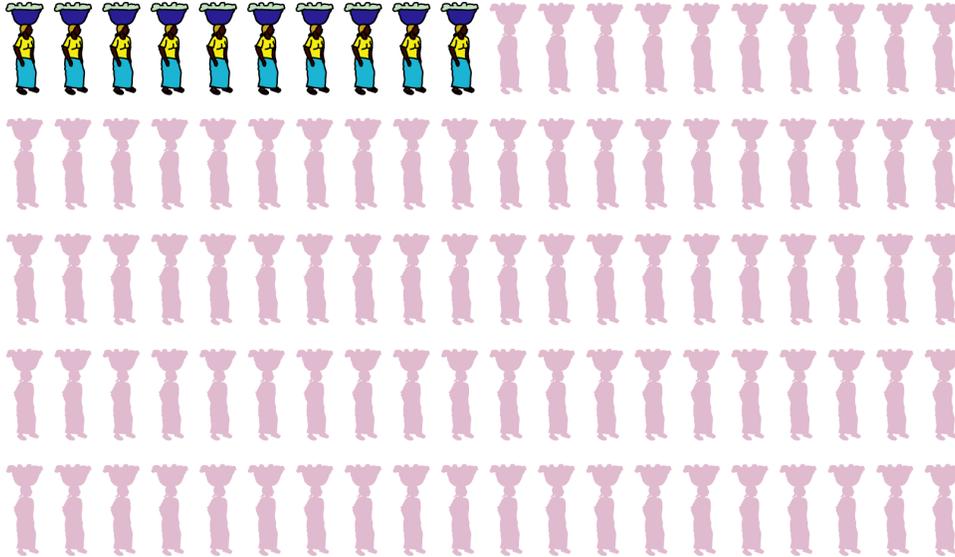
During this war, women and girls had to live with the danger every day that they might be taken by fighters to cook and be 'wives' for them. Whenever this happened, those girls were likely to face other dangers as well. This is the way the question was asked.

"Did you cook for any soldier or C.O. or fighter or ECOMOG?"

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 women living in displaced camps in the Monrovia area in 1994, you would find that 16 of those women were forced to cook for a soldier, C.O., fighter, or ECOMOG during the first five years of the war. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 market women in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 10 of those market women were forced to cook for a soldier, C.O., fighter, or ECOMOG.



Did you cook for any soldier, fighter, C.O., or ECOMOG?	
Market Women	10% said 'Yes'



Ever Been Pregnant Since the War?

Sangai: You got to stop doing this to yourself. Boima is not here. You are pregnant and you will not eat. You keep worrying.

Zinnah: If that was you what will you do, eh? I can't see my husband. Someone told me they saw him behind the line. My baby child just died like that last year. I am alone with the children and this belly. I'm about to born another baby. *(Zinnah grabs her stomach.)*

Sangai: What's wrong Zinnah?

Zinnah: My stomach!

Sangai: Let me take you to Ma Zoe.

Leeyang: Thank God you delivered a girl.

Sangai: At least a girl will help you with your work.

Some of us got pregnant and had babies during this war. With all the other hard times going on, we were faced with difficulty feeding another child. Many babies could not survive. This is the way the questions were asked:

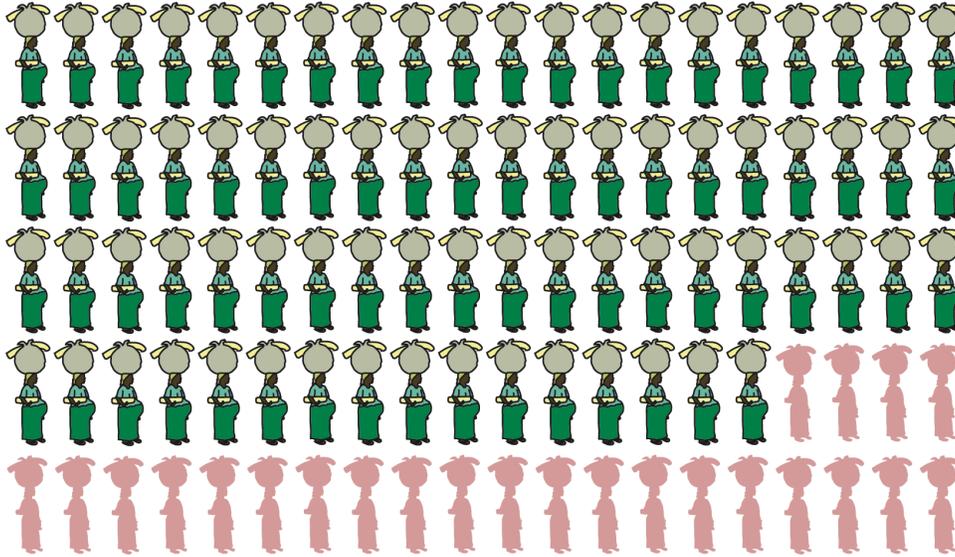
“Have you ever been pregnant? Did you ever get belly before? How many times have you born? How many are alive? How many are dead? Any bellies spoil? Did you take it out or did it come out by itself? Any babies die in your stomach?”

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 women living in displaced camps in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 76 of those women had at least one belly during the first five years of the war. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 market women in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 48 of those market women had at least one belly during the first five years of the war.

Did you get belly since the war?

Women in Displaced Camps

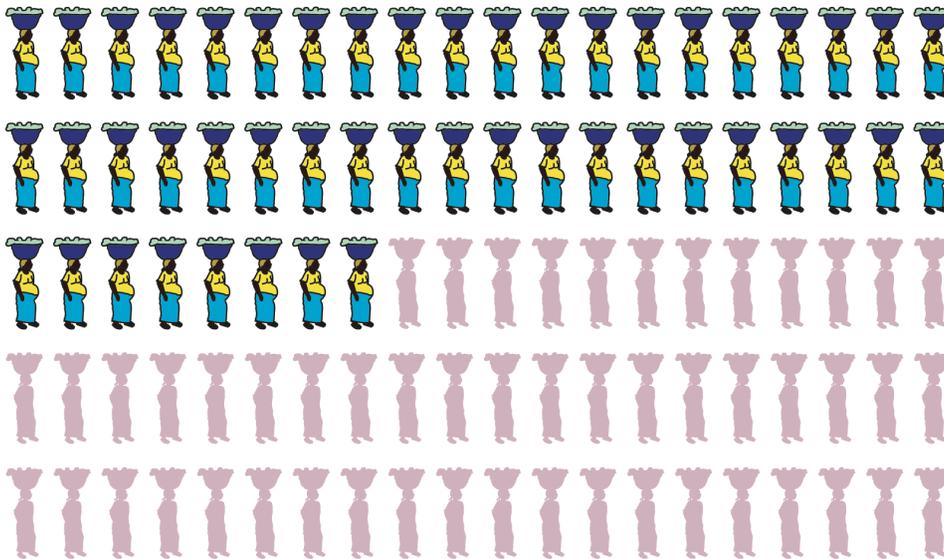
76% said 'Yes'



Did you get belly since the war?

Market Women

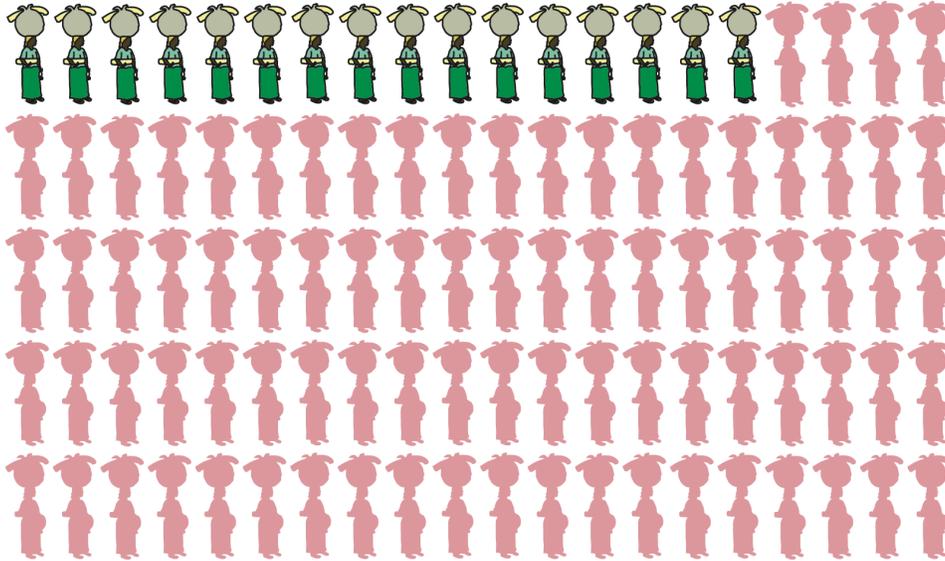
48% said 'Yes'



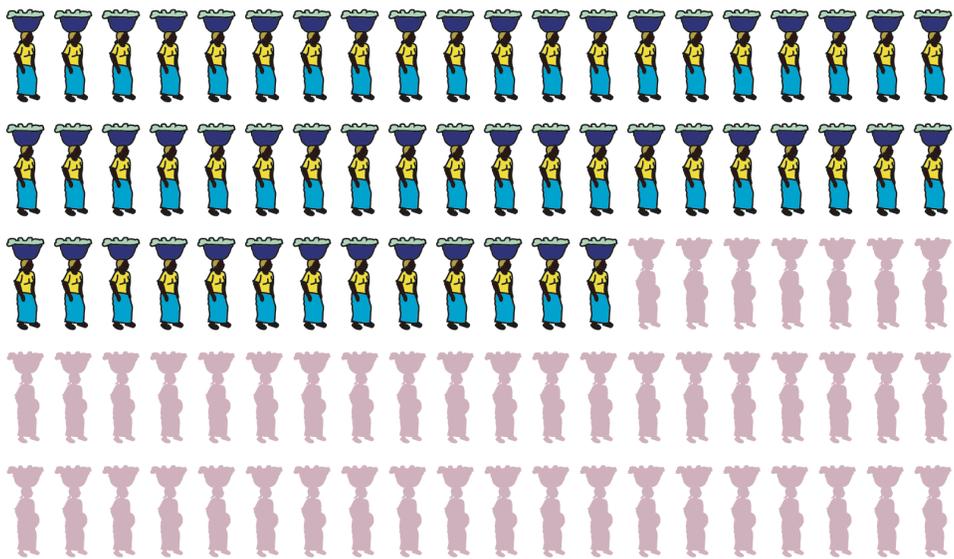
How Many of Those Bellies Spoil?

This picture shows what happened to all the bellies during the first five years of the war. For women living in displaced camps, 16 out of 100 of those bellies spoil. The next picture shows that for the market women, 53 out of 100 of those bellies spoil.

How many of those bellies spoil?
Women in Displaced Camps 16% of bellies spoil



How many of those bellies spoil?
Market Women 53% of bellies spoil



Babies Who Died Since the War

Sangai: Leeyang and Zinnah, I think it will be better if we join and make garden.

Zinnah: I am too worried about this baby. Since I born this baby she keeps getting sick.

Leeyang: OK we will go to the clinic so the doctor can look at her.

Stage Directions: *Leeyang and Sangai sing and pantomime making a garden.*

Sangai (to Leeyang): Let go rest....and see how Zinnah is doing.

Stage Directions: *They all sit down to rest. Zinnah takes the baby off her back and sees that it is dead. Zinnah starts to scream when she realizes her baby has died. The women start keening. Ma Zoe wraps the baby up like the other bundle lying on the stage. She walks to the front of the stage and gently places the bundle next to the other one at the front center stage. By placing this bundle next to the other, she is saying to the audience that this baby also died. The women follow Ma Zoe toward the front of the stage but they turn around and slowly walk off stage singing a song of grieving. Ma Zoe looks at the two bundles with despair. She slowly turns and walks off the stage.*

Of those bellies that deliver in the first five years of the war, some of those babies died before their first birthday. For women in displaced camps, 14 out of 100 of their babies died before their first birthday. The next picture shows that, for market women, 21 out of 100 of their babies died before their first birthday.

How many of those babies born since the war died before their first birthday?

Babies of Women in Displaced Camps

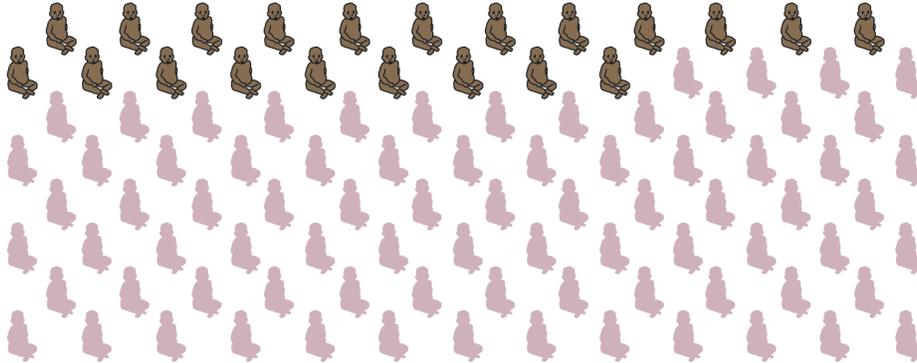


How many of those babies born since the war died before their first birthday?

Babies of Market Women



21% died before first birthday



Themes

After looking at all of what we learned from the survey and the small group discussions, several themes were developed:

- The war affected everyone.
- Women were the center of the family.
- War caused a generation gap.
- Women were forced to make difficult choices to survive.
- War disrupted women's progress.
- Women were vulnerable in and out of the country.
- War degraded women's self-esteem.
- Women had to live in disguise and keep secret what they experienced.
- Women were disowned by their families if they were from certain tribes or had names associated with certain tribes.
- The war showed women to be smart and creative.

Today we talked to you about what happened to women living in displaced camps and market women. Tomorrow we're going to tell you what happened to high school girls and teenage girls living in the community. We encourage you, we hope you come, and we look forward to seeing you. Thank you.

HIGH SCHOOL GIRLS AND TEENAGE GIRLS IN THE COMMUNITY

PLAY: MUNA'S STORY

Stage Directions: *The dialogue between characters takes place in the center, middle stage. Narration takes place at the front center stage directly in front of the audience. The actors in dialogue are animated and speaking to each other. The narrator is speaking to the audience.*

Props: *Bags or baskets or things that women and men will carry as they move from one place to another. Each time the characters move, they will put these things on their head, under their arms or on their backs as they walk from one place to another.*

Speaking Characters:

Muna (*Teenage woman; Narrator*)

Neighbor

Teebeh (*Mother*)

Taryonoh (*Aunt*)

Louise (*Friend*)

Peter (*Brother*)

Sarah (*Friend*)

Annie (*Friend*)

Tina (*Friend*)

Cecilia (*Friend*)

Joe (*Boyfriend*)

C.O. (*Commanding Officer of fighters*)

Woman from church

Narrator: Good morning. I am going to tell you a story. Please remember that the places and names of the people in the story are not real people. So if you know anyone by the names mentioned, please don't think this story is about them. I must use names and places that we as Liberians can relate to. The events in this story are things that happened to high school girls and teenage Liberian girls in communities around Monrovia during the first five years of the war. I am letting you know what happened to teenage girls in the form of this story. So now please let me begin.

Stage Directions: Teebeh comes onstage and starts doing something around her house.

Narrator: In this play I am telling you the story and I am also one of the characters in the play...I am Muna. I am 18 years old. I was born and raised in Monrovia. My father was from Grand Kru County, and my mother, Teebeh, is from #2, Grand Bassa County. There you see is my mother (*Muna points to her mother*). I have never been to either of my parents' home though I speak Kru and Bassa very well. My father built a concrete house in Gardnersville where our family lived. He sent all of us to school and supported us well. He died before the war and my Aunt Taryonoh has been living with us since then. When the war hits Monrovia on July 2, 1990, I am 14 years old and in the 6th grade. There is confusion and noise on the main road not far from our house that morning as my mother who sells at the Gardnersville market is getting ready to leave for the day.

Stage Directions: Muna watches the action on stage as if she is in the audience. Muna's neighbor comes running on the stage.

Neighbor: It's not easy-O! Rebels have taken Red Light and government soldiers are retreating! Aye God, how we will manage? Where we will go?

Teebeh (*confused*): Ehn the government people said on TV the last time, before current went, that government has put everything under control?

Neighbor: Don't mind our big people, my sister, all of them get their passport and they just fooling we, the poor people everyday and telling us everything under control. Yah it now, rebels get Red Light under control....I have to go... (*The neighbor leaves the stage.*)

Teebeh: Oh God, Yah me here with the children, help me to know what to do. Taryonoh, Taryonoh... (*Taryonoh comes onstage*) please make sure all of you stay close by the house today. Let the boys go and bring our drinking water and also some spare water to keep inside. I am going to the market for a short time. I'm sure I will get more news from there. (*Teebeh leaves quickly and quickly comes back. Taryonoh starts to get things ready to stay inside the house.*)

Teebeh: (*Teebeh seems out of breath.*) It is true that rebels have control of Red Light and parts of Paynesville. Taryonoh, please go help...Muna, come and check these things I have bought. I want you to be in charge of them. We must be pinching them small-small to keep us going until things quiet down. I heard one man say we might be inside the house for one week, so please, let all of us try to manage.

Stage Directions: Teebeh stays onstage continuing to get things ready and Taryonoh goes off stage to get things ready.

Muna: My mother brings washing soap, bath soap, toothpaste, salt, magi cubes, candles and matches. After my sister and I put the things in our room under our bed, I help my two brothers to haul water to fill two pig foot drums so we can not be stranded if we are to be shut indoors because of fighting. That same evening, one of the women from my church comes and brings a bag of rice and a three gallon container of vegetable oil to be on hand for hard times.

Stage Directions: *Church woman comes onstage, greets Teebeh, leaves rice and oil, and leaves the stage.*

Teebeh: *(Teebeh steps slightly forward becomes animated and yells out the following)* Ehn you see how God is good? I was here worrying how we will manage when the fighting gets rough and we can't go to market. *(Teebeh starts walking off stage.)* God, thank you, oh!

Narrator: The next morning my mother sent word to my grandma, who is very old and lived inside Bardnersville, to come to our house so she could take refuge with us. We didn't want her to be far away from us. The way people are moving like this, we ourselves may have to move from the house and we didn't want to be worrying about her if things got rough. By the following week, the tension is so high that a lot of people in our neighborhood leave. Up to now, my grandma has not arrived from Bardnersville. I watch as my four closest friends leave with their families. I say good-bye to my closest friend, Louise....

Stage Directions: *Louise comes running on stage.*

Louise: Muna, Muna!!

Muna: Louise, I'm so confused. We have been keeping food and things so we won't have to come outside, but it looks like we won't be able to stay here much longer, the way all of you are going like this. Where did you pa say you all are going?

Louise: We don't really know, Muna. This morning, Papa said we might go to Kakata to his brother's farm. I'm so scared. Yesterday, Sarah told me she saw three freedom fighters, that's how the rebels want people to call them now. If you call them rebel, they kill you. Anyway, Sarah said the freedom fighters are dressed funny way. They are wearing women wigs and skirts and some of them look very fearful. Aye-yah Muna, I hope your ma and aunty decide for you'all to go somewhere.

Aunty Taryonoh: *(Taryonoh and Teebeh run on stage)* Muna, Muna.

Muna: Yes, Aunty.

Aunty Taryonoh: Your mother and I have decided that we will go to Soul Clinic Mission and stay there with other displaced people. The way the whole area getting empty like this, it's not safe for us to stay here.

Muna: Mama, Aunty, all of us need to be very careful now. The rebels don't want people to call them rebels, they say everybody should call them freedom fighters from now on. If they catch anyone calling them rebel, they kill the person. *(Muna turns to her mother)* Mama, Grandma hasn't come yet. What if she comes and we are not here?

Teebeh: Grandma should have come by last week end. We can't wait any longer, my child. I have been thinking about her too. I am leaving her with God.

Stage Directions: Teebeh and Taryonoh slowly pick up their load as the rest of the family comes onstage with their load and start walking very slowly, very tired, across the stage. Muna is closest to the audience. Peter is next to her. Then Teebeh... The actors are moving slowly across the stage, carrying their loads.

Muna: Peter, how far is everyone going?

Brother (Peter): Maybe they are going to Soul Clinic too.

Muna: Look at all these mattresses, buckets, clothing and dishes left by the road. I wonder if people got tired of toting these things and dropped them.

Brother: Maybe these people that left them had too much to carry. It is hard to leave your house with things you will need to use where you are going.

Muna: Why do you think people put red cloth in the door or window?

Brother: The houses with the red cloth are taken by reb... I mean freedom fighters. Their flag is red with a black scorpion in the center. So, when they reach somewhere, they put their red there.

Muna: Mama, do you think it was good for us to come here. The freedom fighters are too many here.

Teebeh: My child, we are in God's hands here. We are not the only people here. Sometimes it is good to be where many people are, that way no one will see you quick-quick. In fact, who will look for us sef? We not government people and we not Mandingo or Krahn, so just be your self and let's thank God we reached safely. All the dead bodies we saw were either Krahn or Mandingo people.

Muna: (*Muna whispers to her mother*) But Mama, I'm so scared. Look at how those boys are acting?



Stage Directions: Midway (in the middle of the stage) the group meets a fighter at a check-point.

Fighter with gun: Halt! Advance to be recognized!

Muna's mother: We are all from one family. We are going to Soul Clinic Mission for safety.

Fighter holding gun: Did you see some AFL soldiers on this road?

Muna's mother: No oh, we didn't see any soldiers.

Fighter with gun: (*Pointing at Peter, Muna's brother.*) You, come here. You are a good body man to join the revolution. You will stay with us. The rest of you move out!

Muna's mother: Oh, this is my only son. He is a student. Here is his ID card. Peter, show your ID card! Please let him come with us.

Fighter with gun: You said student? This AFL recruit? I saw him in line the last time at BTC.

Muna's mother: He is not an army recruit. He is my son. I am not lying to you. I am a deacon in my church. I am not lying to you. He is a student. Look at his ID card!

Fighter with gun: Papay, this man is a new recruit. You, come over here and let me inspect your legs for boots mark. You people move out, I say.

***Stage Directions:** Everyone except Muna moves quickly off the stage. They look frightened. Muna looks shocked and walks forward talking to the audience.*

Muna: Lord, what is this? I think the monkeys are better than these so called liberators. What will happen to Peter? Oh God...my brother!

***Stage Directions:** Everyone comes back on stage agitated and distressed and walking with their loads. They reach the bench (Soul Clinic Mission) and settle into their room.*

Narrator: We found somewhere for us to stay while we are here. The boys and I have taken our load there and they and the children are waiting for us there. Our room is in that building over there. *(She points or nods to the place)* God bless us we came today. The man in charge of the building say we will be five family groups in each room and right now we are the third group for our room so we get one of the corners with enough window for breeze. Aye God, that we here like this so? We who get our own big house, we all here coming to sleep on the floor just like refugee people.

***Stage Directions:** All the characters are huddled together as though they are in a crowded place, the displaced camp. Some are on the ground, some are crouched and looking unhappy and crowded together. They should give the impression that they are very uncomfortable and unfamiliar with their surroundings.*

Narrator: As soon as we settle in more fighters come to terrorize us.

***Stage Directions:** A group of fighters run across the stage making the sound of a machine gun firing, ta-ta-ta-ta-ta-tata-ta-ta-ta-ta. After the fighters run off the stage Teebeh stands up and shouts.*

Teebeh: Oh! My heart cut! I hope this week we will be here will make haste and finish. I don't like the gun sound.

Narrator: *(remembering)* oh...my mind is taking me back. I was running...bullets flying everywhere...my little sister was on my back. I was so afraid, I wanted to drop my sister but I didn't, I did not drop her.

The days turn into weeks and the weeks turn into months. While we are at Soul Clinic, I help my mother and aunt to sell small market outside the building where we are lodged. One day as I am selling, a fighter comes to buy cigarettes.

***Stage Directions:** The fighter walks to the mid-center stage. Muna is selling things.*

Fighter: *(He takes four sticks of cigarettes, lights one, and starts to walk off.)*

Muna: Where is the money for the cigarettes?

Fighter: What you say?

Muna: Where is the money for the cigarettes?

Fighter: You want money? Ungrateful girl like you, sitting here and asking me for money? We are fighting to liberate our good-good people, and we are looking for some of you all hiding among them. Look at your frisky self. I don't blame you. In fact, you what tribe?

Muna: I'm . . . I'm not Krahn. Leave me . . . that only my cigarette money I want . . .

Fighter: If you are not Krahn, then speak you dialect.

Muna: By me speaking my dialect, do you even understand what I am saying to you?



Stage Directions: *Teebeh comes up from the bench to mid-center stage to join the dialogue.*

Teebeh: Ne you, tie-ye. (My child, leave it).

Fighter: *(The fighter takes his knife from in the holder in his belt.)* I will deebeedie you, if you play with me.

Teebeh: Aye Papa, I beg you, leave the whole thing and go.

Fighter: Old ma, every soldier talk for himself. In fact, who know you? Ghankay know you seh?

Teebeh: *(Desperately, Teebeh takes off her head tie and shows her gray hair.)* I beg you for God's sake, let it be so.

Fighter: Okay, Old ma, that for your business I will leave her, but I mark her in this place. *(He puts his knife back and walks off stage.)*

Teebeh: *(After the fighter leaves, Muna trembles with fear. Teebeh sits down next to her daughter.)* I don't think I can stand it anymore. I now get heart trouble and pressure from the gun sound, now the fighter said he finish mark my daughter in this place. Oh God, dah me again-o! What should I do now?

Muna: Mama, I'm alright now. Remember when we were coming here, we passed some dead bodies by the road and we thought they were Krahn or Mandingo people? One girl in the other building told me that those people were not even Krahn or Mandingo or government workers. She said if the fighter wanted something from the person, or if the person looked fat, then they put charge on the person and kill him. How many people have been killed for

being Krahn or Mandingo or even government worker and the people were not even what the fighters say?

Stage Directions: *As Muna is speaking, Taryonoh slowly comes forward while she is listening to Muna talk to her mother.*

Aunty Taryonoh: I heard what happened. Teebeh, I think we need to go back to Gardnersville. Some people have gone back home and it is better for us to be in our own place and suffer. We thought we were doing the right thing to come to their side so they won't say we supporting government but look at us now? If cussing could kill then we all die by now. You know what I heard? One of my friends came to buy market to carry to Fendell. She said that no shame business again. Women-oh, men-o, children-o, everybody take a bath together in one big water there that they call 'Adam and Eve'. You think these so-called freedom fighters mean any good for us? When they were coming their naked news made everybody anxious to see them. But the way we now see things for ourselves, it better we go back home and if we die, at least we will die at home.

Teebeh: I think you are right Taryonoh, we will go back home tomorrow. I can't let that pisty boy kill my good-good daughter for nothing. You said the house is okay eh?

Aunty Taryonoh: The doors are all opened and they chakla everything inside but the house is there, thank God.

Stage Directions: *The actors pick up their belongings and move back across the stage. They are glad to be going home even though there is some uncertainty about what will happen to them. All go offstage except Teebeh who stops near the bench and is cleaning the house or yard. Muna comes forward to narrate.*

Narrator: The next day we move back to Gardnersville. We clean the yard, clean the house and start life again. A few days after we got back we got the news that Grandma and her son Joe were killed by stray bullets while they were leaving from Bardnersville. The news is very disturbing. A few months later I meet a young man who drives for an NGO.

Stage Directions: *A young man comes onstage and moves mid-center stage to Muna.*

Muna: I know you say you love me, but I'm living with my ma. Go and tell her you love me. My ma say anybody who want me I must show the person to her.

Joe: Ma, hello. My name is Joe. I can see you daughter all the time when I'm passing in the area. I really like her and I want her to be my friend. God bless me I have a job as driver so I will be able to take good care of Muna. Please allow me to be visiting her? Here's a small thing for you, ma...

Teebeh: Oh, I thank god my daughter can listen to me. I told her to bring anybody who like her for me to know the person. Her pa died early part of last year so I'm trying my best with her. Thank you for the respect you gave to me. You are welcome to come around to visit Muna.

Stage Directions: *Teebeh leaves to go to market. Joe leaves to go back to his job as a driver. Muna walks forward and speaks directly to the audience.*

Narrator: Joe and I start seeing each other frequently and soon after, I get pregnant. I think about the struggle my mother is going through to support us. Joe can afford to support me but if I keep the pregnancy, my schooling will be messed up. I don't want my friends to leave me behind. I keep my secret to myself and when I am two months pregnant, I make up my mind. I ask Joe for money to buy some clothes and a new pair of shoes. I take the money and go to a man known by many girls as the dumping machine and get an abortion. I don't tell Joe or my mother about the pregnancy. Six months after the abortion, I get pregnant again for Joe. I was afraid to have another abortion so close to the other one. I thought about one girl I heard about who bled to death after an abortion in Logan Town. I kept wondering about going back to school when schools reopened. I really didn't want to be left behind my classmates. I finally decided that since school hadn't started yet and my mother was selling again that I would keep the pregnancy. I had a baby boy the following year. After I deliver, my mother insists that I go back to school. She pays my school fees because she wants me to continue my education. When I go to school, I see Louise.

Stage Directions: *Louise walks on stage reading a book. Muna and Louise greet each other.*

Muna: Louise, good morning. Have you seen Sarah, Tina, or Cecelia?

Louise: No-oh, they aren't here. Sarah is attending in town now. She said she doesn't want the boys laughing at her here because most of them saw her with belly. As for Tina, she is at home with her baby and Cecilia is making market.

Muna: I will go and look for them tomorrow. Aye-mehn, Sarah is spending that much to go in town to school? Umm, poor thing, I would have done the same thing, but thank God, most of the boys didn't come back soon from war-hiding.

Louise: Well, Sarah is able to get a ride with the Brown children every day. They drop her at Broad Street and she walks to her school from there in the morning and back to Broad Street and rides with them in the evening.

Muna: I wonder how she is managing with her baby? Last week my uniform blouse almost busted my secret! My tay-tay started leaking and I had to go out of class to squeeze the milk out. God bless me only small pass through the handkerchiefs. Mama told me to be squeezing it. I master it now. You part, you blessed you didn't get belly. How you manage. *(Louise hangs her head for a while. Muna notices her friend's sadness)* Oh Louise, what's wrong? You spoil belly?

Louise: No Muna, mine was worse. When we were at Fendell conditions were too hard for us. We didn't have any food or even bath soap. One night the fighters came with torch lights and picked us. Although it was dark, I felt like the whole room was like bright day. I was taken with the other girls. I was forced to cook for the fighters assigned at Fendell. I wasn't allowed to even go to the building where my family was for almost two weeks. When he was sent to the front I tried to run away and fell into the hands of another C.O. who was in charge of the store room near the Science Building at Fendell. He took me to be his wife. I was now able to help my family with food too. I was his wife for two months. The day the ECOMOG came to Fendell and said Monrovia was safe, I was able to come back home with my family because he had gone to Kakata. *(Louise cries. Muna puts her arm around her friend and holds her.)* I am still shame. I feel dirty. I been going for treatment but I feel I'm still sick. I haven't told anyone besides you. My family knows because they were all there when I was

taken with the other girls. They have really helped me to try to forget it, but I can't. My brothers really surprise me. They try their best to keep me happy. . . .

Stage Directions: *Bell rings. Louise slowly, with her head lowered, returns to class. Muna comes forward talking to the audience.*

Narrator (*walking back to stage front*): I feel bad because of what happened to my friend. When I go home I ask other girls in the neighborhood why they are not in school. Most of the girls in my age group got pregnant and have babies. Many have to take care of their babies so they are not in school or are making market. Some of the girls are making market to make a living. Others go back to school but are in different schools.

Stage Directions: *When Muna says Octopus war starts...everyone runs back across the stage and off the stage.*

Narrator: When Octopus war starts, we have to move again from our house in Gardnersville. This second move takes us to Paynesville Town Hall. My baby boy is 5 months old and I can't go out to look for food and small market like I could when we were at Soul Clinic. I meet my friend Annie, from Gardnersville, who is also displaced at Town Hall. She helps me cook and take care of my baby.

Stage Directions: *Cecilia and Tina come onstage talking to each other.*

Muna (*jumping up and calling*): Hey, my girls! Where have you been?

Cecilia: I just ran into Tina over there in the market. You are looking alright-oh Muna. How have you been managing?

Muna: My Auntie Taryonoh has been making market for us to survive. She goes out and buys things for us to resell so we can buy wood, salt, soap, and food. Annie has been helping me with my baby. I can say I have been blessed. What about you girls?

Tina: Well, for me, I have been so afraid of the fighters that I just stay in the house. My mother has been doing all the hustling for me and the family.

Muna: Cecelia, let's hear about you? You look okay.

Cecilia: I wish I could say the same for myself. You girls know how I like big time. I just could not take the hard time and suffering. You know how food business has been hard. Not only was food hard to get, but soap and things to keep me and my family from dying from lice and crawl-crawl. Can you imagine we were at one of my cousins' house when this C.O. saw me and told me he wanted me? Can you even think of a high class girl like me loving to a fighter? I out rightly refused! As time went on and all my little money got finished and we couldn't set pot on the fire for four days, all of us were just surviving on tea. It was difficult to get coal to boil the water for tea. I was so hungry the day he came back to the house we were living in. I went with him just to get food to eat! When I think about it now I still can't get over it!

Muna: Well, that is life. I'm happy we have survived this ugly war.

Tina: Me too.

Cecilia: And I am happy that we have been able to see each other again.

Stage Directions: *The friends hug and go offstage.*

Narrator: We stay at Paynesville Town Hall until ECOMOG declares Gardnersville free of rebels and people could go home. Again, my family is blessed that we meet our house standing, though looted.

Stage Directions: *The family crosses the stage with their loads. They are tired but relaxed and happy to be going home. During this transition, Muna has stopped narrating and is watching them as though she is part of the audience. Then she turns back to the audience and begins narrating again.*

Muna: We move back to Gardnersville again...I am now in the 8th grade. My boyfriend gives me money and food for the baby and me. I always give my mother some of this money to help with food in the home. I attend a home arts class in my community. One day on my way home, I meet my friends Sarah, Tina, and Cecilia.

Stage Directions: *Sarah, Tina, and Cecilia are walking across the stage talking to each other. Muna turns and calls to them.*

Muna: Sarah, y'all wait for me mehn.

Sarah: Oh, we didn't see you, Muna. Where are you coming from?

Muna: I'm coming from Louise's house. I feel so bad about what we the young people are going through. This war has really put us back you know? We are only a few girls in the home arts class and some of our friends aren't attending school again or even making small market, I wish I could explain better that if we don't do something to help ourselves in the future we will suffer.

Sarah: You are right Muna. At least we have the opportunity to learn. Some of our friends in other parts of the country don't have this chance. My hope is to go as far as I can in school. After my baby pa deserted me with the pregnancy, I want to be somebody tomorrow to make him shame.

Muna: Sarah, I wish more of our friends could feel that way. Many girls our age feel so helpless about their situation. Many young girls want to go to school but how will they pay the tuition?

Tina: Even if they struggle hard and pay the tuition, it is only for one semester. They don't have money left to pay for books and school supplies or uniforms. They end up dropping by the second semester.

Muna: Some go out to hustle for money just to be able to go to school and end up getting pregnant. They are already suffering so they spoil the pregnancy because who will be responsible for another mouth to feed? Those who are bad lucky and can't go to a good doctor man who knows the work end up dying. I spoiled a pregnancy because I did not want to bring more problems on my mother.

Cecilia: Worst of all no man will help a young girl for nothing. They always expect you to love to them. The married men are the worst. They have their wives at home but they can't leave us the young girls alone. When something happens during the relationship like pregnancy or even if the girls get sick, they say 'my wife oh' as if they didn't know they had a wife when they were going out with the girls. They don't even care that a girl cannot go back to

morning school once she has had a baby. That is why many girls move to another school if they get pregnant and other students in the school know about it.

Sarah: Even those of us who didn't spoil the pregnancy are really catching hard time to support a child alone. When my baby gets sick I have to buy medicine from the drug store because I can't afford to take him to the hospital.

Muna: You are talking about hospital, but how about food, clothes and other support for the baby? Once men see you with a child, they run away from you. They will sleep with you once or twice and find their level.

Stage Directions: Cecilia, Sarah, and Tina walk offstage while they continue talking. Muna hangs back a little to talk to the audience.

Muna: You girl, I am sorry for we, the young girls. Life is just difficult for us. Our story is like a real monkey tail. It is so long, we could talk about it all day. *(Muna walks off the stage.)*

THE END

STATISTICAL NARRATION

HIGH SCHOOL GIRLS AND GIRLS IN THE COMMUNITY

Introduction

Madam President, Chairman and Commissioners of this unique body, invited visitors and guests present here, fellow Liberians, ladies and gentlemen: greetings.

The Women's Health and Development Program of Liberia was founded by a veteran advocate against violence against women. This is none other but Shana Swiss who is presently the Director of Women's Rights International. We could not have accomplished what we have today without the acceptance of Mother Patern College, under the Archdiocese of Monrovia. We want to express our appreciation for hosting the team.

The goal for this project was to gather statistics of violence suffered by women during the civil crisis, analyze and return the findings to the women of this nation. To reach this goal we surveyed Liberian women.

In view of this, six professional women of various capacities accepted the challenge of the odds. We anticipated that the document will be used to enhance the preparation of empowering women of their rights in our country.

I am Rosanna Schaack and these are my colleagues, Mary Kamara and Ruth Jappah. This group, which represents Voices In Empowering Women (VIEW), is composed of six Liberian women and two American women. We all first got together 14 years ago to form the Women's Health and Development program housed at Mother Patern College. Today although most of us have gone on to other things, we still work separately in our own ways to continue the goal of empowering Liberian women. We have gotten back together this year as the original group to make a presentation to the TRC. The report we are about to make is the result of two different surveys conducted with Liberian women. The first was with 205 Liberian women living in different parts of Monrovia in 1994, and the second was with 126 Liberian women living as refugees in Cote d'Ivoire in 1997. The play that you just saw was a play that we wrote so that we could tell you what we found out about young women's experiences during the war through our surveys.

All six of us experienced many things during the war and in 1994 we were scattered in various places. As professionals we were treating women at clinics with complaints that seemed war-related. Some women complained of illness they experienced for the first time in their lives. Women also confided in some health workers about some war-time experiences. Shana Swiss came to Liberia from the States with the objective of conducting a survey of women. It was through Shana that each of us was contacted in different ways and we all came together and started working on the Women's Health and Development Program.

We started our work at WHDP to get together and find out what's happening to women here in Liberia. None of us came to WHDP with the intention of doing a survey. Some of us came with the intention of earning a salary to feed our families because it was really tough at that time. But when we got to Mother Patern we introduced ourselves and we started to tell our stories. And we realized that all of us were women that experienced something in the civil war. And when we came every day it was like a routine thing. We started to tell our stories, our experiences, what happened to us, and that bond started to develop amongst the six of us.

Each of us went through the war. Whether we stayed in Monrovia, went through villages, or we went to another country, we crossed checkpoints, were abused, and strip-searched (check under lappa). We all experienced different types of violence during the war moving from place to place, and we just wanted to get documentation if what we experienced was what other women and girls experienced, and if some of the atrocities that we heard about actually did happen. We wanted something tangible and strong to document and show in the future that people really caused atrocities to women. Each of us had our own bottom line reason for doing the survey.

Another piece to it is there were a lot of groups coming up and talking about young girls being victims. One of the reasons we were in favor of us doing a survey was because we wanted to use the process which includes random sampling, confidentiality, and pre-testing. Those methods gave us the confidence that after we interview a girl who has had an experience we're not going to leave her traumatized for the second time because of the way we asked the question, the way we had them relaxed and made them to even talk more and wanting to talk more.

We started developing the survey by talking amongst ourselves and we came up with questions we wanted to ask. So we started the group discussions just among the six of us. We had to talk about what this war is, what did we go through, what happened to us, what did we hear, what did we see, and then we realized that if we are thinking this way, what are the women out there thinking? How can we get to them? How can we get to know what they are thinking? So we decided to conduct group discussions in communities. We listed down some questions based on what we experienced, and those were the questions that we took to all the other groups. We went to high schools, communities, market places, and religious places, and had meetings with women to ask them. We went with the hope of having just a 30-minute discussion but most of the time it took one to two hours.

The stories we heard from them were not that different from the stories that some of us experienced during the civil crisis. And as we talked with the women we revised our questions based on what we learned from them. And so the small group discussions and meetings with the various groups helped us to change the questions we had written to actually fit what they were saying. It was a challenge and it was exciting to go out and see if the things that we thought were things that actually happened. The survey was divided into five sections: Demographics, reproduction, events of war, sexual coercion, and coping skills and development.

When we formulated the questions, we wrote them in our own ways of understanding them. And later on because we knew we were going to our indigenous people as well as the educated ones we had to look at the terms that we were using. Because there are different approaches to elderly people than to young people, we had to reframe the questions, try the questions, call some women in and test the questions on them. They gave us feedback how they would respond to questions that were given them. And in so doing we were able to get the questionnaires to be able to get answers from elderly people as well as young people.

After we had the group discussions, when we saw that people were responding well to the way that we had formulated the questions, we started doing the random sampling and we started talking to individual women. We discovered it was dangerous. It was risky and we ourselves were kind of scary at first especially all of us going in the car but we got used to it.

Interviewees were selected by random sampling. Ministry of Planning provided census and maps for the community, and the LRRRC gave us information on the displaced camps. The team visited the market sites and drew out maps for the market tables. We did not just go out to women who we know had experiences during the war to ask questions. We did lucky ticket

(lottery) to get the woman to be interviewed. At the high schools we randomly selected the high school girls by having them stand up and count off in their classrooms.

In order to get an interview in the displaced camps and in the communities, several steps were taken to ensure the interviewees were randomly selected. The first step was to use the maps to randomly select a zone or block. The second step was to randomly select a house within that zone or block. The third step was to select a girl within that household.

Once a house was selected, we interviewed the woman who was the head of the household, except when we were interviewing teenage girls. Then we chose a girl in the house.

When the girl was chosen to be interviewed, we would not even interview her in an open place. She took us to a safe place in her house away from eavesdroppers. Because the questions were pertinent to her, we did not want for any other person to hear. We talked to every girl by herself. The introduction itself would help the girl to relax. This is how the girl was asked:

I am _____ from WHDP of MPCHS at STC. We are a group of six women interested in what women went through during the war. We feel strongly that women went through a lot during the war and we want to make sure what we are thinking is true by conducting a survey. We want to document our findings in order to prepare training materials for health workers that will enable them to treat or provide better care to women because they are aware of what women have experienced.

We want you to please take part in this survey and be truthful. We assure you that your name will not be put anywhere and all the information we gather will be kept in strict confidence. If the questions are too personal, or if you feel uncomfortable answering them at any time, feel free to stop.

Are you willing to take part?

And some girls would refuse. If a girl did not want to take part, her refusal was noted and the team moved on to the next house that was randomly selected. But those were very few. Most of the girls cooperated.

To compile the findings, the survey result was rechecked, proof-read, and computed into a data base by a coder. Then our statistician worked with us to analyze and summarize the data for us. We all spent a lot of time looking at what we found and talking about what it meant and how we could use the information. We wanted to be able to go back to the women who gave us the information so we could tell them what we learned. We wanted to be able to put the information into a role play for them, so our statistician developed characters for a story who would represent what our survey showed. With the characters, we wrote stories and role plays. The play you saw today was one of them. The character Muna was based on the survey results for the girls we interviewed in the high schools.

To decide things like Muna's age and how many brothers and sisters she had, we looked at the average of all of the high school girls. To decide 'yes or no' things, like whether she had a boyfriend, we looked at percentages. If more than half (50%) of the girls said 'yes' to something, the story character was assigned that thing. For example, we found that 82 out of 100 girls we interviewed in the high schools had a boyfriend. That was more than half (50 out of 100) so we made Muna have a boyfriend.

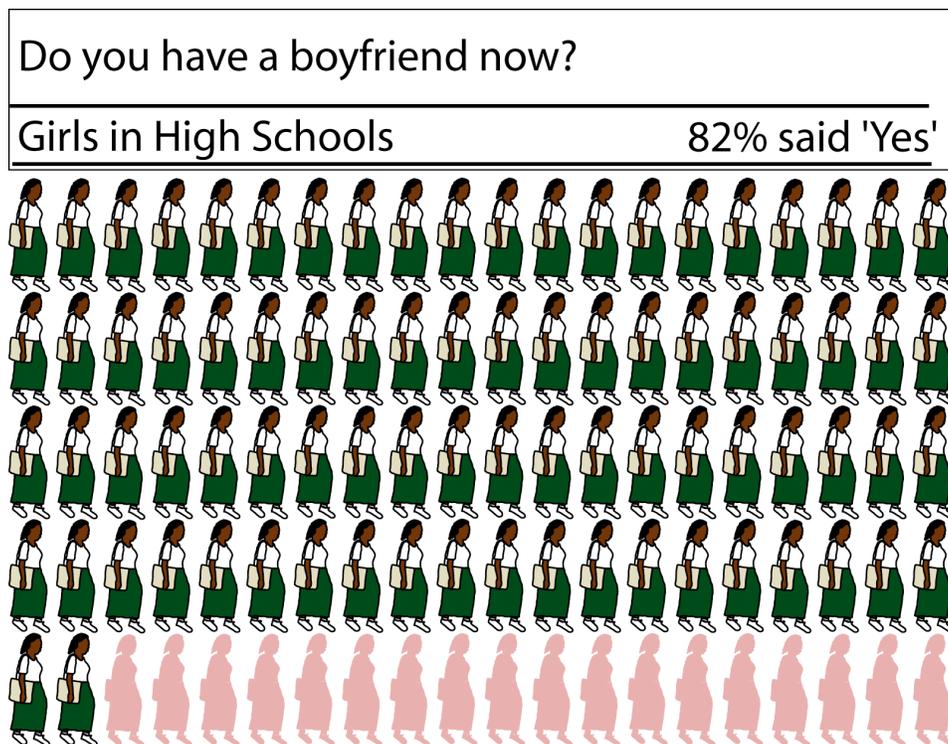
For the experiences of physical and sexual violence, the decision was more complicated because each girl we interviewed had a different number of bad things happen to her. Some women did not have any violence happen. Some women had one type of violence happen. Other

women had many types of violence. To decide what kinds of violent experiences Muna went through, we first found out that an average of 4 violent things happened to girls we interviewed in the high schools. We then selected the 4 types of violence that girls most often said ‘yes, that happened to me.’ So the story characters were not based on any individual girl’s story, they were created from the average characteristics and the most frequent experiences that girls reported in the survey.

We will show you the real statistics behind the story we just told you in the play through Muna. But first I want to tell you how to read the graphs we made.

How to Read the Graphs

The beauty of doing our survey the way we did, choosing girls randomly, it lets us be able to think that this small number of girls we interviewed were typical of girls attending high schools and teenage girls living in the Monrovia area in 1994. One group of girls was those we interviewed in their high schools. The other group was the teenage girls we interviewed in their communities in Monrovia. So we can say that what we found was probably true for girls attending high school and for teenage girls living in the Monrovia area during that time, not just for those specific girls we interviewed. Our graphs are made up to show this. We put 100 girls on the page to represent any 100 girls attending high school or any 100 teenage girls living in Monrovia. Then we put our findings on top of those girls so you can see how many of those 100 girls were affected by the thing we asked about in the question. Here is an example. Here are 100 girls in high schools. When we asked the question, “Do you have a boyfriend?” we found that 82 percent of the girls we talked to in the high schools had a boyfriend. That’s 82 out of any 100 girls in high schools. So here the pictures of the girls who have color are the 82 out of those 100 girls who had a boyfriend and said ‘Yes’ to the question. The pictures of the girls without color are those girls who did not have a boyfriend and said ‘No’ to the question.



Now I’m going to show you what we learned about what happened to high school girls and teenage girls living in Monrovia during the first five years of the war.

Forced to Move

Louise: *We don't really know, Muna. This morning, Papa said we might go to Kakata to his brother's farm. I'm so scared. Yesterday, Sarah told me she saw three freedom fighters, that's how the rebels want people to call them now. If you call them rebel, they kill you. Anyway, Sarah said the freedom fighters are dressed funny way. They are wearing women wigs and skirts and some of them look very fearful. Aye-yah Muna, I hope your ma and aunty decide for you 'all to go somewhere.*

Aunty Taryonoh: *(Taryonoh and Teebeh run on stage) Muna, Muna.*

Muna: *Yes, Aunty.*

Aunty Taryonoh: *Your mother and I have decided that we will go to Soul Clinic Mission and stay there with other displaced people. The way the whole area getting empty like this, it's not safe for us to stay here.*

For most of us, this war made us face so many impossible decisions. We had to move in a hurry, we had to make decisions without any time to reflect, and we had to try to predict what was the best thing to do to keep our families alive. Most of us, when the war reached us, we were forced to move from our homes. This is the way the question was asked.

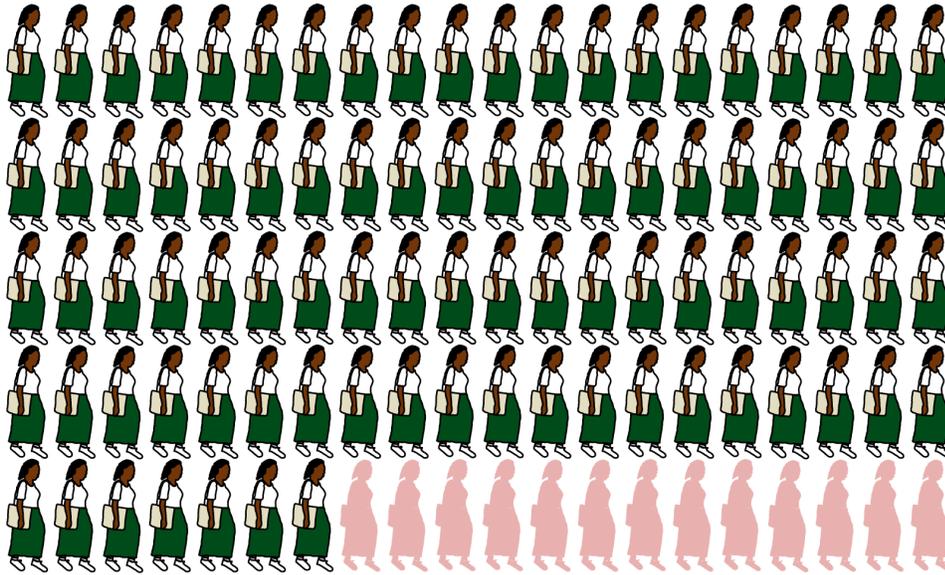
“Did the war make you to move from the place you were living?”

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 high school girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 87 were forced to move. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 teenage girls living in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 77 of those girls were forced to move.

Did the war make you to move from the place you were living?

Girls in High Schools

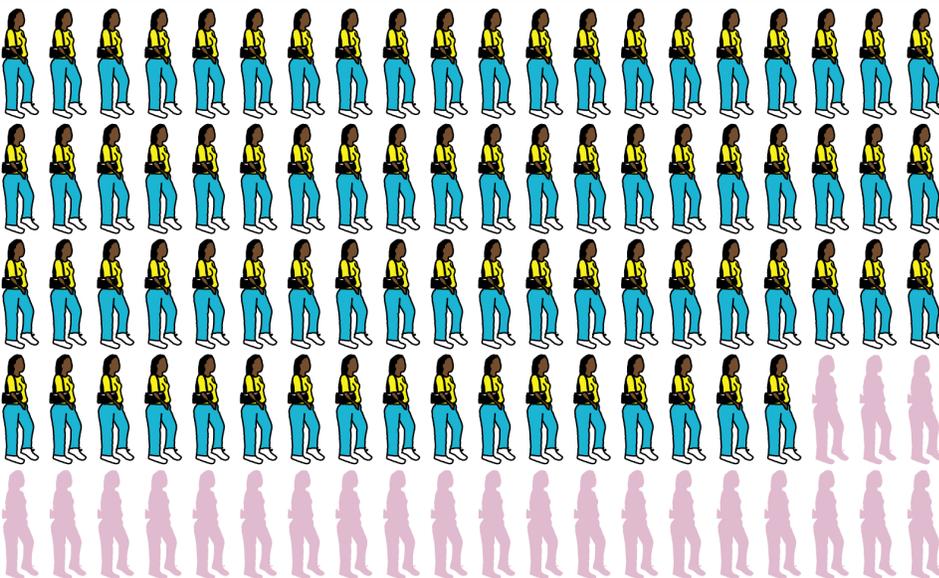
87% said 'Yes'



Did the war make you to move from the place you were living?

Girls in Monrovia

77% said 'Yes'



Impossible Decisions: Leaving Elderly Behind

Aunty Taryonoh: *Your mother and I have decided that we will go to Soul Clinic Mission and stay there with other displaced people. The way the whole area getting empty like this, it's not safe for us to stay here.*

Muna: *Mama, Aunty, all of us need to be very careful now. The rebels don't want people to call them rebels, they say everybody should call them freedom fighters from now on. If they catch anyone calling them rebel, they kill the person. (Muna turns to her mother) Mama, Grandma hasn't come yet. What if she comes and we are not here?*

Teebeh: *Grandma should have come by last week end. We can't wait any longer, my child. I have been thinking about her too. I am leaving her with God.*

Some of the most difficult decisions were about leaving elderly family members behind. This is the way the question was asked.

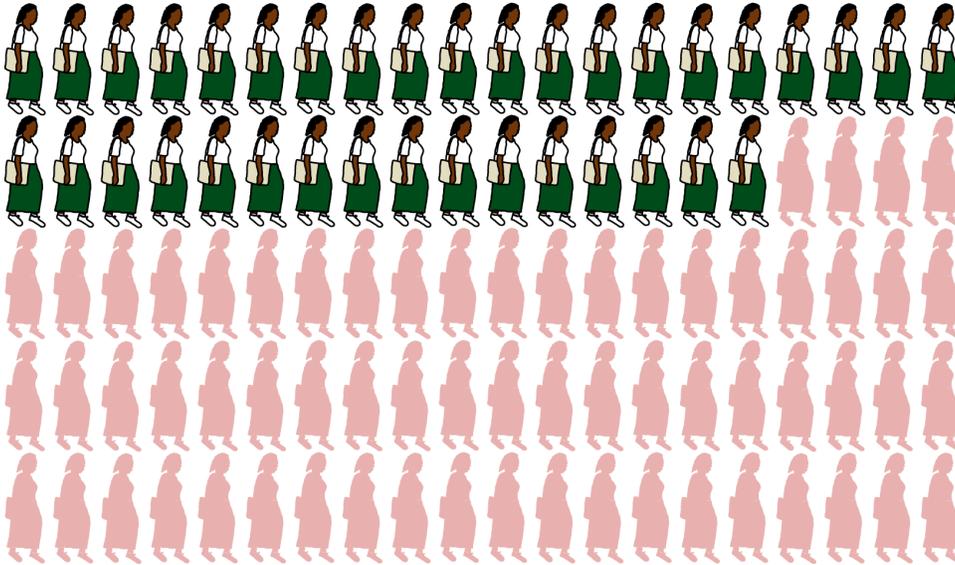
Some women had to do things during this war that when you sit down and think about it, it hurts your heart, so I have a few questions to ask you. (The war came, certain things jam you, you were running and you leave somebody behind. You didn't want to do it but you had to.) "Did you have to leave any elderly relative or old person at home or in the village with other people or relatives or in the bush or along the way when you were running or when you went to look for food?"

This picture shows you that if you asked any 100 high school girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 36 of those high school girls had to leave an old person behind in the village or in the bush when she ran or had to leave a family member at a checkpoint where the soldiers or fighters there wanted to kill them. For the teenage girls in Monrovia, 31 out of 100 girls had to leave an old person behind in the village or in the bush when she ran or had to leave a family member at a checkpoint where the soldiers or fighters there wanted to kill them.

Did you leave any elderly relative behind in the village, or in the bush, or did you leave a family member at a checkpoint when you were running?

Girls in High Schools

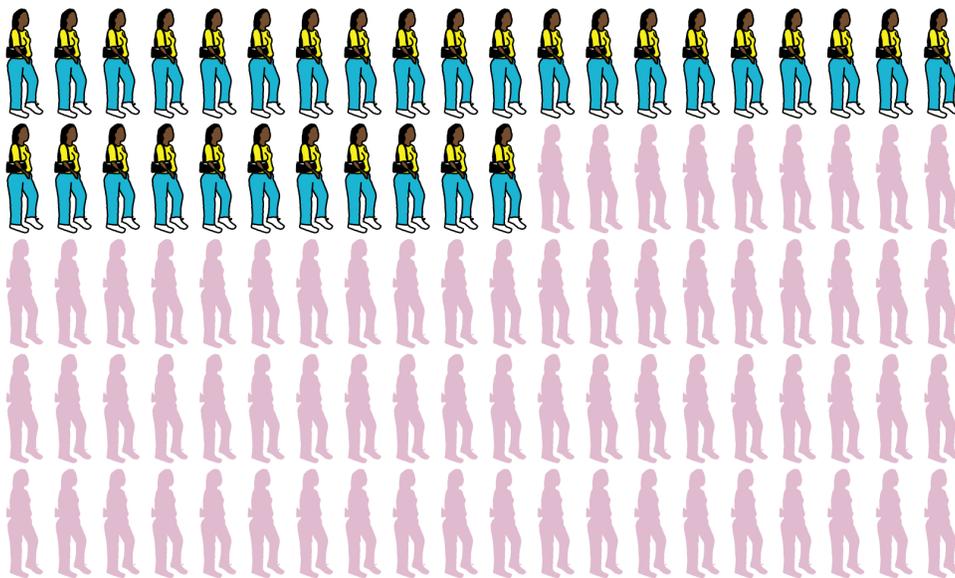
36% said 'Yes'



Did you leave any elderly relative behind in the village, or in the bush, or did you leave a family member at a checkpoint when you were running?

Girls in Monrovia

31% said 'Yes'



Impossible Decisions: Leaving Children Behind

Some of us had to leave our own children behind or send them away to somewhere we thought might be safer. This is the way the question was asked:

“Did you have to leave any child or children behind at home or in the village with other people or relatives or in the bush or along the way when you were running or went to find food? Did you have to send any children away to another place thinking you were sending them to safety but you didn’t know for sure?”

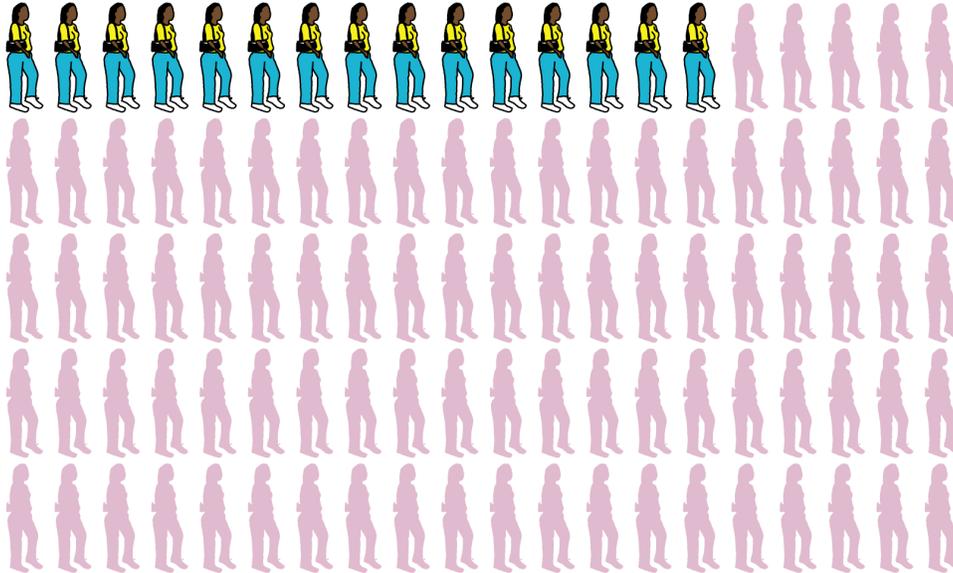
This picture shows that if you asked any 100 high school girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 17 of those high school girls had to leave children behind or send them to another place. The next picture shows that for the teenage girls in Monrovia, 15 out of 100 had to leave children behind or send them to another place.



Did you send any child away or did you leave any child behind in the village or in the bush when you were running?

Girls in Monrovia

15% said 'Yes'



Accused of Belonging to a Tribe or Fighting Group

Fighter: *(He takes four sticks of cigarettes, lights one, and starts to walk off).*

Muna: Where is the money for the cigarettes?

Fighter: What you say?

Muna: Where is the money for the cigarettes?

Fighter: You want money? Ungrateful girl like you, sitting here and asking me for money? We are fighting to liberate our good-good people, and we are looking for some of you all hiding among them. Look at your frisky self. I don't blame you. In fact, you what tribe?

Muna: I'm . . . I'm not Krahn. Leave me . . . that only my cigarette money I want . . .

Fighter: If you are not Krahn, then speak you dialect.

Muna: By me speaking my dialect, do you even understand what I am saying to you?

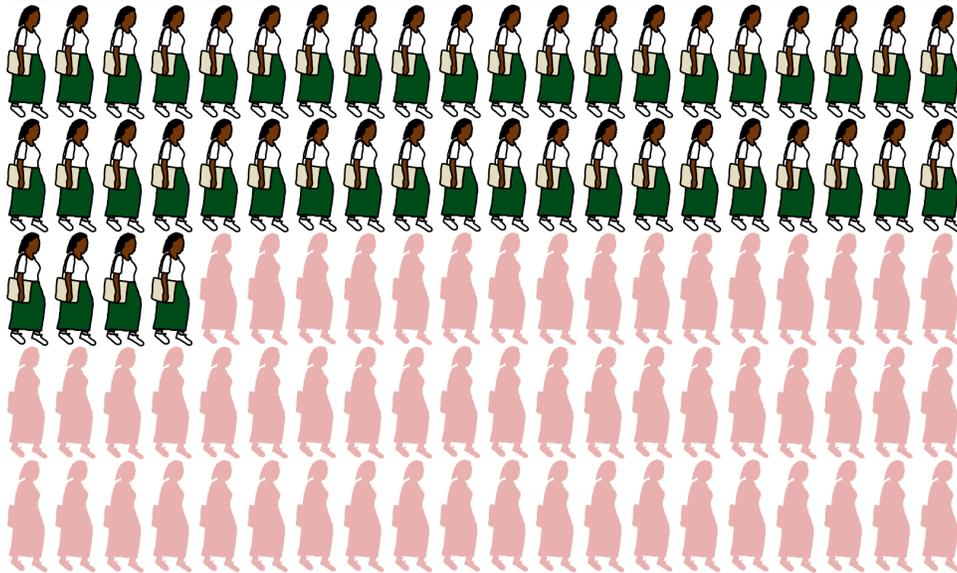
In the early days of the war, we thought that only certain people were at risk, maybe because of their tribe, maybe because they worked for the government. And that made things even more dangerous. If soldiers or fighters thought you belonged to one of these groups you were more at risk of bad things happening to you. But in the end, we were all in danger no matter what our tribe. This is the way the questions were asked.

“Since the war started did any soldier ask you to speak your dialect? Any soldier or fighter accuse you of being Krahn, Mandingo, Gio, or any other tribe? Any soldier or fighter accuse you of being from any of the fighting groups like NPFL, ULIMO, LPC?”

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 high school girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 44 of those girls were accused of being a certain tribe or fighting group. The next picture shows that for the teenage girls in Monrovia, 46 out of 100 girls were accused of being a certain tribe or fighting group during the first five years of the war.

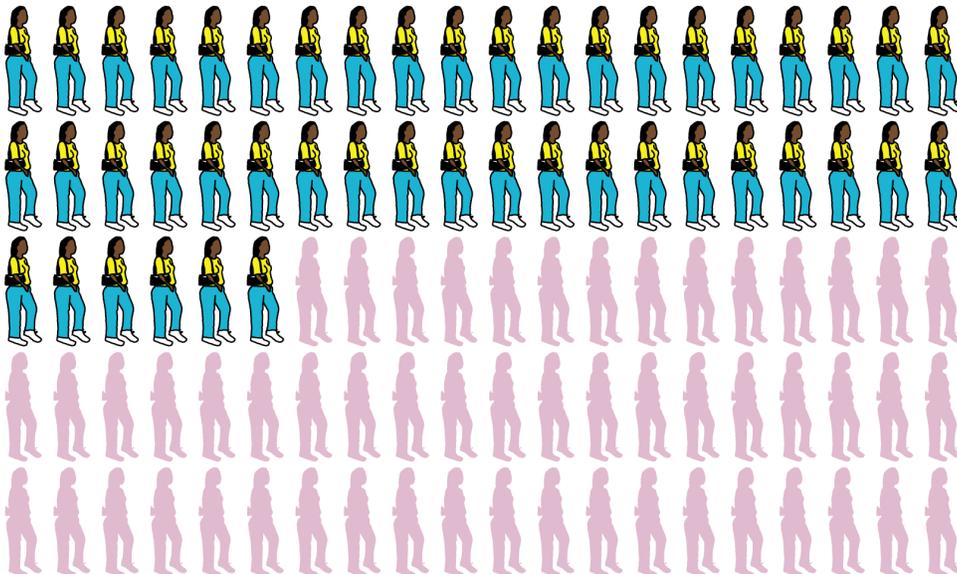
Did any soldier or fighter accuse you of being Krahn, Mandingo, Gio, or any other tribe or any fighting group?

Girls in High Schools **44% said 'Yes'**



Did any soldier or fighter accuse you of being Krahn, Mandingo, Gio, or any other tribe or any fighting group?

Girls in Monrovia **46% said 'Yes'**



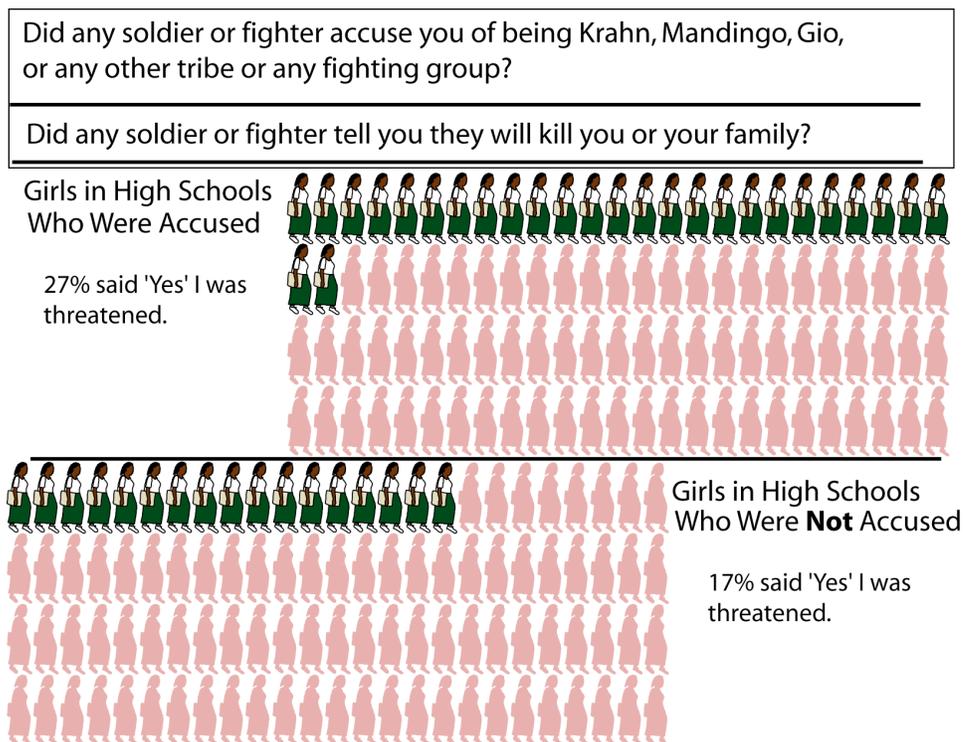
High School Girls - Accused and Threatened

Teebeh: Aye Papa, I beg you, leave the whole thing and go.
Fighter: Old ma, every soldier talk for himself. In fact, who know you? Ghankay know you seh?
Teebeh: *(Desperately, Teebeh takes off her head tie and shows her gray hair.)* I beg you for God's sake, let it be so.
Fighter: Okay, Old Ma, that for your business I will leave her, but I mark her in this place. *(He puts his knife back and walks off stage.)*
Teebeh: *(After the fighter leaves, Muna trembles with fear. Teebeh sits down next to her daughter.)* I don't think I can stand it anymore. I now get heart trouble and pressure from the gun sound, now the fighter said he finish mark my daughter in this place. Oh God, dah me again-o! What should I do now?

Some of the most dangerous times for us all were when we were traveling or when we encountered soldiers or fighters. We had to cross checkpoints and we were exposed to all kinds of dangers. This is how we asked the question.

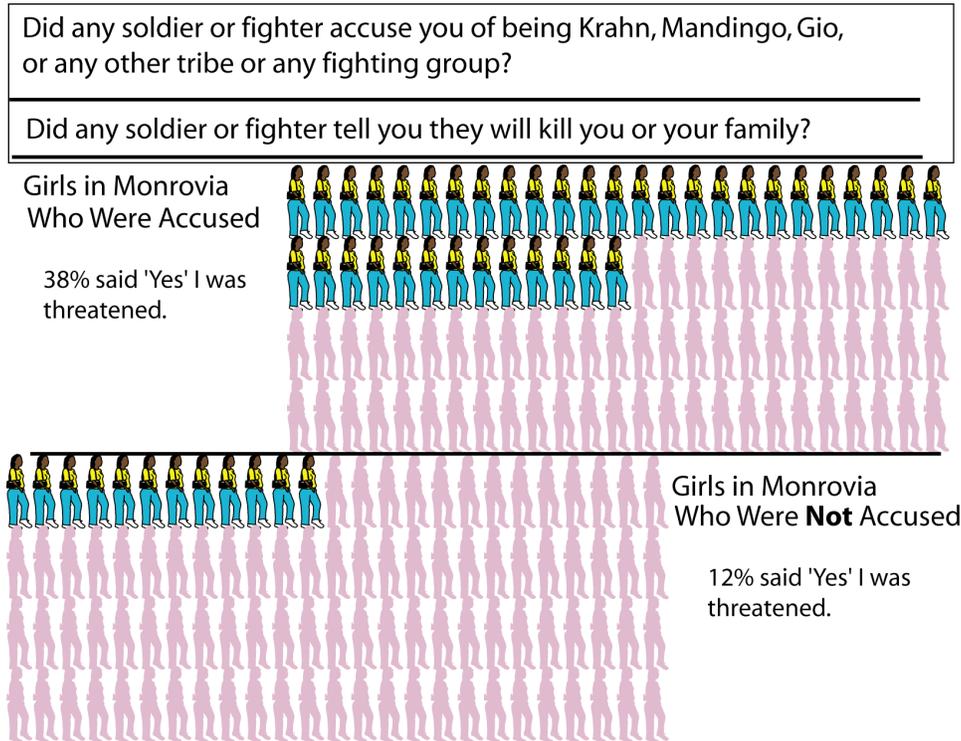
*“Any soldier or fighter tell you they were going to kill you or your family?
 Any soldier or fighter show a knife or a gun or any other weapon and say I will kill you or your family? “*

The girls who were accused of being from a certain tribe or fighting group were more likely to be threatened to be killed than girls who were not accused. First we will look at the high school girls. This picture shows that 27 out of 100 high school girls who were accused of being from a certain tribe or fighting group were threatened to be killed by a soldier or a fighter, compared with 17 out of 100 high school girls who were never accused of being from a certain tribe or fighting group.



Girls in Monrovia - Accused and Threatened

Next we will look at the teenage girls in Monrovia. This picture shows that 38 out of 100 teenage girls in Monrovia who were accused of being from a certain tribe or fighting group were threatened to be killed by a soldier or a fighter, compared with 12 out of 100 teenage girls in Monrovia who were never accused of being from a certain tribe or fighting group.



Witnessed Killing

Muna: Mama, I'm alright now. Remember when we were coming here, we passed some dead bodies by the road and we thought they were Krahn or Mandingo people? One girl in the other building told me that those people were not even Krahn or Mandingo or government workers. She said if the fighter wanted something from the person, or if the person looked fat, then they put charge on the person and kill him. How many people have been killed for being Krahn or Mandingo or even government worker and the people were not even what the fighters say?

Many people were killed at the checkpoint or along the road, some of us witnessed other people being killed. This is how the question was asked.

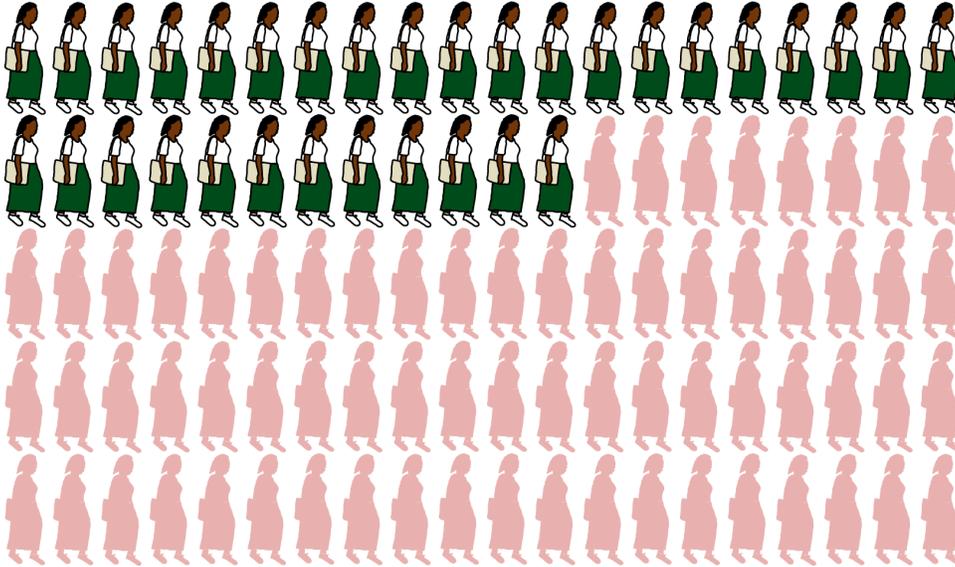
"Did you see a soldier or fighter killing anybody?"

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 high school girls in Monrovia in 1994, 32 of those high school girls witnessed a soldier or fighter killing someone. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 teenage girls living in Monrovia in 1994, 27 of those girls witnessed a soldier or fighter killing someone.

Did you see a soldier or fighter killing anybody?

Girls in High Schools

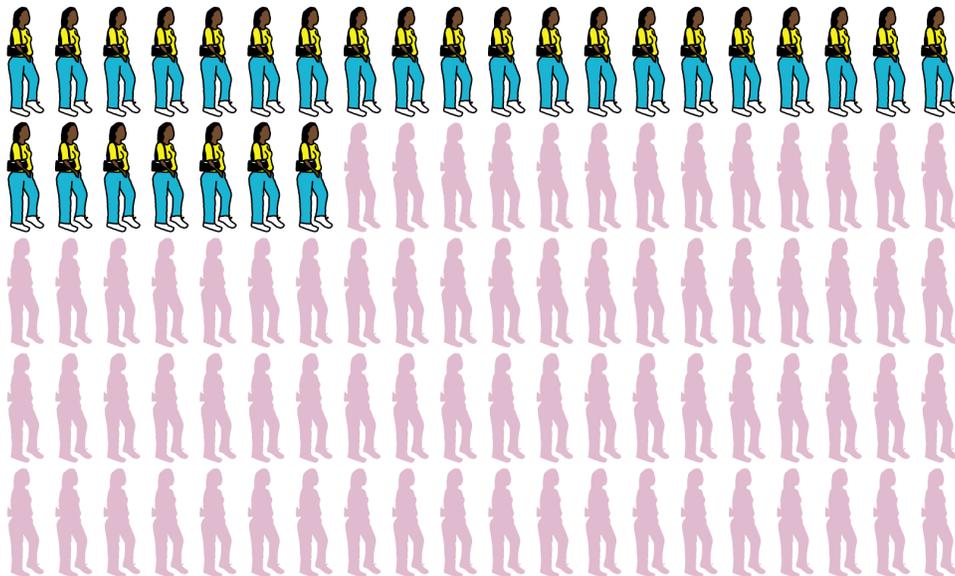
32% said 'Yes'



Did you see a soldier or fighter killing anybody?

Girls in Monrovia

27% said 'Yes'



Did You Get Belly Since the War?

Joe: Ma, hello. My name is Joe. I can see you daughter all the time when I'm passing in the area. I really like her and I want her to be my friend. God bless me I have a job as driver so I will be able to take good care of Muna. Please allow me to be visiting her? ...small thing for you, ma...

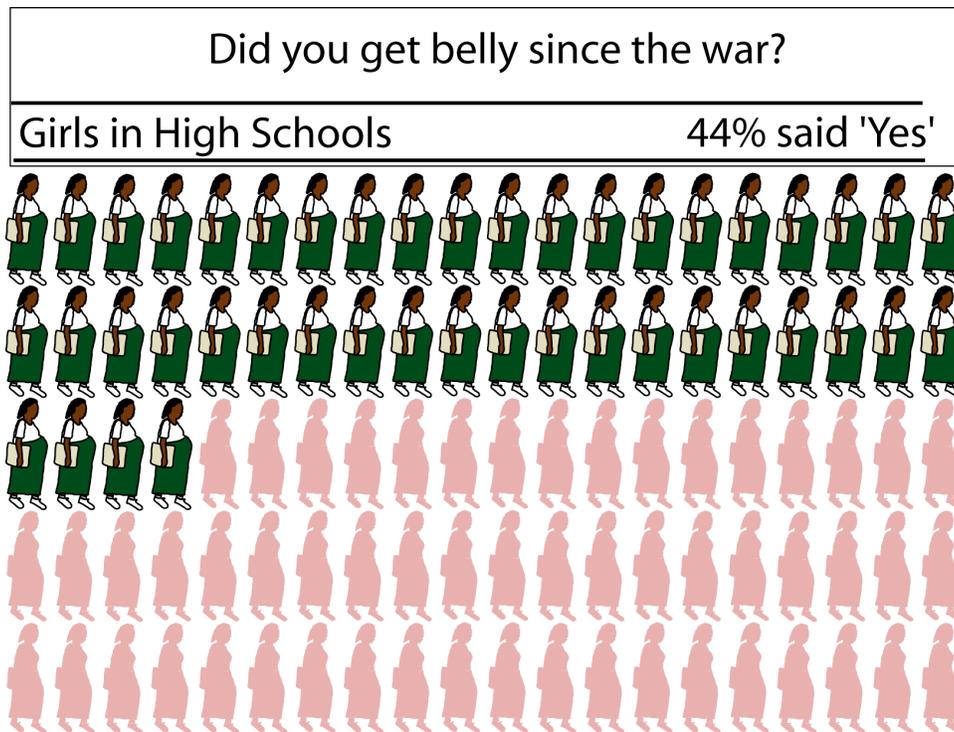
Teebeh: Oh, I thank god my daughter can listen to me. I told her to bring anybody who like her for me to know the person. Her pa died early part of last year so I'm trying my best with her. Thank you for the respect you gave to me. You are welcome to come around to visit Muna.

Narrator: Joe and I start seeing each other frequently and soon after, I get pregnant. . . .

Some of us got pregnant and had babies during this war. With all the other hard times going on, we were faced with difficulty feeding another child. Many babies could not survive. Here's how we asked the questions:

"Have you ever been pregnant? Did you ever get belly before? How many times have you born? How many are alive? How many are dead? Any bellies spoil? Did you take it out or did it come out by itself? Any babies die in your stomach?"

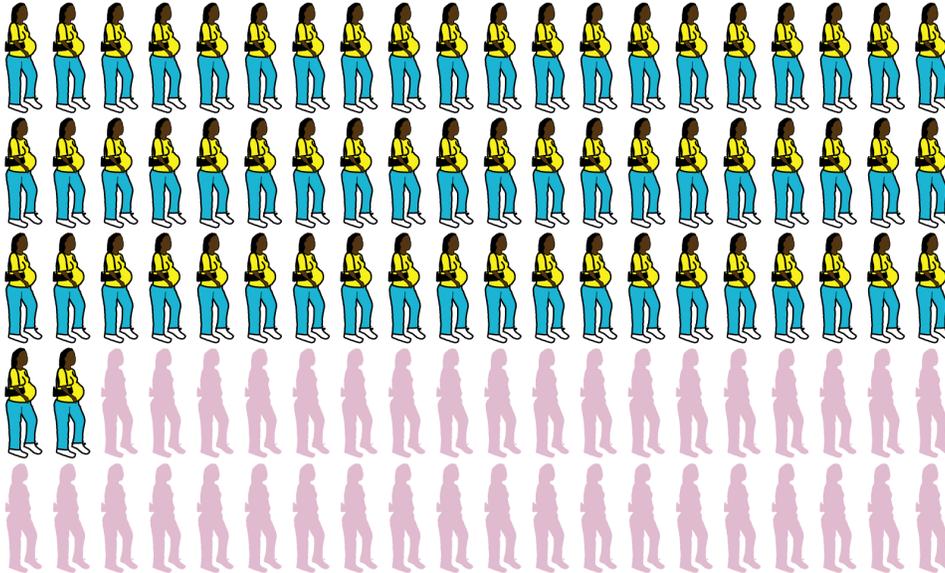
This picture shows that if you asked any 100 high school girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 44 of those high school girls had at least one belly during the first five years of the war. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 teenage girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 62 of those teenagers had at least one belly during the first five years of the war.



Did you get belly since the war?

Girls in Monrovia

62% said 'Yes'



How Many of Those Bellies Spoil?

Narrator: Joe and I start seeing each other frequently and soon after, I get pregnant. I think about the struggle my mother is going through to support us. Joe can afford to support me but if I keep the pregnancy, my schooling will be messed up. I don't want my friends to leave me behind. I keep my secret to myself and when I am two months pregnant, I make up my mind. I ask Joe for money to buy some clothes and a new pair of shoes. I take the money and go to a man known by many girls as the dumping machine and get an abortion. I don't tell Joe or my mother about the pregnancy.

This picture shows what happened to all the bellies during the war. Of all the bellies that happened to high school girls during the first five years of the war, 63 out of every 100 of those bellies spoil. For the bellies that happen to girls in Monrovia during the first five years of the war, 17 out of every 100 of those bellies spoil.

How many of those bellies spoil?

Girls in High Schools

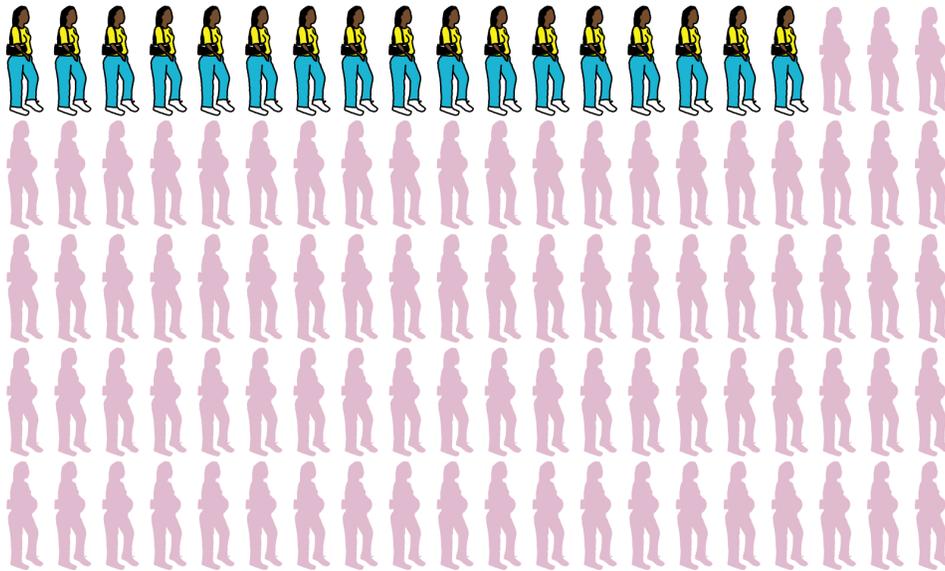
63% of bellies spoil



How many of those bellies spoil?

Girls in Monrovia

17% of bellies spoil



Any Baby Die?

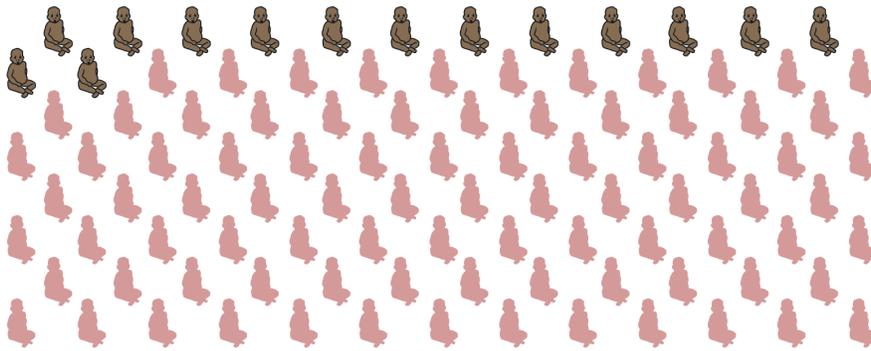
Even if a girl delivered the baby, times were so hard that many babies could not survive. Of those bellies that deliver, some of those babies died before their first birthday. For high school girls in Monrovia during the first five years of the war, 15 out of 100 of their babies died before their first birthday. For teenage girls in Monrovia, 25 out of 100 of their babies died before their first birthday.

How many of those babies born since the war died before their first birthday?

Babies of Girls in High School



15% died before first birthday

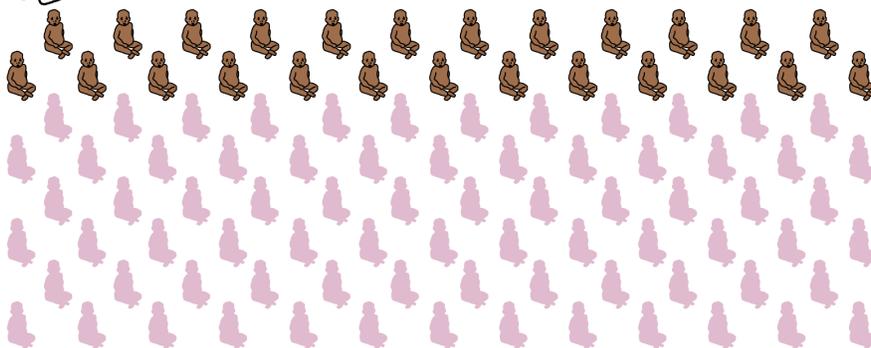


How many of those babies born since the war died before their first birthday?

Babies of Girls in Monrovia



25% died before first birthday

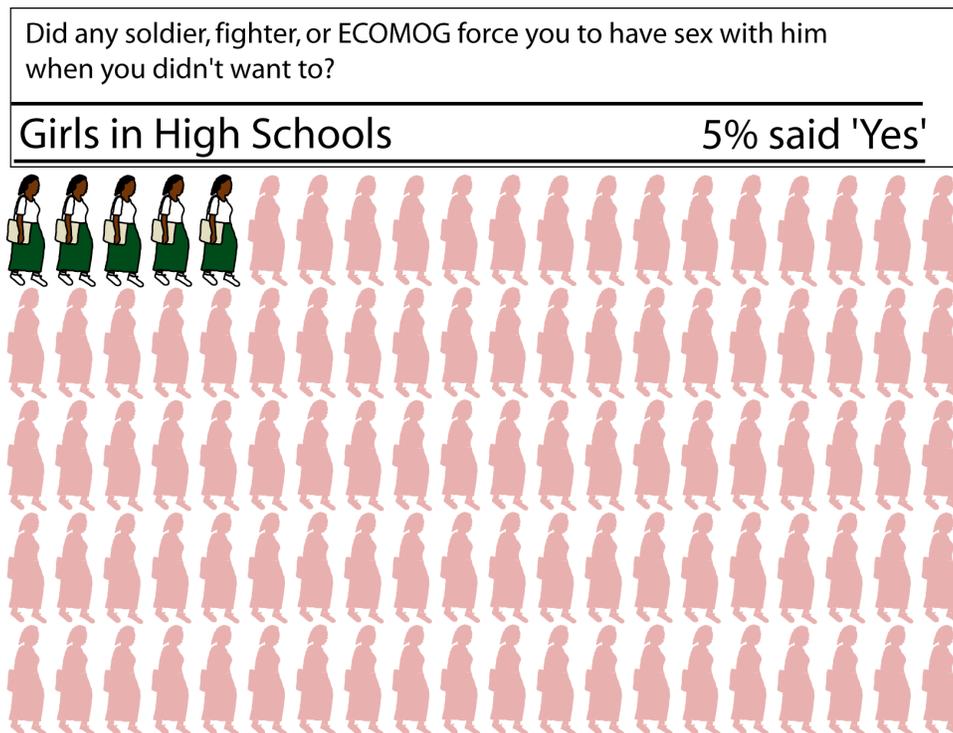


Rape

This is how the question was asked.

Many things have happened in this war to both men and women, but there are some things that happen only to women and girls. Some women love to soldiers because they like them, some the soldiers force them, and for some hunger and war conditions make them give themselves to soldiers. The thing that happened to women during the war are nothing to be ashamed of and we cannot blame ourselves for what happened because war was fighting and we have to live. We want you to tell us the truth so we can get the facts of what Liberian women went through. Now I am going to ask you some questions about what happened to you and your experiences with soldiers during the war. "Did any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG force you to have sex with him when you didn't want to?"

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 high school girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 5 of those high school girls were forced to have sex with a soldier or fighter when they didn't want to. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 teenage girls in Monrovia in 1994, 4 of those girls were forced to have sex with a soldier or fighter when they didn't want to.



Did any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG force you to have sex with him when you didn't want to?

Girls in Monrovia 4% said 'Yes'



Attempted Rape

This is the way the question was asked.

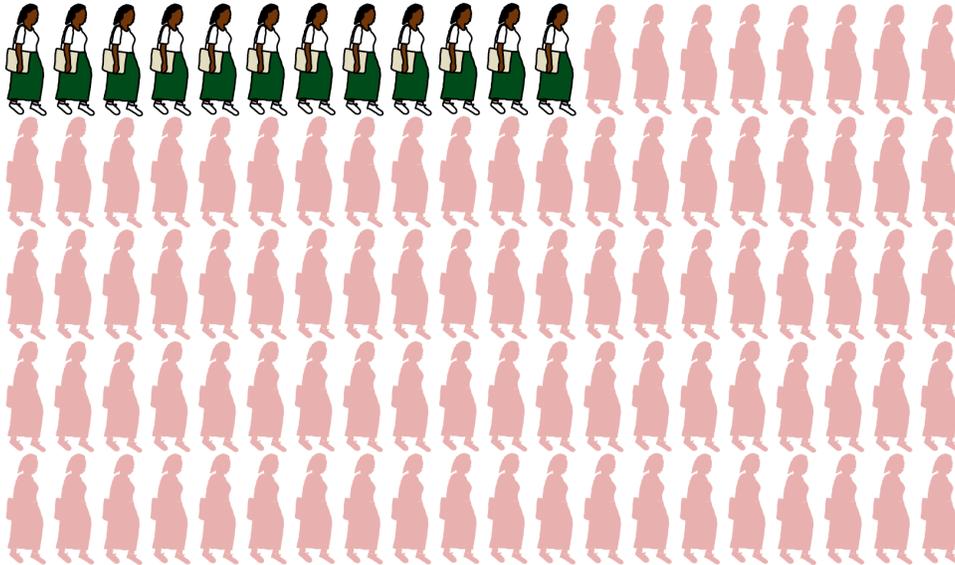
Has any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG try to force you to go to bed with him when you didn't want to but he was not able to do it and it did not happen?"

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 high school girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 12 of those the high school girls said a soldier or fighter tried to force them to have sex but he was not able to. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 teenage girls in Monrovia in 1994, your would find that 8 of those girls in Monrovia said a soldier or fighter tried to force them to have sex but he was not able to.

Did any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG try to force you to go to bed with him when you didn't want to but he was not able to do it and it did not happen?

Girls in High Schools

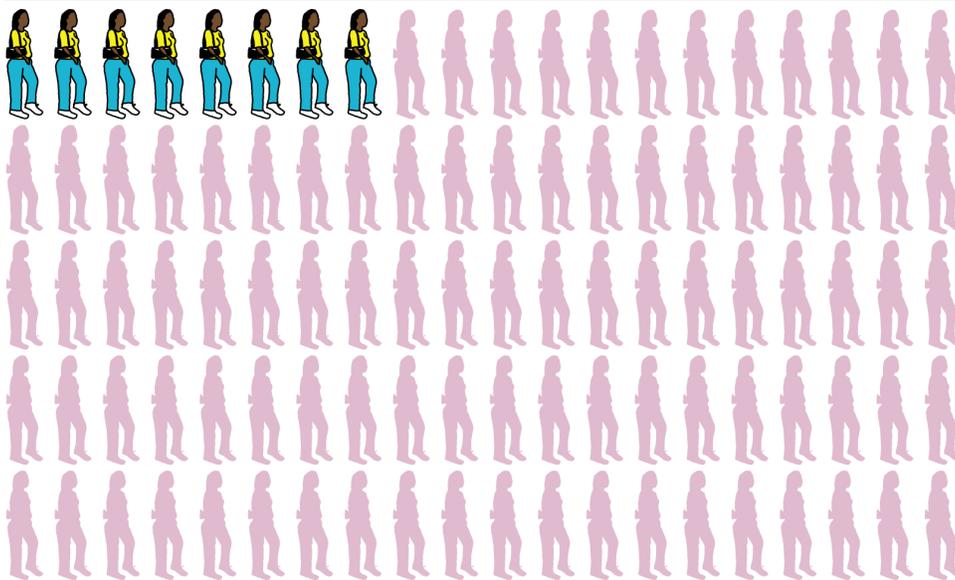
12% said 'Yes'



Did any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG try to force you to go to bed with him when you didn't want to but he was not able to do it and it did not happen?

Girls in Monrovia

8% said 'Yes'



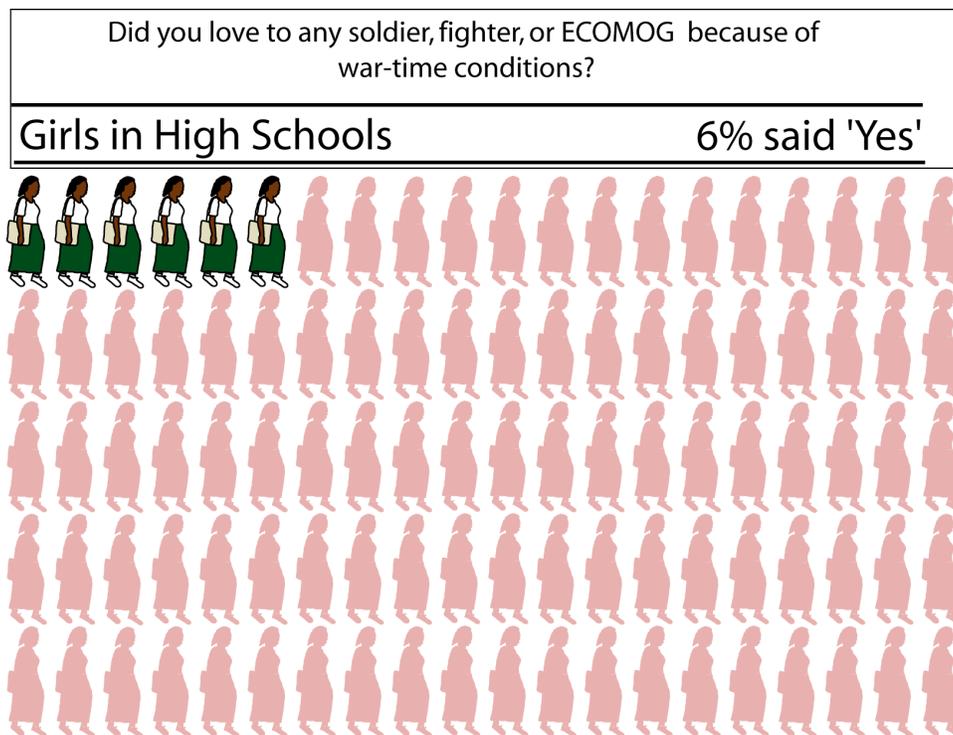
Sexual Coercion

Cecilia: I wish I could say the same for myself. You girls know how I like big time. I just could not take the hard time and suffering. You know how food business has been hard. Not only was food hard to get, but soap and things to keep me and my family from dying from lice and crawl-craw. Can you imagine we were at one of my cousins' house when this C.O. saw me and told me he wanted me? Can you even think of a high class girl like me loving to a fighter? I out rightly refused! As time went on and all my little money got finished and we couldn't set pot on the fire for four days, all of us were just surviving on tea. It was difficult to get coal to boil the water for tea. I was so hungry the day he came back to the house we were living in. I went with him just to get food to eat! When I think about it now I still can't get over it!

During this war it was hard to know how to survive. Sometimes girls had to make impossible decisions about how to find enough food, money, or shelter to get by. Sometimes this meant loving to a man who would give her those things. This is the way the question was asked.

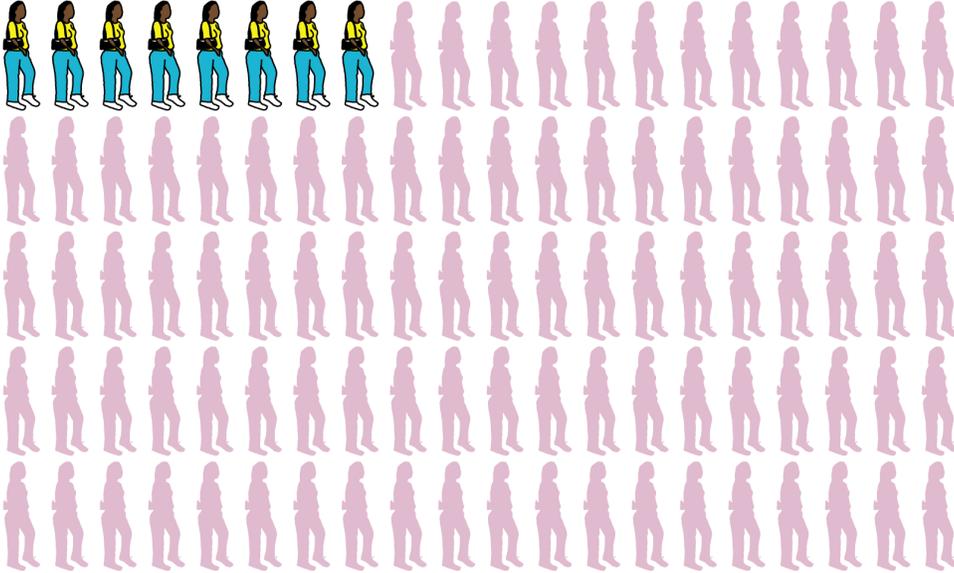
Did you love to any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG because of war-time conditions? For example, in order to feed yourself or your family, get shelter, clothing, or for protection and safety?

This picture shows that if you asked any 100 high school girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 6 of those high school girls said they loved to a soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG because of war-time conditions. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 teenage girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 8 of those girls said they loved to a soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG because of war-time conditions.



Did you love to any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG because of war-time conditions?

Girls in Monrovia 8% said 'Yes'



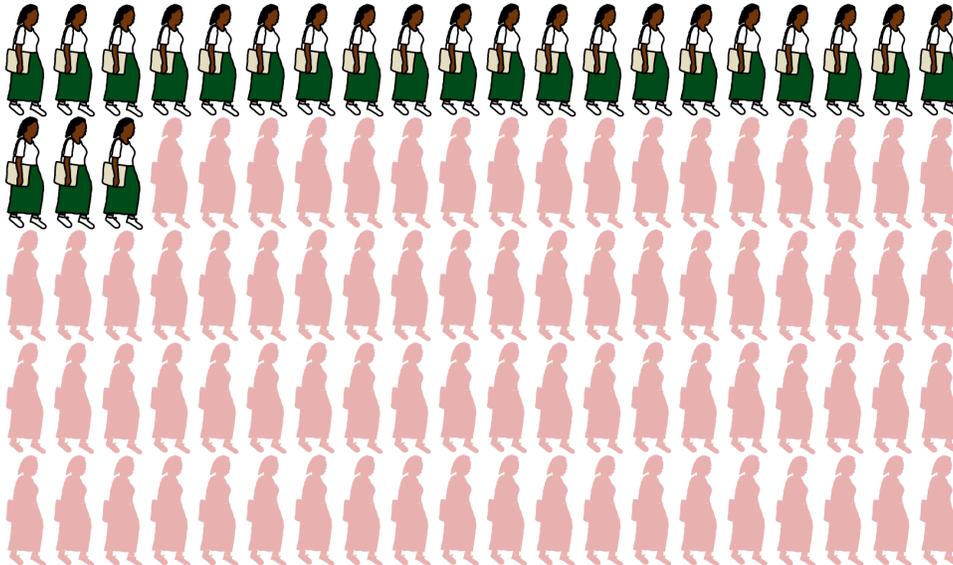
Summary of Sexual Violence and Coercion

During this war women were abused in so many ways. Rape is not the only way that women were exploited sexually. It also happened that women were forced to have sex with men in order to survive and feed their families. When we put together all of the girls who had one or more of these things happen to them during the first five years of the war, we found out that 23 out of every 100 high school girls in Monrovia, or almost 1 in every four, had one or more of these things happen to them. The next picture shows that 19 out of every 100 teenage girls in Monrovia, or almost 1 in every 5, had one or more of these things happen to them during the first five years of the war.

Did any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG force you to have sex, try to force you to have sex, or did you love to him because of war-time conditions?

Girls in High Schools

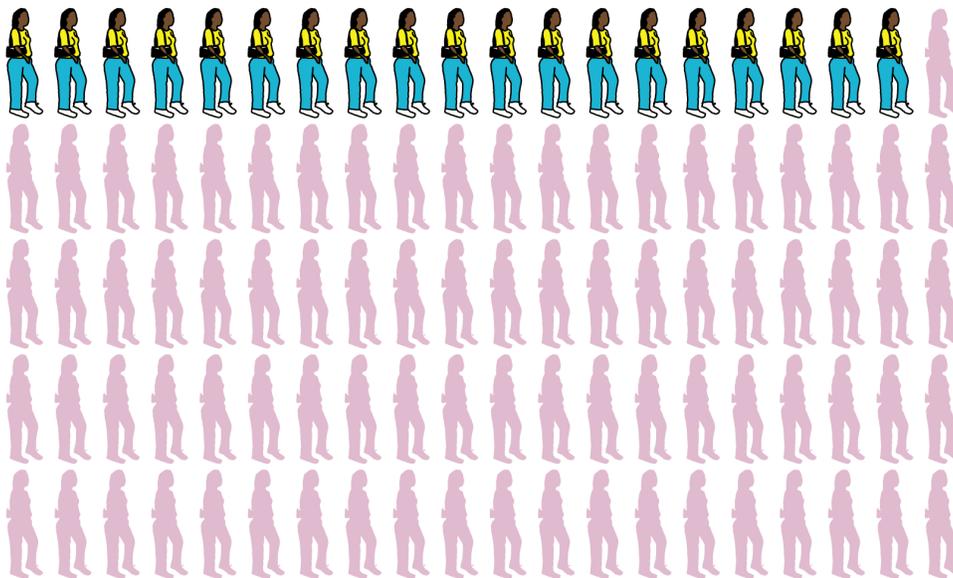
23% said 'Yes'



Did any soldier, fighter, or ECOMOG force you to have sex, try to force you to have sex, or did you love to him because of war-time conditions?

Girls in Monrovia

19% said 'Yes'



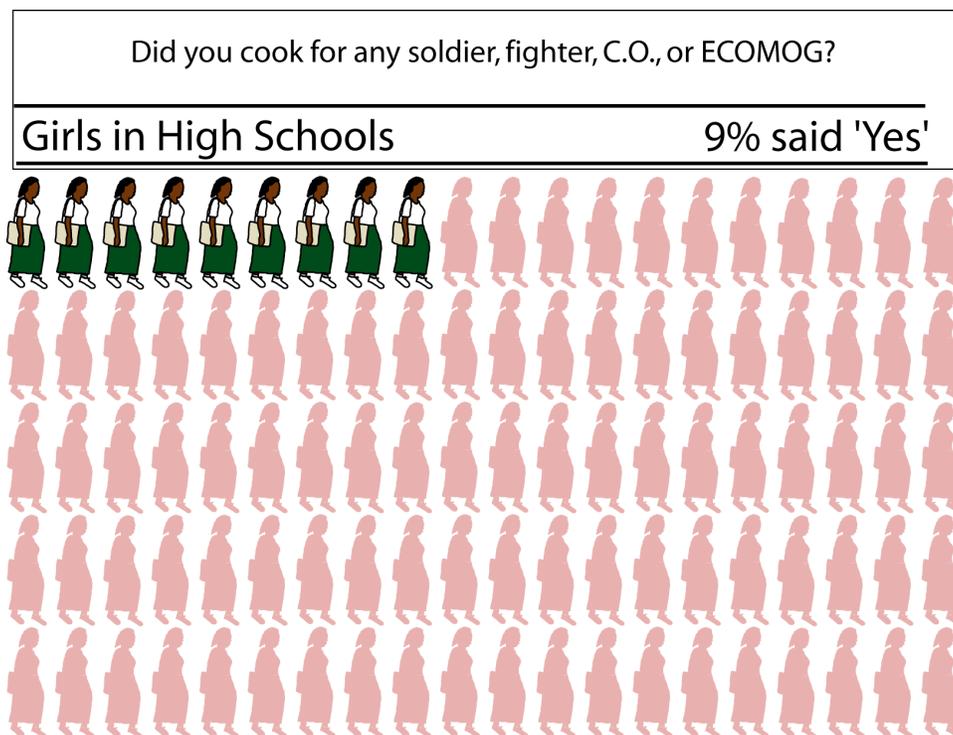
Forced to Cook

Louise: No Muna, mine was worse. When we were at Fendell conditions were too hard for us. We didn't have any food or even bath soap. One night the fighters came with torch lights and picked us. Although it was dark, I felt like the whole room was like bright day. I was taken with the other girls. I was forced to cook for the fighters assigned at Fendell. I wasn't allowed to even go to the building where my family was for almost two weeks. When he was sent to the front I tried to run away and fell into the hands of another C.O. who was in charge of the store room near the Science Building at Fendell. He took me to be his wife. I was now able to help my family with food too. I was his wife for two months. The day the ECOMOG came to Fendell and said Monrovia was safe, I was able to come back home with my family because he had gone to Kakata.

During this war, women and girls had to live with the danger every day that they might be taken by fighters to cook and be 'wives' for them. Whenever this happened, those girls were likely to face other dangers as well. This is the way the question was asked.

"Did you cook for any soldier or C.O. or fighter or ECOMOG?"

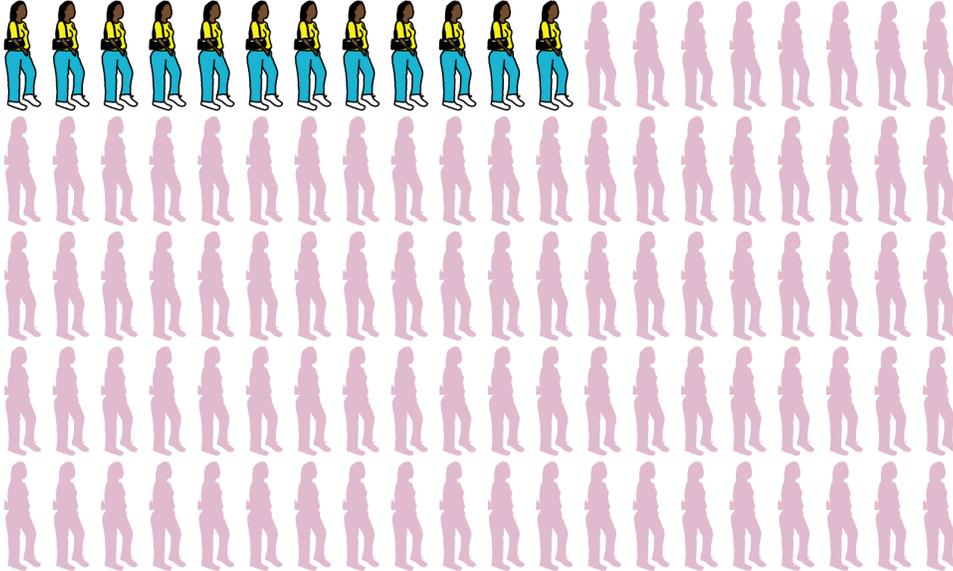
This picture shows that if you asked any 100 high school girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 9 of those high school girls were forced to cook for a soldier, C.O., fighter, or ECOMOG. The next picture shows that if you asked any 100 teenage girls in Monrovia in 1994, you would find that 12 of those girls were forced to cook for a soldier, C.O., fighter, or ECOMOG.



Did you cook for any soldier, fighter, C.O., or ECOMOG?

Girls in Monrovia

12% said 'Yes'



Themes

After looking at all of what we learned from the survey and the small group discussions, several themes were developed:

- The war affected everyone.
- Girls became head of the household.
- War caused a generation gap.
- Girls were forced to make difficult choices to survive.
- War disrupted girls' progress.
- Girls were vulnerable in and out of the country.
- War degraded girls' self-esteem.
- Girls had to live in disguise and keep secret what they experienced.
- Girls were forced to become breadwinners for their families.
- The war showed girls to be smart and creative.

Today we talked to you about what happened to high school girls and teenagers in the community during the first five years of the war. Tomorrow we're going to tell you what happened to refugee women who were living in the Ivory Coast, and we will be making our comments and recommendations to the TRC. We encourage you, we hope you come, and we look forward to seeing you. Thank you.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY NARRATION

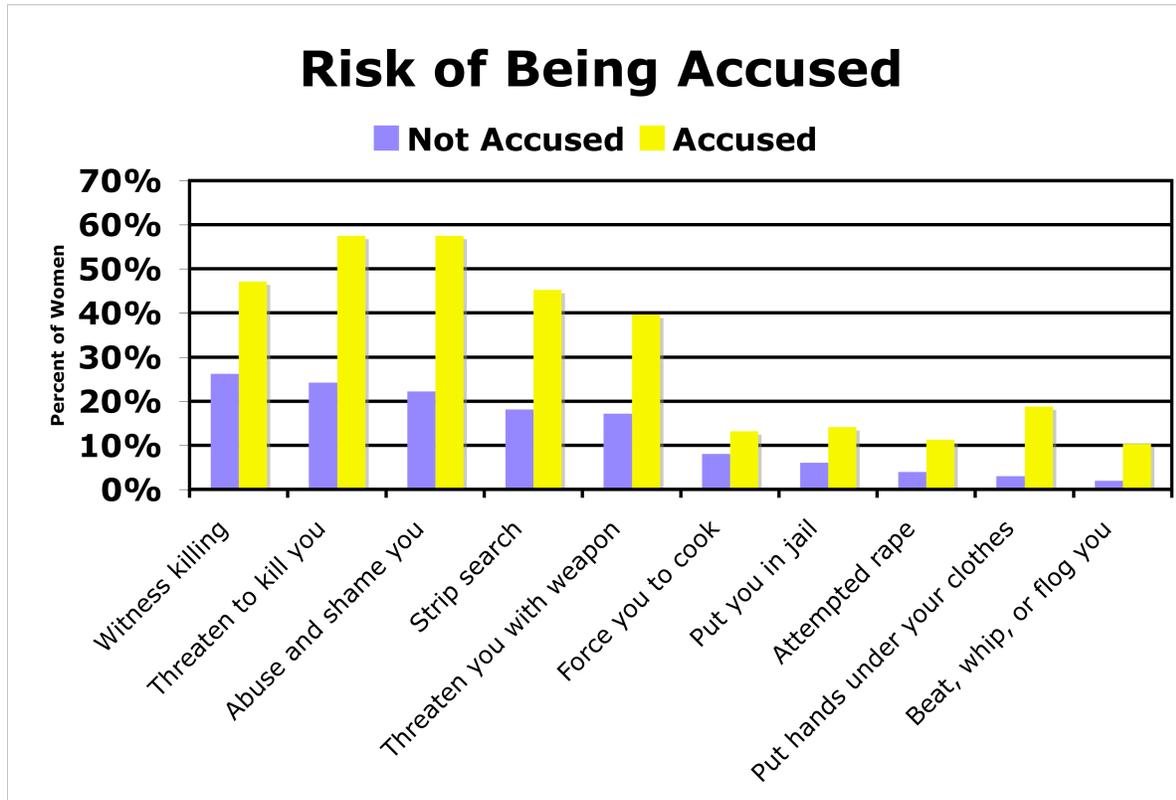
INTRODUCTION

Up until now, we have been talking about the survey findings for the young women (teenage girls) and adult women separately. Now I want to tell you about some of the larger themes that we can see in our results when we put the young and adult women all back together. There are several themes I want to point out to you today. First, there were some situations specific to this conflict that put women at increased risk for violence. Second, even five years into the war many women experienced violence. Third, because women are the center of the family and the ones who care for children, pregnancy outcomes and infant mortality were also affected by the war. And fourth, the war caused families and households to split up.

I want to remind you that these results are from 205 women and girls we randomly selected and interviewed in high schools, markets, displaced camps, and communities in Monrovia in 1994. These results tell us about what had happened to women and girls during the first five years of the war.

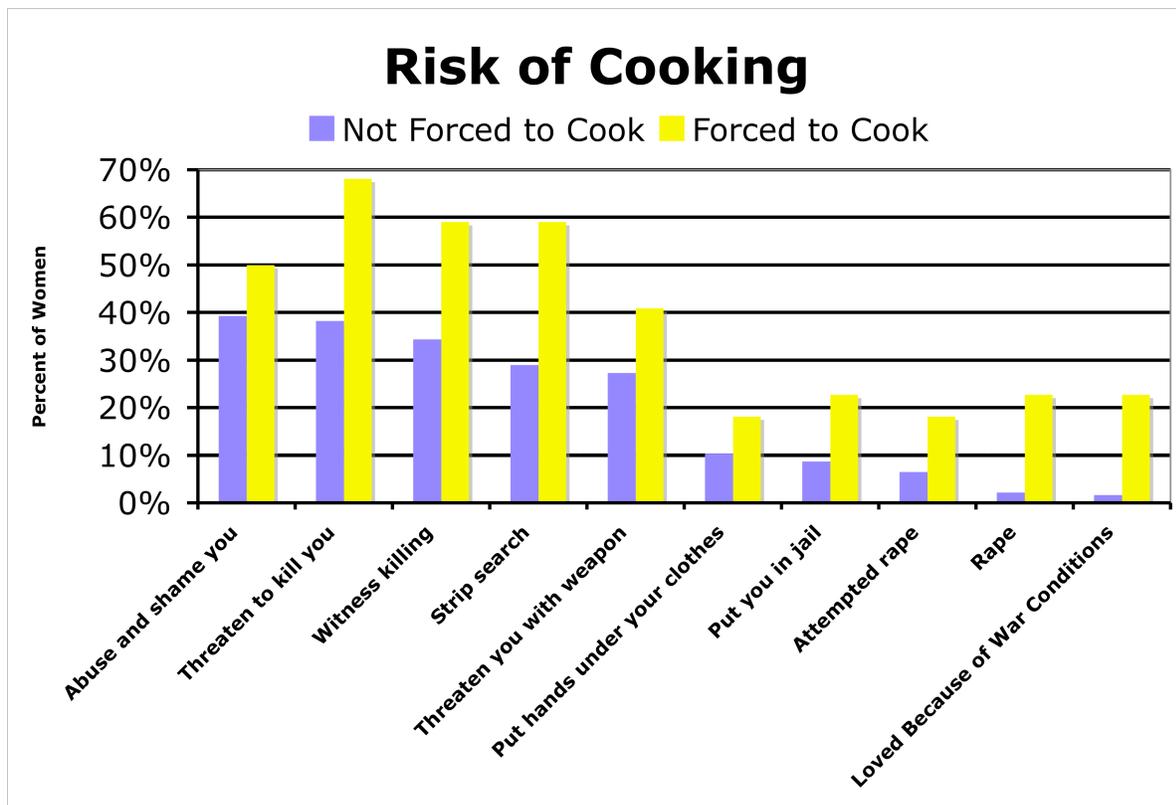
THE RISK OF BEING ACCUSED

In our survey we asked women whether a soldier or fighter had ever accused them of being from a particular tribe or fighting group. We knew that this was happening and wanted to know if women from particular groups were being targeted. So when we looked at our results about violence, we compared the women who had been accused with the women who had not been accused. We did learn that women who were accused were more likely to witness killing, to be threatened to be killed with words or with a weapon, to be abused and shamed in front of other people, strip searched, forced to cook, put in jail, to have a fighter or soldier attempt to rape them, to have a soldier or fighter put his hands under their lappas, and to be beaten, whipped, or flogged. It didn't mean that all of these things happened to an individual woman who was accused, but it meant that by looking at all 205 women we could see that when you put the accused women all together they had more of these things happen to them than the group of women who were not accused.



THE RISK OF COOKING

We took a similar approach to looking at what happened to women who were forced to cook for a soldier or fighter. We asked women whether they were forced to cook. We knew that when a woman was forced to cook, then she was at risk for other kinds of abuse and violence. So when we looked at our results about violence we compared the women who were forced to cook with the women who were never forced to cook. We learned that the women who were forced to cook were more likely to be abused and shamed in front of other people, to be threatened to be killed even with a weapon, to witness killing, be strip searched, to have a soldier or fighter put his hands under their clothes, to be put in jail, to have a fighter or soldier attempt to rape them, rape them, or to have loved to a soldier or fighter because of war-time conditions. It didn't mean that all of these things happened to an individual woman who was forced to cook, but it meant that by looking at all 205 women we could see that when you put the women who were forced to cook all together they had more of these things happen to them than the group of women who were not forced to cook.

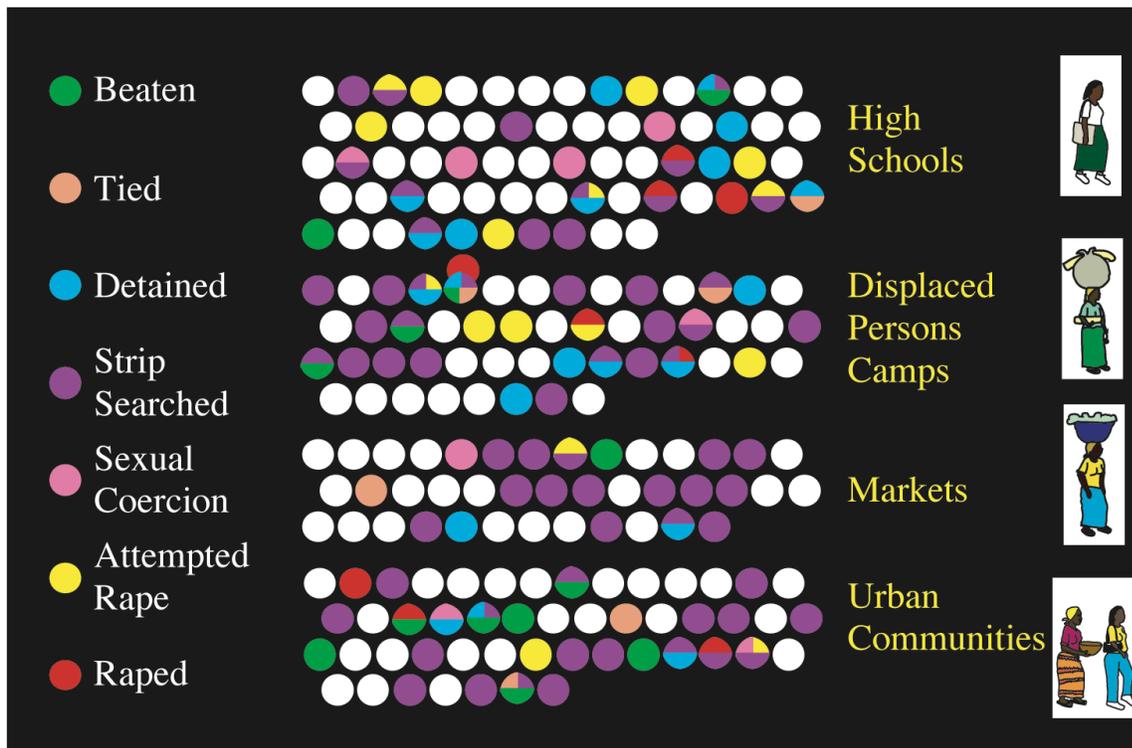


HALF OF LIBERIAN WOMEN EXPERIENCED VIOLENCE

In this picture we found a way to look at what happened to all of the 205 women together. Some women did not experience violence. Some women had one thing happen. Some women had many things happen. We wanted to be able to see all the different things that happened to each woman. First we made a small circle to stand in for each woman and girl we interviewed. We had 66 girls in the high schools, 50 women in displaced camps, 40 market women, and 49 women and girls in communities in Monrovia. Then we made a different color for each kind of violence that we asked about in the survey. If a woman said ‘yes’ to one of those questions, we put that color in her circle. If a woman said ‘yes’ to more than one type of violence we put more than one color in her circle. Here is what we found.

- 1 out of every 17 women were beaten.
- 1 out of every 33 women were tied up.
- 1 out of every 10 women were put in jail or taken out of line.
- 1 out of every 3 women were strip searched.
- 1 out of every 25 women loved to a fighter because of war-time conditions.
- 1 out of every 13 women had a soldier or fighter try to rape her.
- 1 out of every 25 women were raped by a soldier or fighter.

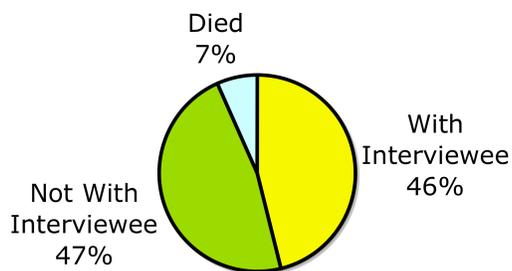
When you look at all of these results together, we can see that about half of the circles stayed white – they did not get a color. But half of the circles have at least one color in it. That makes it easy for us to see that half of Liberian women, 1 out of every 2 women and girls, experienced physical or sexual violence by soldiers or fighters during the first five years of the war.



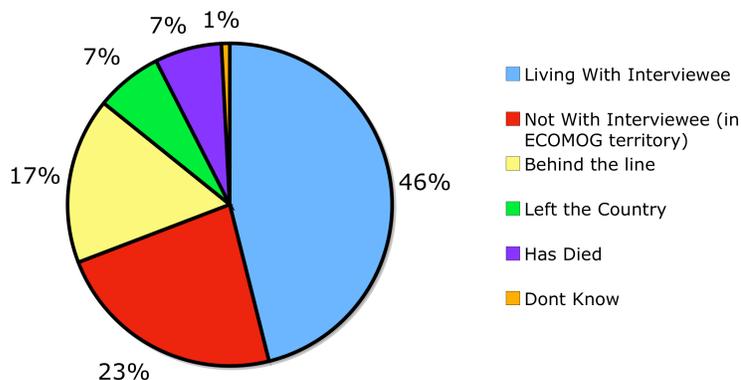
WAR SPLIT UP THE FAMILY

We also noticed that there were lots of changes happening for women and their families. When the war came and people had to run from where they were living, the family often got separated. In our survey we asked about all the people who had been living in the household before the war came in 1989. Because we talked to the women in 1994, we asked them where each of those people were. 46% of those people who were in the household before the war were still living with the woman when we interviewed her. But what we found was that more than half of the people who had been living in the women's households before the war were no longer living there. Some people had died, in fact 7% of the household members died during the first five years of the war. Most of the people, 47% of them, were still living but they were living somewhere else. They were no longer in the woman's household. This next graph shows you where those people were instead of in the woman's household. 23% were in ECOMOG territory, but not living with the woman. 16% were behind the line. 7% had left Liberia and were living in another country. 1% of the people the woman did not know where they were.

Household Members: Where are They?

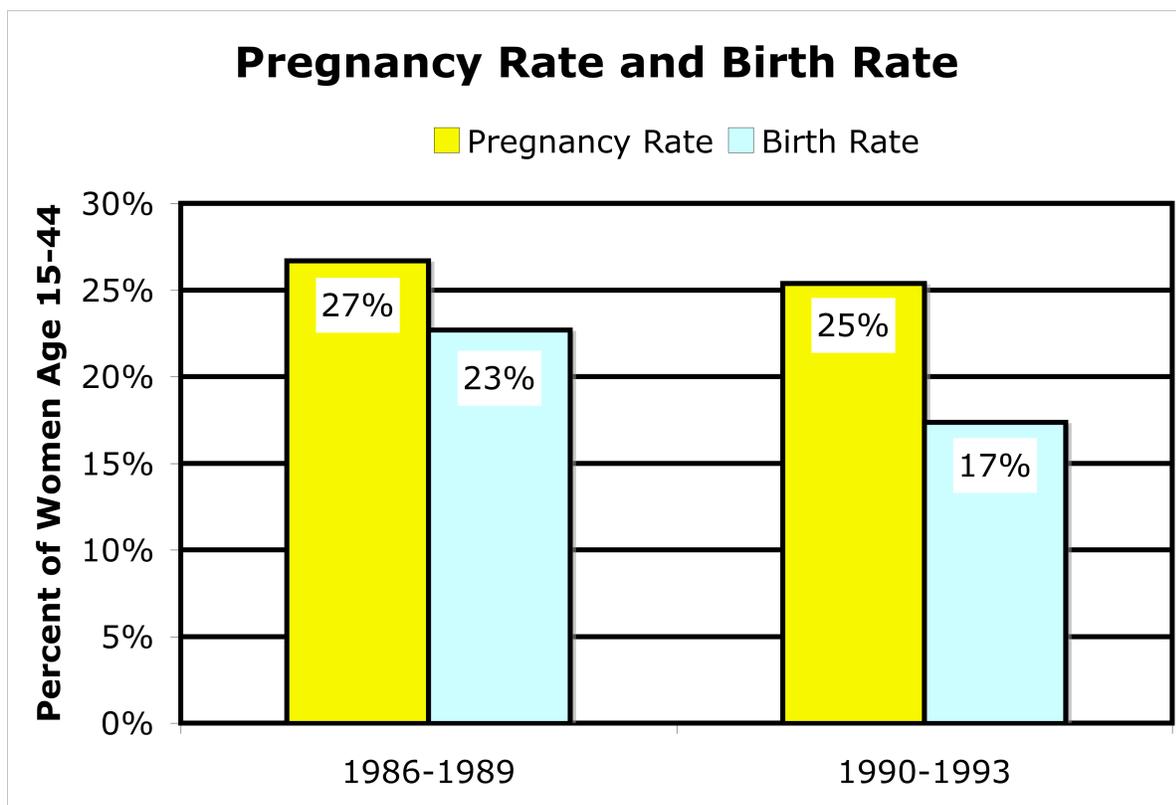


Household Members: Where Are They?



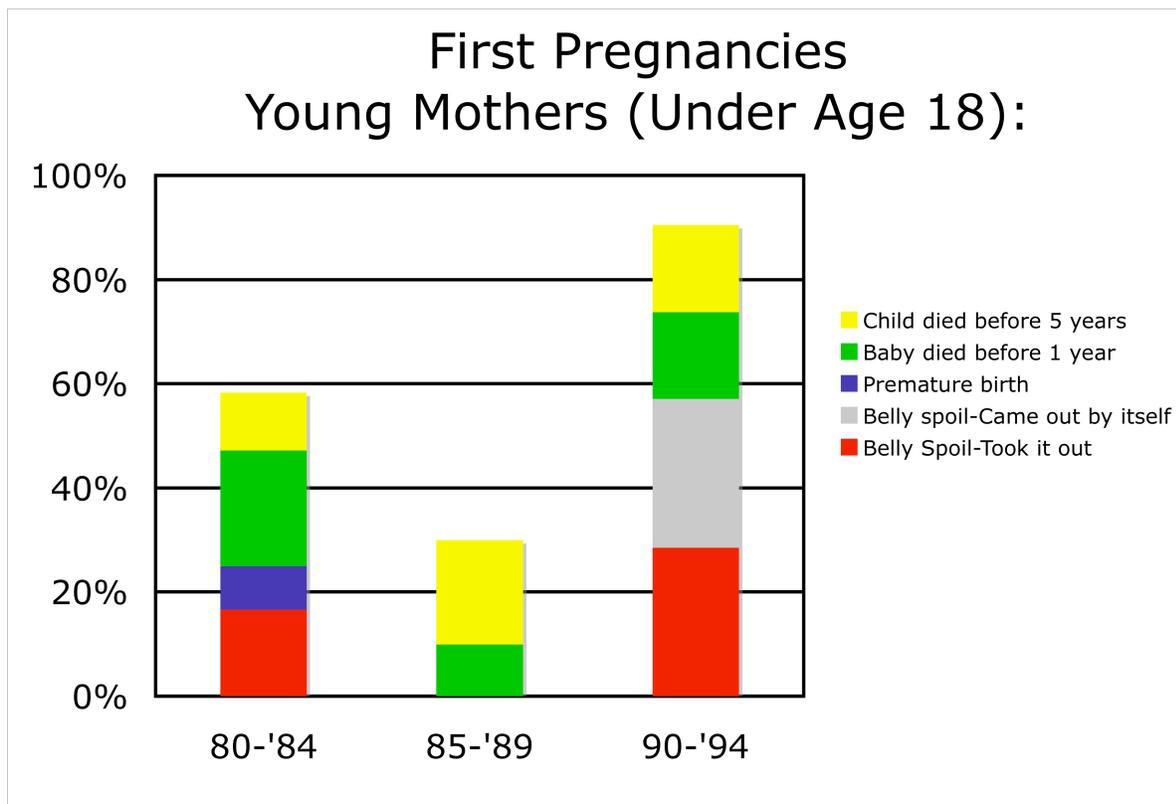
PREGNANCY RATES AND BIRTH RATES 1986-89 AND 1990-93

In one part of our survey we asked the woman about every pregnancy she ever had. We asked the date of the pregnancy and what happened. We asked about spoiled bellies, babies that die in the stomach, premature delivery, and full-term delivery. We wanted to know if women's pregnancy outcomes were different during war-time than in earlier times. So we divided up the dates of the pregnancies into four-year periods and looked at the outcomes of the pregnancies in each time period. This first graph compares pregnancies and births in two time periods: 1990-1993 during the war, and 1986-1989 just before the war. We looked at how many women were in the right age range to get pregnant during 1986-1989. The age range was age 15 to 44 years old. Then we looked to see how many women actually had a pregnancy during that time period. We found that in 1986-1989 about 27% of the women who were the right age to get pregnant did get pregnant during that time. In 1990-1993, that did not change very much. About 25% of women who could get pregnant did get pregnant. So during the war women were getting pregnant about as often as they were before the war. But what did change during the war is how many women actually delivered. Before the war, in 1986-1989, about 23% of women who could get pregnant actually got pregnant and delivered a baby. During the war, 1990-1993, only 17% of women who could get pregnant actually got pregnant and delivered a baby. That means that while women were still getting pregnant about as often as before, there were more spoiled bellies during the war. Fewer babies were born from those pregnancies.



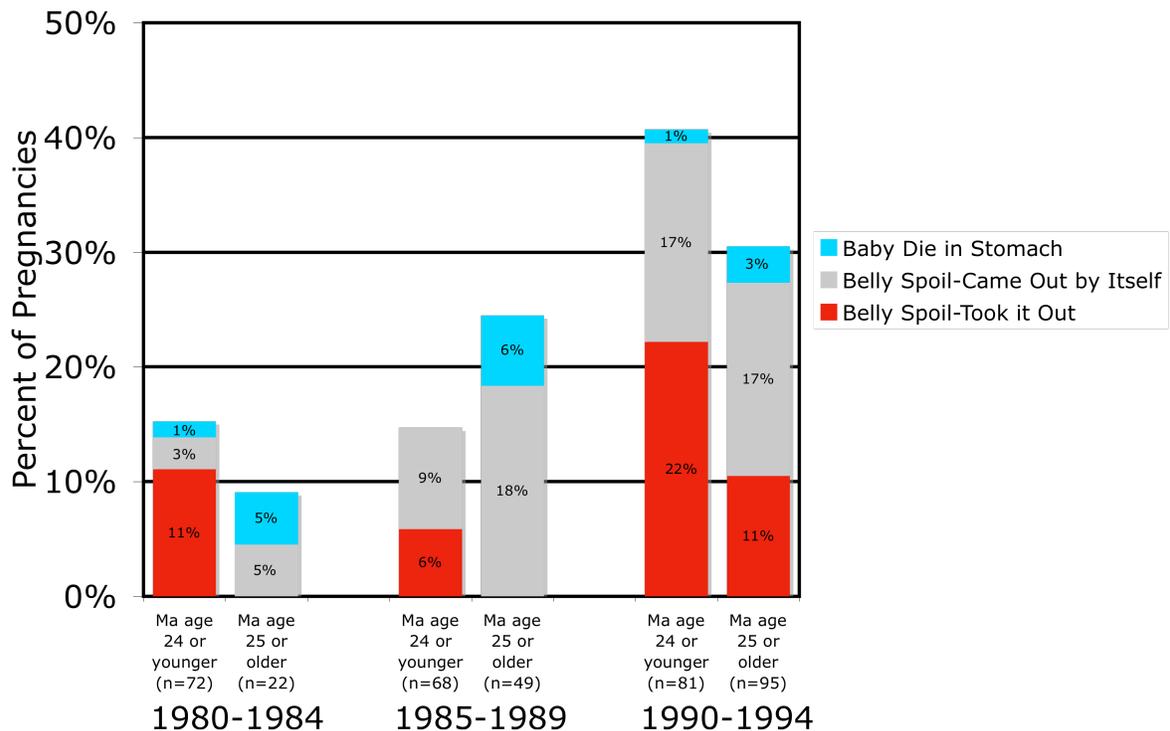
FIRST PREGNANCIES TO YOUNG MOTHERS

We were also interested to know what was happening to young women who got pregnant during the war. We knew that when a girl gets her first pregnancy when she is young, under age 18, the risks to her and the baby are greater. We wanted to know whether the war was affecting what happened to these higher risk pregnancies. We looked at the first pregnancies to girls under 18 for three different time periods: 1980-84, 1985-89, and 1990-94. Then we counted how many of those bellies spoiled, and how many babies died before their first birthday, and how many children died before their fifth birthday. This graph shows that for the pregnancies to young mothers during the war, only 10% of those pregnancies had a child who survived beyond the age of 5 years old. Most of the bellies spoiled, more than 50%. And of those that delivered, very few survived past the age of 5 years old. This means that only 1 out of every 10 pregnancies to young girls during the war resulted in a child that lived past 5 years old.



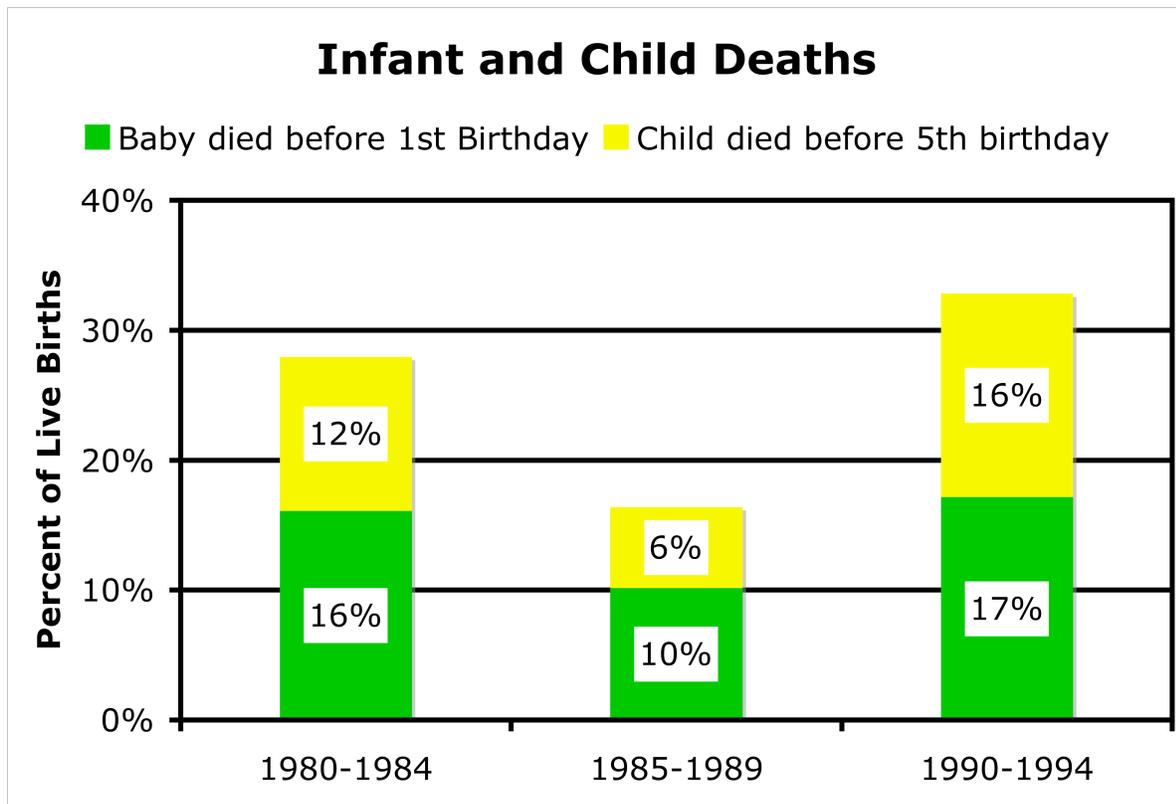
WAR AFFECTS ALL PREGNANCY OUTCOMES FOR ALL WOMEN

We knew that young girls were not the only ones who had trouble with their pregnancies during the war. This graph shows what happened to all of the pregnancies (not just the first pregnancies) for all of the girls and women we talked to. We divided the pregnancies up by how old the mother was and by what 5-year period the pregnancy happened in. This graph shows that, during the war years of 1990-94, more of the bellies spoiled than before the war, especially for girls under 24 years old. During the war, more young girls took out the belly than before the war.



WAR AFFECTS INFANT MORTALITY

This graph shows infant and child mortality rates for three different time periods. Infant mortality is when a baby dies before the first birthday. Child mortality is when the child dies some time between the first birthday and the fifth birthday. We looked at all of the born children of all of the women in the survey. Then we counted how many of those born children died before their first birthday and before their fifth birthday. This graph shows that during the war more babies and young children were dying than just before the war. There were also more babies and children dying during the 1980-1984 time period as well. During 1985 to 1989, fewer babies and young children died.



CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

As the result of the small group discussion and the surveys, we developed training manuals, and awareness workshops are being conducted in and around the country. Women who attend these workshops identify the need for empowerment and move on to having small self-help groups that address women's needs and issues that affect them. During the small group discussions, we kept getting the message from the women directly or indirectly of wanting to be self-sufficient. Every time we go to talk with them, whether it was a small group discussion, whether it was a survey question, whether it was an awareness program, there was always one big message: they want to be empowered, they needed to be self-sufficient.

One of the things we have learned from this work is that women are a very strong force when it comes to building a nation. Had women been strong enough, Liberia would not have had war because the woman would be able to talk to her children, talk to her husband, talk to her brothers, talk to the powerful male figures to discourage war. Now that women are getting powerful from that, women can make sure that we do not have to experience this again.

The whole aspect of the message of empowerment that came from the women and young ladies that we talked to is one of the driving forces for what we all do today. We heard from each other as well as other women and shared our experiences. But in the end the information we gathered has helped us design strategies to enable women's empowerment, create awareness on violence against women, and promote self-sufficiency.

From the first day of our work at Mother Patern College our whole interest was to help women so that they could be empowered. I believe that if a woman is educated and is self-sufficient she will not be looked down upon. If you have the means of doing something for yourself nobody will look down on you. This is what we used to say in each town where we went for discussion, we would say it's not good for a woman to be like a banana leaf, always your palms up. But if you are self-sufficient you will be empowered. When you are self-sufficient you will see about your health. When you are sick you will go to hospital. You will take better care of yourself. You will eat the best food you can afford. You will wear the best clothes you can afford. You will sleep in the best place that you can afford. And you will not let people take this advantage over you. You will be able to fight for yourself. I feel that this is how we all should go, like each of us has. We all can't work on the same area. Some are working with adults, others are working with youth, in different areas. But the end result is to empower women to let them know that this violence against women should not happen to us. Women should be able to be there to talk for themselves. The culture had it as such, women can't talk, you just keep quiet.

We were all proven wrong when the nation felt this crisis was another coup that would be short lived. Others thought the government needed to be changed for a better tomorrow. Yet still others felt it was for certain ethnic groups. But as we can see, we were all affected as a nation. Women of all ages were no exception. Young girls were forced to maturity before the age of puberty. Elderly women were left behind by relatives who were forced against their will as they were commanded by the forces. School girls became the business women and road runners as schools were closed and shuttered.

In crisis as ours, we hope not to experience any more atrocities. Instead, we should be steadfast in creating an awareness of harmony that will live after us. We should concentrate on

the holistic development and improvement of the lives of women. We should be responsible for the well-being of our mothers tomorrow.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Family Life Education should be included in school curriculum and the following points taken into consideration:
 - a. Roles and responsibilities of parents and children need to be clearly defined. There needs to be youth-friendly centers for recreation in communities, libraries in schools, and high schools should be equipped with laboratories.
 - b. Make available schools in the late afternoon targeting pregnant teenage girls and working young women. Adult literacy classes can be offered in these schools as well.
 - c. Special programs for adolescent girls need to be developed and should include preventive strategies for sexual and gender-based violence. Reproductive health education needs to be part of the school curriculum.
2. Critical thinking and decision making need to be offered in life skills training to foster change in attitudes of girls toward their responsibility in preventing pregnancy at an early age.
3. We implore other national and international organizations to continue to support women's empowerment initiatives and awareness.
4. Farm-to-market roads need to be reconditioned and opened which will provide access for women's self-help projects.
5. Internal and external support need to be given to existing empowerment structures for women.

CONCLUSION AND THANKS

Presenting this document is not meant to reflect the bitterness and hurts of what happened to us but to understand the facts of what happened to women. What is there to know so that we women, the women of Liberia, will have the zeal to speak up and still have continuity of life? We are charging all Ministries responsible for any kind of training, advocating, planning and developing strategies for the empowerment of women to have access to this document. In light of this, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia will be our anchor in disseminating these findings.

We want to say Hooray to the women who supported us by responding to our survey. We must now stand up, join hands as sisters and declare ourselves victorious. The battle is over. It is time to continue the process of healing and building up what the locusts stole from us. This is the time. The time which our most dynamic President, Mrs. Sirleaf, has changed the era of male dominance by being the first Lady President in the history of Africa. Her position has not only restore the dignity of women but has given rise to peace, justice and equality to all. May God richly bless you as we endeavor to make our country a safe haven for women to dwell and feel proud of. We thank you.

REFUGEE WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN THE IVORY COAST 1990-1997

INTRODUCTION

When we did the survey in the Ivory Coast in 1997, the only camps we were allowed to visit were the camps that hosted people or women from the southeastern region. The women we talked to had to cross over from Liberia in search of safety. Today we are going to tell you about the experiences these women had when leaving Liberia and crossing to the Ivory Coast. You will also hear about experiences they had in the Ivory Coast. What we are reading are the comments women made after they answered the survey questions. The women reading today are only repeating what was told to them.

Stage Directions: The interviewers are sitting in a semi-circle. They take turns reading the statements the interviewees made to them when they conducted the survey.

GETTING OUT OF LIBERIA

- 1 The war did not reach me. We cross to Ivory Coast. I cross checkpoint at Termo border Ivory Coast and Liberia. Me and my Ma came together.
- 2 The war reach me in Monrovia in 1990. The fighting was in Paynesville when I left Monrovia and come to Grand Gedeh by plane. When I reach Zwedru they were not fighting. I left Monrovia by plane. We pass in the bush and stay there until we reach Ivory Coast. My two children die in the bush from hunger.
- 3 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1991. They enter the town and started shooting. I started running. I left my uncle behind in the bush. My daughter got lost from me. We were running the rebel took her. I just heard about her from my uncle who was also a soldier. My town is not far from Ivory Coast and the soldiers I met were my tribe people.
- 4 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1990. I left three cousins and one in-law at a checkpoint near the Demoe border between Ivory Coast and Grand Gedeh. A cousin was killed in Ivory Coast.
- 5 The war reach me in Zwedru in 1990. My husband children were arrested by fighters and made me to cook. Made us to sit in the sun for one whole day.
- 6 The war reached me in Kpowan in 1990. When we heard the gun sound we cross and came to Ivory Coast. Me and my sister left my grandfather behind to come call our brothers to go for him. When they went they met him dead. We don't know who killed him. He had gun shot mark. We were running and we got lost from my aunty and uncle. Later we heard that they were kill. Our brothers cross us before the soldiers got there.

- My aunty passed different road and the soldiers said because they came from Sinoe, that's them bring the rebels. They took all her things from her and naked her.
- 7 The war reached me in Zwedru 1990. I was in the kitchen when the people started running. When I asked they say rebel enter. I stay then and ran. That's the same day they killed my children. We stay walking in the bush until we reach the Cavalla. We cut our own cork wood to cross. They left me behind. I alone sleep in the bush.
- 8 The war reach me in Solo Town in 1990. We moved at midnight, bypass checkpoints, hid in the bush during the day. The only encounter I had with fighters is when they enter our town and we ran into the bush. We did not come across fighters until we got to Ivory Coast.
- 9 The war reach me in Zwedru in 1990. We came to Ivory Coast through the bush. We did not meet up with any soldiers or fighters.
- 10 The war met me in Gbarzon in Grand Gedeh in 1991. They did not beat me, only my husband they beat him and tie him.
- 11 The war reach me in Grand Gedeh in 1990. When they enter they ask us to get out. We walk in the bush and cross in canoe.
- 12 The war did not reach me in Grand Gedeh because I left in 1990.
- 13 The war met me in Sinoe in 1990. I went there to get my brothers and sisters, then the war met me there. Soldiers don't show heart to anybody because they were AFL soldiers. They did not beat me, I only sat on the ground; they made me to sit on the ground.
- 14 The war met me in Zwedru in 1990. I left grandparents, uncle, sister and brother at checkpoint in Zwedru but they free them after two days.
- 15 The war met me in Grand Gedeh in 1992. I was so afraid so I passed in the bush.
- 16 The war met me in Zwedru, I can't remember the year. In Zwedru they kill one man in front before I run. From then all my feet got cut. Konobo people threaten to kill me. They say why we cross and bringing rice to Ivory Coast. We should eat ah-cheke. [Interviewer's note: She's the wife of a paramount chief.]
- 17 The war met me in Monrovia in 1990. My brother next to me was the soldier who control all that area so he cross us.
- 18 The war reach me in Grand Gedeh in 1990. We walk in the bushes until we reached Ivory Coast.

- 19 The war did not reach me. When war was in Zwedru I ran from our town in Ziah Town in 1990. We came through the bush.
- 20 The war reached me in Juazon Sinoe in 1990. When the fighters enter our town we ran in the bush. They fired behind us while we were running and bullet hit my left shoulder. One country doctor took out the bullet. Many times we walk from Juazon to Greenville so I cross checkpoints plenty. The fighters take things they want from the market we are carrying and let us go on. Sometimes they say, "You all go," then they take things from my friends.
- 21 The war met me in Ziah Town in 1992. The soldiers threatened to kill my grandpa if he didn't give over his gun when they caught my family in the bush. My grandpa was a cocoa farmer. He didn't have any gun. They beat my grandpa. My sister's baby girl, one year eight months old, got lost from us in the bush while we were running from Ziah Town. We never found her. Later on we heard she died and some other people found her body and buried her.
- 22 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1992. We were in town but left very early that morning when our pa said rebels were in town. We were passing through the bush. I was forced to cook for soldier, before we left Ziah town.
- 23 The war reached me in Yougba in 1991. They tied my husband and took cutlass and try to cut his throat. I beg the man. Everybody had left, so he left him, cutlass mark still on his throat. The soldier came about five a.m. and we were running and I only took one child. My husband took two and left one behind. He went different way and I went different way. When we met we knew we had left a child behind. He went back and brought her.
- 24 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1991. As soon as we hear that rebel enter the town we left. I never see any rebel. My ma she was paralyzed, was not able to walk, and we left her behind. I never hear from her or nobody in our town but I think she alive.
- 25 The war reached me in Jarbah in 1990. Nothing bad happen to me. I came on this side soon, they only take me from the line and put me on prisoner's bench for speaking English. I cross checkpoint but the fighters were friendly, I knew them.
- 26 The war reached me in Gbao in 1990. They enter and took every thing even the cloth my brother send me. We walk in the bush for three months before we came here. I even had a child in the bush. It was in the bush I left my father. They would follow us and in the night they would attack so we had to stay far ahead of the group. We left my father in the bush he was too old to run and we had all the children. We had to carry the children ahead then come back for him. During one of these trips he got killed. I could not even cry because I was not allow to.

- 27 The war reached me in Grand Gedeh 1990. They took everything from me in Liberia. At one checkpoint, they naked me but they were my tribe people so they let me go. Even the money I had on my back they give it back to me. They said I was old.
- 28 The war reached me in Grand Gedeh in 1990. When they enter we ran. They said they would kill me. That when they kill my father.
- 29 The war did not reach me. We rode car from Gleo to the Ivory Coast. Plenty people left behind, my ma only took us her children with her. The car was small.
- 30 The war did not reach me in Monrovia. They stopped us and send my brothers back to give papers. I didn't even see the war self because I cross soon.
- 31 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1990. The army people that were in Ziah Town put us in jail at a checkpoint. Some time when you bad luck get there, they catch you. They wanted to kill us but the rebels enter the town and the people in the jail burst it to get outside. When we heard the gun sound in the morning then we started running. We jumped in the bush. That in the bush we pass until we reached the Cavalla. My niece and nephew got lost from me. We ran in the bush behind Ziah town and scatter from each other and up to now we aint see them yet. That the people kill them we don't know. The time we reach the waterside we see some people with gun. They say we must leave all our things so we leave it and cross like that.
- 32 The war reach me in Zwedru in 1990. Everyone ran into the bush. Father got lost from us in Zwedru when soldiers came on us in the bush. We got to checkpoint near Ziah Town and were charged \$5.00 each to cross. We didn't have it so we made a raft and crossed in the bush. My uncle made the raft. We got on this side in Ivory Coast before we heard my father is in Ivory Coast.
- 33 The war reached me in Zwedru in 1990. The rebels came and told us they will kill my father and all of us so we left that day. When we were leaving we left by car and came straight to the border. We didn't stop to any checkpoint on the road beside the border immigration checkpoint.
- 34 The war did not reach me in Monrovia. I left May 1990, came to Grand Gedeh, left Grand Gedeh before fighting started there. I came to Ivory Coast by car.
- 35 The war did not reach me in Zwedru. We walked through the bush to come to Ivory Coast in 1991.
- 36 The war did not reach me in Ziah Town. When I heard the war started at border, I left Ganta to Ziah Town in 1990. We passed through the bush to come to Ivory Coast from Ziah Town.
- 37 The war reached me in Ziah Town, I left in 1990. As soon as I hear fighter in town I jump in the bush with my family. We travel in the bush until we reach Ivory Coast.

- 38 The war reached me in Yougba in 1993, the Cape Palmas war. When we hear shooting I wake up the children. My ma and son were in the same house in different room. They were sleeping so we left them behind. They were killed. Our town was burnt down. We started running, swam across the river and came to the Ivory Coast. We live by the big river and we teach the children how to swim. We left I never go back.
- 39 The war did not reach me in Bargblor. We hear the war was in Zwedru, we never want for it to reach us. We left and come here to the Ivory Coast. We walk from Bargblor to Zia town - took trailer to Tempo border. We cross at Tempo border. We travel by the main road. We only pay money to cross. We cross the Cavalla River in canoe, so-so of our people, so they did not give us hard time.
- 40 The war reach me in Ziah Town in 1990. I pass through bush to come here to Ivory Coast. I had to leave behind my niece, my sister's child. The hunger was too much and she was not able to walk so I leave her behind.
- 41 The war reach me in Karbo Town in 1990. We were always passing in the bush. Because of my tribe I had to leave my husband, daughter, and son behind in Liberia in 1990. They killed my mother, sister, and father. They said they would kill me.
- 42 The war reached me in Konobo in 1990. We ran from the town. I did not see rebel in Liberia.
- 43 The war reach me in Greenville, Sinoe County, in 1990. My husband is Krahn so he had to leave me behind. Husband got lost from me for 7 years in Liberia. My father is Krahn and my mother is Kru. I speak Kru and Krahn so I was between the two factions. I was their enemy. I left my five children behind in Greenville. One of my uncles was killed at a checkpoint in Greenville. The soldiers that caught me in the bush beat me and put me in jail. The C.O. made me his wife and I stayed with him.
- 44 The war did not reach me. When the rebels entered we had already cross. We left in 1990. I left my son behind in Monrovia in 1990.
- 45 The war reached me in Kwenebo, July 1990. When they entered the town we ran away. I did not see rebel, we were always in the bush.
- 46 The war reached me in Grand Gedeh in 1991. When I heard about the war I left before it reach me because I have a lot of children. I brought the children in Ivory Coast and went back. Then it met me. I did not get on the road. I was in the bush. Where you meet the river you cross.
- 47 The war did not reach me in Zai, Grand Gedeh. I left Grand Gedeh by car and came to Ivory Coast in 1992.

- 48 The war reached me in Zwedru in 1990. We only heard gun sound. We ran away. They said they were going to kill my husband and 2 son. We beg-beg and they leave them. The people tied my brother.
- 49 The war did not reach me. I came to Ivory Coast early in 1990. I was small. I did not leave anybody behind.
- 50 The war reached me in Monrovia in 1990. I move to a church until ECOMOG came. I came to Ivory Coast during April war, 1996. My sister and brother got lost from me. Up till now we have not seen them.
- 51 The war did not reach me in Zwedru, 1989. We went to Gold Camp in Grand Gedeh. We pass in the bush to Cavalla. We remain in the bush until we reached to Cavalla. We left my grandfather at a checkpoint in Zwedru. We later heard he was killed.
- 52 The war reached me in Yarbah Town in 1990. Fighters came on the farm where we were and killed my uncle there, so we ran away and came here.
- 53 The war reached me in Monrovia in 1990. My boyfriend first put me in car and put me in Ganta. Then I took car and go to Zwedru. From Zwedru I go to Ziah Town to my people. From Ziah Town I came with big woman. We came with escort. Nobody trouble us.
- 54 The war reached me in Zwedru in 1990. We ran in the bush when the rebel entered the town. I left my father in Zwedru but he came after seven months.
- 55 The war reached me in Bong Mines in 1990. When the war started my father sent for me. We came by air to Grand Gedeh. We did not stay in Grand Gedeh for the fighting to meet us. Our father brought us to Ivory Coast and went back.
- 56 The war did not reach me in Zwedru in 1990. We were in Ziah Town when we heard rebels enter Zwedru then we left and came to Ivory Coast. We cross army checkpoint. My uncle and cousin got lost, but we found them.
- 57 The war did not reach me in Zwedru in 1990. We walk in the bush until we reached the Cavalla River. During the Sinoe war they told my sister they will kill her because she is Krahn.
- 58 The war reached me in Doe's Town in 1990. I left behind my ma, she was depending on me. I run in the bush but passed one checkpoint. They took me out of the line and put me down, but let me free.
- 59 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1991. We left the house when the rebels entered the town. In Ziah Town I went in the market to buy something when the soldier saw me and said I was looking strange in the town. He asked me to speak Krahn. I spoke Krahn but he was not convinced. My uncle met me talking and he let me go.

- 60 The war did not reach me, I was not there. When my parents heard about the war in Nimba they brought us to Ivory Coast.
- 61 The war did not reach me in Zwedru. We cross soon, that time rebel not reach, they far off yet. In Ziah Town, they naked me. They were checking for who got gun. They took out under our clothes.
- 62 The war reach me in Gleo in 1990. RC company, my husband worked there. The company was cutting trees, logging company. The fighter come and everyone was scared.
- 63 The war did not reach me in Monrovia. I left before rebels enter Monrovia. I left Liberia in 1990 and went to Sierra Leone. I came in 1993 to Bomi Hills. In 1995 during Krahn and Mandingo war I came to Monrovia. When I left my house in Bomi Hills on my way a fighter stopped me and said he was going to kill me. I came to Niela in 1997.
- 64 The war did not reach me in Gbabken, Grand Gedeh, in 1990. We passed in the bush to come from Grand Gedeh to Ivory Coast.
- 65 The war reached me in Grand Gedeh in 1990. We got in the bush and stay long before we come to Tai in Jan 1990. We did not stay in town for them to enter the house. I left my three brothers behind in Liberia. They were living with me. When I was coming they left behind.
- 66 The war did not reach me in Gbehbo in 1992. They put me in jail in Dweh Town. They slapped me. I got eye complaint today. Konobo people did that to us.
- 67 The war never reach me.
- 68 The war reach me in Karneh in 1990. We pass in the bush.
- 69 The war did not reach me in Ziah Town in 1990. I left because Doe was killed so I got afraid. Government troop wanted to kill my husband because he is a different tribe. I left three relatives in Liberia. They were all killed. The people that came back last were the ones who brought the news. We were in the bush for one month, only eating cassava. They took our things and our money but the man that talked for us made them to give it back.
- 70 The war reached me in Ziah Town 1990. They enter my house but I ran away. They not do nothing to me. We left my ma and grandma behind. Both were shot to death. We ran in the bush until we reach the Cavalla. We cut stick, made raft, and use our hands to cross. I not take nothing.
- 71 The war reached me in Karhnplay, Nimba 1989. They wanted to kill me. Our own people, Krahn boys who join NPFL. Ma and Pa left us and came to Ivory Coast. 1990 I left Karhnplay and went to Monrovia. My father was in Ivory Coast and sent money for us to come. We came by plane from Monrovia to Abidjan.

- 72 The war did not reach me. When we heard about the fighting we left. We came here July 1, 1990. We never went back to Liberia.
- 73 The war did not reach me in Ziah Town 1990.
- 74 The war reached me in Putu, Grand Gedeh, in 1990. I was small. They said they will kill me and my pa. They beat my pa and my brother. My pa and my grandma they naked. We went in the bush and went back to town 1991. This was in Liberia Putu town and never left until this year. Nobody lost from me. I came in the Ivory Coast this year.
- 75 The war reached me in Zwedru 1994. They follow me to my house and I take food from upstairs to give it to them.
- 76 The war reached me in Harper, Maryland, in 1990. We were in Harper when rebels entered the house. I was small. They asked everybody to speak their dialect. Rebels wanted to kill my father. In Harper they said he was a Congo man. We crossed checkpoint at Glebo border between Liberia and Ivory Coast in 1993. Tabou side we met rebels there.
- 77 The war reached me in Ziah Town 1990. He said my brother got his money so he caught me to punish me. He just forced me to carry me in the jail house and lock me up and after (sometime) he opened the door.
- 78 The war did not reach me. When we heard about the war we came to Ivory Coast before rebels even enter Tappita.
- 79 The war reached me in Grand Gedeh in 1992. We were living beside them, the rebels, so we cook for them. The soldiers came there, after that they broke down the house. They even kill my mother big son.
- 80 War reached me in Zwedru in 1990, in the village we ran to. While we were there the rebels enter the village and enter the house but we ran outside and went into the bush. We were running and my boyfriend left me behind. My son got lost from me. People came and told me he was beaten to death, they knocked his head until he died.
- 81 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1990. They entered in the morning in our house. They ran behind me in the bush, firing behind us and said they will kill us, but they did not catch me.
- 82 The war did not reach me. My husband had position in the government. I was in Sinoe with all the children when the war started so my husband put us in car and brought us to Ivory Coast. I never went back to Liberia. All these things I only heard about it.
- 83 The war reached me in Ziablee 1990. The heavy shooting ran us out of the town. We went to the bush. We passed in the bush in Liberia.

- 84 The war reached me in Grand Gedeh in 1992. We stay there until 1992. Then we cross to Sinoe. From there we came to Ivory Coast.
- 85 The war did not reach me in Monrovia. Father took us out before rebel entered.
- 86 The war reached me in Zwedru in 1990. When we heard gun sound we ran in the bush. We left my little sister behind.
- 87 The war reached me in Goodrich, Bomi, in 1990. I stay with fighter six months after they kill my husband. They took \$9,000 U.S. and everything. My sister daughter was taken from me by rebel in 1990. He married her. I was carried across one checkpoint by fighter. At one time they naked me and put me on the car road. When the car reach me they told me to leave the road. They said they would kill me, they said I come from Grand Gedeh. They had me in the sun and rain. They knew I was Krahn.
- 88 War reach me in Ziah Town in 1990. We pass in the bush. When night catch us we sleep. My sister son got lost in the bush, one week before we see him. We pass and cross the river before rebel reach there. After we cross the river my aunty left behind and the rebel met them there and killed them.
- 89 The war reached me in Zwedru in 1990. When they entered Zwedru we ran. I heard shooting. We all move together, my mother and father.
- 90 The war reached me in Ziah Town 1991. The same night they reach us, the next day we came. Before they could reach my house I left.
- 91 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1990. Ma left me behind in Ziah and went to Sinoe. She stay for a few months then she came then we cross in 1994. [Interviewer's note: Most of these events of war didn't happen to her because she was a fighter.]
- 92 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1990. The day they reach the town I left.
- 93 The war reached me in Zwedru in 1990. We walk by land in the bush from Zwedru to Ivory Coast. We left behind my small brother that was staying with me.
- 94 The war did not reach me. When rebels were approaching Zwedru we left and crossed to Ivory Coast by car.
- 95 The war reached me in Zwedru in 1990. They enter and started taking things. They grab one of my little brothers and said they would kill him but released him later after hitting him with the gun butt. We left Ziah Town by car to come to Ivory Coast. We cross checkpoint at Tempo border.
- 96 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1990. We came by car from Ziah Town to the border. They made us leave my pa at a checkpoint. They released him later.

- 97 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1992. We heard gun shooting in the town. We were on the farm, then we run away. We travel at night through the bush to Ivory Coast.
- 98 The war did not reach me. In January 1990, General sent a car to take my family from Yekepa to Ivory Coast after my father was killed in Butuo.
- 99 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1990. When war came the fighter came to my house, push me out and take all my money. I ran to my daughter. We jumped in the bush. We sleep in bush one night. We reach waterside. My son-in-law was at waterside. He crossed us.
- 100 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1990. When I hear the gun sound I not take nothing. I jump in the bush until I reach the Ivory Cost. We cut piece of stick, join it and cross the river.
- 101 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1990. We hear gun sound and pack my things and jump on the road. When we walk, we hear any sound, we jump in the bush. We do that until we reach Ivory Coast. When we reach to the border, soldier was there. After we pass two days, then they start humbugging people. The soldiers at the border were a mix group. They not do nothing to us.
- 102 The war reached me in Ziah Town in 1991. We left as soon as we hear gun sound. We were in the bush until we reach here. Only the Ivory Coast side we saw soldier.
- 103 War never reach me. I scared when I hear about the war. I left and came to Ivory Coast.
- 104 The war reach me in Gaye Town Grand Gedeh 1990. I was 9 years old. They even killed my uncle in Ziah Town during the time they killed Doe people because he was a policeman. They shot me because when they were carrying my uncle to go kill him, I was following them and we were crying. They beat me. Then they shot me. The sore was on my foot from the gun shot. [Interviewer's note: She showed me gun shot scar.] They say what happen we were crying? I got lost from my mother. I made three days in the bush. I saw some people and I follow them and they cross me. My ma was waiting for me to the waterside. She used to cry every day. It made 3 days after they killed my uncle. My brother got lost, that water carry him and he got drowned. That was my small brother. It was during the time we were crossing the Cavalla from Ziah Town.
- 105 The war reached me in Zwedru in 1990. We pass in the bush until we reached to the waterside.
- 106 The war did not reach me. I came long before the war entered my town. Came over with my things. Since I came I have not gone back.
- 107 Rebels met me in Monrovia 1990 October. In the barracks one group of soldiers jumped on my uncle and said they were going to kill him but he begged and they released him in 1990. We left Monrovia by air. Rebels met me in Zwedru again. We came to Ivory Coast

1990 December. Left Tai 1995 and went back to Liberia, Grand Gedeh. I came to Niela 1997.

108 The war did not reach me. When rebels enter Zwedru I left my town, far from Zwedru. I came to Ivory Coast 1990. I did not see rebels.

109 War reached me in Zwedru 1990. At one checkpoint, Tarwoe Village, Grand Gedeh, soldiers took all our clothes. They said they will kill us.

110 War never reach me. I was in a village near Ziah Town when we hear the shooting. We never go back to Ziah Town. We came straight to Ivory Coast. We never see no soldier or rebel. We were in the bush.

111 The war reached me in Harper, Maryland in 1990. The same time my husband was killed. I passed through the bush until I got to the Cavalla River and was crossed by canoe.

FAMILY MEMBERS KILLED IN LIBERIA

112 My husband died in war with President Doe.

113 My husband died in the war

114 First child father was killed in Monrovia 1990. Was shot in the chest.

115 My husband was killed in Bomi Hills 1996 April 6 war.

116 My husband was killed in Liberia. They take him to carry their wood. From that time I not see him. I only hear they killed him.

117 My husband died from jaundice. He died in the bush. This one is my children's father. We were not married. He died in Bomi Hills in 1994.

118 My husband was killed in Bomi in 1990 with his 5 children when the rebel enter. He was Krahn.

119 My husband died as soon as we cross to Ivory Coast. He was sick when we cross.

120 My husband was killed in Liberia. Fighters saw things in his room and killed him and took the things.

121 My boyfriend was killed in Zwedru. He was running in the bush coming to Ivory Coast and they killed him, the rebels.

122 My husband died in the war. He was killed by rebels in Nimba County. He was a soldier.

- 123 Four born children were killed in 1990. They shot them in the school compound. Two died on the spot, the other two I drag them on the farm, but they died the same day.
- 124 One child was killed. Shot by rebels in Liberia Cape Palmas.
- 125 One son was killed in Liberia. Fighters shot him.
- 126 Two born children died from hunger during war in Liberia.
- 127 One child was killed in the war, with my father.
- 128 One born child was killed, oldest of two, 10th grade, died in Liberia. He was shot at the border.
- 129 Rebel come from Sinoe side and kill my son. He was big man. He was married, had one child.
- 130 One raised son died. We ran and he came back to town to look for food when he was caught and put on the fire and he die. It was a fighter, in Grand Gedeh.
- 131 Four raised children were killed. They got lost from me and we found their bodies in the bush the same day.
- 132 Five raised children killed. They were killed with their father. They were my husband's children, 3 sons. It was a soldier. Two girls died. They found them on a farm and brought them to town naked and kill them at a gas station.
- 133 Pa was killed in Grand Kru working as a doctor.
- 134 Rebels killed my ma in Zwedru in 1990. Rocket killed my pa in the barracks in Monrovia in 1996.
- 135 My Aunty that raised me was killed by fighters in Grand Gedeh in the bush. She was old and couldn't run fast to cross a large log and fighters caught up with her and shot her then cut her throat.
- 136 We left my Pa in the bush to carry things to town. When we came he was killed with a gun by rebel. Happened in Grand Gedeh.
- 137 My Pa was killed in Liberia
- 138 War violence killed my Pa in Monrovia.
- 139 My Ma was killed in the war. The same rebel that kill my son kill my ma. The time war came to Liberia the three year war from Sinoe came to my town, in 1993.

- 140 My mother was shot by rebels. She had my two months old baby in her hands. The bullet hit the child back. You will see the scar if she was here now. I was there when they shot my mother. My mother died because of me. When I delivered I was sick, so she decided to help me hold the baby. It was that time the rebels met us. My father was the first one they shot. Then they shot my mother. The baby dropped from her hands and my mother died in front of me. I took the baby after the rebels left.
- 141 The fighter ran behind my Pa and kill him.
- 142 My Pa died in the war. Because of his tribe.
- 143 My Pa died in the war. He was shot by rebels.
- 144 My Pa died in war violence.
- 145 My Pa was killed in Liberia in 1990. They shot him because he was a Muslim.
- 146 Rebels killed my mother in Liberia.
- 147 My Ma was killed in Liberia. Shot to death by fighters.
- 148 My Ma was killed in Liberia. Government troop shot her because they used to hide in the bush.
- 149 My Pa was killed. Beaten by fighter.
- 150 My Ma was killed in Liberia. She was killed by gun.
- 151 My Pa was killed in Liberia. He was killed by rebels in Grand Gedeh.
- 152 My pa was killed by rebels in Liberia when the war started. He was an immigration officer.
- 153 Four same pa brothers were killed in Liberia. All four were killed along with my father. Same time.
- 154 Ten same pa brothers & sisters were killed. Three brothers and two sisters were shot. One brother's throat was cut by cutlass. Three sisters, one brother, they were in the yard eating and they sent rocket.
- 155 Four same pa siblings died. They were killed in Karhnplay by rebels.
- 156 Same pa brother killed by fighter in Lofa. He was custom officer.
- 157 Same pa sister was killed in Liberia. Rebels carry her to Liberia, when she came she died.

- 158 Three same pa brothers died in war. One was in the Army, AFL.
- 159 Three same pa sisters were killed in Liberia. Killed one in the village. I was present when they kill her in Kargbo Town Liberia. Got shot in the village. The other two, rebels killed them in Monrovia.
- 160 Two same pa brothers died. One was killed in Monrovia by one of the factions. He was not a fighter or soldier. One was killed in Sinoe.
- 161 One same pa brother died. He went to hunt and rebel met him there and shot him.
- 162 Two same pa brothers were killed in war. One kill by fighters in Bomi war. One kill by girlfriend. She went for boyfriend and turn him over to enemy in Monrovia.
- 163 Three same pa brothers died in Liberia. Two died in the war, they were AFL. One was killed because of his tribe and he was office worker at Mansion.
- 164 Three same pa brothers were killed in Liberia. Two were army people.
- 165 One same pa brother was killed in Liberia. He was shot on gold mine Monrovia area.
- 166 Two same pa brothers were killed in Liberia. Rebels killed them.
- 167 One same pa brother died in Liberia. Some people say different people kill him. Because we just saw his body.
- 168 One same pa brother was killed in Bomi Hills.
- 169 Two same pa brothers and sisters were killed in Liberia. One brother was shot in Liberia while running in Monrovia area. One sister was killed April 6, 1996. They ambushed the car she was in on the highway. My uncle that used to help us was killed in Bomi Hills along with his wife and five children.
- 170 One same pa brother was killed in Liberia. He was shot by rebels.
- 171 One same pa sister was killed in Liberia. She was shot with my ma, my small sister.
- 172 One same pa brother was killed in 1990. He was killed by rebels. He was AFL soldier.
- 173 One same pa brother was killed in Liberia. Friends shot him.
- 174 Two same pa siblings were killed in Liberia. Both were killed by rebels.
- 175 Two same pa brothers were killed in Liberia. They were killed in Nimba. They were soldiers, killed by fighters.

- 176 One same pa brother was killed. He was shot by rebels in 1990.
- 177 Three same pa brothers killed in Liberia. Shot by rebels.
- 178 Three same pa brothers were killed in Liberia. Shot to death all by Liberian fighters.
- 179 Five same pa brothers were killed in Monrovia. In Monrovia they were running going to the barracks and the rebels killed four of them. One got drowned in the Cavalla.
- 180 One same pa brother was killed in Liberia Sept. 1996. He was killed in Liberia by rebels. He ran from Tai war and went to Liberia but was killed by rebels.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND COERCION IN LIBERIA

- 181 When the rebels captured Greenville, I ran in the bush from July to September. One day the boys arrested me and took me to the general because I am Krahn. The general carried me to his house and raped me and made me to stay with him for three months. After the incident, I bled too much so I went to church to the hospital. He asked me if I had abortion I said no. My people begged him and gave him \$2,000 LD to release me. He released me.
- 182 After July 1990 this fighter said he wanted me. I told him to wait after the war. He got angry, put me in the room, took out my clothes and pointed a gun at me. His friends beg for me then he said he will get even with me.
- 183 We were in the bush trying to come to Ivory Coast. We met these fighter. They said we were bypassing their gate. "Let just use them and let them go." He took me in the bush, his friend said he should leave me because some people were coming. So he left me.
- 184 I was caught with my husband and five of his children. When we came to town they killed him and the children and I stay with them for six months. They use me and call me Krahn dog. One niece heard about me. When she came to find me that how she love to the fighter. [Interviewer's note: in order for her aunt to be released]
- 185 We were sitting in the hiding bush in Juazon forest and the rebels came, we were six girls and the others escaped. Then the C.O. put me under gun point and said I am his woman. Then he raped me right there in the tent. Another person's tent. After he had his fine time then he left.
- 186 Hard time made me to love to a fighter when I use to go back to Liberia to sell. In Liberia, at the border.
- 187 Things were very hard. The ECOMOG soldier had food so when he said he wanted me we love. But I stay with him until he left. I stay with him in Logan Town until he found a room for me. Later he left Liberia.

- 188 War conditions made me to love to a fighter. He gave me food and protection. That big man too so the people never use to humbug me.
- 189 War conditions made me to love to a fighter in 1990. I am still with him. We have a baby.
- 190 I did not see rape. I was there when they grab many girls but I did not see with my eyes only heard crying.
- 191 I saw rape by soldier in Old Road. We were in the same house when this pick up came for the woman because she was Gio. They rape her in the house and kill her.
- 192 I saw rape by fighter in 1996. In Cheabeoh Town in Sinoe at the checkpoint. We were retreating and it happened to one woman.
- 193 I saw rape in Zwedru by rebels to my friend in 1995.
- 194 My brother's daughter told me in Liberia.
- 195 My niece. She did it because of me.
- 196 It happen to my mother when she was going to look for me in Liberia. I don't remember the year. They wanted to even kill her. They say she was having palm kernel grease.
- 197 In Harper during the war by fighter. She was on Ivory Coast side and she went for food and the fighter caught her and rape her.
- 198 My friend told me. She said the time she was coming from Liberia she met the people in Ziah Town and they did it to her.
- 199 I was told about four rapes. One in the bush. Three tie husband while they rape them.
- 200 My little sister in Liberia.
- 201 My close friend told me two soldiers raped her in Liberia.
- 202 My five friends who told me said it happened to them during the April 6 and 1990 war in Monrovia.
- 203 My friend in Liberia. She say the rebel force her.

WITNESSED KILLINGS IN LIBERIA

- 204 I saw the people going to dee-bee-die and they did not come back. The second time I only saw dead bodies. Third one only heard gun sound and saw body, my cousin's boyfriend.

- 205 I heard the gun sound but I was not there when they shot her. I was there when they naked her and we all started running. That the only woman I saw.
- 206 I saw killing by fighters in Zwedru. They kill my four children.
- 207 Ma couldn't run fast to cross the large log. Fighters caught up with her and shot her. We ran in the bush but returned later and found the body with throat cut and body shot.
- 208 In Liberia 1990 when we were coming to Ivory Coast. I saw dead bodies. Four bodies, one woman and three children dead. One child both legs broken and he was still alive and asking for water but we didn't have water and left him there.
- 209 [Interviewer's note: She saw the entire family killed. The woman could not name everybody. These were the ones she remembered. There were 14 persons in all.]
- 210 In Zwedru many friends were killed. I have been in many attacks. I saw many but cannot count because as we move on stray bullets was hitting people and they were dropping.
- 211 I saw fighters kill someone at the Liberian border, Cavalla River, the same people who take the rice and the same man.
- 212 I met the dead body in the village, a girl. They kill my son in Sarpo.
- 213 I saw killing many times in Sinoe bush, but I will only talk these. Pregnant woman, beat her to death. Carried the girls and we haven't seen them since. It happened in the same town and time the pregnant woman and two babies were killed. Put them in a mortar and beat them.
- 214 I see dead bodies. The fighter will attack us at night. When you start looking for someone then you see dead bodies.
- 215 I could hear the gun sound.
- 216 I saw plenty killing in Liberia. My uncle. I saw plenty things. Most of the time I was in the house and spying.
- 217 I heard killing but was not present.
- 218 In Liberia, the fighters force us to see the operation White Plains. We went to look for food. We met the group with this man. We were forced to watch.
- 219 I saw killing, my uncle was killed on the farm.
- 220 I saw they have just finish killing not too long. I saw fresh body. Three bodies.
- 221 I have seen many bodies but no killing in my presence.

- 222 I saw 12 family members killed in Liberia at one time. We were hiding in the bush one man met us and told us to show him the road. He led us to the fighter and they open fire on us.
- 223 I saw killing in Liberia. In 1993 lower Grand Gedeh. One was killed because of “playing witch.” She made witch on her friend child so rebel kill her. Playing witch is against the rebel “onetime” law.
- 224 I saw killing in Liberia. When they were killing the woman they told us to clap our hands. All of these killings were done in Sinoe 1993.
- 225 I saw killing in Liberia.
- 226 I saw killing in Liberia. I try not to be around but I saw one.
- 227 I saw multiple killings in Liberia. [Interviewer’s note: This was where I put my pen down for us to talk. She could not give me the number because she was a fighter and her men kill plenty people in Liberia. She fought until 1994 when she got pregnant. Her boyfriend was also a fighter.]
- 228 I saw killing by soldier in Liberia before the fighter reach us. The soldier said he (the man) was a rebel.
- 229 I saw killing in Liberia, more than 10 people for the whole year. Some were my friends. They can use cutlass and skin them. One man, they cut his penis and leave. They treat the people the way they feel. I was at the fighters’ barracks for one year. When I got pregnant with this girl (one year old) I left the base.
- 230 I saw killing by soldier in Liberia.
- 231 When rebels entered Zwedru we were in the barracks. The soldiers grabbed 5 person and said they were rebels and killed them.

MASSACRE OF LIBERIAN REFUGEES IN TAI, IVORY COAST

- 232 Tai War, Blue Water War. June 13, 1995. Rebel fighter boys from Liberia crossed to Ivory Coast and killed one man and the Ivorians drove us from the town. They searched our loads and took knives or anything that looked like weapon from us. They killed men and cover the bodies with caterpillars. One girl was raped by 15 Ivorian civilians. I wasn’t there but I heard it and I know the girl.
- 233 You did not ask me how I came from Liberia here. What took me from Liberia to here I caught hard time to come here because the thing that happen in Tai. They burn homes, killed and rape, all took place in my absence. We left soon my father is old.

- 234 I wasn't there, but the people told me my boyfriend was killed during the Tai war. He was killed by the civilians. My pa was killed also.
- 235 My uncle was among the last group to be killed in Guiglo. He was chopped all over. He was taken to Daloa and he died there. The president of Ivory Coast telephoned here that people should stop killing Liberians. My uncle is the one I was staying with in Zagne before and went to my father in Tai and the war met me there. I ran to my uncle and they killed him later.
- 236 I was beaten in Butuo by Ivorian soldiers. I left everything in my house and ran from Tai. I was cooking and left my food on the fire and ran with only what was on me.
- 237 Running from Tai to Guiglo, in a town called Kaiblee they caught my two uncles and killed them. The civilians did it. We were not there then they killed them. They shot them. That's how we heard it. In Monrovia war, many died, five from war, some for being in AFL, some because they were Krahn.
- 238 My daughter was two years old when Tai war happened. My scariness made my boyfriend to leave me behind, then they killed him. Different tribe Ivorians, Mandingo, Mussi, and others met us in bush and sent us to a big town in the bush. They were civilian with guns. They took our loads from us naked. Slippers we didn't bring to Guiglo. Me and my baby were in the bush one week. The people fired behind us and that is how my parents died.
- 239 When Tai war started we went to Liberia straight, me and husband. We came back to Ivory Coast (*to Nicla*) because no food and no medicine, so we came.
- 240 From Tai to come here we really suffer. I traveled with my sick mother. We stopped in a town and I asked a man to help us to sleep in his house. The man and his family were really kind to us. We left that town the next day.
- 241 Then we came from Tai. Only men they were killing, not women. We were the first group to leave Tai.
- 242 The only war I know about is Tai War, 1995. They were not fighters they were civilians. They said they would kill me. My parents got lost from us while running from Tai and got kill. 1995 June, two days after the war started.
- 243 I came to sell oil in Tai so I did not go back again. During Tai war I came with my children left my mother and my niece before the war started in Tai. I came to visit in Guiglo when war took place behind me. I left all my things there. My husband and myself came to sell oil in Ivory Coast. We already heard about the war so we bring all our children except my ma and pa. My husband came with me because it was my first time in Ivory Coast.

- 244 Tai War we were not in the town. We were on the farm when we heard the shooting. We stay there and came to Guiglo.
- 245 We were in the bush during Tai War. When we see people we hid until we came to town.
- 246 I only went to Tai for food. When the Tai War came I move to Guiglo.
- 247 During Tai war we walked to come by land on the straight road, June 13, 1995.
- 248 In Tai war we were far from Tai. When we heard the war was there, we ran and came here.
- 249 In Tai War we met with soldier from Pona to Guiglo but they not do anything to us.
- 250 In the Tai war I was in school. I come home when I hear gun shot. We started running. We reach to one town, Kaiblee. The soldiers send my boyfriend back and killed him. That time they were only looking for men, not women. I was crying, they push my head but never beat me. June 13, 1995.
- 251 In the Tai war I was not there. I was in Toulepleu. Nothing happen to me in the war that happen, it did not go to Toulepleu way.
- 252 In Tai war, I entered Guiglo before they started to kill people.
- 253 In the Tai war we hear gun sound, we run away to Kudablee where we slept. The time we were in Kudablee we saw airplane going to Tai. When we left Kudablee the soldier drove us and beat us with a gun butt. They say we must not enter any town, then we come here to Guiglo. In Kudablee they search our bags and take all our new clothes.
- 254 When Tai happen I ran away and went back to Liberia because Tai was threatening to kill people and when I went home I came back again because the fighters were taking things from people by force. They took food from me by force. Because the fighter's took things from people by force, that why I came back.
- 255 Tai war I was not there. I was in Guiglo with my mother-in-law.
- 256 When the fighting started in Tai War we ran in the bush and cross to Liberia side. I cross checkpoints in Tai. Yes, I met soldiers when I ran from Tai. They took everything from me. I was so scared that I stay one month in the bush. They were on the road. My husband left behind and got killed in a house with other people. They put gas on the house. When things cool down I came to Tai, then Niela with my daughter.
- 257 I was forced to leave two uncles at a check point in Tai War. They grab them to kill them.

- 258 During the Tai war my mother and sister got lost from me. Later my mother came back from Liberia. They ran back there. I cross checkpoints in Tai. Only civilians in Tai, not fighters or soldiers. I left two uncles at checkpoint in Tai, right at the gate Kudablee. They were killed by cutlass in the town at the gate. They said they would kill me. On my way to Guiglo I was arrested by civilian boys but because I spoke French they let me go. I told them I was Ivorian.
- 259 The Tai war I ran before they reach us.
- 260 During the Tai war, one civilian boy took me from the car in Guiglo and beat me and said he would kill me. [Interviewer's note: She started to cry.] My mother left me behind in this Tai war. I left my little daughter in the bush and she got lost from me.
- 261 During Tai War, Ivory Coast soldier beat me, not far from the town. They said they would kill me.
- 262 During Tai War, soldiers wanted to kill my father.
- 263 During Tai war I ran and we walk plenty. When we were going we meet with some people from Zagne and they say they were killing people there. So we did not go there until the next day. When we reach there they made us sit on the floor and empty our bags but they didn't take anything from me. They not do nothing again.
- 264 During the Tai war, they say that us selling opium. He say if I don't give it he will kill me.
- 265 They beat me in the Tai war. My ma and my husband I left in the town in Tai when I ran.
- 266 During the Tai war I was beaten by Ivorian soldiers in Butuo. We walked from Tai to Tabou by land.
- 267 During the Tai War, the soldiers beat me. My parents were living in Zagne and so they were waiting for me. My sister and myself were living in Tai. We traveled together. Tai soldiers beat both of us.
- 268 During the Tai War they beat me and naked me to look for money. I left three brothers at a checkpoint in Tai but later we found them.
- 269 Civilian naked me to look for money when we were leaving Tai on Zina Road Ivory Coast. My two children got lost from me while we were running. They got drown in river the same day.
- 270 Tai war I was not in town. I was on the farm. Nothing happen to me.
- 271 The incident in Tai, I was in Guiglo spending time with my friends so I did not see anything.

- 272 When the fighting started in Tai, one Ivory Coast man help us. He put us in his house and in the night he brought us here.
- 273 In the Tai War, they took our things from us, the town's people in Tai.
- 274 During the Tai war, civilian killed my father and my cousin. It happened in Kaliblee, not far from Tai. My daughter and grandchild got lost from me but I heard that they are in Liberia now.
- 275 During Tai War in 1995, in Zagne, civilians said they were going to kill my brother at the gate in Zagne but they free him later.
- 276 I left parents, children, niece, nephew, and sister behind during Tai war.
- 277 In Tai War, I left my parents behind. They went different direction.
- 278 In the Tai war, it started at 2:00 a.m. in the night. I made bread to sell. As soon I hear gun sound I left everything. I come to Guiglo, me and my sister. On the way to Guiglo the people in the village on the road did not allow us to sit down to their town. They not give us water self to drink. We took three days by foot to reach Guiglo. We not meet any soldier people on the road, no humbug-humbug on the road. Our brother who was pastor had a vision and saw the war. He say war will come not long. When you hear, leave everything and go. And that what we do. We leave him behind but later he follow us.
- 279 I lost my niece and nephew in Tai War. They were crawling, try to stand, when this took place in Kebeldee. We were running from war 1995 in Kebeldee, never saw anything. We were in the bush.
- 280 During the Tai War, my husband and two children got lost from me, but later I found them. My granddaughter left me behind and reach in Guiglo before I got there. I thought she was lost but later found out that she ran on ahead.
- 281 In Tai, the minute we heard they shoot the gun we left all our things and jump in the bush. We were in the bush for two weeks before we came here. While running my little sister got missing but we saw her.
- 282 In Tai war my daughter got lost from me and we found her after five days.
- 283 In Tai War, June 13, 1995 we walked by land on the straight road from Tai until we reached Guiglo. The civilians drove us from their towns and didn't even give us water to drink. My daughter got lost from me. I found her after three months.
- 284 My father left me in Tai with my uncle. My father went to Monrovia for medical treatment. While my father was in Monrovia, Tai war happened.

- 285 My boyfriend left me in Tai. I was scary and my boyfriend left me behind and ran ahead with his brothers.
- 286 During the Tai War, my parents ran without me. I later found my Ma and Pa and we live together now.
- 287 I was sick for three weeks four days. When I started feeling better small, two days then the rebels entered Tai and started shooting so I ran in the bush with the children and got lost from my husband and my ma for four days. Two relatives got lost from me, but we found them after two days in the Tai bush.
- 288 In Tai war I was on the farm so I never see anything. I ran away and go to my sister and we jump in the bush. I was in the bush five days. The people who I join left me behind. In Tai war, the time I was in the bush, that my one, my daughter was to her husband place. That my one was there after the people leave me.

FAMILY MEMBERS KILLED IN TAI MASSACRE

- 289 The Tai war my boyfriend had to run for his life.
- 290 The war separated us in Ivory Coast because of Tai. My boyfriend, my baby's pa, and his six brothers were taken away and I am sure they were killed. They took them to Tai. All men taken away were killed.
- 291 When the war enter Tai we got separated and my husband jump in the bush and went back to Liberia. I was brought here.
- 292 When the war was in Tai, my husband was separated for three months before we met.
- 293 My husband ran to Liberia side during the Tai war and I came here.
- 294 In the Tai war my boyfriend went to Tabou and I came on this side (*to Guiglo*).
- 295 My husband was in Grabo and we were in Ponah when Tai war happened. After one month, then he found us.
- 296 They kill my boyfriend in Tai war.
- 297 They kill my husband in Tai war. He burn in house during Tai when war started, the next day.
- 298 My boyfriend was killed in Tai. They shot him, Tai town's people.
- 299 My boyfriend was killed in Tai. The same boyfriend that I got separated from.

- 300 My boyfriend was killed in Tai. We were leaving Tai coming to Guiglo. The soldiers caught him and carried him back and killed him.
- 301 My boyfriend was killed in Tai. We got separated while leaving Tai. I later learned that he was killed. He was caught and taken to the village and killed. I don't know how.
- 302 One child died after Tai war because we were sleeping in open place. He got cold and died.
- 303 Two of the children got drown in river when we were running from Tai.
- 304 The time Tai war one child die of sickness.
- 305 I did not raise any child but my little sister is with me since our parents got killed in 1995 Tai war.
- 306 That's the war, Tai, whether that gun kill her, my Ma, we don't know.
- 307 My Ma and Pa were killed in Tai. Civilians of this town killed my parents, Kaibli people.
- 308 My Ma and Pa were killed in Tai war. I did not see them. Some one met us and told us about it.
- 309 My Ma was killed. Shot to death in Tai War.
- 310 My Pa was killed in Tai. He was killed by a civilian.
- 311 My Pa was killed in Ivory Coast, in Tai.
- 312 My Pa was killed in Tai. He was kill by civilians in 1995, the same day the Tai war started.
- 313 My Pa was killed in Tai. Killed with cutlass by Tai townspeople. It was Nyenwon Ivorian Krahn.
- 314 My pa was killed in Tai by Ivorian Krahn civilian. They put them in one house and burn them in the house.
- 315 Same pa brother was killed in Tai. They kill him in front of church in Tai.
- 316 One same pa brother was killed in Tai. He ran in the bush, that was where they kill him, in Ivory Coast, Tai.
- 317 Two same pa brothers were killed in Tai.

- 318 One same pa brother got killed in Tai. He was running from Tai. Stray bullet hit him. We didn't see person who shot him.
- 319 One same pa brother was killed in Tai. He was drowned by Tai soldiers, June 13, 1995.
- 320 Three same pa brothers were killed in Tai. In Tai, they and the Nyenwon people were not friends, so when the Tai war took place the Tai people killed them in June after the Tai war started, the next day.
- 321 August 16 till now I have not seen my children. People say they are in Buchanan and Monrovia.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND COERCION IN TAI MASSACRE

- 322 In the Tai War a soldier forced me to have sex. It was that one time but it was very hard for me. He was one of the soldiers that always in the town. When my husband ran away from the house. He came and said he was looking for him. Since he was not there he grab me. After that he told me if I don't leave Tai he will kill me.
- 323 During the Tai War, I was forced to have sex by a civilian in Zagne, June 13, 1995. We were running from that town so we stopped in Zagne because it was dark and we decided to sleep. We were sleeping when the men enter the house and took me. My friends ran away but I went to get my baby and one of them caught me and raped me in the house. He knocked me down and beat me before he rape me, a boy from the town, our landlord in Ivory Coast. When we enter Guiglo, U.N. carry us for medications. I did not get treatment because I was scared. I was shame to tell the doctor. I am not able to tell any doctor. It is shameful. I told them I fell down and I have a backache.
- 324 Five of my sisters were forced to have sex by Ivorian soldiers. I was small so they only beat me. We ran in the bush on some Ivorian farms and they drove us. Some would give us three cassavas to eat.
- 325 In Tai War, June 15, 1995, we ran and they told us to come to their house and sleep. Midnight they came and ask me to go with them. My pa said no then they said we must leave their house. We went to the gate and they said I should go back for my things. My father was around but in the end I went and the two of them jumped on me. While one person was forcing me the other one was slapping me.
- 326 During the Tai war June 15, civilian tried to force me. It was at night so I ran in the bush. He and I fought and I manage to run away.
- 327 During Tai war, the army people met me in Ponah. When the Tai war started June 12, I ran in the bush and spent one week, but on June 15 two soldiers took me away from the town and carried me to Diablee from Ponah and only one of the soldiers raped me. When

their commander came he told them to let me go, so they left me and I walked back to Ponah.

- 328 It happened in Tai war. Two soldier in the bush between Tai and Diablee. Two soldiers rape me in the bush and took away all my things. At first, they took me to kill me, but they raped me, they did it one after another the same day, the same hour. I was bleeding and I can still feel pain, my back is even hurting from that. After I was arrested everybody ran away, so I was alone. [Interviewer's note: It took her a long time to answer this question.]
- 329 War conditions made me to love a man in Tai, when we come from Tai newly, a civilian from Tai, not fighter or soldier. I love to him to protect my brothers because they were killing men. Maybe he will help protect them. He used to hide them. I left him when things quieted down.
- 330 War conditions made me to love. Baby on my back is a child of that relationship. The father is a civilian.
- 331 War conditions made our ma love to a man because our pa wasn't there to help her.
- 332 War conditions made me to love to a man in Toulepleu, Ivory Coast, 1992. He was a civilian driver for logging company. I was small. I almost die.
- 333 In Tai 1993 I love to a man, a civilian, because of hard time. He is not a soldier or fighter.
- 334 I did not see rape, but it happen in Tai. I was not there. They brought the women to the hospital. I went to see them.
- 335 I did not see rape. Only in Tai I heard a girl crying and the next day they took her to hospital in Tai, Ivory Coast.
- 336 I saw rape in Tai War. Not soldier but civilian in the town Gayeblee. They took her from among us. When we asked them they told us to follow them and they carried us in school yard. I was present because the boys took us to the school and put the woman in the class and raped her while we were standing there. After they raped her then release us. Six boys took her away but only four raped her while the other two boys were outside abusing us kicking and beating those women outside. I must not lie none of them beat me, or rape but they only abuse me
- 337 I saw two women raped in Tai War. That thing that happen to the women, that the town people started before the soldiers came. More than 30 men used the two women. One woman the thing that came from her was big. She could not sit except they fix carter for her to sit. She was carried to Guiglo. The two women were not living in the town. They came from Tai and ran to Deleblee. They put me outside the house because they are my husband relatives, but I refused and they started doing the thing to the women.

- 338 I did not see rape. I only heard that it happen in Tai to plenty women but how many I don't know. I am old.
- 339 I saw three women raped in Tai War. The three women were rape by six civilian men on the road from Tai. We were plenty on the road. We ran but did not go far. When we heard the people yelling we came and saw them with these women. We hid ourselves.
- 340 I didn't see rape in Tai War, but I heard girls yelling in the bush while they were raping them. I only saw some of the girls later when we got to Guiglo. One girl was seven months pregnant. They carried her to another town for treatment. She delivered later with a boy child.
- 341 During Tai War, when we reached in Zagne then we saw them carrying the girls to the hospital. People lodge some Liberians in their houses and the townspeople rushed in the house and rape the women.
- 342 I saw 10 women raped in Tai War, five sisters and other five were cousins. I was under the bush spying them. It was Ivorian soldiers who did it. After they beat me I ran into the bush and I lay down and watched them force the girls.
- 343 I saw rape in Tai but it was not the Ivory Coast soldiers it was the town people. After the Tai war there was gate. It happened at the first gate and the third gate. They were in front of us and we met the people doing it to them. When we met them I was afraid so I never counted them but they were more than three civilians. They let us pass. The second one was a Gleo, Krahn woman. We were just lucky they never did it to us.
- 344 I saw rape in Tai War by civilians. Two days after the war. When we came then the people started in Guiglo. One night they bust the door where three of us were in and my friend pass through the window. I went under the bed. The one they caught, she was rape in the room. Then they said they were going to look for us.
- 345 I saw rape by civilian in Tai, in Zagne. The time everybody run away, she was walking on the road and they catch her and carry her to the graveyard right by our house. We were in our house looking. After that time then they killed my brothers, then we ran away.
- 346 I saw a friend raped in Tai war by civilian.
- 347 They told me it happened in Zagne and around Tai.
- 348 Plenty of my friends told me from Tai war.
- 349 It happen to women but they are ashamed to talk. Maybe they will talk to you.
- 350 Three women from Gabiaye told me about rape in Tai War. Three relatives of her mother.

- 351 I only heard it from people in the camp. They said it happen to plenty women. I knew about my friend but she did not tell me.
- 352 She say it happened to her in Tai, I say she must forget it. That war.
- 353 My friend told me it happened 1995 in Ivory Coast by civilian boy here during the Tai war.
- 354 My friend said it happened to her in Zagne in 1995 in Tai war. I was not around at that time. I was in Abidjan.
- 355 Nine women told me they were raped in Tai. They left June 17, 1995, four days after Tai war started. Three sisters. Six other women they had to treat them at the clinic here.
- 356 It happen in Tai war. The army man, June 13, 1995.
- 357 One big girl talk it to us. She say it happened to her the next day after Tai attack.
- 358 Those it happened to are always shame to talk about it.
- 359 Only my one friend told me she said it happened in Tai war 1995. The Ivorian soldiers did it to her. Three soldiers did it to her.
- 360 My niece told me it happen to her in Bloloken during Tai War. One of her daughters said it happen to her in the Tai war. It was Ivorian civilian.
- 361 My friend said it was done by one Baoley man, Ivorian civilian.
- 362 In Tai war, my friend. She had a young baby and the baby passed away that same month. The friend was gang raped. They put girls and women in a big house and came and got them and took them out to rape them. My friend said more than one man raped her. They did that to them all night.
- 363 Two friends told me they were raped in Tai.
- 364 One of the women told me she was force by Ivorian. She went to bring kerosene. A civilian in Nicla camp, 1995. Second woman was rape by Liberian civilian in Nicla Camp, 1996.
- 365 She is my friend. She is in this camp. She told me not to tell anyone. This happen in Tai 1995.
- 366 Two very close friends told me. The others is just through lecture.
- 367 I was told by three different women through lecturing.

WITNESSED KILLINGS IN TAI MASSACRE

- 368 Another one is the thing that happened in Tai. They carried my niece and we heard them crying. So we got afraid and left. That thing even affected my cousin husband and their three boys. They cut flesh from the father foot and between the forefinger and thumb of the sons.
- 369 During Tai war I was in the bush, I had just delivered, the baby navel string was still hanging. They almost kill my husband when we went back for the baby things. We jumped in the swamp behind our house. We could hear the people crying and we knew what was happening but we did not see it.
- 370 During Tai War, when we were running we saw soldiers beating this man. We ran in the bush to hide. He was crying in English. They beat him and kill him. When they left we came on the road.
- 371 During Tai War, I heard killing but I wasn't there. I slept to Sanpia in Tai District that time it happened. My pa was killed. My brother's daughter was chopped all over by cutlass. She is here.
- 372 During Tai War, we were not there, we were in the bush because we get small-small children. We left as soon as the Tai incident started.
- 373 I saw many people killed in Tai War. Putting them, more than 50 people, in the water all at one time. Soldiers put people into the water and they drowned. My uncle wife and the children left in the water. They were running from Tai and the canoe turn (over). The woman was pregnant.
- 374 During Tai War, they carry people from in our group while we were walking but the people did not come back. I didn't see them killing them but up to now we can't see them. It happen plenty time.
- 375 During Tai War, we were coming from market. One man killed by soldier in front of army barracks in Tai. Uncle was one of the three killed by civilian at Gabiaye at Liberia school building while they were leaving the area.
- 376 During Tai War I saw them kill people, in Zakoblee, Gayeblee, Zagne, Kati: Towns in Tai District. Twenty plus men put in a house and set on fire by civilians, including my boyfriend. Seven people, a family, killed with cutlasses. My cousin. One old man. All by civilians.
- 377 When we hear that war was in Tai, my children and I jump in the bush.
- 378 During Tai War, my uncles who were arrested were killed after we left.

- 379 From Tai I was so afraid I passed in the bush. I did not see killing.
- 380 I saw killing in Tai, by civilians.
- 381 I saw killing in Tai by Ivorian soldier.
- 382 I saw friends killed in Tai, by civilian.
- 383 I saw killings in Tai by Ivorian soldiers.
- 384 I saw killing in Tai. The man was running going to Tabou way. I don't know they lie on him or what, the soldiers catch him and killed him in the town, Pala.
- 385 In Tai War, we all started walking together then two boys went in front but they did not know that the road was the wrong one. We too did not know and we took the same road. We met the two boys' fresh bodies on the road. They (soldiers) had just cut their throat. After we saw the bodies we went back and took the left road.
- 386 I saw killing in Tai by soldiers.
- 387 In Tai War I saw dead bodies.
- 388 I saw killing by civilians in Tai. They said that the people who brought war to Tai.
- 389 I saw killing by civilian in Tai 1995 when the war started. We were running when they shot. The man fell, we left him there.
- 390 I saw my brother killed by soldiers in Tai War. They put him in the river June 13, 1995.
- 391 In Tai War, when the Ivory Coast soldiers caught people, men, they took them to Kooblee and killed them there. I saw them torture the men and boys before taking them. They made them lie down in dirty water, beat them, and made some of them eat cow toilet.
- 392 I did not see killing. Only saw them tie someone in Tai 1995.
- 393 I saw killing by civilian in Tai.
- 394 I saw killing by civilian during Tai war in Ponah. We were living in the same yard. The man was not a soldier.
- 395 I never saw killing but I saw bodies.

OTHER WAR EXPERIENCES WOMEN WANTED TO SHARE

- 396 My second born father left me with the children. He can support the children.
- 397 Since we come here we can't get bush to make farm. If you don't have money, you can't get bush to farm. We have to beg people all the time. That's what hurting my heart here.
- 398 The way things are hard on me and my little sister.
- 399 The only thing I want to share with you is the way the fighters took my goods from me. Sometime they would take the goods and throw it in the water or carry it. I used to sell from Greystone to Duala. I used to carry big-big coal bag on my head with baby on my back, and dodge bullets, sometimes hide between rocks. It was really risky.
- 400 The only problem I have is that the way they kill our people.
- 401 I do not have anything but I want to know why you ask all the questions. Since they kill my brother I suffer for heart trouble. First time I was happy but now I weak since my brother die.
- 402 My house I suffer to build in Liberia spoil. I didn't make two years there self.
- 403 From the time the soldiers went in the house and started shooting my heart is hurting and I feel jumpy.
- 404 While running we steal rice from people old farms. We live in the forest and ate young bananas and anything we could find until we reached.
- 405 The war made me strong because I build my own house.
- 406 Because I don't have anybody so I just have to try.
- 407 My brother was in Tai and helped until we reached.
- 408 That one of our Ivorian uncles carried me, he is the one who took care of us.
- 409 My father got sick in Tai when we came from Liberia. He went to Monrovia for treatment and only me and my ma and little sister were in Tai. I was loving to a Guinean man and he gave me money to start business. That's how I learned to speak Mandingo.
- 410 My uncle built this house but he was threatened by Ivorians so he went to Liberia. So I ran here and my pastor talks with me and prays for me.
- 411 When Tai war started I had to live by myself and support myself, although I have boyfriend, but I have always been with my mother.

- 412 I did not know anything about selling market. I never knew I could survive without working in office and signing for check without husband supporting you.
- 413 I never thought I was going to start life so early. I never thought I was ever going to suffer because my parents provided everything for me before the war.
- 414 My father went for me on Konola and took us to the farm where he had rice and later when the news came that rebel was entering the town he took us to Ivory Coast here.
- 415 When I got to Zwedru I just decided to look for my ma. I had to live in the barracks with the people for survival.
- 416 I am feeling bad right now because when I think about the war especially what I experienced in Tai I feel bad. Moreover, it seem the war will not end soon so I can go back home.
- 417 I feel alright. It is alright. That good questions. Sometimes when you go hospital the doctor can't let you finish talking. It can make me worry. Then it leave in your heart and you come back to the house.
- 418 So long it past, I finished with it. Since I didn't experience war in Liberia I experience it here.
- 419 [Interviewer's note: She cried a lot during interview.] I did not do some of the things willingly. I did some through force so I cannot blame myself. These are some of the experiences people in developed countries write books about.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: BACKGROUND

ORGANIZATIONS

Women's Health and Development Program & Voices In Empowering Women

The Women's Health and Development Program (WHDP) was founded in 1994 when Shana Swiss, MD, (then director of the Women's Program at Physicians for Human Rights and now director of Women's Rights International [WRI]), went to Liberia and brought together a group of six Liberian women who were nurses, midwives, and a law student (Gladys Aryee, RN; Rojatu Turay-Kanneh, RN; Mary Kamara, RN; Rosana Schaack, RN; Grace Brown, CM; and Ruth Jappah) to document and address human rights violations against women during the Liberian civil conflict. WHDP was housed in a space provided by Mother Patern College in Monrovia. WRI and WHDP collaborated from 1994 to 1998 to design and conduct two surveys to document the impact of the ongoing conflict on women and their families and to develop a role-playing and storytelling program to support Liberian women in addressing the effects of physical and sexual violence in their lives. Together WHDP and WRI created a series of workshops and manuals that use popular education methodology so Traditional Birth Attendants in Liberian villages can lead these programs to raise awareness and prevent violence against women.

Since the completion of the documentation project in 1998, the popular education program was taken up by Mother Patern College and has now reached into many counties in Liberia. Meanwhile the original WHDP members moved on to other activities. These women formed a new collaborative, Voices In Empowering Women (VIEW), and joined with WRI to present the results of their documentation effort to the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2008.

Women's Rights International

Women's Rights International (WRI), a project of The Tides Center since 1995, supports the local documentation of human rights violations by adapting research methodology and statistical analysis techniques to document the impact of war on women using participatory methods. WRI supports efforts by grassroots groups to develop programs based on local knowledge and using oral traditions such as storytelling and dramatic plays to address the effects of war violence on women's lives.

For the past 14 years WRI has partnered with women living in countries in conflict and in countries with a history of state-sponsored violence, including the former Yugoslavia, Liberia, Haiti, and Sri Lanka. WRI works with local organizations to develop methodologically sound surveys that address research questions and documentation needs identified by those local organizations. Using participatory research, the local group develops and writes the survey, conducts the survey interviews, and analyzes and interprets the findings. The local groups make decisions about when, where, and how to make public the findings, particularly with respect to the decision about when it is safe to do so. The findings from the surveys serve a variety of objectives including disseminating the findings back to people in the community, providing

information to national and international justice bodies, and informing the development of the local organization's programs and advocacy efforts.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia

After fourteen years of civil conflict in Liberia (1989-2003), the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia (TRC) was established, first as part of the 2003 Accra peace accords, enacted into law by the Liberian National Transitional Legislative Assembly in 2005, and inaugurated in 2006 under the administration of Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. Briefly, the mandate of the TRC is to (a) investigate gross human rights violations and violations of humanitarian law, (b) provide a forum for victims and perpetrators to share their experiences to facilitate healing and reconciliation, (c) investigate the root causes of the conflict, (d) clarify the historical record to dispel falsehoods and misconceptions about the nation's development, (e) *address the experiences of women, children and vulnerable groups, paying specific attention to gender-based violence and issues of child soldiers*, and (f) compile a report of findings.

SURVEY OF WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES DURING THE LIBERIAN CIVIL CONFLICT

In 1994 Shana Swiss and the Liberian team created a survey, developed and written in Liberian English, to document women's experiences during the civil conflict (See Appendix B). The survey documented human rights violations experienced by the interviewee including forced displacement, destruction of property, illegal detention, and rape. It also documented the broader impact of the war on the woman and her family including death and displacement of family members, changes in economic status, education, and marital status, as well as impacts on reproductive health. The interviewees were also asked open-ended questions about their resiliency and coping strategies, their needs for development assistance, and their hopes for how they would rebuild their lives. The first survey was conducted in 1994 with 205 women in a variety of settings in Monrovia. After the findings from that survey were analyzed, we decided to develop a second survey to document the experiences of women who had become refugees in neighboring countries. The second survey documented not only how refugee women's lives were affected by the conflict itself, but also how their lives were affected by living as refugees. The second survey was conducted in 1997 with 126 randomly selected women in a refugee camp in Cote d'Ivoire.

Together WRI and the Liberian team have co-authored a number of journal articles reporting on a small subset of the findings from the 1994 survey in Monrovia, including: "Violence Against Women During the Liberian Civil Conflict" (in *Journal of the American Medical Association*), "The One God Sent to Stop the Boys from Killing Me: Using Storytelling to Communicate Survey Findings about Liberian Women Living in Displaced-Persons Camps" (in *Feminism and Psychology*), and "Supporting Local Efforts to Document Human Rights Violations in Armed Conflict" (in *The Lancet*).

PRESENTING THE SURVEY FINDINGS TO THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION IN LIBERIA

In June 2007, Shana Swiss and Gladys Aryee met with Jerome Verdier, the chairman of the TRC of Liberia when he was visiting the United States. Chairman Verdier invited VIEW and WRI to present the complete findings from the two surveys to the TRC during the thematic session on women. To date, only the findings on human rights violations and violence against women (a small portion of the survey findings) have been made public. The presentation to the Liberian TRC will be the first time that the fuller extent of the survey findings will be presented publicly, and it will be the first opportunity to share the complete findings with the Liberian people. Several examples of some of the data that have not yet been made public are these:

- *Pregnancy outcomes and child survival before and during the war.* Information was collected about each woman's reproductive history and the outcome of each pregnancy before and during the war. These data will provide important information about changes in infant mortality and women's reproductive health status during the war.
- *Deaths of interviewees' children.* Information was collected about each woman's children, whether they were still living, and, if not, the child's cause of death and the year the child died. These data were collected for all children, so the rates and causes of death before and during the war can be compared.
- *"Impossible decisions."* In every conflict people run and are forced to leave family behind in their villages and at checkpoints, they send their children away toward what they hope is safety, or they become separated from their family members while fleeing. In these situations women are forced to make immediate decisions about which action will likely have the safest outcome for her family member, but she cannot possibly predict the outcome of these life-and-death decisions beforehand. Women were asked about the kinds of impossible decisions like these that they were forced to make.
- *Changes to the household.* Information was collected about each person who was living in the woman's household before the war, and where each of those people were at the time of the interview. They also collected information about new people who were living in the household at the time of the interview. These data can provide a picture of how the configuration of the women's households changed during the war, how women lost family members and took in other family members during the war, and how the economic burden was shifted during the war when the original providers were lost. These data can also provide information about adult family members who had died or were missing at the time of the interview.
- *Differences in experiences for women living in Monrovia, women who were internally displaced, and women who fled Liberia as refugees in a neighboring country.* Each of these situations presented very different risks and protections for Liberian women: crossing checkpoints, crossing borders, living as outsiders in a foreign country. Because the survey was conducted in a variety of these contexts, the data can show how these different groups were affected by the conflict.

SERVING THE JOINT OBJECTIVES OF WRI, VIEW, AND THE TRC OF LIBERIA

Meeting the Liberian Team's Original Objectives

At the time that we collected these data about the impact of the war on women, we planned for the survey to serve a number of specific objectives:

- Foremost among the Liberian team's objectives was the imperative to share their findings with Liberian women. They wanted to bring the findings back to women who had lived through the war (and also to the woman who participated in the survey) to let them know that they were not alone in having to find a way to cope with lasting impacts of the physical and sexual violence as well as the other impacts the war had on themselves and their families.
- Second, the team wanted to share their findings with leaders in the local human rights movement, including the Archbishop of the Catholic Church in Liberia, which they did in 1998. They also shared their reports with the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Planning, and the Ministry of Gender.
- Third, they wanted to create a historical record of the human rights violations and other impacts of the war on women so that this historical record could be presented to a body of international transitional justice such as a War Crimes Tribunal or a Truth Commission, in the event that one was ever convened for Liberia.

Two of these three objectives have been met either fully or in some part. But the Liberian team had to wait 14 years for the opportunity to present their historical record to a body of transitional justice. That opportunity is finally before them today. Presenting their findings to the Liberian Truth Commission will complete their hopes and dreams for using their findings to speak out and advocate on behalf of Liberian women. Not only will they be able to speak on behalf of all Liberian women to show the prevalence and scope of human rights violations that occurred to them, but because the TRC proceedings will be carried on radio and television, they will be able to further complete their primary objective of sharing their findings with the Liberian people.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Objectives

For the TRC of Liberia, these findings are directly relevant to the TRC special mandate to "*address the experiences of women, children and vulnerable groups, paying specific attention to gender-based violence.*" But there are several characteristics of the presentation that would make it a unique event in the process of transitional justice:

- ***The survey was devised and conducted by Liberian women*** who themselves were living through the conflict, so they knew exactly what questions to ask to draw out the complexities of how women and their families were affected directly and indirectly by the war violence. The findings reflect the intimate local knowledge of women who lived through the experiences themselves. The findings will be presented to the TRC, 14 years later, by the very same women who collected these data, survived the conflict, and now have the opportunity to tell the world what happened to Liberian women during the war.

The team will be able to speak to the TRC as Liberian women on behalf of Liberian women. They will testify both from a foundation of personal experience as well as from the knowledge of collective experience that they gained during these interviews with 331 women about the scope of human rights violations and other impacts of the conflict on women.

- ***The data were collected while the conflict was still going on.*** We know from experience that often, once a conflict is over, many people are reluctant or unwilling to talk about what happened to them during those extremely difficult times. People are often more interested in putting the past behind them and moving on than reliving terrible experiences. Because these data were collected at a time when women were willing and ready to talk about how the war was affecting them and their families, including incidents of sexual violence, these data are uniquely valuable in having been collected at a moment of unusual openness about the physical and sexual violence that was part of their day-to-day experience.
- ***The findings can be generalized to a larger population of Liberian women.*** Because we used statistical sampling methods to randomly select the women who participated in their surveys (in contrast to taking testimonies from women who came forward to file complaints for other reasons), the findings can be used to make estimates about the human rights violations and other experiences of the larger group of women in Liberia that the interviewees represented (e.g., high school girls living in Monrovia, market women working in Monrovia, women living in internally displaced persons camps in and around Monrovia, and women and teenage girls living in neighborhoods in Monrovia).
- ***The survey contains “before and after” data about a broad range of topics.*** The survey will help provide a picture of what women’s marital, economic, and educational situations were before the war, and how these aspects of their lives were changed by war. These “before and after” findings will be useful for understanding the impact of the war on women and for planning new programs to meet women’s post-conflict needs.
- ***The findings will be presented in a variety of formats in order to address the variety of literacy and numeracy skills among Liberian people.*** The findings will be presented so that women from all educational backgrounds, including women with no formal education, will be able to understand the findings. For example, the findings will be presented in a popular theater format, using stories that represent what the findings revealed about the most common experiences and how the conflict most commonly affected women from the different settings. Instead of standard statistical charts and graphs, the findings will be presented with easy to understand and visually intuitive pictorial representations of the findings that will be easily understood by women without formal education.

APPENDIX B: METHODOLOGY OF THE 1994 SURVEY IN MONROVIA

SURVEY DESIGN

In order to design survey questions that could accurately reflect the experiences of as many groups of women and girls as possible, the Liberian team met with small groups of women in displaced person's camps, markets, high schools, churches and mosques as they developed their survey. The final survey included questions about women's situation before the war, how women survived during the war and while they were fleeing from their villages, the health and economic status of women and their families before and during the war, the human rights violations women and their families experienced during the war, the forced displacement, separation, and loss of family members because of the war. The survey also collected information on demographics, education, reproductive history and child survival, household composition and socioeconomic status before and during the war, events of the war, human rights violations including sexual violence and coercion, reproductive health, and resiliency.

SAMPLING PLAN

After the survey questions were finalized, the team randomly selected 205 women and girls to participate in the survey in four different settings: displaced person's camps, markets, high schools, and urban neighborhoods. The survey was conducted in Monrovia and surrounding displaced persons camps. At that time, Liberia had the largest percentage of displaced people and refugees of any country in the world. Three years later, in 1997, the Liberian team and WRI conducted a similar survey of Liberian women living in refugee camps in neighboring Cote d'Ivoire.

SELECTED FINDINGS

The 1994 survey found that 49% of Liberian women interviewed in markets, high schools, urban neighborhoods, and displaced persons camps in Monrovia, experienced at least one type of physical or sexual violence by soldiers or fighters during the first five years of the war. In addition, because the survey questions were written after the team held discussions with many groups of women in different settings, we were able to ask specific questions about risk factors for violence and also to understand that sexual violence in the Liberian civil conflict occurred along a continuum with forced sex at one extreme and sexual relationships with soldiers or fighters that the women described as voluntary at the other. The extreme conditions of war created a situation where some women entered into sexual relationships with soldiers and fighters as a way to gain protection and support during the war. In some cases, the women identified these relationships as a means of surviving the war. In other cases women defined these relationships as consensual love relationships. By collecting these data about sexual relationships with soldiers or fighters, one can document the impact of war on the women's lives without relying on one particular frame of reference about what defines sexual coercion. What one person calls coercion, another may not. We wanted to know how women's lives were changed because of the war. One of our goals was to document how many women were in sexual relationships because of the war. These relationships constitute a significant impact of the war.

One of the team's hypotheses was that women who belonged to the four ethnic groups that were targeted at the beginning of the war would have been more likely to experience physical and sexual violence during the war. Because the survey team asked each woman if a soldier had accused her of belonging to one of these ethnic groups or of being from one of the

fighting groups, we were able to discover that being *accused* of belonging to an ethnic group or faction was the risk factor for physical and sexual violence, not the woman's particular ethnic identity. These findings were published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 2000.

DISSEMINATION OF FINDINGS

Because the Liberian team wanted to take the survey findings back to women in Liberian camps and villages, in 1998 WRI's research specialist and statistician, Peggy Jennings, PhD, created "story characters" based on the statistical findings in the survey. The Liberian team members then created vignettes that allowed them to use storytelling as a medium to share the survey findings about what happened to Liberian women during the war. These techniques were published in the academic journal, *Feminism and Psychology*. The Liberian team also shared their survey findings at the United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, with the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, and with the Archbishop of Liberia and the Peace and Justice program in Liberia. They have shared their work and methodology with organizations in Senegal and Zimbabwe. One of the team members worked with Amnesty International to develop human rights training materials for Liberia. Some of the survey findings specific to human rights violations and sexual violence have been published in medical and academic journals such as the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, *The Lancet*, and *Feminism and Psychology*.

APPENDIX C: PUBLICATIONS

(All publications are available at <http://www.womens-rights.org/publications>)

Violence Against Women During the Liberian Civil Conflict

Shana Swiss, MD; Peggy J. Jennings, PhD; Gladys V. Aryee, RNM; Grace H. Brown, CM; Ruth M. Jappah-Samukai, BSc; Mary S. Kamara, RN, CM; Rosana D. H. Schaack, RN; Rojatu S. Turay-Kanneh, RN

Journal of the American Medical Association, 1998; 279:625-9.

Supporting Local Efforts to Document Human Rights Violations in Armed Conflict

Peggy J. Jennings, PhD; Shana Swiss, MD

The Lancet, 2001; 357: 302-3.

The One God Sent to Stop the Boys from Killing Me: Using Storytelling to Communicate Survey Findings About Liberian Women Living in Displaced Persons Camps.

Peggy J. Jennings, PhD; Shana Swiss, MD; Rojatu S. Turay-Kanneh, RN

Feminism and Psychology, 2003; 13:295-301.

Violence Against Women in War: A Manual for Training Certified Midwives in Liberia - - Workshop I: Raising Awareness of Violence Against Women

Workshop II: Working with Communities on Violence Against Women

Women's Rights International and The Women's Health and Development Program, 1998.

Violence Against Women in the Liberian Civil Conflict.

Shana Swiss, MD; Peggy J. Jennings, PhD

In Report by the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Its Causes and Consequences, to the UN Commission on Human Rights: Women in Situations of Armed Conflict. United Nations Document E/CN.4/1998/54, 1998.

Violence Against Women in Times of War: A Research Study in Liberia

Shana Swiss, MD; Peggy J. Jennings, PhD.

International Center for Research on Women and the Center for Development and Population Activities, Washington, DC, 1999.

Statistical Information on Violence Against Women During the Liberian Civil War.

Peggy J. Jennings, Ph.D.; Shana Swiss, M.D.

In Statistics, Development, and Human Rights: Proceedings of the International Association of Official Statistics, Montreux, Switzerland, 2000.

Rape and Sexual Abuse in Armed Conflict and Political Violence

Shana Swiss, M.D.

In Proceedings from Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence, The World Bank, Washington, DC. 1999

APPENDIX D: PROJECT TEAM

MARY S. KAMARA, CM, RN

Mary S. Kamara, CM, RN, (VIEW) originally from Lofa County, Liberia, holds an RN degree from the Phebe Hospital Nursing and Midwifery School, in Lofa County. Before joining the Women's Health and Development Program (WHDP) in 1994, she worked on the Lofa County Rural Health Project and was a trainer of traditional midwives and family planning supervisor for Lofa County for over a decade. She was also a family planning nurse at the Downstate Medical Center in Brooklyn, New York, and a pediatric nurse practitioner at Washington University School of Medicine in St. Louis, Missouri, USA. During the war she was a refugee in Sierra Leone and Guinea. She was Nurse in Charge of the Refugee Clinic in Pendembu, Sierra Leone, and she was a volunteer nurse at the Refugee Clinic in Gueckedou, Republic of Guinea. She is currently working with women in her community in Liberia.

SHANA SWISS, MD

Shana Swiss, MD, (WRI) originally from Michigan, USA, is a public health physician, and the founder and director of Women's Rights International (WRI). She holds a BA degree from the University of California, Berkeley, and an MD degree from Boston University School of Medicine. Before founding Women's Rights International in 1995, she was a Dance and Movement Therapist at Highland Hospital in Oakland, California, and Director of the Women's Program at Physicians for Human Rights in Boston, Massachusetts. For the past 18 years Dr. Swiss has worked with women and girls living in countries in conflict and in countries with a history of state-sponsored violence, including the former Yugoslavia, Liberia, Haiti, and Sri Lanka. Her work supports the local documentation of the impact of war on women and the development of programs, based on local knowledge and oral traditions such as storytelling and radio dramas, to stop violence against women and promote human rights. She has received the Boston University School of Medicine Alumni Humanitarian Award, the Ignacio Martin-Baro Fund for Mental Health and Human Rights Award, and, with Jadranka Ciegel, the Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights Award.

GLADYS ARYEE, RN, RNM

Gladys Aryee, RN, RNM, (VIEW) originally from Buchanan, Grand Bassa County, Liberia, holds an RN degree from the Tubman National Institute of Medical Arts, School of Nursing, in Monrovia, and an RNM (Registered Nurse Midwife) certificate diploma from Phebe Advanced Midwifery Training Program in Bong County. Before joining WHDP in 1994, she was an assistant supervisor for a maternal and child health clinic in Buchanan, and she trained and supervised traditional midwives for more than 10 years. She is a past president of the Christian Health Association of Liberia. During the war she spent two years as a refugee in Danane, Cote d'Ivoire where she was a school health teacher and a trainer and supervisor for Cause Canada. She is currently living in the United States, working as a Trained Medical Aide.

GRACE BOIWU, AASW, CM

Grace Boiwu, AASW, CM, (VIEW) originally from Bomi County, Liberia, holds a Certified Midwife (CM) certificate from Curran School of Practical Nursing and Midwifery in Lofa County, Liberia. Before joining WHDP in 1994 she was Head Nurse of the Obstetrics Ward at Tellwoyou Hospital in Lofa County and Coordinator of the Traditional Midwife Training Program in Tubmanburg, Bomi County. During the war she worked with Medecin Sans Frontier (France) in Bomi County. Later she joined the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare in the Family Health Division where she was a trainer of traditional midwives and village health workers. She is currently working with the Women's Health and Development Program in Monrovia.

ROJATU TURAY-KANNEH, RN

Rojatu Turay-Kanneh, RN, (VIEW) originally from Bomi County, Liberia, holds an RN degree from Tubman National Institute of Medical Arts, School of Nursing, in Monrovia. Before joining WHDP in 1994, she was a pharmacy supervisor and hospital administrator for more than 10 years at Redemption Hospital in Monrovia. She was the Membership Chairperson for the United Muslim Women's Organization in Liberia. During the war she was a trainer for Amnesty International in Liberia and a contributor to *UKWELI: Monitoring and Documenting Human Rights Violations in Africa*, a handbook developed by Amnesty International and CODESRIA. She is currently living in the United States, working as a nurse.

ROSANA D. SCHAACK, RN

Rosana D. Schaack, RN, (VIEW) originally from Rivercess County, Liberia, holds an RN degree from W.J. Harley United Methodist School of Nursing in Nimba County and BSN from Mother Patern College of Health Sciences. Before joining WHDP in 1994 she was a Public Health Nurse for 10 years in Nimba County. She was a member of ELWA (Eternal Love Winning Africa) Women's Group and the National Women's Commission of Liberia. During the war she worked at the Swede Relief Hospital in Monrovia, was a volunteer school nurse at Carver Mission Academy, and was the Women's Information and Education Coordinator at the National AIDS and STD Control Program at the Ministry of Health in Liberia from 1993-1996. She is currently the Executive Director of THINK, a program for former female combatants in Monrovia and Buchanan.

PEGGY JENNINGS, PHD

Peggy Jennings, PhD, (WRI), originally from California, USA, is a research specialist and statistical consultant. She holds a BA degree from the University of California, San Diego, and a PhD degree from the University of Oregon. Before joining WRI in 1996, she was a computer programmer, a Clinical Research Associate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an Assistant Professor of Cognitive Neuroscience at the University of Wyoming, a Senior Research Associate at Boston University, and a Human Protections Specialist at the University of New Mexico. For the past 10 years she has supported the local documentation of human rights violations in Liberia, Haiti, and Sri Lanka, by adapting research methodology and statistical analysis techniques to document the impact of war on women using participatory methods.

Ethical and safety considerations are a subspecialty in her work with local organizations, and she has developed tools such as data security and monitoring plans for promoting ethical relationships between local, national, and international organizations that collect or have access to human rights data and other sensitive information.

RUTH JAPPAH, JD, LLB, LLM

Ruth Jappah, JD, LLB, LLM, (VIEW) originally from Grand Kru County, Liberia. She holds a BSc and an LLB degree from the University of Liberia and an LLM from Howard University in Washington, DC. Before joining WHDP in 1994 she was a law student at the University of Liberia and a human rights activist. She is currently working as a Telecom regulator in Liberia.