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ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, The ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE RISE AND FALL OF AMERICO-LIBERIANS IN LIBERIA, WEST AFRICA (1980), by ETRENDA C. DILLON, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the College of Education, Georgia State University.

The Dissertation Advisory Committee and the student's Department Chair, as representatives of the faculty, certify that this dissertation has met all standards of excellence and scholarship as determined by the faculty. The Dean of the College of Education concurs.

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE RISE AND FALL OF AMERICO-LIBERIANS IN LIBERIA, WEST AFRICA (1980)
by
Etrenda C. Dillon

Education has proven to be a powerful tool. Higher education in particular has been and continues to be utilized in various ways around the world and has been instrumental in the rise of societies including Americo-Liberian society in Liberia, West Africa. This study investigates how education has been instrumental in the formation of identity for Americo-Liberians (descendants of historically oppressed groups), demonstrates the relationship that existed between education attainment and social stratification within their system, and uncovers the socialization process that existed within the Americo-Liberian system of education. A critical analysis of social structure and history was undertaken to demonstrate how a mythical norm and cultural capital were key in both the identity formation and destruction of the Americo-Liberian population in Liberia, West Africa. Other theoretical frameworks, in particular "othering," was utilized throughout this dissertation to further demonstrate the rise of Americo-Liberians through their employment of a mythical norm and cultural capital, which ultimately led to their demise. A historical case study method was utilized to uncover the cultural capital of the preferred upper class and political elite, known as Americo-Liberians, which was deeply embedded within their system of education. In all, the system that was set up to ensure their privilege led to their demise and the complete destruction of the country as a whole.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE RISE AND FALL OF AMERICO-LIBERIANS IN LIBERIA, WEST AFRICA (1980)

by
Etrenda C. Dillon

A Dissertation

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Degree of
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in
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in
the College of Education
Georgia State University

Atlanta, GA
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is dedicated to my family whose deeply embedded Americo-Liberian roots have afforded me the knowledge and background necessary to write this dissertation. Growing up in Liberia during my formative years has equipped me with a unique experience and perspective, allowing me to deeply explore how education, in particular higher education, can be used both as a stratification tool and a tool of oppression. Without my experiences as a child and my family heritage, it would not have been possible for me to have such a clear understanding of the importance of education and its countless uses, which has enabled me the ability to impart knowledge on the role of education in the rise and fall of Americo-Liberians in Liberia, West Africa (1980).

I conducted all of the research in the United States because of the political unrest that was taking place in Liberia. Much of the source material used in this research was written by African Liberians. The data collected through interviews primarily highlights the perspective of Americo-Liberians. I also have provided insight as to the challenges that existed in the country and the source of issues. Because I was raised in Liberia during my formative years and experienced Liberia as an Americo-Liberian child, I bring forth a perspective that may differ greatly from individuals (Americo-Liberians) who were of adult age (18 +) during the 1970s.

I wish to thank both my father, Edmund C. Dillon, and a family friend, Anna Scott, for serving as key informants. They both were instrumental in the identification of Americo-Liberian candidates who served as study participants. I also would like to thank everyone who served as study participants. The information that you've provided for this study is invaluable and certainly would not have been captured without your time, dedication to this project, and willingness to share your experience, which significantly informed this research.

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I also would like to thank my friend and colleague, Nalini Persaud, who with persistence provided continuous encouragement. Last, I would like to thank my parents and siblings for always supporting my educational as well as career and personal goals and decisions.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Education has proven to be a very powerful tool. It can either be a tool of emancipation or one of oppression. Higher education in particular has been and continues to be utilized in various ways around the world and has been instrumental in the rise of societies including Americo-Liberian society in Liberia, West Africa. In an effort to understand the impact of higher education on Americo-Liberian society, it is necessary to explore the general purpose of education.

One should have a clear understanding of the definition of education before posing the following question – what is the purpose of education? Education encompasses teaching and learning specific skills. It is the imparting of knowledge, good judgment, and wisdom. One of the fundamental goals of education is to impart culture from generation to generation. Formal education typically occurs when society, a group, or an individual sets up curriculum to educate people, usually the young. It can become systematic and thorough. However, it is important to note that its sponsors may seek selfish advantages when shaping impressionable young scholars (Hawker, 2002). Although the definition of education can be clearly defined, the purpose of education varies drastically from individual to individual.

Many scholars and commentators have offered their opinions on the purpose of education. These schools of thought still include some of the initial ideals, which include utility and culture (King Jr., 1947); economic gain and social and upward mobility

(Willie and Edmonds, 1978; Cohen and Brawer, 1989; and King, Jr., 1947); inclusive education (Gates Jr., 1992; Minnich, 1990; hooks, 1989; and Belenky, 1986); exclusive education *(*Bloom, 1987; D'Sousza, 1991; and Readings, 1996); and free thinking (Newman, 1852/1959). Although these scholars focus on what can be perceived as positive outcomes of education attainment, others contend that the purpose of education is to perpetuate class stratification (Kozol, 1991, DuBois, 1935). The ideas of the these scholars are critical in the discussion of this dissertation due to the direct relationship that exists between education attainment, the utility of education, and the demise of Liberia, West Africa in 1980.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of three theoretical frameworks that provide a solid foundation for this study. Two sociologically based theoretical frameworks, mythical norm and cultural capital, both present key issues in education. The mythical norm can be defined as a standard or perceived social structure that typically depicts and/or promotes ways, means, and characteristics of dominant culture (Perry, 47). Cultural capital is typically embedded within formal and informal systems or structures (primarily those that are socially based) within societies (Bowles, 2). In particular, cultural capital reinforces the mythical norm; these frameworks when employed, perpetuate class divisions within societies, which often leads to othering. The third theoretical framework used in this work is known as "othering." Othering typically occurs when an individual or a group does not have or project the characteristics, ways, and means of dominant culture. This work will show how these frameworks were prevalent in Americo-Liberian society up until 1980 and were most effectively employed through the system of education that was developed and implemented by Americo-

Liberians in Liberia, West Africa. In 1980, Liberia experienced its first coup, which sparked the beginning of countless coups that took place over a period of twenty years. In chapter 3, I provide a historical overview of the rise of the Americo-Liberian society in an effort to demonstrate the above, in particular, how the promotion of cultural capital is used to reinforce the Liberian mythical norm - being black, able-bodied, Christian, heterosexual, financially established, and male.

Through the presentation of Liberian culture in a historical context in chapter 3, I uncover the relationship that exists between the identified frameworks and foster an understanding of how they were collectively employed to create the Americo-Liberian identity. I also will expose the danger in the use of educational practices that promote cultural capital within societies, and suggest that such practices caused the demise of Americo-Liberians in Liberia, West Africa. This evidence will be presented not only through the use of scholarly literature on Liberia, but also through interviews conducted with Americo-Liberians and African Liberians which will be presented in chapter 5. Overall, this chapter provides insight as to how education has been instrumental in the formation of identity for Americo-Liberians (descendants of historically oppressed groups), demonstrates the relationship that exists between education attainment and social stratification within their system, and uncovers the socialization process that existed within the Americo-Liberian system of education.

Chapter 4 focuses on a historical qualitative case study method, which was utilized to conduct a critical analysis of the social structure and history of Liberia. This particular method helps uncover how the mythical norm, cultural capital, and othering were key in both the identity formation (rise) and deconstruction (fall) of the Americo-

Liberian population in Liberia, West Africa. A total of 12 participants were interviewed in an effort to test the notion of cultural capital among the Americo-Liberians, the upper class and political elite.

Chapter 5 fosters a greater understanding of the educational power dynamics that take place through constructs such as the mythical norm, cultural capital, and the process of othering. Study findings significantly add to the body of literature currently published on this topic, highlighting the possible negative impact or repercussions of the employment of these perspectives in systems of education. This chapter also provides a greater understanding of the Americo-Liberian system of education, which is similar to the U.S. education model. This system has not been adequately documented; hence, this chapter will further conversations that will give way to more scholarly research on this topic. The information uncovered in this chapter also contributes to the very limited body of knowledge that exists on Americo-Liberians. Readers are provided with a greater understanding of who Americo-Liberians are at present and who they were in the past. It also invites discussions about the Americo-Liberian identity in the future. Americo-Liberians are charged with taking responsibility for their actions and the current conditions in the country today and opening their hearts to return to Liberia to help the masses who are without education. If these actions take place, the indigenous people of Liberia will likely have a greater propensity to converse and interact with Americo-Liberians, thus beginning a reconciliation process that will unite all cultures.

Educational Importance of the Study and Rationale

Overall, this research is significant because it expands the limited body of knowledge that exists on the Americo-Liberian society, in particular, its system of

education, training, and socialization process. Hopefully, this work will lead to greater and more in-depth studies on how historically oppressed groups utilize education as a social stratification tool. Furthermore, this study serves as a historical work that further documents the rise and fall of the first Republic in Africa, which bears its roots and beginnings in the United States, and proves to be an extension of United States history in Africa.

The rationale for conducting this research is deeply rooted in my own background. I am Americo-Liberian. My mother, born in Staten Island, New York, in 1946, married an Americo-Liberian from Liberia, West Africa in 1966. Although I was born in the United States in 1971, my critical child development years were spent in Liberia during the school year and in the United States during the summer. In 1980, the Americo-Liberian government, which reigned for 133 years since the establishment of Liberia as the first Republic in Africa, was overthrown. The initial coup d'etat, which was led by African Liberians, led to the ongoing destruction of the country, which has captured world-wide attention in recent years. Much information provided about the strife that has transpired in Liberia, however, focuses on events and occurrences that have taken place over the past twenty years. Most scholars have ignored the rich history of the country, as well as the internal strife that has been brewing since its beginnings in the early 1800s. It is therefore important for me as a scholar to tell the story of the demise of the first Republic of Africa, which I will demonstrate as being linked to the socialization process in the country, which was deeply embedded within the system of education. This research also introduces Americo-Liberian history to those who are unfamiliar with it and further enhances the knowledge of those who are familiar with it. It is important that this

research fosters conversations regarding the preservation of positive aspects of our culture, as well as allow Americo-Liberians to take responsibility for our past actions, which should include educating the indigenous people of the land.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS: MYTHICAL NORM, OTHERING AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

Sociological and cultural studies in the United States outline the significance of the mythical norm in the construction of reality for people from many cultural backgrounds in the process of social class formation. The U.S. socialization process has been identified as a predominant factor that contributes to the construction of identity for many (Adams et al., 2000). One of the results of this construction in a capitalistic, class-based society is that individuality is grounded in the socialization process at the expense of a critical understanding of the self as a social being. By discussing the concept of identity formation as it relates to the mythical norm and cultural capital in the following discussion, I hope to demonstrate how an identity can be in crisis while serving as an agent of the socialization process.

I have employed a combination of theoretical frameworks to expose the ideological construction of the Americo-Liberian society in Liberia, West Africa. These theories include Lorde's (1984) notion of the mythical norm and Passerson and Bourdieu's (1973) cultural capital theory. Other theories I touch upon include Weis's (1995) <u>othering</u> process and various identity formation frameworks.

Lorde (1984) describes the mythical norm as established by dominant culture in the United States, identifying manifestations of racial and class privilege that maintain barriers between different groupings of people. In <u>Sister Outsider</u>, she states,

> Somewhere, on the edge of consciousness, there is what I call a mythical norm. Each one of us within our hearts knows, "that is not me." In America, this norm is usually defined as white, thin, male, young, hetero-sexual, Christian, and financially secure. It is with this mythical norm that the trappings of power reside within this society. Those of us who stand outside that power often identify one way in which we are different, and we assume that to be the primary cause of all oppression, forgetting other distortions around difference, some of which we ourselves may be practicing. (p. 116)

Lorde has published extensively on issues that surround race, class and gender. In particular, she has published scholarly works on the theory of human nature and the theory of social relationships. In Sister Outsider (1984), she writes about the theory of human nature, indicating that "people, when confronted with difference, have been taught to respond with fear leading to racism, sexism, homophobia, ageism, etc. Women and people of color and lesbians have been continuously oppressed" (p. 115). She further states,

> Institutionalized rejection of difference is an absolute necessity in a profit economy which needs outsiders as surplus people. As members of such an economy, we have all been programmed to respond to the human differences between us with fear and loathing and to handle that difference in one of three ways: ignore it, and if that is not possible, copy it if we think it is dominant, or destroy it if we think it is subordinate." (p. 115)

It is through Lorde's explanation of human differences that we see the emergence of what she has coined as the mythical norm. The division and categorization of people is a reality and practice that is constructed by society. Collins (1998) supports Lorde's notion of a mythical norm by contending that elite discourses are "designed to represent the interest of those privileged by hierarchical power relations of race, economic class, gender, sexuality, and nationality, (and) elite discourses do so by presenting a view of social reality that elevates the ideas and actions of highly educated white men as normative and superior" (p. 5).

I argue that Americo-Liberians of Liberia, West Africa, having formerly served in the role of "other" in the United States, borrowed this mythical norm upon their exodus from the U.S. during the 1800s and created what eventually became the mythical norm of Liberia- that is, Americo-Liberian (of American descent) black, Christian, heterosexual, male, able-bodied, and financially secure. In an effort to demonstrate the infusion of the U.S. mythical norm into Liberian society, a historical overview of the country will be presented in chapter 2.

Cultural capital, a sociological term coined by Pierre Bourdieu, was first introduced in Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction (1973). Bourdieu and Passerson (1977) in their book Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture define cultural capital as ways of talking, socializing, dressing, moving and acting, as well as forms of knowledge that distinguish one group from another. In The Forms of Capital (1986), Bourdieu distinguishes among three types of capital:

> 1). Economic capital: command over economic resources (cash, assets); 2). Social capital: resources based on group membership, relationships, networks of influence and support. Bourdieu defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition"; and 3). Cultural capital: forms of knowledge; skill; education; any advantages a person has which give them a higher status in society, including high expectations. Parents provide children with cultural capital, the attitudes and knowledge that makes the educational system a comfortable familiar place in which they can succeed easily. (p. 249)

In the "Three states of cultural capital," Bourdieu (1979) provides three distinct forms of cultural capital:

> 1). an embodied state (cultural habitus). A person's character and way of thinking. This is formed by socialization; 2). an objectified state. Things which are owned, such as scientific instruments or works of art. To gain such cultural assets one needs to have cultural habitus; and 3). an institu-

> tionalized state: educational qualifications. Their value can be measured only in relationship to the labor market. (p. 4)

Cultural capital has been particularly influential in sociological accounts of the ways in which middle classes distinguish themselves from the working classes through their distinctive cultural tastes, knowledge, and competencies. Bourdieu and Passerson (1979) argue that the most valued cultural capital belongs to the middle and upper classes. For example, in school, lower class students must be exposed to the cultural capital of the middle and upper classes if they are to be successful in school and life (p. 69). This example provides us with a greater understanding of how deeply embedded the socialization process is with regard to education. Success, which is tied to education, is heavily linked to one's ability to move within social spheres. In Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction (1973), Bourdieu and Passerson introduced the idea of cultural reproduction, whereby existing disadvantages and inequalities are passed down from one generation to the next. This, according to Bourdieu, is partly due to the education system and other social institutions. Capitalist societies depend on a stratified social system, where the working class has an education suited for manual labor; leveling out such inequalities would break down the system. Thus, schools in capitalist societies will always be stratified too.

In the "Three states of cultural capital," Bourdieu (1979) provides the following description of cultural capital:

> The notion of cultural capital first stood out as a theory that was essential in accounting for the inequality of performance at school of children from different social classes yielding "success at school", that is the specific profits which children of different classes can make on the school market in the distribution of cultural capital between the classes and sections of the classes. This starting-point implies a break with presuppositions inherent both to the ordinary point of view, which considers success or

> failure at school an effect of natural "aptitude", and to theories of human capital. (p. 3)

It must be noted that the importance of education in creating cultural capital is critical, especially when it pertains to the success of a student. If a student does not buy into the system of education that is offered, that system which overall perpetuates cultural capital, they are likely to not achieve success in school. Unfortunately, the rejection of the cultural capital that is deeply embedded within the system of education will leave one to assume that the unsuccessful student's ability to achieve is low. However, if a student is receptive to the cultural capital that is being passed through the system of education, then that student most likely will succeed and be considered as a high achiever. With regard to social class structures, children who are a part of dominant culture will most likely succeed because the capital is one that they encounter both at home and at school. Hence, they make very little adjustments upon entering into school. However, a child that lacks the exposure to the dominant culture in their home environment will experience some or even great difficulty at school.

In most instances where cultural capital and a mythical norm are present, it is highly likely that othering also is occurring. As stated by Weis (1995), othering is "central to the identity formation process" (p. 18). The author states that othering may be defined as "that process which serves to mark and name those thought to be different from oneself" (p. 19). In her article, Weis highlights Ruth Frankenberg's work on the social construction of race as an example, who asserts that "to focus on whiteness is to displace the white from the unmarked, unnamed status that is itself an effect of its dominance" (p. 26). Frankenberg further argues that "to focus on whiteness is to place focus squarely on a site of dominance" (p. 26). Weis therefore concludes that the process

of othering is an integral part of the identity formation of dominant whites in the U.S. Hence, this process is significant in understanding the relationship that exists among domination, power, and subordination, historically and culturally (p. 26). Weis (1995) explains the historical othering process:

> Scholars of colonial discourse have highlighted the ways in which discourses about the western other are produced simultaneously with the production of discourse about the white western self. Analysts of West European expansion document the cultural disruptions that took place alongside economic appropriation, as well as the importance of the production of knowledge about groups of people that rendered colonization successful. Central to the colonial discourse, then is the idea of the colonized other being wholly different from the "white self." In creating the colonial "other," whites were also producing an apparently stable western white self again by which the "other" could always be judged. Thus the self and other were discursively constructed, or co-constructed, to become more accurate. Thus, the western self and the colonial other both were products of discursive constructions, and one cannot be seen without the other. (p. 19)

In essence, othering was used as a vehicle to create social and economic class structures in which those at the top of the class structure dictated the behavior and production of those who were on lower tiers of the class structure. This ensured that power and privilege would be maintained at the top level, while the values and principles of those at the top of the tier also were upheld by those on lower levels of the social structure. This social structure also dictates the area from which new labor will be drawn. In terms of colonization, a new labor force emerged through the colonies, which allowed for the expansion of markets. In an effort to control the colony and ensure that market expansion would not be interrupted, othering was employed to gain acceptance for the entire system.

An overview of the history and colonization of Liberia, West Africa is provided in chapter 3, clearly demonstrating the process of othering, which initially occurred for

purposes of administration and expansions of markets for the United States (Sabin, 1974). The process of othering, in the employment of a mythical norm and cultural capital, also shall be demonstrated through discussion of the creation of Americo-Liberian identity.

CHAPTER 3

OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF LIBERIA, WEST AFRICA, AND THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Who are the Americo- Liberians? They were freed slaves from the South during the early 1800s, from areas that included Georgia, the Carolinas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. They were highly educated individuals -many were attorneys, physicians, accountants, educators, and businessmen who were resettled in West Africa during the early 1800s (Enoanyi, 1991). During the early 1860s, they established a highly-organized system of education for their children and others who traveled overseas from America and the West Indies. This led to the establishment of Liberia College, one of the first institutions of higher education for blacks in the world (1851), as well as the establishment of the first Republic in Africa (History of Liberia: A Timeline, 1998). It was through their system of education, which has yet to be thoroughly documented, that Americo-Liberians were able to emerge as the wealthiest blacks in the world.

How did the Americo-Liberians get to Liberia, West Africa? After an uprising lead by Toussaint L'ouvetture in 1791 in Santa Domingo (now known as Haiti), the American Colonization Society (ACS) was founded in 1817 by abolitionists and slave owners due to their concern about the growing number of free blacks in the South. Both groups felt that free blacks would be unable to assimilate into dominant white society in the U.S. ACS planned and implemented the resettlement of freed slaves from the United States and the West Indies. By 1821, ACS had purchased Grain Coast land in West

Africa from local tribe leaders (the Bassa tribe), thus, allowing for the arrival of the first black American colonists. At this time, this massive land abundant with resources (gold, diamonds, crude oil on coastal shores, iron ore, and paper, palm, and rubber trees), was ungoverned (Eaoanyi, 1991). It was homeland to 16 different tribal groups, none of which spoke a common language, and the ACS and the freed black Americans seized the opportunity to govern the land (Oldfield 1990; Wonkeryor 2000). First, the new colonists befriended all indigenous people who resided there. Second, the colonists contrived a plan to dominate, control, and set up market through the exploitation of the indigenous people of the land. Once ACS established a governing body, the massive land was named Liberia. Liberia was to serve two primary purposes for the U.S.: 1) provide a means of removing from the southern states a high concentration of freed educated Negroes; and 2) becoming a new colony in which natural resources could be exported at minimal cost (Oldfield, 1990).

The name Americo-Liberian was coined by the American Colonization Society in an effort to create a new identity for the former slaves who were now highly educated individuals in Africa (Enoanyi, 1991). The former slaves received their education through sponsorship. They were sponsored by philanthropist, abolitionists, and their slave masters (p. 28). At this point in history, the "name" African- Liberian was also coined. Williams (2002) discusses the legacy of Americo-Liberians and the social relationship they shared with those known as African-Liberians. He discusses "ethnicity," which he pinpoints as the main factor that has retarded progress and fostered "little" social interaction between the Americo- Liberians and African- Liberians. Williams states, "ethnicity is a smooth euphemism for tribalism (Kpelle, Grebo, Bassa, etc.)," (p. 1) which

is the appropriate, preferred descriptive word Americo-Liberians associate with African-Liberians. He further states, “In Liberian political parlance, the term tribalism denotes derogatory, uncivilized propensity, though the literal meaning refers to a strong sense of identifying with and being loyal to one's tribe, groups, etc.”(p. 1). Since the Americo-Liberians, even though they were returned Africans, felt they were more refined and superior than their African kinsmen, they found it necessary to use labels to distinguish the classes. Williams purports, “It's sad that we have such prefixes to describe one another, but such is the Liberian reality” (p. 1). Williams further states that the term Americo-Liberian refers to a Liberian who has freed American slave ancestry. Congo, another term used by Americo-Liberians, refers to a Liberian of captured African ancestry who never reached the west (U.S.) when slavery was abolished (p. 1). The Congo people include individuals from the Caribbean Islands and other African countries. The Congo people were second-class citizens for a long time, but soon assimilated into Americo- Liberian culture through business ventures and/or marriage and helped to rule the "Country" people or African- Liberians, also known as indigenous people. Hence, the naming of groups was instrumental in developing a class system within the Liberian socialization process; “Americo-Liberian or Congo signifying superiority, and access to education, economic opportunities and political power” (Williams, 2005). The opposite or lack of privilege existed for those who were Country or African-Liberian people. The Americo-Liberians viewed themselves as a different class of people from the indigenous groups due to educational attainment, which yielded being civilized and cultured, which led to the othering of the natives.

The others became deemed as useful only as cheap labor. The others, often marked by Americo-Liberians as “savage and uncivilized” (Williams, 2005, 2; Taylor, 2004) people of the land, were not to mix socially with dominant society. Williams contends that the negative effects of this naming or othering process resulted in African-Liberians, to this day, still feeling inferior, as the system conditioned them to be. He states that "they sometimes exhibit a tendency of low self -esteem, timidity and deference, especially when the groups interact.” He therefore refers to these acts of internalized oppression as a “*consequence of social orientation”* (p. 2).

Overall, Americo-Liberian history was forged based upon unfair acquisition. Unfair acquisition includes issues around how land was acquired from the African Liberians, the installment of power by Americo-Liberians, and the domination and control of African Liberians by Americo-Liberians by limiting access to education and language (Logan & Cohen, 1970; Chakravorty, 1985; Gordon, 1980; Marable, 1983). The history of Liberia was forged as Americo-Liberians borrowed aspects of the U.S., in particular southern life (southern dress codes and manner in which one conducted him/herself in public), the U.S. system of education and history, and created Liberian culture around it. Overall, Liberian history is an analogue of U.S. history, with the exception of the current turmoil. The freed slaves learned from their former masters the key to domination, control, and independent wealth -which was attained through education, as well as controlling who received an education (Hakim 1993; Lamb 2001; Washington 2000).

1817-1847 New Beginnings

The following information highlights the history of Liberia from 1817 – 1847. This information provides the most accurate picture of how Liberia was established and how the freed slaves from the United States of America formally established themselves as Americo-Liberians. Due to the limited amount of information that currently exists on the history of Liberia, data from the source A History of Liberia: A Timeline (2000) primarily was cited to provide a rich, thick description of the period from 1817 – 1847 below.

In 1817, the American Colonization Society (ACS) was formed. Leaders of the organization set out to resettle freed Blacks from the United States in Africa. ACS members included Southerners and slave holders and excluded Blacks from membership. In 1820, ACS sent its first group of settlers (African Americans) to Sherbro Island in Sierra Leone. A great number of the settlers and society's representatives died due to the swampy, unhealthy conditions of the land. The British governor therefore intervened and allowed the immigrants to relocate to a safer area temporarily while the ACS revamped the initial plans for colonization project (History of Liberia: A Timeline, 2000).

In 1821, ACS purchased Grain Coast land from local tribe leaders. Local leaders initially were reluctant to surrender their peoples' land to the strangers, but were forcefully persuaded, some accounts say at gun-point, to part with a "36 mile long and 3 mile wide" strip of coastal land for trade goods, supplies, weapons, and rum worth approximately $300. In 1825, the Liberian Constitution, Government, and the Laws of Liberia were established. Overall, sovereign power remained with ACS, although the colony was to operate under common law. The settlement, which had been called

Christopolis, was renamed Monrovia after President James Monroe. The colony was formally named Liberia, which means “the free land” (Nelson, 1985). At this point in time, slavery and participation in the slave trade were forbidden (History of Liberia: A Timeline, 2000).

In 1827, Slave states in North America, increasingly interested in getting rid of their free African-American populations, encouraged the formation of colonization societies. These groups organized themselves independently of the ACS and founded their own colonies in Liberia for transplanting free African-Americans. Some of the "volunteers" were emancipated only if they agreed to emigrate. The Maryland State Colonization Society established its colony in Cape Palmas, Liberia. Virginia and Mississippi also founded colonies for former slaves in Liberia (Liebenow, 1987; Nelson, 1985).

In 1838, the Commonwealth of Liberia emerged. This group consisted of colonies established by the Virginia Colonization Society, the Quaker Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, and the American Colonization Society. The Commonwealth claimed control over all settlements between Cestos River and Cape Mount and adopted a new constitution and a newly-appointed governor in 1839. (History of Liberia: A Timeline, 2000). In 1842 the Mississippi settlement at the mouth of the Sinoe River joined the Commonwealth. (Nelson, 1985; Boley, 1983).

In October 1846, Americo-Liberian colonists voted in favor of independence with full taxing authority, which was deemed necessary for their survival, as well as the indigenous population. This decision arose because ACS (a private organization) was not recognized by Britain as a taxing authority, hence, Liberian sovereignty likewise was not

recognized. Because the Commonwealth received most of its revenue from custom duties that were being imposed on the indigenous traders and British merchants, something had to be done to ensure the survival of the colony.

On July 26, 1847, the Liberian Declaration of Independence was adopted and signed. Liberians, in this document, charged their mother country, the United States, with injustices that made it necessary for them to leave and make new lives for themselves in Africa. They therefore called upon the international community to recognize the independence and sovereignty of Liberia. Britain was one of the first nations to recognize the new country. The United States did not recognize Liberia until the American Civil War (History of Liberia: A Timeline).

Shortly after Liberian Independence in 1847, Americo-Liberians passed a law that prohibited the education of any indigenous people. Failure to comply would lead to banishment from the country. My interpretation and other arguments about the intent of this law surrounds the control of the masses: if one keeps the people ignorant, one can control them. For instance, there were 16 indigenous groups in Liberia, none of which spoke a common language. Providing education to the masses meant that a common language would be spoken. If a common language was spoken, then the indigenous groups could mobilize and overthrow the Americo-Liberians who comprised only 5% of the total population (Wonkeryor, 2000). It was therefore necessary to control who received education. This is a clear demonstration of how one can be controlled when education is prohibited or restricted by law. The indigenous people also were prohibited from voting. The lack of education and ability to vote had an impact on the indigenous people on a social level. One who was considered as uncouth due to a lack of education

could not socialize with the Americo-Liberians. A slave-master system was set up in Liberia, imposing and infringing upon the indigenous people harsh and unjust treatment, identical to what was once imposed upon Americo-Liberians as former slaves in the U.S. (Kelly, 1999).

1848–1980: Liberia, the First Republic of Africa

In 1848, the Liberian Constitution was confirmed and the first elections were held in the new republic. Joseph Jenkins Roberts was elected as the first President. Liberia College was founded in 1851. In 1856, Stephen Allen Benson, born free in Maryland, U.S.A., became the second president of the Republic of Liberia. He had previously served as the vice-president of the Republic of Liberia and had a practical knowledge of the republic's local peoples and social institutions. He also spoke several indigenous languages. In 1857, Maryland (Africa) became a county of Liberia. This happened because President Roberts assisted the Americo-Liberians of Maryland (Africa) in their war with the Grebo and Kru peoples who were resisting the Maryland settlers' efforts to control their trade. Together, the American colonists (Maryland settlers and the Republic of Liberian) defeated the Grebo and Kru peoples. (History of Liberia: A Timeline, 2000).

In 1862, Abraham Lincoln (American President), extended official recognition to Liberia (America to Africa: A Letter to Charles B. Dunbar). With overseas immigration drastically slowing down in 1865, Americo-Liberians (as the settlers and their descendents were starting to be called) depended on immigrants from nearby regions of Africa to increase the republic's population. They therefore formed an elite group and perpetuated a double-tiered social structure in which local African peoples could not achieve full participation in the nation's social, civic, and political life. The Americo-

Liberians replicated many of the exclusions and social differentiations that had limited their own lives in the United States (Dickson, 1865).

The Liberian government obtained limited control over the inland region in 1868. This action primarily was due to a report that was submitted by Benjamin Anderson, a government official who journeyed into Liberia's interior to sign a treaty with the king of Musardo. While on his journey, he carefully documented the peoples, the customs, and the natural resources of the areas in which he traveled. His published report was submitted to the Liberian government, which caused the “seizing” of the inland region (History of Liberia: A Timeline, 2000).

In 1875, the United States dispatched a naval ship to assist the Liberian government in settling the conflict among the Grebo peoples. Although the conflict between Americo-Liberians and the African Liberians continued, in 1904, the Liberian government developed and implemented an administrative system that brought indigenous peoples into an indirect political relationship with the central government through their own paid officials.

After World War I in 1919, Liberia signed the League of Nations covenant. An International Commission investigated charges of slavery and forced labor in Liberia in 1929. A year later, the committee could not substantiate such charges according to international law. They did find, however, that Liberian officials, including the republic's vice president, profited from indigenous people's forced labor (History of Liberia: A Timeline, 2000).

In 1946, African Liberians were finally provided the right to vote and participate in elections. Liberian representatives attended the first conference of independent

African nations in 1958. In 1967, Liberian officials served on the Organization of African Unity's Consultation Committee to address the civil war that was taking place in Nigeria. In 1971, President Tubman who was elected as President in 1944 and served seven terms, passed away while still in office. Upon finishing Tubman's unexpired term, William R. Tolbert, Jr. was elected as Liberia's next president in 1972. On April 14, 1979, a rally protesting the increase of rice prices ended in riot. Finally, in 1980, Samuel K. Doe, an African Liberian, led a military coup and assassinated President Tolbert. This coup is a very important historical event because it ended the 133 year reign of Americo-Liberians in Liberia, thus ending Africa's first republic. (History of Liberia: A Timeline, 2000).

Liberian System of Education

The system of education that was initially implemented in Liberia was meant only for the Americo-Liberians. Education was viewed as a tool for the privileged, which meant that it was kept from the masses of the population. Williams (2005) highlights the following about the Liberian class system and socialization process, which had a major impact on access to education:

> Each of the words in this class system assumes added meaning in the Liberian socialization process: the phrase Americo-Liberian or Congo person signifies superiority, access to educational and economic opportunities and political power. In contrast, an African Liberian (commonly known as a country person - lack of formal education), is considered a lowlife, subject to exploitation, denied access to opportunities and political power, and relegated to the demeaning caprices of poverty. (p. 1)

Nelson (1985) describes the level of importance Americo-Liberians placed on formal education. Nelson states that many individuals who had settled in Liberia in the nineteenth century were convinced that the success of their venture and the personal success of' their children required formal education. He writes:

> Public primary and secondary schools for Americo-Liberians were established early, as were church-sponsored schools and institutions of higher education. Generally, these schools were expected to provide a primary and secondary education that would permit the recipient simultaneously to work in offices or to study for professions such as law and theology. For the most part, formal instruction at mission schools was limited to the primary level. In the pre-World War II period and later, children of the Americo-Liberian elite (and some of the more promising wards who were African Liberians) were sent to neighboring African territories or to Europe or the United States for secondary education, partly because of the prestige of doing so and partly because Liberian schools were not highly regarded. There were exceptions, however, one of which was the College of West Africa, a Methodist secondary school long established in Monrovia. (p. 3)

Although education was initially afforded only to the Americo-Liberians (5% of the population), not all Americo-Liberians were provided with access. A division existed between the new settlers upon their arrival to the new land, which lasted for quite some time. The division was due to discriminatory practices that were imposed by the lighter skinned or mulatto Americo-Liberians against the darker toned Americo-Liberians, a practice that found its way into Liberian society by way of practices employed in the United States. Webster and Boahen (1970) highlight the era of Joseph Jenkins Roberts, Liberia's first elected president of African-American descent. They state:

> Roberts, who himself was a light skinned Mulatto, fostered a caste system based on skin color; the light complexioned Mulatto governing class was kept socially apart contending that since the climate took a greater toll of their numbers than of full-blooded Negroes, they, therefore, should be favored in administrative positions (p.6). Administrative positions ensured that individuals completed tasks inside of buildings. These positions required general oversight of major tasks undertaken by others, including the full-blooded Negroes. This philosophy was not accepted by full blooded Negroes; however, the Mulattoes adopted it since they were fighting for their lives; on average, eight out of ten Mulatto colonists died as opposed to four out of ten of the Negro colonists (p.6). The mulattoes typically were unable to deal with the harsh weather and the mosquitoes which were carriers of malaria. (p.6)

After retiring from the presidency, J.J. Roberts became the president of Liberia College and implemented a policy which allowed the admittance of only Mulatto students. This of course could have potentially created educational disparities between the darker and lighter toned American-Liberians. On the social level, the Masonic secret society became an exclusive Mulatto club whose members enjoyed government patronage. Also, the Republicans (Mulatto) used the courts to suppress any opposition (Webster and Boahen, 1970, p. 6). On the political level, American society aggravated the situation between light and dark skinned Americo-Liberians by favoring Mulatto immigrants who supported the U.S. Republican Party when they arrived in Liberia. However, shortly after the American Civil War, immigration to Liberia sharply declined, and with the high death rate among Mulattos, it was only a matter of time before the Republicans fell from power.

Africawithin.com provides an extensive overview of Liberian history and government, highlighting the internal structure of the country, which was based upon four social groups. (Many use this site as a valid source of information because not much scholarly research has been conducted on Liberia). The Mulattos, who dominated economic and political power in the country, held key government jobs, were the leading merchants, and served as trustees of Liberia College. The African-Americans (Negroes) and West Indians of pure African descent included three of the most highly educated men in the country. One of the men was Edward James Roye, who served as Speaker of the House of Representatives, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and was the first man of pure African ancestry to be elected as President of Liberia (1870 – 1871). The second was Edward Wilmont Blyden, who was a West Indian immigrant fluent in Greek, Latin,

French, English, and many local African languages, taught at Liberia College, and became its President. He represented Liberia as its Ambassador to the Court of St. James, served as Secretary of State of Liberia, and was a presidential candidate. He was one of two Liberian intellectuals of the nineteenth century and was the richest man in Liberia. The third was Alexander Crummell, an Episcopal minister, who taught at Liberia College, and had a bachelor of arts degree from Cambridge University in England. The third social group was composed of recaptured Africans who were called Congos, and were brought to Liberia by the American Navy after they were recaptured on slave vessels. Last were the indigenous Africans, who resided on territory and adjacent territory claimed by Liberia.

The State of Education in Liberia

In his work, "Liberia a country study," Nelson (1985) provides the history of education in the country, highlighting the state of education for the masses during the first century of the republic. He states:

> In the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, little attention was given to the education of Liberia's indigenous population. Americo-Liberian governments were not financially in a position to consider educating the entire country, and their control over the indigenous people on the coast, let alone the remoter portions of the Hinterland, was nonexistent or precarious. Moreover, schools would have had to contend with "bush schools (Poro and Sande, in particular)," which was not an easy task under the conditions of the pre-Tubman era. There were a few mission schools in the nineteenth century and several more in the first third of the twentieth, but only a limited number of indigenous Africans benefited from them. Of the few local Africans who were educated in the first century of the republic, most were wards of Americo-Liberian families. (p. 2)

In 1912, a centralized educational system under a cabinet-level official was established and called the Compulsory Education Act. It provided for compulsory free

education for children between the ages of 6 and 16. However, government attempts to implement this law were hindered by violent unrest and a scarcity of educational facilities (Encarta.msn.com/text_761565772_1/Liberia.html, p.2). Nelson (1985) states:

> It encompassed only the five coastal countries, however, and chiefly served the Americo-Liberians living there. Beyond the establishment in 1929 of the Booker Washington Institute (a vocational school) and a teacher training college-by a combination of both American philanthropic and religious interests- little else of significance in education occurred until the World War II era and Tubman's inauguration. Before the war private and mission schools accounted for more than three-fourths of the educational facilities in the country. Mission schools, more numerous than they had been at the turn of the century, provided whatever education Hinterland Africans (other than the wards of Americo-Liberian families) obtained. (p. 1)

The post-World War II era sparked a shift in the education of the indigenous people in Liberia. Nelson (1985) states,

> economic growth and an awareness of social developments elsewhere in Africa stimulated government involvement in the education of indigenous Liberians and with it the reorganization of the school system in 1961. That reorganization, which included mission and private schools, established a structure that persisted into the 1980s. (p. 1)

He further indicates that at the base was pre-primary education for children for children aged four and five; six years of elementary schooling for children aged six to twelve; junior and senior high schools, each level having a three-year curriculum; and post-secondary education.

By the early 1960s a major shift occurred with teachers in Liberia. Nelsons states that:

> more than half the primary and secondary teachers were in government-operated schools. That shift having taken place, however, there were no major changes in the proportion of government schools until after the coup, despite the growth in absolute number. (p. 1)

He further states that

> in 1980 a little more than 58 percent of students in the primary and secondary grades were in government schools. Of the remainder, the pupils in mission schools slightly exceeded those in privately managed institutions. Government-managed schools were particularly prevalent at the primary level. At the secondary level the missions were more active; there were nearly as many mission-managed senior high schools (tenth through twelfth grades) as there were government-operated counterparts, although the number of students in the latter was substantially greater than that in mission schools. (p. 1)

Nelson, summarizes:

> The expansion in facilities was soon reflected in the growth of enrollment. In 1963 fewer than 70,000 pupils were in the pre-primary and primary grades; by 1980 that number had more than tripled. The increase in secondary school pupils between 1963 and 1980s was eightfold, a consequence of the growth in the number of schools and in the pool of primary-school graduates. In that period indigenous Liberians had come increasingly to accept the utility of education, and the societies that controlled the bush schools had adapted to the change. Where the initiation period had once lasted for several years, it had diminished in many communities to less than a year. (p. 2)

Nelson states that "despite improvements in educational facilities, increases in their number, and expanded school enrollment during the era of the Tubman and Tolbert administrations, the educational system at the time of the 1980 coup was marked by significant inadequacies in the quantity and quality of schools, teachers, and educational materials" (p. 8). Ultimately, as more indigenous populations received education on a higher level, as well as having gone through an assimilation process that was deeply embedded within the system of education, the more the quality of education being offered during this last era was challenged.

Although Nelson does not directly state why this occurred, it is my argument that education freed the minds of the indigenous population, allowing them to clearly see and understand the division that existed between themselves and the Americo-Liberians. It

was the liberation of their (African Liberians) minds through education that allowed them to deeply understand the disparities that existed socially and politically, and that the system of education was the instrument or vehicle used to create the disparities. This factor certainly can be viewed as contributing to the coup that occurred in 1980. Nelson explains,

> In the decade before the coup, the Tolbert administration apparently encouraged the university not only to grow but also to improve its standards. Much of the improvement involved the participation of indigenous Liberians who had acquired graduate degrees abroad, often in the United States, as faculty members. By the mid-1970s a substantial portion of the student body and the change in the social and ethnic background of many students led to sustained questioning of the social and political orders in the Tolbert era as well as the generation of opposition movements." (p. 10)

Summary

The foundation of Liberia was deeply rooted in the system of education which was initially established for Americo-Liberians. Formal education itself dictated the social, political, and economic structure of the country. Because education attainment determined one's social, economic, and political mobility, it was safely guarded and reserved only for Americo-Liberians. It was not until 1912 that a centralized educational system was established under Compulsory Education Act, which provided free education for children between the ages of 6 and 16. During the post-World War II era, the government became more involved in the education of indigenous Liberians, ultimately reorganizing the school system in 1961. That reorganization, which included mission and private schools, established a structure that persisted into the1980s. Despite the changes that took place, the rate at which change occurred was very slow, which retarded the progress of the efforts undertaken, ultimately leaving the masses of the population mostly

illiterate. In the early 1980s primary education was still far from universal, and "secondary education reached only a small proportion of those between 12 and 20 years of age. As a result, the literacy rate for the population aged five years and older was estimated at about 24 percent" (Nelson, 1985, p. 11).

CHAPTER 4

METHOD

Focus Questions

This research was undertaken to provide a different perspective as to why the coup d'état took place in Liberia, West Africa, in 1980. An in-depth study was required in an effort to learn about the ruling class (the Americo-Liberians) and the indigenous groups of Liberia. Conducting an in-depth study on the history of the county, the population, and the unrest that occurred led to thoughtful reflection about the attainment of education by historically oppressed groups. The history of the Americo-Liberians in particular proved to be very interesting, as many had achieved higher levels of education prior to relocating to Liberia. How they in turn used their education led to development of three focus questions that have been identified to carefully guide this research. They are as follows:

1. How has education attainment been instrumental in the formation of a mythical norm for Americo-Liberians and the othering of African Liberians?
2. How have Americo-Liberians employed their education?
3. What was the role of education in the rise and fall of Americo-Liberians in Liberia, West Africa?

Research Design

A historical qualitative case study method was employed in an effort to reveal the relationship that exists between Americo-Liberian education attainment and the fall of the country in 1980. Americo-Liberians used education as both a tool of emancipation and a tool of oppression, which led to the demise of the county as a whole. This approach was also utilized in an effort to document the system of education which was initially developed and implemented for Americo-Liberians. This method allows for a clear understanding of the subtle ways in which Americo-Liberians infused cultural capital into their system of education, as well as provides an understanding of how education served as a critical vehicle to perpetuate a mythical norm and to other those who were not Americo-Liberian.

Culture has history (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). The system of education that was set up by Americo-Liberians and deeply embedded cultural capital, served as a basis for culture. Historically, this system of education proved to have far reaching circumstances and consequences over time. Although in many instances Liberian history can be viewed as an analogue of U.S. history, it remains unique in that the ruling class primarily established itself through educational attainment and then sustained itself through the system of education, which was initially implemented for Americo-Liberians and later provided to the general population in the country. It was this very system of education, which has been outlined in this historical qualitative case study, that led to the demise of this population (Ngaima, 2003; Miamen, 2002).

In an effort to understand what a historical qualitative case study is, one must first explore the definition of the word historical, which is: 1) of or relating to the character of

history; 2) based on or concerned with events in history; 3) used in the past; 4) based on real people or events of the past; 5) of or relating to the study of history; 6) of what is famous or important in the past; and 7) having once lived or existed or taken place in the real world as distinct from being legendary; and 8) used in the study of a phenomenon as it changes through time (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

The rise of the Americo-Liberian society and the system of education that was developed and implemented can be viewed as historical in that the evolution of both were based on or concerned with events in history, real people or events of the past, and certainly existed in the real world. Due to the nature of how the ruling class established itself in Liberia, the method by which they elected to establish themselves can be viewed as a phenomenon. A qualitative case study approach that is historical by nature is appropriate to uncover what can identified as a phenomenon. The reign of Americo-Liberians in Liberia, West Africa can clearly be identified as a phenomenon, as the general definition of phenomenon is an extraordinary or very remarkable person, thing, or occurrence. A more research-based definition of phenomenon, as outlined in Approaches to Qualitative Research (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2003), is the processes, events, persons, or things of interest to the researcher such as programs, curricula, roles, and events (p. 545).

A good case study brings a phenomenon to life for readers and helps them understand its meaning (Merriam, 1998). Merriam states that one of the main characteristics of qualitative research is its focus on intensive study of specific instances, that is, cases of a phenomenon (p. 543). Case study research can uncover processes, events, persons, or things of interest to the researcher. Once the phenomena of interest

are revealed, the researcher can select a case for intensive study. Any phenomenon can be studied by means of a case study method. Some researchers focus on the study of one case because of its intrinsic value, whereas other researchers focus on the study of multiple cases in order to test the generalizability of themes and patterns.

Case studies, especially those that capture historical data, are used to describe an experience of people overall, as well as individual experiences within that group (Creswell, 1998; Yin, 1994). This particular type of research will allow the researcher to use the description of participant experiences to better understand the phenomenon (Merriam, 1998) that is taking place, which surrounds education attainment and use of one's education thereafter. Overall, a qualitative case study that is historical by nature will demonstrate how cultures and people evolve over time.

There are advantages, disadvantages and limitations to consider when utilizing the qualitative case study method as outlined by Lincoln & Guba (1981). The following are advantages of conducting a case study: 1) it offers insight that expands the readers' experiences, which can help structure future research, policy, etc.; 2) it advances a field's knowledge base; 3) it goes beyond what a quantitative case study reveals; and 4) it is useful for evaluating programs and informing policies. Some disadvantages of historical qualitative case study methodology include: 1) many researchers go native, losing authenticity because one becomes too involved in the study; 2) they typically take too much time to conduct; 3) one has to understand that the case study can be emergent and ever changing, therefore, one must place the study within a proper context in time.

Historical qualitative case study methodology can be limiting because: 1) although rich, thick description and analysis of a phenomenon are desired, time or money

may not allow the undertaking of the study; 2) if time is available, the product may be too lengthy, detailed or too involved for busy policy makers and/or educators to read and use; 3) the case study method can sometimes over simplify or exaggerate a situation, leading a reader to erroneous conclusions about the actual state of affairs; 4) qualitative case studies generally are sometimes mistaken by readers as accounts of the whole, while it is really only a part (a slice of life).

This case study is both instrumental and evaluative. Instrumentally, it provides a deeper understanding of the system of education that Americo-Liberians implemented, which highlights the educational and social development of generations over a period of 133 years. This historical case study is also evaluative in that it will allow for description, explanation, and judgment to occur.

The unit of analysis is the Americo-Liberian society. A total of twelve interviews were conducted to capture the attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs of Americo-Liberians about the system of education that was implemented in Liberia, West Africa, up to 1980, in addition to uncovering the Americo-Liberian socialization process. The interviews also allowed a more accurate picture to be presented as to how Americo-Liberians were educated, in addition to the development of a more accurate picture of the system of education that was established in the country. Overall, the collected data will allow a better understanding of the relationship that existed between education attainment (by Americo-Liberians) and the rise and fall of the country. Figure 1 shows a conceptual map illustrating the relationship as evinced in the results of my data collection.

Two key informants assisted with the identification of study participants. Both key informants have served both colleagues and personal mentors. A snowballing

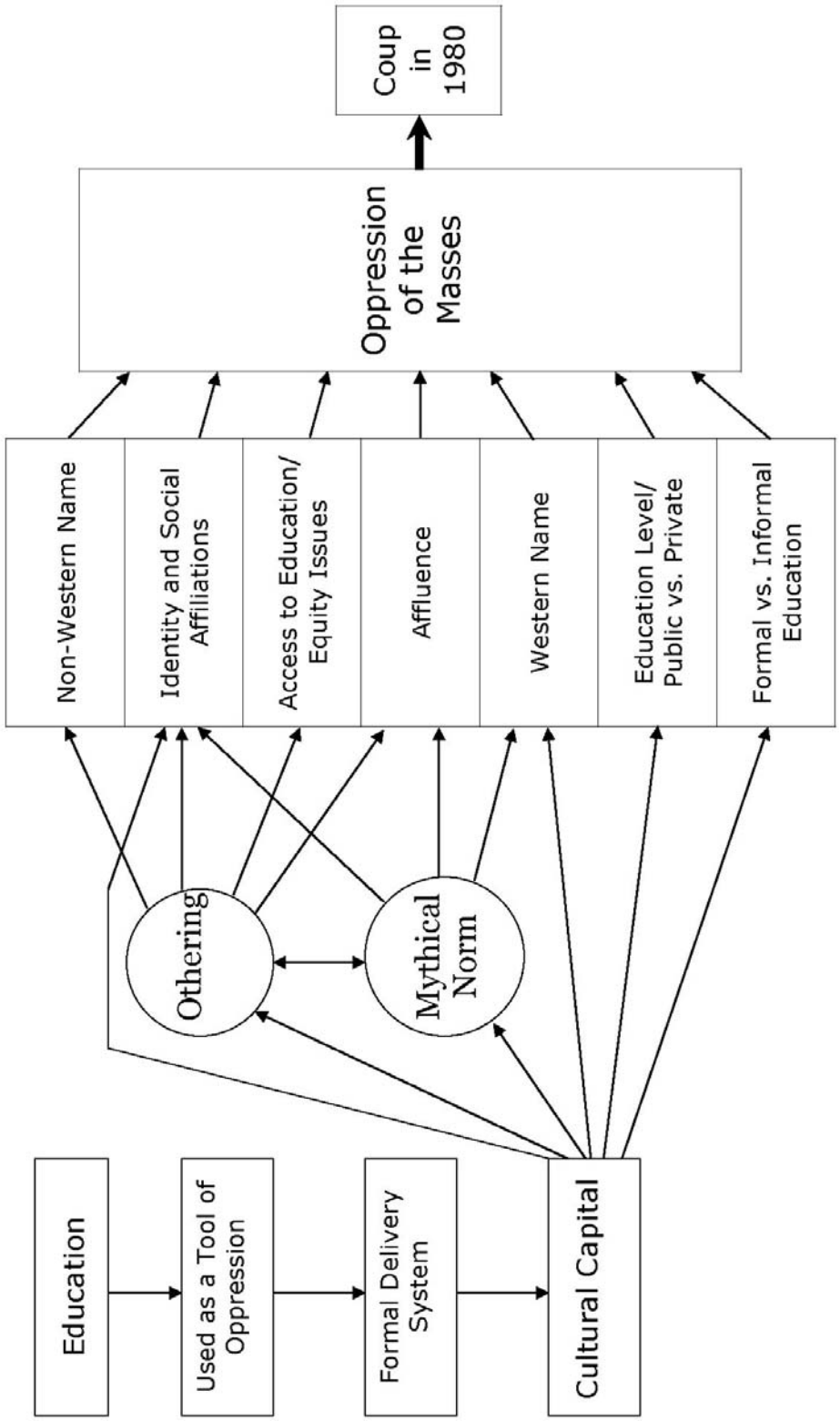

Figure 1. Model of Educational Superstructure and Its Relation to 1980 Liberian Coup.

approach was also used to identify study participants. The term "snowball sampling," which also is referred to as convenience sampling, uses one qualified respondent to locate another in order to accumulate list of qualified individuals for the study. In the survey research literature, however, snowball sampling or network sampling is used as an approach to build a frame from which a sample can then be drawn. The method is typically used to build a high-quality sampling frame of a narrow population that might otherwise be hard to find without a privately owned list (Heckathorn, 1997).

Study participants (both male and female) were interviewed until saturation was reached. Saturation was reached upon the point at which participants began to articulate having very similar experiences and essentially provided similar responses to questions posed. Participant age categories included the following: 1) 30 –39; 2) 40 – 49; and 3) 50 and older. Informed consent was obtained from all participants to participate in this study (see Appendix B).

The following questions were used to guide my interviews:

1. What is your name, age, place of birth, and current occupation? Please provide a brief description of your work history.
2. Which group (by birth) are you affiliated with (Americo-Liberian or African Liberian)? How do you identify yourself?
3. What is the highest level of education that you have achieved? (Please state institutions of education attended. Please provide information on your family members as well – parents and siblings.) Are you from an affluent family? Do you feel that you had greater access to education because of your status as an Americo-Liberian?

4. Describe the education system in Liberia from which you graduated
5. Describe other types of systems of education (i.e. those that existed for African-Liberians) that were in place other than that from which you received your formal education.
6. From your perspective, did education attainment or the lack of access to education play a major role in the demise of Liberia as a whole in 1980?

Human as a Researcher

Because I am of Americo-Liberian descent, and having resided in Liberia, West Africa until the coup d'état in 1980, I served in the capacity of a human instrument, highlighting my personal experience in this privileged society, which allowed me to adequately frame the history, culture, and experience of Americo-Liberians. My goal was to provide a historical overview of the relationship between America in its colonization of Liberia and Liberia in its identity formation of Americo-Liberians and how they identify themselves today, which cuts across topics such as power, domination, and control through the use of education as a tool.

Serving as a human instrument has allowed me the ability to much more effectively conduct this historical qualitative case study. Data were primarily collected through primary sources that include in-person and telephone interviews. The trustworthiness of the data was measured based upon Lincoln and Guba's (1985) four criteria: credibility (true value of the data, internal validity), confirmability (objectivity of the researcher), dependability (consistency, replicability or explainable instabilities), and transferability (applicability, external validity). Through the use of a research protocol, research tools, as well as the raw data and associated analysis, I was able to ensure that

the trustworthiness of the data was measured. For example, all research participants were provided the opportunity to review a transcription of their interview to ensure that information was accurately recorded. Also, a copy of the interview tape is available to ensure that information was properly captured during the interview, which overall ensures the credibility of this study. Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be generalized or transferred to other contexts or settings. The data captured in this dissertation can be transferred or deemed as applicable to other settings in which dominant cultures exist. In essence, cultural capital, othering, and mythical norms exist in most societies around the world. Likewise, the system of education is used as a vehicle to perpetuate the same. Dependability emphasizes the need for the researcher to account for the ever-changing context within which research occurs. In this case, the responses of the participants were very consistent with the data that was collected from other sources during various points in time. Periods between the 1800s to the late 1970s revealed a level of consistency with regard to the Americo-Liberian mindset. The interviewing of Americo-Liberians for this dissertation revealed that the Americo-Liberian midset present today remains consistent with that which existed between the early 1800s and the late 1970s. Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others. The Americo-Liberian study participants provided consistent responses to all of the questions that were posed during their interview. Likewise, those individuals who were considered to be the "other" provided consistent responses to interview questions. The responses from both Americo-Liberian and African Liberian participants are consistent with information obtained from scholarly research on the inhabitants of Liberia from the early 1800s to

1980, which has been documented throughout this dissertation and overall has ensured the confirmability of the data.

I initially utilized chatrooms and the snowballing method to contact Americo-Liberians in the United States. One of the chatrooms included a Listerv (which is growing daily) of Americo-Liberians in the US. AIMS (America Online Instant Messenger) was also utilized to communicate on-line. Other mechanisms that were utilized to communicate with Americo-Liberians include countrywatch.com and theperspective.org (for editorials, newsletters, paper presentations, etc.).

Primary and secondary sources of data were collected through published works such as articles, critiques of literature, newspaper clippings, books, journals, and information available on-line to support data presented in this study and to articulate the historical context in which the identity of the Americo-Liberian population was formed (please note: due to the coup, access to written documents is limited). These sources allowed the development of an adequate picture of this class-based society, which emerged through the engagement of a mythical norm, cultural capital, and the employment of an othering process.

Qualifications as a Researcher and Assumptions and Biases

My qualifications as a researcher include my personal background (being of Americo-Liberian descent and having received formal education in Liberia during critical child development years), which afforded me firsthand knowledge of what it means to be Americo-Liberian. I therefore made the assumption that Americo-Liberians would respond in a manner that reflects my educational experience in Liberia. African Liberians, as documented through many secondary resources provided in this study, have

provided different responses. My personal biases include my appreciation for the system of education that was established for Americo-Liberians. Although it was a notable approach to providing a certain type of education to recipients, I argue that the educational system both socially and economically crippled the masses, which will be demonstrated in chapter 5. It is my belief that this perspective is not shared by many Americo-Liberians, I therefore have conducted this research with an open mind, although I will not allow the results of research to be redirected or influenced by the popular belief of Americo-Liberians because I am Americo-Liberian. Because I have conducted extensive research over the years and have discovered how Americo-Liberians acquired Liberia, in additional to the harsh treatment was imposed upon the indigenous people by Americo-Liberians, my personal biases also include me being in support of the indigenous people - providing them with proper education and with the opportunity to share their rich cultures and histories with all inhabitants of Liberia. Again, I will protect against this bias by not allowing my personal biases to influence the outcome of this study.

Summary

A historical qualitative case study was conducted to uncover the relationship that exists between Americo-Liberian education attainment and the demise of the country in 1980. The use of this method served many purposes, which includes documenting the system of education that was initially developed and implemented for Americo-Liberians, providing a clear understanding of the ways in which Americo-Liberians infused cultural capital into their system of education, and providing an understanding of how education

served as a vehicle to perpetuate a mythical norm and to other those who were not of Americo-Liberian descent.

Both primary and secondary data collection methods were employed to collect data for this study. A snowballing approach, which also is known as a convenience method, was employed to identify research participants for this study. Overall, data collection methods collectively led to the undertaking of an extensive study on the Americo-Liberian population in Liberia, West Africa from the early 1800s to 1980.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A total of 12 individuals participated in this study, representing ages that ranged from 38 to 78. Ten of the study participants were male, while only 2 of the participants were female. I interviewed participants until saturation was reached. For example, reoccurring conversations around the economic collapse of the country was attributed to the high illiteracy rate that existed among African Liberians. This can be linked to their lack of access to education in general, and specifically, equitable education. However, many Americo-Liberians argued that everyone had access to quality education. Hence, interviewing participants until saturation was reached allowed me to uncover information that perhaps may not have been disclosed or recognized as a common viewpoint held by many Americo-Liberians. Reaching saturation allowed themes to be developed for this study. Thematic categories and subcategories include the following: 1) Surnames – western vs non-western; 2) Issues around affluence; 3) issues around identity and social affiliations; 4) Education – formal vs informal systems of education, level of education, access to education, in particular, equitable education. All of these categories can be directly linked to cultural capital that existed in the country, which reinforced the mythical norm and othering. Overall, information obtained from the interviewees demonstrates that where cultural capital is present within a society, a mythical norm exists and those who are not a part of dominant culture are considered as the "other" and thus are treated as the other ("othering").

Interview Questions

The following questions were posed to study participants to guide the interviews: 1) What is your name, age, place of birth and current occupation? Please provide a brief description of your work history; 2) Which group (by birth) are you affiliated with (Americo-Liberian or African Liberian)? How do you identify yourself? 3) What is the highest level of education that you have achieved? (Please state institutions of education attended. Please provide information on your family members as well – parents and siblings.) Are you from an affluent family? Do you feel that you had greater access to education because of your status as an Americo-Liberian?; 4) Describe the education system in Liberia from which you graduated; 6) Describe other types of systems of education (i.e. those that existed for African-Liberians) that were in place other than that from which you received your formal education; and 7) From your perspective, did education attainment or the lack of access to education play a major role in the demise of Liberia as a whole in 1980?

Participant Profiles

Interviewee #1

He identified himself as an Americo-Liberian male, age 63. He was an agronomist and administrator by profession (retired). His educational background, training, and certifications include a B.A. in agronomy; B.A. in psychology; and a M.S. in agriculture education, obtained from Tuskegee University. Both of his parents attended college; his father obtained his B.A and J.D. Both parents were identified as Americo-Liberian. He was born and raised in White Plains, Liberia. His family has a western name.

Interviewee #2

He identified himself as an African Liberian, age 39. He currently is a management consultant. He has a B.A in both English and education, obtained from Georgia State University. Both parents, who were also identified as African Liberian, attended college and have B.A. degrees. He was born and raised in Monrovia, Liberia. His family has a western last name.

Interviewee #3

He identified himself as an African Liberian male, age 52. He currently is a financial consultant. He has a master's degree in financial management, a B.A in accounting and a B.A. in marketing. He indicated that both of his mother and father, who are African Liberian, completed junior high school. He was born in High Dell, Liberia. His family has a western last name.

Interviewee #4

He identified himself as being of mixed culture (Americo-Liberian and Mandingo/Fula), age 38. He currently is a medical technologist and educator. He has a M.A. in biology, a B.S. in microbiology, and is currently working on his Ph.D. in human genetics at Howard University. His mother, who was identified as Americo-Liberian, has a master's in Education (Iowa State University). His father, who was identified as of mixed heritage (Mandingo/Fula) has a doctorate in engineering (Iowa State University). He was born in Bomi, Liberia and has an Islamic last name.

Interviewee #5

He identified himself as an Americo-Liberian male, age 78. He served as an engineer his entire career (retired). He received his degree from Liberia College. Both

of his parents, who were identified as Americo-Liberian, completed high school only. He was born in Monrovia, Liberia and has a western last name.

Interviewee #6

He identified himself as an Americo-Liberian male, age 41. He is currently the director of operations for a very reputable business in the hospitality industry. He has a B.S. in business management (University of Dallas). His mother attended technical school and his father attended Liberia College. Both parents were identified as Americo-Liberian. He was born in Monrovia, Liberia and has a western last name.

Interviewee #7

She identified herself as an Americo-Liberian female, age 42. Her current profession is as a postmaster. She is currently a junior in college. Both parents were identified as Americo-Liberian. Her mother was a linguist. Her father attended college. She was born in Charleston, West Virginia, however, was reared in Liberia during her formative years. Her family has a western last name.

Interviewee #8

She identified herself as an Americo-Liberian female, age 48. She is current a program assistant at a prestigious institution of higher education in the United States. She attended college at the University of Liberia, however, due to the coup d'etat, did not complete her course work. She is currently in college and completing course work. She indicated that both of her parents, who are Americo-Liberians, attended college. She was born in Monrovia, Liberia. Her family has a western last name.

Interviewee #9

He identified himself as an Americo-Liberian male, age 42. He served in the capacity of a call center manager for a reputable company in the United States for years and is currently in the process of relocating to Liberia, West Africa. While attending Morehouse College, he studied biology and chemistry. Both parents were identified as Americo-Liberian. His mother is a Registered Nurse and his father obtained a master's degree in engineering. He was born in Harbel, Liberia. His family has a western last name.

Interviewee #10

He identified himself as an Americo-Liberian male, age 53. He is currently an auditor. He attended Morehouse College for two years. He indicated that both parents are Americo-Liberian and attended college. He was born in Monrovia, Liberia and has a western last name.

Interviewee #11

He identified himself as a Liberian male, age 60. He currently is a quality assurance engineer. He has a Master's degree in engineering (Southern Polytechnic College) and attended law school (John Hopkins University). He also has a B.A. (Bloomfield State College – WV). He indicated that both of his parents are Liberian and had very limited formal education. He did not indicate where he was born in Liberia. He has a non-western last name.

Interviewee #12

He identified himself as a first generation Liberian male, age 42. His current profession is as a grants development manager. He has a master's degree in regional

planning (University of Liberia) and a B.A. (University of Liberia). He received additional training and certification from institutions in the UK & Swaziland. He indicated that both parents received technical training. His parents migrated to Liberia and were accepted into Americo-Liberian society. Hence, they are Americo-Liberian (typically, Americo-Liberians refer to these individuals as Congos).

Name, Place of Birth, and Profession

Participants were initially asked to provide their name, age, place of birth and current occupation. They were also asked to provide a brief description of their work history. With regard to names, almost all participants, with the exception of two, had last names in which origins can be traced to western culture. One participant, whose last name was not particularly reflective of western culture, was of mixed heritage. His father was also of mixed heritage, part Mandingo (the Mandingo are from Mali) and part Fula (the Fulani are from Guinea). He was not Liberian. His mother, however, is Americo-Liberian. The participant was raised in Liberia. The other participant that did not bear a readily identifiable name that is reflective of Western culture indicated that he wished to be identified as Liberian only, ethnicity was not of concern to him.

The western influence within this society was a particularly important discovery. Since Americo-Liberians migrated from the United States and had assimilated into American Society prior to migrating overseas, they took with them the ways and values of that society and transferred it into Liberian society. One way in which this is evident is through the names of the majority of the study participants. This certainly is reflective of the influence and cultural capital that exists within the United. Western names were reflective of members of dominant society. Americo-Liberians therefore viewed this

capital as critical to their survival and success prior to traveling to Christopolis, which was later named Liberia.

Ages of participants varied considerably, ranging between 38 to 78. Table 1 reflects the age categories and percentages of individuals who participated in the study by ranges no greater than 10 years.

All participants, with the exception of two, indicated that they were born and raised in Liberia. One participant (Americo-Liberian Female, 42) indicated that she was born in the United States, however, her family returned to Liberia one year after her birth and departed shortly after the initial coup in 1980. Another participant (Liberian male, 60) did not specify where he was born, although he indicated that he attended school in Liberia. Of the participants (males) who indicated that they were born in Liberia, four indicated that they were born in rural areas, which means that their experience was different from those individuals who were reared in the city. Two of these individuals were of Americo-Liberian descent, while one was of mixed heritage and the other was African Liberian.

This information was especially important because most Americo-Liberians resided in the urban areas of Liberia. The government heavily invested in areas in which Americo-Liberians resided, in particular, they were provided with the best schools. Living in non-rural areas meant that one had access to the best education that the government offered, primarily private education. The public system of education improved dramatically during the early 1960s which meant that students who attended these institutions were provided with a more equitable education. However, disparities still existed between the education received by Americo-Liberians vs African Liberians.

Table 1

Age Categories of Participants

Age Categories	No.	%
30-40	2	16.7%
41-50	5	41.7%
51-60	3	25.0%
61-70	1	8.3%
71-80	1	8.3%
Total	12	100.0%

African Liberian students who lived in urban areas of Liberia and attended school typically attended public schools.

All participants, with the exception of two (Americo-Liberians), indicated that they are currently employed as professionals in the workforce in the United States. One participant (Americo-Liberian male, 78) indicated that he currently is retired, while the other (Americo-Liberian male, 42) indicated that he is currently not employed due to the downsizing of the company in which he was employed. He is currently relocating back to Liberia and will not seek further employment in the United States. When asked about their employment history, all participants overwhelmingly indicated that they had secured positions as professionals throughout their careers. Positions included serving in the capacities of managers (upper and lower in both public and private sectors), consultants, accountants, and engineers (including agronomy).

This information was an important finding because schools, in particular, those within private systems, were set up to ensure that Americo-Liberians were trained to become managers, or what is viewed by society as holding the top positions. The preparation of the students for these positions occurred through the system of education in Liberia, particularly in the private schools. The school system therefore served as a conduit to perpetuate, transfer, and reinforce cultural capital.

Identification and Affiliation

Although twelve individuals participated in this study, only seven individuals directly identified themselves as Americo-Liberian. One individual (male, 38) reported being of mixed heritage (Americo-Liberian and another culture). His mother is Americo-Liberian and his father is from another country in Africa. All other participants indicated that they were Liberian or not of Americo-Liberian descent. One participant indicated that his family relocated to Liberia and was accepted into Americo-Liberian society (these types of individuals are referred to as Congos), and extended the privileges and benefits afforded to all Americo-Liberians. They therefore were able to identify themselves as Americo-Liberians. However, due to locale (he grew up in rural Liberia), he is affiliated with many individuals from indigenous groups, which include Kpelle, Vai, and Loma. He indicated that he speaks Kpelle fluently because that was the dominant language of that particular locale. He therefore chooses to move away from tribal, ethnic, and historical orientation and differences because his experience was quite different. He indicated that his experience is one that is "rich and reflective of a great cultural mix that is inclusive of many different cultural mores and values." He and his siblings are first

generation Liberians and in the spirit of celebrating a New Liberia, prefer to be classified only as a Liberian.

Another participant (male, 60) did not indicate whether or not he was of African-Liberian or Americo-Liberian descent. His preference was to be referred to as Liberian. His last name is not one that can be considered of western culture. He indicated that his parents did not attend college; however, his father was able to advance in his profession and was very successful in his field. He has received all of the privileges that Americo-Liberians received. He attended private schools and excelled at college in the United States. He has obtained extensive education and has held many positions both in Liberia and in the United States. In particular, he has served in the capacity of an engineer. Although it was not directly stated by the participant, he left me with the impression that he is an African Liberian who was extended privilege based upon his fathers' position in the country and affiliations. Two other participants, both of whom have western last names, indicated directly that they are African Liberians.

With regard to affiliation with non-Americo-Liberians, three individuals (who were Americo-Liberian or a part of Americo-Liberian society) expressed that due to locale, they interacted with individuals from other groups (primarily African Liberians from different ethnic groups). They all indicated that their social experience was quite different from that of most Americo-Liberians, which allowed for greater social interaction with the African Liberians, therefore rendering a different perspective. These individuals thought they were able to move freely among the African Liberians and were welcomed and admired by them as opposed to being abhorred by them. Individuals who directly indicated that they were African Liberian spoke of affiliations with Americo-

Liberians or mixed groups. A few of the other Americo-Liberian participants indicated that they attended school with individuals from other groups, whereas five of the Americo-Liberian participants did not recall being affiliated with individuals who were not of Americo-Liberian descent.

The information obtained in this area was critically important. What was discovered is that many interviewees who initially were identified by the key informants for this study were presumed to be Americo-Liberian due to their western names and social affiliations over the years. As mentioned earlier with regard to surnames, only two surnames names were provided that could not be readily linked to western society. However, it was revealed in this section that five of the participants were not actually Americo-Liberian. This demonstrates that the "capital" of holding a western name in this society was deemed as critically important to one's success (obtaining a good education and ensuring one's economic and political well-being, as well as social status and affiliations), therefore, it was necessary for individuals to hold a western name. If individuals were willing to take on western names in an effort to "pass" (as an Americo-Liberian), which led them to greater success, this capital, in particular was great and cannot be overlooked. It is apparent that individuals within this society were "othered" if they did not have a western surname. It is also apparent that one was not a part of dominant culture, or considered as the "mythical norm" if a western name was not held. Obviously an individual is considered to be the "other" if one is not what is considered to be the "mythical norm." Likewise, one's social affiliations primarily were linked to the holding of a western name. In order to be successful, one had to be have a western name, which in particular meant that the person must be of Americo-Liberian descent. Here we

see cultural capital, the mythical norm, and othering occurring. Where one is present, the others also are present.

Education Attainment

All of the study participants indicated that they attended college. Although both of the Americo-Liberian female participants (42 and 48 years old) indicated that they have not yet completed their education, they are currently working towards the completion of their degrees. Only one male participant (Americo-Liberian) indicated that he had only completed two years of college. Almost all of the participants indicated that they had attended college at some point in time in the United States, with the exception of three individuals, one Americo-Liberian female (48), one Americo-Liberian male (78), and one male who preferred to be recognized as Liberian (42), although, from the perspective of an Americo-Liberian, would be classified as Congo. (All three indicated that they attended the University of Liberia or Liberia College, which are the same institution. The institution was initially named Liberia College when founded and later became the University of Liberia). All others indicated that they attended colleges in the U.S. or abroad. The schools included Morehouse College, Tuskegee University, Howard University, University of Dallas, Bloomfield State College, Southern Polytechnic State University, Johns Hopkins School of Law, The Liberty University (The Institute of Social Studies - Netherlands - Holland), Oxford University, and St. John's University. One participant indicated that he had attended college in the UK, however, the name of the institution was not provided.

This finding is important because it was typically held as a rite of passage for Americo-Liberian students to not only attend college, but to do so abroad. Attending

college and doing so abroad was typically reserved for the privileged. Americo-Liberian students and African Liberian students who typically were sponsored by an Americo-Liberian family or rarely whose family could afford to send their children abroad, typically did so. This act was demonstrative of one's social and economic status within Liberian society. In particular, it demonstrated the capital of education, which has an impact on one's social and economic placement within this society. If one could not send their children to college (typically abroad), one could readily be considered as the other. This finding also was of importance because it touches upon the importance of education to Americo-Liberians, from the early 1800s to 1980, the importance of education remained the same. Education, as initially deemed by the early settlers (free slaves from the United States), was and remained of critical importance to Americo-Liberians. In chapter two, education was discussed as critical to the survival of the Americo-Liberians, and was therefore reserved for the privileged. Sending the students abroad was a way to ensure that they were exposed to other cultures and countries in particular. It would make them much more knowledgeable and competitive students and adequately prepared them for leadership positions upon their presumed return to the country. This finding also highlights the cultural capital of western society was either passed or reinforced through the system of education in the United States of America, as most students indicated that they attend school in America. Again, western values were instilled and passed to students, all of whom did return to the country after receiving their college education.

An Americo-Liberian participant (age 63) recalled his experience. He elaborated on the training and intentional development of the Americo-Liberian student and stated the following when asked about equal access to education for all:

> The motivation was different. But we all had the same possibility and accessibility. But when you do not know how to work – you see there's a difference between going to school and working - but knowing how to work is a different thing, and working smart is a better thing. We are taught to be managers as Americo-Liberians. By the time we are 4 years old, we are participating in church where you are placed as heads of committees. You begin speaking in the church. I was four (4) when I gave my first recitation in church, and then you have a different motivation level. You see, first the parents are educated. They know how to convey to you that nothing is impossible. Whereas, other individuals did not have that capacity. My brother-in-law, and even some of my own friends whose parents were also Americo-Liberian…, but they were being raised the wrong way. We had to work, and as a result, we are being conditioned now that way (to be managers). You understand?

As stated earlier, students typically attended reputable institutions and pursued degrees in fields that would allow careers in middle to upper management. The fields in which the participants obtained degrees and their levels of achievement varied. All participants, with the exception of three (Americo-Liberians), had obtained a bachelor's degree. As stated earlier, two of the three participants (Americo-Liberian females) are currently in the process of completing their bachelor's degree. Two individuals (Americo-Liberian male, 63; African Liberian male, 52) reported having at least two bachelor's degrees. Four participants indicated that they have at least one master's degree (Americo-Liberian male, 63; African Liberian male, 52; Liberian male, 60; Liberian male, 42). One individual (mixed heritage, 38) indicated that he is currently pursuing a Ph.D. The fields of specialization varied and included chemistry, biology, human genetics, engineering, regional planning, English, education, and agronomy (Appendix C).

When asked about family members attending college, almost all of the participants indicated that their siblings and parents had attended college or had received technical training or formal education. Only one individual, who identified himself simply as Liberian (age 60), indicated that his parents had not received any technical training or had attended college. Despite his parents' limited educational background, his father still excelled in his field, which afforded this participant excellent educational opportunities, attending some of the best private schools in Liberia. He became an engineer after attending law school for a short period of time. He did not provide information about his siblings or their educational training or professional backgrounds. Many of the participants who had offspring indicated that their children had attended college and not yet completed their education or that they had completed college. In particular, one participant, who identified himself as African Liberian (52), indicated that three of his offspring are currently attending or had graduated from Ivy League institutions.

This section overall highlights the importance of education to Americo-Liberians. It demonstrates that "others" deemed education as the key to their success as well. Interviewees who indicated that they were not Americo-Liberian reached great heights educationally and ensured that their offspring also received not only higher levels of education, but in particular, from prestigious institutions. This overall is a demonstration of how cultural capital has been perpetuated in Liberia.

Education systems in Liberia

Two types of education were identified in Liberia, formal and informal. Informal education occurred in the home and surrounded one's upbringing and rites of passage.

Three formal systems were identified and included Bush Schools (schools in the interior of the country), public schools, and private schools.

Almost all of the participants indicated that they had attended private institutions while in Liberia. In particular, all of the Americo-Liberian participants indicated that they attended private schools. Many schools that were mentioned included St. Patrick's High School, St. Patrick's Elementary School, College of West Africa (CWA – the most prestigious and established Liberian private high school), and the American Cooperative School (ACS, an American operated school – K-12).

Many described the curriculum as being similar to that which students in the United States received. Subjects included English, English drama and literature, biology, calculus, chemistry, mathematics, algebra, world history, etc. - subjects that one would be exposed to in a typical American classroom. All participants described using American text books. One participant (Americo-Liberian male, 42) stated that when he relocated to the United States during the mid part of his 10th grade year, the textbook that was being utilized in his biology course in Liberia at the time was the same text book that was being utilized in the public school system in Maryland, which is where he completed his 10th grade year.

This finding is of critical importance because he demonstrates how influence of western culture on this society and how this cultural capital was perpetuated throughout the Liberian systems of education. What was of particular importance was many participants indicated not recalling learning about African history in general, and in particular, Liberian history. They could provide information about American cultural and society; however, they could not provide information on African history, in particular,

Liberian history. Also, children of the elite attending private schools further demonstrates the great influence western culture had on this society, being that sending one's child to private school was typical of dominant western society.

Participants indicated that much learning occurred through memorization and recitation due to limited tools in the classroom. Some participants indicated that this learning method in particular made them much more adept and gave them a competitive edge once they entered into schools in the United States. An Americo-Liberian participant (age 63) recalled his experience:

> Well in elementary school through 8th grade, the discipline included English - we had special English Drama that we had to pass. You had to know your nouns and verbs and everything and be able to write. You had to know a certain amount of math, otherwise you wouldn't graduate with a degree. But during those days, they prepared you to go into the world of work after 8th grade, so you had to know how to write reports, write letters, and those kinds of tasks. Then when you got into high school, we studied various forms of literature and also English. My favorites were A Midsummer Night's Dream … Julius Caesar, most of that we had to memorize by heart. In high school we didn't do bible. In elementary school we had bible study. We had to memorize various chapters of verses, because we had to be able to quote the bible. Then in high school, because of a certain lack of materials, we had to do an excessive amount of memory work. For example, in chemistry the lab was very limited, so we had to memorize the kind of chemical, the smell, color, the conversion property, the various properties of the chemical…. a lot of memory work. Biology was the same…. We had to do memory work. We had to know the parts of the body in high school. All memory work. Most of high school was basically memory work. We had to memorize. We had a teacher by the name of Ms. Mumblelee and she would come in and she would say what 's the blank, blank, blank, of the blank, blank, blank of the blank, blank, blank and we would have known exactly where she was coming from. There was no way for you to comprehend that. A lot of times we had to memorize the book. Once you did that, you would be prepared and would be able to answer the question. That was high school.

Another Americo-Liberian (male, 78) participant spoke about the teachers in the system. He stated:

> Our teachers, most of them, were Americans – some were, of course, Liberians. And in college, they were predominantly Liberians, but some were foreigners. Foreigners taught us in the sciences, like chemistry, mathematics, and so forth. But for the liberal arts subjects like English, history, literature, and so forth, they were taught primarily by Liberian educators. When I say Liberian educators, I mean those who were trained in Liberia. They were, um, primarily across the board (Americos and African Liberians). Some of them were teachers who had studied in the United States and gone home and they taught. Some again, were those who were educated in Liberia and they taught in Liberia…. This was primarily during Tubman's time.

The private schools, as discussed by most of the interviewees, were said to have higher expectations – very high expectations were placed on the teachers by parents, and principals. They in turn pushed the students and expected outstanding results from them. The parents were funding the schools because they were paying very high tuition for their children to attend, and they had high expectations of everyone – the principals, teachers, and students. The curriculum was described as very rigorous by many - only very few participants indicated that it was standard and not very intense. The private schools' intent was to adequately prepare students to be successful in college. They would be prepared to compete with students from other countries upon their entry into college. Being successful was instilled within them. This cultural capital also was perpetuated through the system of education. One participant, who only identified himself as Liberian, recalled:

> I graduated from high school before coming to the States. So I went to private schools, St. Patrick's Elementary and St. Patrick's High School. But the curriculum was very rigorous - quality speaking, compared to the other schools in Liberia. Cause… the private schools offer the best in terms of preparing students for high school. And so we went through this very intense program. We did a lot of arithmetic, a lot of math, world history, current events, and things of that nature and it was very intense. The intensity level… I will give you a sense of what it was. When I came to the states as a high school graduate, I started college in Bloomfield, WV – Bloomfield State College. I came so well grounded and so well

> prepared, that to be honest with you, everything I did in my freshman and sophomore year, I felt that I had already covered in High School. I didn't really apply myself in college until I got into my junior year. That's when I really began to study, because the 1st two years, in my own mind, was just like going through a review of my high school years. And so I maintained Dean's List, and scholarships all through those two years, those four semesters. When I hit the first semester of my … junior year, that's when I really started applying myself because I had ventured into foreign territory so to speak. And so if I were to give you a sense of how the education was, from that vantage point, that would be the best description for me.

The participant of mixed heritage (male, 38) who attended public school recalls the aspects of the private schools that promoted cultural capital, the mythical norm, and othering. He states the following:

> I went to, Monrovia Central High School. It wasn't geared toward any particular group as far as high school….You know, that was after the coup. So you know a lot of things have changed. Cause before the coup, you know I was much younger, I was like 10 years old and I don't know if I can, most of the things that I know were things that I read about. I would have to say that there were still… some resemblances you know vestiges of that privilege going on. I had friends going to schools like St. Patrick's. But that was a Catholic School. But to me the other good schools were like CWA (College of West Africa) and you know we had friends going there. As a matter of fact I have a cousin, well she's in her 50s and she's actually my business partner as well and she's a cousin on my father's side. So of course … her mother was Mandingo too, and she really took a lot of stick [was harassed] in trying to go to CWA – College of West Africa. Her father was a rich man and that's probably the only reason why she got in because she said it was a big deal. With Liberia being Liberia, if your name is not Western you know back in the days… you will be discriminated against, just based on name and so she had a hard time trying to get into CWA. But I guess… money talks and so she eventually got in because her father was exceedingly wealthy - so that's the only reason why she got in…. And for a lot of our friends (Americos), definitely, we can't deny that… that's something that we just have to admit about Liberia. The system was just geared towards … a particular group. And so a lot of schools, you know, were supposedly, preserved for, you know, their kids or the educational system was really based on what they thought… the system ought to be…. I have a lot of friends who can attest to that.

Other formal education systems (i.e. those that existed for African-Liberians)

Two types of education systems other than private schools were identified by participants, which primarily existed for African-Liberians and included public schools and schools in the interior.

Public Schools

The public schools were primarily located in the city. As explained by a few interviewees, it was not until the Tubman and Tolbert administrations that these schools emerged. Prior to this, the few schools that were available were established by missionaries or churches (Episcopal and Catholic churches in particular, were prevalent in Liberia and had a significant sphere of influence and reached the masses of the people). The government later followed by establishing a few schools in the interior. Many participants contended that the public school system was similar to that of the private schools. Many participants described the public school system as being harsher in some cases, where teachers could discipline the students, whereas, the private schools were said to have higher expectations placed on the teachers, students, and principals. The participant of mixed heritage (male, 38) shared his public high school experience:

> I had a little bit of a different experience from the regular person. I have an Islamic background and we went to our own schools, but I think it was a little bit more rigorous than the average person because we had to study Arabic as well, so we went to two schools in one. And . . . we had two schools in one, meaning in the morning time, from 8 – 2, we went to a strictly Arabic school. Everything was done in Arabic, strictly. And then from 2 - , well 2:30 to 7:30 or 8 we had… instruction in English. So . . . I did that for a while for about 5-6 years, so . . . well, junior high, well elementary into junior high. And then when I got to high school, I went to . . . a public high school, one of the main public high schools in Monrovia. I was there for 3 years. . . . I'd like to say junior high, I would like to think it was pretty rigorous . . . obviously going to two sets of schools . . . was very . . . the curriculum was very packed, so to speak. Yeah, so we had . . . a lot going on, we were very busy all day long. You can imagine from 8 to

> 8. That was just too much school. But that's how it was. One thing I can also so speak (say) for the mainstream curriculum, cause I went to a mainstream high school too, as far as instruction, I though it was good. Given the limited resources that we had, I though it was good. I don't think I was ill-equipped at all coming to the US. As a matter of fact I thought I was, you know, in a much better position than most of the freshman in college that I met here – in which I was really surprised. And I thought… it was rigorous enough.

An Americo-Liberian participant (male, 53) who attended various private schools referenced what is called the Monrovia Consolidated Schools System (MCSS). The MCSS project was a replication initiative which allowed for the integration of curriculum found in a typical public school in United States into that which had been prepared for students in the Liberian public school system. The participant stated:

> I was told or I had heard rumors that public schools were not as good, okay. But then, I challenge that also because there was a program that was titled before I left, called the Monrovia Consolidated School system – okay? This was a program that was spearheaded by a San Francisco state representative and San Francisco State University because they bid for that project and they won that project and they sent a young vibrant guy to Liberia, you know. And this Black guy called Asa Hilliard, he happens to be here in Atlanta right now…okay! So he spearheaded that project. He headed the Monrovia consolidation project system and they built a couple of schools and it was exactly the prototype of the typical public school here you know… it had adequate facilities and everything, you know. But of course the coup took that all away.… But the school MCSS, still stood up cause, you know I know a lot of students that went there… And they kind of were the norm - they were the norm…. And the curriculum was pretty standard, you know, mostly American emphasis… the text books and everything were typical American. . . . There was nothing wrong with it . . .

When asked about the quality of the public school system, some participants, primarily Americo-Liberian, agreed that the curriculum administered was consistent across the board for both Americo-Liberians and African Liberians, especially in terms of rigor. Others, primarily the non-Americo-Liberians, tended to disagree. However, with regard to being equal, one participant (Liberian male, 60) stated the following:

> …well it was rigorous across the board, to be very honest with you. But to sit here and say that it was on equal footing with the education the indigenous people received, I think I would be misleading you. I would be misleading you. Just like here in America, the difference between the white schools and the average neighborhood schools, the brighter schools, there is a certain disparity, no question about it. And the same situation existed in Liberia at the time.

Schools in the Interior (Tribal Structure)

One Americo-Liberian participant (male, 63) who came from an affluent family grew up in rural Liberia. Although he attended private schools, he provided insight regarding the schools in the interior of which he was aware. He stated:

> We have the tribal structure in which we call the perfect devil. But this was a structure in which the kids were in service - in devotion and they are instructed on the various kind of leaves, herbs - what you use for snake bites. They are circumcised boys and girls. They were taught how to do witchcraft there are 15 different societies in Liberia like that. They are called secret societies. This could have been beneficial, all around, had they had been properly organized. It seems as though I was disappointed during war because instead of it being properly utilized with all the power and… power that they use, I felt that it was a waste, especially during the war. But those were special schools out there. The girls were taught how to be submissive, how to go through child birth, how to cut the clitoris. They took off the top of the clitoris so that it caused them not to be savages and want to run around… We had missionaries there who set up schools. We had driving schools for individuals who were in houses, and were taught how to read and write and that kind of stuff. Well, that's the type of education I know of….

Overall, two systems of education that existed primarily for African-Liberians were public schools and schools in the interior. The public schools were located in the city and the other schools in the interior were located in what is known as the hinterland (some refer to it as the bush or rural areas of the county). The schools in the city, which were government-operated, were in some cases similar to the private schools that Americo-Liberians primarily attended. The schools in the interior were those that existed within closed societies, as well as those that the missionaries set up. These schools

overall provided specific education that was necessary to maintain the way of life in their respective community. This section reveals one way in which othering occurred through the system of education. Private schools in particular were reserved for the wealthy and public schools, which were described as less adequate, were reserved primarily for African Liberians. The schools in the interior only equipped students with skills necessary to survive within their community.

Issues around access to education

Eleven participants overwhelmingly indicated that the lack of access to education played a major role in the demise of Liberia. Only one participant (Americo-Liberian female, 42) indicated that the lack of access merely played a role in the demise of Liberia. The reasons why the lack of access to education was selected varied. Many blamed the government for not investing in or providing the masses in the interior with educational opportunities for an extensive period of time, from the early 1800s to the late 1960s. They indicated that the government focused on educational investment in areas, primarily in the city, where a large concentration of Americo-Liberians and Congos lived. Many noted that primarily due to the massive educational investment in Americo-Liberians and the Congos by the government, African Liberians, who had relocated to communities where large populations of Americo-Liberians resided, were afforded a suitable public education. In essence, locale prohibited people in the Hinterland (the interior – which is where the vast majority of the indigenous population resides) access to quality education, which was provided primarily in areas in which large concentrations of Americo-Liberians resided. Many also referenced the Tubman administration as a critical point in time in which quality public education was extended to African Liberians in the rural

areas. Many insisted that access to education was never the issue, it was more so that the majority of the population was not privileged enough to have it. In order to get a good education, one would have to relocate to Monrovia. But this was not the only challenge faced. The other challenge had to do with the financial burdens of public education. Although public education was considered to be free, one still had to pay for books, uniforms, and other miscellaneous items, which typically was not affordable for African Liberians. Due to the economic class structure of the country, only two classes existed – the rich and the poor. A middle class did not exist. On average, the wages or earnings of an African Liberian were minimal (Yuoh, 2004). Because one had to pay for his or her family to live (shelter, eat, and sleep) there typically was not enough money available to send all or any children to school.

One participant who indicated that he was Liberian (60) stated that the lack of access to education occurred in the following manner:

> Access to Liberian education, let me put it this way.... As… things progressed in Liberia over the years, the difference between the Tubman administration and the Tolbert administration…. During the latter, the Tolbert administration, the Tubman administration, we talked a lot about education. We talked about a lot of things. But in Tolbert, during Tolbert's administration, I saw these ideas and these things that we talked about come into fruition in a more permanent way than they did, ever did before. So access was being spread across the board. I could see that happening. People were beginning to step into the situation more than they did in the past. So the access to it was beginning to get more pronounced. But, for some reason or the other, it did not spread at the pace at which the country was developing. At the pace at which the need became… arose. There were such demands for education, but the government's inability to supply in line with those needs were there where the gap… lacked, existed, I want to believe. The demands were many. The government was not prepared to deliver, in keeping with those demands. And so in that respect I would say access was kind of curtailed because of that, you see. But definitely, by all accounts, education, the lack of education played a significant role, very significant role in the demise of Liberia or the collapse of Liberia, yes!

Another participant who is Americo-Liberian (male, 78) expressed that the lack of access to education occurred in the following manner:

> I had been given the opportunity of having all the educational opportunities that were available, but the masses of the Liberian people, the majority of the Liberian people were not privileged to have education as I was. They lived in the Hinterland, the interior area of the country. There the educational opportunities were very limited, as so they did not have the opportunity of getting the kind of training, the kind of education that I had by living in Monrovia. There were some persons who lived out of Monrovia, and they migrated to Monrovia in order to get a good education. These were in the minority, but the majority of the population, the majority of the people in the country did not have that opportunity of getting the education that we had. That was, I feel, unfortunate because it contributed to a large extent, to the problems that developed in the country.

The participant of mixed heritage (male, age 38) expressed that the lack of access to education occurred in the following manner:

> It's no accident. You know … in my opinion, from the very inception of Liberia, it was just a recipe for disaster. … It's no accident that, you know, what happened, happened.… cause I've read a lot of books on Liberia and every book I read tells me the same thing. I mean, it was a system of Apartheid… my mom doesn't like me to use that word, but I really think it was a system of Apartheid. And I'm not so sure I can… place the blame at their feet because, I mean, think about it. These were people who were… freed slaves. They knew no better. They lived in an oppressive system so I don't think they knew what love was. So they went to Africa and they just tried to mimic the ways of their Master, basically. And it was in the form of dress, in the burning sun and heat, they tried to dress with all those long coats (Americo-Liberians wore clothing similar to that of dominant southern society in the U.S.) and never really – and that was the irony for me, when I read the history because here we talk about going back to Africa, but yet you don't want to associate with the people meet? So that was very controversial and it's not by accident that Liberia is in the predicament that she's in today. It's not by accident. It's definitely by design. Cause for hundreds of years, the rulers of Liberia just lived in Monrovia and just left the rest of the country underdeveloped, you know. They only went there when it was time to collect taxes from… the people and they excluded them from participating in everything. So it's really not by accident. And they kept them ignorant, and I think they did that to keep power in their hands, but it was only… a recipe for disaster and eventually everything erupted. … Now we're still trying to define ourselves as a

> nation. There are those who oppose July 26th as the day of Independence because they're saying independence for whom, you know? …I'll take a different approach. I think the history of Liberia is a saga, it's tragic… but we also have to understand who these settlers were. Were they of sound mind? …They themselves were very oppressed. After living on the plantation all your life, you don't know any better. And so, we're still trying to define ourselves… and that's how I feel Liberia is today. I don't really see any Americo or non-Americos… Liberia has a national consciousness. And I still think we're struggling with that… Liberia has more of a Western disposition compared to the rest of Africa. For example, I can pick Ghana. Ghana has a particular kind of musical high life. You go to Nigeria, they have Juju music, but you go to Liberia and Liberia has nothing. You know, there's nothing African and we're really just trying to identify with the continent as of late. … we've lagged behind for so long, after 158 years. For such a small country.… I traveled to Africa two and half years ago. I didn't go to Liberia… a lot of these countries just got independence in the 1960s. You know Liberia should have been ahead. Liberia should have been an industrialized society. But people are still digging wells and we just got electricity restored to a few parts…. We're very underdeveloped and I don't think we should have been at this stage. But like I said, it's not an accident. It was all from the very inception, I mean, it was going to happen at some point.

Regarding rebuilding the country, he further states:

> I get frustrated about it sometimes… people like those who are Americo feel bad. I told my mom, if you give percentages, you know I have to say I'm 50% Americo, but I don't care who you are, you have to speak the truth. That's the only way change will come. And these guys definitely left a legacy of something that we can't be proud of, so we have to, like I always tell… (Americos) – we don't have to deny it. We can't deny history, but you learn from history. And that's the only way we'll have progress. Liberia's still grappling and struggling. And one thing, as far as education that I forgot to mention. The University of Liberia used to be called Liberia College, I believe in the 1950s and non-Americos were not allowed to go there. It was this elite college for themselves. Or so they thought. Only recently, maybe in the late 1970s, you find that a lot of Liberians changed their names… the Americo thing was a perception where you have a guy coming to live with you and eventually you change his name from whatever it was to John or something. So you find a lot of people who were resisting. I guess a lot of Mandingos who were Muslims… there was a competition between the Americos and the Mandingos as far as for leadership. So that's why eventually, they too were ostracized in the society.… But Liberia has a lot of problems but I think it all goes back to the founding fathers. They really messed things up. You know they made a big mess and we're paying the price now. And

> we have to know how to go from here. I don't think we've learned our lesson particularly, you know, from what I see. But…. I have to admit that we have a lot of work to do because we have a large segment of the population that's still illiterate, you know. But anyway, I guess we have to keep hope alive.

A few of the participants, both of Americo-Liberian and African Liberian heritage, indicated that a lack of education on the part of the militants resulted in the demise of Liberia. They contend that the new government (the Doe administration - the indigenous head of state who launched the initial coup in 1980) was illiterate and lacked government or military experience, so they were unable to comprehend the total picture of the government in place. And because of his lack of education, he did not understand the economics of what it takes to run a country. Also, because of the president's lack of education, he did not understand that the key to success of any person is through education. Because he was not properly educated, he did not invest in education. Instead, he misappropriated the funds for education that had been allocated by the previous government. He carelessly spent all of the funds that the Tolbert administration set aside for individuals to pursue degrees in higher education and attend boarding schools abroad. It was noted, however, that Doe learned the importance of education later on and became very ambitious about obtaining formal education. It also was noted, however, that due to his own transgressions, the demise of the country occurred. One of the study participants (Americo-Liberian male, 63) shared that because the Doe administration had unmercifully slaughtered many individuals from many groups (both Americo and African Liberian), a vendetta ensued and the penalty for his acts led to his demise. By his death, only, would the population feel that penance had been paid.

Overall, the results of this study revealed that a relationship exists between the perspectives of cultural capital, the mythical norm, and othering in the formation of identity for dominant groups within Americo- Liberian society. These perspectives work together to achieve the same goal, although the process itself may be slightly different. There is significant evidence in the supporting literature and the history of identity formation for both Americo- Liberians and dominant society in U.S. that reveal evidence of these perspectives working to achieve the same goals: domination, control, and superiority. It was through control over the quality and the type of education received, as well as who received education, which allowed for the domination and control by Americo-Liberians of the masses in Liberia, West Africa. Overall, the findings revealed that education was used as a tool to dominate and oppress the masses in Liberia.

Establishing a mythical norm (which allowed for the othering of those who were not Americo-Liberians) was key in the formation of identity for the Americo-Liberian population. The Americo-Liberian mythical norm (based upon Lorde's mythical norm), is anyone who is black, Christian, heterosexual, financially secure, and Americo-Liberian male. Othering as described by Weis is a form of creating categories – grouping individuals within societies. Anyone who is not considered as a part of the dominant group or culture is the other. The Americo-Liberian system of education, which was designed and implemented in Liberia, West Africa, served as a means to perpetuate class stratification and yielded what Passeron and Bourdieu (1973) have coined as cultural capital. The elements of cultural capital that are prevalent in this research include an embodied state, which is a person's character and way of thinking and is formed by

socialization, and an institutionalized state which has educational qualifications, where one's value can be measured only in relationship to the labor market.

Overall, Americo-Liberian society mimicked dominant society in the United States, embraced the notion of cultural capital, which was clearly prevalent within Americo-Liberian society, and was demonstrated through their political, social, and educational agendas and activities. The above will be further discussed in the following section.

Discussion

Overall, this study revealed a relationship between the perspectives of cultural capital, the mythical norm and othering in the formation of identity for dominant groups within societies, Americo-Liberian society in particular. These perspectives work together to achieve the same goal although the process may be slightly different. This study also revealed the influence of western culture (U.S.) on Americo-Liberians and how U.S. cultural capital was borrowed and perpetuated through their system of education. This study also revealed the importance of education to this society, in particular, Americo-Liberians.

Their system of education, which they designed and implemented in Liberia, West Africa, served as a means to perpetuate class stratification and yielded what Passeron and Bourdieu (1973) have coined as cultural capital. The history of what has taken place in both the United States and Liberia yielded a forged history for Americo-Liberians and African-Liberians. The application of the stated perspectives, when employed, resulted in a forged history for both the dominant group and the subjugated group. In essence, Americo-Liberian identity was based upon that of the United States.

As discussed earlier for example, interviewees overwhelming indicated that they did not recall learning about African history, in particular, Liberian history. They all recalled using all American text books and learning about western culture. The subject matter was based upon that which was being taught in the United States. This had a great impact on education received by all because it was not reflective of the culture or history of Liberia. In particular, U.S. history, and geography were subjects that were mentioned often by interviewees. All information provided to Liberian students through their system of education only provided insight regarding American culture and was reflective of dominant culture in the United States. Aspects of American culture therefore were extended into Liberian culture, creating a forged history or state of being for Liberians. For example, the Liberian flag is a replica of the United States flag (See Appendix D), however, it only has only one star (a.k.a. the "Lone" star, which represents Liberia as the first "independent" republic on the continent of Africa, as opposed to the 50 stars represented in the American flag). The Liberian flag consists only of 11 red and white stripes, which represents the eleven individuals (founders of the first African Republic) elected at the Constitution convention on the 26th of August in1847 - Declaration of Independence of the first African Republic, Liberia, West Africa (Wonkeryor, 2000). The flag does not represent the history, culture, or norms of any of the indigenous groups. Nor does it represent their plight. It also does not represent that of the Americo- Liberians. It represents the United States and is symbolic of the influence of American culture on Liberia's new inhabitants (Americo-Liberians). As contended by the participant of mixed heritage, Americo- Liberians merely recreated that which already existed, based upon

their experience in the United States, hence, forgetting where they themselves had come from - Africa, as indigenous people.

American norms borrowed by Americo-Liberians, which were imposed upon African-Liberians, do not reflect the history, culture, or norms of the sixteen indigenous groups of Liberia. Each group has a unique culture, language, and set of norms for their respective tribal settings. Yet, they were all forced to adhere to norms that were borrowed by the Americo- Liberian population. The Americo-Liberians themselves have a history but unfortunately adapted a newly created U.S. identity.

One of the goals of this dissertation was to document the system of education that existed for Americo-Liberians. This study reveals that obtaining an excellent education in Liberia was very important and critical to one's success in general. Although literature on the Americo-Liberian student and information provided by interviewees did not directly address the education process itself (such as a full description of curriculum and teaching and learning methods), one is still provided with a basic understanding of the typical Americo-Liberian student profile. Based upon the responses of the interviewees and secondary sources of information, the following conclusions can be drawn about the Americo-Liberian student: 1) from a historical perspective, the typical Americo-Liberian student was a highly educated person who excelled academically and socially; 2) Americo-Liberian students attended the best schools; 3) Americo-Liberians obtained higher degrees of education to maintain the class system in Liberia; 4) the attainment of education served as a means of distinction of ethnicity between Americo-Liberians and African Liberians; 5) educational attainment was a key factor in the social identity of Americo- Liberians.

This research is both relevant and significant in that the Americo-Liberian population utilized the same process, learned from dominant culture in the U.S. to create an elite class in Liberia, West Africa. However, "whiteness" for Americo-Liberians was initially replaced with being educated and from the U.S. Identity formation therefore occurred primarily through the perpetuation of cultural capital. Identify formation for Americo-Liberians and later African Liberians surrounded education attainment. If one was not educated, one could not experience social mobility or political privileges. This is often referred to as meritocracy, but I argue it is cultural capital. Within the Liberian system of education, the perpetuation of cultural capital can be clearly demonstrated. A participant who identified himself as a first generation Liberian (male, 42) indicated:

> Yeah, I think that one of the things in Liberia that um, I like to explain to people is that there are a number of things I think I was able to see from both angles because my educational experience also affected my social experiences. Um, like, you couldn't really make progress in Liberia up to 1980, with um your background if you came from the rural area. For example if you came from the rural area and you had an indigenous sounding name, ah you had to be adopted by a settler family (Americo-Liberian) one of the settler families and you had to change you name from the rural name to the settler family name to go to school and that's how you made progress. So it sort of integrated you into the settler society, but you had to change your cultural identity. You had to become like one of the Americo-Liberians to move ahead in Americo-Liberian society. And that isn't an extreme, I think that is everywhere. Ah, here in the great United States, here you have to think white and be white to rise to certain levels here in American society. So I think what's so really significant in Liberia is the fact that it was open, it was clear, it wasn't subtle. In the United States it is subtle. In Liberia it was open and clear that you had to do that – you had to change names, you had to change your cultural identity to be able to make progress and to move ahead in that society. And when you look at the investment, one of the things that I did. I did a lot of social research was to look at the disparity in investment in the rural areas and in Monrovia or in areas where Americo-Liberians ate all of the investment up. Largest investments were where most Americo-Liberians were living and there was hardly any investment spent in rural areas. In fact the, ah, it was the churches, I don't know if you picked this up from other people you got to talk to. The government didn't establish schools in

> the rural areas until after the churches went in and sort of Christianized the um, the native folks, and um, set up local church schools in the rural areas and then the government followed by ah setting up the public schools, so. But then again, you know, when you look at it from the perspective of the Americo-Liberians, you will see that they were very small, very small in numbers in relationship to the much larger group and historically they are not really accepted. So they could not be integrated into the tribal groups and some of them didn't want the tribal groups integrated into the Americo-Liberians. So you see how that went. As far as the indigenous were concerned, these were Americans. You know, and they were only there for a temporary stay and they had to take their land back from the Americans and so forth. So Liberia really, if you look at, I not really sure that it was ever one country. Most people saw themselves as one way or the other. And then you went further into the indigenous groups you see that people really – people saw themselves by tribal grouping and not by one homogenous indigenous group. They only became a homogenous group when they were in opposition to the Americo-Liberians.

The participant of mixed heritage (male, 38) shared the following during his interview regarding identity formation and cultural capital:

> With Liberia being Liberia, if your name is not Western, you know back in the days, you will ah, you will be discriminated against, just based on name… but ah, that's something that we just have to admit you know, about Liberia. The system was just geared towards ah, you know, a particular group. And so a lot of schools, you know, were supposedly, um, um, preserved for you know, their kids or the educational system was really based on what they thought, you know, the system ought to be. …I have a lot of friends who can attest to that.

There were two other elements that were present in this research; Americo-Liberians attended private schools, which were deemed as the best schools, and African Liberians attended public schools, did not go to school, or attended schools that provided a very limited education. Also gross inequalities existed between the types of curriculum that Americo-Liberian students received in contrast to that received by African Liberians, except for those who attended schools within the Monrovia Consolidated School System. This also can be said about the education that teachers provided who served Americo-Liberian students as opposed to those who served African-Liberian students.

Furthermore, most Americo-Liberian children attended schools primarily (private schools) for Americo-Liberians. When I was in grade school, I attended Isaac A. David, a K-12 private institution. Only Americo-Liberian children were enrolled at this school. These children included the president's grandchildren, nieces, nephews, and cousins. The school served children from pre-school ages through Grade 12. Most children, upon graduation, attended college. Overall, inequalities existed in the country that prevented most African Liberian students from receiving equitable education, which retarded their ability to excel economically, politically or socially.

Overall, the level of abuse (humiliation and degradation through othering, the employment of a mythical norm and perpetuation of U.S. cultural capital through the system of education; withholding access to education, in particular equitable education, etc.) that the Americo-Liberians imposed upon the indigenous people of Liberia was horrific and led to demise of the county, as well as an overwhelmingly high illiteracy rate. I, being Americo-Liberian, continuously ask myself if I would have eventually become like my ancestors and relatives if the coup d' etat had not occurred. Having been present during the coup, I feel that my life was spared for several reasons. Over 80% of my family members, who were government officials and prominent businessmen and women, were assassinated within a few weeks. Having gone through stages of anger due to a drastic change in lifestyle (i.e., removed from a place of privilege to middle class in U.S.; the major loss of family in a very short period of time; and having to permanently relocate to the U.S.), this research has caused me to come to terms with many suppressed feelings. This research therefore is very important to me because I believe it can help other Americo-Liberians cope with difficult feelings, those who may not yet have come

to terms with what transpired between the Americo-Liberians and the African-Liberians. As children, we were not aware of the extent of the atrocities in our country that our own relatives imposed upon the people of the land. War, therefore, was all too likely. The cost to Americo-Liberians for the sins of our fathers is facing the loss of our "created" identity. Overall, this research will introduce Americo-Liberian history to those who are unfamiliar with it and further enhances the knowledge of those who are familiar with it. In particular, it is important that this research fosters conversations regarding the preservation of positive aspects of our culture, as well as allow Americo-Liberians to take responsibility for our past actions, which should include educating the indigenous people of the land.

CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

"A mind is a terrible thing to waste" (United Negro College Fund

Recommendations

The othering process and the mythical norm are destructive devices that are typically used by groups to obtain and maintain power and control over the masses. Also, cultural capital in education can prove to be destructive when imposed and hidden within curriculum. These ideologies are destructive and create imbalances within societies economically, educationally, and socially (Rothenberg, 2000). If these types of ideologies or devices are continuously employed, societies will always be open to disruption. These tactics of domination and subordination have not only been employed in the United States, but in other countries by other groups as well (i.e. Nazis, South Afrikaans, and the French in Algeria). As they continue to be utilized, they become internalized by those being oppressed. An unfortunate result of the use of these tactics by Americo-Liberians is that the oppressed indigenous groups employed these methods to seize power in Liberia in 1980, which led to 20 years of war.

In an effort to break the vicious cycle that occurs when the ways of dominant culture becomes the ways of the oppressed (the oppressed becomes the oppressor), an intense study must be undertaken to uncover ways in which a country that is broken by war and turmoil can be rebuilt. Due to the relationship that exists between the stated ideological frameworks, it is necessary for Liberians as a whole to explore research that

will allow for the deconstruction of the system of education that existed prior to 1980. Currently, the country must be rebuilt. Over 80% of the population is illiterate and many are depending upon Americo-Liberians and others to restore systems of education that will spark the growth of the economy. One must, however, take heed and caution that new systems of education may again be heavily embedded with cultural capital. In her book, Decolonizing Methodologies (1999), Linda Tukiwai Smith provides insight regarding the development of a new paradigm for indigenous research through the development of counter-practices as it pertains to indigenous cultures and movements historically, culturally, and socially. In her book, she critically examines the historical and philosophical bases of western research, and ways of establishing the superior position of western knowledge, which include conceptions of the individual and society, space, time, colonial schooling, etc. She also examines, as highlighted by Wilson (2001), the position of native intellectuals within their own societies; the ways in which informal systems of collecting information about indigenous societies became institutionalized (for example, within the New Zealand colonial context); and current threats to indigenous communities' control of their own knowledge and culture (p. 215). Smith's work also focuses on research conceptualized and undertaken by researchers with indigenous backgrounds who conduct research in indigenous communities. She provides a framework for an indigenous research agenda which encompasses the processes of decolonization, healing, mobilization, and transformation. This is achieved through community statuses that include survival, recovery, development, and self-determination. She particularly focuses on language and the maintenance of education, which she

contends were mechanisms utilized to establish the superior position of Western knowledge.

Smith's research is important because it provides cultures with ways in which indigenous research can inform a larger body of knowledge that can be helpful to society as a whole. For instance, if Americo-Liberians can deeply understand the issues that indigenous Liberians (African Liberians) face with regard to receiving little or no education, a better system (economic, educational, social, and political) can be established in the county as a whole. As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, a lack of education in Liberia led to the political, social, and economic exclusion of the masses of the population and overall, the country's demise.

Daniel Paracka (2001) highlights the work of Orishatukeh Faduma and Edward J. Blyden which supports Smith's premise regarding the importance of counter approaches when conducting indigenous research. Paracka contends that there existed "the need to understand the relationship between Western and African cultures" in an effort to develop an African studies department at Fourah Bay College (p.156). Although these Pan-Africans were writing at the end of the 19th century, the context of their work critically focused on the impact of Christianity on West Africa. Paracka highlights Faduma and Blyden to make his point very clear. He notes that Faduma contended, "What Africans need, and what all races need, is not what will denationalize or de-individualize them, not what will stamp them out of existence, but what will show that God has a purpose in creating race varieties" (p. 158). Paracka further notes that "Blyden believed that a European-styled education simply prepared the African child to live in a white ruled-

society" (p. 159). He demonstrates this by highlighting Blyden's call for culturally relevant material absent of negative racial sterotypes (p. 159):

> In all English-speaking countries the mind of the intelligent Negro child revolts against the descriptions given in elementary books – geographies, travels, histories – of the Negro; but though he experiences an instinctive revulsion from these caricatures and misrepresentations, he is obliged to continue, as he grows in years to study such pernicious teachings. After leaving school he finds the same things in newspapers, in reviews, in novels, in quasi scientific works; and after a while – *sape calendo* – they begin to seem to him the proper things to say and to feel about his race, and he accepts what, at first, his fresh and unbiased feelings naturally and indignantly repelled. Such is the effect of repetition. (p. 159)

Paracka notes that Blyden sought to counter "what the dominant white man had said in his own way and for his own purposes" about Africans (p.160). He further points out that Blyden contended that while "much has been written about Africa and Africans… very little has been written by the African himself of his country and people." He also notes that Blyden stated "we must study our brethren in the interior," and therefore strongly urged everyone to study African languages and culture (p. 160). It was important to Blyden, as stated by Paracka, that diasporan Africans learn about Africa from Africans.

Americo-Liberians must explore options that will allow for the healing of all Liberians. This includes properly educating the masses of the population, in particular, African Liberians. This can be achieved by providing the masses with a means of sustainability through education, engineering, farming, business development, management, etc. Overall, through knowledge production by indigenous researchers, cultural renewal will occur, which ultimately will put an end to political, cultural, and economic domination by dominant culture.

Americo-Liberian and African Liberian researchers and educators should collectively explore models in which many cultures live in one country and successfully

co-exist. Educational models, in particular, should be inclusive of all of the histories of all of the cultures. These models should demonstrate how it is possible for many cultures to live together as one, yet allowing for cultural group norms to co-exist. The Aruban model is one example of how different cultures can co-exist together as one. Aruba is comprised of "a complex mosaic of ethnic and racial types" (Indians, free Africans, Dutch, Americans, British Caribbean, and Surinamese) (Greene and Green, 1975, p. 649). These groups live together harmoniously, today. In her study, Migrants in Aruba: Interethnic Integration, Greene and Green (1975) contend that cultural integration is achieved through voluntary associations, the use of language (at least four that are common), social networks, marriage preferences, and settlement patterns (p. 649). They further contend that the integrative importance of foreign relationships, such as the frequency with which young Arubans attend school in the Netherlands, or the importation of popular rock bands from New York, Caracas, and Holland, resulted in the successful infusion of the Aruban cultural mix . Greene and Green conclude that various pressures toward island integration result in the beginnings of what they refer to as a "national" culture, which replaces ethnic and regional provincialism (p.649).

Although the reign of the Americo-Liberian population caused great atrocities and brought much despair to the indigenous people of Liberia up to 1980, it is important that the accomplishments of this group are not overlooked. Having attained higher degrees of education after gaining their freedom from slavery is a great accomplishment that should not be overlooked. Americo-Liberians served as model of freed Blacks who achieved great educational accomplishments in the face of adversity. How they were able to achieve these higher degrees of education is important historically and speaks to the topic

of identity formation of historically oppressed groups. Additionally, the manner in which extremely high educational attainment was valued, instilled, and passed down to generations in Liberia can possibly lead to significant educational reform for the masses. If societies can model some aspects of the educational structure that the Americo-Liberians implemented, it is my argument that it will result in much higher achievement among all students in schools in Liberia and abroad as a whole.

One must keep in mind that the Americo-Liberian education system or model also serves as an example of how education attainment can lead to the retarding of an entire economic system when improperly utilized. This research clearly demonstrates how the oppressed (freed slaves) can become an oppressor (Americo-Liberians), and in particular used education as a tool of oppression, which was the vehicle that allowed for their emancipation. In essence, education was utilized as a vehicle to oppress the masses of the population in Liberia.

On another note, the type of education system that was established in Liberia for Americo-Liberians is quite similar to the system that was and still is in place in the United States. Based upon the descriptions of the curricula provided by Americo-Liberian and African Liberian interviewees, I can conclude that the system of education that was in place in Liberia, in particular the private schools up until 1980, was comparable to that which was in place in the United Stated. To many, the situation that occurred in Liberia was very unique, characterized by distinguishable features that surrounded education. However, it is quite reflective of much that has and still does take place around the world.

Education is the highest aspiration and the greatest gift to mankind to transform the world. It provides wisdom, will and moral incentives to reach equality. (Unknown)

Conclusion

As I stated in the beginning of this dissertation, many scholars have offered their opinions on the purpose of education. These schools of thought support the notion that education provide utility and culture (King Jr., 1947); economic gain and social and upward mobility (Cohen and Brawer, 1989; King, Jr.; Willie & Edmonds, 1978); inclusive education (Belenky, et al., 1986; Gates Jr., 1992; Minnich, 1990; hooks, 1989); exclusive education *(*Bloom, 1987; D'Sousza, 1991; Readings, 1996); and free thinking (Newman, 1852). As mentioned earlier, although these scholars focus on what can be perceived as positive outcomes of education attainment, others contend that the purpose of education is to perpetuate class stratification (DuBois, 1935; Kozol, 1991). The ideas of these scholars on the purpose of education have been proven to be critical in the discussion of this dissertation due to the direct relationship that exists between education attainment, the utility of education, and the demise of Liberia, West Africa in 1980.

In the end, however, all roads lead back to the question that was initially posed at the beginning of this dissertation, "What is the purpose of education?" Overall, the purpose of education has changed around the world in different places, for different groups, at different times. It is my personal belief that education should expand the mind and allow for deep thinking in an effort to discover who we really are, as well as allowing for a broad perspective of the world, people, cultures, and histories that exist within. Although many different individuals can be grouped into schools of thought that offer an idea as to what the purpose of education is today, it has been and still remains a topic that will vary regarding utility, which is based upon how one chooses to use their education.

The rise and fall of Americo-Liberians in Liberia, West Africa surrounds the attainment of education, which emancipated this group and afforded them the opportunity to travel to the Grain Coast, which later became known as Liberia. Americo-Liberians then used their education to set in place power structures that oppressed the masses of the population. The massive destruction of the county left the masses plagued with high rates of illiteracy and destroyed the infrastructures that were in place. Liberia now bears similar conditions to that which existed when the settlers initially arrived in the early 1800s. Once again, education is the key to the rebuilding of the county. Institutions of higher education as well as those to provide basic education must be put in place to reverse the unbelievable illiteracy rate that currently exists. In an effort to provide equal opportunities to all citizens of Liberia, quality public education systems must exist that are inclusive and free to all who choose to pursue intellectual growth and development.

Overall, this dissertation is focused primarily on the purpose and use of education. Understanding the purpose of education should expand the mind, allowing one to make careful and informed decisions about its use. I therefore will end this dissertation with one critical last thought. If you choose to pursue education, especially at higher levels which shall further open your mind to infinite possibilities, how you define the overall utility of education will ultimately determine how you will use your own education.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Consent Form

TITLE OF RESEARCH: The Role of Education in the Rise and Fall of the Americo-Liberian Society, Liberia, West Africa

INVESTIGATOR: Dr. Philo Hutcheson

SPONSOR: N/A

Explanation of Procedures

You are being asked to participate in a research study for a dissertation, designed to uncover the following: 1). how education attainment has been instrumental in the formation of a mythical norm for Americo-Liberians and othering of African Liberians, 2). how Americo-Liberians have used their education and; 3). the role of education in the rise and fall of Americo-Liberians in Liberia, West Africa. Results from this study will provide scholarly research on historical aspects of the system of education that was established in Liberia, which ultimately produced an elite social class. This research will also reveal ways in which cultural capital was infused into the system of education.

The following questions will be used to guide my interviews:

- What is your name, age, place of birth and current occupation? Please provide a brief description of your work history.
- Which group, by birth, are you affiliated with (Americo-Liberian or African Liberian - Kpelle, Bassa, Via, etc.)?
- What is the highest level of education that you have achieved? (Please state institutions of education attended). (Please provide information on your family members as well – parents and siblings).
- Describe the education system in Liberia from which you matriculated.

- Describe other types of systems of education (i.e. those that existed for African-Liberians) that were in place other than that from which you received your formal education.
- From your perspective, did education attainment or the lack of access to education play a major role in the demise of Liberia as a whole?

The unit of study is the Americo-Liberian society in Liberia, West Africa. A group banking method will be employed in which interviews will be conducted to capture the attitudes, perceptions and beliefs of Americo-Liberians about the system of education that was implemented in Liberia, West Africa up to 1980, in addition to uncovering the Americo-Liberian socialization process. The study, overall, will allow a more accurate picture to be presented as to how Americo-Liberians were educated over time, as well as the system of education that was established in the country.

Two key individuals will help identify study participants. A snowballing approach will also be utilized to identify study participants. Americo-Liberian participants (both male and female) will be interviewed until consistent responses or similar are recorded from each participant. Participant age category groupings include the following: 1). 30 –39; 2). 40 – 49; and 3). 50 and older.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked a series of questions, which will take around an hour to answer. All information collected will be held in confidence. Any personal information that may possibly identify participants will not be disclosed in the document.

Risks and Discomforts

Because all information will be maintained confidentially, there are no foreseen risks or discomforts with regard to participating in or conducting this study.

Benefits

You may not personally benefit from your participation in this research; however, your participation may provide valuable information to the Education community about teaching and learning tools that will allow for the full growth and development of future Liberian students.

Alternatives

If you feel that this topic may be uncomfortable to discuss, given the current political and social climate in Liberia, you can decide to forego participation in this study.

Confidentiality

The information gathered during this study will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law. However, representatives of GSU's Institutional Review Board (IRB) will be able to inspect your records and have access to confidential information that identifies you by name. The results of the treatment, including laboratory tests and X-rays may be published for scientific purposes; however, your identity will not be revealed.

Withdrawal Without Prejudice

You are free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue participation in this project at any time.

Significant New Findings

Any significant new findings that develop during the course of the study that may affect your willingness to continue in the research will be provided to you by Dr. Philo Hutcheson or his staff.

Cost of Participation

There will be no cost to you to participate in this study.

Payment for Participation in Research

You will receive a $10 gift certificate for your participation in this study. Should you withdraw from the study, you will still be compensated for your time and participation. You will receive your gift certificate immediately following your interview.

You are responsible for paying any state, federal, Social Security or other taxes on any funds received, as designated by the IRS. Taxes will not be deducted from your gift certificate.

Payment for Research Related Injuries

There are no perceived dangers with regard to your participation in this study. However, GSU has made no provision for monetary compensation in the event of injury resulting from the research and in the event of such injury, treatment is provided, but is not provided free of charge.

Questions

If you have any questions about the research, Dr. Philo Hutcheson or Etrenda Dillon will be glad to answer them. You can reach either Dr. Hutcheson at (404) 651-3236 or Etrenda Dillon at (678) 698-9827. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact Ms. Susan Vogtner, in the Office of Research Integrity. Ms. Vogtner may be reached at (404) 463-0674 or svogtner1@gsu.edu between the hours of 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. CT, Monday through Friday.

Legal Rights

You are not waiving any of your legal rights by signing this consent form.

Signatures

Your signature below indicates that you agree to participate in this study. You will receive a copy of this signed informed consent.

_____

Signature of Participant or Legally Authorized Representative — Date

_____

Signature of Investigator — Date

_____

Signature of Witness Date

_____

Signature of person obtaining consent (if other than the investigator). Date

APPENDIX B

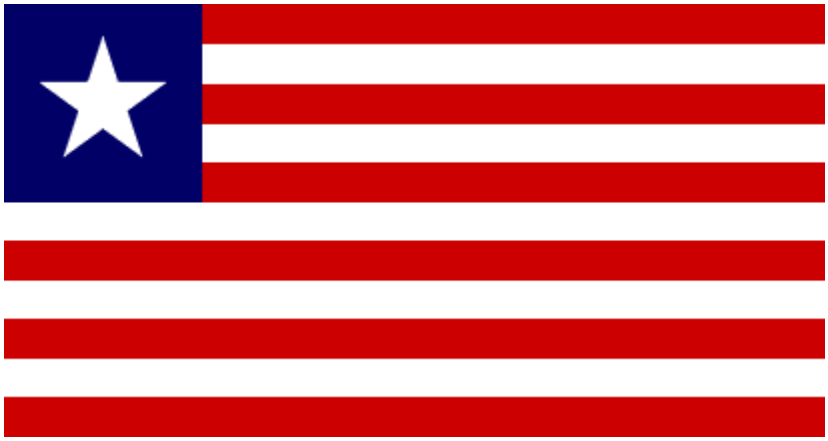
Demographic Charts and Figures

I	Age	Gender	Profession
1	63	M	Agronomist / Administrator
2	39	M	Management Consultant
3	52	M	Financial Consultant
4	38	M	Medical Technologist
5	78	M	Retired Engineer
6	41	M	Director of Operations at Expedia.com/hotels.com
7	42	F	Post Master
8	48	F	Program Assistant
9	42	M	Unemployed /Call Ctr. Management .
10	53	M	Auditor
11	60	M	Quality Assurance Engineer
12	42	M	Grants Development Manager - HFHI

Interviewee	Educational Background/Training/Certifications
1	BA. - Agronomy; BA - Psychology ; MS - Agriculture Education Tuskegee
2	BA. - English; Education - Georgia State University
3	MA - Financial Management; BS - Accounting; BS - Marketing
4	Ph.D. - Human Genetics (in progress) - Howard University; MA-Biology; BS - Microbiology
5	College Graduate - Liberia College
6	BBS in Business Management - Univ. of Dallas
7	Junior in College
8	College - University of Liberia (in progress)
9	Biology / Chemistry - Morehouse College
10	College - Morehouse (2 yrs)
11	Masters - Engineering/Quality Assurance - Southern Poly Tech; Some Law School - John Hopkins; BA - Bloomfield State College - WV
12	Masters - Regional Planning - Univ. of Liberia; BA - Univ. of Liberia; Additional Training - UK & Swaziland

I	Educational Background/Training/Certifications	Mother's Background	Father's Background
1	BA. - Agronomy; BA - Psychology ; MS - Agriculture Education Tuskegee	Some College	BA; JD
2	BA. - English; Education - Georgia State University	BA	BA
3	MA - Financial Management; BS - Accounting; BS - Marketing	Junior High/Marketer	Junior High
4	Ph.D. - Human Genetics (in progress) - Howard University; MA- Biology; BS - Microbiology	Masters - Education - Iowa State	Doctorate - Engineering - Iowa State
5	College Graduate - Liberia College	Finished High School	Finished High School
6	BBS in Business. Management - Univ. of Dallas	Technical School	College - Liberia College
7	Junior in College	Linguist	College
8	College - University of Liberia (in progress)	College - Did not indicate more	College - did not indicate more
9	Biology / Chemistry - Morehouse College	Nurse Registered	Masters Degree - Engineering
10	College - Morehouse (2 yrs)	College - Did not indicate more	College - did not indicate more
11	Masters - Engineering/Quality Assurance - Southern Poly Tech; Some Law School - John Hopkins;BA - Bloomfield State College - WV	No	No - Varister by reading law in Liberia; became a circuit judge
12	Masters - Regional Planning - Univ. of Liberia; BA - Univ. of Liberia; Additional Training - UK & Swaziland	No College - Technical Training School	No College - Technical Training School

I	Ethnic Background (EB)	Mother's EB	Father's EB	Place of Birth
1	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	White Plains, Liberia
2	African Liberian	African Liberian	African Liberian	Monrovia, Liberia
3	African Liberian	African Liberian	African Liberian	High Dell, Liberia
4	Mixed Culture (A-L/-Mandingo/Fula)	Americo-Liberian	Mandingo/Fula	Bomi, Liberia
5	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Monrovia, Liberia
6	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Monrovia, Liberia
7	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Charleston, WV
8	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Monrovia, Liberia
9	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Harbel, Liberia
10	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberian	Americo-Liberia	Monrovia, Liberia
11	Liberian	Liberian	Liberian	Did not indicate
12	Liberian (1st generation)	Americo-Liberian (Congo)	Americo-Liberian (Congo)	Monrovia, Liberia

APPENDIX D

The Liberian Flag