

**WOMEN'S POLICY JOURNAL
OF HARVARD,**
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

VOLUME 5 • SUMMER 2008

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Their "Proper Place" in Liberia's Economic Development
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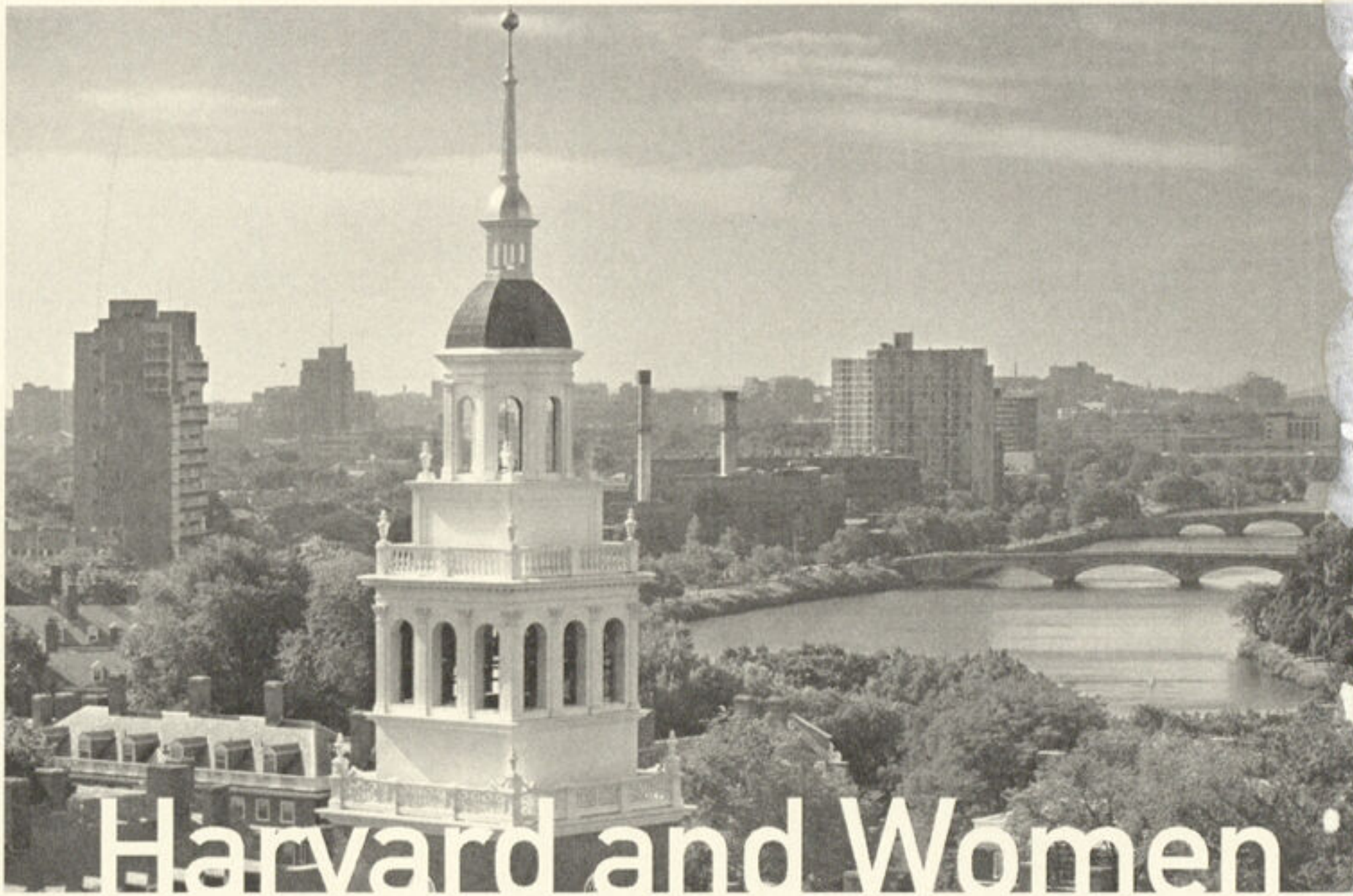
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Owning the Power of Negotiation: The How-To Manual for Women
*Ask for It: How Women Can Use the Power of Negotiation to
Get What They Really Want*
by Linda Babcock and Sara Laschever
Reviewed by Linda Kaboolian



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The *Women's Policy Journal of Harvard, John F. Kennedy School of Government* is accepting submissions for its summer 2009 volume. The journal is a student-run, nonpartisan review dedicated to publishing interdisciplinary work on policy making and politics affecting women. By bridging the divide between academics and practitioners, the journal seeks to educate and provide leadership that improves the quality of public policies affecting women with the intention of furthering female economic, social, and political empowerment.

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EDITOR'S NOTES

Whether the aim is to secure women's "proper place" in Liberia's economic development, or fight against lack of equality of rights in Iran, or tackle inequalities and challenges in legal restrictions on procreation, or assume a leadership position as a high ranking officer of a presidential campaign, in the words of Linda Babcock and Sara Laschever's newest book title, we must "Ask for it" and pursue it.

To do so, we must first seek to raise our awareness about the challenges, policy dilemmas and policy options that can impact women, and ultimately their families and their nation's development. Only then can we identify and ask for the appropriate policy measures to be implemented, which can improve the status of women and their living conditions. It is exactly this spirit of raising awareness and informing that has inspired this fifth volume of the *Women's Policy Journal of Harvard, John F. Kennedy School of Government*. We hope that academics, policy makers, advocates, managers, and citizens alike will find the content of this volume useful, informative, but most important of all, inspiring.

From the first ever of its kind, in-depth analysis that has been presented to the Government of Liberia using newly available data suggesting economic programs that can enable and empower Liberian women, to the words of Shirin Ebadi, the Iranian Nobel Peace Prize laureate about the condition of women's rights in her country, to the words of Betsy Myers, the Chief Operating Officer (COO) of Barack Obama's Presidential Campaign, to addressing the dilemmas and unequal effects of legally restricting procreation, to a book review of the newest publication of best selling authors on women and negotiation by one of Harvard University's leading negotiation professors, this volume is enriched with high quality, diverse, timely, and informative material. All of which are aimed at informing, encouraging and inspiring those interested in helping improve the status of women and their societies at large.

However, this volume would not have been made possible without the unrelenting efforts of the journal's staff. While having to deal with the demands of being a graduate student at Harvard Kennedy School, the staff managed to spend countless hours generating ideas, working with authors and ensuring that this publication is of highest quality and endowed with rich, new, and significantly relevance content. I would like to particularly acknowledge the contributions of Hannah Wehling, the journal's managing editor, for her insights, commitment, and unyielding support throughout this entire process. I would also like to show our appreciation for the journal's publisher, Jen Swartout, for her invaluable guidance, constant encouragement, and patience. We also have tremendous appreciation for the support of our faculty advisor, Professor Richard Parker. In addition, I would like to recognize the extraordinary support provided to the journal by the Women and Public Policy Program, as well as the office of Senior Associate Dean and Director of Degree Programs Joseph McCarthy, and the Kennedy School Student Government.

This publication is undoubtedly a reflection of the enormous effort and cooperation of so many individuals who have graced it with their words, ideas, talents and support.

With deepest gratitude to you all,

Sincerely,
Maliheh Paryavi
Editor-in-Chief

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FULFILLING PRESIDENT SIRLEAF'S MANDATE: ENSURING WOMEN THEIR "PROPER PLACE" IN LIBERIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By Emily Stanger and Molly Kinder

Molly Kinder is a class of 2008 graduating student in the master in public administration in international development (MPA/ID) program at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. This past summer, Kinder worked with Liberia's minister of finance, Antoinette Sayeh, through an internship sponsored by the Women and Public Policy Program. Previously, Kinder worked for the World Bank in Pakistan as a junior task manager with an earthquake recovery aid package, and in India conducting field research for a World Bank study on rural poverty. Kinder is the coauthor of Millions Saved: Proven Successes in Global Health, a book documenting successful large-scale health programs in developing countries that was published by the Center for Global Development. She has also worked as a consultant for the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and started her career as an intern with Oxfam's policy office. Kinder has volunteered in Chile, Kenya, Mexico, and India and holds a bachelor degree in political science from the University of Notre Dame.

Emily Stanger is a graduating student in the MPA/ID class of 2008. Her summer internship was spent working with Liberia's minister of gender and development, Vabah Gayflor. This internship was supported by the Nancy Germeshausen Klavans Fellowship through the Women and Public Policy Program. Prior to enrolling in the MPA/ID program, Stanger worked as a women's advocate at a domestic violence shelter in Texas through the Mercy Volunteer Corps. She also interned with a private sector organization offering microcredit in Nicaragua and has conducted research and volunteered in Ecuador, El Salvador, and Mexico. Stanger holds a bachelor degree in theology and economics from Boston College.

This paper was awarded the Jane Mansbridge Research Award by the Women and Public Policy Program at Harvard University. The award is presented to the best paper written in the area of gender and public policy.

Foreword

On 8 November 2005, Liberian women had reason for jubilation. The presidential candidate who had just been elected to Liberia's highest political office was, for the first time in history, one of them: a woman, "Ma Ellen," Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Women across the country, weary from fourteen years of civil war, had responded overwhelmingly to Sirleaf's rallying cry: "All the men have failed Liberia; let's try a woman this time!" Promising to bring a "motherly sensitivity and emotion to the presidency," Ellen Johnson Sirleaf won a commanding victory to beat former soccer star George Weah by a margin reported by the BBC on 21 December 2005 to be nearly 20 percentage points.

President Sirleaf's watershed victory marked the first time that a woman in Africa was elected as head of state. Her win shattered a glass ceiling in a

continent ruled for decades by an exclusively male roster of African leaders. Yet her victory was more than emblematic. It carried with it an unequivocal mandate to improve the lot of her country's women. Deeming women her "greatest constituency," President Sirleaf stated in a 21 March 2006 forum with the Council on Foreign Relations that she has a "special, special obligation and responsibility to them." In recognition of the centrality of women in her election, President Sirleaf declared in her inaugural address:

My administration shall thus endeavor to give Liberian women prominence in all affairs of our country. . . . We will also try to provide economic programs that enable Liberian women—particularly our market women—to assume their proper place in our economic process.

Thus, from her very first day in Liberia's highest office, President Sirleaf has declared her unambiguous commitment to strengthening the economic opportunities facing her country's women. The question remains: Does her administration have the right policies in place to translate this goodwill into tangible economic opportunities for women?

This question captured our attention in the summer of 2007 during our internships with the government of Liberia. Stanger confronted policy questions relating to women's rights and widespread gender discrimination while working in the Ministry of Gender and Development. Kinder, around the corner at the Ministry of Finance, worked on Liberia's economic policy and poverty reduction strategy. Despite approaching Liberia's policy challenges with different lenses, both arrived at the same conclusion—addressing the particular economic constraints of women would be fundamental to Liberia's development.

The seeds of the subsequent analysis were planted during a lunch conversation between Kinder and her supervisor and mentor, Finance Minister Antoinette Sayeh. During their discussion of the need to improve the lot of Liberian women, Minister Sayeh remarked that what would be most useful from her perspective in the Finance Ministry to advance the cause of women is data: hard data, and rigorous economic analysis.

Heeding her call, we came together, combining the mission of the Ministry of Gender and Development with the Ministry of Finance's purview of technical economic policies. The former has served as our inspiration, the latter our medium for impact.

The result is this analysis, which provides recommendations for the specific policies that the Sirleaf administration can implement over the next three years to achieve this goal of putting women in their "proper place" in Liberia's development. We highlight in particular the priority of road construction to enhance the economic opportunities of rural women, the importance of microfinance provision of to urban informal workers, and the improvement of the overall investment climate to generate more formal employment opportunities for women.

The data and analysis in this paper have been presented to the government of Liberia. It is our hope that these findings will help narrow the gap between the government's good intentions and measurable progress for women in Liberia.

Introduction

In 2006, promising to rebuild her war-ravaged country, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf became the first female to be elected president of the Republic of Liberia. “Ma Ellen’s” watershed victory was more than emblematic: It carried with it an unequivocal mandate to improve the lot of her country’s women, what she called in a 21 March 2006 forum with the Council on Foreign Relations her “greatest constituency.” In recognition of the centrality of women in her election, President Sirleaf declared in her inaugural address that she would “endeavor to give Liberian women prominence in all affairs of our country” and to “try to provide economic programs that enable Liberian women—particularly our market women—to assume their proper place in our economic process.”

Yet Liberian history serves as a cautious reminder that groundbreaking leadership alone has not necessarily translated into economic improvements for constituencies in the past. Twice before, the identity of Liberia’s leadership had posed an unprecedented opportunity, only to result in resounding failure. In 1817, a White American colonization society was created in present-day Liberia as a homeland for several thousand emancipated American slaves. Upon arrival in Liberia, these freed slaves excluded the remaining 99 percent of Liberians of native origin from all spheres of economic and political power and created a discriminatory apartheid system of tribal homelands. Thus in a bitterly ironic twist, Liberia—a country ruled by freed slaves and named for liberty—was investigated in 1929 over allegations of forced labor and conditions of slavery. Nearly 150 years later, the presidency of the first-ever native ruler of Liberia—twenty-eight-year-old military sergeant Samuel K. Doe—was greeted with jubilation by many indigenous Liberians. However, egregious economic mismanagement, incompetence, and corruption by the Doe administration and the outbreak of civil war caused a precipitous crash of the Liberian economy. GDP fell a shocking 90 percent between 1979 and 1996, a decline so great it was deemed by the World Bank (2007b, 1) “possibly the largest economic collapse of any country since World War II.” Thus, the same people who celebrated Doe’s ascension fell deeper into poverty under his rule, and the country ultimately unfolded into a devastating fourteen-year civil war that would claim nearly three hundred thousand lives.

Today, the presidency of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf poses a new opportunity for translating her historic political mandate into concrete economic benefits for her core constituency: Liberian women. Aiding her efforts are three auspicious factors, all of which were absent in these previous examples of failure: a true political commitment, democratic accountability, and the capability of her competent administration to bring about change. What is needed now is a set of policies to translate this goodwill into tangible economic opportunities for women in her remaining four years in office and to ensure that the economic fruits of Liberia’s postwar development benefit men *and* women.

The following analysis provides recommendations for the specific policies that the Sirleaf administration can implement to achieve its goal of putting women in their “proper place” in Liberia’s development. The research underpinning our analysis was conducted with the support of the Ministry of Finance of Liberia and

the Ministry of Gender and Development. The findings and policy recommendations have been shared with the government of Liberia, as a complement to the government's national Poverty Reduction Strategy (Republic of Liberia 2008).

Why Focus on Women's Economic Opportunities?

The objective of improving economic opportunities for Liberian women is not only a political priority of the Sirleaf administration; it also would contribute significantly to Liberia's economic development.

There are three primary ways that efforts to enhance women's agency in Liberia can stimulate economic growth and promote development. First, evidence from other countries has demonstrated that increasing women's income and household resources improves child welfare and development. Empirical research has shown that giving women more income, or greater control over household resources, is associated with increases in child-friendly spending such as education, health, and nutrition (Quisumbing and Maluccio 2000; Hallman 2000; Kennedy 1994; Smith et al. 2003). Second, reducing inequalities in women's access to inputs and education bolsters productivity. In Africa, distortions in household allocations of time, labor, inputs, and resources have contributed to women's agricultural plots yielding, on average, 18 percent less than plots controlled exclusively by men (Blackden and Bhanu 1999). Moreover, the World Bank has estimated that the pervasive gender inequality in Africa in terms of education and employment has cost 0.8 percentage points in sub-Saharan Africa's per capita growth between 1960 and 1992—a difference that, compounded over time, adds up to a very sizable drag on African economies (Blackden and Bhanu 1999). Finally, increasing women's income has been associated with reductions in fertility and, subsequently, increases in economic growth (Shultz 2007). The fertility reductions in Southeast Asia, for example, helped spur growth by raising savings rates and reducing dependency ratios (Blackden and Bhanu 1999). In contrast, Sachs and Warner (1998) have estimated that sub-Saharan Africa's per capita growth was reduced by 0.7 percent each year for twenty-five years (between 1965 and 1990) due to excessive population growth.

In addition to these arguments that investing in women's economic status is a means to development ends, we also contend that improving the economic opportunities facing women is development, in and of itself. Today Liberian women are fully engaged economic actors, comprising more than half of the total labor force and leading many of the most vibrant sectors of the economy, including the country's markets. Liberia's protracted civil war decimated the economy and plunged households deeper into poverty, compelling many women to join their husbands in search of income to support their families. The war also claimed the lives of thousands of male breadwinners, placing women as heads of some 18 percent of urban households with the responsibility of feeding families whose size averages nearly six members. Therefore the goals of enabling these women to eke out a better living, to be more productive and prosperous, and to access better resources are more than just inherently worthwhile. Rather, the act

alone of expanding women's economic opportunities is, fundamentally, development.

Article Outline

Our analysis now turns to the question of how the Sirleaf administration can foster this development and ensure that women take part in the fruits of Liberia's postwar development. In the next section, we provide a detailed economic profile of Liberian women. Here we take stock of the current economic conditions facing women and describe how women currently engage in the Liberian economy. For decades, policy making in Liberia has been handicapped by a critical shortage of reliable data, due in large part to interruptions in statistical capacity during the war. Our analysis takes advantage of a brand new household dataset that was made available in December 2007 and that has never before been analyzed.

We then examine the current growth strategy of the government of Liberia and estimate the gender distribution of this growth. We ask, given these projections, how will women's share of the economic pie, based on labor contribution, change over the course of the next three years?

Given the disproportional gender impacts of Liberia's project growth, the Sirleaf administration will need to take concerted steps to ensure that women in Liberia benefit from the country's economic development. In the final section, we look at how the government of Liberia can create additional income-generating employment opportunities in the formal sector, and bolster efficiency and productivity in the agricultural and informal sectors in which women currently work.

Economic Profile of Women

In this economic profile, we take stock of the present economic conditions facing women and describe how women currently engage in the Liberian economy. Our analysis takes advantage of brand new, sex-disaggregated household data. For more than two decades, Liberia had been without census data, rendering impossible an accurate analysis of the nation's demographics and employment characteristics. In the past year, however, two key data sources have emerged that enabled our generation of this detailed economic profile. These include a nationally representative household survey and a food security and nutrition survey.¹

The economic profile that results from this analysis paints a vivid picture of Liberia's economy and the women at its center. It reaffirms what many Liberians already knew but lacked the official data to prove: Liberian women play a major role in their country's economy, its labor force, and household income generation. Yet men and women are not equally distributed across the productive sectors, nor are they equally remunerated.

We highlight the major findings in eight stylized facts that provide the foundation for our subsequent policy recommendations.

1. Women comprise the majority of Liberia's labor force.

Including formal and informal workers in Liberia, women make up 54 percent of the labor force. Adult women actively participate in the economy at a higher rate than their male counterparts.

2. Liberia's working women are clustered in agriculture and the informal economy.

Liberian women are disproportionately clustered in the least productive sectors. A striking 90 percent of working women are employed in the informal sector or in agriculture, compared to 75 percent of working men. In contrast, men are more than three times as likely to be employed by the civil service, nongovernmental organizations, international organizations, or public corporations. (See Figure 1).

3. The main sectors of Liberia's economy exhibit striking differences in their proportions of male and female workers.

Given women's predominance in agriculture and the informal economy, men greatly outnumber women in all other sectors of Liberia's economy. For instance, the manufacturing sector hires men at a rate of two men for every one woman. In mining and panning, more than nine men are hired to every one woman. In forestry the ratio is nearly four to one, and in the services sector, three to two. Only in agriculture and fisheries are men and women employed at an equal 1:1 ratio. (See Figure 2).

4. Men are three times more likely than women to receive wages for their work.

Across Liberia's economy, working men that are paid wages outnumber women by over three to one (25.5 percent of all male workers versus 8.0 percent of all female workers). (See Figure 3).

5. In contrast to the rest of the world, self-employed women outnumber self-employed men in Liberia.

Women compose the majority (51 percent) of Liberia's self-employed workers. Liberian women's dependence on self-employment is unparalleled. With self-employment comprising 75 percent of nonagricultural employment for women, Liberia ranks far higher than the average proportion across sub-Saharan Africa of 57 percent. Yet women make up only 37 percent of the self-employed who have employees working for them, suggesting that the average self-employed woman is at a disadvantage compared to her average male counterpart. (See Figure 4).

6. In both rural and urban areas, skill and education gaps limit women's opportunities compared to men's.

In urban areas, men are 2.5 times more likely to be skilled workers (49 percent of men versus 18 percent of women). The top two activities for women workers are street vending/petty trading and working as "market women," whereas the top two income activities of men are skilled labor and clerical and professional work. (See Figure 5).

This disparity is fuelled by a striking gender gap in education. For instance, urban adult women are more than three times more likely than their male counterparts never to have received any schooling. However, as a result of the Sirleaf administration's aggressive efforts to bolster girls' school enrollment

and the elimination of all school fees, the gender gap has nearly been erased at the primary school level. (See Figures 6 and 7).

7. **As major economic actors, women make significant contributions to household income, alone and with other household members.**
On average, women contribute to 65 percent of rural household income and 45 percent of urban household income. Overall, one-fifth of rural household income and one-third of urban household income are generated without men's contributions.² (See Figure 8).
8. **Women are the primary marketers and traders of agricultural goods and contribute to more than 75 percent of all cash and food crop production.**
In agriculture-producing households, women are involved in 76 percent of cash crop production and 93 percent of food crop production. In addition, women conduct 85 percent of all marketing and trading, a vital complement to crop production for income generation.³ (See Figure 9).

In conclusion, our statistical analysis makes clear that Liberian women play a major role in their country's economy, its labor force, and household income generation. Yet at the same time, the roles and livelihoods of women differ markedly in Liberia's economy. Women and men are not equally distributed across the productive sectors, nor are they equally remunerated. In light of these differences, we now examine how the projected growth over the next three years will impact women in Liberia compared to men.

Distributional Impact of Projected Growth

Given their vibrant presence and unique role in the economy today, where will Liberian women be at the end of three years? How will the revitalization of the country's natural resources sectors—particularly timber, mining, and extractive industries—affect women's contributions to Liberia's GDP? As outlined in the following analysis, the answer is alarming for Liberia's women. In the next section, we point out that the sectors that will drive Liberia's economic growth disproportionately employ men and that Liberia's projected growth over the next three years will be unequally distributed toward male workers. In contrast, women will only be contributing to, and thus be the direct recipients of benefits from, less than one-quarter of this growth. Thus, to ensure women their "proper place" in Liberia's economy moving forward, the government of Liberia must act strategically to increase women's productivity in their current activities, while also working to expand women's share of the economic pie.

I. Liberia's Projected Growth

Alongside the current revitalization of its mining and forestry sectors, Liberia expects to experience double-digit GDP growth in the next three years. Liberia's national Poverty Reduction Strategy (Republic of Liberia 2008) predicts dramatic levels of economic growth over the next three years. This anticipated growth will be driven primarily by the revitalization of the mining and forestry sectors, which are projected to grow at 137 percent and 17 percent respectively in 2008. The surge in these sectors will be precipitated by the removal of diamond and timber

sanctions and the implementation of several large concession agreements, including the recent agreement signed with Arcelor Mittal that is expected to bring over \$1 billion dollars in investment over seven years (Radelet 2007).

Although output is expected to grow in all sectors, the composition of Liberia's GDP will change significantly over the next four years. Compared to the anticipated recovery of the mining and forestry sectors, the predicted growth rates for services (9 percent), manufacturing (5 percent), and agriculture (4 percent) are more modest. Over the next three years, agriculture's contribution to overall GDP will fall from 56 percent to 38 percent, with its lost share being subsumed by mining and forestry as seen in the figure below. (See Figure 10).

II. The Gender Distributional Effects

Driven by forestry and mining, Liberia's economic growth will primarily benefit male laborers. (See Figure 11).

Considering the active participation of women in the labor force and their presence in the least productive sectors, women contribute an estimated 44 percent of Liberia's GDP.⁴ However, as the composition of Liberia's GDP shifts, women's proportional contribution will change as well. As illustrated in Figure 11, mining and forestry will be the primary drivers of Liberia's growth, yet these are the sectors that employ the lowest proportion of female laborers (8 percent and 22 percent, respectively). Therefore, as male-dominated sectors comprise larger portions of Liberia's GDP, women's percent contribution to GDP will in turn decline. Over the next five years, women's contribution will drop eight percentage points, from the current 44 percent to 36 percent of GDP in 2011.

It is important to note that this does not mean women's absolute contribution will decrease. In fact, given the growth in all sectors, the absolute value-added from women's labor will increase as well; it is only in proportional terms compared to male contribution that women's contribution will fall.

Yet this proportional reduction in women's contribution is alarming because it shows the unequal distribution of Liberia's growth; male laborers will be the primary beneficiaries of the new economic activity. Overall, 77 percent of the absolute growth in GDP (from 2007 to 2011) is expected to be driven by male labor.

What does this mean for women? If households acted as one unit in their decision making and resource allocation, and we assumed that Liberian women were members of male-headed households, then the unequal gender distribution of growth would be less problematic. Based on overwhelming microeconomic evidence from Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, and Cameroon, however, we assume that this is not the case (Duflo and Udry 2004; Udry et al. 1995; Jones 1986). Evidence across countries consistently shows that the household does not act as one unit; rather, an increase in income for either sex does not translate to equal benefits for all household members. Within a household, income earned by a man is not equal to income earned by a woman and there is a certain degree of intrahousehold bargaining that takes place.

Given the rejection of the unitary model of the household, women laborers have less to gain from Liberia's projected growth. Their participation in only 23 percent

of the new economic activity means that they will receive fewer economic opportunities and therefore fewer of the income benefits of Liberia's growth.

In our estimations, we assume that the gender intensity of labor for each sector will remain constant over the next three years. Keeping women's contribution constant over the next five years would require a near *tripling* of the proportion of women in mining and forestry. This translates to an expansion of the overall proportion of females employed in forestry from 21 percent to 59 percent, and from 8 percent to 21 percent in the mining sector. Alternatively, a 45 percent increase in the proportion of all women employed in all sectors other than agriculture would also keep women's contribution constant.

While we encourage the government to actively endeavor to increase employment opportunities for women in formal sectors such as mining and forestry, we are cognizant of the limitations present in this fixed time period. For instance, there are deeply ingrained cultural norms underlying the gender roles in these sectors. We were unable to find evidence from other African countries that illustrates a dramatic shift in the gender intensity of production in a five-year period. Therefore, it is more than likely that Liberia will in fact face a major distributional challenge with its projected growth over the next three years.

As mining and panning and forestry contribute a larger proportion of Liberia's GDP, women's labor contribution, and therefore share of total earned income, will decrease. (See Figure 12).

Thus, Liberia's projected GDP over the next three years will impact men and women differently. We conclude that it is male laborers who will be the overwhelming beneficiaries of Liberia's economic revitalization. As the forestry and mining sectors drive economic growth, women's labor share of GDP will fall significantly. As a result, female labor will contribute to, and thus benefit from, less than one-quarter of the new growth over the next three years.

Policy Recommendations

Our findings from the previous section show that the opportunities and benefits from Liberia's economic growth will accrue to men and women differently. As it stands, women are at risk of being marginalized from the benefits of Liberia's economic revitalization. To address this concern, we recommend that the government of Liberia take two approaches. First, the government can work to enhance the productivity of women in the sectors in which they currently work, in agriculture and in urban self-employment. Second, the government can seek to create new opportunities for women in promising nontraditional sectors that have not yet emerged.

In the following three sections, we address each of these approaches separately and identify specific policy recommendations that we believe can be feasibly implemented in the next three years. Section I focuses on the needs of rural women and delineates centrality of road construction to increasing the income-generating opportunities of rural women. Section II highlights one of the biggest constraints facing Liberian women engaged in the urban informal economy—the unmet demand for credit—and provides recommendations for expanding the supply of microfinance services. Finally, Section III emphasizes the policies

needed for the government to lay the foundation for the emergence of a vibrant and diverse economy, including the eventual production of labor-intensive goods in industries that employ women. Each of these policy recommendations draw on the government's specific economic policies and priorities, as delineated in Liberia's national Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) of 2008.

I. Women in Agriculture: Boosting Women's Efficiency Through Roads

Women and agriculture are at the center of Liberia's economy and any discussion of one would be incomplete without a discussion of the other. As highlighted in the previous sections, women constitute the majority of agricultural workers and contribute to more than three-quarters of all crop production. In total, more than a third of all Liberian women are working in agriculture. Thus, improving agricultural productivity is not only necessary for Liberia's economic growth and poverty reduction, it is also critical for enhancing the income-generating opportunities of female workers. Liberia's government simply cannot revitalize this crucial sector without focusing on the activity of women within it.

Building on Liberia's recently developed agricultural policy, the Poverty Reduction Strategy identifies three strategic objectives for revitalizing the agricultural sector. One of these objectives is to develop more competitive, efficient, and sustainable food and agricultural value chains and linkages to markets (Republic of Liberia 2008); this is quite pertinent to enhancing women's place in Liberia's economy and expanding income-generating opportunities for rural women.

The single most important policy identified by the government of Liberia that can achieve this objective is to strengthen linkages to output markets, primarily by rebuilding farm-to-market roads. While essential to the revitalization of the agriculture sector at large, roads are particularly critical for women, given their role as the primary marketers of agricultural produce.

At present, lack of satisfactory roads creates an overwhelming transport burden for rural Liberians trying to access markets. Data from the 2007 Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire highlights the dire state of Liberia's dilapidated infrastructure and the resulting time burden. Individuals from rural households must travel an average of nearly three hours to reach the nearest food market and over five and a half hours to reach an all-season road, which is necessary for accessing urban centers during the rainy season. (See Figure 13).

The 2007 Comprehensive Food Security and Nutrition Survey confirms the severity of the time burden on agricultural producers and marketers: 98 percent of all rural and semi-urban households have access to markets; 96 percent of these households use markets to buy food and 55 percent for selling food. However, averaging across all the counties, individuals take an average of 2.6 hours to walk to a weekly market. For some of the most isolated counties, the average distance is practically shocking: 10.2 hours in Grand Gedeh County and 5.7 hours in Gbarpolu County.

Moreover, roads are self-identified by Liberian agricultural producers and traders as their top priority. As part of the drafting of Liberia's three-year Poverty Reduction Strategy, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs of Liberia

conducted public consultations in each of the country's fifteen counties. In every county, officials, civil society leaders, and the general public identified constructing and rehabilitating roads as a top development priority (Republic of Liberia 2008). Thus, public opinion further reinforces the data's identification of transport as a major constraint for rural households. Additionally, the 2007 Liberia Market Review, which covered twenty-one markets in fourteen counties, identified transportation—and “specifically the lack of access, deplorable road conditions, and high transportation costs”—as the most important constraint affecting agriculture producers and traders (Republic of Liberia 2007, 22).

Women, in particular, bear the brunt of Liberia's rural transport burden. As highlighted previously, women conduct 85 percent of Liberia's overall marketing and trading. Thus, it is women who shoulder the burden of transporting agricultural products to and from hard-to-access markets. Studies from across Africa document this “transport burden” faced by women (Bryceson and Howe 1993; Doran 1990; Malmberg-Calvo 1994; Urasa 1990). For example, in village-level studies from Burkina Faso, Uganda, and Zambia, women contribute at least 65 percent of household time devoted to transport and travel, and more than 65 percent of the effort (Barwell 1996). Given Liberia's dilapidated infrastructure and women's role as the primary marketers and traders, the time burden is likely to be the same or even worse for Liberian rural women.

We know that women conduct the majority of marketing and trading of Liberia's agriculture. Ninety-eight percent of rural households access these markets and are traveling an average of near three hours each way to get there. While we do not know the exact proportional burden of transport between Liberian men and women, we are confident that women are the primary bearers of Liberia's transportation constraints.

Therefore, we identify road construction as the topmost priority for advancing the economic opportunities of rural women. Easing the transport burden will not only allow rural women better access to markets, but it will also generate more time for women to invest in agricultural production and will reduce production costs by improving access to inputs, thereby providing greater opportunities for rural women to expand their income-generating activities.

II. Women in the Informal Economy: Meeting the Credit Needs of Urban Women

As illustrated in the economic profile, female workers in urban areas are employed, almost without exception, in the informal sector. In the capital city of Monrovia, for instance, 40 percent of women laborers are employed as street vendors and petty traders, and another 29 percent are engaged as market “women.” Thus any effort to improve the economic opportunities of women in urban areas must address the constraints faced by market women and traders. Foremost among these constraints is the severe shortage of affordable credit and financial services. In this section, we will discuss the unmet credit needs of Liberia's female traders and provide policy recommendations to the government of Liberia to help broaden access for women to affordable credit.

Large Unmet Need for Credit

Among Liberia's market women and traders, there exists a very significant unmet need for credit. This unmet need is due to an inadequate supply of credit, stemming from the paucity of commercial banks, the hesitancy of financial institutions to assume the risk of lending to market women, and the virtual absence of microfinance operations in the country. According to the World Bank (2007b), Liberia has only five commercial banks and two active non-deposit-taking microfinance institutions (MFIs). In total, these two MFIs service just 5,726 women in all of Liberia. This number pales in comparison to the estimated 174,000 market women in Liberia identified by the Liberian Markets and Marketers Survey Report (Subah-Bellah Associates 2007), and an even greater number of female petty traders.

As a result of this credit supply shortage, Liberia's market women have turned to alternative sources of business financing. Figure 14 illustrates the primary sources of business financing for market women. As evidenced in the chart, only 1 percent of market women turn to market loan groups to finance their businesses; most instead have had to rely on family and savings. Also through susu groups, or informal savings groups, 9 percent of the market women surveyed are able to make regular deposits of earnings from their trading. Their existence, even in the direst circumstances of war, illustrates the borrowing potential of even Liberian's poorest women. (See Figure 14).

In the absence of affordable credit, market women face formidable obstacles to scaling up their enterprises beyond subsistence level. Due in part to these credit constraints, more than half of market women surveyed in the Liberian Markets and Marketers Survey Report (Subah-Bellah Associates 2007) had not experienced any growth in their businesses in the previous year. More than nine in ten surveyed market women identified access to capital as the best strategy for scaling up their businesses.

Policy Recommendations: Supporting the Microfinance Sector

Liberia's Poverty Reduction Strategy (2008) calls for the government to encourage a sustainable, well-managed microfinance sector as a means of broadening and extending financial services. To do so, the strategy specifies that the government of Liberia intends to develop a national microfinance policy and modify appropriate provisions of the Financial Institutions Act. The following are specific policy recommendations intended to inform the development of the national microfinance policy and its implementation.

First, microfinance services should *not* be provided directly by the government. Rather microfinance service delivery is the purview of the private sector, donors, and nongovernmental organizations. While the government of Liberia should take an active role in creating a supportive environment for the introduction of microfinance services, the government itself should not itself act as a provider of microfinance. Empirical evidence illustrates a disappointing record of public provision of subsidized and direct credit in rural areas. According to the World

Bank (2005), such schemes were often financially unsustainable, were plagued by low repayment rates, and crowded out private sector provision of credit. Thus the government of Liberia should ensure a favorable regulatory environment—including appropriate ceilings on interest rates and reserve requirements, and nongovernmental organization (NGO) registration and regulations—to enable domestic and foreign NGOs to begin microfinance operations, but should not serve as a provider itself. Since it is unlikely that commercial banks will meet the credit needs of the poorest women, including the thousands of women who work as petty traders, it is therefore imperative that NGOs with expertise in microfinance lending to poor, female clients are able to commence operations in Liberia.

Secondly, to reach women, microfinance programs need to address the needs of small-scale enterprises. Several initiatives have been launched in Liberia to address the financing needs of small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), supported by several million dollars of external funding from donors (including the United States African Development Fund). In addition, several of Liberia's existing commercial banks, in conjunction with the government of Liberia, have opened special funds for financing SMEs. Despite filling an important gap in credit supply, these initiatives to finance SMEs will have far less impact on women than microfinance lending to very small-scale enterprises. This is due to reality that women own less than 20 percent of informal enterprises whereas 85 percent of petty traders and marketers are women (IFC 2007).

Additionally, to be effective, microfinance services should be paired with skills and business training. Microcredit is an important mechanism to help improve the profitability and scale of small enterprises; it is not, however, a sufficient condition to ensure that profits will be used for business growth. In Liberia, the extraordinary consumption demands on market women's earnings and the low skill level of the marketers pose a risk that loans would be used for consumption, instead of business investment. Market women have larger households than the average Liberian and are more frequently heads of household. The reality that three-quarters of marketers earn less than 500 Liberian dollars (approximately US\$8) a day means that the market women are often singularly supporting very large families with extremely limited resources. In addition, the low barriers of entry to marketer jobs result in a preponderance of women with low skills, little education, and limited business management experience. As a result of these factors, more than half of marketers surveyed in the Liberian Markets and Marketers Survey Report (Subah-Bellah Associates 2007) use the proceeds from their business for family expenses, and only a miniscule 3.3 percent reinvest in their business. To help ensure that borrowing results in business investment and therefore higher future earnings, microfinance programs should be paired with business management training and capacity building.

III. Women in the Formal Economy: Stimulating Labor-Intensive Industry

The previous two sections focused on policy recommendations to improve opportunities for women in the sectors where they are currently employed, namely agriculture and the informal urban economy. We now examine the following

question: what can the government of Liberia do in the next three years to create new formal employment opportunities for women in emerging industrial sectors?

Liberia's Growth Strategy: Diversifying the Economy

Liberia's three-pronged growth strategy as delineated in the country's Poverty Reduction Strategy calls for, first and foremost, a revival of the traditional sources of economic growth: natural resource industries. As discussed previously, the employment generated in these growing sectors will disproportionately benefit men, largely excluding the country's female labor force. However, the third prong in Liberia's growth strategy is far more promising for women's economic opportunities. The growth strategy identifies the medium- to long-term goal for Liberia to diversify into labor-intensive downstream processed products, other manufactures, and services. The Poverty Reduction Strategy elaborates that Liberia has potential for the emergence of new industries, such as agro-processing, horticulture, furniture and other downstream wood products, sandals and other downstream rubber products, toys, simple jewelry, garments, and possibly data entry (Republic of Liberia 2008).

An assessment of cross-country experiences reveals that many of the mentioned labor-intensive industries are major employers of women, particularly horticulture, garments, toys, and simple jewelry. In Kenya's thriving horticulture sector, for instance, women constitute some three-quarters of pack house worker and table operative jobs and clock two-thirds of the hours worked in vegetable production on small farms (World Bank 2004). In Bangladesh, women make up the majority (66 percent) of the labor force employed in the export-oriented garment industry whereas Bangladeshi women constitute only a miniscule 7 percent of the employment in nonexport industries (Paul-Majumder and Begum 2000).

Export Processing Zones: The Right Strategy for Stimulating Liberian Industry?

To stimulate growth in these new industries, the Poverty Reduction Strategy (Republic of Liberia 2008) suggests that the government will explore the implementation of one or more export processing zones (EPZs). The government cites well-managed EPZs (see Box 1) as a key to other countries' success in spurring nontraditional, labor-intensive export industries and diversifying production.

Box 1. Export Processing Zones

An export processing zone (EPZ) is “a clearly delineated industrial estate which constitutes a free trade enclave in the customs and trade regime of a country, and where foreign manufacturing firms producing mainly for export, benefit from a certain number of fiscal and financial incentives” (ILO 1988, 4). EPZs have attracted private investment through a combination of “hard” incentives—like roads, transport facilities, and electricity—and “soft” incentives—such as special tax breaks and holidays, duty exemptions, “one stop shop” arrangements, and unrestricted repatriation of profits.

EPZs are a relatively recent phenomenon. Whereas just over twenty countries had EPZs in 1975, more than five times as many countries do today. Some 66 million jobs are currently occupied by workers in EPZs around the world.

Sources: World Bank 2005; Boyenge 2007.

One of the most celebrated benefits of successful EPZs is employment generation, and particularly employment for women. Successful EPZs, especially those in Latin America and Asia, have employed a high proportion of females compared to males—and compared to non-EPZ manufacturing jobs. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO CESP 2003, 6), women form the majority of the labor force in the bulk of EPZs, and are upwards of 90 percent of the work force in some EPZs. The expansion of export-focused EPZs has been markedly beneficial for female employment, with “no developing country having increased manufacturing exports without greater recourse to women workers.” However, over time, the World Bank (2001) notes that the female intensity of employment generation of EPZs has tended to diminish as the makeup of the jobs change, salaries increase, and men enter the workforce.

Although a successful EPZ could potentially generate a significant number of formal employment opportunities for women, our policy recommendation is that an EPZ is not feasible in Liberia in the next three years. EPZs have had little success in Africa—even in countries with much more favorable investment climates than Liberia. Mauritius, the most famous example of a successful EPZ in Africa, turns out to be a striking exception to a disappointing experience of EPZs across the African continent (World Bank 2001). Employment generation and foreign investment have been lower than anticipated in many cases. EPZs have proliferated across Africa, but most of the EPZ jobs on the continent have been concentrated in just a few countries.

Furthermore, an EPZ would not address all of the constraints to investment in Liberia. EPZs seek to attract private investment by overcoming a specific set of constraints in a defined geographic region: overly burdensome regulation, poor infrastructure, and high taxes, for instance. Even if it were feasible for Liberia to successfully establish, manage, and finance an EPZ, it is unlikely that the EPZ's features alone will successfully overcome the key constraints to private investment in Liberia. Liberia is ranked 170 out of 178 on the World Bank's 2007

“Doing Business” survey. Several of the worst-performing indicators—such as enforcing contracts (165 out of 178), dealing with licenses (176 out of 178), and registering property (167 out of 178)—would not necessarily be resolved through an EPZ.

Importantly, an EPZ is fiscally and administratively infeasible in Liberia. The current state of Liberia’s infrastructure—poor roads, expensive electricity, inadequate telecommunications and transport infrastructure—is extremely weak. Public provision of improved infrastructure to the EPZ area would likely impose a large fiscal and administrative burden on the government of Liberia, particularly given the limited government budget. Successful implementation of an EPZ would stretch the resources and attention of the already limited capacity in Liberia’s ministries and agencies. Moreover, given the fiscal costs of providing services and infrastructure to the EPZ, and the revenue trade-offs associated with offering tax incentives, an EPZ would divert scarce resources from other pressing national priorities and from overall efforts to strengthen Liberia’s business climate and competitiveness.

Policy Recommendation: Strengthen Overall Investment Climate

To lay the foundation for private sector trade and investment in nontraditional activities, we recommend that the government of Liberia prioritize measures that improve the overall investment climate in the next three years. We do *not* recommend the creation of an EPZ. As stated by the World Bank (2005, 162), “many obstacles facing firms stem from government failures in other areas—weak protection of property rights, red tape, corruption, dysfunctional infrastructure policies, or government crowding out credit markets. Progress in addressing the underlying causes promises a broader and more sustainable impact than targeted measures that may introduce new distortions or simply distract attention from dealing with those causes.”

Also, considering the employment-generating potential of the nontraditional sectors identified in the PRS (Republic of Liberia 2008) as potential sources of comparative advantage, there will be a temptation for the government of Liberia to “pick winners” and invest resources and offer incentives to spur specific industries. However, experiences from other countries suggest that this strategy has more often than not failed and that governments have proven unsuccessful in picking either winners or losers. Many of the most successful nontraditional industries that thrive in developing countries and that have generated large number of jobs for women—including Bangladesh’s garment industry, Colombia’s cut flowers success story, and Kenya’s horticulture industry—emerged as the result of entrepreneurial efforts, not from government intervention (World Bank 2005). Furthermore, Africa is replete with examples of failed attempts of governments to stimulate new industries.

Development of new industries entails an inescapable process of self discovery and, put simply by Hausmann and Rodrik (2002, 4), “learning what one is good at producing.” They write that “neither economic theory nor management science is of much help in helping entrepreneurs (or the state) choose appropriate

investments among the full range of modern-sector activities, of which there could be tens of thousands, once one moves beyond broad categories such as 'labor-intensive products' or 'natural-resource based products.' Yet making the right investment decisions is key to future growth, as it determines the pattern of specialization."

Therefore, the government of Liberia should take an active role in creating a favorable environment for entrepreneurial "self discovery," by strengthening infrastructure and reducing costs in order to enable these "discoveries" to be profitable.

Conclusions

The starting point of our paper was the question, how can President Sirleaf's administration ensure women their "proper place" in Liberia's economic development over the next three years?

Through our analysis, we note that Liberia's economic growth will, by and large, favor men over the next three years. Further, given the current environment, it is unlikely that Liberia will witness a substantial growth over the next three years in the new industries that would employ a large percentage of women. These realities paint an unfavorable picture for the cause of women's economic opportunities in the near term.

This being said, there is still a great deal that the Sirleaf administration can accomplish to bring women to their "proper place" in the economy. We have emphasized the need both to enhance productivity in the sectors *where women are now* and, looking forward, to help move women into more productive sectors that will emerge. The construction of rural roads and the advancement of the microfinance environment will go a long way toward making a measurable difference in the economic lives of Liberian women in the next three years. Moreover, by making progress in improving the investment environment in Liberia, the government of Liberia can help to lay the foundation for industrial growth in the next five to ten years.

Thus the seeds laid by the Sirleaf administration will not bear all of their fruit during the next three years of her administration's tenure. Rather, they will continue to affect women's lives long into the future. Her focus on educating the country's girls will help change the face of Liberia's workforce down the road: equipping the women of the future to assume a more prominent role in the skilled and productive sectors of the economy. Moreover, her administration has made laudable progress in stamping out corruption, strengthening governance and financial management, maintaining peace and stability, rebuilding the country's broken infrastructure, and recruiting the country's talented diaspora back to Liberia. These efforts will help reorient the course of Liberia from one of destruction and war to one of prosperity, development, and, importantly, opportunity for women.

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Endnotes

¹ Two key data sources enabled the generation of this economic profile: the Core Welfare Indicator Questionnaire (CWIQ) household survey and the Comprehensive Food Security and Nutrition Survey (CFSNS). Estimations sourced as CWIQ 2007 are the authors' estimations using the raw CWIQ data set. The CFSNS project produced three separate reports corresponding to rural Liberia, urban Monrovia, and a national market review. Citations referring to the CFSNS draw from these three reports.

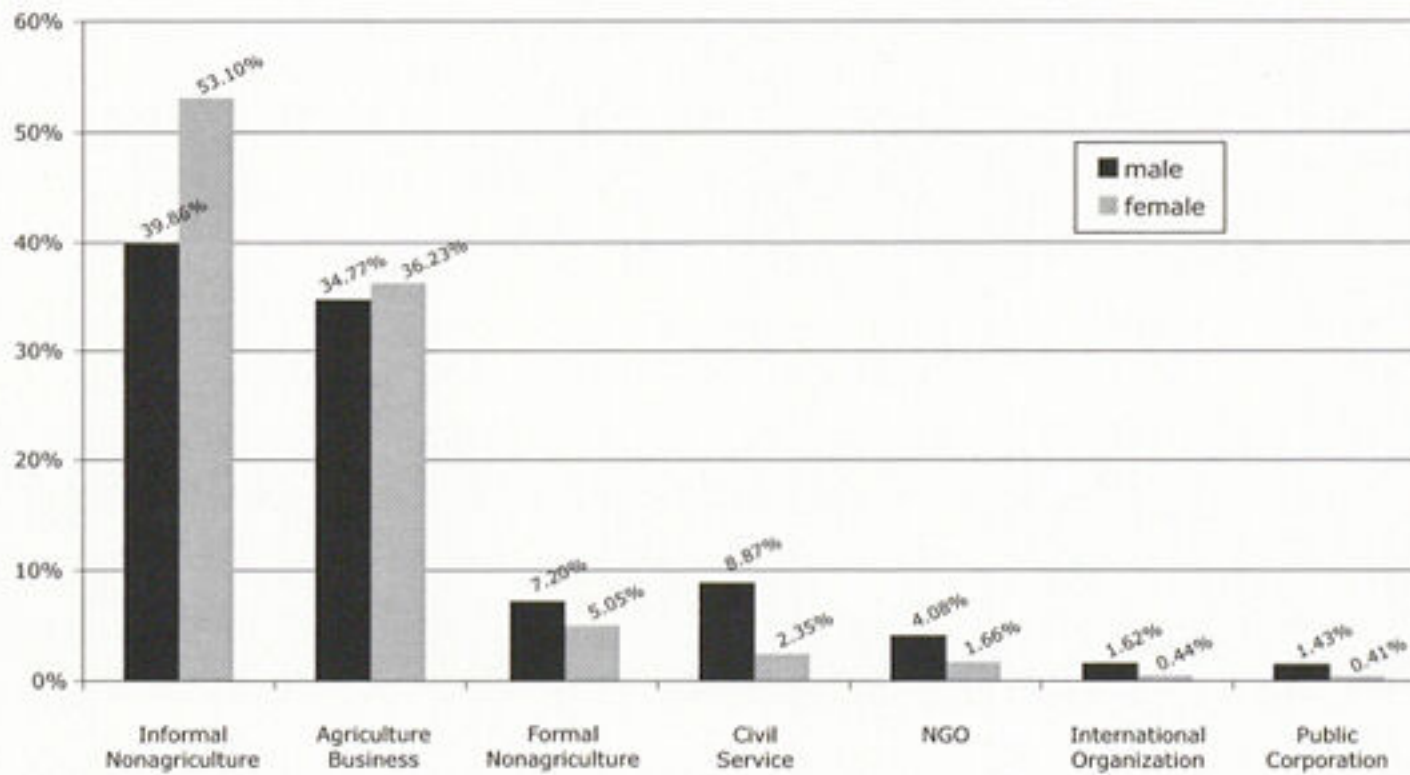
² These estimations are calculated in the CFSNS by combining data on household members' contributions to different income-generating activities in the household and the income earned by households in these activities.

³ This estimation comes from the Liberian Markets and Marketers Survey Report (Subah-Bellah Associates 2007). In addition, the 2007 Liberia Market Review states that, on average, 86 percent of marketers selling and trading at markets are women (p. 20).

⁴ We estimate women's labor force contribution to GDP utilizing the sector breakdown of the labor force—specifically the gender intensity of production in each sector—and the GDP growth predictions. We implicitly assume that the average woman working in a given sector contributes the same value added to GDP as does a man working in the sector. Thus, we assume that because women comprise

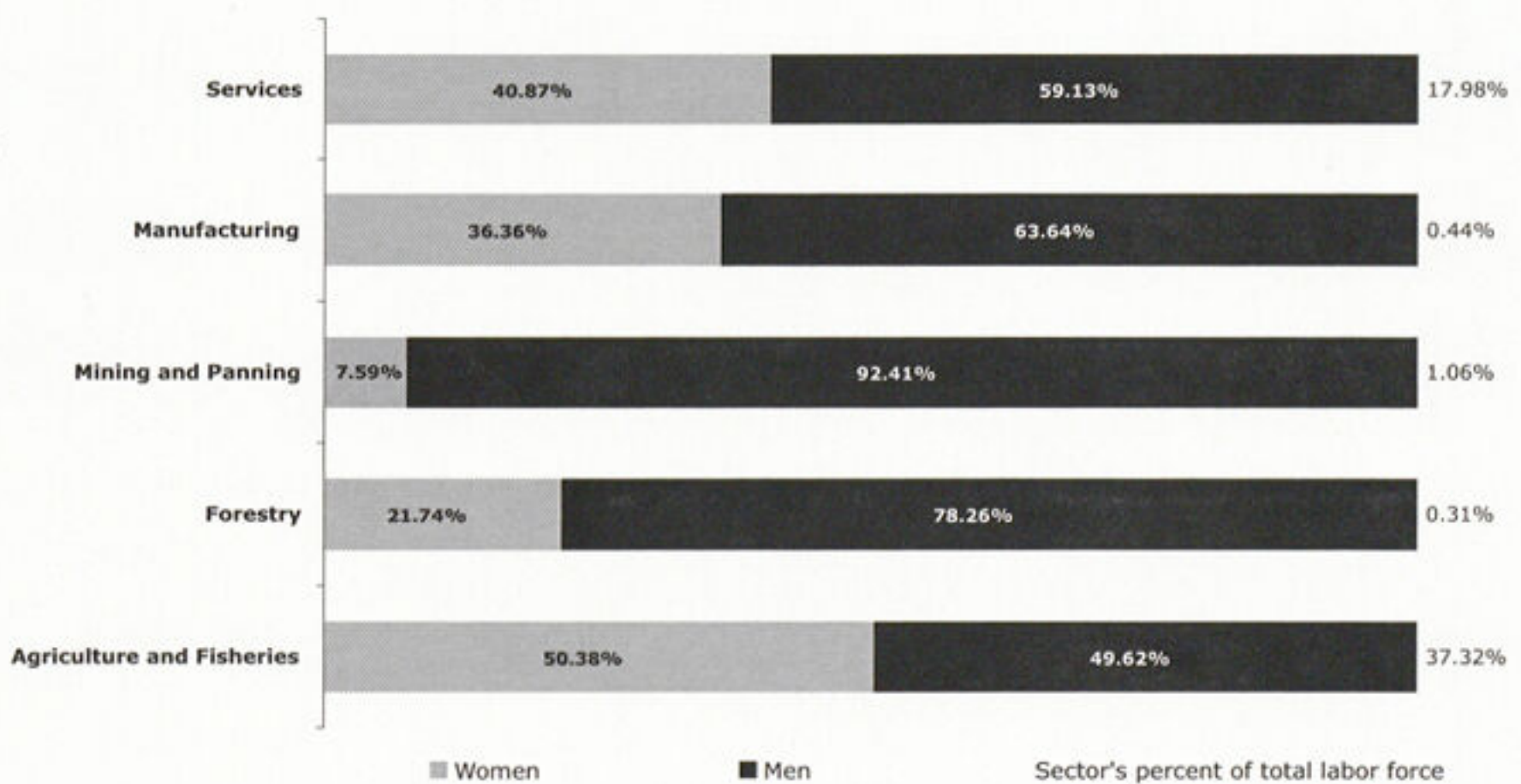
50.4 percent of the workforce in agriculture, they contribute 50.4 percent of agriculture's US\$408.9 million to Liberia's 2007 GDP (56 percent of the total). It then follows that women in agriculture are contributing 28.4 percent of the 2007 GDP. Adding women's contribution to GDP from each sector provides an overall measure of women's labor force contribution to GDP

Figure 1. Breakdown of Employers by Gender
Represents Male/Female Proportion of All Workers Employed by Category



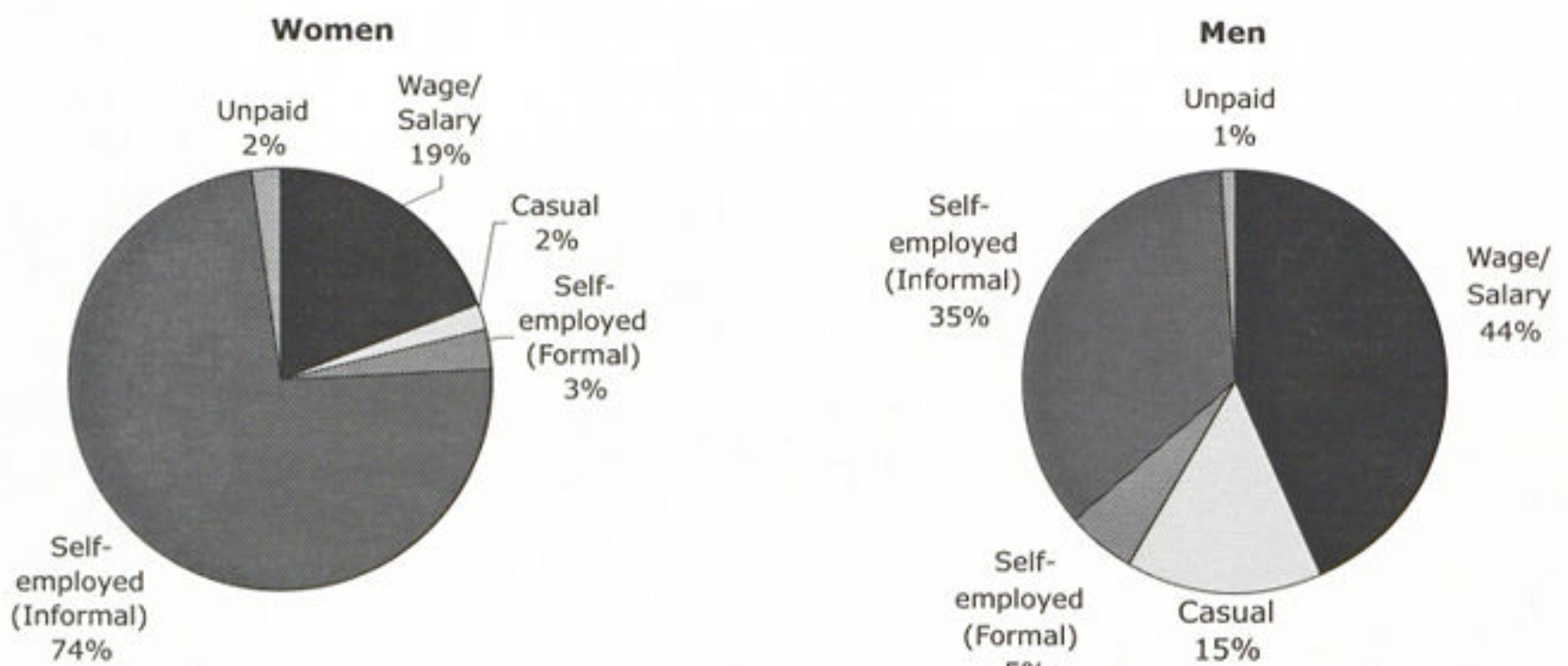
Source: CWIQ 2007

Figure 2. Gender Breakdown of Labor by Sector



Source: CWIQ 2007

Figure 3. Mode of Payment for Urban Workers



Source: Monrovia CFSNS

Source: Monrovia CFSNS

Figure 4. Share of Women and Men in Nonagricultural Self-employment

	Women	Men
World	36	64
Africa	38	62
Sub-Saharan Africa	41	59
Liberia	51	49

Source: ILO 2002; CWIQ 2007

Figure 5. Main Income Activities in Monrovia

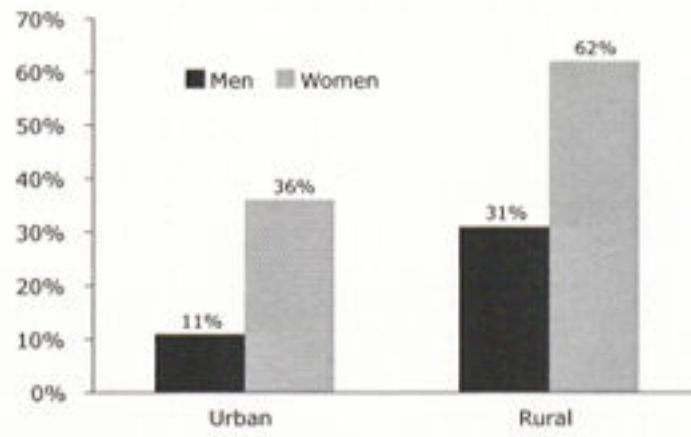
Top Four Activities by Gender

Women		Men	
Street Vending/Petty Trading	40%	Skilled Labor	26%
Market Women	29%	Clerical/Professional	23%
Clerical/Professional	11%	Casual Labor	20%
Skilled Labor	7%	Street Vending/Petty Trading	18%

* Skilled labor is highlighted.

Source: Monrovia CFSNS

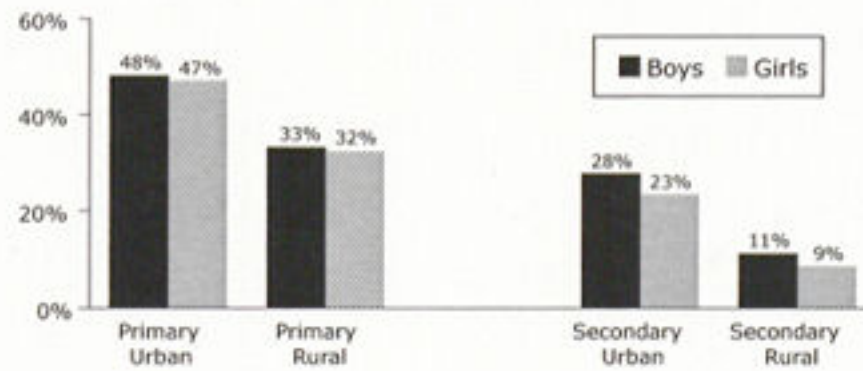
Figure 6. Adults with No Formal Education



Source: CFSNS 2007

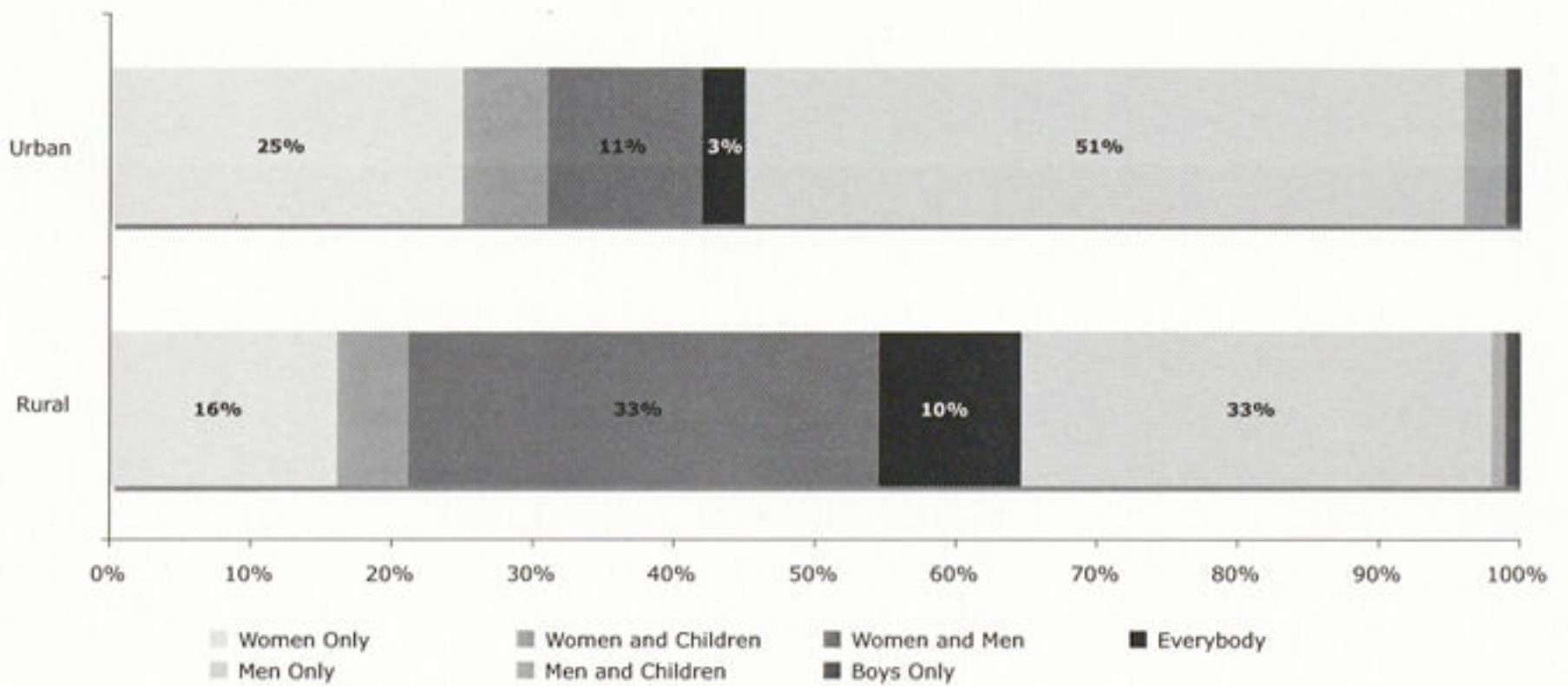
Figure 7. Net School Enrollment Rates

Primary: Ages 6-11; Secondary: Ages 12-17



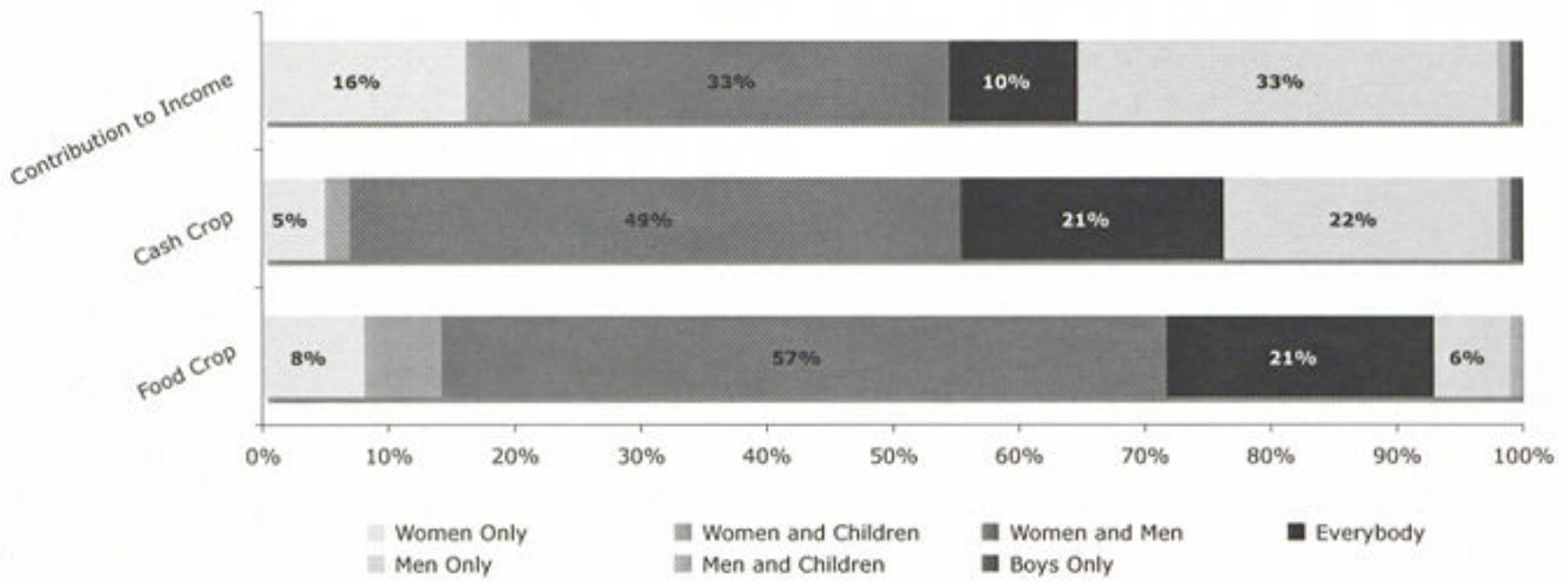
Source: CWIQ 2007

Figure 8. Contributions to Total Household Income: Urban and Rural



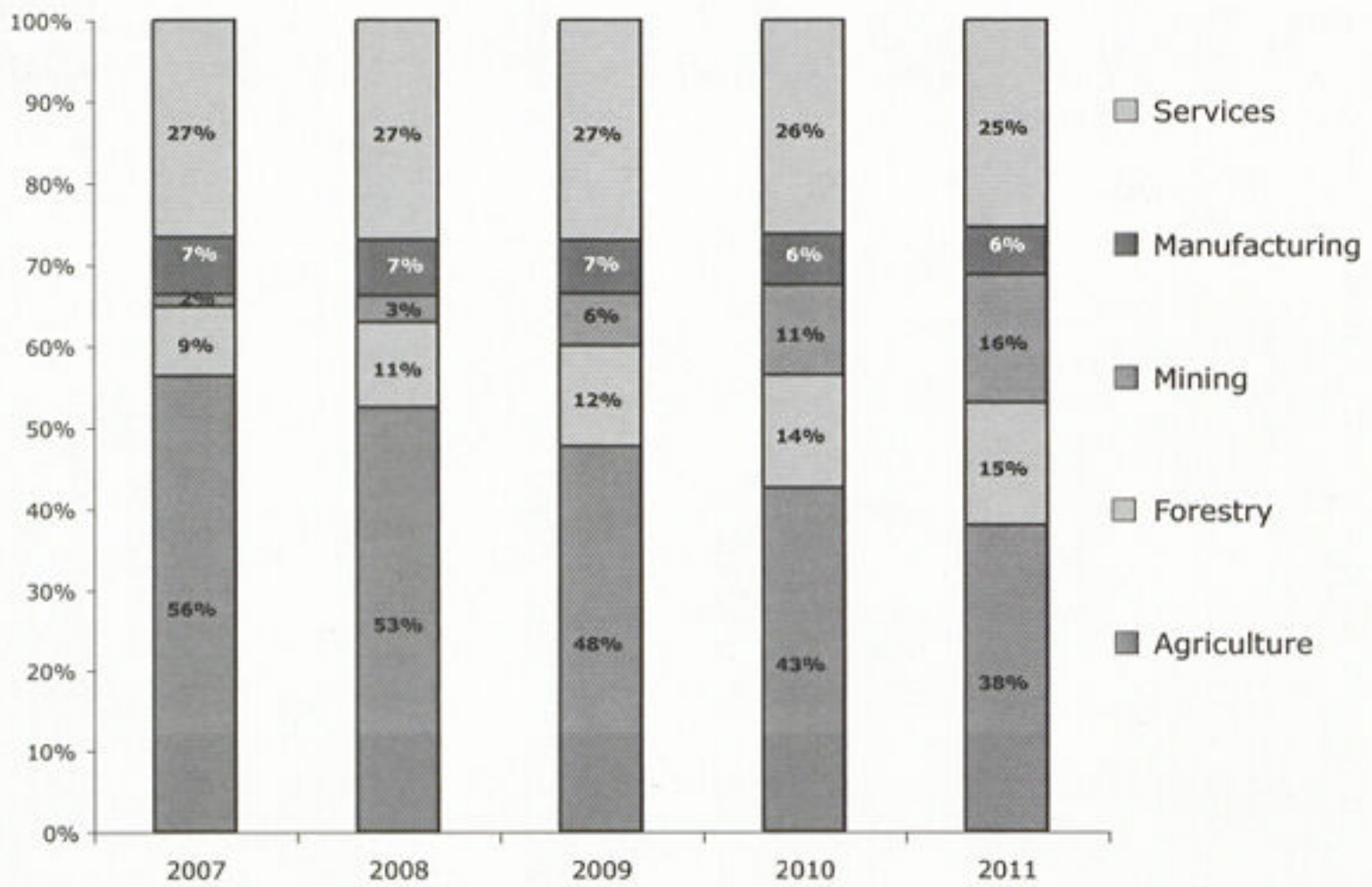
Sources: CSFNS 2006; Monrovia CSFNS 2007

Figure 9. Contributions to Total Household Income and Participants in Household Agricultural Production



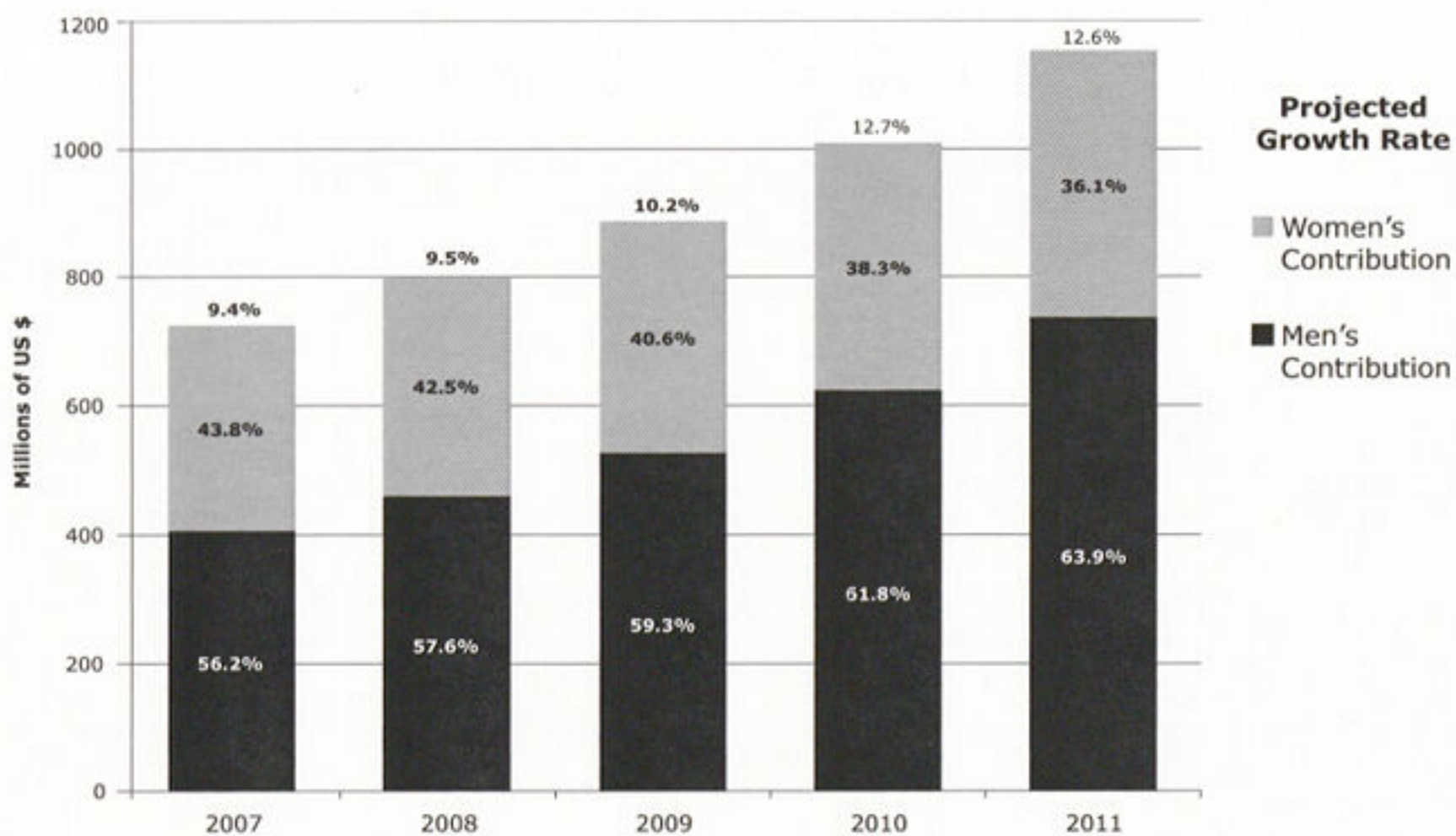
Source: CSFNS 2006

Figure 10. Projected Breakdown of GDP by Sector



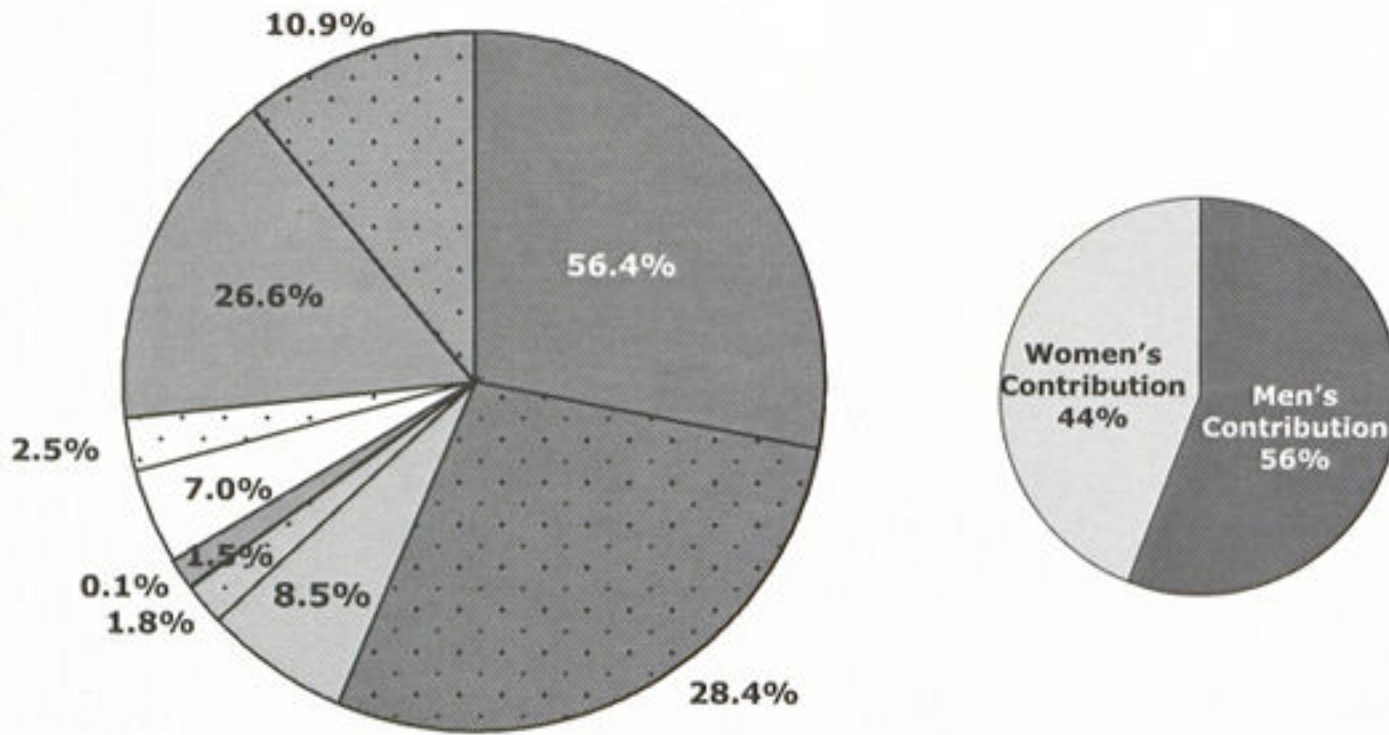
Source: Government of Liberia 2008, Chapter 7

Figure 11. Projected GDP at Current Prices



Source: Authors' calculations using CWIQ 2007 and Government of Liberia 2008, Chapter 7

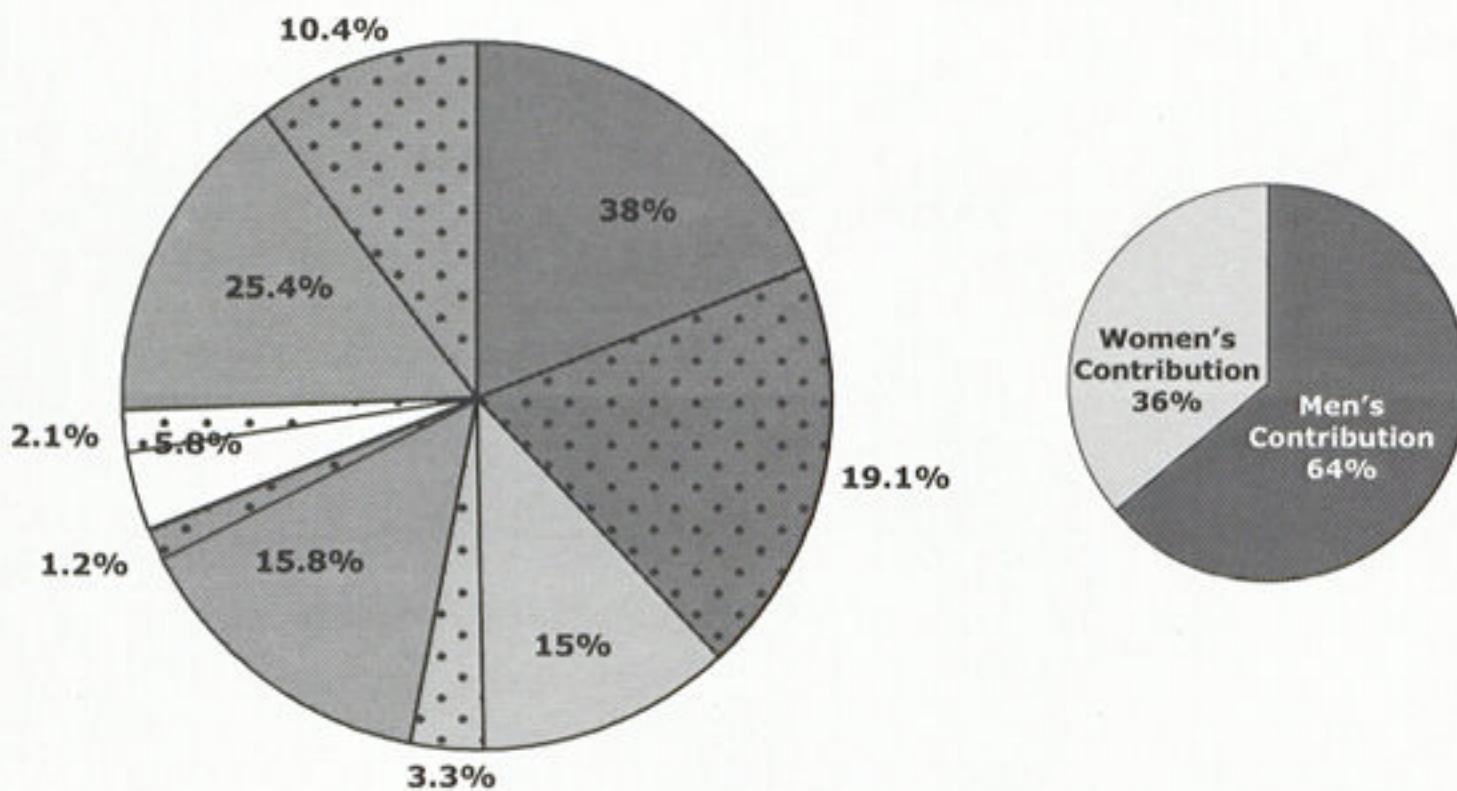
Figure 12a. 2007's GDP: Breakdown by Sector and Gender



Outer percentages represent women's contribution to total GDP, by sector.
 Inner percentages represent sector's contribution to total GDP.



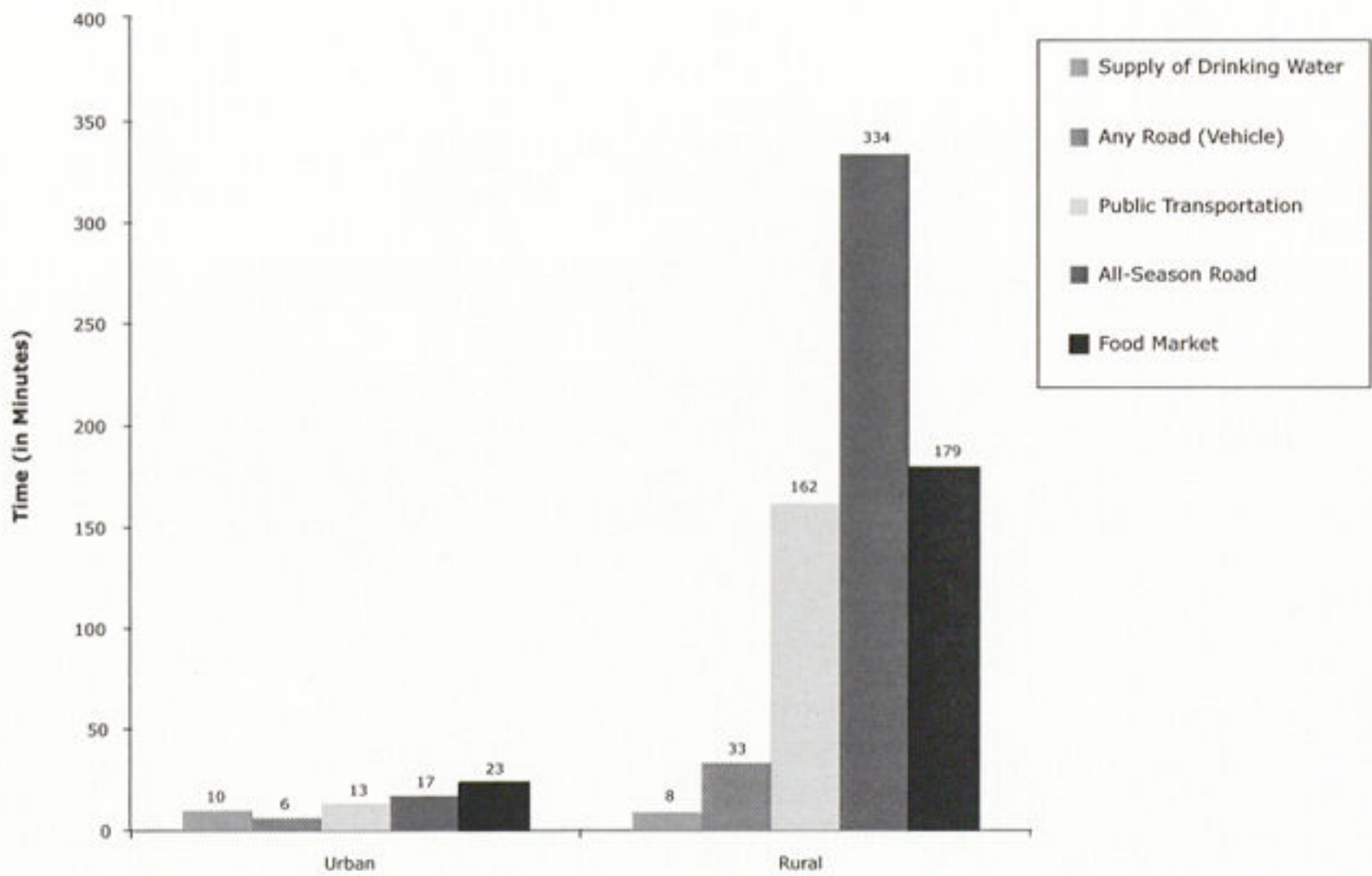
Figure 12b. 2011's GDP: Breakdown by Sector and Gender



Outer percentages represent women's contribution to total GDP, by sector.
 Inner percentages represent sector's contribution to total GDP.

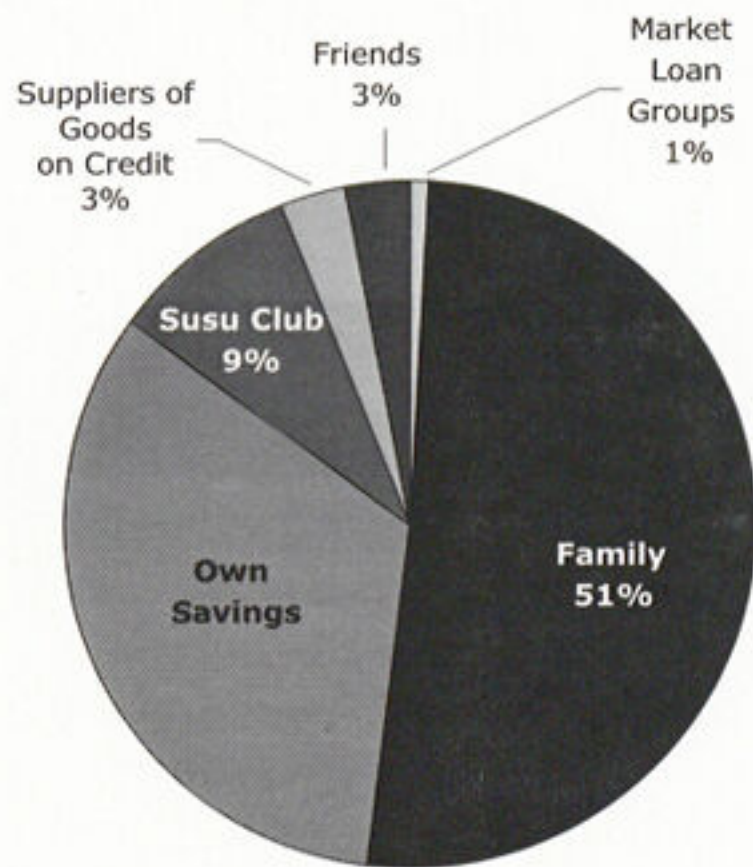
Source: Authors' calculations based on data from CWIQ 2007 and Government of Liberia 2008, Chapter 7

Figure 13. Average Distance to Infrastructure



Source: CWIQ 2007

Figure 14. Source of Marketers' Business Money



Source: Government of Liberia 2008, Chapter 7

LEGALLY RESTRICTING PROCREATION: THE CHALLENGES, DILEMMAS, AND UNEQUAL EFFECTS OF THE JUDICIAL TREND ON MEN AND WOMEN

Monica K. Miller

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Introduction

In October 2006 a Missouri woman named Mandy Nelson appeared in Buchanan County Circuit Judge Daniel Kellogg's courtroom. The twenty-six-year-old mother of three was given a three-year probation sentence for forgery. According to the Associated Press on 18 October 2006, as part of her probation, Judge Kellogg ordered her to refrain from having any more children during her probation period. While this procreation restriction may seem extreme and extraordinary, Ms. Nelson is not alone. Judges in a number of states have issued probation or parole restrictions that forbid procreation (e.g., Ertelt 2005; *Krebs v. Schwarz* 1997; *State v. Kline* 1998). As evident from this case, such rulings are not always directly related to the nature of the crime but are used as a way to reprimand parents' abusive behavior or unfavorable lifestyles in an effort to protect current and potential children from harm.

Despite good intentions on the part of judges and other law enforcement agents, such rulings come with serious legal, health, and ethical challenges. First, procreation restrictions may infringe on constitutional rights to privacy, bodily autonomy, and reproduction. An even greater concern is that these rulings create unequal burdens for men and women because it is obviously more difficult for women to hide a violation (i.e., pregnancy) than it is for men. There is also concern that procreation restrictions will lead to violence, as women in relationships with men who have procreation restrictions may be at risk for abuse if the man were to place blame on her for the pregnancy. Finally, restrictions may pose ethical dilemmas; for instance, a woman faced with a procreation restriction may feel pressured to obtain an abortion in the event of a pregnancy to avoid imprisonment.

This article will discuss the specific challenges associated with such laws, illustrating the possible array of negative effects of these restrictions. Ultimately, it is concluded that, although these restrictions may be ordered with good intentions,

they also come with a host of counterproductive side effects. The overall outcomes for mothers and children should be carefully considered and studied, especially given the numerous risks posed by procreation restrictions as compared to the theorized benefits. These considerations lead to the conclusion that judges should refrain from ordering further restrictions on procreation and, instead, investigate other ways to meet their intended objectives.

Challenges and Consequences: The Many Shortcomings of Procreation Restrictions

Although intended to protect current and future children, procreation restrictions pose a variety of legal, medical, and ethical challenges. Perhaps the biggest issue associated with procreation restrictions is that they do not address the underlying problems that have led the individual to be in the legal system. Each of these challenges is discussed to provide a more comprehensive picture of the potential negative effects of procreation restrictions.

Legal Dilemmas

One important legal dilemma associated with procreation restrictions is that a person may take all necessary precautions but still conceive a child. In an event of an accidental pregnancy, the legal system is faced with difficult choices as the consequence of the violation could mean sending the mother to prison for having a child even though she tried to prevent the conception. Such an outcome would contradict the very purpose of the restriction, namely, to protect the new child from harm. The mother would be imprisoned and unable to care for her child, and the state would have to take over this role, placing the child in foster care or other alternatives to direct parental care. On the other hand, if the judge does not impose the established punishment on the woman, a dangerous precedent would be set. This could delegitimize the court's authority not only in the eyes of offenders, but potentially in society at large. A violated probation restriction, then, presents the courts with a legal dilemma with seemingly no satisfactory outcome.

Once a procreation restriction is imposed, another major challenge for the legal system is enforcement. Enforcing prohibitions on procreation requires the courts to have knowledge of a defendant's sexual activity. It is not only difficult, but also altogether unrealistic to expect legal actors, such as probation officers or judges to actively—and accurately—monitor such behavior. That is, until a woman becomes pregnant. This element of differentiated enforcement is at the very heart of the issue of procreation restriction inequality. For a man with a procreation restriction, the probation officer or judge would likely be unaware of a violation unless he fathers a child and the mother files for child support or reports his infraction to the authorities. A woman under similar restrictions, however, will most likely be exposed to the authorities due to the physical changes accompanying her pregnancy. This aspect of procreation restrictions, which by their very nature affect women differently than men, is indeed problematic.

Another legal dilemma associated with procreation restrictions is that they may violate an individual's constitutional rights to privacy, bodily autonomy, and reproduction. The United States Supreme Court noted the importance of fundamental "privacy" rights in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) and *Eisenstadt v. Baird* (1972), stating in *Eisenstadt*, "If the right of privacy means anything, it is the right of the individual, married or single, to be free from unwarranted governmental intrusion into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as the decision whether to bear or beget a child" (p. 453). And while the court has not ruled on the permissibility of procreation restrictions, it is conceivable that they could be found to violate this very right to privacy.

Similarly, procreation restrictions could infringe on the right to bodily autonomy. As far back as 1891, courts recognized that "no right is held more sacred . . . than the right of every individual to the possession and control of his own person, free from restraint or interference of others, unless by clear and unquestionable authority of law" (*Union Pacific Railway Co. v. Botsford* 1891, 251). The *Union Pacific* court refused to force an individual to submit to an unwanted medical examination. Whether a procreation restriction constitutes a similar "clear and unquestionable authority of the law" is not apparent. In similar vein, the right to refuse medical treatment is longstanding in the country's history and was reinforced by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1990 (*Cruzan v. Director of the Missouri Health Department*). However, the coercive nature of procreation restrictions may lead a woman to feel pressured to have an invasive procedure such as an intrauterine device (IUD) implant, take hormonal birth control pills, or, at the very extreme, be sterilized. A woman may therefore feel that her right to be free from unwanted medical procedures and treatments is violated by the procreation restriction.

Finally, procreation restrictions may violate a woman's reproductive freedoms. The U.S. Supreme Court has declared that the government cannot infringe on an individual's right to procreate (*Skinner v. Oklahoma* 1942). In the *Skinner* case, a state law called for repeat criminals to be permanently sterilized. The court determined that this was a violation of the defendants' fundamental rights and found the law to be unconstitutional. Using similar logic, an argument could be made that procreation restrictions violate this "fundamental right" in a similar manner. Generally speaking, courts uphold procreation restrictions as long as they are not permanent and can be removed—unlike the sterilization required by the law in the *Skinner* case. For some of the defendants, however, the restriction is *functionally* permanent, especially for women given the limitations imposed by their biological tuning on fertility. For instance, a woman who is prohibited from getting pregnant until she can financially support her current children could theoretically have more children once this requirement is met. In reality, however, she may not be able to pay her bills or find adequate work into the foreseeable future and therefore be forever restricted in reproductive terms. As such, both sterilization as in the *Skinner* case and procreation restrictions could serve as permanent prohibitions on an individual's right to bear children.

Health and Wellness Dilemmas

The variety of legal dilemmas illustrates just a few of the challenges posed by procreation restrictions; other dilemmas are related to the health and wellness of the individuals affected by the restrictions. A state's interest in promoting the health, safety, and wellbeing of its citizens can be greatly compromised by such rulings. Specifically, if a woman does not wish to abstain from sexual behavior, she must practice some form of birth control. Most birth control pills currently available contain hormones, which have potential side effects such as blood clots and stroke. Other forms of contraception, such as Norplant, are invasive medical procedures and, like all procedures, have a risk of complications. A woman with a procreation restriction would be forced to risk such medical complications and side effects, a few of which can be potentially severe.

If a woman with a procreation restriction does become pregnant, she faces a dilemma that could affect her health and wellbeing. She could choose to have an abortion, which, apart from being psychologically difficult, can be expensive and not readily available. Moreover, abortions are not a viable alternative for all individuals due to the health risks involved. If the woman decides to carry the baby to term, she could hide her pregnancy by starving herself, or she could go into hiding, creating a potentially more severe parole violation altogether. In the latter two scenarios, she would be unlikely to get adequate nutrition and prenatal care, which can be detrimental to the fetus (Sovinski 1997).

Finally, procreation restrictions risk a variety of negative effects on the wellbeing of any child born to an individual with such a restriction. Children who have knowledge that their existence led to their parents' punishment could, not surprisingly, experience mental anguish (McCanna 2003). Moreover, in such scenarios, violating parents would be unable to bond with their children while imprisoned since they would most likely be sent to foster care, and the parent may or may not ever regain custody of the children. These outcomes could be counter to the state's interests in protecting children's health and wellbeing—both physical and psychological.

Moral Dilemmas

The aforementioned legal and health-related dilemmas illustrate some of the many difficulties surrounding procreation restrictions. Moral dilemmas specific to the women involved in such cases are also important considerations. As noted earlier, a woman who conceives a child while under a procreation restriction faces a difficult choice of obtaining an abortion. She may feel as if this is her only alternative in order to avoid violating her probation and facing imprisonment. She may even obtain an illegal abortion in fear of her probation officer becoming informed that she had conceived a child in direct violation of the judge's orders. Therefore, given the morally controversial nature of abortions, the moral dilemma is apparent.

In addition to the challenges for women with procreation restrictions, considerations must also be made for women in relationships with men under

similar restrictions. These women effectively have been placed under procreation restrictions as well. They are also at risk for abuse, since a man fearing prison time for an unintended pregnancy could potentially become violent or force the woman to have an abortion.

As a result, there are numerous important considerations judges need to make when they are determining what probation or parole restrictions to impose on legal offenders.

Inefficiencies of Procreation Rights: Addressing the Underlying Problems

As evident from the discussion of the dilemmas involved, procreation restrictions can have many unintended negative repercussions. They also fail to be effective in targeting criminal behaviors at the root and deterring illegal activities they are intended to curb. Ultimately, they are ineffective because they do not address the underlying behavioral, emotional, health, social, and employment problems that brought the individual into the courtroom (Miller 2006). Most of the individuals that have procreation restrictions committed a serious crime. Others are seen as unfit to be parents because of their negative lifestyle or failure to pay child support. While a simple judicial order to refrain from having more children may seem like a simple solution to the problem, it is unlikely to be effective.

Furthermore, procreation restrictions do not tackle the larger issues of violence, homelessness, drug abuse, and unemployment that often are primary factors in the crimes that such individuals commit. For example, these restrictions do not teach abusive parents to control their anger or impulses or inform them about better parenting methods. They do not help drug abusers overcome their addictions, and they do not help unskilled parents find higher-paying jobs that would enable them to pay child support. On the other hand, access to help programs, training, and education would assist them in making positive life changes (Miller 2006). Procreation restrictions are overly simplistic solutions to very complex problems. They are unlikely to be effective at influencing behavior or creating positive changes, and instead act as a Band-Aid solution for deeply rooted social problems.

Concluding Remarks

Judges across the country have issued restrictions on sexual behavior and procreation. Generally speaking, restrictions are ordered for individuals who have serious hurdles to parenting, including drug use, abusive tendencies, homelessness, and extreme financial difficulties. In placing these restrictions on individuals, judges are attempting to prevent potentially devastating effects on current and potential children. Appeals courts have generally found that such restrictions are allowable as long as they are only temporary and they specify how the individual can be removed from the restriction. However, the difficulty in rehabilitating the underlying destructive behavior is not addressed by such restrictions, instead leading to many negative repercussions.

As has been demonstrated, the potential unintended consequences discussed here highlight the various dilemmas that procreation restrictions create. Because of such dilemmas, it is important to weigh the potential costs and benefits associated with procreation restrictions. To date, definitive research that explores the effects

of these restrictions has not been conducted. Nevertheless, it is likely that the risks and costs posed by procreation restrictions outweigh the intended benefits, especially as they are likely to have unequal consequences for men and women. Therefore, alternative approaches are needed to protect women and children from the numerous negative consequences associated with procreation restrictions. Judges and other legal actors should aim to develop programs that more closely target the underlying issues that brought the individual into the justice system, as these programs would benefit children, parents, and society at large.

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A "NOBEL" VOICE FROM IRAN

An Interview with Shirin Ebadi, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

On 10 October 2003, Shirin Ebadi was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize "for her efforts for democracy and human rights" and especially her focus on "the struggle for the rights of women and children." She is the first Iranian and the first Muslim woman to receive the prize.

Born in Hamedan, Iran, in 1947, Shirin Ebadi is an Iranian lawyer and human rights activist. She was the first woman in the history of the Iranian justice system to have served as a judge. However, following the Iranian revolution in 1979 and the formation of the Islamic Republic, she and other female judges were demoted from the bench under the interpretation that Islam prohibits women from serving as judges. She was eventually able to obtain her lawyer's license and practice law by 1993, using the time in between to author numerous books and articles that gained her widespread recognition in Iran.

*Despite her struggles for the achievement of equal rights for women in the Islamic Republic of Iran, she has emphasized consistently her belief that Islam and equal rights for women are indeed compatible. As she explains in her recent book, *Iran Awakening, From Prison to Peace Prize: One Woman's Struggle at the Crossroads of History*, "In the last twenty-three years, from the day I was stripped of my judgeship to the years doing battle in the revolutionary courts of Tehran, I had repeated one refrain: an interpretation of Islam that is in harmony with equality and democracy is an authentic expression of faith. It is not religion that binds women, but the selective dictates of those who wish them cloistered. That belief, along with the conviction that change in Iran must come peacefully and from within, has underpinned my work" (p. 204).*

In this interview she talks more about what she views as the greatest obstacle for achieving equality for women in Iran, her insistence against foreign intervention, the status of Iranian women today, and her current professional engagements.

Maliheh Paryavi, a candidate for a master in public administration in international development degree at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, interviewed Shirin Ebadi through a brief telephone conference with Tehran, Iran, in March 2008.

WPJH

What are some of the advantages and disadvantages of being a woman in Iran?

Ebadi

Life in Iran is just like life in any other country and has its advantages and disadvantages. The most important disadvantage is legislation that discriminates against women.

WPJH

What do you consider the greatest obstacle in achieving women's legal equality in Iran?

Ebadi

The most important obstacle for reaching equality of rights between men and women is the patriarchic culture in Iran. Patriarchic culture achieves its validity

and existence through its own interpretation by any means, including interpreting religion in a way to suit its own purpose. This patriarchic culture is the most important obstacle that we must fight against in bringing about equality between women and men in Iran. One of the features of this culture is fanaticism and intolerance. Fanaticism, meaning that anyone would believe that they have the most correct views in the whole world.

WPJH

Women now comprise the majority of students in Iranian universities. What factors have led to this surge of educational attainment for women?

Ebadi

Women in Iran fight against lack of equality in rights through different means. One of these is to increase their level of qualification and force the society to respect them. We therefore see Iranian girls study harder and are more successful in college entrance exams.

WPJH

How do you see the Iranian labor market for women today, and where do you think it will be in five years? Will there be enough jobs for all these educated women?

Ebadi

Unfortunately, employment conditions in Iran are not favorable. The percentage of unemployment is high and this unemployment is seen with respect to women as well, even though 65 percent of our university students are women. Meaning, there are more highly educated Iranian women than men. However, we see that women are unable to easily find access into the labor market. It has been reported that women's unemployment is three times as much as men's. Unemployment is one of the difficulties for women and I do not see the employment situation improving much into the future. This is because employment increases when there are increases in investments and job creation activities. For a while now, however, investment in Iran has not been high even at the general level.

WPJH

You were once quoted in 2003 shortly after you received the Nobel Peace Prize as saying, "The fight for human rights is conducted in Iran by the Iranian people, and we are against any foreign intervention in Iran." Do you still feel this way, and if so, why?

Ebadi

Human rights is an international issue. The same way that the government of Iran has the right to speak in regards to violation of human rights in Palestine, the people of the world also have the right to speak in regards to human rights violations in Iran. However, what I meant in saying that we do not need foreign interventions was that Iran's violation of human rights should not be an excuse for employment of military action or economic sanctions against Iran. But we do need the intellectual support of the international community.

The struggle of fighting for human rights must be conducted by the people of the country wherein human rights violations are occurring, with the intellectual support at an international level.

WPJH

What role do you believe women can have in impacting world peace?

Ebadi

Women can be extremely effective. Women as both citizens of today's society and also in their capacities as mothers have a significant role in shaping the society of the future.

WPJH

You are recognized around the world for your human rights work on behalf of women and children. Where do your determination and strength to fight injustices come from for your work?

Ebadi

When a person believes in the validity of the cause that they have chosen, it is then that they can firmly go forward gaining more courage. The important issue is choosing the right cause.

WPJH

How has winning a Nobel Peace Prize changed your life?

Ebadi

My workload has increased and I must travel more to make the voices of the Iranian people be heard all around the world.

WPJH

What projects take up most of your time now?

Ebadi

For more than fifteen years I have been fighting for the cause of political prisoners for free and on a pro bono basis. This is what I do in my capacity as a lawyer. In addition to this, I have three NGOs. One is in regards to violation of human rights in Iran, where every three months we report on the human rights conditions in Iran. Another NGO is in regards to supporting casualties of mines and mine awareness programs. The last NGO is in regards to providing support for Iranian children. I am involved in all three NGOs and am one of the founders of these NGOs.

WPJH

How would you like the world to perceive Iranian women?

Ebadi

I would like Iranian women to be known as they are. Iranian women for more than fifty years have achieved their right to vote and have gone to parliament. More than 65 percent of our university students are women. A large number of university professors are women. Iranian women are worthy women who fight for their equal rights.

THE IRON WOMAN BEHIND OBAMA

An Interview with Betsy Myers, Chief Operating Officer of Barack Obama's Presidential Campaign

When Barack Obama announced that he would run for president of the United States of America back in January 2007, he only had 4 percent name recognition within the country. After many months on the campaign trail and winning enough superdelegate votes, Obama has become the Democratic presidential nominee. However, behind every strong man, is certainly a strong woman. Behind the Obama campaign success is one of Harvard's very own—Betsy Myers. A force of nature, Betsy is one of the geniuses behind the Obama campaign's strategy, management, and, certainly, its success. In this interview, Betsy opens up about her decision to join the Obama campaign, the campaign's rationale for taking great risks, her great respect for the Clintons, and being a woman in the political arena.

Haviva Kohl, a candidate for a master in public policy degree at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, interviewed Betsy Myers in March 2008 in Cambridge, MA.

WPJH

As a woman, what were some of the major decisions that you had to consider when deciding whether to take the role of chief operating officer (COO) of a presidential campaign?

Myers

The first and most important decision I had to consider was my family. How was I going to manage my life? How would this impact my four-year-old daughter and my marriage? I only have one child, so it felt more manageable than if I had two or three. When you have a family, life no longer revolves around you. There are others who are impacted by your decisions and they must be taken into account. That is where your heart is, so it becomes a huge piece of the equation.

I also loved my job here at Harvard, and I was not finished with my work and hopes for the Center for Public Leadership. David Gergen and I had a terrific partnership, and we had just agreed that I would stay two more years. Leadership is my real passion, and I loved the work that we were doing around personal leadership development. I needed to make sure that we had a smooth transition of leadership at the center. Thankfully, my deputy, Donna Kalikow, was ready and able to step in. She has done a fabulous job taking the reins and moving the center forward.

I also had to think about how to logistically manage my life when my family was in Boston and the campaign was in Chicago. There were also financial implications that needed to be addressed.

WPJH

What in your life do you think prepared you for the role of COO of a presidential campaign?

Myers

Our careers build upon our job and life experiences. I have worked in several campaigns starting with the Mondale/Ferraro in 1984. I have been fortunate to see many angles of political life, from being a deputy press secretary for the California Mondale/Ferraro presidential campaign to the chief operating officer for Obama for America. In between, I was political fundraiser, advance person, and oversaw a constituency.

In the Clinton administration, I had the privilege to work inside the government as a political appointee. First as the director of the Office of Women's Business Ownership at the U.S. Small Business Administration and then deputy assistant to the president and director of the Office of Women's Initiatives and Outreach at the White House. These gave me wonderful experience in the policy and constituency arena. I also gained management and leadership skills from the variety of positions I have held throughout my career.

Over the years, I established an expertise around start-up organizations. I have the ability to hire the right people and take an organization from start-up phase to the next level. I also developed a reputation for good work. My experience, relationships, and reputation all led me to the Obama opportunity. I also think that my appreciation for leadership was a unique way to enter a presidential campaign and meshed with Barack's thinking about how to build a healthy campaign team.

WPJH

You were the original chair of Women for Obama. Did you feel conflicted supporting a man rather than the first major woman candidate? Did anyone try to talk you out of it?

Myers

I felt very conflicted, yes. But for more than reasons of just Mrs. Clinton being a woman. I worked in the Clinton administration, and I have great respect for President and Hillary Clinton. I am also a very loyal person. To walk away from the Clintons was not something I took lightly. I've been working on women's issues and women's causes my entire life. This was a historic opportunity for women. There were many, many times during this campaign where I felt proud of Hillary, her knowledge, abilities, and tenacity. She has broken the glass ceiling for women and taught us to never give up.

However, my decision to join Barack's campaign was about who had the leadership skills to get the work of a country done. Barack brings unique skills and experience that include unity, listening, collaboration, and bringing people together. I find it interesting that these have traditionally been seen as feminine leadership qualities. I was also impressed with his vision of how he wanted to organize his campaign. He challenged us to run our enterprise like a business (campaigns today are \$200 million start-up operations). We should have a mission of customer service and respect for all involved and do it with low drama. You don't hear that often in political campaigns, and it was hard to not play a role in this once-in-a-lifetime [candidacy].

WPJH

Obama's campaign has been heralded as doing more for online organizing and grassroots empowerment than any campaign before. As COO, surely you made crucial decisions to support these efforts. Can you talk about why you supported some of the campaign's more innovative or risky online programs, and how you made those decisions?

Myers

Our online efforts are what this campaign is all about. We are about grassroots participation and giving the American people a voice. We decided early to direct significant resources to our online fundraising and social networking tools. We have come a long way on this effort and it is a major piece of our success. To give some perspective, President Clinton's '96 reelection campaign did not have a Web site. In 2000, Al Gore had a Web site. In 2004, [Vermont] Governor Dean started online fundraising. Our campaign has now taken it to the next level. It will definitely be studied as a model for future campaigns.

The numbers are incredible with both our social networking capacity and online fundraising strategy. From day one, Barack said we're not going to take money from lobbyists and/or special interests. His belief in the American public was correct. Over 1.5 million voters have contributed to our campaign. The average contribution is \$96.

WPJH

Again, the role of social networking sites such as Facebook or my.barackobama.com has received a lot of press this election cycle. What do you think is the real impact of such programs? Do you think they are going to become a standard part of the campaign playbook?

Myers

Yes, we are truly a grassroots campaign. Through our "My Barack Obama" site we have enabled so many people, young and old, to participate. It is not just about raising money—it is about self-organizing. We give people the tools through our Web site. We have provided the ability for people to lead in the Obama campaign by self-organizing house parties, community events, canvassing, or phone calls. This campaign has inspired people to get involved and inspired people to participate in a way they haven't done so before. Simply, we have made it simple and easy. People feel valued and included.

WPJH

How has the Obama campaign tried to appeal to young women (and men) in getting them to the polls?

Myers

Young people have been leaders in our campaign and have participated heavily across the country helping us spread the Obama word. We have been committed from the start of our campaign to have a robust youth vote program. We put both the resources and staff on this initiative. Barack and our team have visited many college campuses across the country and included young people in the dialogue.

We have had historic involvement from young people in this election cycle. I have heard from hundreds of voters across the country how they were educated about Barack and our campaign from their children, as young as six! Young people have helped propel Barack to the nomination. They are truly changing the face of politics with their passion and grassroots involvement.

WPJH

Do you think there are any distinctive features in a campaign run by/for a woman as opposed to a man?

Myers

Whether the candidate is a man or woman is less important than who is actually running the campaign. Not always, but when women are in charge, more voices are included. Even the Obama campaign is not as good as it should be. Even though we have women across the spectrum, our campaign manger, top strategist, and pollsters are all men. Nine out of ten times, men don't naturally bring an appreciation or understanding of diversity the way women do (or Barack does for that matter). Bottom line, we need more women and minorities in campaign management and senior strategy jobs.

WPJH

Any advice you can give to young women that aspire to go into politics?

Myers

There are many wonderful opportunities in politics. People who are drawn to politics want to make the world better. Politics are about relationships. For students at Harvard, you couldn't be in a better place. You have access to all kinds of students, alumni, fellows, and faculty. Not only do you have the opportunity to learn from them, you have the opportunity to get to know them. Remember, there are many qualified people that want to get jobs in campaigns and in the White House. Relationships will open the door, but you must be prepared and have the skill set to succeed. Spend time developing real relationships throughout your career. Ninety percent of life is showing up. Attend lectures and social functions where you might have the opportunity to learn from others with experience or meet strategic people personally. Then, always follow up. Lastly, never be afraid to ask for help. Don't take it personally when your e-mail or call is not returned. Try again. I promise that persistence will pay off. You have nothing to lose. Don't take yourself too seriously. Have fun. Life is an adventure, and it is precious and goes fast, so make sure that you are living the life you love, not what you think you should do or what someone else may expect. If you are true to yourself, your career and life will fall into place.

OWNING THE POWER OF NEGOTIATION: THE HOW-TO MANUAL FOR WOMEN

LINDA BABCOCK AND SARA LASCHEVER'S
*ASK FOR IT: HOW WOMEN CAN USE THE
POWER OF NEGOTIATION TO
GET WHAT THEY REALLY WANT*

Reviewed by Linda Kaboolian

Linda Kaboolian is lecturer in public policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. She teaches courses on negotiations and her research focus is on multi-stakeholder problem-solving processes around workplace and public policy issues. She also serves as a neutral mediator and was an elected officer and chief bargainer of a union and a senior manager in the federal government. She has also served in the state and local and nonprofit sectors. Kaboolian received her Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.

Linda Babcock and Sara Laschever, authors of the most comprehensive scholarly work on women and negotiation, *Women Don't Ask*, have teamed up again on a new book to help women become better negotiators. The title of the new book says it all: *Ask for It*.

Unlike their earlier volume, which summarized academic research conducted by Babcock and others concerning women's hesitancy to negotiate, and the obstacles and sanctions they face when they do, *Ask for It* reads like a how-to manual, offering women strategies and techniques for negotiating what they want.

Ask for It begins with the surprising finding that made Babcock's work renowned: Women get less because they ask for less. According to Babcock, women not only aim lower than men in similar circumstances, but often fail to ask in the first place. This is because, unlike men, women are unsure of what is negotiable and the parameters of what would constitute a good deal.

Addressing the question of *why* women act differently than men, Babcock and Laschever avoid blame-the-women arguments and fix-the-women prescriptions. They hypothesize that social forces direct and reward women for focusing on others' needs, rather than their own desires. Social norms that define "appropriate" behavior for women, moreover, discourage assertive, self-interested tactics commonly used by male negotiators.

The authors posit that women do not negotiate because, in many contexts, the social costs of negotiating seem much higher than its benefits. Sanctioned as argumentative, unpleasant, and uncooperative when they ask, many women avoid negotiating, simply accepting what is offered. *Ask for It* reformulates this cost-benefit equation by demonstrating that the lost benefits are often worth more than most women realize. Negotiating a small increase in starting salary, for example,

can increase a professional woman's net worth over the course of a career by millions of dollars.

With some irony, Babcock and Laschever note that in specific contexts women are often successful negotiators. They negotiate well for others, with other women, with men who employ a cooperative negotiating style, and in negotiations in which creative problem-solving or moving beyond zero-sum, fixed-pie solutions are possible. Women have the advantage in these "win-win" negotiations because the strategy requires communication, information sharing, and trust building—approaches at which women are particularly skilled. In cooperative negotiations, women can create outcomes that are far superior to those resulting from traditional, adversarial fixed-pie negotiations. An additional advantage is that win-win negotiations often create better working relationships between the parties, easing implementation of the agreement and setting the stage for productive negotiations in the future.

These advantages are meaningless, however, if women fail to negotiate or pay too great a cost for asking. *Ask for It* helps women recognize opportunities to negotiate, avoid the social costs of asking, and ultimately get what they want. *Ask for It* walks the reader, step by step, through the four phases of a negotiation: from the extensive preparation process through conclusion of the deal.

The first phase helps women realize that "everything is negotiable" (p. 17). This includes taking an active role in determining their salaries and job assignments, and in defining important aspects of their personal relationships and home life. The authors challenge readers to check their assumptions about how change happens. Women must believe their own actions are important to affecting change, otherwise they will leave too much to chance. In phase one, women must also decide what they want and don't want, not simply what they need.

The second phase of negotiation involves research and discovery, to determine the ability and willingness of the other party to concede. Believing that knowledge is power, the authors guide the reader through a social analysis of a negotiation's context. The analysis ranges from the economic condition of an employer to the politics of the people involved. Women are urged to learn as much as possible about the people and organization with which they will negotiate, including social norms about negotiations, precedents set forth by past experiences, and job arrangements that others have negotiated. They would also need to try to determine the number of parties and issues involved and the nature of their relationship with the other parties.

The authors enumerate a list of sources of information that women can consult to deepen their knowledge about industry specific standards. They caution, however, that research about specific negotiation circumstances is best conducted through contacts and personal networks.

The final step in this phase is for women to strengthen their bargaining power. The source of this power, the authors note, is "a strong BATNA"—best alternative to a negotiated agreement (p. 133). The BATNA is a negotiator's fallback position if an ongoing negotiation fails. If a woman has an acceptable alternative, she can ask and hold out for better terms during difficult negotiations.

The third phase is the last of the prenegotiation preparations. It discusses the strategic choices that women must make that will shape the negotiation. The first, and perhaps most important, choice is how high to aim one's aspirations within the range of what is possible and realistic (as determined in phase two). Many women fail at defining for themselves appropriately high aspirations. The authors encourage them to aim above "what [they] can live with" (p. 160), focus on what they really want, and begin the negotiation above that point.

Once the desired outcome is defined, a strategic plan for achieving that outcome is required. In creating a plan, women must decide whether to pursue a zero-sum negotiation (in which the parties are adversaries, each reaching for the largest portion of a fixed pie) or a win-win negotiation (in which the parties explore their interests, trade information, and, together, try to bake a larger pie). Even if, in a win-win negotiation, the proportional returns to each party do not change, the larger pie provides enhanced value for all. This is the type of negotiation, moreover, in which the social skills of women can have their greatest effect.

In order to set the table for a win-win negotiation, women negotiators must choose tactics that will create the most favorable context. They must determine whether to negotiate over the phone, by e-mail, or in person; the most favorable timing for negotiating; the combination of items for which to negotiate and their relative priority and tradability; whether to make the first offer; and how to respond to a counteroffer.

The fourth and final phase is the negotiation itself. The authors suggest a dress rehearsal complete with role playing and analysis of potential flashpoints and awkward moments. The rehearsal should culminate in a detailed negotiation plan, including practiced responses to counterarguments and emotional ploys designed to soften a woman's resolve.

Similar to other modern guides to negotiation, *Ask for It* emphasizes prenegotiation preparation rather than table tactics. It also outlines actions that can be found in many other guides. Indeed, most of the authors' recommendations would be useful to both men and women. The real value in this book lies in chapters twelve and fourteen, which are unlike any others among the vast literature on negotiation.

Chapter twelve, entitled "Negotiation Gym: Work Up a Sweat," delineates a six-week program for confronting the anxiety that precludes many women from negotiating. Working through a series of increasingly difficult exercises, women "build muscles" to deal with discomfort and fight the impulses that could discourage them from asking for what they really want.

Chapter fourteen, called "The Likeability Factor," addresses the reality that women are penalized for asserting their desires, regardless of whether they negotiate aggressively, or the gender of the person across the table. How, then, can women get what they want? The authors admit that women have to be "relentlessly pleasant" (p. 253). Though it seems unfair, "you need to be liked" (p. 255). They go on to delineate several tactics to manage likability, including framing issues in a complimentary, rather than threatening, way. (For example, rather than "I need a raise or I'm leaving," say instead, "This is a great company. I think you're a great boss and I love my job. But I've received another offer and I

need to take it seriously because it's for more money.") Women should also employ nonthreatening, and—dare it be said—friendly body language, including smiling.

If the reader is disappointed by such recommendations, the authors rightfully direct that disappointment to the social norms that penalize assertive women. Babcock and Laschever bravely and correctly offer practical advice about managing the reality most women face.

The only disappointment is the tone of the first three chapters, which could turn off regular readers of negotiation guides. The authors ask us to contemplate "what do you really want?" (p. 19) in jobs, relationships, and with respect to needs and goals. These are good questions but are presented simplistically, in a style often found in women's magazines and quite at odds with serious nature of the authors' earlier work.

For example, in the chapter "Run Your Own Life," the authors pose questions about power relationships (e.g., "who's in control?" (p. 40) and "what can you change?" (p. 46)) to identify aspects in life that could be improved by negotiation. Unfortunately, the leading edge of recent research on the mutability and instability of preferences, biases in decision making, and the inaccuracy of predictions about what makes us happy is not addressed in the book's opening chapters. Upon being convinced that their life circumstances are negotiable, readers face the inevitable task of sorting through choices, determining their preferences, and estimating what will make them happy. In fact, getting what we think we want is weakly correlated with overall happiness.

If *Ask for It* were shorter and less chatty, it might have become a classic negotiation manual, like Fisher and Ury's *Getting to Yes*, which codified a style of negotiation that irrevocably changed the practice of negotiation worldwide. Nevertheless, there are the makings of a classic here. Chapters twelve and fourteen will and should find their way into many courses on women and negotiation.

If they haven't given the world a new paradigm for negotiation, Babcock and Laschever have accomplished as great an achievement in the never-ending discussion of gender differences. Babcock, through her research and together with Laschever, has resolved the knotty question of whether and why women typically negotiate differently than men. Women, for the most part, don't ask and aim low. The authors don't beat around the bush with declarations of what should be or could be. Instead, they maintain that as long as current social norms persist and women remain quiet or adopt a predominantly male style, they will likely fail to get what they want. Babcock and Laschever offer not only encouragement about why and how to ask, but explicit, sound advice on how to steer negotiations to fit the social skills of women and, more importantly, emerge from the process unscathed and better off.

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