

BEAUTY SHOPS AND CIVIL WAR: WOMEN IN LIBERIA

by

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my maternal grandmother, Norma Drue (Nanny) Yarbrough, on whose beauty shop floor I learned all about the goings on of the town of my ancestors, to which I was only ever a visitor.

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ABSTRACT

BEAUTY SHOPS AND CIVIL WAR: WOMEN IN LIBERIA

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This thesis focuses on the experiences of women at beauty shops during violent civil conflict. Though beauty services would seem to be a peacetime activity, the women in this study indicated they continued to patronize beauty shops throughout the violent civil war. The aim of this study is to shed light on the invisible interactions of women and to find benefits associated with their time at beauty shops beyond the specific beauty services. Beauticians continued to find ways to offer their services during the civil war. Clients found ways to partake in beauty services despite there being physical risks to do so. Findings of this study may provide resources for navigating the end of a violent conflict, during peace building and reconstruction. The case study is the Liberian second civil war and respondents were in Monrovia, the capital, and surrounding areas during the conflict.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

My grandmother had a small beauty shop in Waco, Texas, USA and it was a social hub of the community where all the women caught up with each other and shared their lives. When I was six years old, I would play hostess and bring in coffee and tea to the ladies sitting under the dryer. They were the only ones not talking, likely since they couldn't hear much under the dome of plastic, blowing air at their tightly wrapped permanents. All the other women—those waiting, those at the washing station, those getting their hair rolled, and the other beauticians—were talking. They talked about family – husbands, kids, and friends. They talked about struggles – health, money and solutions. The beauty shop is where they shared life lessons and grew stronger together.

This early experience at the beauty shop planted the seed to ask whether women continue to gather in the beauty shop space during a violent conflict. And if they did, then there might be space for information sharing, normalcy, or to connect with friends – key elements of surviving a violent conflict with any shred of community in tact.

As one S-CAR professor observed, it is very hard to cut your own hair. There is a likelihood that the network that exists via beauty salons would continue to exist during war. Under the conditions of war most, if not all, of the primary functions of the government are cut off. Citizens have to figure out how to get basic needs met, and this is

often through informal networks. Beauty shops would be just the type of stable informal network through which information about meeting basic needs could be met.

The second chapter of this thesis outlines the literature available on women's lives during violent conflict and the informal networks they build. There is very little research on the topic of women's lives beyond that of victim or perpetrator of violence during violent civil conflict. There is some research on the topic of the impact of dissemination of information at beauty shops, but most of it focuses on health information in African American communities. Also, there is background information about the Liberian Second Civil War.

Liberia's Second Civil War provided a case study ripe with strong women who were notably part of the push for a peace agreement. Two of them won the Nobel Prize for their efforts.¹ This fact is what initially piqued my interest in looking at Liberia. I spoke with a classmate at George Mason University's School of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, Joseph Yasira, a Liberian national who had discussed the war in classes together. When I asked about beauty shops being open during the conflict he said: "during the Civil War in Liberia two things never closed: the liquor store and the beauty shop. Women could always find someplace to get their hair done."²

The third chapter focuses on the methodology of the project. Unfortunately, there were several struggles with this study causing the methodology to be changed four times. The first method, face-to-face interviews in Liberia, had to be cancelled due to the

¹ "The Nobel Peace Prize 2011." Nobel Media AB 2014. Web. *Nobelprize.org*, February 21, 2016. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2011/.

² Yarsiah, Joesph. Interview by Lindsay Burr Singla, September 26, 2013.

unprecedented outbreak of Ebola in 2014. The airline cancelled the flight on which I had booked a ticket. The second method, online survey of Liberian diaspora in the United States, had to be readdressed because there were zero responses after the survey had been posted for three months. The third method, online survey of Liberian nationals still in Liberia, did get a few responses, but not enough to be significant. The fourth method, online survey of anyone who lived in Liberia before and during the war was ultimately successful in getting eight total responses.

Though the Second Civil War ended in 2003, there continue to be struggles in Liberia. Consistent Internet access is an important barrier. In the rural areas and in the capital city of Monrovia, the Internet is not readily accessible or reliable. While this is a class issue in the United States, it is a country problem in Liberia. When the methodology shifted to be an online survey of women who still lived in Liberia, the Internet unreliability made research via online surveys difficult.

The fourth chapter focuses on findings from the online surveys and discusses themes and nuances that arose in the responses by participants. While having eight participants is much lower than the original intended 20, the findings are still important due to the fact that there is no other research that looks at this topic. This research provides some understanding that women who lived in Monrovia did go to the beauty shop during the Second Liberian Civil War.

The fifth chapter describes implications and potential applications of the findings. When the peace table is filled with only men conducting the peace talks, stating there were no qualified women to join them, it raises the question whether the men did not

know where to find such women. While women in traditional societies like Liberia are not welcome at the peace table, it does not mean they should continue to be excluded. The strong informal networks women have give them a broad and deep knowledge of the needs of the community. By continuing to exclude women in peace talks, what is lost is their understanding of the problems and potential solutions.

Based on the results of this study, women in Monrovia during the Second Civil War did continue to have friends, family or professionals perform beauty services. By looking at beauty shops during civil conflict, this study illuminates both the lives that women lead during conflicts and the potential for the aid community to have a conduit for disseminating important information.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Introduction

My research is embedded within feminist research so I begin the literature review by reviewing key texts in this field. I then move to analyze the literature on women's role in societies, peacebuilding and their informal networks in order to set the context in which the participants of my study are situated. My review continues by looking at other studies that have used beauty shops to disseminate information or looked at the role of beauty shops during peacetime in order to understand how women interact with the beauty shop space. The final part of the literature review focuses on the Liberian Second Civil War in order to contextualize the case study and show that it fit the requirements of the research design.

Research Type Being Used

Kathleen Piercy and Cheryl Cheek (2004) utilized a form of feminist research—looking at groups that are gender segregated—and learned how women connect and support each other. In their work “Tending and Befriending: The Intertwined Relationships of Quilters” Piercy and Cheek detail how in the United States quilters have gathered together to do their work in groups for decades. Piercy and Cheek found that women created bonds within their community and provided space for women to gather.

These gatherings led to emotional support of the friends and family and created a venue for mutual mentoring.

Marybeth Stalp discussed the methods studying contemporary quilters in the United States at a conference in 2005. She showed that quilting is a foil to see beyond women as part of the economic market or as part of a victimized country, and to see their experience:

Quilting as a topic provides a cultural and gendered setting in which to demonstrate the hidden but salient meaning present in women's lives, and within their sites of cultural production...Research on gender until recently has focused largely on women's activities in public arenas...Much less studied is women's activity in traditionally gendered private spaces, in activities that are not undertaken primarily for the generation of income (Stalp, p. 50).

Examining this gendered space illuminates the lives of women, what they are interested in, and what they are concerned about. This type of research was useful in examining the lives of women during civil wars.

Women

Women have informal networks and why that matters

Suzanne Stauffer (2011) details how women built community across cultures which had previously clashed in “A Good Social Work: Women’s Clubs, Libraries, and the Construction of a Secular Society in Utah, 1890-1920.” When polygamy was abolished by the US Federal Government, Mormon and non-Mormon women came together in secular women’s clubs. They created the space to build a new community together. In looking at beauty shops, perhaps there are stories of women from families in conflict coming together in order to create community.

These informal networks have a positive effect on the community. Daniel Lederman, Norman Loayza, and Ana María Menéndez researched the connection between violent crime and the relationship to social capital (2002). They found that social capital matters in reducing violent crime. When communities have higher levels of trust, there is a lower rate of violent crime. They further state that violent crime causes individuals in society, and especially women, to lose the ability to connect with other individuals. If women still go to beauty shops during violent conflict, these shops may serve to provide space where women can continue to build trust and social capital.

Importance of economic independence for women

According to the US Department of State, economic independence for women has significant positive impact on countries and also helps a country stabilize following a conflict (2011). The State Department reported that women's involvement in the economy is important because "women reinvest a large portion of their income in their families and communities. Women also play key roles in creating peaceful and stable societies –important factors for economic growth," (2011, p. 1). Nancy Salamone describes how economic dependence often traps women in abusive relationships and is the critical reason women say they stay in abusive relationships.

The US Department of State further says that women have several barriers to entry into traditional economic markets (2011). According to UNESCO Institute for Statistics, illiteracy is a huge problem in Liberia (2015). In 2004, 35% of women were literate and in 2015 it climbed to 44% (UNESCO Institute for Statistics. 2015). Illiteracy is a barrier to entry into the workforce for many women (UNESCO Institute for Statistics. 2015).

UNWomen's webpage on "Recovery and Peacebuilding" stated that women are also "marginalized from employment programs and other recovery opportunities," despite the fact that many homes in post-conflict countries are headed by women (2015). According to the US Department of State (2011), earning money by providing beauty services gives women economic independence helps the economy of conflict and post-conflict countries grow.

Women in peacebuilding

Knowing what women are doing during conflicts matters because women are a critical component of peacebuilding efforts. According to Marie O'Reilly in her report "Why Women? Inclusive Security and Peaceful Societies – Institute for Inclusive Security," when it comes to helping build peace, women are often overlooked and underrepresented (2015). O'Reilly states, "Women made up just two percent of mediators and nine percent of negotiators in official peace talks between 1992 and 2011," (2015, p. 2). Following a conflict, women's involvement in the peace process ensures a longer lasting peace (O'Reilly. 2015). While women are not always part of the solution, and can even be part of those who take up arms, studies have shown that having greater numbers of women in parliament dramatically reduces the rates at which the country will go to war with another country or utilize violence internally (O'Reilly. 2015).

In a report by the Institute of Development Studies, women and men are reported to define "peace" differently (2012). Women think about peace in terms of the impact on the household, equality, and freedom from violence. Men think about peace as the

“absence of formal conflict and the stability of formal structures,” (p. 1). Having both perspectives is helpful in creating formal structures that provide equality and freedom.

Even though women’s perspectives are purportedly valued by the international community, they are still absent. One reason is that women are seen as insufficiently educated. This is reflected in the Institute of Development Studies (2012, p. 5)

“We hear that we don’t have women who are sufficiently educated to take part in peacebuilding. Yet we see men taking part who are neither educated nor care about peace. Women don’t need to be educated to know how war affects them, and to know what they want from peace.” – Selay Ghaffar, Director of Humanitarian Assistance for Women and Children of Afghanistan.

Another reason women are not often at the peace table may be that they have different demands on their time than do men (Institute of Development Studies. 2012). One female informant to a study in Liberia stated:

“Women need economic empowerment, they need to be independent. If they have to work on the farm or other activities to feed their children they don’t have time to be active... You cannot be part of training or activities if you don’t have food to leave for the children,” (Institute of Development Studies. 2012, p. 6).

Women may not get involved in the peace process due to traditional values of the societies regarding women’s roles. However, given the critical economic needs of families, going to beauty shops might be a place to recruit women to be part of the peace process. Because beauty shop proprietors already have some economic stability, they may offer fewer barriers to getting involved in political or peace processes.

Beauty Shops

As noted at the beginning of Chapter One, my grandmother had a beauty shop and my early childhood experiences at her shop helped inform the research design

of this project. Her shop patrons were mostly white women. I was aware of the fact that my expectations of a beauty shop visit were those of a European American woman and therefore it was important for my questions to be geared toward making sure I could solicit the experiences of women in whichever country I studied. When the Ebola outbreak prevented me from going to Liberia and my research shifted to the Liberian diaspora in the United States, I was aware of the racially charged aspect of a white woman asking black women specifically about their hair, a racially charged topic in the United States. I chose to change my study to an online survey in part so physical presence would not affect the way participants read the questions or crafted their answers. I wanted to ensure I did not accidentally offend any participants or potential participants. What follows is the literature about using African American beauty shops as a successful hub for the dissemination of information.

Beauty Shops As Means Of Distributing Information

Deirdra Forte (1995) proposed a study to engage African American women over 50 on the importance of mammograms in detecting breast cancer in early stages, and to refer women to providers of free mammograms in their area. A video was to be shown in the waiting area of beauty salons because “by showing the video where African American women already exchange information and socialize, they are more like to understand and accept the benefit of mammography,” (Forte. 1995, p. 182). Unfortunately, it is unclear whether this study was ever conducted, but the proposal surely suggests that the location is a source of information for African American women.

Laura Linnan et al (2001) were also working with cosmetologists to promote health in North Carolina. Proprietors were willing to speak to their clients about health issues. This is significant because if proprietors in other countries are also willing to speak to their patrons about important issues, they could be a known source for information on conflict prevention, aid possibilities and peacebuilding processes.

A study by Wilbert M. Gesler et al. (2006) focused on identifying diabetes knowledge network nodes (DKNN) to disseminate information about the causes and affects of the disease diabetes. The study divided settings into primary, secondary and latent potential sites, and beauty shops were tested as “primary potential” and they found that beauty salons were primary sites of acquiring information for African-American women.³

A study by Latasha T. Johnson, Penny A. Ralston, and Ethel Jones (2010) looked at the impact of using beauty salons to increase fruit and vegetable consumption by African-American women in South Carolina. The findings showed a significant increase in fruit and vegetable consumption by the women who saw the “Steps for a New You” information at their regular beauty shop. The women in the comparison group did not increase their fruit and vegetable consumption.

Based on previous studies, African-American groups have been successfully informed of health issues using the network created by beauty shops. This same function may exist in other countries if women go to beauty shops during violent conflicts.

³ Beauty salons were not found to be DKNNs for Latin American women or European American women, nor were they DKNNs for males of any ethnicity.

Beauty Shops as Maintaining Local Customs of Beauty

Deborah Rodriguez and Kristin Ohlson (2007) document ways that women have used beauty shops to be informed of cultural customs and navigate cultural expectations of beauty in their book, *Kabul Beauty School: An American Woman Goes Behind the Veil*. The book details an American woman's experience setting up a beauty school in Kabul. During the author's first trip to an Afghani salon she has them do "the works" including a special eye makeup design usually reserved for weddings. Upon her return to her hotel one of her colleagues remarked: "how [she'd] managed to get [herself] invited to an Afghan wedding so quickly." (p. 44). Salon owners serve the function of maintaining nuances of the outward expression of sacred culture as well as secular culture. During and following the war in Afghanistan, beauticians served the function of maintaining the knowledge of how to outwardly express meaning in secular and sacred traditions.

Shira Germer (2013) wrote an article for the BBC titled "Rise of the 'Secret' ultra-Orthodox Jewish Beauty Salons" where she chronicles a beauty shop owner's story helping women navigate the religious requirements surrounding women. The article highlights the difficulties that women face in meeting the demands of their religion while also meeting the expectations of the society in which they work and live. The owner of the shop, Yaffa Larrie, opened her beauty shop 30 years ago when "cosmetics" was considered an immodest word at the recommendation of a Jerusalem rabbi. Patrons who were interviewed said they do not know all of the halacha laws (ultra-Orthodox Jewish observance), but they knew that the beauticians did know the nuances of the laws, "I'm

not an expert in the [halacha laws], but I know that [the beauticians] are. And they know what you're allowed to do and what not to do. I 100% relay on Yaffa to guide me”

(Video in Article). This trust meant that the women could be confident in the services they were receiving in order to meet their own needs while also meeting their religious needs. The women in that community, based on religious standards, were not supposed to go to a beauty salon as it was seen as vain, however, the social expectations also held the women to looking their best when they were at work or at home with their families for the Sabbath.

As an example, Germer noted that one of the needs is not applying make up during Shabbat (Friday at sundown through Sunday morning). The proprietor of the shop pointed out that women were not allowed to apply makeup during Shabbat and that the women would sleep on their backs so they wouldn't wake up on Saturday morning in embarrassing situations such as “missing an eyebrow” because eyebrow pencil had rubbed off during the night. That beautician, Ms. Larrie, found a permanent makeup that women could apply on Friday night that would last until Sunday morning and worked with the local rabbi to get it approved (Germer. 2013). She clarified to the local rabbi that the make up, though lasting more than a day, was not classified as a tattoo, which would have violated the religion. The knowledge of the beautician helped women navigate the expectations of the religious culture – that they should not apply makeup during the Sabbath – and their family culture – that they should look their best during the Sabbath because they would be spending time with their husbands. One patron said:

“When I discovered the Shabbat makeup it really made a big difference for me. I feel different. I feel that I have that extra touch. And I got out of the house

feeling better. I stand straighter and my clothes hang better on me. And I smile more and it really makes me feel great” (Germer. 2013. Video in Article).

Having beauty treatments done connects with self-esteem for patrons based around feeling and looking good.

The ability to feel a boost in self-esteem boost is not lost during times of struggle. According to Geralyn Lucas (2005), wearing lipstick to her mastectomy surgery, as well as other situations surrounding her experience with breast cancer, highlights the power of outward appearance that help a personal struggle.

Beauty Shops and Civil War

The literature about beauty shops in conflict areas is limited. Rodriguez and Ohlson do detail some of the measures taken by the Taliban during their rule of Afghanistan including shutting down all of the beauty shops (2007). Going to a beauty shop during their rule was forbidden and those who were rumored to keep their doors open faced having their windows broken, their supplies stolen, and would put their families’ jobs in jeopardy (Rodriguez and Ohlson. 2007, p. 41).

Hair and Cosmetics, not Plastic Surgery

To understand the function of beauty shops, this study did not consider cosmetic surgery, skin bleaching or other treatments that augment the body. Rohan Smith and Kate Briquetelet (2015) studied the impossible beauty standards set by the beauty pageant circles in Venezuela and the dramatic steps that potential contestants take to meet these standards. Women (including the 2015 Miss Universe runner up) reported sewing mesh to their tongue to discourage eating solid foods because it would cause pain and girls, as young as 12 years old, get plastic surgery to enhance their breasts and reduce their noses.

These choices are linked to low self-esteem and the families' desires to use the girls possible success as beauty queens to get out of poverty. Families often send daughters to "finishing schools" which cost a significant tuition and for which families take out sizeable loans that they cannot afford.

In the study "Skin Bleaching Among Togolese: A Preliminary Inventory of Motives," Lonzo Kpanake, Maria Teresa Muñoz Sastre, and Etienne Mullet (2010), researched the issues with skin bleaching and the underlying motivations of those who practice skin bleaching. Skin bleaching is practiced around the world and has negative health affects due to the toxic chemicals in the products. They found that the motivation for skin bleaching was to be considered by others as "an important person", "a civilized person", "an emancipated person", and "an influential person" (p. 357). Respondents to the survey chose the "Strengthening of self" reasons much less often as reasons they started skin bleaching (p. 357). The "strengthening of self" aspect of the beauty shop is the focus of this study.

These standards of beauty that are unattainable or that do damage to a person do not build greater social coherence and community, nor do they support positive body image and self esteem. It is in the small beauty salons, locally owned and operated, where women gather and discuss life issues that community is built. Disputing or condoning the structural violence associated with women as low power entities and as beauty being part of assigned worth is not the focus of this thesis. Instead, the objective is to look at the connections that women make as they find an extra set of hands to help them look their best and feel as comfortable as they can in the middle of a civil war.

The Liberian Second Civil War Background

In order to conduct this study the case study of Liberia's Second Civil War was chosen. The reasons for this are discussed in Chapter III, Methodology. However, important background information on the conflict is provided here.

The context of the Liberian civil wars provides the rationale for this research. According to multiple sources, but citing the BBC News "Liberia Country Profile", the Liberian Second Civil War took place from 2000-2003 (2015). The profile details that Liberia had been unstable since the coup in 1980, with a few years of stability from the mid-1990's through 2000. Lydia Polgreen (2006) reported in *The New York Times* that the number of people who died by the time President Charles Taylor was ousted in 2003 range from 100,000 to 300,000, which is a very large range that is not very helpful. However, the range does convey the extent of the violence and the disorganization within the country. Finlay Young (2012) reported in *The Independent* that child soldiers were a tactic honed in the war by both sides, with thousands of young boys and girls being taken and forced to fight. Young also reported on the sexual assaults of girls who were raped and then told they were the "wife" of the soldier who had raped them. Young explained that being with the soldiers or rebels provided a type of protection for boys and girls, and some girls even chose to become fighters. One woman said, in remembering when she decided to fight, "You could get more food, clothing, anything you want at all. On the frontline you took your salary [as a fighter]" (p. 1).

Polgreen's article outlines the trajectory of Liberia's President Charles Taylor (2006). Taylor, one of the architects of the first war, was elected President in 1997. One

of the campaign slogans called out by supporters was “He killed my ma, he killed my pa, I’ll vote for him,” (p. 2). Anti-government fighting started in the northern part of the country in 1999 (BBC News. 2015). In the PBS.org article “Liberia—No More Wars, Zachary Johnson states that there were two forces with the express purpose of ousting Charles Taylor. One group was the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), which began fighting in 1999. The other was the group Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) which began fighting in March 2003. Both the LURD and the MODEL were likely funded by other neighboring countries, motivated by Taylor’s plans to expand violently into those countries. Taylor stepped down in 2003 due to international pressure (BBC News. 2015). Marlise Simons and J. David Goodman wrote in *The New York Times* that Charles Taylor was convicted of “aiding and abetting, as well as planning, some of the most heinous and brutal crimes recorded in human history,” by the Special Court for Sierra Leone and sentenced to 50 years in prison (p. 1).

In the book *Mighty Be Our Powers: How Sisterhood, Prayer, and Sex Changed a Nation at War*, Leymah Gbowee and Carol Mithers detail the movement of 3,000 women who worked together to pressure then President Charles Taylor to attend the peace talks in Ghana (2013). Gbowee and Mithers’ book details how women were part of demanding peace in Liberia. The same group of women also staged a sit-in to force the stalled peace talks to resume.

According to BBC News, currently there are 15,000 UN peacekeeping soldiers on the ground in Liberia (2015). They also state that the country was severely affected by the

outbreak of Ebola in 2014 and the economy has remained in ruins, education is lacking, and corruption is rampant in all levels of government.

Summary

There are few sources on the informal networks women create, or on the function of these informal networks. Several studies have focused on using beauty shops as a way to disseminate information, though there has been little written about beauty shops during conflicts. If women went to beauty shops during the Liberian Second Civil War, the function the beauty shops served to create informal networks and provided a pathway for information that could be significant for peacebuilding efforts.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to ask women if and why they went to beauty shops during violent civil conflict. Understanding the function of beauty shops during civil conflict can illuminate the everyday lives of women and the social networks women form or maintain during conflict. If women do go to beauty shops, these might be potential places for peacemakers to collect or disseminate information. In order to fully understand the function of beauty shops, the research design is described below including the access to subjects, the choice of the case of Liberia, and the research methodology. It also includes the necessary modifications of the design that evolved as a result of an unpredictable international health risk posed by an Ebola virus outbreak.

Case Study Requirements

Based on the purpose and design of the study, the decision for a particular case study required meeting specific requirements: English was the main language of the subjects, the State was an actor in the violence, Christianity was the dominant religion in the country, the conflict was non-religious based, and the conflict had taken place in a relatively recent time period and was not, at the point of data collection, ongoing. The researcher's ability to conduct the study and analyze the findings were the most important

variables in selecting the case study and therefore these requirements needed to be met. This is further elaborated below.

English is the first language of the researcher. Subjects who speak English were required in order for the research to be conducted without the use of interpreters during face-to-face interviews, or translators for written survey responses. By speaking the same language, the research could more easily interpret nuances of responses and would increase accuracy and efficiency. As the majority of the research was qualitative, understanding the words and meaning conveyed by the subjects was critical to determining conclusions. Though the methodology changed from face-to-face interviews to online survey - to be explained later - language remained a factor regarding accuracy and efficiency.

The role of the State in the conflict was another consideration for the case study. According to Giacomo De Luca and Marijke Verpoorten (2015), there is increased civic participation by citizens during violent civil war. They further find an increase in discussions about the conflict when people are in group settings. As this study hopes to illuminate, the content of conversations held by women, including conversations about the causes and cessation of violence, may have been more prevalent if the State was part of the violence and there was the possibility of political solutions.

The religious make-up of the country was also part of the case consideration. The researcher is part of a Christian religion (Quakerism) and believed the expectations around women's beauty, specifically regarding religious ceremonies such as weddings, would be more easily understood than those of other religions. Also, the researcher did

not want the cause of violence to stem from conflicting religious views. In studying the literature about beauty, Rodriguez and Ohlson (2007) discussed the influence of the Taliban's views on the implementation of religious doctrine in Afghanistan, which led to the closure of beauty shops. Based on interpretation of religious doctrine, women were not allowed to have beauty treatments of any kind. The influence of religion on the conflict in Afghanistan directly impacted the ability of women to go to beauty shops.

The timing of the conflict was another requirement for the case study based on the concern for the accuracy of feedback, the care of the participants, and for the context of international policy. The conflict needed to have taken place recently enough that the participants would remember their actions and topics of discussion during the war. However, the conflict needed to have come to an end, and for enough time to have passed to lower the likelihood of retraumatization.

Liberia's Second Civil War (2000-2003) met all of these criteria. According to the Central Intelligence Agency's World Fact Book, the official language of Liberia is English and over 85 percent of the population is Christian. The BBC "Liberia Profile" states that the Liberian Government was part of the violence during the war and the war ended in 2003. Based on the criteria, Liberia's Second Civil War was a viable case for the purposes of this study.

Subjects

The targeted subjects for this study were women who lived in Liberia before, and for some portion during, the violent civil conflict between 2000 and 2003. These subjects

must have been born before 1990, making them at least 10 years old during the Civil War. This increased the likelihood that the subjects would remember their experience.

The original design was to conduct face-to-face interviews with women who currently live in Liberia and were there minimally between 2000 and 2003. Unfortunately that did not work out. According to the Center for Disease Control, the 2014 outbreak of Ebola was the largest in human history. While Ebola is spread through bodily fluid—not directly an issue for this research—travel to the country was strongly discouraged. Therefore the data collection strategy was changed to allow for the collection of data without traveling to Liberia. While it would have been ideal to have face-to-face conversations, not interviewing in Liberia meant that the sample size was limited, and the researcher could not be responsive to interviews in the moment. The subjects' descriptions of events could not be corroborated or disproved. Though this was the case, the resulting research does accomplish the original goal.

The age and sex of the participants remained constant in each of four redesigns (discussed later in this chapter). The primary change was where the participants currently reside. In the original and third design, participants were to reside in Liberia, likely around Monrovia—its capital—based on connections made by the researcher. In the second design, participants were to be members of the Liberian diaspora living in the United States. There are two large populations of Liberians in the areas around Washington, DC and Minneapolis, MN. In the fourth and final design, participants could reside in either the United States or in Liberia. This change was necessary to secure enough subjects.

Definitions

The **Beauty Shop** is defined as any place where women gather to perform beautification and where one of the women is providing the service. The beauty shop may not be a “shop” per se. It could be a living room or a tent in a refugee camp. Synonyms include salon, hairdresser, beautician, or makeup artist. It is unclear which term is used most often in Liberia. The research design was to include as many possible contexts in which women were having beauty treatments done. Using more flexible definitions of beauty shops encouraged subjects to describe any time subjects were getting their hair done with other people, rather than them only thinking of times in official beauty shops. It was assumed that there was gender segregation at the salons and that men had their hair cut at barbershops.

The **Proprietor** is the person who is providing the service, most likely for a fee. This person is usually a woman and she has skills that other women seek out. She may have learned them in an official beauty school capacity or from other family and friends.

The **Patron** is the woman who seeks a beauty shop in order to have a beauty-related service performed.

Original Design – Face-to-Face Interviews in Liberia***Subjects***

The targeted subjects for the study were women who lived in Liberia for some portion during the violent civil conflict between 2000 and 2003, and who still resided in Monrovia or nearby areas to the capital. Participants were to be born before 1990, making them at least 10 years old during the Civil War to increase the likelihood they remembered part of their experience.

Data Collection

The initial phase and design of the study was to be conducted in Liberia. The author and a research assistant would travel to Monrovia and connect with Liberian nationals. At least one fourth of the interviewed participants would include proprietors of beauty shops. The goal of interviewing proprietors would be to understand if and why women kept businesses open during the conflict. The rest of the interviewees would be any women who lived in the country during the conflict and was a patron in a beauty shop.

The qualitative data collection addressing times and experiences women spent in beauty shops during the civil war were to be collected with face-to-face interviews. While the interviewer would have a list of questions to launch a conversation, the flow would be organic with topics primarily led by the subject. Towards the end of the interview, if questions from the list had not been answered, the interviewer would ask the questions more directly. To capture the interviews, an audio recording would be made and the interviewers would take notes.

Subjects were to be found through connections made with colleagues in Liberia, and further subjects would be found via word-of-mouth using a “snowball effect” as developed by D. D. Heckathorn, asking anyone who participated in a survey to ask others to also participate (April 2007). No compensation was to be offered in exchange for participating in the interview. Participants had the option of receiving a copy of the research upon its completion.

The original plan had a minimum of 15 subjects. At least five additional subjects were to be proprietors of beauty shops before, during and after the conflict. This would

allow sufficient context in finding overlapping themes and experiences regarding the use of beauty shops during wartime.

Operational Setting

Each participant would be able to decide her own setting for the interview. She would have been invited to the lobby or sitting area in the hotel, to her current beauty shop, or an offer would have been made to meet at her house or any location at which she would have been most comfortable.

Second Design – Online Survey of Liberian Diaspora

Due to the Ebola outbreak in Liberia, travel to the country was suspended one week before the researcher's flight was scheduled. Travel to the country to interview participants in person was cancelled and the research design required modification.

Subjects, Design II

The targeted subjects for the study continued to be women who lived in Liberia before, for some portion during the violent civil conflict between 2000 and 2003, and who, at the time of their participation study, now lived in United States. Participants must have been born before 1990, making them at least 10 years old during the Civil War to include only those that remembered part of their experience.

Data Collection

Data about the time women spent in beauty shops during the Liberian Civil War would be collected using an online survey format. A Google Forum was created to give participants a webpage with which to interact. Participants would enter their responses via the webpage and those responses would be recorded in a Google Sheet. The webpage

is only accessible by those who had the specific link that goes to the page with the survey. Non-participants would be unable to find the webpage.

Responses to the survey were accessible by the researcher and research director. At the end of the survey, participants were asked if the researcher could further contact them via phone or Skype with follow-up questions to clarify answers, or deepen understanding of responses.

The questions on the survey were more structured than the original design. It was expected that the process would take 45 minutes depending on their typing ability and Internet connectivity. Initially, the majority of questions were required. If required questions were unanswered, the participant would be unable to proceed to the next page of questions without adding something to the required question answer area. Due to low levels of responses, it was determined that the difficulty in navigation was partially responsible. The survey was altered to make only the questions that determined eligibility for the study “required” and all other questions were optional in order to ease navigation.

Following the original design, at least 15 participants were to be surveyed who could speak to going to a beauty shop during the Civil War (or deciding not to go). Five more participants would be surveyed who were proprietors of beauty shops before, during and after the conflict. Now that the subjects were members of the US Liberian diaspora, an attempt was made to engage with those living in Minneapolis, MS and in the greater Washington, DC area.

Operational setting

Each participant would be able to decide her own setting. Participants would need to access a stable Internet connection, could answer the questions at one sitting or in stages if that was her preference.

Finding Participants

The author reached out to the Liberian Embassy, online Liberian groups, a Liberian Facebook Group based in Minneapolis, refugee organizations that help African nationals settle in the Minneapolis area, and family and friends of Liberian colleagues. The only response was from the Facebook group.

One week after contact was made and the author was added to the Facebook group to post information about the survey, one of the members of the local group went missing. The very tense racial relations in United States during this time period heightened the groups concern for the missing man. The group focused on the fact that the local police force was doing very little to find the missing man whose body was found two months later, according to two stories in the *Star Tribune* by Kevin Giles titled “Another Search Planned Saturday for Missing Mounds View Man” (September 25, 2015) and “Body Found in Lake Is Missing Mounds View Man Henry McCabe” (November 2, 2015). As a white researcher attempting to interview black Africans, the author thought it best to discontinue posting about the survey.

Third Design – Online Survey of Liberian Nationals

The author continued to stay in touch with connections made when the research design included traveling to Liberia. Because there was some interest in participating in the survey in Liberia, the methodology was shifted to include Liberia nationals as well as

diaspora Liberians. The targeted participants for the study remained the same—women who lived in Liberia between 2000 and 2003 and born before 1990. Data collection methods also remained the same as the second design. One contact in Liberia informed the researcher that the Internet connection in Liberia was often neither fast nor stable. She requested paper copies of the survey questions in order to distribute them more easily. While a PDF version was provided, there were no handwritten surveys returned via scan, mail, or fax.

Fourth Design – Online Survey of subjects who lived in Liberia before and during the war

Due to the mounting problems of finding viable subjects for the study and the unstable Internet connections in Liberia, the potential subject list was expanded to include any women who lived in Liberia before and during any part of the two civil wars. They could currently live in Liberia or in the United States. The data collection methods remained the same as the second design, as did the operational setting. Finding subjects was the primary task for this phase. Ultimately, networking Liberian nationals, using social media, connecting through friends and acquaintances, and utilizing the “snowball effect” located subjects.

Risk

There was minimal risk to participants involved in this study. An online survey meant there was no physical risk to the subject. Participants were asked about their habits during the conflict, however, they were not asked directly about their own participation in the conflict, or the effects of the war on their families. Questions asked them to describe what they did at the beauty shop, and what procedures they chose to do voluntarily and as

a luxury. If the subjects were overcome with emotional responses, they were able to stop their participation and resume at another time, or not at all.

It was not likely harm would occur from this research process. Participation was voluntary and the consent process ensured that subjects knew there were no negative consequences for participating. In order to prevent and minimize any potential risk, however, the topic of the survey was known to the participants before they began the survey.

Informed Consent

The consent process took place at the first page of the online survey (see Appendix A). The aims of the study and the expectations of participation were described. Contact information included a phone number and email of the researcher, clearly displayed on the page, and on all the pages of the survey, in case the participant had questions during the survey. The participants were unable to proceed unless they checked the box and electronically signed their name on the consent page.

Confidentiality

The data in this study were confidential. Each participant was identified with a coded number and only the researcher had access to the identification key. The identification key was a document stored on the researcher's computer, and was password protected. Only the researcher and the principle investigator had the password. [The document will be deleted 5 years after the end of the study as is required.] When there was mention of a specific story or example, the name of the subject and the names of the others in the story were removed. Privacy is maintained by not disclosing that an

individual participated in the study. All data were collected electronically, therefore protection or shredding of physical documentation was not necessary.

Survey Questions

Appendix A is a copy of the on-line survey, including the consent form. Appendix B depicts the responses to the survey questions with all identifying information removed.

Methodology Summary

The original design would have likely found very rich stories and depictions of women's lives navigating violent conflict while accessing beauty parlors. However, the unexpected issues that arose were very serious and could not be ignored. Being able to redesign the project and still collect the stories was a difficult process. The new methodology, though, illicit findings.

Even though there were obstacles, the case study was not changed. There was a diaspora of Liberians in the Washington, DC area (where the researcher is located) and in Minnesota to which it would have been easy to travel. The first redesign took this into account, knowing that internet, access and language would not be barriers. The second redesign could have provided a moment to change the case study, but the researcher had made connections in Liberia only. India was considered as a potential case study, however, there were no cases in that country that fit all of the requirements set out by the researcher.

The first redesign allowed access to subjects and the analysis is presented in Chapter Four, "Findings."

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings

Subjects

There were eight eligible respondents who responded to the survey. There were no ineligible respondents to the survey. Four of the respondents were proprietors and four were clients. All of the women who responded had resided in the capital city of Monrovia or in a nearby suburb during the war. Of the eight respondents, two currently live in the United States (US), one in Massachusetts and the other in Pennsylvania. The six participants who reside in Liberia are in Monrovia or a nearby suburb.

Though little is known about the subjects due to the process used to connect with them, some inferences can be made. Subjects were found by word of mouth (and email) via diaspora who live in the US, US researchers who had done previous research in Liberia, or connections made by the researcher online. The author discussed Internet connectivity with a Liberian national and found that while the participants in Liberia were able to access Internet, it is not common to have reliable Internet access in most areas of the country (N. Adams. personal communication. September 9, 2015).

Demographic information regarding the subjects is provided in Table 1, below:

Table 1: Characteristics of Subjects

Subject	Group	Birth Year	Age, in years, at beginning of second civil war (2000)	Age, in years, at time of response (2015)
1	Patron	1982	18	33
2	Patron	1985	15	30
4	Patron	1983	17	32
8	Patron	1984	16	31
3	Proprietor	1983	17	32
5	Proprietor	1975	25	40
6	Proprietor	1978	22	37
7	Proprietor	1981	19	34

Findings specific to Patrons

Of the four women who self-selected as patrons, only one woman stopped going to beauty shops during the civil war. Each respondent commented on the dangers associated with travel. Of the three women who continued to have services provided, one reported that she received services at her neighbor's house, one reported traveling by taxi, and one reported taking public transportation. Table 2, below, summarizes the amount of time each of the four patrons spent receiving services and the cost:

Table 2 Time and Money Spent on Services

Subject	Frequency	Time Spent	Cost (USD equivalent)	Notes
1	Monthly	2-4 hours	\$10	
2	Weekly	30-60 minutes	Free	Service provided by family or neighbor.
4	Weekly	1-2 hours	\$7	
8	n/a	n/a	\$7	Reported cost but also reported did not patronize beauty shops during the war.

In order to place the cost in context, the researcher compiled quantity and value data for imports of rice into Liberia for the years 2000-2004. Rice was a common staple food in Liberia, however, according to Paul Rozario's book *Liberia*, only approximately one-third of the rice consumed was actually grown in Liberia at that time (2003).

According to data compiled from tariff and trade data from the U.S. Department of Commerce and the U.S. International Trade Commission, the vast majority of rice imported during the civil war came from the US at the rate of AUV (USD/KG) of rice imports \$0.36 to \$0.34. The average consumption of rice in Liberia has been difficult to determine specifically, but is approximately 60 kg per person, per year, as reviewed by Chris Reynolds and Mike Field of USAID (2009). At 5kg to 10kg per month of rice consumption, with rice prices conservatively low (50% markup over import AUV) using the US export data, the price range per KG is \$0.51 to \$0.54. Using a per kilogram cost of \$0.53, rice for one month for one person costs approximately \$2.65 to \$5.30 (assuming 5-10 KG of rice per month). Based on the data provided by the respondents, one trip to the beauty shop cost more than a month's worth of rice.

The three patrons who continued receiving services at beauty shops during the war reported receiving perming, braiding, hair styling, and manicures. They also reported seeking beauty treatments for special events, including birthdays and holidays. One patron reported always receiving different beauty treatments for each occasion.

One patron reported that male family members were not supportive of her going to beauty shops, while the remaining three reported that male family members were supportive. Specifically, one reported that her father supported her “[b]ecause he didn’t like to see his girls hair untidy”; the other reported “...because they felt its within us women to always look good.”

Female family members were more supportive, with one patron reporting her female family members “sometimes” supported her going, while the remaining three all reported support from female family members. Specifically, one reported “yes, my mom she didn’t want to see my hair all open while cooking in the kitchen,” while another reported “[v]ery supportive.”

It appears that the beauty shops where the patrons received services were not gender neutral; one patron replied to the question of whether she had ever been surprised to see someone at the beauty shop with “[y]es, on one occasion, I remember seeing a male who went along with his wife among so many women. And he waited until she was done.”

Two of the patrons reported going to the beauty shops only for the purpose of receiving beauty treatments. One of the remaining two stated she went for the additional reason of gathering information regarding the civil war and the country, and the other

stated she went to relax, hear conversations, to listen to gossip and pass the time when she had nothing else to do.

Finally, all four patrons reported positive feelings when asked how they felt after going to the beauty shop:

- “I felt great”
- “Good”
- “I always felt good and new”
- “I felt beautiful”

Findings specific to Proprietors

Of the four proprietors who responded, one closed her shop and stopped providing services and one closed her shop but worked for clients in her home. All proprietors wrote that working as a beautician provided food for themselves and their families. Two of the proprietors specifically mentioned anti-government rebels; one stating that the presence of patrons who were female rebels increased the danger associated with her beauty shop, while the other stated that becoming familiar with the wives of rebel fighters increased her level of safety in the community.

Of the three proprietors who continued providing beauty treatments, two reported patrons would request different beauty treatments for special occasions. Both clearly identified such special occasions as weddings and funerals, while one also identified “barith” as a special occasion, which the researcher presumes meant “birth.” If she did mean “birth” it was unclear if it was that the patron was giving birth or that she was attending the celebration of a birth. One proprietor specified that for weddings clients requested “...more hair, nails, and even lashes,” while “funerals were just more hair.”

The general types of services provided during the civil war were reported as hairstyling, braiding, hair coloring, pedicures, and lashes.

Two of the three proprietors working during the civil war reported that women would come individually to their beauty shops, while the third reported women would come both individually and in groups. Two proprietors reported that the scheduled appointments of their patrons overlapped. Two proprietors reported that their customers during the war were different women, with one specifying that people were often moving around. The third proprietor reported her customers during the civil war were the same women.

The three working proprietors reported being paid for their services, with one reporting that sometimes she traded with her patrons rather than receiving cash, and another stated that sometimes her patrons would bring food. All three reported they used the income from their beauty shops to purchase food, and one reported she also used her income to purchase gas and transportation.

General Findings

Six of the respondents reported dangers associated with either going to a beauty shop or operating a beauty shop. The patron who reported she stopped going to beauty shops during the civil war and proprietor who reported she closed her beauty shop during the civil war both reported no dangers. The description of the dangers reported by the six respondents are as follows:

- “Danger of being cut off from home in case there was an attack.”
- “Bullets”
- “Riots, demonstration”

- “The soldiers forcibly took wives. so as a woman staying away from them was a major thing. Because there was no room for rejections.”
- “Stray bullets”
- “if they get angry your are dead”

Five of the six respondents also reported discussing the war while either providing or receiving services. Discussions also occurred regarding people’s family lives, movies, survival, relationships, husbands, children, neighbors, in-laws, and friends.

Summary of Results

Based on the findings of this research, it is clear that women did have their hair done by other women during Liberia’s Second Civil War. Women would brave dangerous circumstances in order to get to open beauty shops and would pay for the services. Beauticians kept their doors open, though doing so was sometimes dangerous. There were women associated with the rebels or soldiers and those women would also go to beauty shops. Discussions at the beauty shops would consist of the war, but also of family and relationships. Further discussion of the findings will be discussed in Chapter Five, “Conclusions and Applications”.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions and Discussion

It is clear that women in Liberia sought out beauty services during the second civil war. Seven out of eight subjects indicated that they continued to go to the beauty shop during the conflict, including two proprietors who made a living performing beauty services during the conflict. Enough women were going to the beauty shop to make staying open worth the risk. Knowing women went to beauty shops in Monrovia during the civil war is helpful because it may mean that in violent conflicts, aid workers can find women and administer aid through these beauty shops that play the role of social hubs.

The women went to beauty shops even though doing so put them in danger. All of the subjects said they risked significant harm by traveling to, or remaining open as, a beauty shop. Seven subjects continued to find ways to have their hair styled, their nails manicured or false lashes applied to their eyelids. Therefore, what women were getting out of their time there was important enough to risk “stray bullets” or risk danger of “being cut off from home in case there was an attack.” Knowing women will risk danger to access beauty services illuminates the lives of women in a new way.

None of the subjects clearly offered other motivations that may have existed for going to the beauty shop. However, based on their answers, it can be understood that while they were there, they exchanged information about the war. It can also be surmised that going to the beauty shop had the impact of improving self-perceived beauty, a rare

experience during the war. Though the nuances are not explicit, there does seem to be something to the ephemeral experience of being at the beauty shop that drove the women to risk their safety to be there.

Beyond the direct benefit of an increased sense of looking good, respondents indicated it was a place to pass time and relax. It is likely that a brief respite and return to normalcy were difficult to come by during the war. Subjects were not asked if there were other locations where they had comparable experiences before, during or after the war. However, none compared their experience at the beauty shop to any other location or experience.

Another indication of the importance of the trip to the beauty shop can be found in the amount of money spent at the shop. According to the World Bank, the average Liberian GDP per capita over the four years of the war was \$165 (2015). One respondent spent \$7 per week, equaling \$364 per year. This respondent spent 160% of the average GDP per capita on beauty shop treatments. Another respondent spent \$10 per month, the equivalent of \$120 per year, or 73% the per capita GDP. While respondents did not indicate their personal or family income, this is a significant amount to spend on beauty services. It would seem that the extra benefits provided by spending time at the beauty shop are significant enough to balance the opportunity cost of the beauty treatments and therefore being unable to spend the money on other goods.

The data indicated that the beauty shop was used as a part of survival strategy of building relationships with women, getting to know rebels' wives with a result of creating a safety net, and created economic flexibility for proprietors. Each woman—patrons or

proprietor—stated that relationships were discussed during the time at the beauty shop. Some women spent up to four hours at the beauty shop with the main topic being relationships. As relationships are the foundation of community, these women were potentially helping keep the community intact.

There were mixed results on the involvement of rebel forces and its effect on safety: one proprietor got to know rebel wives and said knowing them helped provide security, whereas another stated discomfort with the presence of rebels. In both cases, having an open beauty shop meant economic flexibility for their families. According to Negash (2006) in the article “Economic Empowerment of Women,” economic flexibility for women was important because “women tend to use income clout for more equitable decisions about sons and daughters' diet, education and health” (p. 1). Negash also shows that women with economic decision-making power are also more likely to send daughters (as well as sons) to school and to have fewer children overall. Having fewer children is important for a country's stability because “fertility rates have shown to be inversely related to national income growth” (p. 1). Salomone (2010) shows that women with economic means are also more likely to leave a relationship where there is domestic abuse. Beauty shops were part of the survival strategy and helped women maintain the community.

There may be a way to use the network that exists to enact various aspects of peace building. Since the war was a main topic of conversation, the network provided by beauty shops may be a way to disseminate information about the war. This information could include, but is not necessarily limited to, where aid is being provided, safe places to

cross the border, locations of insurgents or active fighting, or where peace talks are taking place.

This research may provide warnings as well. The statements women made about the rebels, rebels' wives and soldiers' wives may have an impact on how women are viewed in a conflict. While it was indicated that the soldiers had forced women to be their wives, it was also clear that some of the women who were connected to soldiers or rebels could either provide safety or be a source of danger. Unfortunately, the data are limited by the descriptions of the rebels and/or the rebel wives. This is an area of future study that may include an analysis of whether local women are more comfortable socializing with rebels of their own nationality versus rebel forces that include foreign nationals. In either condition, this finding is important because it describes a different role for women to play that is not that of victim or perpetrator of violence.

Since beauty shops were used as a location to discuss the war, they may also be able to be used by NGOs, aid providers and governments to gather information. Since beauty shop proprietors have conversations with multiple women from different areas in town each day, they have access to information from multiple physical locations. Peace workers interested in knowing what locals think about, are experiencing, or have heard about the war, could ask proprietors or customers about their experiences and what is happening in local areas. This may also be useful to local peacebuilders during peacetime to aid in efforts to prevent violence.

There were several limitations to this study. The sample size was very small. There were only four respondents who were proprietors. Though 88% of all participants

indicated they continued to get their hair done during the war, the total sample is only eight people. Who the respondents supported was not delineated so it is impossible to tell whether they were in more or less danger depending on their point of view. It is also clear that this sample was likely women with more economic means than the average Liberian during the conflict, however this was not directly indicated in any way (no information was collected about family income, personal access to money or the level of opportunity cost associated with going to the beauty shop). The respondents were also all from the Monrovia area. There may be different experiences expressed in other regions of the country, especially those living in rural areas.

Importance and Implications of Informal Social Networks

While there is little data that came out of this research due to the challenges faced, the importance and power of informal networks is strong. So often beauty shops and other gathering places for women are trivialized and the impact of these networks should not be overlooked. Men's networks have been noted at the forefront of historical moments. Men of Ancient Rome would meet at the public baths (Starkey, 2003). It was common to ask a new person which bathhouse they attended in order to assess where they fit into society. This was a gendered space, affording men a place to build and expand their informal networks. Nancy Frazer (1990) lays out how Victorian England had even more specific separations of men and women. Women's sphere was seen as the home and men's sphere was seen as the public place. Men would regularly gather at clubs to discuss contemporary politics and make decisions – but this was not done in the formal halls of parliament. Gözde Yirmibesoglu's research on Cyprus shows how women have

been excluded from men's informal networks when looking at political dialogues in coffee shops (2008). Women in Cyprus have had a difficult time breaking into political leadership because the informal political networks built are male only.

While these informal networks are seen now as critical parts of the narrative of history, women's informal networks, often built to care for their families, are overlooked. According to the research by Susan Brandt (2015), women created an informal exchange providing health care for other services and social capital. Women saw providing health care to their community in exchange in order to "develop economic safety nets: chains of nonmonetary indebtedness and dependency that could be called on in the future to reinforce their social capital or to acquire needed goods and services," (p. 778). Women are also misrepresented in history. Brandt shows that while it was assumed that these women stopped practicing because they fell "victim to the onward march of scientific medicine and capitalism," they in actuality were able "to mobilize their expert health-care knowledge as an economic asset in an unregulated consumer marketplace," (p. 776).

Men's informal networks are revered while women's networks are overlooked. Suzanne Stauffer's (2011) work details Women's Clubs in the US in the late nineteenth century. She states: "According to their socially constructed gender role, white, middle-class, Protestant women were responsible for creating, supporting, and advancing the established eastern American society and culture in the West, regardless of the racial, socioeconomic, or religious constitution of their communities," (p. 137). Furthermore, almost each town in the West had some type of formal or informal organization for women to gather.

Beyond supporting the development of society, informal women's networks also help women out of dangerous relationships. Stavroula Kyriakakis (2014) studied how Mexican women used informal networks to get help with domestic violence. Kyriakakis found that while there was a stigma about disclosing family problems to outsiders, it was ultimately women friends met through children's schools who were of the most help in getting out of the abusive relationships (p. 1109).

Women's informal networks mean that they can actually spend less capital in formal networks. Susanne Thorbek (1988) studied the informal networks of immigrant women in Sri Lanka and Thailand. Women were often tasked with family responsibilities, and they put a significant amount of time building and reinforcing their informal sector relationships. By building social networks, the women were able to spend less official currency on services, "the money they had to use, and to some extent their use of their time were influenced as much by their social relations as by their work for income," (p. 290).

This is not all to say that navigating informal networks is inherently easy. Cecilia Menjivar's research looked at the informal networks women formed in Guatemala in order to coordinate medical care for their families (Summer 2002). These informal networks did not magically help women, but rather Menjivar states, "The point here is that obtaining and receiving help through these informal networks often represents a complex, negotiated process punctuated by disillusion, tension, and frustration as much as by cohesiveness and support" (Summer 2002, p. 458-459).

Methodology

This study would have been stronger had the original methodology, face-to-face interviews, been possible. More nuance and depth on each story would have been gathered.

Some drawbacks to the original design may have been priming for different focus of stories or bias. In the original design, I was going to have a research assistant. The research assistant was to be former professor at the University of Colorado, Dr. Elaine Yarbrough. [Dr. Yarbrough is also my mother.] Explaining our connection to participants may have primed the participants to think of their mother or daughters and, therefore, shape their stories to focus on that topic. That may have affected our findings. Also, in the original design, there may have been racial dynamics unseen by the researcher. The researcher and her assistant are white and the majority of Liberians are black. There may have been racial dynamics unseen by the white researchers. This may also have been an issue with face-to-face research in the United States.

A benefit of the design that was used—the online survey—was that each subject received the same questions and there was minimal bias introduced by the researcher. There may have been a reduction of bias on the part of the participants, as they could not see the researcher was Caucasian American rather than an African American or Liberian American. This impact is unknown.

Additional Research

There are several additional foci of research that could be performed in light of the few findings of this research. Understanding the nuances of what respondents meant

by having discussed “the war” might illuminate more openings for international or local peace workers to utilize in the peace building and violence prevention processes.

Another focus of additional research could be men’s perception of women’s beauty during conflict. One subject mentioned that her father was supportive of her going to the beauty shop because “he didn’t like to see his girl’s hair untidy.” Had this research been performed in in-person interviews, follow up questions would have been asked to illuminate the women’s experience of these perceptions. Even so, understanding men’s perceptions of women’s appearances may illuminate further understanding of gender dynamics’ expression and culture.

During the research, the connection of specific beauty treatment sub-categories and cultural events was revealed. False lashes for weddings are one such example. The relationship of these beauty services to specific cultural events would be another interesting area of study.

These surveys beg questions about the role of wives of rebels and the wives of soldiers during violent conflict. While these women may be subject to physical violence (and some may even have been forced into marriages), they may play a different role in conflict that has not been previously examined.

Beauty shops are potential locations to find women who would be interested and willing to participate in peace processes or discuss innovative ways to ensure aid and supplies reach the target populations. NGOs would benefit from using beauty shops as a way to connect to local women. NGOs could also consider financially supporting beauty

shops in areas that are located in physical spaces where supporters of each side reside.

Doing so may provide a safe space for discussions and dialogue.

Many of these questions would be difficult to assess in the current climate in Liberia, but may be possible in the future or now in other regions or countries.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Survey questions, including informed consent

Illuminating the function of beauty shops during conflict

* Required

Introduction

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study.

My grandmother had a beauty shop in a small town. Her shop was one of the hubs of the community and served as a place for women to exchange the stories of their day-to-day lives and to celebrate together the exciting markers – weddings, births, and anniversaries – in addition to needing a hairdo.

Her beauty shop was in the middle of it all. They would come a little before their appointments and stay a little after in order to see more of the other women who would come for services. They would discuss their lives, including their families, their children, their health and their husbands. This sharing served as a way for the women to connect.

My experience with my Grandma's beauty shop was what interested me in the role and function of beauty shops during a conflict. Therefore, I am interested in the sharing experiences you had during the civil conflict in Liberia that revolved around gathering for beauty treatments. Anything from getting your hair braided or brushed by someone else to having the "works" done for a special event, whether you were in a beauty salon, a living room or a tent in a refugee camp, what were the moments you shared with the women of your community. The term Beauty Shop may refer to an actual shop, a friend's house, your own home or another location. The phrase is intended to mean the place where beauty treatments were done.

Focusing on a time during the civil war, this study aims to learn more about the function of beauty services beyond the treatments/services provided. Beauty treatments include anything do to with hair dressing/washing/cutting/styling/braiding, hair removal, make up, maintenance or painting of finger and or toe nails, skin care for face and body, and anything else you would associate with going to a beauty shop.

Please elaborate on any of your answers. If you are reminded of a story because of one of the questions, please feel free to write it below

your answer, even if it does not pertain to the question. Thank you for sharing your stories with me.

Informed consent

RESEARCH PROCEDURES - This research is being conducted to understand why women got their hair professionally done during the Liberian civil war. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to fill in an online survey which will take approximately 30 minutes and will focus on when and where you got your hair done during the civil war and what your experience was surrounding that choice.

RISKS - There are no foreseeable risks for participating in this research. If the questions are overwhelming or if there is a question you do not want to answer, you are not obligated to answer it. If you feel that participation in this is causing negative emotional stress please indicate it on your survey and discontinue answering the survey.

BENEFITS - There are no benefits to you as a participant. There are benefits to the community in that this study will further the available research about women's communities during civil conflict.

CONFIDENTIALITY - The data in this study will be confidential. Your responses will be assigned a number, only I will have access to the identification key, and it will be password protected. If there is mention of your specific story or example in the research paper that will follow this research, your name and the names of the others in the story will be changed.

PRIVACY – Your participation in this study will not be discussed with anyone outside the research team unless you give explicit permission. You are able to discuss your participation with whomever you like.

FOLLOW UP – You may be contacted following your completion of the survey in order to gain a better understanding of the stories you shared. The follow up questions will not stray from the scope of the questions in the survey, but may seek a deeper understanding of the provided answers. If you are comfortable being contacted, please include your email address, skype handle or phone number.

PARTICIPATION - Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. If you decide not to participate or if you withdraw from the study, there is no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no costs to you or any other party.

CONTACT - This research is being conducted by Lindsay Burr Singla at the School of Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University. She may be reached at 001-303-842-2846 or LBurr@gmu.edu. You may also contact Dr. Sandra Cheldelin at 001-703-993-3652 or Scheldel@gmu.edu for any research related

problems. You may contact the George Mason University Office of Research Integrity & Assurance at 001-703-993-4121 if you have questions or comments regarding your rights as a participant in the research. This research has been reviewed according to George Mason University procedures governing your participation in this research.

1. **CONSENT - I have read this form, all of my questions have been answered by the research staff, and I agree to participate in this study. ***

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Yes *Skip to question 2.*
☐ No *Stop filling out this form.*

Participant Information

This is required in order to confirm eligibility for the survey.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Lindsay Burr Singla at LBurr@gmu.edu, via Skype at BurrLY or via phone at +1-303-842-2846.

2. **First Name**

Not Required

3. **Last Name**

Not Required

4. **Date of Birth ***

(Year is only requirement. Month and day can be approximate.)

Example: December 15, 2012

5. Number of years lived in Liberia *

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ 1-3 years
- ☐ 3-5 years
- ☐ 5-8 years
- ☐ 8-10 years
- ☐ 10+ years

6. Which of the following years did you live in Liberia? *

(Select all that apply.)

Check all that apply.

- ☐ Before 1999
- ☐ 1999
- ☐ 2000
- ☐ 2001
- ☐ 2002
- ☐ 2003
- ☐ After 2003
- ☐ Other:

7. What year did you last move away from Liberia?

If at all.

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8. Current city of residence *

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9. Current State of residence

If in the USA.

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10. **Current Country of residence ***

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11. **Sex ***

Mark only one oval.

☐ Male *Skip to question 74.*

☐ Female

☐

Survey

12. **At any time from 1995-2003 did you WORK or GET PAID to perform beauty treatment services? ***

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes *Skip to question 48.*

☐ No

Overview

Please elaborate on any of your answers. If you are reminded of a story because of one of the posed questions, please feel free to write it below your answer, even if it does not pertain to the question.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Lindsay Burr Singla at LBurr@gmu.edu, via Skype at BurrLY or via phone at +1-303-842-2846.

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13. **What beauty treatments do you go to a beauty shop to have done now?**

Check all that apply.

- ☐ Haircuts
- ☐ Braiding
- ☐ Hair color
- ☐ Hair styling
- ☐ Manicures
- ☐ Other:

14. **How often do you go to the beauty shop now?**

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ More often than 1 x per week
- ☐ 1 x per week
- ☐ 2 x per month
- ☐ 1 x per month
- ☐ Every other month
- ☐ Every six months

15. **How long are you at the beauty shop when you go?**

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ 30 minutes or less
- ☐ 30-60 minutes
- ☐ 1-2 hours
- ☐ 2-4 hours
- ☐ 4+ hours

16. Where did you live between 1999-2003?

Please list as many locations as you remember.

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17. Before the war, when you were in Liberia, how often did you go to the beauty shop?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ More often than 1 x per week
- ☐ 1 x per week
- ☐ 2 x per month
- ☐ 1 x per month
- ☐ Every other month
- ☐ Every six months

Beauty During the War

Please elaborate on any of your answers. If you are reminded of a story because of one of the posed questions, please feel free to write it below your answer, even if it does not pertain to the question.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Lindsay Burr Singla at LBurr@gmu.edu, via Skype at BurrLY or via phone at +1-303-842-2846.

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18. **During the war, what beauty treatments would you have done?**

Check all that apply.

- ☐ Haircuts
- ☐ Braiding
- ☐ Hair color
- ☐ Hair styling
- ☐ Manicures
- ☐ Other:

19. **During the war, when you were in Liberia, how often did you go to the beauty shop?**

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ More often than 1 x per week
- ☐ 1 x per week
- ☐ 2 x per month
- ☐ 1 x per month
- ☐ Every other month
- ☐ Every six months
- ☐ Other:

20. **How long were you at the beauty shop when you would go?**

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ 30 minutes or less
- ☐ 30-60 minutes
- ☐ 1-2 hours
- ☐ 2-4 hours
- ☐ 4+ hours
- ☐ Other:

21. **Did you go more often, less often or as often as you did before the war?**

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ more often
- ☐ less often
- ☐ same regularity

22. **Where was/were the beauty shop(s)?**

Please list any/all locations you remember.

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23. **How did you know about the location(s)?**

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24. **Generally, how far away was the beauty shop from where you lived?**

In distance or in time to get there.

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25. How did you travel there?

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Safety

Please elaborate on any of your answers. If you are reminded of a story because of one of the posed questions, please feel free to write it below your answer, even if it does not pertain to the question.

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26. Were there times when it was dangerous to go to the beauty shop?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Other:

27. What kind of danger were you in?

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28. **Did your male family members know you were going to a beauty shop?**

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29. **Were your male family members aware of what you were doing at the shop?**

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30. **Were your male family members supportive of your going?**
If yes, why? If not, why not?

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31. **Did your female family members know you were going to a beauty shop?**

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32. Were your female family members aware of what you were doing at the shop?

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33. Were your female family members supportive of your going?
If yes, why? If not, why not?

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Community

Please elaborate on any of your answers. If you are reminded of a story because of one of the posed questions, please feel free to write it below your answer, even if it does not pertain to the question.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Lindsay Burr Singla at LBurr@gmu.edu, via Skype at BurrLY or via phone at +1-303-842-2846.

Please note none of your answers will be recorded until you click "Submit" on the final page.

34. Who did you see at the beauty shop?

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35. Can you remember and describe a time when you were surprised to see someone there?

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36. If you did not go to the beauty shop, would you have seen the people you saw there in other settings?
(such as in church or in the community)

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37. During the war, what were the main topics you would talk about when you were at the shop?

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Individual Experience

Please elaborate on any of your answers. If you are reminded of a story because of one of the posed questions, please feel free to write it below your answer, even if it does not pertain to the question.

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38. Did you pay for services?

Mark only one oval.

☐

Yes

☐

No

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Other:

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39. If yes, what was the cost of an average visit?

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40. If you did not pay for services, why not?

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41. Were there any special events that made you want to get beauty treatments done?

(Wedding, birthday, etc.)

Mark only one oval.

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Yes

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No

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Other:

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42. If yes, did you have something different done for these occasions?

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43. How did you feel after going to the beauty shop?

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44. What would you have done if you could not have gone?

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45. Other than for having specific treatments, were there other reasons you wanted to gather at the beauty shop?

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Other:

46. If yes, what were the reasons?

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47. **Is there anything I haven't asked you yet that you feel is important about your experiences during time at the beauty shops?**

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Skip to question 74.

Beautician Questions - Overview

Please elaborate on any of your answers. If you are reminded of a story because of one of the posed questions, please feel free to write it below your answer, even if it does not pertain to the question.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Lindsay Burr Singla at LBurr@gmu.edu, via Skype at BurrLY or via phone at +1-303-842-2846.

Please note none of your answers will be recorded until you click "Submit" on the final page.

48. **Do you still work in the beauty industry?**

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Other:

49. **If yes, what services do you provide?**

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50. Where, or from who, did you learn to do what you provide?

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51. Before the war, where was your beauty shop?

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52. Who were your clients before the war?

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Beauty During the War

Please elaborate on any of your answers. If you are reminded of a story because of one of the posed questions, please feel free to write it below your answer, even if it does not pertain to the question.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Lindsay Burr Singla at LBurr@gmu.edu, via Skype at BurrLY or via phone at +1-303-842-2846.

Please note none of your answers will be recorded until you click "Submit" on the final page.

53. What services did you provide during the war?

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54. During the war, where was your beauty shop?
(If there were multiple locations, please include all of them.)

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55. Were your clients the same women or different women during the war?

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56. How did women know where to find you?

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Community

Please elaborate on any of your answers. If you are reminded of a

story because of one of the posed questions, please feel free to write it below your answer, even if it does not pertain to the question.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Lindsay Burr Singla at LBurr@gmu.edu, via Skype at BurrLY or via phone at +1-303-842-2846.

Please note none of your answers will be recorded until you click "Submit" on the final page.

57. Were there different services for these special occasions?

(weddings, celebrations, funerals?)

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Other:

58. If so, what were they?

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59. How did you know what beauty looks were specific to the event?

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60. **Did women's appointments overlap?**

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes

☐ No

61. **Did women usually come in groups? Or on their own?**

Mark only one oval.

☐ Groups

☐ Individually

☐ Other:

62. **What were the main topics your clients talked about?**

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63. **What were the main things you talked about with them?**

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Safety

Please elaborate on any of your answers. If you are reminded of a story because of one of the posed questions, please feel free to write it below your answer, even if it does not pertain to the question.

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Please note none of your answers will be recorded until you click

"Submit" on the final page.

64. Was it ever dangerous to be “open”?

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65. What was the main source of danger?

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66. Is there more you would like to share about safety and the risk of being open?

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Individual Experience

Please elaborate on any of your answers. If you are reminded of a story because of one of the posed questions, please feel free to write it below your answer, even if it does not pertain to the question.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Lindsay Burr Singla at LBurr@gmu.edu, via Skype at BurrLY or via phone at +1-303-842-2846.

Please note none of your answers will be recorded until you click "Submit" on the final page.

67. Have you ever trained other beauticians?

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68. Who did your personal beauty services during the war?
(name and/or their relationship to you)

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69. Did clients pay for services?

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Other:

70. If clients did pay, what did having income from the beauty shop make it possible to do?

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71. If clients did not pay, why not?

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72. Who does your beauty services now?

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73. Is there anything I haven't asked you yet that you feel is important about your experience with regard to your time at beauty shops?

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74. Do you wish to receive a copy of this research when completed?

(It will be sent by e-mail when it is completed.)
Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes


☐ No

75. If you indicated yes, please provide your email address.

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76. Please provide your phone number, skype or email if you are comfortable with the researcher following up on any of your answers.

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Appendix 2: Survey Responses as a table

Identifying information has been removed.

Subject	Timestamp	Year of Birth	Number of years lived in Liberia	Which of the following years did you live in Liberia?	What year did you last move away from Liberia?	Current city of residence
1	9/4/2015 10:53:41	1982	10+ years	Before 1999	2012	Monrovia, Liberia
2	9/4/2015 13:02:17	1985	10+ years	From birth to present		Monrovia
3	9/5/2015 21:35:56	1983	10+ years	2000		Aldan
4	9/6/2015 14:28:27	1983	10+ years	Before 1999	2013	Lowell
5	11/4/2015 6:17:47	1975	10+ years	entire life		brewerville
6	11/4/2015 7:30:40	1978	10+ years	Before 1999, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, After 2003		Brewerville
7	11/4/2015 8:06:57	1981	10+ years	through all		berwervill
8	11/4/2015 8:50:25	1984	10+ years	I bee liveing in Liberia from birth till now		Monrovia

Subject	Current State of residence	Current Country of residence	Sex	At any time from 1995-2003 did you WORK or GET PAID to perform beauty treatment services?	What beauty treatments do you go to a beauty shop to have done now?
1		Liberia	Female	No	Haircuts, Braiding, Hair color, Hair styling
2		Liberia	Female	No	Hair Styling and Manicures
3	PA	USA	Female	Yes	
4	MA	USA	Female	No	Braiding, Hair styling, Manicures
5		liberia	Female	Yes	
6		brewerville	Female	Yes	
7		liberia	Female	Yes	
8		Liberia	Female	No	Braiding, Hair color, Hair styling, Manicures

Subject	How often do you go to the beauty shop now?	How long are you at the beauty shop when you go?	Where did you live between 1999-2003?	Before the war, when you were in Liberia, how often did you go to the beauty shop?	During the war, what beauty treatments would you have done?
1	2 x per month	2-4 hours	Monrovia, Liberia		perming
2	2 x per month	1-2 hours	I lived 16th street Sinkor Barclay Avenue		Braiding
3					
4	1 x per week	1-2 hours	Barnesville Dry Rice Market Monrovia, Liberia	1 x per month	Braiding, Hair styling, Manicures
5					
6					
7					
8	2 x per month	2-4 hours	Sinkor	Every other month	Nothing

Subject	During the war, when you were in Liberia, how often did you go to the beauty shop?	How long were you at the beauty shop when you would go?	Did you go more often, less often or as often as you did before the war?	Where was/were the beauty shop(s)?	How did you know about the location(s)?
1	1 x per month	2-4 hours	more often	Carey Street, Front Street, Broad Street, Air Field and Old road	From friends who had their hair done there.
2	1 x per week	30-60 minutes	less often	At my House My neighbor House	
3					
4	1 x per week	1-2 hours	more often	Carey Street central MONROVIA	Through colleagues
5					
6					
7					
8	I never one day went to the beauty shop	Never went there	less often	Old Road sinkor	I was passing by and saw the singboard.

Subject	Generally, how far away was the beauty shop from where you lived?	How did you travel there?	Were there times when it was dangerous to go to the beauty shop?	What kind of danger were you in?	Did your male family members know you were going to a beauty shop?
1	They were all far from where I lived but they were good and worth it.	By taxi	Sometimes	Danger of being cut off from home in case there was an attack.	yes
2	Next door		Sometimes	Bullets	Yes
3					
4	An hour drive	Public transportation	Sometimes	Riots, demonstration	Not always
5					
6					
7					
8	Within the same community	By riding motorcycle.	Sometimes	Going there soon and coming back home late.	yes.

Subject	Were your male family members aware of what you were doing at the shop?	Were your male family members supportive of your going?	Did your female family members know you were going to a beauty shop?	Were your female family members aware of what you were doing at the shop?	Were your female family members supportive of your going?
1	yes	No		Yes	sometimes
2	Yes	Yes, My dad was supportive of me going to braid my hair. Because he didn't like to see his girls hair untidy.	Yes	Yes	yes, My mom she didn't want to see my hair all open while cooking in the kitchen
3					
4	Most often after my hair is done. They tell from the new look.	Yes, because they felt its within us women to alway look good.	Yes they were.	Yes	Very supportive
5					
6					
7					
8	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Subject	Who did you see at the beauty shop?	Can you remember and describe a time when you were surprised to see someone there?	If you did not go to the beauty shop, would you have seen the people you saw there in other settings?	During the war, what were the main topics you would talk about when you were at the shop?
1	few people...some friends	Yes	no	We were always talking about the war.
2	Not much people	No	Yes	Movies
3				
4	Mostly women	Yes on one occasion, I remember seeing a male who went along with his wife among so many women. And he waited until she was done.	Not necessarily	Meanly survival and what next going to happen or who is planning to bring war.
5				
6				
7				
8	A friend.	The time i went there was too late and was surprised to see someone there.	yes	I was not going there at that time.

Subject	Did you pay for services?	If yes, what was the cost of an average visit?	If you did not pay for services, why not?	Were there any special events that made you want to get beauty treatments done?	If yes, did you have something different done for these occasions?
1	Yes	US\$10.00		Yes	Birthdays and holidays
2	No		Because, either my Aunt Braided my hair or my friend's mom	Birthdays	no
3					
4	Yes	500 liberian dollars which is like US\$7.00	There wasn't a time I didn't pay.	Yes	Yes always
5					
6					
7					
8	Yes	500 LD	I always pay for services.	Yes	No

Subject	How did you feel after going to the beauty shop?	What would you have done if you could not have gone?	Other than for having specific treatments, were there other reasons you wanted to gather at the beauty shop?	If yes, what were the reasons?
1	I felt great	nothing.	Yes	at the beauty shop you always get the latest news on the war and the country as folks here enjoy sharing information.
2	Good	Nothing	No	
3				
4	I always felt good and new	Most often I won't attend the event	Yes	Just to relax and hear conversation. Beauty shop are noted for gossip so on days that you have nothing doing it won't hurt to stop and kill time.
5				
6				
7				
8	I felt beautiful.	Nothing.	No	No

Subject	Is there anything I haven't asked you yet that you feel is important about your experiences during time at the beauty shops?	Do you still work in the beauty industry?	If yes, what services do you provide?	Where, or from who, did you learn to do what you provide?
1	No			
2	No			
3		as a hobby	Hair styling and maintenance	From a family friend that had a shop in Liberia- I worked in her shop for 1-2 years
4	No			
5		Yes	braiding, hair coloring, hairstyling	Trade School
6		Yes	Fix hair, Manicure and pedicure, Lashes	My boss
7		No		i learn it before the war in another beautiful shop but it got close doing the war
8	No			

Subject	Before the war, where was your beauty shop?	Who were your clients before the war?	What services did you provide during the war?	During the war, where was your beauty shop?
1				
2				
3	My mother did my hair at home	I did not start working in the beauty industry until after the war.	I did not perform beauty treatment during the war	N/A
4				
5	duport road	women	I did the wives of the soldiers hair	Duport road
6	Milton Comer	Women and girls	Non I was closed	Milton Comer but I never went there I did hair at home
7	in town there i learn form		i was braiding hair	new kru town
8				

Subject	Were your clients the same women or different women during the war?	How did women know where to find you?	Were there different services for these special occasions?	If so, what were they?	How did you know what beauty looks were specific to the event?
1					
2					
3	N/A	N/A	No		N/A
4					
5	Different women because people were moving around	They called my phone	Yes	Weddings had more hair, nails, and even lashses. funerals were more just hair	Because each customer came in with what they wanted.
6	My customers	My cellphone	No		I used my experience to tell what people liked for each occassion
7	different		Yes	wedding, funeral and barith	by the look
8					

Subject	Did women's appointments overlap?	Did women usually come in groups? Or on their own?	What were the main topics your clients talked about?	What were the main things you talked about with them?	Was it ever dangerous to be "open"?
1					
2					
3	Yes	Individually	family Job and surprisingly my mentor will discuss finances with them	Relationships with spouses, families and friends	I dont remember beauty shop being open during the war. However, after war there was minimal danger. Beauty shop is a social spot and a place that women can express concerns and asked for advice based on life's events.
4					
5	Yes	both	Surviving the war	Relationships and the war	yes ,because there were gun men everywhere
6	Yes	Individually	The war	the war	yes. that was why I never opened
7		Individually	their home affairs, their husbands children, neighbor inlaw and friends but doing the war we all talk about peace.	before the war i was not allow to talk in client business.	before the war NO.doing the war YES because most of the client at that was rebel women
8					

Subject	What was the main source of danger?	Is there more you would like to share about safety and the risk of being open?	Have you ever trained other beauticians?	Who did your personal beauty services during the war?
1				
2				
3	N/A	N/A	NO- I was trained by another	Cecilia-My mother
4				
5	The soldiers forcibly took wives. so as a woman staying away from them was a major thing. Because there was no room for rejections.	no	Yes	My self
6	Stray bullets	If you got friendly with the rebels wives you were safer in the community	yes	Myself
7	if they get angry your are dead	they were killing people so we were working in fear	no	
8				

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