2022 Liberia Population and Housing Census

Thematic Report on
Migration and Urbanization

June 2024

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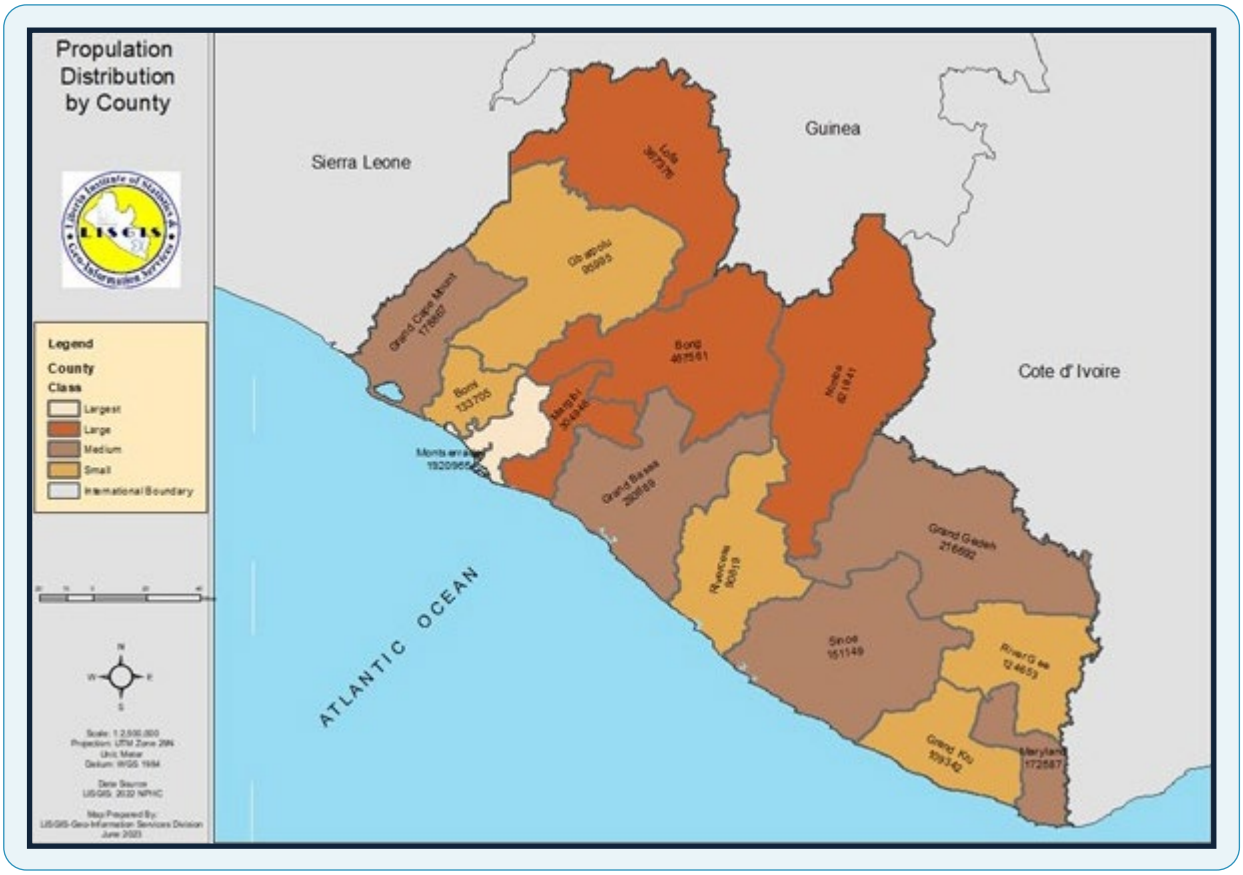

Foreword

The 2022 National Population and Housing Census is the fifth and first digital census with the full deployment of ICT techniques and followed the UN Recommended Principles for the 2020 round of censuses. The basis for the conduct of the census is Article 39 of the 1986 Constitution of the Republic of Liberia. On October 10, 2022, the Government of Liberia initiated "an Act Authorizing the Executive Branch of Government to conduct the 2022 Liberia Population and Housing Census".

Hence, following the successful implementation of the 2022 Liberia Population and Housing Census, the Liberia Institute of Statistics & Geo-Information Services (LISGIS) produced 14 thematic reports. These reports summarized the country's demographic, social, and economic sectors. The publication of the thematic reports is consistent with the United Nations (UN) International Standards of releasing National Census results and thematic reports.

The 14 thematic reports form a primary source of socio-economic and demographic data at various levels and provide relevant information to foster national development, good governance, and resource distribution. The results presented in this thematic report will form a solid basis for the successes and challenges in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as well as support the implementation of the development of the Africa Union Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want; Transforming Our World and other national and international programs.

I am pleased that the thematic reports helped to guide our national development plan. I would like to appreciate the support received from development partners and individuals during the entire process of writing the thematic report.

On behalf of the Census Commission and Board of Directors of LISGIS, I thank the Government of Liberia and our development partners for providing the required resources for conducting the census. Thanks also go to the national and international experts who worked very hard to complete these thematic reports.

Special appreciation for the success of the census goes to Hon. Samuel D. Tweah, Jr., former Chairman of the Census Commission, the Census Commission, the Steering Committee, the Census Secretariat, other national and international experts, census staff, and all respondents who provided the required information as well as all stakeholders for their commitment, motivation, and support to the National Population and Housing Census process.

I look forward to the continued support and guidance of development partners to engender sustainable development in our country.

Hon. Dehpue Y. Zuo
Deputy Minister for Economic Management
& Chairman of the Board
Ministry of Finance and Development Planning

Preface

The Liberia Institute of Statistics & Geo-Information Services (LISGIS) conducted the fifth and first fully digital census in November 2022. The 2022 National Population and Housing Census data was collected using Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) technology. Data were collected using tablets and later transmitted to LISGIS's server electronically.

The 14 thematic areas identified provide a comprehensive understanding of the population. These thematic areas are a) Population Distribution and Size b) Children, Adolescents, and Youth c) People with disabilities and older people d) Migration and Urbanization e) Labor force and Employment, f) Education, and Literacy g) Agricultural Population, h) Non-monetary poverty i) Housing conditions and facilities j) Mortality, k) Fertility, l) Marriages/Nuptiality, m) Gender Dimensions, and n) Population Projections. I would also like to thank the national and international experts for preparing the thematic reports.

Though the Government contributed immense resources to the 2022 National Census exercise, the requirements were enormous and beyond the capacity of the Government and LISGIS. It is with pleasure that we recognize and appreciate the support of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the Swedish Government, the World Bank, the United States Aid for International Development (USAID), the Irish Government, the Government of Ghana, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and other partners whose timely and continuous interventions gave stimulus to the execution of the 2022 Liberia Population and Housing Census including the preparation of the reports.

Special gratitude goes to the general public for their cooperation and support. We are indebted to personnel and the management of LISGIS, national and international experts, supervisors, and enumerators for successfully conducting the 2022 National Population and Housing Census.

Richard F. Ngafuan
Director General
LISGIS

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AADPD	Addis Ababa Declaration on Population and Development
AU	African Union
CDA	County Development Agenda
DAU	Diaspora Affairs Unit
ECOWAS	Economy Community of West African States
ECOMOG	Economic Community Cease-Fire Monitoring Group
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization Migration
JMP	Joint Monitoring Programme
LEC	Liberia Electricity Corporation
LISGIS	Liberian Institute of Statistics and Geo-information Services
LIS	Liberia Immigration Service
LPHC	Liberia Population Housing Census
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
LRRRC	Liberia Refugee Repatriation and Resettlement Commission
MACs	Ministries, Agencies and Commissions
MGI	Migration Governance Indicators
MER	Migration effectiveness ratio
MRU	Mano River Union
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NMR	Net Migration Rate
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
PAPD	Pro-Poor Agenda for Prosperity and Development
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Social Affairs
UN Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements and Sustainable Urban Development
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WHO	World Health Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Fund
UNECA	United Nations Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization

Executive Summary

The thematic report on migration and urbanization is one of the 15 thematic reports born out of the 2022 Liberia Population and Housing Census (LPHC). The importance of the migration and urbanization thematic report is expressed in the authorities' quest to get a deeper understanding of current migration trends and its impact on the society. This will aid in policy formation to manage migration and urbanization in the country. The main objective of this report is to describe, analyse and provide explanation for patterns, trends and the future perspective of both internal and international migration in Liberia.

The summary of the report is as follows:

Internal migration

Lifetime migrant population is estimated at 1,600,340, constituting 30.5 per cent of the total population in 2022. Migrants form 46.7 per cent of urban population compared to 13.6 per cent of rural population. The proportion of female migrants (50.1 per cent) is slightly higher than the males. The proportion of migrants in the total population increased from 21.7 per cent in 2008 to 30.5 per cent in 2022. The proportion of female migrants increased from 49.6 per cent in 2008 to 50.1 per cent in 2022.

Montserrado County attracted the largest migrant population, constituting 69.3 per cent of the total in-migrant population. Lifetime migrants form 60.5 per cent of Montserrado's resident population. Margibi County attracted 10.2 per cent of the in-migrant population, becoming the second largest after Montserrado. Like Monsterrado, majority (54.7 per cent) of residents of Margibi are lifetime migrants. Bong County lost the largest population through migration, accounting for 19.8 per cent of the total out-migrant population. Other counties that lost large population through migration are Grand Bassa, Lofa and Nimba.

Over the period 2008 and 2022, Montserrado County recorded a net migration of 1,054,190 and a positive net migration rate of 575, making it the most attractive destination for migrants. The main reason for this is that the country's capital city Monrovia, is in the Montserrado County, which provides opportunities for jobs, education and facilities for good standard of living. Margibi County recorded a positive net migration rate of 382, the likely reason being the presence of the Firestone Natural Rubber Company in the county. Gbarpolu is the third county that recorded positive net migration, but marginal. Counties that lost large proportions of the population through migration are Lofa, Grand Bassa, Grand Kru, Bong, Bomi, Grand Cape Mount, Maryland and Nimba.

Counties that contributed effectively to the redistribution of the population through migration (have absolute MERs closer to 100) are Montserrado, Lofa, Bong, Grand Bassa, Nimba and Grand Kru. Gbarpolu, Grand Gedeh and River Cess are the counties are considered to indicate relatively ineffective population redistribution due to migration (have MERs less than 15).

The non-migrant population is much younger than the migrant population. The population aged 0-14 constitutes 39.4 per cent of the non-migrant population compared to 23.9 per cent of the migrants. Migrants, however, have a more youthful population (15-34 years) than non-migrants. The proportions are 44.0 per cent and 38.5 per cent for migrants and non-migrants respectively. Proportion of migrant females in the youthful age group (45.3 per cent) is higher than their male counterparts (42.7 per cent).

There is not much difference between the marital status of migrants and non-migrants. Both groups have about 60 per cent of the population aged 12 years and older never married and about 32 per cent married.

Migrants have lower proportions of the population aged 3 years and older never attended school (23.8 per cent) compared to 38.0 per cent of non-migrants. This is also reflected in the levels of education completed as 41.9 per cent of migrants have completed secondary education and above, compared to 21.1 per cent of non-migrants. While 8.4 per cent of migrants have tertiary level education, it is 2.3 per cent for non-migrants. Migrants are more literate (67.9 per cent) compared to non-migrants (54.0 per cent).

The proportion of the migrant population 5 years and older who perform some form of economic activity is 48.4 per cent compared to 39.4 per cent of non-

migrants. The largest proportion of both non-migrants (55 per cent) and migrants (41 per cent) are own-account workers.

Migrants have more of the working population as salary/wage workers (29 per cent) than non-migrants (15 per cent). Agriculture is the preserve of non-migrant households, and it is only coconut production and poultry farming that a little over 20 per cent of migrant households are engaged in.

Generally, there is little variation in the proportion of household ownership/tenure of housing units by migration status of household head in most of the dwelling types. Households who are in owner-occupied dwellings (purchased, constructed and mortgaged) constitute a little over a third for all migration groups of heads of households. Proportion of households in rent-free accommodation (inherited and gifted) are the same for both groups, while migrant squatting households are a little larger in proportion than the non-migrants.

The proportion of households who use improved source of drinking water differs by migration status. While 80 per cent of migrant households use improved source of drinking water, it is 68.4 per cent for non-migrant households. A little more than half (51.1 per cent) of migrant households use electricity for lighting compared to 16.6 per cent by non-migrant households. For the non-migrant households, Chinese/battery light is the dominant source of lighting (67 per cent). The use of solid fuels for cooking is the choice of 95.9 per cent of migrant households and 98.5 per cent of non-migrant households. For the disposal of human waste, migrant households who use improved human waste disposal facilities (74.1 per cent) and their non-migrant (45.3 per cent) counterparts.

Migrant households can access a health facility and a primary school at shorter time periods than non-migrants.

Household ownership of selected assets is explored, namely, radio, television cell phone, motorcycle (penpen), tricycle (kehkeh), vehicle, refrigerator, computer, cooking gas stove, fan, air-conditioner and microwave. Of all the listed assets, migrants own the largest proportion of the country's total except radio and motorcycle.

International migration and return migration

A total of 102,074 persons were enumerated as international migrants (non-Liberians), translating into 1.96 per cent of the country's total population. Out of the 102,074 immigrants, 61.5 per cent are males and the remaining are females. West African nationals form 93 per cent of the immigrant population, with Guinea contributing the largest (42.4 per cent). Three out of every 5 immigrants reside in Montserrado County. The county that hosts the second largest immigrant population is Grand Gedeh with 9.1 per cent. Bomi and River Cess Counties host the least number of immigrants with a share of less than 1 per cent each.

Males dominate the immigrant population (61.5 per cent), and this is reflected in all age groups. The male age group with the highest population is 30-34, while it is the 20-24 age group for the females. Among the male population, 54.8 per cent are of ages 20 to 44, and 48.1 per cent for the females. A greater proportion (44 per cent) have not completed any level of education. A quarter of the population have completed secondary education while 7.8 per cent have completed university and other tertiary education.

The international returnee population constitute 15.1 per cent of the total population. This comprises of Liberians who, for one reason or other, moved out of the country and returned to the country and enumerated at the time of the census. Proportion of returnees living in urban localities (57 per cent) is larger than those living in rural localities. The age and sex structure of the returnee population shows smaller proportions of the population at younger ages, with increasing proportions up to age 24. Returnees have larger proportions in the older ages than non-returnees.

The marital status of returnees is not much different from that of non-returnees. Almost half of returnees have not completed any level of education and lag behind in all levels of education except tertiary level 6.4 per cent had completed that level compared to 4.2 per cent by non-returnees. Non-returnees are more literate (60 per cent) compared to returnees (46 per cent).

Almost half of returnees 3 years and older have never completed any level of schooling. Returnees also have a small proportion of the population in pre-school and primary school. However, for tertiary level, returnees have a larger proportion (6.4 per cent) of the population than non-returnees (4.2 per cent). The majority of the returnee population (54 per cent) is not literate compared to 40 per cent of non-returnees.

Half of returnee households are in owner-occupied dwellings compared to 42 per cent by non-returnees. Majority of households, irrespective of migration status, drink from improved water sources, with the proportion of returnees (72.8 per cent) higher than non-returnees (68.4 per cent). Two out of every 5 returnee households use electricity compared to 29.9 per cent of non-returnee households. More than half of the households in both groups use improved human waste disposal facilities, with the proportion of non-returnee households (56.8 per cent) being higher than returnee households (53.6 per cent).

Urbanization

In 2008, 47.0 per cent of the population resided in urban settlements, but within a space of 14 years, the urban population in 2022 is 54.5 per cent, an urban growth rate of 4.1 per cent per annum. In terms of share of county population being urban, Montserrado leads with more than 90 per cent of the population in urban settlements for both periods. Montserrado continues to be the most densely populated county, adding an average of over 1,000 persons per square mile between 2008 and 2022.

The age distribution of the urban population shows an increasing population from the lowest cohort (0-4 years) and peaks at ages 15-19 before declining continuously for both sexes. The female population is larger than the males for all age cohorts below 35 years.

One-fifth (20.5 per cent) of urban population 3 years and older have never attended school compared to the national average of a third of the population. The lower proportion of urban population never attended school compared to the national average is reflected in the level of education completed. Whiles a little over a fifth of the urban population 5 years and older has not completed any level of education, over a third of the national population is in this category.

On employment, 51.5 per cent of the urban population 15 years and older performed some form of economic activity compared to the average proportion of 55 per cent for the total country. Own-account workers form the largest working group in both the urban and total country, with the urban proportion (41 per cent) significantly lower than the national average (50 per cent). However, the proportion of salary/wage workers of the urban population is larger than the national average.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background and context

Liberia is located along the Guinean highlands in the West African subregion. It shares borders with the Atlantic Ocean to the south, neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire to the east, Guinea to the north and Sierra Leone to the west. Liberia lies between latitudes 4° and 9°N, and longitudes 7° and 12°W. The country has a broad range of ecosystems, bio-climatic regions and habitats from rainforest to the coastal areas. In Liberia, the coastal settlements were first to develop and therefore have better education institutions that have support stepwise migration pattern. The movement of people from the rest of the country has been largely directed to Monrovia and the few dominant mining and plantation agriculture areas. The counties of Bong, Bomi, Nimba and more recently Cape Mount have been dominant attractive areas due to employment opportunities arising from their national resource endowment.

Liberia's founding as a country was largely shaped by migration of returned free slaves from the Americas and those captured during their mid - Atlantic journeys across Africa. In the beginning of the 19th century the momentum in favour of the abolition of slavery was on the increase in America, and Liberia, then called the Grain Coast, was suggested as a suitable home for free American slaves. In 1818, two U.S. government agents and two officers of the American Colonization Society (ACS) visited the Grain Coast. After several failed attempts to establish settlements there, an agreement was signed in 1821 between the officers of the society and local African chiefs (Bassa leaders) granting the society possession of Cape Mesurado. In a historical account by Abeodu Jones[1], the first American freed slaves, led by members of the society, landed in 1822 on Providence Island at the mouth of the Mesurado River.

According to Dunn-Marcos *et. al* (2005), other colonization societies, formed in Maryland, Mississippi, Pennsylvania and New York, founded their own settlements in the larger colony that later came to be called Liberia. In 1824, Christopolis which was the main settlement at Cape Mesurado, was renamed Monrovia after the fifth U.S. president, James Monroe, who was a prominent member of the ACS before becoming president. From 1821 to around 1835, the main settlement of Montserrado expanded throughout the St. Paul River region, with the creation of such towns as Arthington, Bensonville, Brewerville, Caldwell, Clay-Ashland, Crozierville, Dixville, Harrisburg, Johnsonville, Lousiana, Millsburg, New Georgia, Virginia and White Plains, among others (Dunn-Marcos *et. al*., 2005).

Liberia gained independence in 1847. Liberia's first president, Joseph J. Roberts (1848-1856), was able to obtain formal recognition of Liberia as an independent, sovereign country from a number of major European countries, with Great Britain and France leading the way in 1848.

The early days of Liberia were marked by constant frontier troubles with the French along the Ivorian border on the east and Sierra Leone on the west. The Liberians tried to extend their authority inland, although they were still unable to control all the coastal area they claimed. Efforts to end the frontier disputes resulted in treaties with Great Britain in 1885 and with France in 1892. In 1904 President Arthur Barclay, initiated a policy of direct cooperation and engagement with Liberia's Indigenous tribes, which his successor, President William V.S. Tubman pursued under the Unification Policy and also Open Door Policy that brought increased investment opportunities including operation of mines, ports etc.

President Tubman's most important contribution was the Unification Policy, which culminated in 1964 in the establishment of the four counties, Bong, Lofa, Nimba and Grand Gedeh. Tubman enunciated the Unification Policy for two primary reasons: first, to end tribal and inter-tribal conflicts among the various indigenous peoples of Liberia and second objective was to begin to heal the rift between the indigenous people and the settler elite, descendants of the Pioneers who had earlier arrived on these shores on January 7, 1822, to found Africa's first independent Republic.

In the recent past, Liberia's migration history was mainly shaped by the civil war which caused a great

1 "The Republic of Liberia" by Abeodu Bowen Jones in "The History of West Africa" by J.F.A. Ajayi, no date, Box: 2. William R. Stanley archive, SCU-RBSC-2014-5. Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

amount of movement in the early 1990s. When Charles Taylor launched an invasion of Liberia from the Côte d'Ivoire on December 24, 1989, people fled the conflict into neighbouring countries in West Africa. Large movements of Liberians continued throughout the 1990s whenever conflict flared. As the war continued to destabilize the entire region in the 1990s, the number of Liberian refugees in West Africa swelled to 700,000 (Dunn-Marcos et al., 2005), with the largest numbers of displaced people found in Ghana, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone. Unfortunately, Liberian refugees were often forced to relocate many times to escape the fighting near the refugee camps. Consequently, many Liberian refugees have lived in at least two countries of asylum (Dunn-Marcos et al., 2005). From 1999, close to 120,000 refugees were repatriated back to Liberia. Insurgencies, however, struck again in Lofa County in April and August 1999, which had major setbacks for UNHCR programmes. Lofa was the single-largest county of return for Liberian refugees, mainly from Guinea.

As Liberia was recovering from the civil war, political and economic crises in other countries spurred out-migration of their nationals to Liberia. In 1999, Liberia was host to 90,000 refugees from Sierra Leone. At the end of 2020, Liberia hosted 18,890 refugees from Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Sierra Leone, Pakistan, Syria and Lebanon. Refugees from Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire who opted for local integration have been resettled in the country. In that year, all Liberian refugees who had fled were presumed to have returned to their homeland. Due to all of these movements, Liberia is still recovering from the lingering effects of the civil war and related economic dislocation.

There is a strong rural-to-urban migratory movement, especially to Monrovia. Other destinations include enclaves around rubber plantations and iron ore and diamond producing areas of the country. Firestone which has the largest rubber plantation in Liberia (with 400,000 hectares of land under rubber cultivation) is headquartered in Harbel, located in Margibi County but has plantation spread out in the country, including Maryland. The trend toward urbanization has had little impact on the villages, except in more recent times where the young people have abandoned the villages and are now either displaced in large urban settlements seeking economic opportunities, especially the commercial operations of motorbikes and Kekei (three-wheel motorcycles). The result has been displacement of workers on agriculture lands and the segmentation of Liberian society into two coexisting subsystems – traditional-rural and modern-urban.

Liberia's population censuses conducted in 1962, 1974 and 1984 did not include analysis on migration as a theme. It is worthy to note that the country went through several administrative mutations beginning in 1964 when four new counties were created through the Unification Policy during the Tubman presidency. More administrative boundary changes leading to the creation of two more counties occurred in the year 2000 (River Gee) and 2002 (Gbarpolu), perhaps making it difficult to determine migration in terms of change of administrative unit during the 2008 population and housing census.

With the formal boundaries of counties fully established, the 2008 census collected information on displaced persons from the civil war. In many developing countries like Liberia, there is lack of adequate information on the extent of migration and the sources of urban population growth for policymakers to use in their planning. The distribution of wealth is uneven, the coastal districts receiving a greater share of economic benefits than the hinterland, after which the administrative centres are the next beneficiaries[2]. Given the large disparities in observable living standards across counties, internal migration appears to be a potentially important channel for reducing within country geographic inequality, yet deeper research on migration seems relatively low. Migration information from a population census can therefore contribute to several policy orientations and implications.

1.2 Importance of migration studies

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines a "migrant" as a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently and for a variety of reasons. The United Nations (1970) defines a migration as a "move from one migration-defining area to another (or a move of some specified minimum distance) that was made during a given migration interval and that involved a change of residence". For a movement between two locations to qualify as migration, it must occur within a specified time period, and the individual must change residences. Both definitions do not emphasize on

2 Liberia - Politics, Constitution, Society | Britannica

the place of birth as a condition. However, in the measurement of migration in a population and housing census, one type of migration which is very important is "lifetime" migration. Lifetime migration refers to the movement of an individual from their place of birth to a different administrative entity (Tarver, 1992). That is, a lifetime migrant is any individual who resides in an administrative entity other than his or her place of birth.

There are three factors that cause the population to change, namely, birth, death and migration. As compared to birth rate and death rate, migration affects the size of population differently. Migration is not a biological event like birth and death, but is influenced by the social, cultural, economic and political factors[3]. That is, people's access to economic, physical protection (against abuse, exploitation and observed and/or security threats), good health, and other social resources shape their decision to move (or, conversely, their decision to stay), their preferences and choice of destinations. This fits into the push-pull model of migration. That is, collecting and analysing data on migration enables us to understand the volume of migrants by type and direction of flows, how migration takes place, the decision to migrate, and what the consequences are of migration in a broad sense, both for migrants themselves and for societies involved in migration.

Many studies have identified internal migration as a major force in redistribution of population during development as changes in sectoral composition of the economy and the geographic distribution of employment occur. This has a variety of implications for the evaluation of population policies. Policymakers and development planners in many developing countries, Liberia not exception, lack adequate information on the extent of migration and the sources of urban population growth. Studies have shown that analysis of the drivers and dynamics of internal migration is critical to understanding the progressive shifts in the pattern of human settlement across the country. If migration is managed properly, migrants can boost economic growth by filling gaps in fast-growing sectors and by increasing the working-age population.

Migration can create social tensions and conflicts if not managed properly. By analysing data on migration, one can identify the needs and concerns of migrants and host communities and develop strategies to promote social inclusion and integration. That is, collecting and analysing migration data can help develop evidence-based policies that can help manage migration in a way that is beneficial for both migrants and society.

Internal migration data enables studies on the close interrelationships between population movements and the actual disparities in economic opportunities and social amenities between different regions of the country, and between rural and urban areas in particular to be carried out (UNECA, 1983).

1.3 Migration management in Liberia - policies and programmes

The movement of people in and out of specific geographic locations within a country are shaped by a variety of factors such as population size, system of governance, social structure, available land, climate, vegetation, size and characteristics of the economy, level of technology, conflict and land degradation etc.. This movement shapes and adjusts spatial interrelationships by influencing social interactions and their resultant outcomes as will be analysed in this migration thematic report.

Migration in Liberia and by extension, in the West Africa subregion is therefore affected by the social, economic, political and technological changes, climate change, natural disasters, conflicts and more recently COVID-19, which severely disrupted mobility.

Liberia, with its relatively small population has always been a migrant-receiving, transit and sending country and this has alternated with periods of economic progress and downturns. As a result of the civil crisis, which started in 1989, the Government established a specialized agency, the Liberia Refugee Repatriation and Resettlement Commission (LRRRC) by Legislative instrument in 1993. The LRRRC is mandated to provide international protection for refugees, asylum seekers, stateless person, migrants, internally displaced person and refugees. During the immediate post-conflict period that followed the end of the civil conflict in 2003, the Government of Liberia and its partners, designed several dedicated programmes to manage and repatriate Liberians back home.

Not much focused efforts have been directed at ensuring that internal migrants who were displaced as a result of the conflict are returned to their

3 In an article shared by Divisha S. on Sociology Discussion website titled Migration: Meaning, Types and effects and downloaded from Migration: Meaning, Types and Effects (sociologydiscussion.com) on October 13, 2023

counties of birth. Monsterrado which received a lot of the internally displaced migrants due to the assumed safety arising from the presence of ECOWAS troops have remained up to now. Moreover, due to the lack of job opportunities in the rest of the country, even including Monrovia, very little directed policy efforts have gone into redirecting the displaced population back to their original counties of birth. Agricultural revitalization efforts have also had very little impact in serving as enough signal to attract population to countries that hitherto served as the breadbasket of the nation (Lofa, Nimba, Bong, Grand Gedeh).

Arising from the above, international migration has received greater attention than internal migration. Also, in the absence of clear migration policy to guide and direct government efforts, all these serve as hindrance to managing internal migration.

Currently, Liberia is a destination for many migrants, especially from within the West Africa subregion. Many Liberians have also emigrated to other countries (USA), and within and outside Africa. Emigration of skilled and trained Liberians continue to be a challenge for the country. Skilled personnel, such as trained middle-class technocrats have migrated to other countries where there are better conditions of service and better remuneration and to seek temporary protection in the United States.

Another feature of recent immigration trend is the movement of young migrants from West Africa including Liberia to the Sahel region in transit to Europe. Libya and Tunisia serve as transit points to cross the Mediterranean Sea for entry into Europe. For this category of immigrants, who are mainly unemployed youth, uses mainly illegal means to travel to Europe in search of better living conditions. Increasingly irregular migration, which includes human trafficking and migrant smuggling, is occurring in the ECOWAS subregion. This presents challenges of border management control and the protection of migrant rights.

A recent 2023 review of the Addis Ababa Declaration on Population and Development (AADPD +10) assessment on Liberia noted that Liberia does not have a comprehensive migration policy to guide and direct migration management. Migration activities both internal and international are, however, managed by the Liberian Immigration Service (LIS) and based on provisions 1986 Constitution of Liberia, the Immigration and Naturalization Law, the recent Decent Work Act of 2022, The Diaspora Law, (the amended Citizens and Naturalization Law 2013)

Liberia has made significant strides in achieving the free movement of people and goods within the region. Liberia has signed and implemented several relevant regional agreements that facilitate the movement of people and goods within Liberia and across countries. These include Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) protocol on facilitation of free movement of nationals of Member States; ECOWAS Trade Liberation Scheme; Ratification of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol; Ratification of the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa; United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (also known as the Refugee Convention),

To ensure that the Government's efforts at managing movement of people into, within and out of the country remains coordinated, the LIS is working in close collaboration with the Ministry of Justice under the auspices of the Joint Security Services to enforce these regulations and convention's etc., which the Government has signed up to.

Liberia has also put in place measures to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs and repercussions of international migration. The Liberian Legislature has passed the Amended Aliens and Nationality Act of 1973, also known as the Dual-Citizenship Act, of 2022, which has encouraged Liberians of other nationalities to have relief and encourage them to invest in the country. The previous law required one to denounce the nationality of another country before taking up citizenship of Liberia.

Additionally, the establishment of the Diaspora Affairs Unit (DAU) at the Ministry of State without Portfolio has fostered, inter alia, the facilitation of engagements with diaspora communities, measurement and recognition of developmental contributions of the diaspora community, to seek opportunities for people living abroad and build a link to major investment opportunities. The diaspora community is a major player in the development drive of the nation, thus stimulating micro-economic growth as well as entrepreneurial establishment, and maintenance of businesses. The DAU has five policy and programme areas:

- Reducing barriers to engagement
- Increasing investments and remittance flows
- Transferring human capital and technology

- Increasing philanthropy
- Building the institutional framework

Liberia passed the Decent Works Act of 2015 which sets out the fundamental rights to work, labor institutions and administration, and contains provisions on recruitment and termination of work, minimum conditions of employment, workers' compensation, industrial relations, etc., as part of her fulfillment to protect the rights and privileges of her citizens as well as citizens from ECOWAS Member States. Liberia has and continues to be a loyal implementer of the ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons, residence and establishment. Among other things, it stipulates the right of community citizens to enter, reside and establish economic activities in the territory of Member States and outlined a three-phased approach to achieve the "complete freedom of movement" envisaged by the treaty (Liberia AADPD Country Report, 2023)

Due to the multitude of unmanned border entry points, the lack of implementation of protected areas, and mining laws, migrants from neighbouring and far-off countries in the region take advantage of such loopholes to gain entry into the country. This is particularly the case in agriculture and mining areas along the neighbouring borders of Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone, where economic activities, mainly agriculture and forestry and mining, dominate.

In light of the above, the Government of Liberia recognized the need to address migration issues comprehensively and in cooperation with other countries. This is based on the recognition that migration is a fundamental requirement for responsible national governance and effective international relations.

Liberia has taken some necessary steps in fostering partnership on migration. Liberia is an affiliate of the Migration Dialogue for West Africa – a regional consultative process to encourage member States of ECOWAS to discuss common migration issues. Liberia is also a member of the Euro-African Dialogue on Migration and Development (the Rabat Process), which brings together the European Commission, ECOWAS and countries from Central, West and North Africa to tackle migration-related questions. In addition, Liberia is a member of the Pan-African Forum on Migration, engaging African Union Member States, African Union regional economic communities, regional consultative processes in Africa, United Nations organizations, and intergovernmental organizations to discuss issues affecting migration governance in Africa and to shape and inform policy development as well as share experiences, as well as a Member of the Mano River Union (MRU), initially established between Liberia and Sierra Leone by the Mano River Declaration (1973), with Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire joining the MRU in 1980 and 2008, respectively. The MRU was established with the aim of promoting political, economic, and social ties among its Member States, involving trans-boundary matters, including border communities and shared natural resources.

To address the issues arising from internal migration, Liberia has also taken steps to develop a National Urban Policy in 2021. The policy seeks to address the challenges of uncontrolled expansion of the urban population while anticipating more and planning for bigger responsibilities as the population trend continuously sees higher shifts from rural to urban and develop effective strategies to balance the migration trend. With an annual population growth rate of 3 per cent (2022), the Government is working with its development partners to plan additional infrastructure such as available and affordable electricity, sewer rehabilitation and expansion works, improved water supply, sanitation, roads, community facilities, equipment, technical assistance and operating costs for city-wide land adjudication and registry, technical and educational assistance, among others.

In recognition of the need to take governance to the people, and manage the rural-to-urban migration, the Government has developed the National Decentralization Policy of 2012. The policy paved the way for sharing responsibilities of governance with the local county authorities, thereby reducing the stressful responsibilities of running governmental affairs in the former centralized form of governance, which has had the population moving to mainly the capital for services that would have otherwise been available at their County Service Centres. These service centres provide citizens greater opportunity to participate in decision-making and accountability, and reduce the urgency of migrating to large urban centres to seek better services.

The County Development Agenda (CDA) Framework is also one of the tools enabling the decentralization of governance to the leeward counties. The pillars under the CDA framework are security, economic revitalization, governance and the rule of law, and infrastructure and basic services. Each of the 15 counties is mandated to develop a separate development agenda to feed into the national developmental framework, the Pro-Poor Agenda

for Prosperity and Development (PAPD) for proper scrutiny and budgetary allocation of projects and programmes. There is the prospect that these developments will yield the intended achievements of Agenda 2030 scheme to lift Liberia and reduce poverty.

The CDA processes have also incorporated the Community Resettlement and Reintegration Strategy (2004), which are still being implemented. The strategy outlines actions to support the resettlement and reintegration of internally displaced persons. In this regard, the IOM and other partners continue to support Liberian nationals stranded abroad on two instances – with Liberians among a group of 114 migrants evacuated by air from Algeria in August 2020, and a group of 13 migrants who received food aid and medical support from the Organization in May 2020 as well as support for registering for repatriation.

In the absence of a national migration policy, however, all of the efforts noted above, are aimed at ensuring effective coordination of existing migration-related legislations that promote and protect the interests, rights, security and welfare of citizens and migrants within and outside Liberia.

The Government of Liberia takes note of the African Union (AU) policies and priorities, The Agenda 2063, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and international migration management policies and standards in managing migration. The Government of Liberia focus is therefore to enhance the potential of migration for Liberia's development.

Furthermore, the Government of Liberia is currently developing a database for migration management in which all key Ministries, Agencies and Commissions (MACs) will be brought on board to contribute in the form of regular reporting. The database will serve as reference point for evidence-based policy formulation, development of strategies, programmes and activities for effective migration governance.

1.4 Objectives of the report

The main objective of this report is to describe, analyse and provide explanation for patterns, trends and the future perspective of both internal and international migration in Liberia.

Specific objectives of this report are to explore and analyse the following:

a. Overall status of the enumerated population in terms of migration status with focus on migrant population overall and by county

b. Major direction of flows of the different migration types

c. Structure and composition of migrant population, including the socioeconomic characteristics

d. Growth of the urban population over time

e. Propose policies and programmes needed to address observed problems in the management of migration in Liberia

f. Propose the review of concepts used to measure migration in Liberia including addressing gaps in the questionnaire for the 2022 PHC

g. Propose areas for further research on migration in Liberia

1.5 Methodology

The main source of data for analysis of this report is the 2022 Population and Housing Census. The analytical report on Migration and Urbanization of the 2008 Population and Housing Census has been used for purposes of analysing trends and comparison. Other data used in the analysis include the 2021-2022 Education Statistics Report, IOM Fact Sheet on Liberia and countryeconomy.com.

Analysis was made on three different types of migration, namely, internal, international (immigration) and return. There were no direct questions on migration, so the following methods and proxies from the questionnaire were used:

Internal lifetime migrant: If a person is enumerated in a county (usual place of residence) different from the county where he/she was born. **IF P08 ≠ P01, THEN [NAME] IS A MIGRAN**T. Question P08 asks "where (county) was [name] born" and Question P01 asks of usual residents and visitors who slept with the household on census night. Visitors were not specifically identified. It is assumed, therefore, that the number of visitors (non-usual residents) who passed the census night in counties other than the county of their usual residence nationwide will cancel out.

Immigrant: If a person is not a Liberian national. **IF P09 ≠ 51**. Question 9 asks about the nationality

of person enumerated. Liberians born in other countries, who returned should have been counted as international migrants but the questionnaire could not capture such information.

International return migrant: If a person is a Liberian but his/her length of stay in Liberia is less than his/her age. **IF P09 = 51 and P12 < P03**. Question P09 asks about the nationality of the person. P12 asks about the person's length of stay in Liberia and P03 asks of the age. Persons with other nationalities may have also left Liberia (during the civil crises) and returned, but cannot be captured here.

Method of analysis is largely bivariate, that is, bringing out differences between the migrant and non-migrant population. Simple descriptive statistics, mainly proportions, have been used to describe the differences in demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the population by migration status at the national level. Analysis on patterns, trends and differentials between 2008 and 2022, however, been done at county level.

1.6 Limitations of the study

A number of measurement concerns remain that need to be considered when using the 2022 Population and Housing Census data to measure migration: (i) limited measurement of different types of migration (e.g. place/county of previous residence to capture recent migration flow, displaced persons, emigrants) (ii) reasons for internal migration (iii) reasons for leaving the country (by return migrants) iv) limited characteristics v) citizenship by birth or naturalization vi) duration of stay of migrants in their new destination. Because of the omission of question on reasons for moving, there is no data on reasons for migration to be cross-tabulated with key sociodemographic characteristics of migrants.

There is no question to identify visitors from usual household members. P01 enumerates all persons who slept with the household on census night, and no follow-up question on whether the person is a usual member of the household or not. Therefore, the migrant population will include visitors who may not necessarily be migrants.

Also, a filter error in the questionnaire led to gaps in collecting data on occupation, industry of employment and employment status. The data as it is now cannot be used to estimate unemployment rate, which is a crucial economic variable. The report, therefore, has no analysis on migrants by economic status, employment status, occupation and industry of employment. However, a limited analysis has been done on salary/wage workers, own-account workers and contributing family workers.

1.7 Structure of the report

The report is divided into five chapters. Chapter one presents the background and context of theme of the report, the objectives and the methodology and data sources used, and the limitations of the report. Chapter 2 is a devoted to internal migration in Liberia. The size of the migrant population, the direction of flow and the characteristics, which include analyses on demographic composition, social and economic structure and living conditions. Chapter 3 is focused on immigrants and return migrants. Here, the size of the immigrant population, nationality and duration of stay, as well as demographic and socioeconomic characteristics are analysed. Return migrants and their characteristics are also included in the analysis in this chapter. Chapter 4 is on urbanization. Urban growth over time is discussed with particular emphasis on post-civil war census changes (i.e. 2008 and 2022). The final chapter is on the conclusions from the analysis and some policy implications and recommendations.

2. Internal migration

Internal migration refers to a change of residence within the same country. An internal migrant is a person who moves to a different administrative territory (county) within the same country (United Nations Population Fund [UNFPA])[4]. This kind of migration is often associated with urbanization (i.e. rural-to-urban migration), employment/business opportunities or with the forced movement of people fleeing violent conflict or natural disaster. From the background and context of this study, rural-to-urban movement and conflict-induced movement are the main drivers of internal migration in Liberia. The vast majority of human mobility does not involve the crossing of country borders (Birchall, 2016).

Duration of stay in the place of enumeration is not available to differentiate between recent migrants and lifetime migrants, and this is a limitation of the analysis under this chapter. Therefore, all analysis is in reference to lifetime migrants, that is current residence compared to place of birth.

2.1 Size, sex, county and locality of residence of lifetime migrants

The total population count in the 2022 Population and Housing Census is 5,250,187. For the purposes of internal migration for this report, estimates of the total population used in the analysis exclude immigrants, institutional and floating population. This gives a population of 5,079,091 (Table 1). Out of the total population of 5,079,091, migrants constitute 31.5 per cent (that is, the aggregate migration rate[5]) and the remaining 68.5 per cent being non-migrants. The female migrant population (50.1 per cent) is slightly above the male population (49.9 per cent). The reverse is recorded for the non-migrant population; a sex ratio of 100.9.

The distribution of the migrant population among the counties shows that 1,108,127 lifetime migrants, constituting 69.3 per cent, settle in Montserrado County (Table 1). Margibi County is second with 10.2 per cent of the total migrant population and the least being Lofa County with 0.4 per cent. Reasons for the disparities are explained in subsequent sections.

The distribution of the migrant population among the counties as analysed above, has great influence on the composition of the county populations by migration status. Montserrado has the largest proportion of its population being migrants as three out of every five persons in the county are migrants (Table 1). Margibi is the county with the second largest migrant population (54.7 per cent). Migration has made an important contribution to the population growth of these two counties. All the other counties have less than 23 per cent of the population being migrants, with Lofa (2 per cent), Nimba (4.5 per cent) and Bong (8.0 per cent) having less than 10 per cent.

Disaggregation of the population by sex reveals that males dominate the migrant population in all the counties except Montserrado. Margibi County has almost the same population of male and female migrants, and Maryland also has slightly larger male migrant population. The reasons for such disparity in the sex composition of migrants in most of the counties can be attributed to gender relations, which determine who migrates and for which reason he or she does. As defined by (Bouchoucha, 2012), gender relations are a set of social representations, roles, perceptions, ideologies and behaviours of women and men. They determine the roles of women and men, as well as the opportunities and the constraints specific to each sex which can influence their migration behaviours. Female migration takes place largely to effect family reunion and marriage, while male migration occurs mainly to secure employment or to improve living conditions (Bouchoucha, 2012).

Birchall (2016) assigned reasons for gender disparities in internal migration, which can be used to explain what has been observed in Liberia. First, men may be expected to support the family economically, so may migrate to try and earn money, leaving their families behind. Second, it may be less acceptable in some contexts for women to move or travel on their own. As a result, women may find it more difficult to migrate. And third, rural, isolated and illiterate

4 From "Methodological Guidelines for the Gender Analysis of National Population and Housing Census Data". Technical Division of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), Population and Development Branch

5 The aggregate migration rate counts the number of migrants, however defined, as a share of the overall population. Here, the population used as the denominator is total population excluding non-Liberian population, floating population and institutional population.

women may find it much more difficult to obtain the resources and knowledge needed in order to migrate.

The peculiar case of Montserrado County can be attributed to many reasons, one of them being that Monrovia was a safe haven during the 14-year civil war. While men were being recruited by the warring factions to fight, they allowed their women and children to relocate to safer places like Monrovia where the West African military force, ECOMOG, was based. Most of them did not return to their former place of residence because of the destruction of their buildings and other assets. Some of them also had their husbands killed in the war. Another reason, as observed by UN DESA[6] is that gender inequality can be a powerful factor leading to migration when women have economic, political and social expectations that cannot be realized in their place of origin. And Monrovia, the capital, is the best place to satisfy such expectations.

For the non-migrant population, three counties, namely, Montserrado, Margibi and Lofa, recorded lower male population than female.

6 The World Survey on the Role of Women in Development, presented to the Second Committee of the General Assembly at its fifty-ninth session (A/59/287)

Table 1: Distribution of the population by county, migration status and sex

County	Migrant				Non-migrant				Total population*	% Migrant
	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio		
Bomi	15,480	13,510	28,990	114.6	51,550	50,469	102,019	102.1	131,009	22.1
Bong	19,186	17,325	36,511	110.7	211,198	211,062	422,260	100.1	458,771	8.0
Gbarpolu	12,347	8,700	21,047	141.9	36,630	34,928	71,558	104.9	92,605	22.7
Grand Bassa	20,965	17,835	38,800	117.5	125,850	122,857	248,707	102.4	287,507	13.5
Grand Cape Mount	16,632	13,227	29,859	125.7	75,924	66,611	142,535	114.0	172,394	17.3
Grand Gedeh	17,932	15,066	32,998	119.0	89,388	82,634	172,022	108.2	205,020	16.1
Grand Kru	7,831	5,991	13,822	130.7	47,668	45,354	93,022	105.1	106,844	12.9
Lofa	3,786	3,333	7,119	113.6	175,168	177,151	352,319	98.9	359,438	2.0
Margibi	81,850	81,549	163,399	100.4	67,502	68,080	135,582	99.2	298,981	54.7
Maryland	14,700	14,498	29,198	101.4	69,071	68,702	137,773	100.5	166,971	17.5
Montserrado	538,948	569,779	1,108,727	94.6	354,434	370,117	724,551	95.8	1,833,278	60.5
Nimba	14,495	12,679	27,174	114.3	291,503	291,586	583,089	100.0	610,263	4.5
River Cess	8,977	6,993	15,970	128.4	37,651	35,492	73,143	106.1	89,113	17.9
River Gee	10,002	8,267	18,269	121.0	52,628	48,936	101,564	107.5	119,833	15.2
Sinoe	15,994	12,463	28,457	128.3	60,863	57,744	118,607	105.4	147,064	19.4
Total	799,125	801,215	1,600,340	99.7	1,747,028	1,731,723	3,478,751	100.9	5,079,091	31.5

**Population excludes immigrants, Liberians born outside Liberia, floating population and institutional households*

A striking feature related to migration is the degree to which migrants disproportionately settle in urban areas. Migrants form 46.7 per cent of urban population compared to 13.6 per cent of rural population (Table 2). This indicates that the direction of flow of internal migrants is predominantly to urban settlements.

By locality, the proportion of female migrant (51.2 per cent) is higher in urban areas than in rural areas (46 per cent).

Table 2: Population by migration status, sex and locality

Locality	Sex	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total
Urban	Male	626,414	717,905	1,344,319
	Female	655,952	746,556	1,402,508
	Total	1,282,366	1,464,461	2,746,827
	Sex-ratio	95.5	96.2	95.9
Rural	Male	172,711	1,029,123	1,201,834
	Female	145,263	985,167	1,130,430
	Total	317,974	2,014,290	2,332,264
	Sex-ratio	118.9	104.5	106.3
National	Male	799,125	1,747,028	2,546,153
	Female	801,215	1,731,723	2,532,938
	Total	1,600,340	3,478,751	5,079,091
	Sex-ratio	99.7	100.9	100.5

**Total population excludes immigrants, institutional and floating population*

Table 3 presents the trend in lifetime migration from 2008 to 2022. The migrant population is growing in numbers and proportions. In 2008, the migrant population stood at 753,492 but increased by 112.4 per cent over the 14-year intercensal period compared to the 51 per cent increase in total population. Migrants constituted about a fifth of the total population in 2008 but increased to 30.5 per cent[7] in 2022. There were slightly more male migrants in 2008 than females (sex ratio of 101.4), however, the reverse is the case in 2022 (sex ratio of 99.7).

Montserrado and Margibi Counties maintained their dominant roles of being the counties with the largest migrant population for both periods. The number of migrants more than doubled in Montserrado over the period, and that of Margibi. The proportion of migrants in the total population of the counties increased over the period, except for Bong and Lofa. These two counties have been identified as place of hotspots of conflict and this might account for the small share of the population being migrants.

The war is over so movements from one county to another are mostly not conflict-related. Increase in the share of migrants in the populations of almost all the counties can best be described by what researchers like Schultz (2010) indicated, that internal migration is a major force redistributing the population during development as sectoral composition of the economy and the geographic distribution of employment change.

7 Population includes immigrants, institutional and floating population

The sex composition of the migrant population has not changed over the period, with Montserrado being the only county having more female migrants than men, for the same reasons given earlier.

Table 3: Trend in lifetime migration

County	2008				2022			
	Migrant population	Sex ratio	Total population	% Migrant	Migrant population	Sex ratio	Total population	% Migrant
Bomi	16,921	124.7	84,119	20.1	28,990	114.6	133,705	21.7
Bong	27,101	116.1	333,481	8.1	36,511	110.7	467,561	7.8
Gbarpolu	12,986	164.1	83,388	15.6	21,047	141.9	95,995	21.9
Grand Bassa	27,725	117.5	221,693	12.5	38,800	117.5	293,689	13.2
Grand Cape Mount	16,040	129.0	127,076	12.6	29,859	125.7	178,867	16.7
Grand Gedeh	12,406	125.5	125,258	9.9	32,998	119.0	216,692	15.2
Grand Kru	1,966	152.7	57,913	3.4	13,822	130.7	109,342	12.6
Lofa	9,431	112.7	276,863	3.4	7,119	113.6	367,376	1.9
Margibi	83,334	105.7	209,923	39.7	163,399	100.4	304,946	53.6
Maryland	14,452	110.5	135,938	10.6	29,198	101.4	172,587	16.9
Montserrado	495,790	93.6	1,118,241	44.3	1,108,727	94.6	1,920,965	57.7
Nimba	13,943	118.1	462,026	3.0	27,174	114.3	621,841	4.4
River Cess	8,433	131.1	71,509	11.8	15,970	128.4	90,819	17.6
River Gee	3,632	127.3	66,789	5.4	18,269	121.0	124,653	14.7
Sinoe	9,332	160.7	102,391	9.1	28,457	128.3	151,149	18.8
Total	753,492	101.4	3,476,608	21.7	1,600,340	99.7	5,250,187	30.5

Note: The total population being used here includes all enumerated persons, including immigrants, floating population and institutional households

2.2 Lifetime migration flows

A country's population is distributed through flows and counterflows between its constituent subnational areas, resulting in geographical patterns of net migration gains or losses which may change from one time to another (Stillwell et al., 2000). Understanding the actual numbers involved, and the size of flows, is an important first step in identifying any policy responses to emerging internal migration trends (Australian Government, 2000).

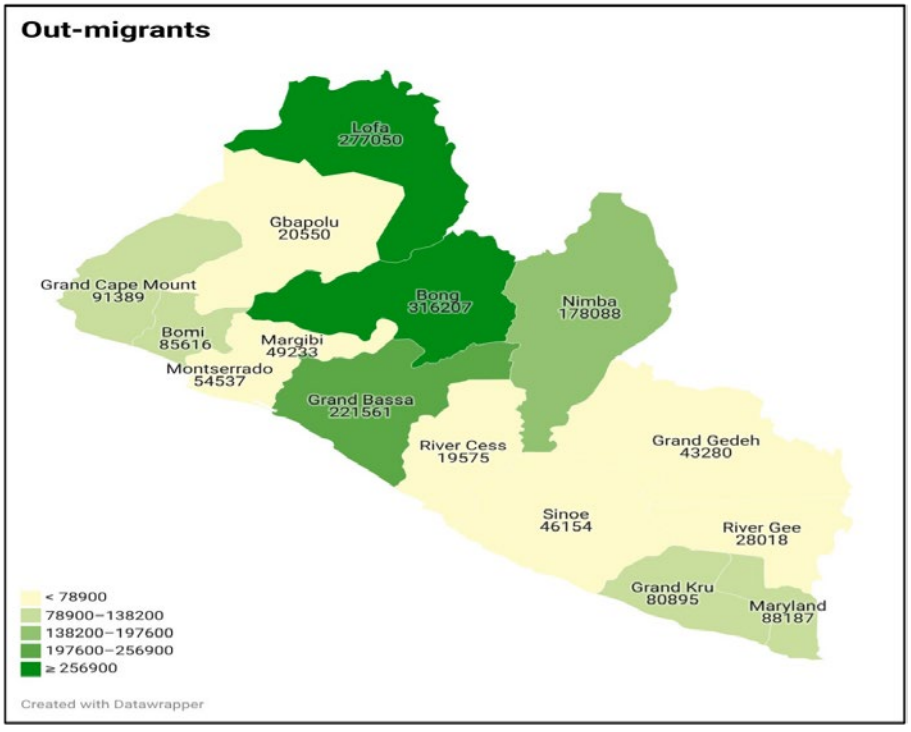
2.2.1 Volumes of in- and out-migration by county

Out-migration refers to the process of people permanently leaving a place in order to live in another place. It is a term used to describe the movement of people from one place to another, especially within a country. Volumes of out-migration flows by county are shown in Figure 1. Bong County has the largest out-migration population (316,207), followed by neighbouring Lofa County (277,050). Following massive conflict-induced displacements (during the 1989–1996 phase of the Liberia civil

war, Gbarnga, the capital of Bong County, was the headquarters of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL]), disputes over land are particularly concentrated in these two neighbouring counties, which were particularly hard hit by the 14-year Liberia civil war (ILO, 2020). Years after the end of the war, recurrent community-level conflicts (sometimes violent) in the two counties have largely metamorphosed into disputes over land boundaries and fairer access to land, and land use and leasing (ILO, 2020). Given that young women and men are excluded from having a fair share of fertile land – the most important resource for sustainable livelihoods – they become economically disadvantaged and migration becomes the alternative.

Bong County is one of the food baskets of Liberia where crops such as cocoa, coffee, rubber and palms are grown in addition to its rice production. The county is also rich in minerals and has the largest iron ore reserves in Liberia and also hosts three alluvial mining sites. Economic recovery since the end of the war in 2003 has been slow despite the abundance of natural resources and infrastructure that had previously made Bong among the most developed counties in Liberia (Reeves and Speare, 2010). The slow economic recovery and recurrent community-level conflicts make it difficult for displaced persons to return. Lack of possibilities for further education and of employment possibilities outside the primary sector may also have explained the out-migration from economically rich counties.

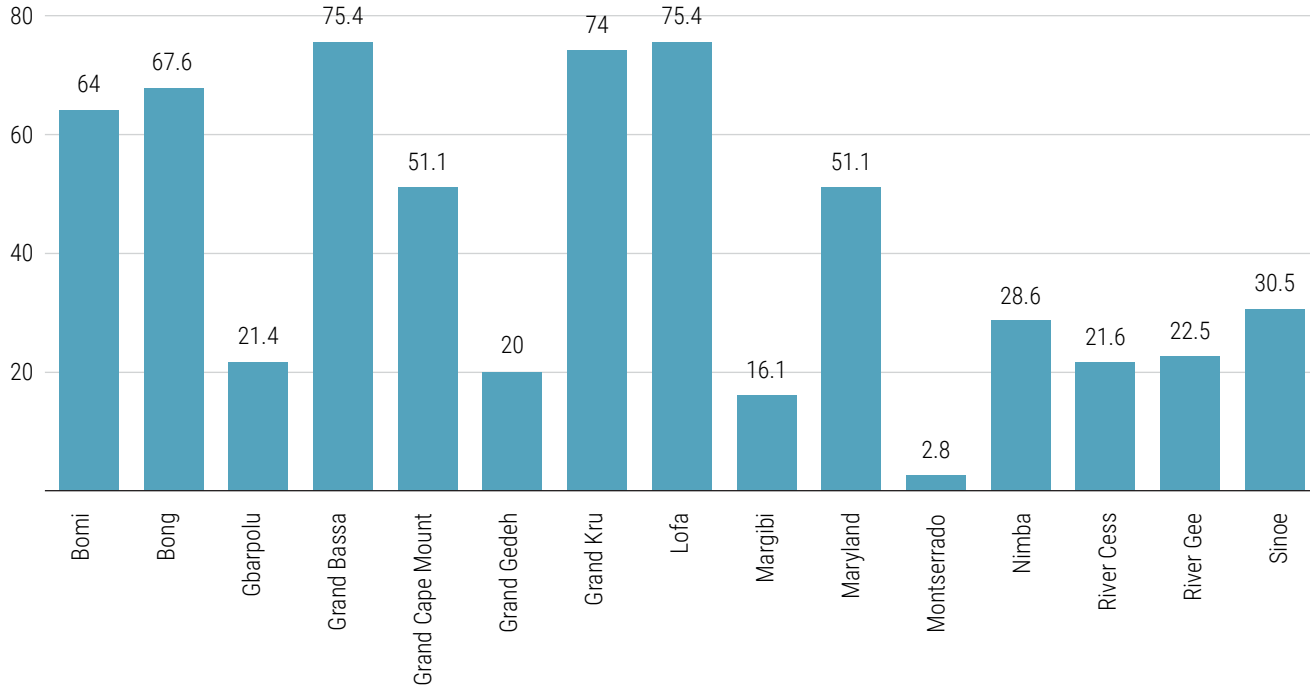
Figure 1: Out-migration flow by county



Grand Bassa and Nimba Counties also show significantly large out-migrant population (Figure 1). Seven counties recorded out-migrant populations below 78,900. With the exception of Montserrado and Margibi, these counties with absolute low numbers of out-migrant population also have relatively low total population.

Figure 2 presents out-migrant population as a proportion of total resident population of the county. Though Bong County recorded the largest volume of out-migrants, it falls behind Grand Bassa (75.4 per cent), Lofa (75.4 per cent), and Grand Kru (74.0 per cent) when out-migrant population is expressed as share of county resident population. Montserrado County (2.8 per cent) has the lowest out-migrant proportion, followed by Margibi (16.1 per cent). Five counties, namely, Grand Gedeh (20.0 per cent), River Cess (21.6 per cent), Gbarpolu (21.9 per cent), River Gee (22.5 per cent) and Nimba (28.6 per cent), recorded out-migrant population shares between 20 and 30 per cent.

Figure 2: Out-migrant population as a share of resident county population



Several reasons are cited for these out-movement from the counties, one of them being the civil war which displaced persons to other counties who never returned after the war. Other reasons are that, in general, most of the counties have some of the highest levels of infrastructural, communication, socioeconomic and livelihood deficits (unemployment and underemployment). There are no post-secondary schools in some of the counties, and many areas lack secondary/high schools. As a result, those who can afford send their children to well-endowed counties, especially Monrovia for schooling. Most of these learners never return to the county of birth to live, leading to depopulation of the county's educated citizens.

In-migration is people moving into or coming to live in a region or community within their own country. It is the destination of out-migrants. Volumes of in-migrant population by county is shown on the map in Figure 3, while the in-migrant population as a share of total resident population of the county is shown in Figure 4.

As shown in Figure 3, Montserrado County is the destination of majority of the migrants (1,108,727). About three-fifths (57.7 per cent) of the resident population are migrants. Margibi County hosts the second largest migrant population, having 53.6 per cent of the resident population as migrants. Lofa County received the least migrant population (1.9 per cent). Less than 10 per cent migrant population is also recorded in Nimba (4.4 per cent) and Bong (7.8 per cent).

Figure 3: In-migration flow by county

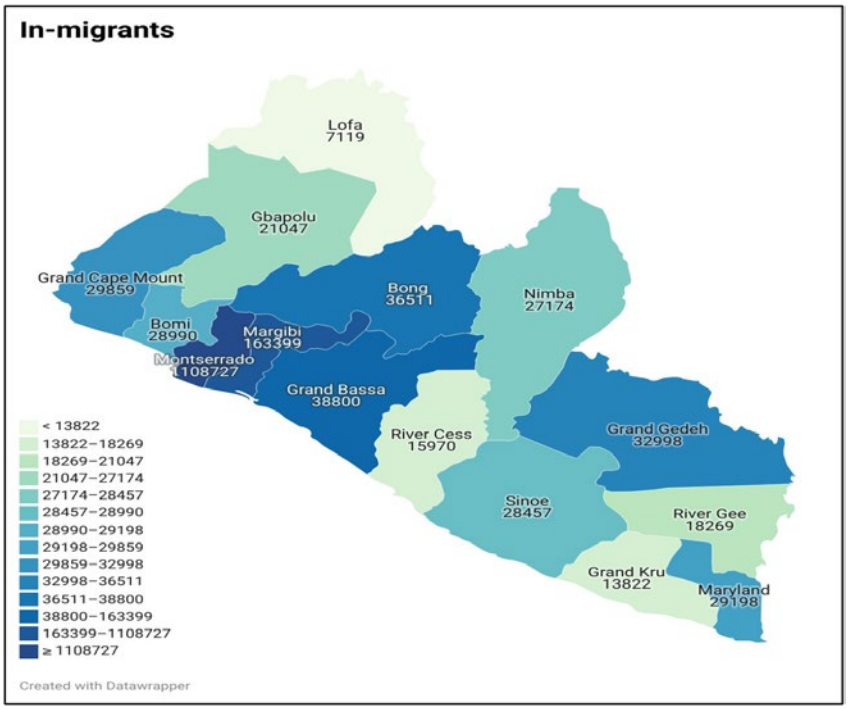
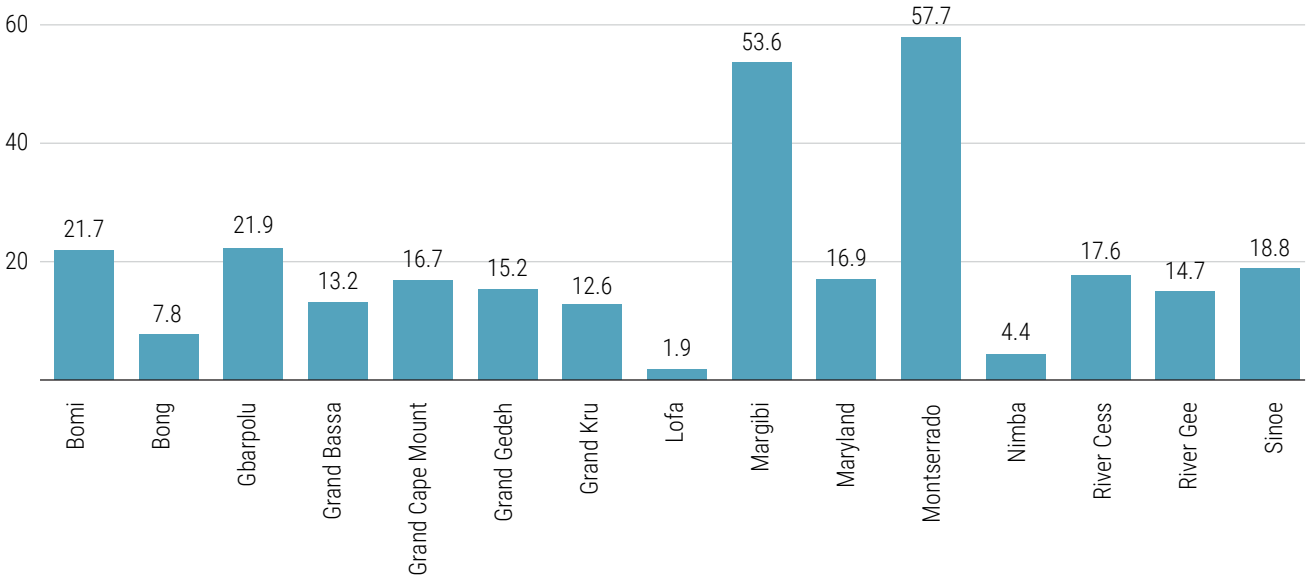


Figure 4: In-migrant population as a share of total county population



Montserrado is home to the capital city of Monrovia. Being the political and economic capital of Liberia, Monrovia is the centre of trade and commerce in the country. The county is the location of 70 per cent of public and private business organizations and their operations[8]. Government ministries and agencies of government operate in Monrovia. The preference of policymakers in the utilization of state resources in favour of urban areas (urban bias) has led to the over-concentration of development priorities on Monrovia creating a surging pull of population from the rest of the country towards Monrovia. The suffering and

8 http://liberiainstituteofpoliticsanddemocracy.org/montserrado-county

abject poverty among the people in the rural areas is attributed to urban bias (Lipton, 1977). Montserrado County hosts the best higher education institutions in the country. Young people who wish to acquire either higher or better education eventually move to Monrovia since the capital has become the centre of education in the country. After completion, most of the graduates do not go back to their counties of birth.

Monrovia also became a safe haven for displaced people running from the civil conflict. During the first half of the 1990s when Monrovia was under the control of the ECOMOG peacekeepers and governed by the various Interim Governments, many people moved from rebel controlled rural Liberia to Monrovia (Ngafuan, 2010).

Margibi County's main attraction for migrants is the presence of the Firestone Natural Rubber Company in the county. Firestone Liberia has been a trusted partner of the people and country of Liberia since 1926. Covering almost 185 square miles (118,400 acres) Firestone is the largest contiguous natural rubber operation in the world[9]. It is the country's largest private employer, and 99.7 per cent of its workforce is Liberians.

Most of Firestone's infrastructure and trees were destroyed during the 14 years of civil war. Since the end of the devastating civil war, the company had invested in excess of $200 million[10] in rebuilding and bringing the farm to where it is today and continuous investment is being made toward the full operational capacity of the company. The resumption of operations after the end of the war in 2003 and rebuilding exercise have generated a lot of job opportunities for the country.

The company operates 24 schools which employs over 250 teachers. It also operates health facilities in its operational area, therefore employing health staff that is mostly migrants.

Kakata, the capital city of Margibi, serves as a transit town at the heart of the historical natural rubber cultivation belt in Liberia. After peace had been restored in 2003, Kakata resumed its dormitory city status as the education centre with several training institutions for young people, including a major teacher training college, Kakata Rural Teacher Training Institute (KRTTI) - which have all been revitalized. Also, Liberia's first centre of excellence in vocational training, The Booker Washington Institute set up in 1929 to train middle level technical graduates in all areas including agriculture has been fully revitalized and made operational with support from the Government of Liberia and several donor partners.

The Liberia Conflict Assessment Report[11] identified Lofa County as a conflict hotspot. This, including other factors like infrastructure and other socioeconomic deficits, are among the reasons for the county's low attraction of migrants.

Increasing opportunities to move for young people are an important driver for development and empowerment[12].

2.2.2 Assessment of net migration rate and migration effectiveness rate of lifetime migrants

In-migration is the inflow of migrants to an area and out-migration is the counterflow from the area. Table 4 presents the in- and out-migration by county. Montserrado County attracted the largest migrant population, constituting 69.3 per cent of the total in-migrant population. Margibi County attracted 10.2 per cent of the migrant population, becoming the second largest after Montserrado. Bong County lost the largest population through migration, accounting for 19.8 per cent of the total out-migrant population. This is followed by Lofa County. Other counties that lost large population through migration are Grand Bassa and Nimba.

9 https://www.firestonenaturalrubber.com/about-us/#
10 Ibid
11 An assessment undertook by USAID and published in November 2022
12 International Dialogue on Migration, No. 29

Table 4: Net migration and migration effectiveness rates by county

County	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net migration	Total population**	Net migration rate (per 1,000)	Migration Effectivess Ratio (MER)
Bomi	28,990	85,616	-56,626	131,009	-432	-49
Bong	36,511	316,207	-279,696	458,771	-610	-79
Gbarpolu	21,047	20,550	497	92,605	5	1
Grand Bassa	38,800	221,561	-182,761	287,507	-636	-70
Grand Cape Mount	29,859	91,389	-61,530	172,394	-357	-51
Grand Gedeh	32,998	43,280	-10,282	205,020	-50	-13
Grand Kru	13,822	80,895	-67,073	106,844	-628	-71
Lofa	7,119	277,050	-269,931	359,438	-751	-95
Margibi	163,399	49,233	114,166	298,981	382	54
Maryland	29,198	88,187	-58,989	166,971	-353	-50
Montserrado	1,108,727	54,537	1,054,190	1,833,278	575	91
Nimba	27,174	178,088	-150,914	610,263	-247	-74
River Cess	15,970	19,575	-3,605	89,113	-40	-10
River Gee	18,269	28,018	-9,749	119,833	-81	-21
Sinoe	28,457	46,154	-17,697	147,064	-120	-24
Total	1,571,883	1,554,186	17,697	5,079,091		

Net migration has a major key role in every country. Net migration is the difference between in-migrant population and out-migrant population of an area. According to Table 4, only three out of the 15 counties recorded positive net migration, namely, Montserrado, Margibi and Gbarpolu. This means, the number of persons moving to these counties from other counties is more than persons moving out of these three counties. An excess of persons entering the county is referred to as net immigration, and an excess of persons leaving the county as net emigration.

Bong and Lofa Counties recorded large numbers of net emigration, implying they attracted significantly less migrants than the population that left these counties. Reasons for this have been explained earlier.

The effect of internal migration in redistributing population between territorial units within a nation are normally measured by net migration balances or rates (Stillwell, et al., 2000). The net migration rate is measured as follows:

$$NMR = \frac{I - O}{p} \times 1{,}000$$

Where,
NMR = Net Migration Rate
I = In-migrant population
O = Out-migrant population

The net migration rate indicates the contribution of migration to the overall level of population change. If a county has a high positive net migration rate, that county is seen as wealthy, developed and open to

opportunities. For instance, the net migration rate of 575 for Montserrado (Table 4) means, for every 1,000 people added to the population of Liberia between the last population census in 2008 and the latest one in 2022, about 575 migrate to Montserrado County. Conversely, for every 1,000 people added to Lofa County's population, 751 migrate out of the county. Lofa County is predominantly rural and agrarian which is a push factor for most people, especially the youth.

Another way of looking at country migration is to assess how effective migration has been in redistributing the population. This method, known as the migration effectiveness ratio (MER), relates net migration (the difference between inflows and outflows in any area) to total migration (the sum of inflows into and outflows from any area), expressed as a percentage. The MER assumes values between -100 and +100. High (negative or positive) values indicate that net migration is an effective mechanism for population redistribution, generating a large net effect for the given volume of movements. Conversely, values closer to zero denote that inter-area flows are more closely balanced, leading to comparatively little redistribution (Stillwell, et al., 2000). Generally, MERs less than 15 are considered to indicate relatively ineffective population redistribution due to migration, and values greater than 15 indicate that migration has a significantly increasing effect in terms of redistributing population in any area (Australian Government, 2000).

Out of the 12 counties with negative net migration, seven recorded MERs of over -70 per cent, indicating very strong negative impact on population redistribution in these counties. Lofa, recorded the highest of -95 per cent (Table 4). Montserrado County recorded the highest positive MER among the three that recorded positive net migration. Three counties recorded MERs less than 15, and they are Gbarpolu, Grand Gedeh and River Cess. These low values of MER are found when migration streams and counter streams are closely balanced, thereby, contributing low to population redistribution through migration.

2.2.3 Composition of total county population by county of birth

Table 5 presents inter-county migration flows by percentages (actual population figures are in Appendix Table A1). Non-migrant population enumerated in each county is coloured green in Table 5. Montserrado County has the least proportion of non-migrant enumerated population, an indication of migration as an important factor in the county's population dynamics. Out of the county's population[13] of 1,833,278 only 39.5 per cent are non-migrants. Two counties stand out when it comes to the composition of Montserrado's population. Persons born in Bong and Lofa Counties form 11.4 and 11.3 per cent respectively of Montserrado's population. Grand Bassa and Nimba Counties follow, by having 8.9 and 7.3 per cent respectively of Montserrado's population born in these two counties. All these counties that have sizeable population as county of birth residing in Montserrado were hardly hit by the civil war. This implies a significant number of them are among the displaced population. Gbarpolu, River Cess and River Gee Counties have less than 1 per cent each of the population in Montserrado County born in these counties.

Margibi County is second after Montserrado in terms of the proportion of migrants (54.7 per cent) in its total population. A little less than one-fifth (18.2 per cent) of Margibi County's population has Bong County as the place of birth (Table 5). This is the largest concentration of one county's population with another county as birthplace. The two counties share a common border and that must have aided the flow of migrants. Grand Bassa (9.9 per cent) and Lofa (8.2 per cent) are the other two counties that have sizeable population born in these counties but enumerated in Margibi at the time of the census.

Migratory flows among the other counties are not so pronounced as observed in Montserrado and Margibi. These two counties attract migrants more than the other counties. There are pull factors that have made these two counties attractive for migration.

13 Population excludes non-Liberians and Liberians born outside Liberia, institutional households and floating population

Table 5: Inter-county migration flows

	COUNTY OF ENUMERATION														
County	**Bomi**	**Bong**	**Gbarpolu**	**Grand Bassa**	**Grand Cape Mount**	**Grand Gedeh**	**Grand Kru**	**Lofa**	**Margibi**	**Mary-land**	**Montse-rrado**	**Nimba**	**River Cess**	**River Gee**	**Sinoe**
Bomi	77.9	0.7	2.3	0.9	3.1	0.6	0.5	0.2	1.8	0.3	3.3	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.9
Bong	4.4	92.0	5.5	5.4	3.2	1.9	0.7	0.6	18.2	0.6	11.4	1.2	2.1	0.9	2.1
Gbarpolu	1.1	0.2	77.3	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Grand Bassa	1.5	1.2	1.2	86.5	1.9	1.3	0.7	0.1	9.9	0.7	8.9	0.6	5.5	0.5	2.3
Grand Cape Mount	3.6	0.3	2.1	0.6	82.7	0.6	0.3	0.1	1.3	0.2	4.0	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.6
Grand Gedeh	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4	83.9	0.7	0.0	0.9	0.6	1.7	0.1	0.3	1.5	1.2
Grand Kru	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.6	1.1	87.1	0.3	0.8	8.1	2.8	0.1	0.3	1.3	2.6
Lofa	4.9	2.5	4.8	1.2	3.3	1.5	0.9	98.0	8.2	0.7	11.3	0.7	0.9	0.7	1.7
Margibi	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	45.3	0.7	2.0	0.2	0.7	0.2	0.4
Maryland	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.4	1.8	3.3	0.1	1.3	82.5	3.4	0.2	0.4	4.8	2.2
Montserrado	3.4	0.7	2.1	1.7	2.4	1.3	1.0	0.3	5.8	1.0	39.5	0.8	3.2	1.2	1.8
Nimba	1.0	1.3	2.6	1.1	1.0	2.2	2.3	0.2	4.9	0.5	7.3	95.5	2.1	1.8	2.0
River Cess	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.8	0.1	82.1	0.2	0.5
River Gee	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	2.0	1.2	0.0	0.2	3.3	0.7	0.0	0.5	84.8	0.9
Sinoe	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.1	0.8	0.0	0.4	0.5	2.0	0.1	1.0	1.2	80.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Population	131,009	458,771	92,605	287,507	172,394	205,020	106,844	359,438	298,981	166,971	1,833,278	610,263	89,113	119,833	147,064

Note: Cells coloured green indicate proportion of non-migrants enumerated in the county
Population excludes non-Liberians and Liberians born outside Liberia, institutional households and floating population

2.3 Demographic and social characteristics of lifetime migrants

2.3.1 Age and sex structure

The age structure of the population by sex and migration status in percentages is shown in Table 6 (actual population figures can be found in Appendix Table A2). The age composition of the migrant population is quite different from that of the non-migrants. The non-migrant population is much younger than the migrant population. For instance, children aged 0-14 constitute 39.4 per cent of the non-migrant population compared to 23.9 per cent of the migrants. Again, while the distribution of the migrant population peaks at 15-34 age bracket, the non-migrant population peaks at 0-24 age bracket. Migrants have a more youthful population (15-34 years) than non-migrants. The proportions are 44.0 and 38.5 per cent for migrants and non-migrants respectively.

Sex ratios have been calculated by 5-year age cohorts to crudely observe migration, especially among the working-age cohorts. The sex ratio of migrants in age groups below 35 years indicate the female population being more than the male counterparts (Table 6). That is, the proportion of migrant females (45.3 per cent) in the youthful age group (15 to 34 years) is higher than their male counterparts (42.7 per cent). The 2022 LPHC did not provide information for reasons for migrating, but studies by Adepoju (2005) revealed a particular and recent phenomenon in the West African subregion's migratory scene, which showed that women migrants are increasingly drawn to the wage labour market (both formal and informal) as a survival strategy to augment meagre family income. As described by Adepoju (2005, p. 2) "Traditional male-dominated short-to-long-distance migratory streams in West Africa are increasingly feminized". This development is a turn-around in traditional sex roles. Education is also one of the reasons for females migrating.

Another possible reason cited by UN DESA[14] is that gender inequality can be a powerful factor leading to migration when women have economic, political and social expectations that cannot be realized in their place of origin.

Table 6: Percentage distribution of the population by age, sex and migration status

Age group	Migrants				Non-migrants			
	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio
0-4	6.1	6.2	6.2	98	12.3	12.7	12.5	101
5-9	7.5	8.2	7.9	91	13.6	13.6	13.6	105
10-14	9.2	10.5	9.8	87	13.5	13.0	13.3	100
15-19	10.8	11.7	11.2	92	12.7	12.8	12.7	97
20-24	11.8	12.6	12.2	93	10.8	11.3	11.0	94
25-29	9.6	10.6	10.1	91	7.2	7.8	7.5	98
30-34	10.5	10.5	10.5	99	7.1	7.4	7.2	95
35-39	8.5	8.0	8.3	105	5.3	5.7	5.5	113
40-44	8.5	6.7	7.6	126	5.4	4.8	5.1	109
45-49	5.0	4.1	4.5	121	3.2	2.9	3.0	116
50-54	4.7	3.7	4.2	124	3.1	2.7	2.9	115

14 The World Survey on the Role of Women in Development, presented to the Second Committee of the General Assembly at its fifty-ninth session (A/59/287)

Age group	Migrants				Non-migrants			
	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio
55-59	2.4	2.1	2.2	117	1.5	1.3	1.4	112
60-64	2.2	1.9	2.1	118	1.6	1.4	1.5	114
65-69	1.3	1.1	1.2	117	0.9	0.8	0.8	102
70-74	0.9	0.9	0.9	104	0.7	0.7	0.7	95
75-79	0.4	0.4	0.4	97	0.3	0.4	0.4	82
80+	0.7	0.8	0.8	82	0.6	0.8	0.7	101
Total population	799,125	801,215	1,600,340		1,747,028	1,731,723	3,478,751	

The pictorial display of the population structure of the migrant population as in Figure 5 is compared to that of the non-migrants shown in Figure 6 (actual population figures are in Appendix Table A2). The pyramid of the migrant population shows a narrow base, indicating a smaller proportion of children below 15 years (23.9 per cent) and a large population between 15 and 34 years (youth bulge). In effect, there is a high concentration of the people in the working-age bracket of the migrant population. The largest cohort is the 20-24 age group for both male (11.8 per cent) and female (12.6 per cent). During the transition to adulthood, they make important choices regarding education, labour force participation, and family formation (Gavonel, 2022). Migration may be seen as a rite of passage for the youth. In situations of restricted resources, young men and women and adolescents may be prioritized by their families for migration (Birchall, 2016).

The reasons for leaving behind their homes are varied: study, work, setting up a business, joining their families, escaping poverty (agriculture being unable to provide gainful employment to the rural masses) or violence. Whatever the reason, migration can bring an opportunity for them to achieve better lives for themselves and their families, and to achieve educational aspirations, and improve skills, perspectives and personal development.

Unlike the migrants, the structure of the non-migrant population as shown by the pyramid (Figure 4) has a broad base and tipping gradually with age. A broad-based pyramid indicates that people in the younger age categories make up a relatively large proportion of the population, and a narrow or pointed top indicates that older people make up a relatively small proportion of the population. However, both pyramids show a youth bulge, and if non-migrant youth cannot find jobs in areas where they reside, there will be the pressure to move out.

Migration, despite the negative narrative, needs to be an integral part of broader efforts to create jobs and improve educational opportunities for young people, which can in turn bring a choice to their lives, rather than a single route of escape.[15] There is an important connection between urban migrants and rural sending communities in the form of the remittances that migrants send home (de Brauw, Mueller, and Lee, 2014).

There is the need to ensure open and inclusive societies, where youth's needs and concerns are heard, which will contribute to a comprehensive understanding of migration, because the effects of a rapid demographic change are caused in part by the movements of young people.

15 International Dialogue On Migration, No. 29

Figure 5: Age-sex pyramid of migrant population

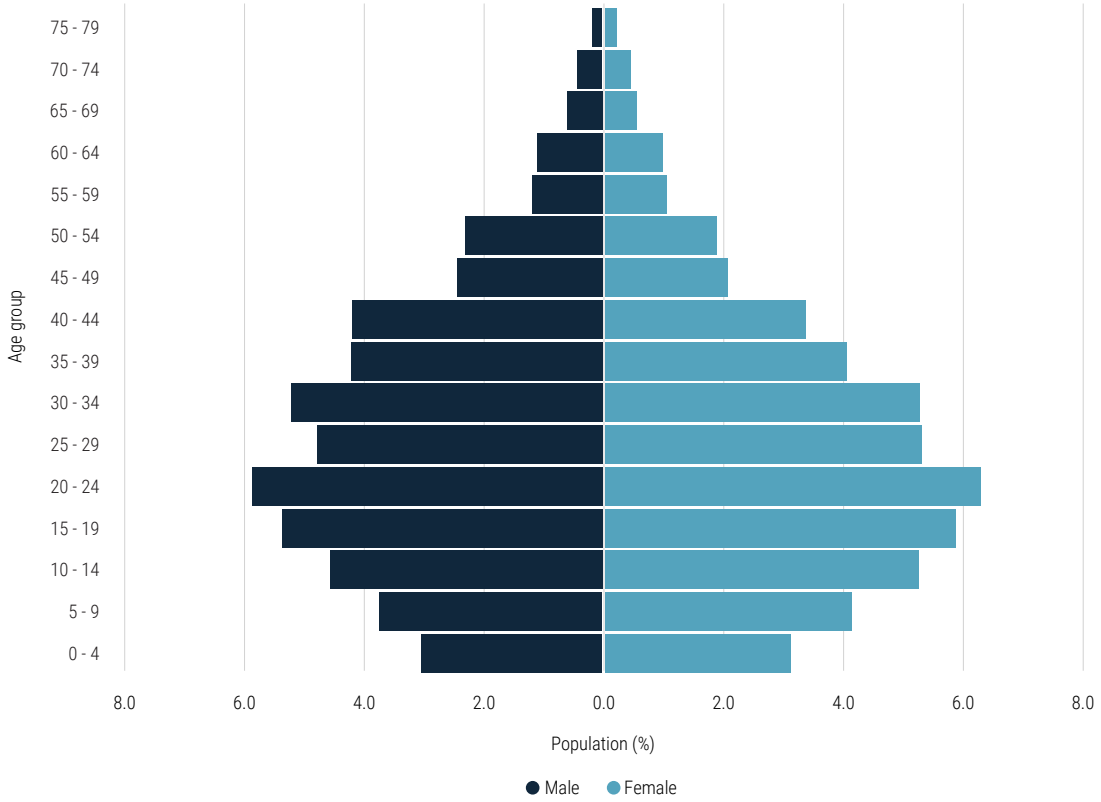
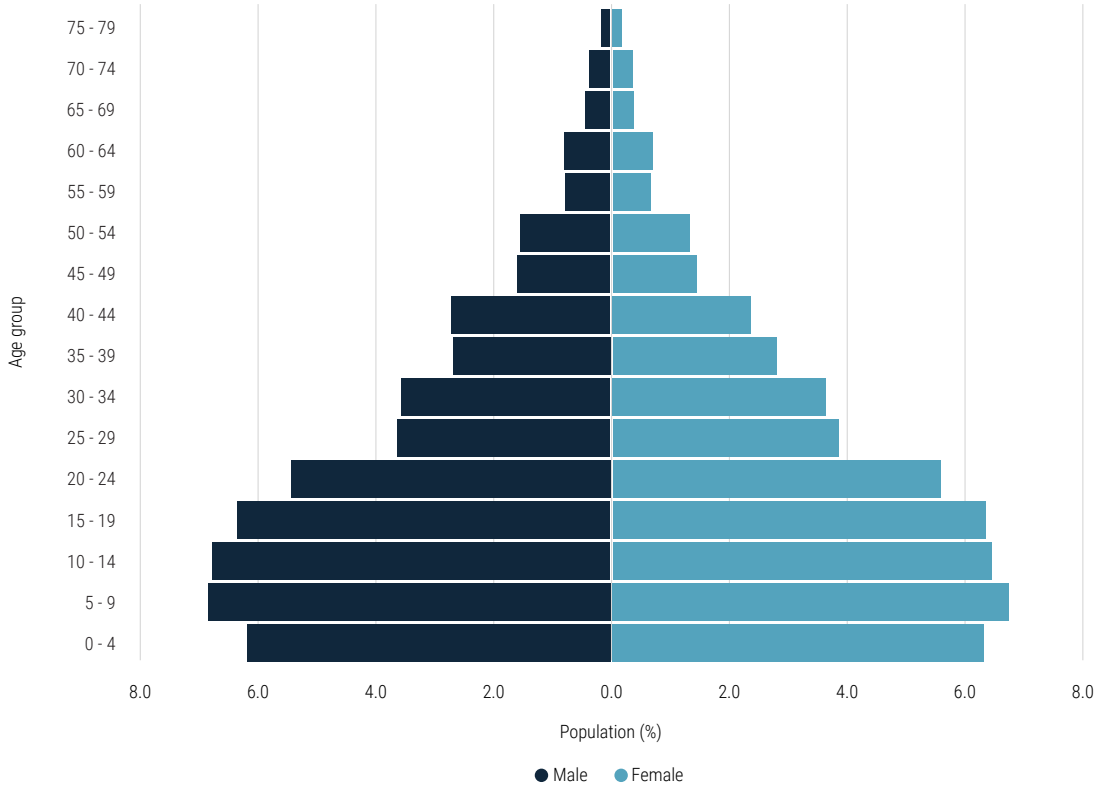


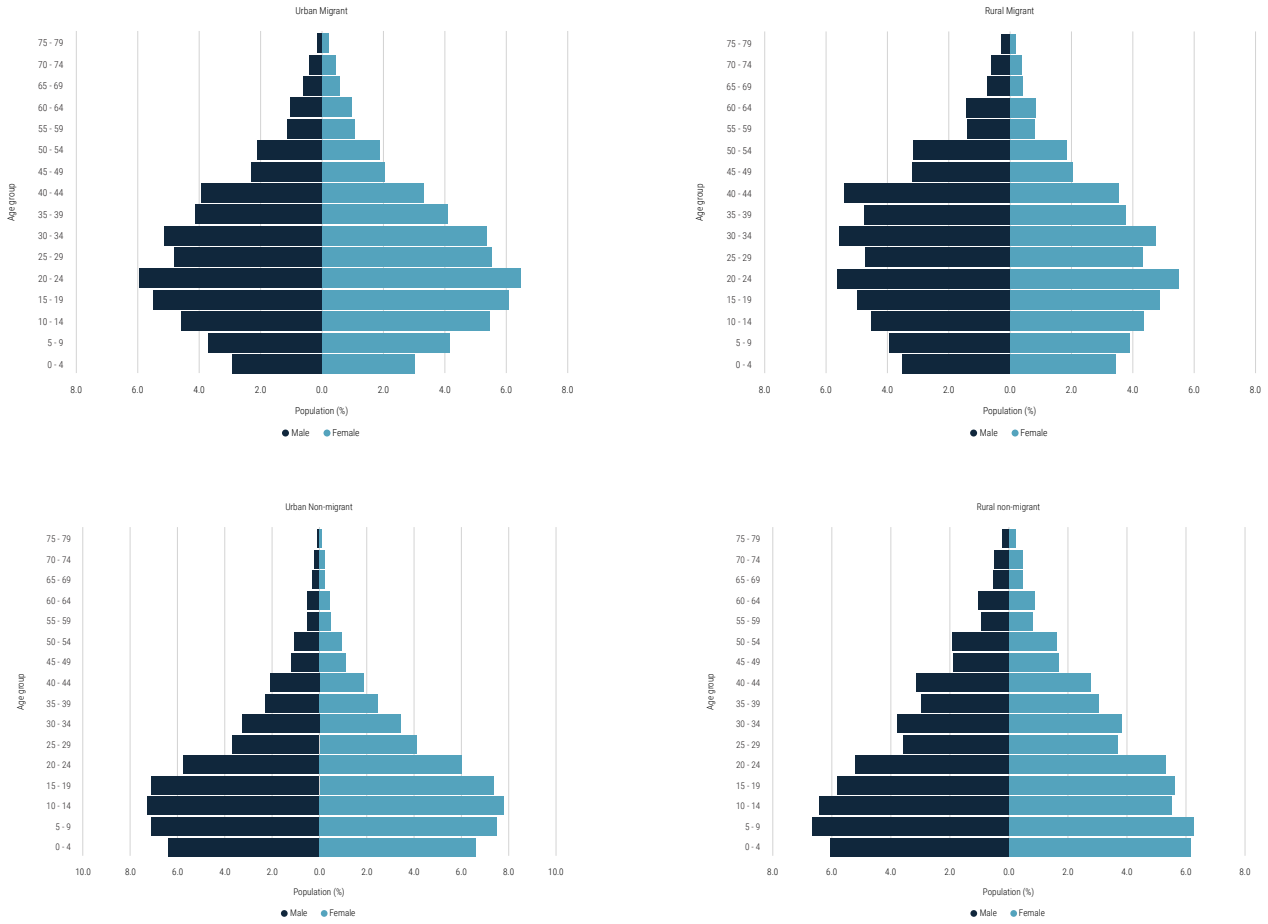
Figure 6: Age-sex pyramid of non-migrant population



The structure of the population by migration status and locality (urban and rural) is shown in Figure 7 (estimates derived from Appendix Tables A3 and A4). The distribution of the population differs by migration status and locality. Though it is called population pyramid, not all population pyramids have a pyramidal shape, and this is observed with the pyramids for the migrant population. The base of the pyramid is broader for the non-migrant population than the migrant population in both locality settings. This means, proportionately, the non-migrant population is composed of more children aged below 15 years than their migrant counterparts. Migration increases the population of the working class in areas they settle. Majority of these migrants are young persons between the ages of 15 to 24 years who are single. And this contributes to the lower proportion of migrant children below 15 years. Others above this age group may also come alone leaving their families at home, and rather remittances sent back home to them.

There is a youth bulge, which is more pronounced with the migrant population. The youth bulge is a common phenomenon in many developing countries, and in particular, in the least developed countries.

Figure 7: Population distribution by migration status and locality



2.3.2 Marital status

Marital status is "the personal status of each individual in relation to the marriage laws or customs of the country" (United Nations, 2008: 159). Analysis in this subsection refers to the current marital status of the population under the study. The official minimum age for marrying in Liberia is 18 years. However, the 2022 LPHC collected information on marital status of the population 12 years and older. For the purposes of this study, the official minimum age of the population is what has been used because of the low proportion of married people recorded below the official age.

Irrespective of migration status, majority of the population aged 18 years and older have never married (Table 7), with the proportion of migrant

female slightly lower. The proportion of migrant males in monogamous marriage is higher than the females but the reverse is true for non-migrants. The proportion of widowed females is markedly higher than males for all migration categories. Consensual marriage is higher among non-migrants than its migrant counterpart.

Sex ratio by marital status of the migrant categories is shown in Table 7. Males outnumber females in the never married category of both migrant groups but more pronounced in the non-migrant population. The number of males in monogamous marriage is more with the migrant population but more females in that marital category is observed in the non-migrant population. Males dominate in polygamous marriage than females in both migrant groups.

Though the number of females in the remaining marital categories is more than males as indicated by the sex ratios, the female dominance is more pronounced in the non-migrant group. Carr (2023) explains why more women are found in the separated, divorced and widowed categories: "men are much more likely to remarry than women".

Table 7: Population 18 years and older by marital status, sex and migration status

Marital status	Migrants				Non-migrants			
	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio
Never married	57.4	55.9	56.7	110.3	56.7	47.3	52.7	160.7
Married monogamous	36.0	34.1	35.1	113.7	35.1	39.5	36.9	119.1
Married polygamous	2.3	2.0	2.2	126.7	2.2	2.1	2.1	138.8
Separated	0.9	1.0	1.0	95.8	1.0	1.9	1.4	67.9
Divorced	0.4	0.5	0.4	83.1	0.4	0.6	0.5	93.8
Widow/widower	0.8	4.1	2.4	21.5	2.4	4.6	3.3	69.8
Consensual Union	2.1	2.4	2.3	95.6	2.3	4.1	3.0	74.4
Population	638,105	593,340	1,231,445		1,231,445	919,235	2,150,680	

Table 8 catalogues the married population (monogamous and polygamous) 18 years and older by migration status and sex ratio. The sex ratios show that females are more likely to be married than males at younger ages for both migrant categories. Conversely, older men are far more likely to be married than older women.

Migrant males delay marriage at the early years than their non-migrant counterparts as revealed by the comparatively lower sex ratios up to 25-29 years. They must find jobs before marrying.

Table 8: Distribution of married population 18 years and older by migration status

Age	Migrant			Non-migrant		
	Male	Female	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Sex ratio
18	354	1,472	24	1,309	4,829	27
19	557	2,298	24	1,992	6,880	29
20-24	8,481	21,286	40	23,827	46,806	51
25-29	18,714	28,783	65	36,499	51,705	71
30-34	34,338	38,520	89	55,145	64,285	86
35-39	37,527	34,271	110	54,468	57,517	95
40-44	44,101	30,536	144	62,245	51,584	121
45-49	28,343	18,962	149	39,964	32,009	125
50-54	27,442	16,036	171	40,145	27,556	146
55-59	14,497	8,052	180	20,272	12,680	160
60-64	13,256	6,336	209	20,599	11,422	180
65-69	7,339	3,032	242	11,064	5,589	198
70-74	5,042	2,039	247	9,242	4,210	220
75-79	2,136	822	260	4,182	1,790	234
80+	2,567	1,463	175	5,619	3,018	186

2.3.3 School attendance by migration status

School attendance is estimated for the population 3 years and older. Some may have attained that status before migrating while some also may have attained the status at their new destination after migration. Therefore, school attendance status being analysed in this section pertains to the status as at the time of the census (i.e. point-in-time estimate).

The total migrant population 3 years and older is 1,548,181 which is almost half of the non-migrant population. As indicated in Table 9 (detailed figures can be found in Appendix Table 5), the proportion of migrants who have never attended school (23.8 per cent) is far less than the proportion of non-migrants (38.0 per cent) in this category. Proportion of females who have never attended school is higher than the male counterparts for all migration groups as indicated by the sex ratios in Table 9.

The proportion of migrants who have completed school is more than twice that of non-migrants for both sexes. It is difficult to know whether migrants moved and acquired education at their new destination or acquired education before moving to their new destination. Two reasons can account for the comparatively high proportion of migrants who have completed some levels of education compared to no migrants. First, after completing school people migrate in search of jobs, and second, migrants often acquire higher education and training in their destination counties, enhancing their skills and qualifications. More males have completed a level of education than females in all migration categories, but the sex ratio is higher for non-migrants.

Dropping out of school is more common with migrants than non-migrants. Proportionately, female dropout is slightly higher than males for migrants but the opposite for non-migrants. Non-migrants have higher proportion of the population currently attending school than migrants.

Table 9: Population 3 years and older by school attendance, sex and migration status

Marital status	Migrants				Non-migrants			
	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio
Never attended	19.0	28.6	23.8	66	33.8	42.2	38.0	81
Completed	33.9	22.7	28.3	149	14.8	9.4	12.1	158
Drop-out	15.8	15.9	15.8	99	13.6	11.5	12.6	120
Currently attending	31.3	32.8	32.0	95	37.8	36.8	37.3	104
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Population	773,120	775,061	1,548,181		1,630,957	1,613,606	3,244,563	

2.3.4 Level of education completed by migrant status

As indicated by Bernard *et. al*. (2018), it is now well-established that internal migrants generally have higher levels of educational attainment than non-migrants, especially over long distances. Researchers like Cattaneo (2007) and Williams (2009) have also examined the educational selectivity of migrants, with results pointing broadly to a positive effect of educational attainment on the likelihood of migration. These research findings are collaborated by the findings in Table 10 on lifetime migration in Liberia.

Current status of education attainment of the population 5 years and older indicates that migrants have higher levels of education compared to non-migrants. While 41.9 per cent of migrants have acquired secondary education and above, only 21.1 per cent of non-migrants have attained that level of education (Table 10). While 8.4 per cent of migrants have tertiary level education, it is 2.3 per cent for non-migrants. The proportion of the population with no education level are found more with the non-migrants. This re-enforces the fact that migrants move in search of jobs that match their qualification after completing school.

Analysis by sex differentials for migrants reveals that females are found more at the lower levels of education attainment whiles men dominate as one moves towards the end of the education spectrum (from secondary school level and above). For instance, almost two males have completed university education compared to one female. For the non-migrant population, it is only the category of population which has not attained any level of education that females are more than males (Table 10).

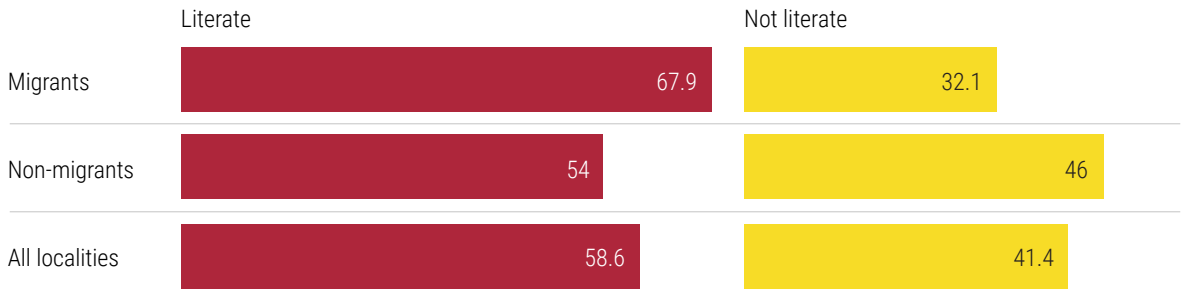
Detailed data can be found in Appendix Table 6.

Table 10: Population 5 years and older by level of education completed, sex and migration status

Level of education	Migrants				Non-migrants			
	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio
None	20.9	30.7	25.8	67.8	36.4	44.8	40.6	82.1
Pre-school	8.4	9.3	8.8	90.0	13.2	13.3	13.2	100.2
Primary	22.6	24.4	23.5	92.2	25.7	24.4	25.0	106.5
Secondary	36.8	29.7	33.3	123.6	21.7	15.9	18.8	137.6
University	10.9	5.6	8.2	194.8	2.9	1.5	2.2	193.2
Other tertiary	0.5	0.3	0.4	158.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	186.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Population	773,120	775,061	1,548,181		1,630,957	1,613,606	3,244,563	

Current literacy status of the population by migrant status is shown in Figure 8 (produced from Appendix Table 7). Literacy follows the same trend as in school attendance and level of education. As shown in Figure 8, migrants are more literate (67.9 per cent) compared to non-migrants (54.0 per cent).

Figure 8: Literacy status of the population 5 years and older by migration status



2.4 Employment characteristics

2.4.1 Economic activity status

Economic activity status being analysed in this subsection is in reference to the current status of the population at the time of the census. The population 5 years and older as estimated in the 2022 LPHC is 4,544,365 (Table 11). Migrant population constitute 33.0 per cent of the total. The total number that are engaged in some form of economic activity is 1,925,374, constituting 42.4 per cent of the population 5 years and older. The proportion of migrant population that worked constitute 48.4 per cent of population 5 years and older and that of the non-migrant population is 39.4 per cent, a confirmation of job-seeking being a major reason for migrating.

Though the female migrant population is slightly above the male, the proportion of males that performed some economic activity is significantly higher than the female counterparts. While close to three out of every five migrant male (57.9 per cent) performed some form of economic activity, it is close to two out of five for the females (38.9 per cent). The sex ratio indicates that for every 149 men that perform an economic activity, the corresponding female number is 100.

For the non-migrant population 5 years and older, the male population is slightly larger than the female. For every 101 males, there are 100 females. The proportion of males that worked is larger than the female counterparts, but lower than the male migrant counterpart. Overall, the proportion of male population that worked, irrespective of the migration status, is larger than the females.

The reason for the lower female economic activity engagement can be explained by the fact that female migrants in general have a lower rate of labour market integration than male migrants (Tastsoglou and Preston, 2005), and many of them do temporary work (Vosko *et.al*, 2009). Also, as more women migrate for family reunification purposes, their migration may come with employment restrictions, leaving them unable to access formal employment or match their previous employment (Birchall, 2016).

Table 11: Population 5 years and older by economic activity and migration status

	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio
Indicator	**Migrant**			
Population	750,294	751,334	1,501,628	99.9
No. that worked	434,695	292,295	726,990	148.7
Proportion (%)	57.9	38.9	48.4	
	Non-migrant			
Population	1,531,767	1,510,969	3,042,936	101.4
No. that worked	657,739	540,645	1,198,384	121.7
Proportion (%)	42.9	35.8	39.4	
	Total country			
Population	2,282,061	2,262,303	4,544,564	100.9
No. that worked	1,092,434	832,940	1,925,374	131.2
Proportion (%)	47.9	36.8	42.4	

Note: Population excludes institutional households, floating population and immigrants

2.4.2 Work activity status

The population 5 years and older who were economically engaged during the census period are classified into three work activity groups: those who worked for salary or wage (salary/wage workers), those who worked in their own business (own-account worker), and those worked for family gain (contributing family worker).

In most countries with available data, migrants are as likely as non-migrants to be own-account workers[16].

These workers often lack formal work arrangements and are less likely to have decent working conditions than employees. The largest proportion of both non-migrants (55 per cent) and migrants (41 per cent) are own-account workers (Figure 9). Half of the total working population are own-account workers.

Migrants have more of the working population as salary/wage workers (29 per cent) than non-migrants (15 per cent). This is expected because the proportion of migrants who have completed secondary and post-secondary education (41.9 per cent) is almost twice

16 In an article written by Andonirina Rakotonarivo titled "Are migrants also successful in the labour market" and posted on the ILOSTAT website on December 18, 2019. Accessed on November 17, 2023 from Are migrants also successful in the labour market? - ILOSTAT

that of non-migrants (21.1 per cent) (Table 11). This confirms the fact that migrants fill labour shortages in specific sectors, such as healthcare, public and private sector skilled jobs, and construction. They adapt to changing market demands. Most residents in the deprived counties where the non-migrant population is large are engaged in agricultural activities, petty businesses and other meaningful trades, but formal employment is nearly non-existent outside of the few governmental and non-governmental organization (NGO) jobs.

The proportion of contributing family workers is the same for both groups.

Figure 9: Population 5 years and older by work activity status and migration status

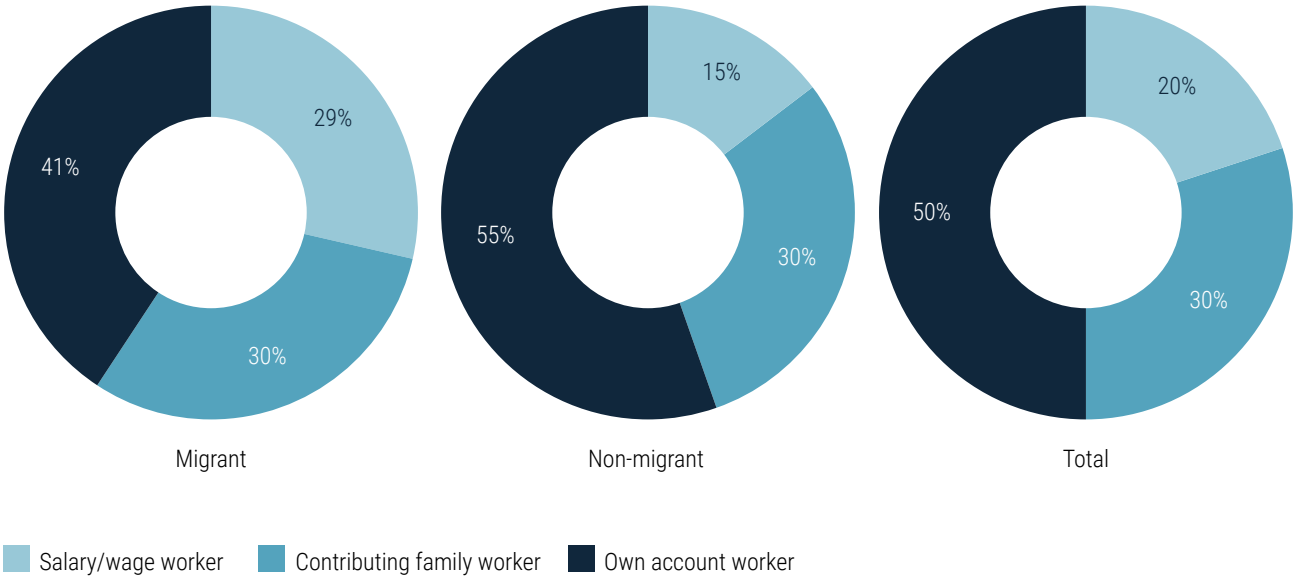


Table 12 presents the disaggregated work activity status by age and sex (refer to Appendix Table A8 for actual population figures). The table refers to only those who performed some economic activity during the reference period. Though migrant population is far lower than non-migrants, the absolute population involved in salary/wage work is larger for migrants than non-migrants for both sexes. The elasticity of substitution in jobs between migrants and non-migrants is very low due to the differences in the educational attainment between the two groups. Male dominance is observed for all ages in both migration groups as shown by the sex ratios. The comparison of the sex differences (sex ratio) by age cohorts shows a more pronounced disparity for the migrants than the non-migrants. This can be explained by the reasons given earlier by Tastsoglou and Preston (2005), Vosko *et.al*, (2009), and Birchall (2016).

Among the migrant males engaged in salary/wage work, the proportions increase with age and peaks at 40-44 age cohort. For the females, the peak is at the 30-34 age cohort. For the non-migrant counterparts, the peak for both males and females is 30-34.

For the own-account category, the gaps between the male and female population are not as wide as recorded for the salary/wage work. The male dominance is not universal across the ages. For the migrant population, the female population is larger for the 25-29 cohort (97 men to 100 women). For the non-migrants, females dominate in the 15-19, 20-24, 25-29 and 35-39 age cohorts. Within the sexes, the proportions engaged in own-account work increases with age and peaks at 30-34 age cohort for both sexes and migration groups.

In the contributing household work category, male dominance is exhibited throughout all age cohorts and migration groups except in the 10-14 age group of the migrants. For this work activity category too, the rising proportions by age peaked at 30-34 age cohort.

Table 12: Distribution of the work status of the population 5 years and older by age and sex

Age group	Salary/wage work						Own account work						Contributing household work					
	Migrant			Non-migrant			Migrant			Non-migrant			Migrant			Non-migrant		
	Male	Female	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Sex ratio
5-9	0.3	0.5	133	0.8	1.4	123	0.5	0.5	101	2.3	2.4	104	0.6	0.8	110	3.3	3.7	103
10-14	0.4	0.7	147	1.2	2.0	124	0.8	0.8	111	3.4	3.2	116	1.2	1.7	99	5.7	5.8	113
15-19	1.6	2.3	180	3.4	4.9	144	2.9	3.0	110	6.7	7.5	98	3.1	3.8	112	8.8	9.9	101
20-24	6.4	8.7	186	8.9	11.7	157	9.2	10.1	102	11.6	12.9	99	8.0	9.9	112	11.8	13.2	102
25-29	10.3	13.5	192	11.3	14.2	165	12.3	14.2	97	11.6	12.9	99	10.9	13.6	111	10.8	12.3	100
30-34	15.5	18.7	209	15.3	17.5	180	16.5	18.1	103	13.7	14.9	102	15.6	17.6	122	12.8	13.8	106
35-39	15.9	16.6	241	14.1	14.9	196	14.5	15.5	106	11.5	12.9	98	14.7	15.3	132	10.8	11.7	105
40-44	16.9	14.4	296	14.9	12.3	251	15.1	13.7	125	12.3	11.3	120	15.6	13.5	160	11.4	10.3	127
45-49	10.5	9.1	291	8.8	7.5	242	9.0	8.4	120	7.7	7.1	119	9.5	8.3	157	7.0	6.3	126
50-54	9.7	7.2	340	8.6	6.2	288	8.2	7.0	131	7.4	6.2	132	8.7	7.0	170	6.9	5.4	145
55-59	5.1	3.8	341	4.7	2.9	335	3.9	3.4	129	3.7	2.9	139	4.5	3.5	178	3.4	2.6	152
60-64	3.9	2.5	395	4.0	2.3	353	3.4	2.5	151	3.6	2.7	147	3.7	2.5	198	3.3	2.3	166
65-69	1.8	1.1	424	1.9	1.0	375	1.7	1.2	161	1.9	1.3	161	1.9	1.2	213	1.7	1.1	177
70-74	0.9	0.4	534	1.1	0.6	395	1.0	0.6	185	1.4	0.9	167	1.0	0.7	209	1.2	0.8	175
75-79	0.9	0.2	484	0.4	0.3	295	0.4	0.2	192	0.6	0.4	179	0.4	0.2	248	0.5	0.3	181
80+	0.4	0.4	258	0.5	0.4	261	0.5	0.5	128	0.7	0.6	142	0.5	0.5	141	0.8	0.6	143
Population	161,107	63,939		119,077	57,733		171,524	152,103		347,141	315,329		137,538	100,106		191,521	167,583	

2.4.3 Working children

The International Labour Organization (ILO) defines "child labour" as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to their physical and mental development[17]. Standard working age is set from 15 to 64 years. So, all persons of ages below 15 years who perform some form of economic activity are regarded as child workers.

Not all work done by children should be classified as child labour, according to the ILO. The organization clarifies that the participation of children below the minimum age for admission to employment in work that does not affect their health and personal development or interfere with their schooling, is generally regarded as being something positive. This includes activities such as assisting in a family business or earning pocket money outside school hours and during school holidays. The ILO further acknowledges that these kinds of activities contribute to children's development and to the welfare of their families; they provide them with skills and experience, and help to prepare them to be productive members of society during their adult life. However, data on the type of work performed by the child is not available from the 2022 LPHC to enable analysis on whether the work performed constitutes child labour.

According to the 2022 LPHC, the population aged 5 to 14 is 1,247,226, lifetime migrants constituting 25 per cent and the remaining being non-migrants (Table 13). As indicated earlier, migrants have smaller proportion of their population below 15 years compared to non-migrants. The proportion of the population aged 5 to 14 who performed some form of economic activity is shown in Table 13. The proportion of working children in the country is low (6.9 per cent), and the majority (87.1 per cent) are non-migrants. The proportion of the non-migrant population 5 to 14 years who were engaged in economic activity is more than two times the proportion of the migrant population.

There are more females than males in the migrant population of the age group under discussion, with a sex ratio of 90.2 males to 100 females. However, there are more males that performed some form of economic activity than females (110 males to 100 females). Also, among the male population, 3.9 per cent did some work compared to 3.3 per cent by the females.

For the non-migrant population, males outnumber females in a ratio of 103 males to 100 females. The proportion of males that performed some form of economic activity is more than that of the females in a ratio 110.7 to 100. Within the sexes, a higher proportion of males (8.3 per cent) performed some economic activity compared to 7.7 per cent of the females.

Development partners and NGOs have partnered with the Government to develop measures to promote girl child education by eliminating problems that lead to deprivation of girl child education, including factors affecting female participation in education, factors leading to dropout of girls from schools, child labour, child abuse and child marriage. For example, Learning Squared[18], an NGO, supports vulnerable and underserved girls in many counties in Liberia by providing partial and complete tuition fees, learning materials, after-school programmes and backpacks for girls aged 8-18 years to overcome some challenges on a need and merit basis. All these measures to keep the girl child in school have contributed to lower participation in economic activities compared to the boys. Another reason identified by UNESCO (2015) is that many male children participate in labour activities, such as working on their family's land, which their family may depend on for survival.

17 Downloaded from What is child labour (IPEC) (ilo.org)
18 In a post titled "Support to Rural Girls Education in Liberia". Downloaded from Support to Rural Girls Education in Liberia - GlobalGiving

Table 13: Population aged 5 to 14 years by economic activity and migration status

	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio
Migrant				
Population	147,958	164,028	311,986	90.2
No. that worked	5,827	5,296	11,123	110.0
Proportion (%)	3.9	3.2	3.6	
Non-migrant				
Population	474,455	460,785	935,240	103.0
No. that worked	39,374	35,566	74,940	110.7
Proportion (%)	8.3	7.7	8.0	
Total country				
Population	622,413	624,813	1,247,226	99.6
No. that worked	45,201	40,862	86,063	110.6
Proportion (%)	7.3	6.5	6.9	

Figure 10: Population 5 to 14 years by work activity and migration status

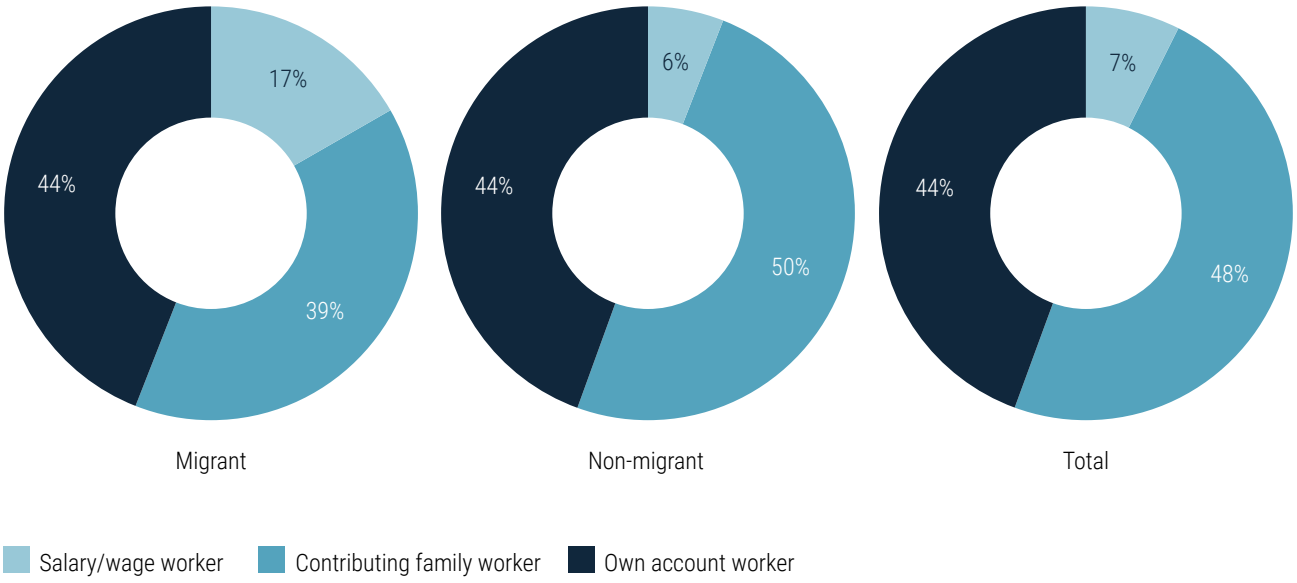


Figure 10 is a presentation of the work activity status of children 5 to 14 years (Refer to Appendix Table A8 for details). Half of non-migrant working children are own-account workers compared to 39 per cent of migrants. Working for salary/wage is found more with migrant children. The proportion of contributing family workers is the same (44 per cent) for both migration groups.

2.4.4 Households with members in agriculture

Agriculture is very important to the Liberian economy. According to the National Investment Commission (2023), the sector contributes 25–35 per cent to Liberia's gross domestic product and provides livelihood for over 75 per cent of the population. The information in Table 14 refers to households who have at least one member involved in agriculture.

The proportion of non-migrant households who have members in agriculture is significantly larger than migrant households for all types of farming. It is only backyard gardening, coconut production and poultry farming that a little over 20 per cent of migrant households have members engaged in. Agriculture is mainly practised in the rural areas and only 13.6 per cent of the rural population is migrants. It is therefore not out of place to have small proportion of migrant households with members engaged in agriculture.

Food crop farming is the agriculture activity that majority of migrant households are engaged in. Cassava, vegetables, rice and plantain are the four leading food crops. Among the tree crops, rubber is the one that the largest number of migrant households is engage in (10,269), followed by cocoa, palm oil and coffee.

Migrants in urban settlements dominate their rural counterparts in the production of coconut (60.6 per cent), coffee (60.4 per cent), poultry (56.7 per cent), backyard gardening (55.2 per cent), oil palm (53.6 per cent), livestock (52.3 per cent) and sugarcane (50.8 per cent). It should be noted, however, that the urban migrant population is larger than the rural migrant population. It is likely most of these urban household members involved in agriculture are absentee farmers. The term absentee farming is associated with investing money in any form of farming without being physically present or actively involved in the day-to-day operations of the farm. Some might have established the farms before migrating, while others relish the opportunity to engage in some form of agriculture venture with the idea of creating additional income streams from agriculture as a side job.

Rice is the food crop that has the largest non-migrant household (234,646) involvement in its cultivation. This is followed by cassava, vegetables and plantain. For the tree crops, cocoa has the largest number of household members engaged in its operation, followed by rubber, coffee and coconut.

Unlike the urban migrants, urban non-migrants have small proportion of household members engaged in agriculture for all types of farming.

Table 14: Household engagement in agriculture activities by type of farming, migration status and locality

Type of farming	Migrant				Non-migrant				Total	% Migrant	% Non-migrant
	Urban	Rural	Total	% Urban	Urban	Rural	Total	% Urban			
Coffee	3,639	2,381	6,020	60.4	6,319	35,497	41,816	15.1	47,836	13.2	87.4
Rice	9,625	18,764	28,389	33.9	29,104	205,542	234,646	12.4	263,035	11.1	89.2
Cassava	16,115	24,407	40,522	39.8	29,334	180,341	209,675	14.0	250,197	16.2	83.8
Plantain	8,718	11,242	19,960	43.7	13,954	99,427	113,381	12.3	133,341	15.0	85.0
Rubber	4,420	5,849	10,269	43.0	7,642	60,760	68,402	11.2	78,671	13.1	86.9
Oil palm	4,154	3,601	7,755	53.6	9,179	51,160	60,339	15.2	68,094	11.4	88.6
Cocoa	4,187	4,461	8,648	48.4	11,420	72,040	83,460	13.7	92,108	9.4	90.6
Coconut	2,475	1,609	4,084	60.6	2,073	11,095	13,168	15.7	17,252	23.7	76.3
Sugarcane	5,310	5,136	10,446	50.8	7,502	45,097	52,599	14.3	63,045	16.6	83.4
Vegetables	13,126	15,883	29,009	45.2	20,568	101,285	121,853	16.9	150,862	19.2	80.8
Backyard garden	21,893	17,741	39,634	55.2	27,204	95,562	122,766	22.2	162,400	24.4	75.6
Banana	5,546	7,688	13,234	41.9	9,503	67,036	76,539	12.4	89,773	14.7	85.3
Peanuts	3,032	3,097	6,129	49.5	5,775	34,604	40,379	14.3	46,508	13.2	86.8
Livestock	3,422	3,123	6,545	52.3	5,011	25,963	30,974	16.2	37,519	17.4	82.6
Poultry	2,409	1,840	4,249	56.7	2,699	11,987	14,686	18.4	18,935	22.4	77.6
Aquaculture	3,535	5,172	8,707	40.6	5,728	40,167	45,895	12.5	54,602	15.9	84.1

2.5 Living conditions of internal migrant households

Living conditions are the circumstances or factors affecting the way in which people live, particularly with regard to their well-being[19]. This is also closely related to the degree to which an individual is healthy, comfortable and able to participate in or enjoy life events. In this section, the report explores the differences in the living conditions of migrant households with regards to the type of residence, provision of services for safe disposal of human excreta, provision of clean potable water among others. Also included is the ownership of household assets.

Analysis is at the household level and the descriptions relate to the migrant status of the head of household. Some members of the household may be living in conditions different from that of the head of household, but the census data cannot capture this dimension.

Total number of households in the country is 1,187,514. Migrant households constitute 41.0 per cent of total households, though migrant population is 30.5 per cent of the total population of the country. This means migrants have smaller average household sizes than non-migrants.

2.5.1 Type of dwelling and tenure

According to UN HABITAT, a housing unit is a separate and independent place of abode intended for habitation by a single household or one not intended for habitation but occupied as living quarters by a household. Thus, it may be an occupied or vacant dwelling, an occupied non-conventional housing unit or any other place occupied as living quarters by a household.

Housing ownership/tenancy of household heads, disaggregated by migration status, sex and locality of residence is presented in Table 15 (Actual population counts can be found in Appendix Table A9). Total number of urban migrant households is more than that of the non-migrant counterparts in the proportions of 60.2 per cent and 39.8 per cent respectively. The proportion of households headed by males is larger than that of females. For the urban migrant households, 62.2 per cent are headed by males, while it is 57.7 per cent for non-migrant households. In the rural localities, households headed by migrants constitute only 18.4 per cent. Like the urban counterparts, household headship is dominated by males: 72.5 per cent for migrants and 67.0 per cent for non-migrants.

The pattern in housing ownership/tenancy is the same for both urban migration groups, with the largest proportion of household heads living in rented dwellings, followed dwellings constructed by households themselves, then inherited, and purchased. However, there are differences in the proportions between the two migration categories. The proportion of migrants in rented dwellings is higher than that of non-migrants, and so is purchased dwelling. This is normal because if even a migrant can purchase or construct a house to live in, he or she should live in a rented house first or other tenancy types like squatting. However, the disparities in the proportions are not wide. Non-migrant urban households, on the other hand, have higher proportions living in own-constructed and inherited dwellings than their migrant counterparts.

The proportion of urban female-headed households in rented dwellings in higher than their male counterparts for both urban migrant categories (49.9 per cent against 44.9 per cent for migrants, and 44.1 per cent against 39.1 per cent for non-migrants). The differences between the proportions for the sexes are not much for both migrant groups.

The rural setting paints quite a different picture from what is observed in the urban localities. Own-constructed dwelling is the type used by the majority of households in both migration groups, but the proportion is significantly higher for the non-migrant households (49.5 per cent) compared to migrant households (37.9 per cent). The quality of own-constructed dwellings is not known, but it is a fact that constructing a house in a rural area is not as difficult as in the urban areas. Many buildings in rural areas are built with mud and sand, making it cheaper to build. Rented dwelling is second for migrant households (16.8 per cent), but it is patronized by just 5.9 per cent of non-migrant households. For non-migrant households, inherited property is the second largest (30.4 per cent) dwelling unit, compared to 15.9 per cent for non-migrants. The proportion of rural migrants in private company-provided accommodation (9.9 per cent) is significantly higher than non-migrants (1.1 per cent). This is expected because companies usually provide accommodation for their migrant staff as part of the package to attract them.

Disparities between proportions for the sexes are not pronounced for both migration categories.

19 Eurofound.europa.eu

Table 15: Ownership/tenancy of households by migration status, sex and locality of residence

Ownership/ tenancy type	Urban households						Rural households					
	Migrant			Non-migrant			Migrant			Non-migrant		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Purchased	6.3	6.0	6.2	4.6	4.7	4.6	4.7	5.3	4.9	3.1	3.1	3.1
Constructed	29.9	27.1	28.8	32.2	28.7	30.7	38.4	36.7	37.9	51.1	46.1	49.5
Inherited	10.1	10.2	10.1	16.6	16.2	16.4	15.2	17.9	15.9	29.6	32.0	30.4
Mortgaged/ NHA	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
Rented	44.9	49.9	46.8	39.1	44.1	41.2	15.8	19.6	16.8	5.4	7.0	5.9
Govemment (Provided)	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	1.1	0.9	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.3
Private Company (Provided)	1.2	0.5	1.0	0.9	0.5	0.7	11.3	6.3	9.9	1.2	0.8	1.1
Private Individual (Provided)	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.1	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.3	3.1
Squatter	3.2	2.5	2.9	2.4	1.9	2.2	6.8	6.6	6.7	3.7	4.2	3.8
Gifted	0.8	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.1	3.1	3.1	2.2	2.8	2.4
Other	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Total no. of households	230,711	140,277	370,988	141,476	103,672	245,148	69,819	26,418	96,237	285,563	140,660	426,223

2.5.2 Main source of drinking water

Indicator 6.1.1 of SDG 6 is "Proportion of population using safely managed drinking water services". The WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme (JMP) for Water Supply and Sanitation defines improved drinking water source as "a type of water source that, by nature of its construction or through active intervention, is likely to be protected from outside contamination, in particular from contamination with faecal matter". Improved drinking water sources, according to JMP, include piped water into dwelling, plot or yard, public tap/standpipe, tube well/borehole, protected dug well and protected spring. On the other hand, unimproved drinking water sources are unprotected dug well, unprotected spring, cart with small tank/drum, tanker truck, surface water (river, dam, lake, pond, stream, canal, irrigation channel and any other surface water), and bottled water (if it is not accompanied by another improved source).

The proportion of households who use improved source of drinking water differs by migration status. As indicated in Table 16 (refer to Appendix Table A10 for actual population figures), 73.2 per cent of migrant households use improved source of drinking water compared to non-migrant households (67.7 per cent). More migrant households use water piped into their dwellings than non-migrants. Conversely, more non-migrant households use pipe water pumped outdoors than migrant households.

For the unimproved water sources, there is not much variation between migrant status in the use of open well, but marked variation is seen in the use of rivers/lakes/springs/creeks (Table 16).

By locality of residence, the proportion of non-migrants that use improved source of drinking water (79.1 per cent) is higher than migrants (75.3 per cent). The reason may be that some migrants live in slums where access to potable water is a problem. For the rural population, however, the proportion of migrants having access to improved sources of water is larger than their non-migrant counterparts.

Table 16: Main source of drinking water for households by migration status and locality of residence

Main source of drinking water	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant
Improved source	75.3	79.1	65.1	59.4	73.2	67.7
Pipe or Pump indoors	8.9	5.9	7.2	3.6	8.6	4.6
Pipe or Pump out doors	45.6	52.6	46.3	47.8	45.8	49.8
Public Taps	3.5	3.7	3.1	3.0	3.4	3.3
Closed Well/ Protected	16.3	16.2	8.3	5.0	14.6	9.7
Bottled water	0.8	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.6	0.3
Sachet water	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
Unimproved source	24.7	20.9	34.9	40.6	26.8	32.3
Open Well	14.8	12.8	11.4	11.6	14.1	12.1
River/lake/ spring/creek	0.3	0.6	22.3	28.2	4.9	16.6
Water Vendors	1.4	0.9	0.2	0.1	1.1	0.4
Rain water	8.2	6.5	0.6	0.3	6.6	2.9

Main source of drinking water	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant
Other	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.3
Population	**1,281,676**	**1,449,225**	**335,384**	**1,999,525**	**1,617,060**	**3,448,750**

2.5.3 Source of lighting

Light is important for visual performance and safety, and also plays a vital role in regulating human physiological functions (Osibona, et al., 2021). SDG 7 makes it clear that countries should provide affordable access to energy and also expand the use of renewable resources. The type and source of lighting therefore plays an important part in achieving this goal.

A little more than half (50.7 per cent) of migrant households use electricity for lighting compared to 19.7 per cent by non-migrant households (Table 17). Liberia Electricity Corporation (LEC) provides the bulk of the electricity. The second electricity source is the generator, an expensive way of producing electricity for the household and it is usually used by the rich. The low percentage of non-migrant households using electricity, is it a problem of affordability or non-availability? Refer to Appendix Table A11 for details.

For the non-migrant households, Chinese/battery light is the dominant source of lighting (64.1 per cent). It is also an important source of lighting for migrant households who do not use electricity. Solar (a renewable energy) as a source of lighting is poorly patronized, but it is used more by non-migrant households (Table 17).

For urban migrants, 60.4 per cent use electricity compared to 42.4 per cent of non-migrants. Chinese/battery light is the source of lighting for largest proportion of urban non-migrants, while it is the second for the migrants. Electricity as a source of lighting is very low in rural localities, with the proportion of migrants (13.6 per cent) who use this source significantly larger than non-migrants (3.3 per cent). Chinese/battery light is the source for the rural majority, irrespective of migration status.

Table 17: Source of lighting of households by migration status and locality of residence

Main source of lighting	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant
Electricity (own generator)	4.9	2.8	5.3	1.2	5.0	1.9
Electricity (LEC)	51.3	35.9	4.9	1.3	41.7	15.8
Electricity (West Africa)	0.4	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.4
Electricity (Community)	3.8	3.0	2.9	0.6	3.6	1.6
Kerosine	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3
Candle	1.5	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.4
Palm oil lamp (chako lantem)	0.2	0.3	1.4	3.3	0.4	2.0

Main source of lighting	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant
Wood	0.3	0.8	5.5	6.8	1.4	4.3
Solar panel	2.9	5.9	8.9	9.1	4.2	7.7
Chinese/ battery light	33.9	48.7	68.4	75.4	41.1	64.1
Other	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.4
Population	**1,281,676**	**1,449,225**	**335,384**	**1,999,525**	**1,617,060**	**3,448,750**

Access to electricity is necessary for almost all small-scale economic activities. It is particularly important in facilitating the higher-value economic opportunities that can significantly contribute to employment creation, entrepreneurial opportunities and household income (PARI, 2022). In rural areas, access to energy generates more and better livelihoods in small-scale agriculture and agro-processing. With low access to electricity in these areas, the opportunities for job creation-using electricity as input is missed. So, moving to urban areas in search of jobs is indirectly linked with lack of electricity as input for small-scale rural enterprises.

2.5.4 Source of cooking fuel

WHO divides cooking fuels into two categories: non-solid fuels, which include, electricity, liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), natural gas, biogas and kerosene; Solid fuels, which include: coal, charcoal, wood, dung, and crop waste (or other agricultural waste, shrubs and straws). According to WHO, the use of solid fuels in households is associated with increased mortality from pneumonia and other acute lower respiratory diseases among children, as well as increased mortality from chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and lung cancer (where coal is used) among adults. Clean fuels such as LPG and biogas produce fewer pollutants than solid fuels and are less harmful to human health.

From Table 18 (refer to actual data in Appendix Table 11), it is seen that the use of solid fuels for cooking is the choice of 95.6 per cent of migrant households and 98.5 per cent of non-migrant households. Charcoal as a source of cooking fuel is patronized by 77.2 per cent of migrant households, while majority (61.7 per cent) of non-migrant households use wood. Cooking gas (LPG), a clean source of cooking fuel is used by few households but higher among migrant households.

Charcoal is used by almost nine out of every 10 urban migrant households, compared to 76.6 per cent of non-migrants. For rural households, firewood is the main source of cooking fuel for the majority, with the non-migrant proportion (91.3 per cent) markedly higher than migrants (65.5 per cent).

Table 18: Main source of cooking fuel by migration status and locality of residence

Main source of lighting	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant
Electricity	2.6	1.2	0.8	0.3	2.2	0.7
Cooking Gas	1.5	0.8	0.5	0.1	1.3	0.4
Kerosine	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2
Charcoal	88.9	76.6	32.7	8.1	77.2	36.8
Wood	6.0	20.8	65.5	91.3	18.4	61.7
Other	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.2
Population	**1,281,676**	**1,449,225**	**335,384**	**1,999,525**	**1,617,060**	**3,448,750**

Apart from the negative impact on people's health, using wood as a source of fuel accelerates deforestation and poses a threat to biodiversity. Forests provide valuable habitats for plants and animals that help humans survive, such as food sources. Looking at its wide patronage, it is important to use wood fuels in a sustainable and efficient manner to minimize the negative impacts on the environment and human health.

2.5.5 Human waste disposal

According to WHO, improved sanitation facilities are defined as those that hygienically separate human waste from human contact[20]. Improved sanitation facilities include: Flush or pour-flush to piped sewer system, septic tank or pit latrine, Ventilated improved pit latrine, Pit latrine with slab and Composting toilet. Unimproved sanitation include Flush or pour-flush to elsewhere, Pit latrine without slab or open pit, Bucket, hanging toilet or hanging latrine and no facilities or bush or field (open defecation). Improper disposal can lead to adverse health outcomes, for example through water, soil and air contamination.

There is significant difference between the proportion of households headed by migrants who use improved human waste disposal facilities (74.1 per cent) and their non-migrant (50.2 per cent) counterparts (Table 19). Very disturbing is the proportion of non-migrant households that practise open defecation (39.6 per cent). The practice is much lower with migrant households (16.7 per cent).

Irrespective of the locality of residence, households headed by migrants use flush toilets more than the non-migrants. However, flush toilet (either used exclusively by household or shared) is used by majority of urban households irrespective of migration status of the head of household. Majority of rural households use open defecation.

Refer to Appendix Table A12 for actual data.

20 Cited from Improved sanitation facilities and drinking-water sources (who.int)

Table 19: Main type of human waste disposal system use by household by migration status

Type of facility	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant
Flush toilet for household use only	43.0	33.5	15.5	6.0	37.3	17.6
Flush toilet shared with other households	24.4	23.0	11.0	8.5	21.6	14.6
Covered pit latrine outside building	15.9	23.6	12.5	14.0	15.2	18.0
Open pit latrine	8.8	9.7	9.3	10.4	8.9	10.1
Bush	4.9	7.6	49.9	59.0	14.2	37.4
Beach/ Riverside	2.7	2.3	1.8	2.1	2.5	2.2
Other	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1
Population	1,281,676	1,449,225	335,384	1,999,525	1,617,060	3,448,750

Ending open defecation is an indicator being used to measure progress towards SDG 6. The health risks most researched in context of open defecation are those associated with human excrement linked infectious diseases. Infected human excreta contain several harmful organisms that are associated with a number of health problems such as diarrhoea and soil-transmitted infections.

2.5.6 Access to health facility

The percentage of households within less than 20 minutes walking distance of the nearest health facility is much higher for migrants (47 per cent) than non-migrants (31.9 per cent) (Table 20). The same can be said of the proportion within 20 to 39 minutes walking distance. Almost two-fifths of non-migrant households are one-hour or over walking distance of the nearest health facility. The Liberia health ministry considers taking more than hour to access a health facility as no access.

Table 20: Time to walk to health facility by migration status

Time to facility	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total
Less than 20 mins	47.0	31.9	38.1
20 to 39 mins	24.0	18.6	20.8
40 to 59 mins	10.5	10.6	10.6
1 hour or over	18.5	38.8	30.5
Total households	**467,225**	**671,371**	**1,138,596**

2.5.7 Access to primary school

Majority of households in the two migrant groups are within less than 20 minutes walking distance of a primary school, with the migrant households having a higher proportion (Table 21). About a quarter of households in each migration group are within 20 to 39 minutes walking distance of a primary school. There is less than 20 per cent of migrant households who can access a primary school via a more than 40-minute walk, compared to about a quarter of non-migrant households.

Table 21: Time to walk from home to the nearest primary school by migration status

Time to facility	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total
Less than 20 mins	56.8	50.6	53.2
20 to 39 mins	26.0	24.7	25.2
40 to 59 mins	9.1	10.0	9.6
1 hour or over	8.1	14.7	12.0
Total households	467,225	671,371	1,138,596

2.5.8 Asset ownership

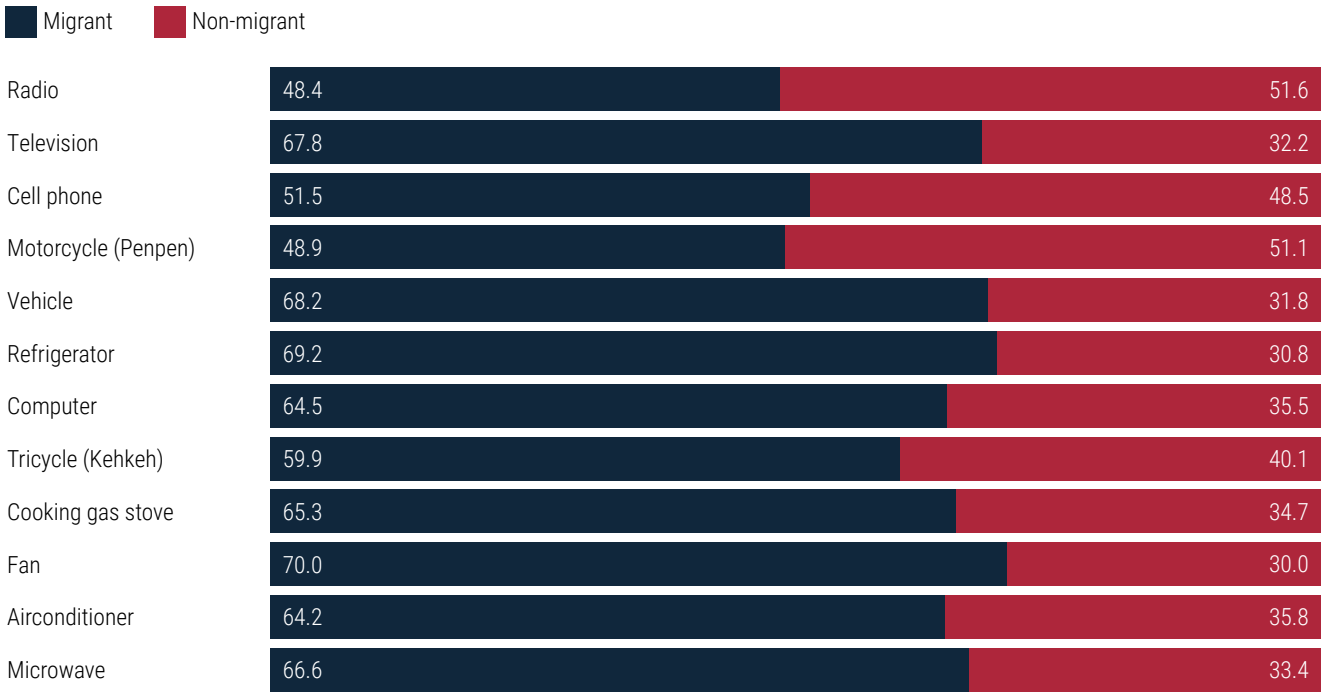
Asset provides a more accurate description of a household's true financial state. Wealth leads to increased economic security and assets create a form of security during hardship. Assets can be sold to pay for further education or better housing, or to maintain a certain standard of living after retirement or during temporary loss of job. Households who lack adequate assets are unable to seek a better lifestyle and improve their quality of life because they lack the financial resources to do so. Though the household assets being considered here are not enough to estimate asset poverty, they give a fair idea of the financial state of migrant and non-migrant households. Those defined as asset poor share several significant characteristics. Education level, household structure (age, gender, marital status), and home ownership are all unifying factors of the asset poor.

Household ownership (any member of the household, not necessarily the head) of selected assets is shown in Figure 11. The graph shows the proportion of each migrant status's ownership of total national asset type. Except radio and motorcycle (penpen), migrant households own the largest proportion of all the selected assets. Even with the ownership of radio and motorcycle, the variation is not wide.

The tricycle (kehkeh) is mainly used as commercial transport, and migrant households own 60 per cent of them. Migrant households also own the largest proportion of the vehicles in the country. It is however not clear the proportion that is used for commercial purposes and private use. Owning assets like vehicle, air-conditioner and microwave is a prestige in this part of the world. Using asset ownership alone, it can be concluded that migrant households are richer than non-migrant households.

It should however be noted that some household assets cannot be used if certain amenities are not available or accessible by the household. For example, the large gap between migrant households who use electricity and their non-migrant counterparts can reflect in the ownership of assets such as television, refrigerator, air-conditioner etc. Conversely, it can be argued that there may be electricity available in the neighbourhood but affordability is the problem for the non-migrants.

Figure 11: Percentage ownership of selected household assets by migration status



3. International migration and return migration

Information about country of birth and nationality allows to identify the foreign-born population and the population of foreign citizens, respectively. Return migration is an integral part of human mobility. This section analyses the census data on international migrants (immigrants) and return migrants. Emigrants, though not captured in the census, have been discussed using secondary data from other sources.

3.1 International migration

The Population Division of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) defines an international migrant as someone who has been living for one year or longer in a country other than the one in which he or she was born. This means that many foreign workers and international students are counted as migrants. Also, nationals (even foreigners) who resided elsewhere for over the reference period for work or other reasons and returned to Liberia are regarded as international migrants. International migrants are in two categories, immigrants and emigrants. Emigration is leaving one's country, while immigration is coming to another country.

3.1.1 Nationality and length of stay of immigrants

Information about citizenship allows to identify the foreign-born population and the population of foreign citizens. Information on the year of arrival in the country or length of stay helps distinguishing international migrants who have recently arrived from those who arrived many years ago. Such information is important for policymaking, given that recently arrived migrants may require government intervention to help with integration. Also, reason for migrating is very important.

Immigrants as captured in the 2022 LPHC is a person whose birthplace is not in Liberia and in addition, not a Liberian national. Per this definition, a total of 102,074 persons (Table 22) were enumerated as international migrants, translating into 1.96 per cent of the country's total population. Out of the 102,074 immigrants, 61.5 per cent are males and the remaining are females.

Nationality and area of origin of immigrants is shown in Table 22. West African nationals dominate the immigrant population with a share of 93 per cent. This confirms Awumbila's (2017) observation that in West Africa, intra-regional movements make up 84 per cent of migration movements making it the region with the largest intra-regional movements. Guinea, which shares borders with Liberia in the north, contributes the largest (42.4 per cent) to the international migrant population. This is followed by Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone (another border country) all contributing above 10 per cent. Other African nationals other than West Africans, constitute less than 1 per cent. Asians, mostly Indians and Lebanese, form 2.2 per cent of the immigrant population. Nationals from the Americas are very few in Liberia.

Intra-regional migration in West Africa is largely facilitated by the protocol on free movement of persons, right of residence and establishment which was adopted in 1979 by ECOWAS, made up of 15 of the 16 in countries in West Africa (Teye, 2022).

Male migrant population is much higher than that of women for all nationalities of immigrants, as indicated in Table 22. According to the traditional division of male and female roles, men migrate to find a job, and women eventually join them to assume their roles as wives (Bouchoucha, 2012).

Table 22: Distribution of immigrant population by region/nationality and sex

Region/Nationality	Total	Percent	Male	Female	Sex ratio
West Africa	94,897	93.0	57,576	37,321	154.3
Guinean	43,235	42.4	24,320	18,915	128.6
Ghanaian	14,593	14.3	8,971	5,622	159.6
Nigerian	12,038	11.8	7,908	4,130	191.5
Sierra Leonean	11,230	11.0	6,883	4,347	158.3
Ivorian	5,298	5.2	3,133	2,165	144.7
Bukinabe	4,140	4.1	3,677	463	794.2
Gambian	1,537	1.2	872	665	131.1
Malian	1,195	1.5	752	443	169.8
Senegalese	346	0.3	219	127	172.4
Togolese	338	0.3	227	111	204.5
Other West African	947	0.9	614	333	184.4
Other Africa	**504**	**0.5**	**318**	**186**	**171.0**
East African	235	0.2	128	107	119.6
Southern African	88	0.1	58	30	193.3
Central African	91	0.1	68	23	295.7
North African	90	0.1	64	26	246.2
Asia	**2,279**	**0.5**	**1,840**	**439**	**419.1**
Lebanese	747	2.2	571	176	324.4
Indian	925	0.9	769	156	492.9
Other Asian	607	0.7	500	107	467.3
European	**354**	**0.6**	**306**	**48**	**637.5**
North American (USA & Canada)	**265**	**0.3**	**154**	**111**	**138.7**
Central American	**129**	**0.1**	**72**	**57**	**126.3**
Other	**3,646**	**3.6**	**2,488**	**1,158**	**214.9**
Total	**102,074**	**100.0**	**62,754**	**39,320**	**159.6**

The decision to emigrate from the country of origin may not be a permanent one: migrants can decide to return home or to emigrate to a third country. The length of stay in Liberia by the different nationals is shown in Table 23. About 10 per cent of the immigrant population has stayed less than one year in the country while 22.6 per cent have stayed for more than 20 years. For those who have stayed in Liberia for 20 years or more, the largest proportion (32.5 per cent) is Ghanaian. Countries that have more than 20 per cent of its nationals having stayed in Liberia for more than 20 years are mostly West African neighbours. For non-Africans the Lebanese have about 20 per cent of its population in Liberia having stayed for 20 years or more.

Countries and regions whose nationals have increased their presence in Liberia over the last five years are Burkina Faso, North African nationals, Europeans and other Asians. The increased presence of Burkinabes in recent times can be attributed to the historical pattern of intra-country migration flows within the West African subregion, where labour migrants tend to move from Sahelian countries of Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger, to mining and plantation communities in the coastal zones (Teye, 2022). Religious extremists in Burkina Faso are also a factor (UNHCR, 2020). The reasons for the trend for the other nationalities are not readily available.

Table 23: Length of stay of immigrants in Liberia by nationality

Nationality	Years of stay in Liberia(%)					Population
	Less than 1	01-04	05-09	10-19	20+	
Nigerian	9.2	20.3	22.3	27.1	21.1	12,038
Gambian	9.5	20.9	23.8	24.5	21.3	1,537
Guinean	10.2	19.7	20.9	25.4	23.8	43,235
Ghanaian	8.6	18.8	17.0	23.1	32.5	14,593
Sierra Leonean	10.6	21.0	18.3	23.9	26.2	11,230
Ivorian	5.8	18.7	14.8	46.8	13.9	5,298
Bukinabe	10.8	69.3	13.2	2.8	4.0	4,140
Senegalese	12.1	28.1	26.3	14.3	19.2	346
Malian	9.3	20.1	16.5	25.9	28.2	1,195
Togolese	7.9	19.6	22.2	25.4	24.9	338
Other West African	10.3	24.4	16.4	23.9	25.0	947
East African	12.0	38.7	19.3	14.7	15.3	235
Southern African	9.8	37.7	19.7	23.0	9.8	88
Central African	12.5	43.8	23.4	14.1	6.3	91
North African	27.1	30.0	15.7	8.6	18.6	90
Lebanese	11.2	26.9	18.3	22.9	20.6	747
Indian	11.6	35.7	24.6	18.5	9.6	925
European	18.9	65.5	3.6	2.7	9.3	354
North American (USA, Canada)	18.3	35.1	24.5	16.3	5.8	265
Central American	6.4	40.0	25.5	15.5	12.7	129
Other Asian	23.2	32.5	24.7	13.8	5.8	607
Other	18.3	25.7	17.3	17.4	21.3	3,646
Total	**10.3**	**23.6**	**19.3**	**24.3**	**22.6**	**102,074**

Distribution of immigrant population by region/ continent and county of residence is shown in Table 24. West African nationals dominate in all the counties, contributing over 90 per cent of immigrant population in each county. The other nationals are sparsely distributed among the counties with some counties recording no immigrants from certain regions and continents.

Three out of every 5 immigrants reside in Montserrado County. Apart from Europe whose largest proportion of the immigrant population resides in Grand Cape Mount County, all the other nationalities have the largest proportion of the population residing in Montserrado County. The county that hosts the second largest immigrant population is Grand Gedeh with 9.1 per cent. Bomi and River Cess Counties host the least number of immigrants with a share of less than 1 per cent each.

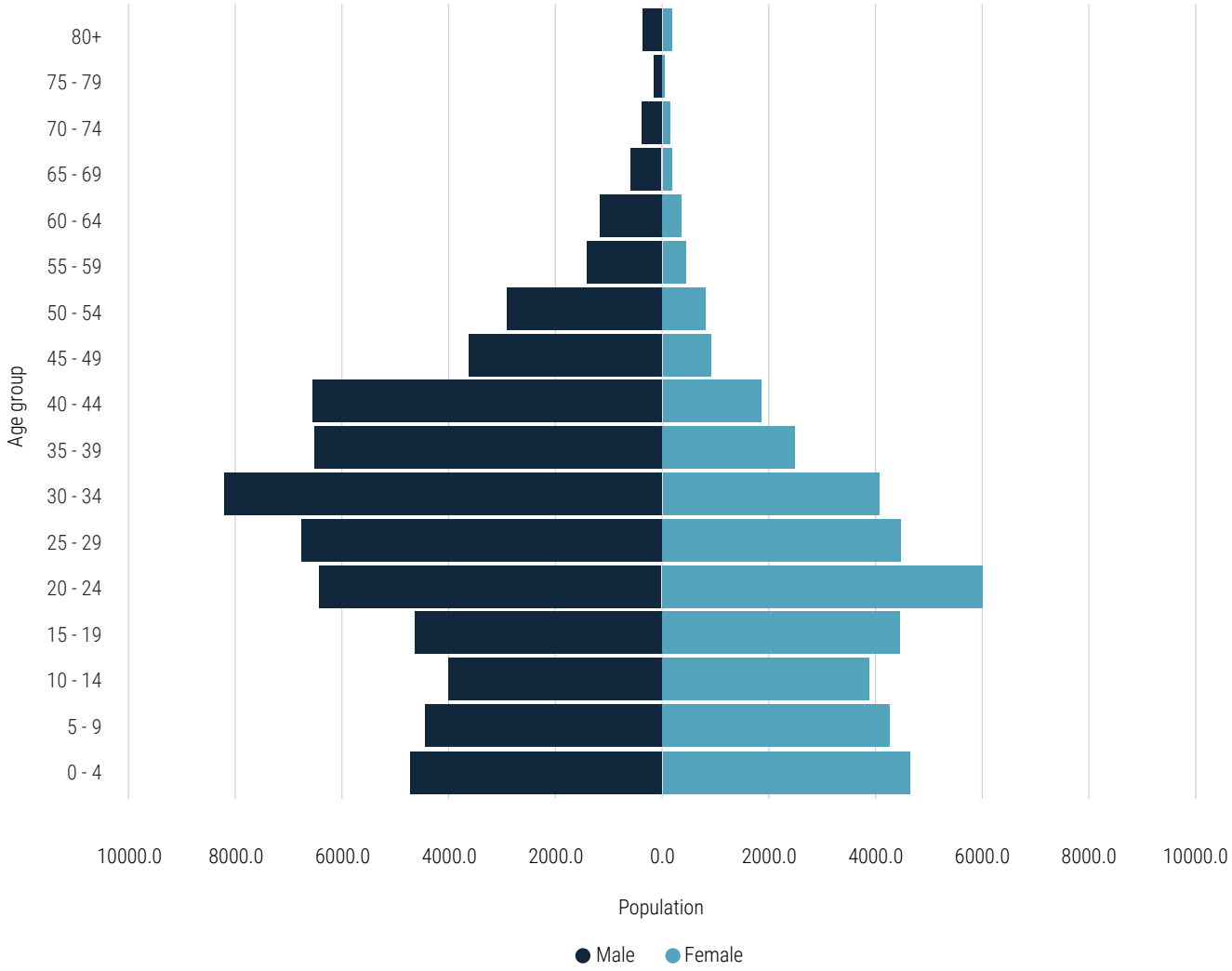
Table 24: Distribution of immigrants by county

County	Region/Continent							Percent
	West Africa	Other Africa	Asia	Europe	The Americas	Other	Total	
Bomi	902	2	12	0	9	28	953	0.9
Bong	2,358	30	13	52	10	187	2,650	2.6
Gbarpolu	1,580	2	15	1	1	35	1,634	1.6
Grand Bassa	3,231	26	110	8	9	101	3,485	3.4
Grand Cape Mount	5,010	21	63	185	2	297	5,578	5.5
Grand Gedeh	8,976	4	41	4	7	242	9,274	9.1
Grand Kru	1,064	3	8	0	0	56	1,131	1.1
Lofa	2,014	7	3	0	6	38	2,068	2.0
Margibi	2,823	21	72	6	16	109	3,047	3.0
Maryland	3,296	41	28	2	2	88	3,457	3.4
Montserrado	55,472	278	1,803	89	309	2,248	60,199	59.0
Nimba	3,159	51	34	6	17	68	3,335	3.3
River Cess	947	3	1	0	2	14	967	0.9
River Gee	1,989	8	9	0	0	57	2,063	2.0
Sinoe	2,076	7	67	1	4	78	2,233	2.2
Total	**94,897**	**504**	**2,279**	**354**	**394**	**3,646**	**102,074**	**100.0**

3.1.2 Sociodemographic characteristics of immigrants

As stated earlier, males dominate the immigrant population (61.5 per cent) and this is reflected in Figure 12. The dominance of the male population is seen throughout all age groups. The large disparity between the male and female immigrant population in this case may be attributed to the fact that women often migrate officially as dependent family members of other migrants. Another reason may be that males migrate leaving the family back home and remit them for their upkeep.

Figure 12: Age-sex distribution of immigrants



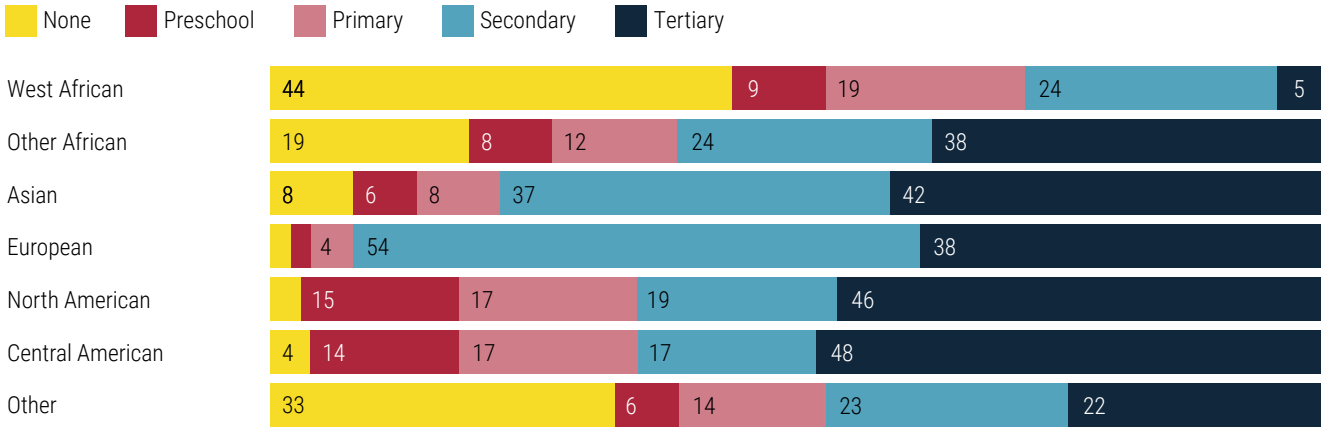
The male age group with the highest population is 30-34, while it is the 20-24 age group for the females. Among the male population, 54.8 per cent are of ages 20 to 44, and 48.1 per cent for the females. This finding supports the results of the Afro-barometer survey[21] on 34 African countries that young adults are most likely to consider migrating.

3.1.3 Level of education completed by immigrants

The level of education completed by the immigrant population 5 years and older is displayed in Figure 13. West African nationals (the largest immigrant group) have the poorest education attainment. Only 5 per cent has attained tertiary level education, compared to the other nationals having 38 per cent or more of the population in that category. West African nationals with no education attainment (44 per cent) are significantly high compared to the others.

21 In a BBC news coverage titled "African migration: Five things we've learnt" on 26th March 2019. Accessed on November 16, 2023, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-47705944

Figure 13: Percentage distribution of the education attainment of immigrant population 5 years and older by region



The free movement of people and goods within the subregion has aided the inflow of all manner of people, and educational qualification is not a requisite for entry.

3.2 Return migration (returnees)

Return migrants (returnees) are persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year (IOM Glossary on Migration, 2019).

There have been arguments and counterarguments on why migrants return. For example, the neoclassical theory considers return as a failure of the migration plan or as a mistake in the initial migration decision aimed at settlement (Massey et al., 1993). According to this theory, those who remain are those who obtain a good job, higher income and higher integration, while those who do not succeed leave and return to their home base as return migrants. Conversely, according to the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) approach, return migration is a logical outcome of the migration plan once migrants have fulfilled their goals and have accumulated enough financial and human capital to reinvest in the country of origin (Stark and Bloom, 1985). Hence, those who have not succeeded are the ones who remain, as they will need more time to achieve their savings target, and the successful ones are those who leave the host country. Both arguments have been empirically proven to be true.

There is no direct question in the 2022 census questionnaire on return migration, and as such reasons for returning could not be obtained. The filter for classifying someone as a return migrant in the census is, **"IF THE PERSON IS OF LIBERIAN NATIONALITY BUT HAS LIVED LESS THAN HIS AGE IN LIBERIA, THEN THE PERSON IS A RETURN MIGRANT"**.

There are several cases of internal return migration but which were unfortunately not captured by a question on place of previous residence and duration of stay. Also, the several foreigners who quit the country during the years of civil strife and who returned after peace had been restored are not part of this analysis due to the reason already cited.

The decision to return is often complex and influenced by a number of overlapping considerations. In Liberia's case, this may include improved political, economic or social conditions in the country after the war, as well as family and other private considerations. Some migrants return after achieving their specific objective such as completion of education or work contract. Difficulties in host country may also lead to the decision to return, such as lack of economic opportunities and language difficulties (displaced Liberians during the war who went to French-speaking neighbouring countries of Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire). Some also return in order to spend the last part of their life at home.

Return migration can be voluntary or forced. In this report no distinction is made between the two.

3.2.1 Locality of residence of returnees

The returnee population constitutes 15.1 per cent of the total population. Migrants may not return to

their own localities of origin but to other locations within their home country. Proportion of returnees living in urban localities is larger than those living in rural localities and the same picture can be seen with non-returnees (Table 25). However, the proportion of returnees leaving in urban localities is higher than non-returnees residing in urban localities.

Table 25: Distribution of returnee population by sex and locality of residence

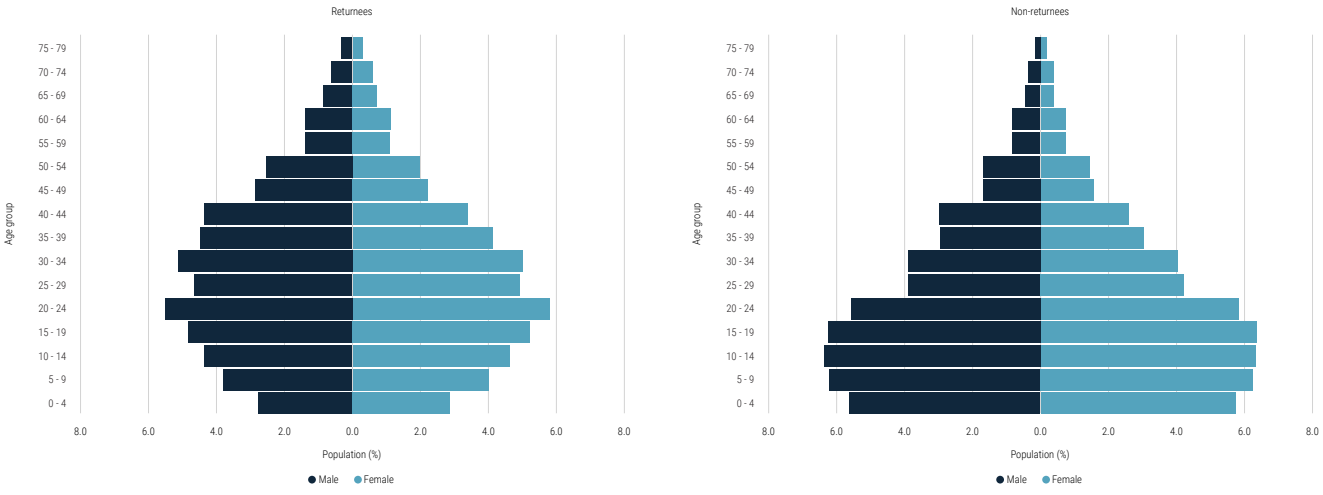
Locality	Returnees			Non-returnees		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Urban	220,213	219,004	439,217	1,141,408	1,201,350	2,342,758
Rural	175,385	161,693	337,078	1,044,267	984,793	2,029,060
Total	395,598	380,697	776,295	2,185,675	2,186,143	4,371,818

3.2.2 Age and sex structure of returnees

The age-sex structure of the population of returnees and non-returnees is displayed in Figure 14. The structure of the returnee population as depicted in the pyramid in shows a narrow base meaning smaller proportion of the population in the lower ages, with increasing proportions up to age 24. The pyramid for the non-returnees is broad- based than that of the returnees. Three reasons may account for the shapes of the two pyramids. The broad base for the non-returnees can be attributed to the country's success in reducing infant mortality but mothers still have a high fertility rate. On average, compared to non-returnees, returnees appear older.

Both pyramids show a youth bulge. The youth bulge is a common phenomenon in many developing countries, and in particular, in the least developed countries.

Figure 14: Structure of the population of returnees



3.2.3 Marital status of returnees 12 years and older

There is not much difference between the proportions of never married population of both returnees and non-returnees (Table 27). If age were the prime determinant of marriage status, then we would expect that, being older (as the population of returnees shows), return migrants are more likely to be married than non-returnees. Almost the same proportion of the population for both migration status groups are in monogamous marriage. However, slightly more returnees are in polygamous marriages than the non-returnees, whiles non-returnees are more in consensual marriage than returnees.

Table 26: Marital status of population 12 years and older of return and non-return migrants

Marital status	Returnees			Non-returnees		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Never married	61.0	60.7	60.8	63.7	60.2	62.0
Married monogamous	31.9	28.8	30.4	30.0	30.1	30.0
Married polygamous	2.6	1.9	2.3	1.9	1.6	1.7
Separated	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.0	1.2	1.1
Divorced	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.4
Widow/widower	0.9	4.4	2.6	0.7	3.3	2.0
Consensual Union	1.9	2.0	1.9	2.5	3.1	2.8
Total	333,757	316,003		1,564,094	1,558,975	

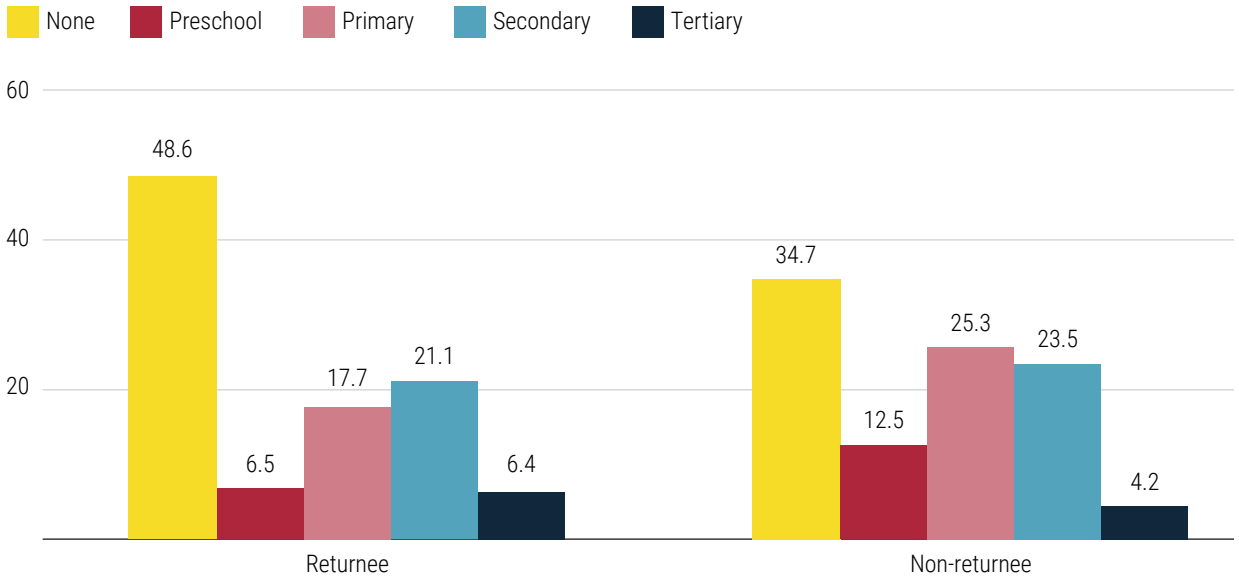
3.2.4 Level of education completed by returnees

Almost half of returnees 3 years and older have never completed any level of schooling (Figure 15). The reason that can account for this is that most of them are among those displaced by the 14-year civil war and could not get the chance to go to school in their destination country. Language was a problem for those who fled to the French-speaking countries of neighbouring Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire. Returnees also have a small proportion of the population in pre-school and primary school. This is evident in the population pyramid in Figure 12, showing a small proportion of the population below 15 years for returnees compared to that of the non-returnees.

Concerning higher education, returnees are a bit more educated than non-returnees (Figure 15). The returnee population has a larger proportion (6.4 per cent) who have completed university and other tertiary education than the non-returnees (4.2 per cent). The higher proportion of tertiary level of education of returnees can have two explanations, not necessarily exclusive from each other. First, educated individuals can find it more profitable to migrate to a developed country, where the returns to their human capital could be higher, and return after achieving the revenues targeted. Second, people can migrate to get education, in which case it is not surprising to observe that returnees have a higher level of education than non-returnees.

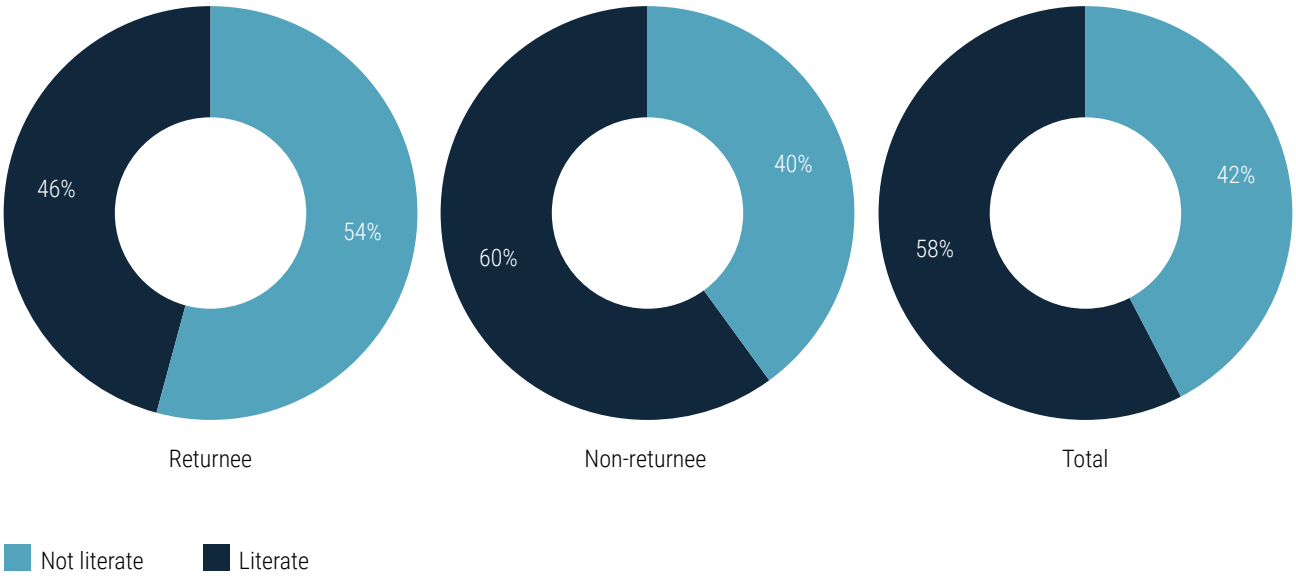
The return of nationals back home is widely perceived as benefiting development (Ellerman, 2003). Nationals may be more effective than foreigners in transferring knowledge back home because of their understanding of local culture. However, returnees may also represent retirees.

Figure 15: Level of education of returnees and non-returnees



Overall, the literacy rate of the population is low, as 42 per cent of the population aged 5 years and older is not literate (Figure 16). The large proportion of returnees that did not attain any level of education is reflected in the literacy status of the returnee population. Majority of returnees (54 per cent) are not literate, in contrast with the non-returnees that have 40 per cent of the population not literate.

Figure 16: Literacy status of the population 5 years and older by migration status



3.2.5 Ownership/tenure of dwelling by migration status

About half of the returnee households occupy their own dwelling (purchased, constructed, or mortgaged) (Table 27). This proportion is higher than that of the non-returnees. Households in rent-free accommodation (inherited or gifted) are proportionately lower for returnees than non-returnees, and so is the proportion of households in rented accommodation and squatters. The proportions are the same for the other tenure types.

Table 27: Ownership/tenure of dwelling by migrant status

Water source	Returnees	Non-returnees
Improved water source	72.8	68.4
Pipe or Pump indoors	17.2	5.5
Pipe or Pump out doors	42.2	47.9
Public Taps	3.3	3.2
Closed Well/Protected	9.3	11.2
Bottled water	0.6	0.4
Sachet water	0.2	0.1
Unimproved water source	27.2	31.6
Open Well	12.2	12.4
Rain water	4.1	4.7
River/lake/spring/creek	9.8	13.6
Water Vendors	0.6	0.7
Other	0.5	0.2

3.2.6 Source of drinking water

Majority of households, irrespective of migration status, drink from improved water sources, with the proportion of returnees higher than non-returnees (Table 28). However, there is striking difference between the proportion of households who use tap water pumped indoors for returnees and non-returnees.

Table 28: Source of drinking water for returnees

Lighting source	Returnees	Non-returnees
Electricity (own generator)	13.0	2.7
Electricity (LEC)	24.6	24.7
Electricity (West Africa)	0.5	0.4
Electricity (Community)	2.3	2.1
Kerosine	0.4	0.3
Candle	1.8	1.4
Palm oil lamp (chako lantem)	1.0	1.4
Wood	3.8	3.2

Lighting source	Returnees	Non-returnees
Solar panel	6.3	5.6
Chinese/battery light	45.8	57.8
Other	0.5	0.4

3.2.7 Main source of lighting

Two out of every 5-returnee households use electricity compared to 29.9 per cent of non-returnee households (Table 29). The main difference in the use of electricity between the two groups is the use of own generator, which is an expensive way of producing electricity. This means returnee households, on the average, are richer than their counterparts.

Majority of non-returnee households use Chinese/ battery light. Returnee households also have the largest proportion using Chinese/battery light.

Table 29: Main source of lighting by returnee status

Lighting source	Returnees	Non-returnees
Electricity (own generator)	13.0	2.7
Electricity (LEC)	24.6	24.7
Electricity (West Africa)	0.5	0.4
Electricity (Community)	2.3	2.1
Kerosine	0.4	0.3
Candle	1.8	1.4
Palm oil lamp (chako lantem)	1.0	1.4
Wood	3.8	3.2
Solar panel	6.3	5.6
Chinese/battery light	45.8	57.8
Other	0.5	0.4

3.2.8 Source of cooking fuel by returnee status

Charcoal and wood are used by 95.6 per cent of returnee households and 97.4 per cent of non-returnee households (Table 30). Returnee households use fuel from sources that are more expensive such as electricity, cooking gas and kerosene than their counterparts.

Table 30: Main source of cooking fuel by returnee status

Source of cooking fuel	Returnees	Non-returnees
Electricity	2.2	1.2
Cooking Gas	1.3	0.7
Kerosine	0.4	0.2
Charcoal	55.7	50.6
Wood	39.9	46.8
Other	0.5	0.5

3.2.9 Disposal of human waste by returnee status

More than half of the households in both groups use improved human waste disposal facilities, with the proportion of non-returnee households (56.8 per cent) being higher than returnee households (53.6 per cent) (Table 31). However, open defaecation is practised more by non-returnee households (34 per cent) compared to returnee households (27.1 per cent).

Table 31: Human waste disposal by returnee status

Type of facility	Returnees	Non-returnees
Flush toilet for household exclusive use	22.6	21.8
Flush toilet shared with other households	16.6	18.0
Covered pit latrine outside building	14.3	16.9
Open pit latrine	19.3	9.2
Bush	24.7	31.4
Beach/Riverside	2.2	2.4
Other	0.2	0.2

4. Urbanization

4.1 Introduction

Urban areas are defined differently in different countries, but are generally taken to be settled areas that are more populous and denser than rural settlements, and more suitable for locating administrative facilities and functions. In Liberia, urbanization is mainly defined in terms of population size. An urban area is that settlement with a population of 2,000 and above, while a settlement with less than this threshold population is classified as rural (LISGIS, 2011). Nevertheless, any other locality with less than 2,000 people but being the capital city of a county is also considered as an urban area (Liberia National Population Council, 2005). The administrative and population-based criteria are interrelated since urban administrative status is generally conferred on larger settlements (Tacoli, et al., 2015).

Studies have shown that where the natural population growth in urban areas is greater than in rural areas, this can also contribute to urbanization. However, with both age-specific mortality and fertility rates tending to be lower in urban areas, rural-urban differentials in natural population growth are not a significant driver of urbanization (Tacoli, et al., 2015). Migration, therefore, is a contributory factor for changes in the population. Thus, migration is a significant contributor to urbanization, as people move in search of social and economic opportunities or as a result of factors like environmental deterioration. Another factor is the change in definition of what constitutes an urban locality, especially using infrastructure instead of population. That is, some areas will have low population density due to industrial development that pushes population out of the area. The population of the area is huge during daytime (or working hours) and workers leave for their homes outside the work area. Such places can still be classified as urban. Again, the rise of suburbs close to cities which lead to fragmented communities leading to suburban sprawl (a pattern of low-density, often poorly planned development stretching away from an urban centre) are either joined to the main city or upgraded as an urban area.

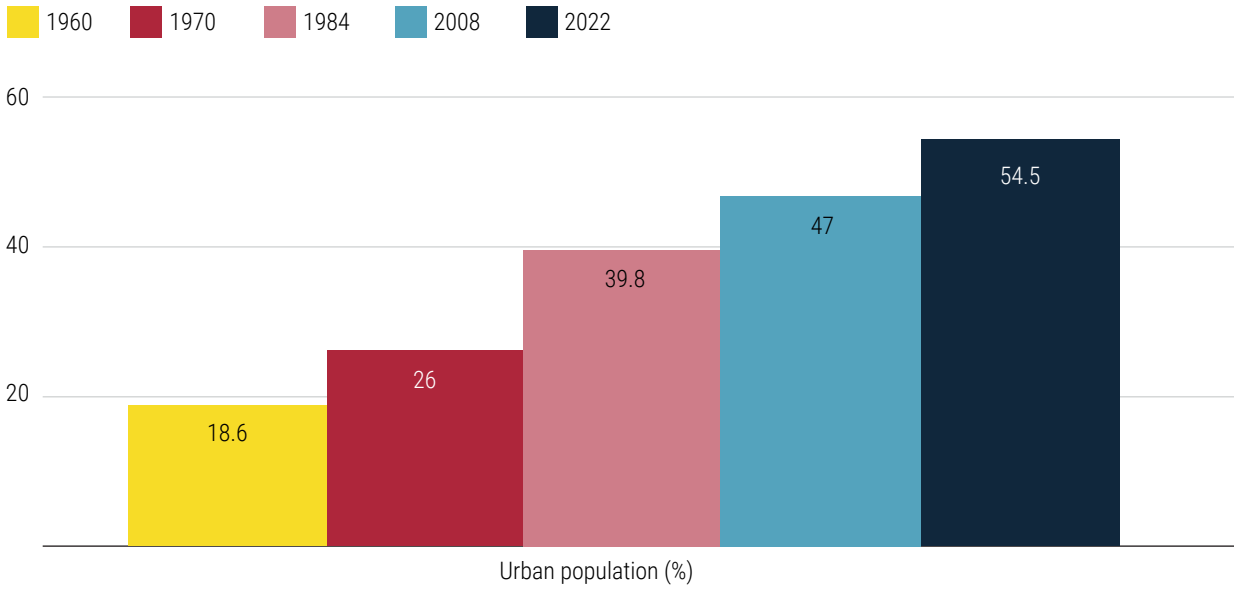
Rural-to-urban migration is a significant driver of urbanization in the developing world. The motivations for rural-to-urban migration typically include economic and educational opportunities, but migrants – most of whom are young adults – may also move for personal reasons (Nauman, et al., 2016).

Migration from rural to urban areas has a number of positive and adverse effects. Also, a rapidly growing urban population, no doubt can present serious challenges to national and, especially, local governments. In order to better manage these transitions, it is important to understand them. Many studies have been conducted on the types, spatial forms, and driving forces of urban expansion, in order to provide references for sustainable urban development. Urbanization is the degree to which a geographical area is urban. Assessments of urbanization usually take into account population density, infrastructure, and availability of goods and services.

4.2 Trend in urban growth and major causes of change

The country is experiencing urban population growth over time. Urban population as a proportion of total population was less than 20 per cent in 1960 (Figure 17). The proportion of the population living in urban areas continued to increase as captured in each of the country's population census as displayed in Figure 17. In 2008, 47.0 per cent of the population resided in urban settlements, but within a space of 14 years, the urban population in 2022 is 54.5 per cent, an urban growth rate of 4.1 per cent per annum. The urban population growth is higher than national population growth of 3.0 per cent, meaning urban population growth can be ascribed to migration.

Figure 17: Proportion of Liberia's urban population, 1960–2022



Different statistics on urban growth is shown in Table 32. Urban population increased in quantum in all counties between 2008 and 2022. There are marked differences between the growth in urbanization between the counties. Overall, there is a 75 per cent change in the urban population in the country between the two periods. Countywise, Grand Cape Mount recorded the highest increase of 481 per cent in urban population, followed by River Cess and River Gee. The rapid urbanization of these counties can be attributed to their new roles in the economic and administrative structure of the country.

Grand Cape Mount County has seen the revitalization of gold mining since 2009 with the start of operations of the New Liberty Gold Mine located within the Bea Mountain area. The area has close proximity to Monsterrado with the distance of approximately 100km north-west of the capital, Monrovia. The New Liberty Gold mine is Liberia's first and largest commercial gold mine, providing employment opportunities to many persons from within Cape Mount and from the rest of Liberia, including foreign nationals. River Cess (1985) and River Gee (2000) are also newly established counties and have benefited from the designation of hitherto rural communities into urban locations. Liberia's definition of urban areas is not only restricted to population size of 2,000 inhabitants, but also the availability of infrastructure including hospitals, public building and other amenities. Fish town, the capital of River Gee, was previously a rural town that has been transformed into an urban area with a new government-run county hospital and administrative buildings.

There is virtually no change in the urban population in Lofa County. With a negative inter-county net migration recorded over the period for all the counties except Montserrado, Margibi and Gbarpolu, these substantial increases in urban population in the counties can be attributed mainly to intra-county rural-urban migration.

The rapid urbanization has both positive and negative implications. Urban areas become home to relatively more young and working-age adults than rural areas, making them pivotal places to capture demographic dividends. However, not all urbanization is positive, especially if it is unplanned. Poor urban infrastructure - such as unreliable power systems, congested roads and poor public transport, inadequate schools - reduces the urban area's competitiveness and economic prospects. As small towns grow into urban settlements, governments will need to cater to rapidly growing demands for public services and infrastructure.

It is difficult for the Government to provide water and sanitation services to everyone in growing urbanized areas. Therefore, governments focus on areas that house government personnel and around the seat of power. The people living in the poor and neglected areas do not have access to safe drinking water and proper sanitation. This leads to the development of slums.

In terms of share of county population being urban, Montserrado (where the capital city, Monrovia, is located), leads with more than 90 per cent of the

population in urban settlements for both periods but a one percentage point reduction in the urban share in 2022 (Table 32). Maryland and Margibi Counties are the second and third most urbanized counties respectively, with urban population above 50 per cent. The remaining counties have less than 50 per cent of the population in urban settlements. The least urbanized counties are Gbarpolu and Grand Kru with less than 10 per cent of the population in urban settlements.

Table 32: Statistics on urban growth by county

County	Total population		Urban population		Percentage change between 2008 and 2022	Share of urban population	
	2008	2022	2008	2022		2008	2022
Bomi	84,119	133,705	17,030	34,166	101	20.2	25.6
Bong	333,481	467,561	102,709	149,772	46	30.8	32.0
Gbarpolu	83,388	95,995	7,768	8,827	14	9.3	9.2
Grand Bassa	221,693	293,689	58,376	89,606	53	26.3	30.5
Grand Cape Mount	127,076	178,867	8,145	47,287	481	6.4	26.4
Grand Gedeh	125,258	216,692	41,673	91,648	120	33.3	42.3
Grand Kru	57,913	109,342	3,699	7,258	96	6.4	6.6
Lofa	276,863	367,376	83,835	86,576	3	30.3	23.6
Margibi	209,923	304,946	88,868	170,577	92	42.3	55.9
Maryland	135,938	172,587	46,981	106,093	126	34.6	61.5
Montserrado	1,118,241	1,920,965	1,036,127	1,761,032	70	92.7	91.7
Nimba	462,026	621,841	105,335	209,606	99	22.8	33.7
River Cess	71,509	90,819	2,389	10,895	356	3.3	12.0
River Gee	66,789	124,653	17,519	62,108	255	26.2	49.8
Sinoe	102,391	151,149	13,370	26,703	100	13.1	17.7
Total	3,476,608	5,250,187	1,633,824	2,862,154	75	47.0	54.5

Population density allows for broad comparison of settlement intensity across geographic areas. Growth in population density between 2008 and 2022 by county is presented in Table 33. Montserrado continues to be the most densely populated county, adding an average of over 1,000 persons per square mile between 2008 and 2022. Good job opportunities encourage high population densities, particularly in large cities. Considering Montserrado to be overpopulated will depend on factors like quality of housing and infrastructure and access to resources. With the population densities shown in Table 33, none of the counties other than Montserrado can be described as densely populated, though there are urban settlements within the counties that have high population densities. Fact about the low density is that large areas are practically uninhabited.

Margibi County comes second in population density, adding 94 persons per square mile between 2008

and 2022. Maryland County which has the third largest population density added an average of only 41 persons to each square mile. Gbarpolu and River Cess Counties added single digits to the population densities in the period under review.

Table 33: Changes in population density by county

County	2008	2022	Population change per sq. mile
Bomi	112	178	66
Bong	98	138	40
Gbarpolu	22	26	4
Grand Bassa	72	96	24
Grand Cape Mount	64	90	26
Grand Gedeh	31	54	23
Grand Kru	39	73	34
Lofa	72	95	23
Margibi	208	302	94
Maryland	153	194	41
Montserrado	1,517	2,606	1,089
Nimba	104	139	35
River Cess	33	42	9
River Gee	34	63	29
Sinoe	26	38	12

5. Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

The 2022 LPHC collected information on internal migrants, international migrants (immigrants), and return migrants. Information on emigrants was retrieved from other sources outside the census. Despite having some gaps in the data collected on migration through the 2022 LPHC, the available data was enough to be used to make analysis on the role of internal migration in transforming settlement systems, especially in terms of population concentration and de-concentration, and the way the transformation varies over space and time (from 2008 to 2022). The analysis using the 2022 LPHC data and few data from other sources confirms the theoretical assumption by researchers like Harris and Todaro (1970) that migration is a form of optimal allocation of production factors to favour both the out-migration and in-migration areas. As the analysis indicates, internal migration has a larger role in reducing poverty, judging by the ownership of assets like vehicles of migrants compared to non-migrants.

The other side of migration, as expressed by pessimists like Papademetriou (1985), is that migration causes brain drain in sending areas (out-migration), leading to decrease in skilled labour availability and a decrease in the number of the most healthy, dynamic and productive members of the population. This is also confirmed by the analysis of the data on Liberia. The loss of skills through high-skilled emigration has particularly impaired health services in several developing countries including Liberia. As indicated by EFLA (2022), 50 per cent of trained Liberian doctors have emigrated, though the doctor-patient ratio back home remains very low at 1:15,000.

Although internal migration (30.5 per cent of the population) is much larger than international migration, they are in some respects similar phenomena. Both are largely driven by economic disparities among sending and receiving regions, although conflict such as the 14-year civil war (not captured in the 2022 LPHC) also catalysed large movements of people in Liberia.

The rapid urbanization of the country is aided by the low population threshold of 2,000 to classify a settlement as urban. Most of these new urban settlements do not have the basic infrastructure to support the new status acquired.

The age-sex structure of the population, irrespective of migration status and locality of residence, shows a youth bulge. The youth bulge can become a demographic dividend if the increase in the number of working-age population can be fully employed in productive activities, thereby increasing the employed population and the level of average income per capita. However, if the country fails to create jobs for this large cohorts entering the labour market and earn satisfactory income, the youth bulge will become a demographic bomb, because a large mass of frustrated youth is likely to become a potential source of social and political instability (World Bank, 2011).

Access to improved sources of water, electricity, good schools, health facilities, job opportunities etc. and high standard of living in general favour migrants and the urban population. Migrants and urban dwellers own the largest share of household assets in the country, an indication that they are wealthier than their other counterparts. This makes migration to urban areas attractive. Migration of the population to well-endowed counties, thus, can act as a safety valve for the failure to create appropriate employment and basic social amenities in those places. However, growing of slums in the urban areas is worrying as 30 per cent of urban households live in slums.

There is a strong correlation between rural poverty and access to electricity because electricity is a pre-requisite for productive activities (Chaurey, et al., 2004). Electricity alone may not be able to create all the conditions for economic growth, but it is obviously essential for basic human needs and economic activity (Torero, 2015). Only 8 per cent of electricity supplied to households is consumed by rural households. To reach the SDGs (improving healthcare and education, increasing level of incomes to escape poverty) the access to modern energy is a necessary condition. For example, lighting of homes and schools will have an influence on the education as this allows

studying at home in the night and will attract teachers to rural schools. A health clinic that has reliable electricity would presumably provide better health services and outcomes to the community it serves. Reducing the use of wood and charcoal indoors to cook, because of availability of electric/clean energy source, would improve the family's health[22].

Population densities in some of the counties barely changed between 2008 and 2022, while Montserrado County's density per square mile increased by 1,089 persons. Montserrado is becoming overpopulated. As indicated by the United Nations, with respect to developing countries, migration may lead to high population density in an urban area, unemployment, and a gap between rural and urban areas. High population density can lead to problems such as traffic congestion and exacerbated air pollution and can hinder sustainable development, affecting the quality of life of urban residents.

Though rural-urban migration results in a loss of human resources for rural areas, yet this labour loss has zero opportunity cost if labour is surplus in the villages. That is, village households can send out migrants without suffering a loss in production, thus labour productivity increases.

There are reasons that make people migrate other than job search. The 2022 LPHC did not collect information on reasons for moving, making it difficult to measure the other dimensions of migration. The lack of data on reasons for migrating will limit policymakers' decisions in the management of migration.

5.2 Policy implications and recommendations

Urban population continues to grow rapidly because of rural-to-urban migration, mainly caused by resource disparities between rural and urban areas. Many of them are heading to Montserrado County, which need support to respond in a way that leverages migration for local development and benefits both residents and newcomers. Policymakers' attention should be drawn to how the county can accommodate the thousands of expected new residents. These new urban residents need housing, and if formal housing is under-provided many could end up living in slums.

The observation from the analysis seems to have been largely identified by the Government of Liberia, development partners and other stakeholders already. Liberia has policy documents already in place that when implemented, can help in mitigating this de-population of rural areas and the consequent congestion in urban areas. There exist policies like the National Policy on Decentralization and Local Governance which aims at ensuring equitable political, economic, and social development throughout the country, and to increase citizen participation in these processes, the Local Government Act (LGA) of 2018, the PAPD 2018 and the National Urban Policy 2021. For instance, on page 24 of the LGA, 2028, the following paragraph identifies the rural-urban brain drain as an issue that needs to be tackled:

> *There are additional issues of rapid migration from rural communities to urban centres. This has several negative impacts. First, rural communities are losing youth for agricultural work. Second, urban centres are becoming overcrowded. Finally, given that many migrants are untrained and unemployed, urban crime is on the increase. All of these have implications for town and city planning.*

There are a number of interventions that the Government has outlined in all these policy documents. The PAPD for example has put as one of the interventions to reduce deforestation and the use of solid fuels as "Environmentally protected areas increased from 13 per cent to 30 per cent, forest cover from 44 per cent to 100 per cent, and woody biomass reduced to 80 per cent".

What is needed is the implementation of these well-crafted documents, instead of leaving them on the shelves. Proper implementation of the policies and plans in these documents will help in minimizing the rural-urban migration as well as solve part of the problems of the rapid urbanization.

It is further recommended that the Government should invest in education, employment and income generation opportunities in counties with high levels of out-migration, in order to encourage development and provide alternatives to migration. In addition, the Government should develop targeted programmes in these areas which empower and value groups such as young women and girls.

Again, the Government should develop reintegration programmes for returning migrants so that women and young people can transfer any economic and social benefits accrued abroad, access employment

22 According to WHO, the use of wood leads to millions of deaths each year from breathing cooking smoke.

opportunities, grants and loans, and reintegrate successfully into communities.

Electricity has been identified as a catalyst for rural development and job creation. Affordability is the single biggest barrier to achieving universal access in electricity, and thus to achieving the potentially significant socioeconomic benefits of expanding physical electrification. Poor households and small enterprises are trapped in a vicious cycle: they are too poor to pay for the electricity that will lift them out of poverty.

In the PAPD document, the Government is set to reduce energy cost from 0.36 KWh to 0.25 KWh and transmission and distribution increased from 511 km to 2,279 km. If even the Government succeeds in achieving cost reduction, the new price of 0.25 KWh will rank the country as the second highest price of household electricity in Africa after Cape Verde (0.32)[23]. This is clearly out of the reach of the poor. The cost in neighbouring Sierra Leone is 0.16 KWh and 0.07 KWh in Ghana.

SDG 7.1, which calls for universal access to affordable, reliable and modern energy services by 2030, will be a mirage if other least-cost way of providing electricity is not adopted. Modern solar mini grids bring energy to remote populations not connected to the electricity grid, becoming the least-cost way to bring reliable and clean electricity to remote communities. Renewable energy can help countries mitigate climate change, build resilience to volatile prices, and lower energy costs. Electrification can also be done through decentralized renewable-based solutions.

The 2022 Liberia Conflict Assessment Report[24] identified land conflict as continuing weaknesses in systems of land governance exacerbates a major source of conflict in Liberia and this. Government, as a matter of urgency, find solutions to the weak land governance system, which is a push, factor for internal migration.

With regards to the emerging cities, policies and programmes should be put in place for these areas to become central actors and leaders in unlocking the development potential of migration.

Having recognized the importance of understanding migration in policy decision-making, there should be deliberate effort to get more information on the theme. To gather more data, it is recommended that a migration module is included in agriculture surveys, demographic and health surveys, censuses, household income and expenditure surveys, and labour force surveys. In addition to the regular questions on migration, these surveys can collect information on the future intentions of individuals moving to other counties or leaving Liberia and this will help provide a timely picture of migration patterns.

Finally, there is a need for increasing the level of use of migration data by training more analysts and by making policymakers, planners and administrators aware of the usefulness of quantitative data in their work.

Addressing the gaps in the 2022 LPHC questions for future censuses and surveys

In general, concepts, definitions and classifications should be standard and any modification should not make the outcome of the census incomparable with that of other countries. The classification of dwelling units and ownership was put together and should be separated in any future study.

The questions on economic activity were poorly crafted. This is as a result of not adhering to the international standard questions on collection information on employment and economic characteristics of the population.

Internal migration

In order not to count short-stay visitors and people who have moved shortly to where they were enumerated and have no intention staying longer as migrants, a time limit must be applied. The international recommendation is that countries apply a threshold of 12 months when considering place of usual residence according to one of the following two criteria: (a) The place at which the person has lived continuously for most of the last 12 months (that is, for at least 6 months and 1 day), not including temporary absences for holidays or

23 Statista: Household electricity prices in Africa as of December 2022, by country. Retrieved from Africa: household electricity price by country | Statista

24 The Liberia Data, Evaluation, Learning, and Technical Assistance (DELTA) Activity worked with United States Agency for International Development (USAID)/Liberia and USAID's Center for Conflict and Violence Prevention (CVP), using USAID's Conflict Assessment Framework (CAF 2.0) methodology, to conduct a Conflict Assessment in Liberia.

work assignments, or intends to live for at least 6 months. (b) The place at which the person has lived continuously for at least the last 12 months, not including temporary absences for holidays or work assignments, or intends to live for at least 12 months.

UNECA (1983) recommended that, in addition to the birthplace question, countries should include at least one of the following supplementary questions:

1. duration of residence,
2. place of previous residence, and
3. place of residence at a fixed prior date.

The gaps in the questions led to lack of analysis on rural-urban, urban-urban and urban-rural migration. To address this, questions should be asked to solicit information on whether where the person was born is a rural or urban locality and where the person is being enumerated is a rural or urban locality.

International migration

Questions to distinguish migrants from non-migrants[25] focus on the

a. country of birth
b. country of citizenship
c. country of birth of parents
d. household members who have ever resided abroad
e. household members currently residing abroad

Information about country of birth and citizenship allows to identify the foreign-born population and the population of foreign citizens, respectively. Return migrants can be identified by asking the experience of respondents living abroad, reasons for moving and why they returned. Emigrants may be captured through questions about household members currently residing abroad.

Areas that need further research

1. Why females are migrating more than males, especially female migrants in the youthful ages of 15 to 34.
2. Countries and regions whose nationals have increased their presence in Liberia over the last five years are Burkina Faso, North African nationals, Europeans and other Asians. It is important to study the pull factors.
3. A thematic report on emerging cities to know whether the infrastructure base can support their new status.
4. A thematic report on slums in the country. This will provide quantitative information and make it easy for policymakers to solve problems associated with slums.

25 Copied from guidelines prepared by the Statistics Division of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) under the guidance of the Expert Group on Migration Statistics.

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Appendix Tables

Table A1: Population by county of birth and county of enumeration

	COUNTY OF ENUMERATION																		
COUNTY OF BIRTH	County	Bomi	Bong	Gbar-polu	Grand Bassa	Grand Cape Mount	Grand Gedeh	Grand Kru	Lofa	Margibi	Mary-land	Montserrado	Nimba	River Cess	River Gee	Sinoe	Total	In-migrants	Out-migrant
	Bomi	102,019	3,138	2,162	2,604	5,343	1,265	565	554	5,519	496	60,173	1,617	417	481	1,282	187,635	28,990	85,616
	Bong	5,707	422,260	5,047	15,480	5,470	3,881	733	2,154	54,293	945	209,431	7,045	1,854	1,027	3,140	738,467	36,511	316,207
	Gbarpolu	1,430	777	71,558	133	720	154	51	208	1,213	66	15,342	180	73	88	115	92,108	21,047	20,550
	Grand Bassa	1,973	5,380	1,068	248,707	3,252	2,707	733	286	29,646	1,168	162,975	3,502	4,920	623	3,328	470,268	38,800	221,561
	Grand Cape Mount	4,692	1,454	1,904	1,607	142,535	1,180	349	207	3,953	313	73,305	816	396	353	860	233,924	29,859	91,389
	Grand Gedeh	371	523	216	582	619	172,022	777	107	2,815	939	31,669	791	255	1,804	1,812	215,302	32,998	43,280
	Grand Kru	610	631	238	915	1,078	2,345	93,022	1,088	2,519	13,589	51,498	664	277	1,595	3,848	173,917	13,822	80,895
	Lofa	6,368	11,280	4,414	3,503	5,629	3,062	959	352,319	24,395	1,208	208,077	3,978	766	894	2,517	629,369	7,119	277,050
	Margibi	1,016	2,752	776	2,190	595	639	218	399	135,582	1,196	36,897	1,026	603	296	630	184,815	163,399	49,233
	Maryland	643	943	434	1,199	707	3,612	3,523	277	3,822	137,773	62,185	1,478	345	5,729	3,290	225,960	29,198	88,187
	Montserrado	4,492	3,202	1,925	4,877	4,067	2,700	1,054	1,116	17,351	1,609	724,551	5,097	2,875	1,458	2,714	779,088	1,108,727	54,537
	Nimba	1,276	5,888	2,426	3,141	1,795	4,567	2,418	602	14,679	815	133,534	583,089	1,830	2,156	2,961	761,177	27,174	178,088
	River Cess	63	81	94	1,634	134	327	279	19	1,370	484	13,754	355	73,143	296	685	92,718	15,970	19,575
	River Gee	116	196	186	253	114	4,202	1,266	23	605	5,517	13,503	302	460	101,564	1,275	129,582	18,269	28,018
	Sinoe	233	266	157	682	336	2,357	897	79	1,219	853	36,384	323	899	1,469	118,607	164,761	28,457	46,154
	Total	**131,009**	**458,771**	**92,605**	**287,507**	**172,394**	**205,020**	**106,844**	**359,438**	**298,981**	**166,971**	**1,833,278**	**610,263**	**89,113**	**119,833**	**147,064**	**5,079,091**	**1,600,340**	**1,600,340**

Note: Population excludes non-Liberians and Liberians born outside Liberia, floating and institutional population

Table A2: Distribution of the population by migration status, age and sex

Age group	Migrants			Non-migrants			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-4	48,831	49,881	98,712	215,261	220,757	436,018	264,092	270,638	534,730
5-9	60,293	66,027	126,320	238,237	235,755	473,992	298,530	301,782	600,312
10-14	73,358	83,915	157,273	236,218	225,030	461,248	309,576	308,945	618,521
15-19	86,318	93,663	179,981	221,230	220,965	442,195	307,548	314,628	622,176
20-24	93,962	100,623	194,585	189,144	194,957	384,101	283,106	295,580	578,686
25-29	76,935	84,736	161,671	126,323	134,781	261,104	203,258	219,517	422,775
30-34	83,627	84,107	167,734	124,134	127,294	251,428	207,761	211,401	419,162
35-39	67,924	64,479	132,403	93,419	97,937	191,356	161,343	162,416	323,759
40-44	67,532	53,530	121,062	94,157	83,390	177,547	161,689	136,920	298,609
45-49	39,617	32,864	72,481	55,381	50,676	106,057	94,998	83,540	178,538
50-54	37,364	30,023	67,387	53,940	46,538	100,478	91,304	76,561	167,865
55-59	19,286	16,473	35,759	26,813	23,303	50,116	46,099	39,776	85,875
60-64	17,935	15,228	33,163	27,877	24,783	52,660	45,812	40,011	85,823
65-69	10,075	8,598	18,673	15,127	13,314	28,441	25,202	21,912	47,114
70-74	7,289	6,999	14,288	12,958	12,759	25,717	20,247	19,758	40,005
75-79	3,218	3,312	6,530	6,002	6,338	12,340	9,220	9,650	18,870
80+	5,561	6,757	12,318	10,807	13,146	23,953	16,368	19,903	36,271
Total	**799,125**	**801,215**	**1,600,340**	**1,747,028**	**1,731,723**	**3,478,751**	**2,546,153**	**2,532,938**	**5,079,091**

Table A3: Distribution of the urban population by migration status, age and sex

Age group	Migrants			Non-migrants			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-4	37,639	38,904	76,543	93,349	96,756	190,105	130,988	135,660	266,648
5-9	47,784	53,557	101,341	104,037	109,758	213,795	151,821	163,315	315,136
10-14	58,968	70,042	129,010	106,639	114,194	220,833	165,607	184,236	349,843
15-19	70,497	78,067	148,564	103,935	107,680	211,615	174,432	185,747	360,179
20-24	76,120	83,105	159,225	84,209	88,204	172,413	160,329	171,309	331,638
25-29	61,911	70,948	132,859	54,134	60,277	114,411	116,045	131,225	247,270
30-34	65,944	69,037	134,981	47,957	50,246	98,203	113,901	119,283	233,184
35-39	52,883	52,411	105,294	33,752	36,262	70,014	86,635	88,673	175,308
40-44	50,372	42,199	92,571	30,727	27,398	58,125	81,099	69,597	150,696
45-49	29,548	26,344	55,892	17,363	16,432	33,795	46,911	42,776	89,687
50-54	27,365	24,072	51,437	15,552	13,659	29,211	42,917	37,731	80,648
55-59	14,823	13,869	28,692	7,661	7,143	14,804	22,484	21,012	43,496
60-64	13,448	12,569	26,017	7,485	6,760	14,245	20,933	19,329	40,262
65-69	7,804	7,281	15,085	4,088	3,612	7,700	11,892	10,893	22,785
70-74	5,374	5,744	11,118	3,034	3,260	6,294	8,408	9,004	17,412
75-79	2,344	2,708	5,052	1,393	1,554	2,947	3,737	4,262	7,999
80+	3,590	5,095	8,685	2,590	3,361	5,951	6,180	8,456	14,636
Total	**626,414**	**655,952**	**1,282,366**	**717,905**	**746,556**	**1,464,461**	**1,344,319**	**1,402,508**	**2,746,827**

Table A4: Distribution of the rural population by migration status, age and sex

Age group	Migrants			Non-migrants			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-4	11,192	10,977	22,169	121,912	124,001	245,913	133,104	134,978	268,082
5-9	12,509	12,470	24,979	134,200	125,997	260,197	146,709	138,467	285,176
10-14	14,390	13,873	28,263	129,579	110,836	240,415	143,969	124,709	268,678
15-19	15,821	15,596	31,417	117,295	113,285	230,580	133,116	128,881	261,997
20-24	17,842	17,518	35,360	104,935	106,753	211,688	122,777	124,271	247,048
25-29	15,024	13,788	28,812	72,189	74,504	146,693	87,213	88,292	175,505
30-34	17,683	15,070	32,753	76,177	77,048	153,225	93,860	92,118	185,978
35-39	15,041	12,068	27,109	59,667	61,675	121,342	74,708	73,743	148,451
40-44	17,160	11,331	28,491	63,430	55,992	119,422	80,590	67,323	147,913
45-49	10,069	6,520	16,589	38,018	34,244	72,262	48,087	40,764	88,851
50-54	9,999	5,951	15,950	38,388	32,879	71,267	48,387	38,830	87,217
55-59	4,463	2,604	7,067	19,152	16,160	35,312	23,615	18,764	42,379
60-64	4,487	2,659	7,146	20,392	18,023	38,415	24,879	20,682	45,561
65-69	2,271	1,317	3,588	11,039	9,702	20,741	13,310	11,019	24,329
70-74	1,915	1,255	3,170	9,924	9,499	19,423	11,839	10,754	22,593
75-79	874	604	1,478	4,609	4,784	9,393	5,483	5,388	10,871
80+	1,971	1,662	3,633	8,217	9,785	18,002	10,188	11,447	21,635
Total	**172,711**	**145,263**	**317,974**	**1,029,123**	**985,167**	**2,014,290**	**1,201,834**	**1,130,430**	**2,332,264**

Table A5: School attendance status of the population 3 years and older by migration status, sex and locality

Locality	Status	Migrants			Non-migrants			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Urban	Never attended	90,075	157,964	248,039	121,912	164,075	285,987	211,987	322,039	534,026
	Completed	228,124	160,263	388,387	142,419	108,359	250,778	370,543	268,622	639,165
	Drop-out	84,099	98,186	182,285	68,764	75,157	143,921	152,863	173,343	326,206
	Currently attending	204,134	219,245	423,379	333,811	346,765	680,576	537,945	566,010	1,103,955
	Total	**606,432**	**635,658**	**1,242,090**	**666,906**	**694,356**	**1,361,262**	**1,273,338**	**1,330,014**	**2,603,352**
Rural	Never attended	56,982	64,001	120,983	429,937	517,061	946,998	486,919	581,062	1,067,981
	Completed	34,113	15,569	49,682	98,192	43,814	142,006	132,305	59,383	191,688
	Drop-out	38,035	24,962	62,997	153,766	110,646	264,412	191,801	135,608	327,409
	Currently attending	37,558	34,871	72,429	282,156	247,729	529,885	319,714	282,600	602,314
	Total	**166,688**	**139,403**	**306,091**	**964,051**	**919,250**	**1,883,301**	**1,130,739**	**1,058,653**	**2,189,392**
Total	Never attended	147,057	221,965	369,022	551,849	681,136	1,232,985	698,906	903,101	1,602,007
	Completed	262,237	175,832	438,069	240,611	152,173	392,784	502,848	328,005	830,853
	Drop-out	122,134	123,148	245,282	222,530	185,803	408,333	344,664	308,951	653,615
	Currently attending	241,692	254,116	495,808	615,967	594,494	1,210,461	857,659	848,610	1,706,269
	Total	**773,120**	**775,061**	**1,548,181**	**1,630,957**	**1,613,606**	**3,244,563**	**2,404,077**	**2,388,667**	**4,792,744**

Table A6: Education attainment of the population 3 years and older by migration status, sex and locality

Locality	Status	Migrants			Non-migrants			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Urban	None	101,847	171,595	273,442	143,006	186,631	329,637	244,853	358,226	603,079
	Preschool	51,118	58,788	109,906	103,715	110,872	214,587	154,833	169,660	324,493
	Primary	134,555	156,554	291,109	186,282	199,933	386,215	320,837	356,487	677,324
	Secondary	239,141	206,270	445,411	196,909	174,748	371,657	436,050	381,018	817,068
	University	76,433	40,254	116,687	35,370	21,000	56,370	111,803	61,254	173,057
	Other tertiary	3,338	2,197	5,535	1,624	1,172	2,796	4,962	3,369	8,331
	Total	**606,432**	**635,658**	**1,242,090**	**666,906**	**694,356**	**1,361,262**	**1,273,338**	**1,330,014**	**2,603,352**
Rural	None	59,839	66,726	126,565	450,494	536,161	986,655	510,333	602,887	1,113,220
	Preschool	13,608	13,119	26,727	111,476	103,793	215,269	125,084	116,912	241,996
	Primary	39,838	32,531	72,369	232,237	193,163	425,400	272,075	225,694	497,769
	Secondary	45,484	24,019	69,503	156,881	82,394	239,275	202,365	106,413	308,778
	University	7,483	2,824	10,307	11,917	3,476	15,393	19,400	6,300	25,700
	Other tertiary	436	184	620	1,046	263	1,309	1,482	447	1,929
	Total	**166,688**	**139,403**	**306,091**	**964,051**	**919,250**	**1,883,301**	**1,130,739**	**1,058,653**	**2,189,392**
Total	None	161,686	238,321	400,007	593,500	722,792	1,316,292	755,186	961,113	1,716,299
	Preschool	64,726	71,907	136,633	215,191	214,665	429,856	279,917	286,572	566,489
	Primary	174,393	189,085	363,478	418,519	393,096	811,615	592,912	582,181	1,175,093
	Secondary	284,625	230,289	514,914	353,790	257,142	610,932	638,415	487,431	1,125,846
	University	83,916	43,078	126,994	47,287	24,476	71,763	131,203	67,554	198,757
	Other tertiary	3,774	2,381	6,155	2,670	1,435	4,105	6,444	3,816	10,260
	Total	**773,120**	**775,061**	**1,548,181**	**1,630,957**	**1,613,606**	**3,244,563**	**2,404,077**	**2,388,667**	**4,792,744**

Table A7: Literacy status of the population 5 years and older by migration status, sex and locality

Locality	Status	Migrants			Non-migrants			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Urban	Literate	453,711	408,923	862,634	457,757	437,589	895,346	911,468	846,512	1,757,980
	Not literate	135,064	208,125	343,189	166,799	212,211	379,010	301,863	420,336	722,199
	Total	**588,775**	**617,048**	**1,205,823**	**624,556**	**649,800**	**1,274,356**	**1,213,331**	**1,266,848**	**2,480,179**
Rural	Literate	95,106	61,918	157,024	434,657	312,184	746,841	529,763	374,102	903,865
	Not literate	66,413	72,368	138,781	472,554	548,982	1,021,536	538,967	621,350	1,160,317
	Total	**161,519**	**134,286**	**295,805**	**907,211**	**861,166**	**1,768,377**	**1,068,730**	**995,452**	**2,064,182**
Total	Literate	548,817	470,841	1,019,658	892,414	749,773	1,642,187	1,441,231	1,220,614	2,661,845
	Not literate	201,477	280,493	481,970	639,353	761,193	1,400,546	840,830	1,041,686	1,882,516
	Total	**750,294**	**751,334**	**1,501,628**	**1,531,767**	**1,510,966**	**3,042,733**	**2,282,061**	**2,262,300**	**4,544,361**

Table A8: Work activity status of the population 5 years and older who performed some economic activity by migration status, age and sex

Age group	Salary/wage work				Own account work				Contributing household work			
	Migrant		Non-migrant		Migrant		Non-migrant		Migrant		Non-migrant	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5-9	426	321	1,004	818	843	836	7,881	7,568	844	764	6,404	6,217
10-14	667	454	1,434	1,156	1,403	1,267	11,719	10,092	1,644	1,654	10,932	9,715
15-19	2,658	1,479	4,042	2,814	5,019	4,572	23,111	23,506	4,264	3,815	16,790	16,571
20-24	10,318	5,544	10,610	6,739	15,705	15,414	40,310	40,610	11,042	9,900	22,564	22,098
25-29	16,598	8,634	13,495	8,192	21,041	21,657	40,129	40,686	15,038	13,596	20,663	20,591
30-34	24,973	11,934	18,188	10,105	28,363	27,592	47,666	46,928	21,488	17,571	24,521	23,152
35-39	25,621	10,617	16,830	8,597	24,923	23,541	39,778	40,662	20,231	15,350	20,613	19,648
40-44	27,298	9,235	17v,741	7,076	25,980	20,837	42,684	35,671	21,515	13,489	21,821	17,185
45-49	16,876	5,798	10,511	4,345	15,465	12,850	26,608	22,355	13,090	8,343	13,400	10,617
50-54	15,564	4,583	10,234	3,551	14,054	10,704	25,753	19,518	11,959	7,038	13,139	9,060
55-59	8,220	2,414	5,542	1,653	6,662	5,156	12,881	9,239	6,149	3,454	6,512	4,284
60-64	6,253	1,582	4,782	1,356	5,789	3,846	12,560	8,544	5,049	2,545	6,284	3,791
65-69	2,955	697	2,237	597	2,919	1,815	6,477	4,025	2,611	1,227	3,164	1,792
70-74	1,495	280	1,340	339	1,764	954	4,943	2,954	1,415	678	2,275	1,303
75-79	508	105	486	165	706	368	2,038	1,140	551	222	991	547
80+	677	262	601	230	888	694	2,603	1,831	648	460	1,448	1,012
Total	**161,107**	**63,939**	**119,077**	**57,733**	**171,524**	**152,103**	**347,141**	**315,329**	**137,538**	**100,106**	**191,521**	**167,583**

Table A9: Ownership/tenancy of dwelling of households by migration status of head of household, sex and locality

Ownership/ tenancy	Urban						Rural					
	Migrant			Non-migrant			Migrant			Non-migrant		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Purchased	14,637	8,464	23,101	6,498	4,862	11,360	3,305	1,393	4,698	8,868	4,320	13,188
Constructed	68,915	37,980	106,895	45,548	29,797	75,345	26,778	9,703	36,481	146,012	64,886	210,898
Inherited	23,308	14,260	37,568	23,540	16,771	40,311	10,597	4,735	15,332	84,572	45,044	129,616
Mortgaged/ NHA	648	407	1,055	270	225	495	133	72	205	399	234	633
Rented	103,482	69,986	173,468	55,315	45,694	101,009	11,018	5,165	16,183	15,343	9,798	25,141
Govemment (Provided)	1,488	529	2,017	728	401	1,129	788	241	1,029	986	491	1,477
Private Company (Provided)	2,791	740	3,531	1,244	492	1,736	7,888	1,668	9,556	3,531	1,101	4,632
Private Individual (Provided)	5,441	3,052	8,493	3,089	2,093	5,182	2,204	813	3,017	8,543	4,626	13,169
Squatter	7,356	3,438	10,794	3,399	2,009	5,408	4,761	1,733	6,494	10,452	5,847	16,299
Gifted	1,746	1,000	2,746	1,394	1,015	2,409	2,174	828	3,002	6,316	3,973	10,289
Other	899	421	1,320	451	313	764	173	67	240	541	340	881
Total	**230,711**	**140,277**	**370,988**	**141,476**	**103,672**	**245,148**	**69,819**	**26,418**	**96,237**	**285,563**	**140,660**	**426,223**

Table A10: Household main source of drinking water by migration status of head of household and locality

Source	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total
Pipe or Pump indoors	31,517	15,584	47,101	6,060	17,296	23,356	37,577	32,880	70,457
Pipe or Pump out doors	169,108	128,857	297,965	45,168	199,141	244,309	214,276	327,998	542,274
Public Taps	13,121	9,114	22,235	2,884	12,255	15,139	16,005	21,369	37,374
Closed Well/ Protected	59,956	37,175	97,131	7,835	20,469	28,304	67,791	57,644	125,435
Open Well	50,719	32,566	83,285	10,426	49,892	60,318	61,145	82,458	143,603
River lake spring creek	1,027	1,672	2,699	22,375	123,240	145,615	23,402	124,912	148,314
Water Vendors	5,700	2,067	7,767	145	305	450	5,845	2,372	8,217
Bottled water	3,394	1,847	5,241	107	176	283	3,501	2,023	5,524
Rain water	35,337	15,435	50,772	680	1,310	1,990	36,017	16,745	52,762
Other	404	417	821	384	1,779	2,163	788	2,196	2,984
Sachet water	705	414	1,119	173	360	533	878	774	1,652
Total	370,988	245,148	616,136	96,237	426,223	522,460	467,225	671,371	1,138,596

Table A11: Household main source of lighting by migration status of household head and locality

Source	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total
Electricity (own generator)	16,338	7,223	23,561	4,026	6,949	10,975	20,364	14,172	34,536
Electricity (LEC)	195,324	80,418	275,742	4,788	5,665	10,453	200,112	86,083	286,195
Electricity (West Africa)	1,497	1,819	3,316	371	768	1,139	1,868	2,587	4,455
Electricity (Community)	13,484	6,578	20,062	2,651	2,353	5,004	16,135	8,931	25,066
Kerosine	826	530	1,356	491	1,546	2,037	1,317	2,076	3,393
Candle	5,281	3,597	8,878	1,395	6,626	8,021	6,676	10,223	16,899
Palm oil lamp (chako lantem)	555	883	1,438	1,172	12,998	14,170	1,727	13,881	15,608
Wood	1,081	2,430	3,511	5,193	30,303	35,496	6,274	32,733	39,007
Solar panel	9,630	14,635	24,265	7,639	34,558	42,197	17,269	49,193	66,462
Chinese/battery light	124,844	125,712	250,556	67,995	323,273	391,268	192,839	448,985	641,824
Other	2,128	1,323	3,451	516	1,184	1,700	2,644	2,507	5,151
Total	370,988	245,148	616,136	96,237	426,223	522,460	467,225	671,371	1,138,596

Table A12: Household main source of cooking fuel by migration status of household head and locality

Source	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total
Electricity	9,855	3,788	13,643	895	1,344	2,239	10,750	5,132	15,882
Cooking Gas	6,134	2,645	8,779	492	462	954	6,626	3,107	9,733
Kerosine	1,567	638	2,205	201	581	782	1,768	1,219	2,987
Charcoal	331,004	181,009	512,013	31,194	34,977	66,171	362,198	215,986	578,184
Wood	19,494	55,660	75,154	63,114	388,143	451,257	82,608	443,803	526,411
Other	2,934	1,408	4,342	341	716	1,057	3,275	2,124	5,399
Total	370,988	245,148	616,136	96,237	426,223	522,460	467,225	671,371	1,138,596

Table A13: Type of household human waste disposal facility by migration status of household head and locality

Source	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total	Migrant	Non-migrant	Total
Flush toilet for household use only	147,807	69,787	217,594	13,809	22,872	36,681	161,616	92,659	254,275
Flush toilet shared with other households	98,261	61,899	160,160	10,808	34,726	45,534	109,069	96,625	205,694
Covered pit latrine outside building	63,559	59,692	123,251	11,953	55,114	67,067	75,512	114,806	190,318
Open pit latrine	31,997	26,646	58,643	7705	43,740	51,445	39,702	70,386	110,088
Bush	17,101	20,762	37,863	50223	260,252	310,475	67,324	281,014	348,338
Beach/Riverside	10,997	5,688	16,685	1691	9,250	10,941	12,688	14,938	27,626
Other	1,266	674	1,940	48	269	317	1,314	943	2,257
Total	370,988	245,148	616,136	96,237	426,223	522,460	467,225	671,371	1,138,596