Gender relations in cocoa and oil palm value chain collaboration in the Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts of Ghana

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GENDER RELATIONS IN COCOA AND OIL PALM VALUE CHAIN
COLLABORATION IN THE AHAFO-ANO NORTH AND KWAEBIBIREM DISTRICTS
OF GHANA

by

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requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Social Forestry and Environmental
Governance

JULY 2018
DECLARATION AND CERTIFICATION

Student Declaration

I, Samuel Asiedu (UENR2016170086), hereby declare that the study was carried out and written by me, and that all sources of information have been acknowledged and that I am wholly responsible for any acts that may infringe on the research ethic policies of the University.

…………………………………
……………………
Candidate’s Signature
Date

Supervisor’s Certification

This study was carried out under the supervision of Mrs. Mercy Afua Adutwumwaa Derkyi (PhD) (Senior Lecturer) in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of graduate studies.

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Signature: …………………………… Date: ……………………………

Head of Department: Mr. Alexander Afrifa Baffour
Signature: …………………………… Date: ……………………………
ABSTRACT

Value Chain Collaborations (VCCs) are voluntary associations between different actors in a chain and beyond (producers, buyers, and sometimes also government institutions and NGOs) for addressing smallholder farmers’ challenges in production and marketing systems. Previous research on VCCs has not examined how gender relations may impact the participation in production and marketing in intervention programmes originating from VCCs. Using a combination of household survey, focus group discussions and observations, the study employed a gender relations approach to analyse the impacts that gender relations and roles in cocoa and oil palm farming have on engagement in tree crop production and assess farmers options to make VCC more gender-sensitive and inclusive. The study found that although both men and women participate in farming, women’ involvement is limited. Even though women have triple roles – productive, reproductive and communal – they are constrained by limited access to productive resources like land, agricultural inputs and credit. Moreover, the cultural perception of men as being stronger than women supports the practice of men’s dominance in tree-crop production considering the tedious tasks involved. Respondents were aware of the presence of VCC intervention programmes in tree-crops like Serendipalm’s organic farming programme and Armajaro’s Input Scheme. This gave them the capability to self-include or self-exclude depending on the conditions and benefits derived from joining the programme. Unequal power relations in decision-making makes women farmers feel ‘voiceless’ and frustrated in influencing decisions within their households and at the farm level as final decisions are made by men. This creates a disincentive for women to actively engage in production and marketing within VCCs. The study suggests that in order to make VCCs more gender-sensitive and inclusive, policies and value chain actors need to recognise women farmers’ unpaid reproductive role and contribution to the value chain through separate award schemes for male and female farmers. Also, VCC actors and other stakeholders should ensure that women farmers have better access to land, farm inputs, and credit. The study suggests that the current gender relations rooted in culture need further research to unearth the cultural barriers and opportunities that will ensure active involvement of women in tree-crop production.
DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to the Almighty God for his guidance and protection throughout the study period.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGL</td>
<td>Armajaro Ghana Limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHED</td>
<td>Cocoa Health and Extension Division of COCOBOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COCOBOD</td>
<td>Ghana Cocoa Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FASDEP</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Sector Development Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FFBs</td>
<td>Fresh Fruit Bunches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOHCREC</td>
<td>University of Ghana’s Forest and Horticultural Crops Research Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOPDC</td>
<td>Ghana Oil Palm Development Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSS</td>
<td>Ghana Statistical Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIT</td>
<td>Royal Tropical Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoFA</td>
<td>Ministry of Food and Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPRI</td>
<td>Oil Palm Research Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSI</td>
<td>Presidential Special Initiative on Oil Palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Statistical Package for Social Scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOPP</td>
<td>Twifo Praso Oil Palm Processing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCC</td>
<td>Value Chain Collaboration</td>
</tr>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the study by presenting the background of the study (Section 1.1), the problem statement (Section 1.2), the justification for this research (Section 1.3) and the research objectives (Section 1.4). Section 1.5 highlights the research questions, while Section 1.6 presents the thesis set up.

1.1 Background of the Study

Prior to the discovery of oil, agriculture was the most important sector of Ghana’s economy in terms of rural employment, food security and export earning (Acheampong, 2012). It is reported to be the backbone and engine for economic growth and development in Ghana and crops remain the most important economic activity as it constitutes 16.9% of Ghana’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (GSS, 2014a). With a share of about 22% in Ghana’s GDP, agriculture is the third largest contributor to the Ghanaian economy (GSS, 2014a). In addition, more than half of the workforce are smallholder farmers and agriculture in general supports at least 70% of the total population economically through farming, distribution of farm produce and provision of other services to the agricultural sector. Furthermore, the sector plays a major role in rural household’s income, food security and contributes to the development of Ghanaian industry through the supply of raw materials (Abdul-Wahid, 2012).

Cocoa has been the bedrock of the Ghanaian economy over the years with about 800,000 smallholder households engaging in its production (Asante-Poku & Angelucci, 2013). It is the single most important agricultural export crop and a major source of foreign exchange to Ghana (Asante-Poku & Angelucci, 2013). In terms of world cocoa exports, Ghana is the second largest producer of cocoa beans after Côte d’Ivoire. Until the recent discovery of oil, cocoa has been the mainstay of Ghana’s economy for a century.
The government considers oil palm as the key strategic pillar of agricultural and industry-led growth for poverty reduction because of its potential to provide income for many rural smallholders (Osei-Amponsah et al., 2012). Oil palm is the second most important tree-crop in the Ghanaian economy after cocoa. It is, therefore, one of the leading cash crops in the rural economy especially in the forest belt of Ghana. Oil palm, an essential oilseed, produces many products both for domestic consumption and as inputs for the industrial sector (Ofosu-Budu & Sarpong, 2013).

Considering the importance of agriculture in promoting socio-economic development, developing countries spend a lot of resources in the agricultural sector to improve productivity and market access as a poverty reduction strategy (Nang’ole, Mithöfer, & Franzel, 2011). In Ghana, the government has adopted several policies such as the Food and Agriculture Sector Development Policy (FASDEP II) in order to improve agricultural growth (Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA), 2007). The policy focuses on modernization and commercialization of agriculture based on market-driven growth, culminating in a structurally transformed economy and food security, employment opportunities, and reduced poverty. The FASDEP II enables collaboration of the private sector with other partners to facilitate the implementation of policies for improved productivity, increased income and profitability. A value chain approach to agricultural development is adopted in the FASDEP II with value addition and market access given more attention. Also, the program focuses on connecting smallholder farmers to external markets, and capacity building and investment along the entire marketing chain (MoFA, 2007).

Despite consistent government support to farmers in the agricultural sector, smallholder farmers in Ghana face many production and marketing constraints (Asante-Poku & Angelucci, 2013). Value-chain collaborations (VCCs) have emerged as a policy tool for addressing farmers production and marketing constraints. The NWO-WOTRO-financed project ‘Inclusive Value Chain Collaboration’ ¹ (Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research), of which this study is a part, puts emphasis on these collaborations and defined

¹ https://inclusivevcc.wordpress.com/.
them as the “voluntary associations between different actors in a chain, including producers and buyers and often, but not necessarily, other societal actors such as non-governmental organizations and, in the case of public-private partnerships, governmental organizations” (Ros-Tonen, van Leynseele, Laven, & Sunderland 2015, p. 524). Inclusive VCC recognizes the potential of value chains for poverty alleviation, but criticizes regular value chain analysis by amplifying its narrow focus. Whereas value chain analysis exclusively focuses on power constellations and governance arrangements within the value chains, inclusive VCC includes non-commodity production, sustainability issues and horizontal collaboration with non-chain actors within a broader social and geographical landscape (Ros-Tonen et al., 2015 cited in Vos & Laven, 2017). The inclusive VCC project aims to examine whether and how VCC involving tree-crop farmers in Ghana (cocoa and oil palm) and South Africa (macadamia and avocado) can be made more equitable and inclusive (Jaskiewicz & Laven, 2015). Gender relations are core component of the inclusive VCCs in understanding the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. Knowledge generated in this project contributes to achieving more fair terms of engagement in VCCs for the farmers and ultimately increasing smallholders’ capacity to negotiate with other stakeholders. The nature of the project is action-oriented research that enables and stimulates arenas for joint learning and knowledge creation through bringing multiple stakeholders together during annual learning platform meetings in Tepa and Kade (Ros-Tonen et al., 2015).

According to Ros-Tonen et al. (2015), VCCs have reported positive effects on farmers’ productivity, income and innovation capacity. However, literature also reports gender insensitivity and adverse inclusion as well as other risks associated with farmers’ engagement in VCCs (Laven, 2010; Pyburn, 2014). Thus, gender plays vital role in farmers’ engagement and the benefits that they may reap from VCCs. Males and females working in the agricultural sector are confronted with different constraints. The differences in roles performed by males and females in the agricultural sector arise from cultural and socio-economic factors (Raney et al., 2011). A report by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), (2014a) stated that 45.9% and 38.3% of males and females respectively were engaged in the agricultural sector. The sector employs more males than females particularly, in rural areas (Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), 2012).
Gender relations affect smallholder farmers’ access to and control over resources. Therefore, it is argued that gender roles and relations with respect to access to, control over and ownership of resources determine the sharing of benefits obtained from one’s engagement in value-chain activities. Sabates-Wheeler (2006) studied the relationship between ownership and control over resources such as land, and the patterns of agricultural growth and concluded that inequalities tend to reproduce inequalities. This suggests that the objectives of intervention programmes that promote agricultural development could be undermined if gender inequalities are not addressed. Therefore, a critical approach towards VCCs that takes smallholder farmers’ differential struggles to access resources, attain autonomy over production and marketing to engage in VCCs is required for an inclusive VCC.

1.2 Problem Statement

Agriculture, and more specifically the growing of tree-crops such as cocoa and oil palm and food crops, is considered as the backbone of the Ghanaian economy. Notwithstanding its contribution to socio-economic development of the country, it continues to face several production and marketing challenges. As a result, Value Chain Collaboration (VCC) has emerged as a strong initiative for addressing some of these production and marketing challenges that smallholder farmers are facing. VCC improves smallholder farmers access to inputs, market, trainings/capacity building however there is limited gender consideration in VCC intervention programmes. Cocoa and Oil palm VCC intervention programmes are gender insensitive because the tree-crops are considered as males’ crop in the study districts. Also, many of the value-chain intervention programmes are normally designed and implemented without considering the impacts of traditional gender roles and relations on smallholder farmers’ engagement in production and marketing and on the benefits of VCCs to the farmers (Jeckoniah, Nombo, & Mdoe, 2013). Agricultural policymakers have turned a blind eye to female farmers because they consider farmers as males for decades, this denies females’ claim of involvement in farming activities which affect their livelihoods. Therefore, rural females have been left behind males by economic and social standards (Stephens, 1993). Coupled with the gender insensitivity is adverse inclusion in VCCs. This is mainly due to the combined effects of social and cultural norms in gender relations resulting from inequality such as land rights and inheritance, decision-making rights, control
and ownership of resources, access to financial services, production technologies, inputs, and training. These generally result in low agricultural productivity, and consequently low income, poverty and food insecurity for smallholder farmers. Therefore, the growing gender inequalities, loss of decision-making power on the part of marginalized farmers, marketing and inequitable benefit sharing (Bolwig, Ponte, du Toit, Riisgaard, & Halberg, 2010; Laven, 2010; Pyburn, 2014) pose challenges to inclusive and beneficial engagement of smallholder farmers in VCC programmes.

Therefore, this study looks at how VCCs can be more gender-sensitive and inclusive to marginalized smallholder farmers, especially females in the Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts. Using the gender relations framework (van Eerdewijk & Danielsen, 2015), the study analyses the impacts that gender relations and roles have on engagement in cocoa and oil palm farming and VCCs.

1.3 Justification of the Study

Cocoa and oil palm are cash crops that contribute significantly to the socio-economic development of the Ghanaian economy (Osei-Amponsah et al., 2012; Asante-Poku & Angelucci, 2013; Asubonteng, Pfeffer, Ros-Tonen, Verbesselt & Baud, 2018). For instance, about 800,000 smallholder households are engaged in cocoa production in rural areas of Ghana, involving both males and females (Asante-Poku & Angelucci, 2013). Therefore, gender relations in cocoa and oil palm production value-chains are important because of the high number of males and females working in both sectors. According to Raney et al. (2011), males and females working in the agricultural sector are confronted with different constraints. Value chain collaboration, which is an emerging agricultural initiative, helps to address some of these challenges and there are positive effects on farmers’ productivity, income and innovation capacity (Ros-Tonen et al., 2015). However, in Ghana, cash crops are generally perceived as a male’s crop and its revenues are controlled by male heads of households (UTZ, Solidaridad & Oxfam, 2009). Cash crops production therefore employs a larger number of males than females, particularly, in the rural areas of Ghana. Also, females-owned rural businesses tend to face more challenges than their male counterparts, and receive far fewer supports and services (Laven & Verhart, 2011). As a result, inequality
in decision-making, access to and control over resources could jeopardize the importance and contributions of cocoa and oil palm to the Ghanaian economy and the livelihoods of individual farmers. Since value chains are embedded in a social context (Rubin, Manfre, & Barrett, 2009), there is a need to understand how intra-household and broader gender dynamics influence decisions at the farm level, access to productive resources, participation in production, and engagement in VCCs. Research that examines farmers perceptions’ of gender roles and relations and their impacts on engagement in cocoa and oil palm production and marketing within VCCs, and options to make VCC more gender-sensitive and inclusive is almost non-existent.

This study seeks to fill the above gap by focusing on gender relations in cocoa and oil palm VCCs and farmers’ perception of the effects of gender relations on the engagement in production and marketing in VCC. It also explores farmers’ suggestions for options to make VCC more gender-sensitive and inclusive to marginalised smallholder farmers, especially women.

1.4 Main Objective

To analyse the impact that gender relations and roles in cocoa and oil palm farming have on engagement in tree-crop production and marketing within VCC and explore options to make VCC more gender-sensitive and inclusive.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

1. To analyse cocoa and oil palm farming systems and tenure arrangements from a gender perspective.
2. To assess the distinct roles played by females and males in cocoa and oil palm production and marketing.
3. To analyse farmers’ perceptions of gender relations and the impact thereof on the engagement in cocoa and oil palm production and marketing within VCCs.
4. To assess farmers’ awareness of cocoa and oil palm VCC programmes.
5. To explore farmers’ perspectives on options to make VCCs more gender-sensitive and inclusive to smallholder farmers.
1.5 Main Research Question

What impact do gender relations and roles in cocoa and oil palm farming have on engagement in tree crop-production and marketing within VCCs and what are options to make VCCs more gender-sensitive and inclusive?

1.5.1 Specific Research Questions

1. How are cocoa and oil palm farming systems and tenure arrangements organized from a gender perspective?
2. What are the relations and roles of females and males in the production and marketing of cocoa and oil palm?
3. How do farmers’ perceive gender relations and roles and their effects on engagement in production and marketing within VCCs?
4. What are farmers’ awareness of cocoa and oil palm value chain collaboration programmes?
5. What are farmers’ perspectives on options to make VCCs more gender-sensitive and inclusive to smallholder cocoa and oil palm farmers?

1.6 Outline of the Thesis

The study comprises six chapters. Chapter one covers an introduction to the study, which includes the background of the study, statement of the problem, justification, research objectives, research questions and outline of the thesis. Chapter two encompasses the literature review that underlies the conceptual scheme. Chapter three presents the study methodology. Chapter four analyses the tree-crop farming system, tenure arrangements, gender roles and relations in the tree-crop sector. Chapter five assesses farmers awareness of cocoa and oil palm VCC programmes and analyses farmers’ perceptions of gender roles and relations and their effects on VCC, as well as their ideas about options to make VCCs more gender-sensitive and inclusive. Chapter six synthesizes the key findings, and presents conclusion and recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents the literature review. Section 2.1 looks at the concept and definition of gender, while Section 2.2 covers gender roles and relations in agriculture. Section 2.3 covers the value chain collaboration and Section 2.4 looks at gender and value chain collaborations. Section 2.5 presents the conceptual framework of the study.

2.1 Concept and Definition of Gender

Gender refers to the roles and expectations attributed to males and females in a given society, roles which change over time, place and life stage (Phillips, 2005, p. 1). It describes culturally upheld roles and responsibilities assigned by society on the male and female sexes. Gender is socially constructed characteristics of males and females that differs with the roles, norms and values of a given a society while sex is the biological characteristics of either males or females. Normally, sex cannot be changed while gender is socialization into a male or female role which assigns certain conduct according to socio-cultural norms for one’s sexes. For instance, being able to give birth is a fundamental function of biology while the nature of parenting is closely related to gender roles and expectations (Phillips, 2005). Therefore, gender relates to social meaning of biological sex differences and socially assigned roles and conducts attributable to females and males. Gender is also directly referred to relations that underpin gender inequality. For instance, people are taught appropriate norms and behaviours – including how they should relate with the same or opposite sex within households, communities and workplaces while they are born as males or females (World Health Organization (WHO), 2017). Gender is often misunderstood as the focus on females only. However, from the above definitions gender issues focus on the relationship between males and females, their roles, access to and control over resources, division of labour, interests, and needs.
2.2 Gender Roles and Gender Relations in Agriculture

Gender roles are the ‘social definition’ of females and males. They are roles that men and women play which are not determined by biological factors, but by the socio-economic and cultural factors (Ogato, Boon, & Subramani, 2009). They refer to what males and females are expected to do in the household, community and workplace in a given society (WHO, 2017). They differ among different societies and cultures, classes, ages and during different periods in history. Gender-specific roles and responsibilities are often conditioned by household structure, access to resources, specific impacts of the global economy, and other locally relevant factors such as environmental factors (FAO, 1997). Gender relations are the ways in which a culture or society defines rights, responsibilities, and the identities of men and women in relation to one another (Bravo-Baumann, 2000). Agricultural-related policies and programmes do not distinguish between male and female farmers. Therefore, they often fail to recognize the differences between males’ and females’ work, knowledge, contributions, and needs. Failure to consider these differences between males and females, leads to unsuccessful project outcomes.

Gender differences matter in farming systems throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, with ownership and management of farms and natural resources by males and females being defined by culturally-specific gender roles. The different roles males and females occupy in various farming systems whether it is (i) planting, (ii) weeding, (iii) harvesting, (iv) post-harvest processing, (v) marketing, or (vi) food preparation for household consumption vary depending on context and culture. The rights of males and females to access, manage, and own key resources, including land, water, livestock, and other key agricultural inputs, vary accordingly. Whereas male and female farmers may play diverse roles, they make vital contributions to agriculture throughout Sub-Saharan Africa (Meinzen-Dick et al., 2011).

2.3 Value Chain Collaborations

Value chain studies focus on vertical relationships between actors in the chain, such as producers, buyers, traders, retailers, and consumers. These relationships refer to the flow of goods and services from producer to consumer and from design to marketing, concerned with the value added by actors and the resulting income share (Ponte, 2008; Deans, Ros-
The focus is not only on vertical but also on horizontal relationships with “flows” including the transfer of knowledge, finance and information (Bolwig et al., 2010). This suggests that vertical commodity chain relations increasingly merge with horizontal, place-based interactions, contexts, actors and effects (Ros-Tonen et al., 2015; Deans et al., 2017). Deans et al. (2017) also identified advanced VCC which is characterized by the greater integration of smallholders, with the aim of addressing barriers to the chain’s development beyond what is expected within conventional VCCs (van Wijk & Kwakkenbos, 2012). These advanced VCCs aim for active partnerships, characterized by a commitment to relationships, mutual benefits and transparency while remaining focused on the commercial gains of collaboration (De Boer & Tarimo, 2012; Deans et al., 2017).

The Government of Ghana has ensured a continuous and lucrative cocoa and oil palm production through partnerships with the private sector (MOFA, 2007; World Bank, 2013). Examples of such partnerships include Cargill-Akufo Adamfo; Touton-Produce Buying Company; Kokoopa-Noble Resources; and Lindt-Armajaro Ghana Limited (AGL), which also involves the farmers associated with the buying companies. Other examples in the oil palm sector include the Presidential Special Initiative (PSI) on oil palm and the Buabin Oil Palm Out-Growers Scheme (a tripartite initiative between the Government of Ghana, farmers and the Twifo Praso Oil Palm Processing Company – TOPP). These partnerships focus on (i) training in good agricultural practices and certification standards; (ii) strengthening farmer groups and (iii) providing support services and credit to farmers to enable them to rehabilitate their farm (Deans et al., 2017).

2.4 Gender and Value Chain Collaborations

Value chain interventions focus on economic activities related to crops like cocoa and oil palm that have the potential to contribute more income to the actors involved, hence to increase productivity and reduce poverty. It is expected that value chain intervention programmes will help farmers in gaining improved prices for their produce. Ros-Tonen et al. (2015) noted that VCC has resulted in improving farmers’ income, output and innovation capacity. However, experts caution that VCC may tend to reproduce existing differences and power disparities amid value-chain actors; and smallholders and may not actually profit the
vulnerable if not well planned (Bitzer & Glasbergen, 2015; Ros-Tonen et al., 2015). Examples of such risks include growing gender inequalities; loss of decision-making power regarding crop choice and marketing and inequitable risk and benefit sharing (Bolwig et al, 2010; Laven, 2010; Pyburn, 2014). An important strategy to improve farmers’ agency and address their challenges in obtaining food and gaining power over production and selling is required to achieve value-chain combination and partnership (Ros-Tonen et al., 2015).

The impact of changes in gender roles and relations in production and markets access for agricultural products has not received attention in VCC intervention programmes (Jeckoniah et al., 2013). Cultural beliefs affect the roles that males and females play in production activities in value chains. (Laven, van Eerdewijk, Senders, van Wees, & Snelder, 2009) opined that the activities that males and females carry out within the chain may have consequence on other income-generating activities, subsistence farming and other tasks within the household level. The impacts of gender roles and relations on value chain interventions programmes cannot be generalized since farming systems vary from place to place (Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), Agri-ProFocus & International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR), 2012). It is important to know the implications of gender roles on farmers’ engagement in tree-crop production in VCC.

Women make up a large proportion of the workforce in agricultural value chains (KIT et al., 2012). However, agricultural policymakers have turned a blind eye to female farmers because they consider farmers as males for decades, this denies women’s claim of involvement in farming activities which affect their livelihoods. Therefore, rural females have been left behind males by economic and social standards (Stephens, 1993). Therefore, the rights and benefits that females obtain from their involvement in the value chain are limited and their contributions remain largely invisible. Although the engagement of females in agricultural activities has improved, their involvement in value chain intervention programmes is concentrated in the lower levels of the value chain, particularly in production (KIT, Faida MaLi, & IIRR, 2006).

Research indicates that more females are getting engaged in agriculture as males pursue different source of livelihoods especially in non-farm activities (World Bank & International
Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), 2008). However, females do not have the same rights to productive resources such as capital and land, due to the male-controlled nature of rural societies in Ghana. Laven & Verhart (2011) noted that females-owned rural businesses tend to face more challenges than their male counterparts, and receive far fewer supports and services. Although females’ participation in agricultural activities contributes to improved productivity, they do not benefit equally as their male counterparts, partially because of gender relations that discriminate against females involved in certain tasks in agricultural value chains.

The gender disparities in production and marketing affect females’ economic improvement and benefits in their participation in agriculture (KIT et al., 2012). However, in recent years, VCCs have been accepted as a strategic approach for improving smallholder farmers’ income. The role of females in agricultural value chains, which was regularly over-looked, is gradually being recognized (Duncan, 2004; KIT et al., 2012). Also, female farmers access to extension services, capital, training and decision-making in agricultural activities has been improved (Laven et al., 2009). In some areas, females’ involvement in agricultural production has improved due to the absence of males who have moved out for other livelihood activities in urban areas.

Value chain analysis is used in this study as an analytical tool for investigating smallholder farmers’ engagement in cocoa and oil palm production and marketing in VCCs. It provides a framework for mapping the activities along the chain, including decision-making, control over resources, and rewards (Bolwig et al., 2010). According to Bolwig et al. (2010), age and gender status of individuals within a households have impacts on their choice of livelihood activities. This suggests that a household’s engagement in a particular value chain does not only depend on its resource endowments, benefits and risks from involvement, but also on the household’s total resource allocation, income, risk, and benefit distribution. This underscores the significance of a value chain analysis to this study since age and gender status of smallholder farmers provide insight into the context within which gender roles, decision-making and access to resources either enhance or constrain their engagement in cocoa and oil palm value chain intervention programmes.
2.5 Conceptual Framework

The study used gender relations approach adapted from van Eerdewijk & Danielsen (2015) as shown in Figure 2.1. Gender relations describe roles, responsibilities as well as the distribution of resources and benefits. The approach focuses on inequality between males and females (Little & Panelli, 2003). The approach was used to understand gender roles males and females play in cocoa and oil palm value chains and farmers’ perceptions of the impacts of gender roles and relations on engagement in production and marketing in VCCs. The gender relations approach has four dimensions as shown in Figure 2.1: (1) division of labour, roles and responsibilities by gender within the household and on the farm, (2) gender differences in access to and control over resources (3) values and norms, and (4) gender-power relations in intra-household decision-making with respect to crop cultivation at the farm level, and market participation at post-farm levels of value chains (van Eerdewijk & Danielsen, 2015). Value chains are embedded in a social context (Rubin et al., 2009). This implies that performance of the entire value chain can be influenced by cultural norms operating in the social context in which the value chains are embedded. Access to and control over resources, decision-making, division of labor and norms are therefore critical to value chain participation. With regard to the agricultural system, different stages of the farming process starting from the land preparations stage up to the post-harvest stage were considered (van Eerdewijk & Danielsen, 2015). The study compares the different roles males and females play and analyzed farmers’ perceptions of the impact of gender roles and relations on engagement in production and marketing along the cocoa and oil palm value chains. The principal premise of the study is that males and females perform different roles and have different unequal statuses in most communities and households in Ghana. The four dimensions of the gender relations approach as shown in Figure 2.1 are explained below:

Firstly, gender division of labour, roles and responsibilities seek to understand the roles and responsibilities of males and females in productive, reproductive, and community development and to determine the implications for value chain participation (Rubin & Barret, 2009). The gender division of labour affects smallholder farmers’ engagement in production in tree-crop value chains (van Eerdewijk & Danielsen, 2015) as shown in Figure 2.1. This calls for understanding of who does what in farming from land preparation to post-
harvesting. To understand levels and processes of smallholder farmers’ engagement in production in value chains, it is important to look at the availability of labour to people within the home (Doss, 2001). Studies have also shown that females perform the largest part of reproductive task within households (Coltrane, 2000). This calls for an analysis of productive tasks involving cocoa and oil palm and reproductive tasks of males and females to find out why females and males engage in different value chains activities. Compared to males, females’ access to labour is truncated by context-specific gender roles and unequal gender relations which have to be analysed (van Eerdewijk & Danielsen, 2015).

Secondly, gender access to and control over resources and benefits describe the social relations that shape the distribution of resources that are important to be engaged in production. With regards to access to and control over benefits, ownership and access to land, capital, education, information and agricultural extension, research has revealed that gender inequalities exist in agricultural value chains (Peterman, Behrman, & Quisumbing, 2010). Males and females own varied types of assets, accumulate these assets in diverse
ways, and allocation among males and females is often unequal (Meinzen-Dick et al., 2011; Rubin and Barrett, 2009). The control and access over resources within household are determined by the broader socio-cultural context and by intra-household distribution rules (Meinzen-Dick et al., 2011). It is important to also identify who markets farm products, and who what controls the income thereof. Also, research has shown that males usually move into females’ activities once they become lucrative leading to decrease in females’ control (Doss, 2001). The consequence of males’ control over resources and benefits can, therefore, affect females’ engagement in production in VCCs negatively. Thus, the gendered nature of asset distribution could influence involvement at the various stages of the value chain, as well as control over the benefits derived from involvement as shown in Figure 2.1.

Thirdly, gender norms and values are sets of social rules and expectations about what males and females should do, and the position of individuals in the society. Gender norms draw upon and strengthen gender stereotypes, which are widely held, idealized beliefs about females and males, and are constantly changing. It looks at the value assigned to the labour of males and females within households. This needs understanding into the extent to which females’ and male’s labour is recognized, as well as understanding the value ascribed to it (van Eerdewijk & Danielsen, 2015) as shown in Figure 2.1.

Finally, gender relations and decision-making describe who has control over resources, and who has what say in decisions (van Eerdewijk & Danielsen, 2015) as shown in Figure 2.1. It is important to recognize that ‘households do not act in a unitary manner when making decisions or allocating resources’ and ‘women and men within households do not always have the same preferences or pool their resources’ (Meinzen-Dick et al., 2011, p. 8). Households have dimensions of both cooperation and conflict and hence these gender relations and intra-household decision-making processes affect smallholder farmers’ engagement in production in VCCs. This study will consider decision-making around the marketing of farm produce, decision-making over labour allocations, and decision-making around income and benefits.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research methodology, paying attention respectively to the research design (Section 3.1), the study area and scope of the study (Section 3.2), unit of analysis and observation (Section 3.3), the sampling methods (Section 3.4), data collection instruments and source of data (Section 3.5), data analysis and interpretation (Section 3.6), operationalization of concepts (Sections 3.7), ethical considerations (Section 3.8) and limitations of the study (Section 3.9)

3.1 Research Design

The study used cross-sectional and comparative case study design. It also employed an explorative research design that stems from a qualitative approach to research. The qualitative method is a holistic approach which allows for understanding social reality from the way it is experienced and expressed by the people themselves. Hesse-Biber phrases that, ‘the researcher’s respondent becomes “the expert”; it is the view and reality of the respondent that the researcher seeks to interpret’ (Hesse-Biber, 2010, p. 455). The cross-sectional survey research design collects information from a sample at a single point in time (Barret, 2003 cited in Loggoh, 2013). It is appropriate for determining the relationship among two or more variables that are determined by different methods. The cross-sectional study was useful for this study since it assesses the knowledge, the perception of farmers, attitudes, practices, beliefs and cultural dynamics of a population in relation to gender in cocoa and oil palm value chains (Creswell, 2009). The study also employed a comparative case-study design with a view to exploring the gender relations among farmers in Ahafo-Ano North District, which is primarily a cocoa-growing area, and Kwaebibirem District, where both cocoa and oil palm are cultivated. The study employed triangulation by combining the quantitative methods with that of the qualitative methods. The purpose of the mixed approach was to ensure that the results were consistent with respect to validity and accuracy over time. Sandelowski (2000) argued that the mixed methodological approach
controls bias while ensuring that results are consistent over time and the accuracy of the measurement of the research findings.

3.2 Study Area and Scope

The study was carried out within the broader framework of a four-year project on Inclusive Value Chain Collaboration for sustainable landscapes and greater food sovereignty among tree-crop farmers in Ghana and South Africa, financed by NWO-WOTRO Science for Global Development of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) (project no. W08.250.2013.122). The project is active in three districts in three regions of Ghana (thus Kwaebibirem District in the Eastern Region, Ahafo-Ano North District in the Ashanti Region and Upper Denkyira Municipal in the Central Region). Initially, the Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts were selected based on high production records of cocoa and oil palm respectively. The Upper Denkyira Municipal was later added due to the implementation of the Buabin Oil Palm Out-Growers Scheme (a tripartite initiative between the Government of Ghana, farmers and the Twifo Praso Oil Palm Processing Company – TOPP). A baseline survey was conducted in each district and six communities were purposively selected from each district based on the following criteria: (i) logistical and budgetary reasons (proximity to the district capital), (ii) implementation of cocoa and oil palm policies, (iii) farmers’ involvement in both cocoa and oil palm production, (iv) presence of identified VCCs (public-private partnerships (PPPs) in the cocoa sector and contract-farming in the oil palm sector (Ataa-Asantewaa & Ros-Tonen, 2015; Ataa-Asantewaa, Derkyi, Obeng-Ofori, & Ros-Tonen, 2016). Pramkese, Adankrono, Kwae, Damang, Asuom and Kwamang were selected from the Kwaebibirem District. Also, Tanokrom, Mfenibu, Nkyensedanho, Manfo, Camp and Achina were selected from the Ahafo-Ano North District. Finally, Mbraim, Mmradane, Buabin, Kramokrom, Kontokrom and Rubbermu were selected from the Upper Denkyira Municipal.

This study focused on two of the districts namely Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts. The study employed a simple random sampling technique to select three communities each from the six purposively selected communities in the Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts by the NWO-WOTRO project. The selected communities were
Mfenibu, Nkyensedanho and Camp in Ahafo-Ano North District and Pramkese, Damang and Asuom in Kwaebibirem District as shown in Figure 3.1. This allowed the comparison between the gender roles males and females play in sites where oil palm is the dominant crop (Kwaebibirem District) and where cocoa is the dominant crop (Ahafo-Ano North District).

Figure 3.1 A map of Ghana showing the study communities in the Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts. (Source: Author’s construct, 2018)

The Ahafo-Ano North District lies between latitude 6° 47’N and 7° 02’N and longitude 2° 26’W and 2° 04’W with a total landmass of 593.7 km². It is in the south-western part of the Ashanti Region of Ghana with Tepa as its district capital. The district shares boundaries with five districts: Tano North and South to the North, Atwima Mponua to the South, Asutifi South to the West, and Ahafo-Ano South District to the East. The district has an estimated population of about 94,285 people. Males constitute 50.9% and females represent 49.1% of the population. The district is located within the wet semi-equatorial zone marked by double maxima rainfall in June and October with a mean annual rainfall of 1750mm. Temperatures
are fairly high with a range between 26\(^\circ\)C in August and 30\(^\circ\)C in March which favours the cultivation of cocoa and many food crops. The district has two major forest reserves namely Disire Forest Reserve at the southern part of the district and the Tinte Beposo Forest Reserve located at the north-eastern part of the district. The farmlands and forest reserves are stocked with valuable timber like wawa (Triplochiton scleroxylon), odum (Milicia excelsa), sapele (Entandrophragma cylindricum) and mahogany (Khaya ivorensis). The agricultural sector employs about 74.0% of households in the district. Cocoa is a major cash crop for smallholder farmers in this district. Farmers are also into growing of food crops such as plantain, cassava, cocoyam and maize (GSS, 2014b).

Kwaebibirem District lies within latitude 6\(^\circ\)22’N and latitude 5\(^\circ\)75’S and longitude 1\(^\circ\)0’W and longitude 0\(^\circ\)35’E. The district spreads over 1,230 km\(^2\) area of land mass. It is in the south-western corner of the Eastern Region of Ghana with Kade as its district capital. The district has an estimated population of about 113,721. Males constitute 49.0% and females represent 51.0%. Agriculture employs 70.8% of the economically active labour with smallholder farmers cultivating treee-crops such as oil palm, cocoa and citrus and food crops such as plantain, cassava, cocoyam and maize. The soils are mainly forest ochrosols and mainly silty to silty clay loams. They are most fertile with moderately acid to neutral pH. The district is located in the semi-deciduous forest zone of Ghana with bi-modal rainfall pattern with peaks in June and October. Total annual rainfall is 1,500 mm. Oil palm is cultivated and processed in almost every community in the district (GSS, 2014c). Small-scale processing of oil palm dominates in the district although there are large-scale, and several medium-scale oil palm plantations and processing mills. The Oil Palm Research Institute (OPRI) and the Ghana Oil Palm Development Corporation (GOPDC) as well as the University of Ghana’s Forest and Horticultural Crops Research Centre (FOHCREC) are all located in the district.

3.3 Units of Analysis and Observation

This research spins around smallholder cocoa and oil palm farmers and their engagement in VCC. Therefore, the unit of analysis comprises the households of male and female farmers, with a focus on their production, marketing and engagement in cocoa and oil palm value
chains. The emphasis of this study is on gender relations and roles of smallholder cocoa and oil palm farmers and farmers’ perceptions of the impact of gender roles and relations on the engagement in production and marketing in inclusive VCCs in Ghana.

The unit of observation for this study were individual smallholder farmers (both males and females) participating in the cocoa and oil palm value chain production and marketing activities in the Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts.

3.4 Sampling Method

For the purpose of this research as indicated in Section 3.2, a simple random sampling technique was used to select three communities from each of the six communities that were purposively selected by the NWO-WOTRO project in each district. Purposive sampling was also used to gain access to the farmers who were already participants of the inclusive VCC baseline survey in the selected communities. In addition, snowball sampling technique was used to precisely target other cocoa and oil palm farmers and to ensure that female farmers and the youths were also included. The combination of these sampling methods helped to ensure a fair representation of the female cash crop farmers since they are usually under-represented in surveys due to males’ position as household heads. Purposive sampling was further used in the qualitative part of the research to select at least 8 participants for the focus group discussions (FGDs) from the survey participants in each community. The participants were selected based on their availability to participate in the FGD in their community.

3.4.2 Sample Size

A total sample size of 180 respondents was used for the study. The questionnaires were administered in six rural communities across the Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts (30 per community) among female and male farmers (see Table 3.1). Initially, I intended to use a simplified formula for determining sample size by Yamane which is given as

\[ n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2} \]  

(Yamane, 1967). However, the total target population for the study (thus cocoa and oil palm farmers) was unknown; therefore, it became necessary to abandon Yamane’s formula especially during the field work due to the following reasons. First, most
of the names on the list provided by the District office of Cocoa Health and Extension Division (CHED) of COCOBOD were not present in the study communities. Second, consultation with the community chief farmers and Assembly members of the study communities revealed that there are more cocoa and oil palm farmers in their communities than the numbers given to me. However, they could not give me the actual number of cocoa or oil palm farmers in their respective communities. As a result of the inaccurate data on the total number of cocoa or oil palm farmers, a sample size of thirty farmers was selected from each of the six communities giving a total sample size of one hundred and eighty (180) respondents. This is in line with a similar study by Anaglo, Boateng, & Swanzy, (2014) in the oil palm sector that used 30 farmers from each of the four communities they studied giving a total sample size of 120 respondents.

Table 3.1  Sampled respondents by the study districts and communities for survey and focus group discussion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Community</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>FGD (N=57)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SURVEY (N=180)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ahafo-Ano North (Cocoa farmers)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mfenibu</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkyensedanho</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pramkese</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damang</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asuom</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

According to Bryman (2008), choices around sample scope stand from a co-operation among the restrictions of time and cost, the requirement for exactness, and a diversity of additional thought. Bailey (1994) also contended that a sample or sub-sample of 30 participants is a bare least for a study in which arithmetical data analysis is to be conducted irrespective of the population size. A sample size of 180 household respondents was therefore used for this study. This is more than the sample size recommended by Matata (2001), who suggested that a sample size can range from 80-120 for most social-economic studies in Sub-Saharan African. The respondent had to produce either cocoa or oil palm or
both crops. Thus, when the study uses ‘cocoa or oil palm farmers’ it refers to farmers who cultivate either cocoa or oil palm. Criteria regarding size of farmland and quantity of produce were not requested before selecting the respondent.

3.5 Data Collection Instruments and Sources of Data

The study employed a mixed methods approach which involves qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. The data collection tools that were used in gathering data for analysis included structured questionnaires and a semi-structured interview guide for focus group discussions. Quantitative data was collected using household questionnaires to partly achieve research objectives 1 to 4. The questionnaires were used to collect information on gender relationships among smallholder farmers, their socio-economic status, and participation in value chain development activities.

In addition, focus group discussions (FGDs) involving female and male smallholder farmers participating in cocoa and oil palm production and marketing were held in each community to achieve research objective 3 to 5 (see Table 3.2). This gave the opportunity to triangulate the findings of the survey with the community members through the FGDS and gain further insights. The FGDs were composed of between six and eleven people in mixed groups with at least 50% women. At some point, the FGDs were split up into men only and women only group to ensure gender sensitivity. Participants were first asked to identify the distinct roles males and females play within the cocoa and oil palm value chain, before discussing farmers’ perceptions of gender roles and relations and their implications on engagement in production and marketing of cocoa and oil palm. Finally, participants were asked to explore options to make VCC more gender-sensitive and inclusive to smallholders to achieve objective three. Discussions included issues of gendered participation, changes in males’ and females’ roles and gender relations, ownership of assets, control over income, factors promoting or hindering decision-making by men and women. The study followed five days of data collection in each community according to a fixed schedule. Day 1 was an introduction into the community and administering of questionnaires. The administering of the questionnaires continued on Days 2-4. This was followed by focus group discussions on
Day 5 on farmers’ perceptions of gender roles and options to make VCC become more gender-sensitive and inclusive.

Data for the study was collected from two main sources including primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected through administration of questionnaires, observations and focus group discussions. The secondary sources included books, journals, newspapers, the world wide web, government publications, District Assembly reports on cocoa and oil palm production and the internet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.2 Complete data set of FGD participants of communities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FGD</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

3.6 Data Analysis and Interpretation

The raw data collected from the field using the questionnaires were entered into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software (IBM SPSS version 21) from which descriptive statistics such as frequency tables, cross-tabulation, pie charts, and bar charts were derived using proportions and percentages for interpretation and discussion. The pie charts and bar charts were used to give a graphical and pictorial understanding of the presentation. This provided specific demographic information and gave an indication of the different relations smallholder farmers have in production, marketing, and engagement in VCCs. The qualitative data was processed using Microsoft Excel. This research used predetermined themes which allowed the analysis to focus on the theoretical framework and its operationalization. Thus, the Microsoft Excel was used to group the qualitative data into themes that answered the research questions.
Operationalization of Major Concepts

The major concepts of the research questions were operationalized in order to transform them into a measurable form. The operationalized concepts were gender and value chain collaboration. Both concepts were divided into sub-concepts with several dimensions, each of which was in turn divided into different variables. A full operationalization table is presented in Appendix 1, which includes the indicators of all variables.
3.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues are fundamental to the successful implementation of the research and ensure the safety of both researcher and research participants who will contribute data and information to research. The study began with a reconnaissance survey during which the researcher visited communities and interacted with the community leaders and district authorities to ask permission for the fieldwork. In accordance with the moral concerns suggested by Bryman (2012), every participant information and data was preserved privately. Agreement for involvement was gotten orally as a result of possibly little literacy. Participants were made known that they could go back from the agreement at any point during the information gathering practice. Participants were completely informed on the topic and reasons for the study prior to the start of the data gathering. Identities of informants were not being published with the findings. A gender-sensitive approach was employed for the research, considering the highly gender-segregated nature of smallholder farmers in the cocoa and palm oil sector.

3.9 Limitations of the Research

The following were some of the limitations encountered:

The unwillingness of some community members to provide information to the researcher especially the female respondents since men are culturally considered as heads and custodians in their community. As a result participants were sometimes split during focus group discussion to create room for males and females to freely express their opinions.

Also, some potential respondents wanted to be compensated for time spent in responding to questions and questionnaires during data collection. This was addressed by making the respondents aware that the study was for academic purpose and participation was voluntarily.
CHAPTER FOUR

GENDER ROLES AND RELATIONS IN THE COCOA AND OIL PALM SECTORS

After presenting the demographic characteristics of the sampled respondents (Section 4.1), this chapter addresses the research questions related to gender roles and relations in the cocoa and oil palm sectors and tenure arrangements. Section 4.2 focuses gender and tree-crop farming systems in Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts while 4.3 presents gender differences in acquiring land for farming and tenure arrangement. Section 4.4 focuses on gender roles and relations in cocoa and oil palm production and marketing. Section 4.5 positions the findings in the broader literature and concludes the chapter.

4.1 Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents

The basic characteristics of the respondents are summarized in Table 4.1. Out of the 180 sampled respondents for the study, 64% were males and 36% were females. This is due to the inclusion criteria used for selecting the respondents for the study (people who grow cocoa or oil palm). The age of the respondents ranged from 24 to 78 years with a mean age of 49 years. With respect to marital status, 78% of the respondents were married and living together with their partners, 11% were widows, 5% were divorced, 4% were singles and 2% of the respondents lived separated from their spouse although they claimed that they were still married. Of the households, 18% were female-headed. This excludes those households in which the men are working elsewhere and send remittances home. More than half of the respondents had attained Junior High School/Middle School education or Senior High School/Form 4 education; while 19% of the respondents had received no formal education at all. The primary occupation of 91% of all respondents was agriculture, comprising of 62% of males and 29% of females (Table 4.2). Those with petty trading and oil palm processing as their primary occupation (3% and 2% respectively) were all women. Those who listed artisanry as their main occupation (2%) included drivers, carpenters, masons and hairdressers. All the female farmers mostly supported their husbands, except the widows who had farms of their own. Farming was either their primary occupation or secondary occupation. No female respondent was a purchasing clerk or oil palm harvester. According
to the respondents, harvesting of the palm fruit is a difficult task which requires a lot of strength and skills. This makes it a gender specific task assigned to men. There were more women whose secondary occupation was petty trading than men (26% versus 7%).

Table 4.1 Gender, education and marital distribution of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic Characteristics</th>
<th>Frequency (N=180)</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education level</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No formal education</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JHS/Middle School</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHS/Form 4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

There were also more men engaged in artisanry such as masonry, carpentry and driving as their secondary occupation than women (25% versus 3%). Yet farming is the predominant occupation for all respondents in the study areas; although both men and women were involved in several economic activities for their livelihood needs. The participants in FGDs indicated that holding a second job helps to reduce their over-dependence on farming for their livelihood. As one respondent said, “farming is good, but it can fail you sometimes due to changes in rainfall pattern these days, therefore I undertake a livelihood activity to support my income from farming in periods of economic difficulties”. Farmers explained that both cocoa and oil palm are seasonal crops with major and minor seasons. Income is significantly reduced during the lean and off-seasons. Therefore, they depend on their second jobs both on the farm and off-farm to meet their livelihood needs during the off-season.
Table 4.2 Gender and occupation of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation of respondents</th>
<th>Males (m) (%)</th>
<th>Females (f) (%)</th>
<th>Total (N=m+f) (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>111 (62)</td>
<td>53 (29)</td>
<td>164 (91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioner</td>
<td>1 (0.6)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty trading</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (3)</td>
<td>6 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal sector (artisans)</td>
<td>3 (1.6)</td>
<td>1 (0.6)</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil palm processor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>1 (0.6)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>116 (64)</td>
<td>64 (36)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>5 (7)</td>
<td>11 (15)</td>
<td>16 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioner</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty trading</td>
<td>5 (7)</td>
<td>19 (26)</td>
<td>24 (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal sector (artisans)</td>
<td>18 (25)</td>
<td>2 (3)</td>
<td>20 (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchasing clerk</td>
<td>6 (8)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil palm processing</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>2 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil palm harvester</td>
<td>3 (4)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>39 (54)</td>
<td>33 (46)</td>
<td>72 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

4.2 Gender and Tree-Crop Farming Systems in Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts

Figure 4.1 presents gender and tree-crop choice among male and female farmers. Cocoa and oil palm are the predominant tree crops cultivated in the study districts and their communities. Kwaebibirem District is known for oil palm production, while cocoa production dominates in the Ahafo-Ano North District. Of the 180 respondents, 49% were solely engaged in cocoa cultivation (44% and 58% of males and females respectively), 25% were solely engaged in oil palm production (25% of both males and females), and 26% of farmers were engaged in both cocoa and oil palm production (31% of males and 17% of females). Figure 4.1 suggests that women prefer cocoa over oil palm.
For the 88 (49%) of respondents (Figure 4.1) who chose to grow only cocoa on their farmlands, the main reason is that cocoa is more profitable as compared to other tree and food crops grown in the study areas particularly in the Ahafo-Ano North. In a focus group discussion, both male and female participants also indicated that cocoa is a generational tree-crop that they inherited from their forefathers, and which they therefore feel they cannot divert from its cultivation even in the face of the changing climate. Moreover, 16% of respondents said cocoa serves as future insurance; a reason relatively more often mentioned by the male respondents (21%) than the females (8%). They indicated that in case of any financial problems, those who own cocoa farms are more likely to secure financial assistance from the Purchasing Clerks (PC) than non-cocoa owners. They usually use their cocoa farms as collaterals when securing the loan. They said the mere knowledge of the PC or the lender of one’s ownership of cocoa farm is a guarantee for the loan. A few male respondents (2%) said they chose to cultivate cocoa because their farmland was suitable for growing cocoa.

Figure 4.1 Gender and tree-crop choice among males and females (Source: Survey, 2018)
Finally, 4% of respondents (2 males and 2 females) said they chose cocoa because it lasts long before reaching maturity and subsequent decline in yield. Intercropping with food crops such as plantain, cassava, and cocoyam is mostly done at the initial stages of cocoa cultivation. According to the respondents, this practice creates an opportunity for them to get foodstuffs both for subsistence and commercial purposes while tending the planted cocoa seedlings. The food crops, especially plantain, are also used to shade the cocoa seedlings. According to the farmers, planting the cocoa seedling close to the plantain sucker provides moist conditions during the dry season. This helps to prevent most of the planted cocoa seedlings from dying during the dry season.

The reasons for growing oil palm, especially in the Kwaebibirem District for all the 45 respondents (25%) who were solely engaged in oil palm cultivation is the multiple benefits that can be derived from it as compared to cocoa. They indicated that unlike cocoa which is exported as raw material without any further processing in Ghana, oil palm is processed locally at large, medium and small-scale levels. This creates an avenue for deriving multiple benefits from the oil palm. Firstly, particularly women process the palm fruits into oil for consumption and commercial purposes locally which offers employment and income. Also,
the palm kernels are either sold to the large-scale processing industries or processed by the women to extract palm kernel oil for consumption and commercial purposes locally. The palm fruits are also used for preparing local dishes. Finally, they get more money from the production of palm wine and alcohol. The participants in FGD summed it up as, “oil palm is our total livelihood activity, and without it our financial condition would have been worse”. Furthermore, oil palm is considered profitable since harvesting is carried out every two to three weeks, even during the minor season. They added that, oil palm can withstand both fire and drought unlike cocoa, which cannot survive the risks of changing climate especially poor rainfall and drought.

![Figure 4.3 Reasons why farmers choose to grow both cocoa and oil palm in Kwaebibirem from gender perspective (Source: Survey, 2018)](image)

Figure 4.3 presents the reasons why farmers choose to grow both cocoa and oil palm particularly in the Kwaebibirem District. With respect to the reasons why 26% of the respondents chose to grow both cocoa and oil palm (Figure 4.1), the majority of males and females stated that they saw this as a means to supplement their income sources. During FGD, the participants said they diversify the tree-crops they grow in order to have secured income sources (Figure 4.3). They indicated that in this era of climate change coupled with
landscape changes, pest and diseases, they still have secured income from farming because when one tree-crop fails in a particular season, the other tree-crop produces. Relatively more men (22%; n=8) than women (9%; 1 only) said that they chose both cocoa and oil palm because their farmlands were suitable for growing both crops. According to the respondents, some portions of their farmlands were swampy areas, which were not good for growing cocoa, but are suitable for oil palm. Only one respondent (female) stated that she cultivated both cocoa and oil palm because both crops last for long period before they stop fruiting.

4.3 Gender Differences in Acquiring Land for Farming and Tenure Arrangements

The participants of FGDs revealed that acquiring land for farming takes different forms in the study communities. Land can be acquired through inheritance, purchasing, renting and land-sharing (abunu). With respect to inheritance, two forms of acquiring land were revealed. Firstly, land can be passed on from one’s family members to the younger generation particularly through the matrilineal system of inheritance practiced in both districts (lineage inheritance). Secondly, women can acquire land from their husbands through marriage and after the death of the husband (marriage inheritance and widowhood inheritance). According to the respondents, when a man dies, some of his properties go to the widow, including the land. Also, land can be purchased outright from a landowner. However, it is not a common practice these days for someone to sell his/her land in the study areas unless he/she is facing serious financial problems. Sometimes, such people have already started either cocoa or oil palm plantations on their parcel of land before selling. The prices of such farmlands are too expensive and highly unaffordable for women to purchase.

With regard to conditions for acquiring land among men and women, 98% of the respondents said the conditions are the same for both males and females. Only 2% of the respondents indicated that the conditions are different among males and females due to the fact that males are physically stronger than the females. Since farming activities are physically demanding, landowners normally prefer males over females. As a result, they require the presence of a male relative as a witness when females are acquiring land for farming. They do this as they believe that the male relative will assist the woman in performing her farm activities. Although the conditions of accessing land are considered the
same for both males and females, actual access is different story and confirms the minority stand during the FGD.

Table 4.3 shows that 96% of the respondents (both male and female) stated that men have more access to land than women in the study areas.

### Table 4.3 Gender and access to land

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of Respondent</th>
<th>Who has more access to land</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men (%)</td>
<td>Both men and women (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>111 (96)</td>
<td>5 (4) 116 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>62 (96)</td>
<td>2 (4)  64 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>173 (96)</strong></td>
<td><strong>7 (4) 180 (100)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

The reasons why men have more access to land than women for farming activities are; firstly, 86% of the respondents said that men are physically stronger than women. They argued that cocoa and oil palm production require labour intensive activities. Since women are ‘naturally weak’ in terms of physical strength, landowners prefer to give their lands to men for cocoa and oil palm production rather than to women. The women and children help the men to establish and maintain the farm. Moreover, 9% of the respondents said that men can complete the cocoa and oil palm plantations faster than women. As a result of these opinions women do not have easy access to land due to their inability to complete tree-crop plantations within the stipulated time limits. Some respondents (4%) also said that access to land by either men or women depends on the criteria and preference of the landowner. They said some landowners prefer couples because they are stable and responsible to carry out the farm activities as compared to singles. Finally, 1% of male respondents said that men can easily sell labour to support their farm work than women. As a result, the landowners prefer the men because the men can get resources to carry out the farm activities more easily.

Figure 4.4 displays gender and tenure arrangement among cocoa farmers while Figure 4.5 shows gender and tenure arrangement among oil palm farmers. There were not substantial gender differences in terms of tenure arrangements in either cocoa or oil palm farming once land is accessed.
For instance, 38% males compared with 33% females mentioned titled deed or owned land as their land tenure arrangement in cocoa farming. Whereas 48% each of males and females said that their tenure ownership was titled deed or owned land in the oil palm farming. This
is probably due to the fact that respondents answered for the household plots and not for
gendered ownership of the farms. The only remarkable difference referred to land-sharing
(abunu), which was mentioned more often by male respondents than by female respondents
(45% versus 27% for cocoa farms, and 39% against 19% for oil palm farms). According to
the female respondents, the female cocoa farmers whose land tenure was land-sharing
(abunu) or inheritance were widows who started the farm with their late husbands.

Table 4.4 shows the land size for agricultural purposes. There were not substantial gender
differences in land size or the right to sell or transfer land in the study areas. The table
shows that the average agricultural land holding of the respondents was 4.7 ha per
household. There were only slight differences in the average land size of males (4.9 ha) and
females (4.4 ha), both with regard to land use for cocoa (an average of 3.6 ha for males and
3.9 ha for females, with a total average of 3.8 ha).² Whereas women farmers had a slightly
higher average of cocoa land, the reverse was the case for oil palm (2.6 ha for males and 2.3
ha for females, with overall an average farm size for oil palm of 2.5 ha (Table 4.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.4 Total land size for agricultural purposes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender of respondent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total land size of respondents (N=180)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean farm size of cocoa (n=135)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean farm size of oil palm (n=92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

² Here too, this can probably attributed to the fact that respondents answered for the household plots and not for the individual plots assigned to men and women.
48% of the respondents had the right to sell or transfer part of their land to others; a percentage slightly lower for men (45%) and slightly higher for women (53%). Of the respondents 98% said that they had the ability to restrict other people from entering or using any part of the land on which they farm. Respondents considered it impossible (62%) or highly unlikely (35%) that farmlands can be taken away from them, with men being less sure that it would never happen than women (58% of the men against 70% of the women). The few respondents who said it would be likely or very likely for someone to take away their farmland were involved in a land-sharing arrangement (abunu). They considered it likely to happen that the landowner would take their land away if they would not be able to honour their part of the agreement or be able to complete the farm within the stipulated years. The farmland could also be taken away from them if the landowner observes any sign of non-seriousness on the part of the person doing the abunu.

Table 4.5 The likelihood of someone to take away respondent’s land

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of Respondent</th>
<th>Likely to take away respondent’s land (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Impossible/would never happen</td>
<td>Highly unlikely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>67 (58)</td>
<td>41 (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45 (70)</td>
<td>13 (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>112 (62)</td>
<td>54 (30)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

4.4 Gender Roles and Relations in Cocoa and Oil Palm Production and Marketing

4.4.1 Gender Differences in Access to Agricultural Inputs, Credit, Extension Services and Labour

The participants in the FGDs listed the support that they need for undertaking their farm activities and the sources thereof (Table 4.6). Notable among them were financial assistance, inputs, improved farming practices and extension services. With respect to where and from whom they get these support services, 98% of the respondents said they generally obtain them through self-support for their farm activities, with no substantial differences between males and females. They indicated that their self-support comes from the sale of crops and some savings. The cocoa farmers said that although the government provides inputs through COCOBOD in the form of pesticides and insecticides, the supplies are not reliable. It either
comes very late or the quantity is not enough to cover their cocoa farm acreage. Only three (1.5%) of the male respondents said they get financial assistance for farm activities from their relatives, while only one (0.5%) said that financial assistance came from the purchasing clerks (PC). The farmers involved in oil palm farming do not get assistance such as inputs from government except those who were part of a VCC intervention programme. Therefore farmers purchase their inputs. The common support for oil palm farmers is from buying companies in the form of credit and women processors. This is one of the biggest challenges that farmers in oil palm farming are facing, resulting in difficulties in meeting the high costs of agricultural inputs. Farmers’ attitudes towards repayment of loans hinder them from getting financial assistance from PCs. For instance, the Armajaro PC from Camp bemoaned the attitudes of the cocoa farmers and said, “Farmers are not trustworthy, I used to give my farmers financial assistance, but when their cocoa beans are dried they intentionally divert the beans to a different PC knowing very well that I will have to deduct the amount after selling their beans to me. Their attitude towards repayment of loans has compelled me to stop giving them help unless I am convinced that the person will repay or deliver his beans to me regularly” (Personal Communication with Mr Alex Nyarko, Armajaro PC at Camp, February 2, 2018).

Table 4.6 Gender and source of support for farming activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of Respondent</th>
<th>Gender and source of support for farming activities (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self-support (%)</td>
<td>Purchasing Clerks (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>112 (97)</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>64 (100)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>176 (98)</td>
<td>1 (0.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

Table 4.7 reveals gender differences in access to agricultural inputs, credits, extension service and labour. With regard to agricultural inputs, respondents indicated that men have more access to farm inputs (75% of respondents) and credit (91%). As a result of the lack of collateral security or stable cash incomes, the participants in FGDs noted that women cannot qualify for credit and must often persuade their husbands or other male relatives to provide
the collateral for credit facilities, for instance from purchasing clerks. Moreover, 51% of respondents (42% of the males and 67% of the females) said males have more access to extension service than females. These survey results were confirmed during the FGD whereby the females stated that they lack access to extension services and training because they are not considered as tree-crop farmers, but as helpers of their husbands. Training is mostly held for the farm owners during which they may be involved in undertaking their reproductive roles. The majority (88%) of the respondents (90% of the males and 84% of the females) said both men and women have access to labour. According to the participants in the FGDs, even female farmers prefer to hire male labourers at the expense of their own fellow women. This is because some of the farm tasks are too difficult for women to perform. They added that the males normally control the income from tree crops, especially cocoa, while the females control income from food crops.

Table 4.7 Men’s and women’s opinions about gendered access to agricultural inputs, credits, extension service and labour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gendered access to resources</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th>Frequency Both males and females (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gendered access to agricultural inputs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to males</td>
<td>88 (76)</td>
<td>28 (24)</td>
<td>116 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to females</td>
<td>46 (72)</td>
<td>18 (28)</td>
<td>64 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>134 (75)</td>
<td>46 (25)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gendered access to credit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to males</td>
<td>108 (93)</td>
<td>8 (7)</td>
<td>116 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to females</td>
<td>55 (86)</td>
<td>9 (14)</td>
<td>64 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>163 (91)</td>
<td>17 (9)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gendered access to extension services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to males</td>
<td>49 (42)</td>
<td>67 (58)</td>
<td>116 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to females</td>
<td>43 (67)</td>
<td>21 (33)</td>
<td>64 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>92 (51)</td>
<td>88 (49)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gendered access to labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to males</td>
<td>12 (10)</td>
<td>104 (90)</td>
<td>116 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to females</td>
<td>10 (16)</td>
<td>54 (84)</td>
<td>64 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22 (12)</td>
<td>158 (88)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)
The females explained that they do not get sufficient income from the food crops that they sell to invest in their farm activities. This is because part of the income that they earn from food crops is used for subsistence purposes and little is left for them to pay for labour costs.

### 4.4.2 Gender Division of Labour in Cocoa and Oil Palm Farming

Table 4.8 shows general farm task involving both cocoa and oil palm cultivation. The table shows that some activities such clearing of vegetation (100%), pest and disease control (99%) and weed control using weedicides (98%) are performed by men in both cocoa and oil palm cultivation. Participants explained that men dominate in performing these tasks because they are considered too difficult for women to perform due to the physical strength needed to carry these activities. The participants in the FGDs indicated that women farmers hire men to carry out these activities on their farms. However, carrying of water (79%) for spraying pesticides, weedicides and insecticides were mainly performed by females, although both males and females can perform this task. Also, the children of the couples normally help to carry out this task. The participants in FGDs revealed that males are now getting actively involved in fetching of water for farm activities due to the spread of motor tricycles which are used to convey water from home to the farm. Females are gradually getting relieved because men fill yellow gallons with water and convey them to the farm with the motor tricycle.

**Table 4.8 General farm task involving both cocoa and oil palm cultivation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Males-only (%)</th>
<th>Females-only (%)</th>
<th>Jointly (%)</th>
<th>Total (N=180) (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land preparation/clearing vegetation</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>86 (48)</td>
<td>70 (39)</td>
<td>24 (13)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant seedlings</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>5 (3)</td>
<td>173 (96)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transplanting</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>6 (3)</td>
<td>171 (95)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertilizer application</td>
<td>28 (16)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>152 (84)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weed control (weedicide application)</td>
<td>176 (98)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pest and disease control (spraying)</td>
<td>179 (99)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying water for spraying</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>143 (79)</td>
<td>37 (21)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

Weeding can be carried out by both sexes if no agrochemicals are involved: 48% listed it as a men-only task, 39% as a women-only task, and 13% stated it was done jointly. Explicitly
mentioned as tasks that are carried out jointly are planting of seedlings (96%), transplanting (95%), and fertilizer application (84%) are carried out by both males and females in cocoa and oil palm cultivation. The participants in the FGDs stated that females are engaged in almost all the farm tasks in the study areas, but that their labour is recognized as assisting the men.

Specific for the cocoa sector, harvesting of cocoa pods (81%) and breaking of cocoa pods (98%) are considered typically male tasks, while drying the cocoa beans and head loading of the dried cocoa beans can also be done jointly (Table 4.9). Picking of the harvested cocoa pods is mainly considered a female task, carried out by women only (72%) or jointly (26%) but hardly ever mentioned as a males-only task (3%). “Jointly” here implies that also children are involved in picking the harvested cocoa pods.

**Table 4.9 Gender and some specific farm task involved in cocoa production**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Males-only (%)</th>
<th>Females-only (%)</th>
<th>Jointly (%)</th>
<th>Total (N=180) (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting of cocoa</td>
<td>145 (81)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35 (19)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picking of cocoa pods</td>
<td>5 (3)</td>
<td>129 (72)</td>
<td>46 (26)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaking cocoa pods</td>
<td>177 (98)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drying the cocoa beans</td>
<td>119 (66)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>61 (34)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head loading the dried cocoa beans</td>
<td>98 (54)</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>80 (45)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

Oil palm cultivation and processing have a more marked gender division of labour (Table 4.10). The cultivation and production stages of oil palm – lining and pegging, pruning, harvesting of palm fruits and transporting of harvested Fresh Fruit Bunches (FFBs) – are exclusively carried out by men. The participants in FGDs stated that female farmers hire male workers to perform the perceived difficult farm tasks. Collecting of FFBs during harvesting and picking the fruits (removing them from the spikelet) are however tasks mainly carried out by women, alone (79% of respondents) or jointly with men (21% of respondents), but not by men-only. The participants in the FGDs said that male farmers usually hire female labourers to carry out this activity. My personal observation at some small-scale processing sites (Kramer) and oil palm plantations confirmed that collecting and picking of the palm fruits were mostly done by women and children.
### Table 4.10 Gender-specific farm tasks in oil palm cultivation and processing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Males-only (%</th>
<th>Females-only (%)</th>
<th>Jointly (%)</th>
<th>Total* (N=180)/%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Production Stage</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lining and pegging</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pruning</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting of palm fruits</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picking of palm fruits (FFB)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>143 (79)</td>
<td>37 (21)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Processing Stage</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Splitting FFB</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnowing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>84 (93)</td>
<td>6 (7)</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fetching water for oil</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>processing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiling of palm fruits</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66 (73)</td>
<td>24 (27)</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digesting/extraction of oil</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiling of oil/Zomi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>77 (86)</td>
<td>13 (14)</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparation/classification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorting of palm kernels</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from fibre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N=180 include all respondents in the survey; # N=90 refers to only the respondents in Kwaebibirem District where oil palm processing is predominant. (Source: Survey, 2018)

At the processing stage, all the respondents in the Kwaebibirem District indicated that men were engaged in splitting of the FFBs with an axe. According to a male attendant who splits FFB at Damang, “splitting the FFB is not an easy task for women to do; it requires a lot of energy and some skills. I was taught by someone when I arrived here from Togo. I used to split only one ton initially, but with my experience I can now split four to five tons a day”. I personally tried to split some FFB and I realized it was indeed not easy as the man claimed and require some special skills to avoid cutting through the seeds (palm kernel). The participants in FGDs indicated that all female processors hire male labourers to split the FFBs and even the male processors hire people to split for them.

Winnowing is mostly carried out by women, alone (93% respondents) or jointly (7%). Winnowing involves the removal of husk or dirt from the palm fruits before the fruits are boiled. All the respondents indicated that fetching water to process the palm fruits was also carried out by women. Participants in FGDs however said that men too sometimes fetch
water to assist the women to process the palm fruits. Boiling of the palm fruits was done by women only (73%) or by women together with men (27%). Participants in the FGDs said that boiling of the palm fruits is like a kitchen job carried out by women on a daily basis; men were involved because the tanks used for boiling are too heavy for women to carry. Some processors hire male labourers to boil the palm fruits, but in those cases females were always involved to oversee the activities. Furthermore, all the respondents (90) said that digesting and extracting of the oil from the boiled palm fruits were carried out by men because handling the machine is very stiff and not easy for women to operate. During digesting, females fetch the boiled palm fruits from the boiling tank for digesting. Males too are involved to speed up the process in order not to waste fuel. Classification involves separation water and other solid materials from the oil through heating. The oil is further processed through application of heat, stirring and addition of salt to produce flavoured oil called “Zomi” purposely for cooking. 86% of the respondents stated that the classification as well as the preparation of the Zomi is carried out by women; the remaining 14% said that both males and females are engaged in the classification of oil and Zomi preparation. Sorting palm kernel from the fibre involves separation of the fibre and palm kernel after extracting the oil through digesting; a task carried out by women and children (100% of respondents). The respondents indicated that the processors normally hire female labourers or family labour to carry out this activity.

According the respondents of the survey, females dominate in oil palm processing because it is seen as a “cooking job”. However, participants in the FGDs stated that due to unemployment young males are increasingly getting involved in the processing of the palm fruits. A young graduate from the University of Ghana who graduated in 2013 said, “After completing my national service, I searched for a job, without getting one: I got involved in the oil palm business. It wasn’t easy at first because I had little capital. With the help of an old friend, I was connected to someone at GOPDC to buy and supply the fruits to the company. I started buying the FFBs from the farmers at their farm gates together with my colleagues, financed by the company. While I still supply the fruits to GOPDC, I also started processing some of the fruits myself and sell to the buyers from Accra on every Tuesday and Friday. The business is very lucrative because I depend on it for my livelihood needs since I
completed national service” (Personal communication with Moses Nyatsikor, August 30, 2017).

4.4.3 Gendered Decision-Making

Table 4.1 indicates that 90% of the respondents share decisions related to their farm activities with their spouse in the study areas. Although based on the table more men (95%) seem to be inclined to consult their spouse than women (81%), the FGDs made clear that it is mostly widows who make decisions related to their farm activities without consulting men. During FGDs, the participants agreed that although the final decisions are made by the men, the women are also involved in the decisions related to farm activities.

Table 4.11 Decisions related to farm activities shared with spouse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of respondent</th>
<th>Decisions related to farm activities shared with spouse</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (%)</td>
<td>No (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>110 (95)</td>
<td>6 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>52 (81)</td>
<td>12 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>162 (90)</td>
<td>18 (10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

Table 4.12 further specifies the decision-making processes, showing that most decisions related to farm activities are jointly taken by men and women. However, men dominate in most decision-making roles. For instance, the respondents said 42% of decisions involving the use of land are taken solely by men as compared to 10% of such decisions taken by women only. The same trend can be observed in decision-making involving the use of labour (40% of males-only compared to 17% of females-only). The only exemptions were decision-making involving price negotiation (15% of males-only compared to 44% of females-only) and decision-making involving the use of income (4% of males-only compared to 16% of females-only). The participants in FGDs attested to the findings of the survey by adding that, “generally men have more power over decision-making than women however, some decisions must be made fairly”. They explained that men are responsible for making major decisions with respect to land utilization, the use of labour, receiving payment and marketing of agricultural products because of their position as household heads.
4.5 Discussion and Conclusions

4.5.1 Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents

The study found that the average age of the respondents was 49 years old. The result is consistent with studies by Ataa-Asantewaa and Ros-Tonen, (2015) and Ataa-Asantewaa et al. (2016) with a group of cocoa and oil palm farmers interviewed in the Eastern Region and cocoa farmers in the Ashanti Region where the average was 52 years and 54 years respectively. The fact that the majority of farmers were married is an indication that the couples are engaged in a cooperative effort in farming activities (Oladele 2007), as was also confirmed in the discussions regarding the gender division of labour. Although the wives were found assisting their husbands, both men and women felt that the distinct roles they played were complementary to undertaking their farm task to increase productivity. Moreover, the majority of the respondents were educated, which indicates that they may be able to understand and adopt innovations in agricultural related intervention programmes to increase productivity. Farming was the main occupation for the majority of the respondents, yet men were more engaged in the tree crop cultivation than women, with marked gender differences in the tasks performed in the oil palm sector. As a result, women have been

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decisions</th>
<th>Frequency and percentage (%)</th>
<th>Males-only (%)</th>
<th>Females-only (%)</th>
<th>Jointly (%)</th>
<th>Total (N=180)%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Involving use of land</td>
<td>76 (42)</td>
<td>18 (10)</td>
<td>86 (48)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decisions involving crops to grow</td>
<td>33 (18)</td>
<td>29 (16)</td>
<td>118 (66)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decisions involving use of labour</td>
<td>72 (40)</td>
<td>31 (17)</td>
<td>77 (43)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What crops to be marketed or subsistence purpose?</td>
<td>41 (23)</td>
<td>33 (18)</td>
<td>106 (59)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decisions involving where to market crops</td>
<td>43 (24)</td>
<td>33 (18)</td>
<td>104 (58)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for technical assistance</td>
<td>91 (51)</td>
<td>24 (13)</td>
<td>65 (36)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price negotiation</td>
<td>27 (15)</td>
<td>79 (44)</td>
<td>74 (41)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit services eg. loan</td>
<td>48 (27)</td>
<td>27 (15)</td>
<td>105 (58)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receiving payment</td>
<td>33 (18)</td>
<td>24 (13)</td>
<td>123 (68)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of income</td>
<td>8 (4)</td>
<td>29 (16)</td>
<td>143 (80)</td>
<td>180 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)
induced to involve in oil palm processing and petty trading due to the tedious tasks involved in the tree crop production. This implies that petty trading can be entry point for women’s engagement in VCC intervention programmes. The finding confirms the assertions by Nzeakor & Umeh (2018) that growing cash crops in Africa is considered basically a man’s occupation. It also confirms the findings of Fakoya, Apankatu, & Adereti (2006), who found that, the cultivation of cash crops and physically demanding tasks are carried out by men, while food cropping and lighter work are often women’s responsibility. Although, the majority of the respondents sustain their livelihoods from farming, they hold a second job as a strategy to reduce over-dependence on farming especially during off-season.

4.5.2 Gendered Access to Resources and Tenure Arrangements

Cocoa and oil palm were the predominant tree-crops cultivated in the study areas. Cocoa was the major tree crop grown in the Tepa District, although some oil palm trees were intercropped with cocoa, mainly for preparing a local dish called “abe nkwan” (palm nut soup). They also extract the palm oil using traditional methods in their various homes and a few small-scale processing sites. In Tepa District cocoa is seen as a generational crop, which is also more profitable than other crops. The farmers practice intercropping with food crops, especially plantain. This corresponds with the findings of Dzomeku et al. (2007) who said plantain belongs to the traditional sector of the Ghanaian rural economy, which is used mainly to shade cocoa and as an essential component of the Ghanaian diet. Oil palm is the main tree-crop grown in the Kwaebibirem District (Anaglo et al., 2014) yet, the district is also known for cocoa production. The result supports the findings of Ataa-Asantewaa and Ros-Tonen (2015) who opined that strong specialization in cash crops in the Eastern Region of Ghana is not common, as farmers usually intercrop tree-crops with food crops. The presence of the Oil Palm Research Institute (OPRI) and the Ghana Oil Palm Development Corporation (GOPDC) as well as the University of Ghana’s Forest and Horticultural Crops Research Centre (FOHCREC) (Anaglo et al., 2014) in the district accounts for the reason why it is the leading oil palm production centre in Ghana. Also, there is ready market for oil palm due to the presence of big processing factories such GOPDC, Serendipalm, Obooma and numerous small-scale processors (local milling sites) called Kramer (Osei-Amponsah et al., 2012) in most of the communities under the district. The oil palm sector provides
multiple benefits through local processing. The oil palm farmers also practice intercropping
during the establishment of the oil palm plantation with food crops such as plantain, maize
and cassava for subsistence purposes, but this is no longer possible once the canopy is
closed.

The study found that the conditions for acquiring land among males and females were the
same, but that males have more access to land than females because they are physically
stronger. They are therefore assumed to be better capable of meeting the targets in for
instance abunu arrangements. For females to gain access to land witnesses are needed,
because landowners consider these as a potential source of support. This limits the chances
of women to engage in tree-crop cultivation and subsequent engagement in agricultural
related value chain collaboration projects. This is because access to land is a very crucial
factor in tree-crop production since the crops remain on the land for a longer period and
requires a large land size for cultivation. The average land size for cocoa and oil palm were
3.8 ha and 2.5 ha respectively. The result corresponds with Gockowski, Weise, Sonwa,
Tchtat, & Ngobo (2004), who stated that the majority of cocoa farmers in West Africa are
smallholders, with 22% of cocoa produced on farms of less than 2 ha, 65% on farms of
between 2-10 hectares, and only 12% on plantations of more than 10 ha.

The study found that in both districts farmers acquire land for farming through inheritance
(generational or through marriage), purchasing, renting, land-sharing (abunu) or outright
purchase, although the latter was mostly unaffordable for women. The female farmers,
especially widows, inherited most of their farmlands from their late husbands through land-
sharing (abunu). The majority of respondents do not have ability to sell the land that they
farm, especially when the tenure arrangement was based on the land-sharing (abunu)
system. Another reason can be found in Quisumbing, Payongayong, & Otsuka (2004), who
found that land is being transferred from husband to wife and children as gifts, if the wife
and children helped the husband to establish the cocoa fields. Once this land is given, it
cannot be taken away by other family members.

The study also found that men have more access to farm inputs than women. This places
limitations on females’ ability to engage in tree crop cultivation and improve production, as
access to farm inputs such as weedicides, pesticides, fertilizer, spraying machines and others are critical components of tree crop farming. Due to the inability of women to provide collateral for loans, the study also found a gender disparity with respect to the capacity to access credit. The result corresponds with (UTZ et al., 2009) which found that women’s limited access to credit facilities is caused by a lack of collateral security and required approval of husband before loans are granted. For instance, cocoa as a cash crop is generally perceived as a man’s crop; its revenues are controlled by male heads of households (UTZ et al., 2009). This implies that women cannot use their husbands’ cocoa farm to secure credit.

Similar results were found by Laven & Verhart (2011) who noted that females-owned rural businesses tend to confront more challenges than their male counterparts and receive far fewer supports and services. This lack of access to capital also affects female farmers’ engagement in tree crop production.

Furthermore, the study found that majority of the farmers especially women lack access to extension services and training because they are not considered as tree-crop farmers but as helpers of their husbands. Trainings were mostly held for the farm owners, while the women are mostly involved in undertaking reproductive roles. The study found no gender differences in access to labour. However, labour requirements and use was gender specific in both cocoa and oil palm production. This is due to the nature of the arduous tasks performed in both sectors, for which women often hire labourers. The study further found that men control income from tree crops, while part of women’s income from food crops is used for subsistence purpose. Therefore, little income is left for women to hire labourers. The results imply that, although both men and women in the study areas have easy access to labour, women have problems with the affordability thereof, which negatively affects their decision to engage in tree-crop production.

Finally, the study found that farmers in both cocoa and oil palm sectors mainly depend on self-support for their farm activities. Notably oil palm farmers receive very little support except those involved in VCC intervention programmes like Serendipalm organic farming. This contrasts greatly to cocoa farming, where farmers are supported in the form of subsidized inputs by the government through COCOBOD (World Bank, 2013). These forms
of support from government are however not reliable as there are frequent delays in their supplies.

4.5.3 Gender Differences in the Division of Labour and Decision-Making

The study found that some farm activities were specified as men’s work in both cocoa and oil palm cultivation. The males perform most of the tedious farm tasks. However, both men and women also carry out activities that seem to be less tedious to perform. The result confirms studies by Sarku (2016) in the Kwaebibirem District who found that females were tasked to assist in oil palm activities that were considered less tedious. The study also found that women are involved in different farm activities in addition to their reproductive tasks, yet their labour is recognized as assisting the men. This limits their active involvement in major farm tasks. The result corresponds with the Sarpong (2006) who found that the extensive domestic responsibilities coupled with demands for working on the husband’s farm, limit the time females can spend on their personal economic activities.

The results showed that although cocoa cultivation is regarded as males’ work, females are also engaged in such farm tasks. The activities such as harvesting of cocoa pods, breaking of cocoa pods, drying of cocoa beans and head loading of the dried cocoa beans were observed as men’s work, but women are occasionally involved. Picking of the harvested cocoa pods was specified as women’s work. The results support the findings of Doss (2002) and (UTZ et al., 2009) who argue that, although cocoa is traditionally considered as man’s crop or mainly grown by men, women are very much involved in the production process. The study found that activities such as lining and pegging, pruning, harvesting of palm fruits and transporting of harvested FFBs were mainly carried out by men in oil palm production stage. As a result female farmers hire male workers to perform these tasks. This implies that female farmers tend to incur more production costs than their male counterparts. Collecting of FFBs during harvesting and removing the fruits from spikelet were mainly specified as women’s work although men are involved. This result corresponds with Sarku (2016) who found that picking of palm fruits is an easy task for women and children, in which men assist if they have less work to do. She also found that males perform the production activities involved in growing of oil palm in the Kwaebibirem District. According to her,
women performed activities that were less tedious in cultivation of the oil palm. She noted that females may own oil palm plantations, but that they make arrangements with males to perform some tasks on the farm.

At the processing stage, splitting of the FFB was specified as men’s work because it requires a lot of strength and skills to carry out this activity. Winnowing and fetching of water for processing were specified as women’s work although men are sometimes involved in fetching of water. Boiling of palm fruits was also specified as women’s work because it is similar to kitchen job. Digesting, which involves extraction of the oil using a machine was specified as men’s work because handle of the machine is very stiff and not easy for women to operate. Classification of the oil, preparation of the Zomi and sorting of palm kernel from the fiber were specified as women’s work. The study found that females dominate in oil palm processing which agrees with the findings of Sarku (2016). The traditional processing of palm fruits requires lot of patience from the processors which the men do not normally possess. The dominance of women in oil-palm processing aligns with other studies conducted in the Kwaebibirem District (Adjei-Nsiah, Zu, & Nimoh, 2012; Ofusu-Budu & Sarpong, 2013; Osei-Amponsah, 2013). However, this study found that young men increasingly participate in palm oil processing and that it is no longer traditional to women due to its lucrativeness. However, male participation in the sector has a positive effect on women’s work as the men help to perform the more difficult tasks in processing of palm fruits. The findings showed that both males and females were engaged in processing of palm fruits at different stages, depending on the labour requirements during each stage.

Finally, the study found that the majority of the respondents do not take decisions concerning their farm activities alone, but that they involve their spouse. The analysis of decision-making by males-only and females-only showed that men dominate in most of the decision-making roles. Although, women were involved in most of the decisions, men make and control the final decisions at the household and farm level as they are culturally perceived as the household heads.
4.7.4 Conclusion

After presenting the demographic characteristics of the sampled respondents, this chapter addressed the research questions related to gender roles and relations in cocoa and oil palm VCC. It assessed the cocoa and oil palm farming systems and tenure arrangement from a gender perspective and analysed the distinct roles and relations among male and female farmers. The findings confirmed the results obtained in earlier studies in the Eastern Region and Ashanti Region that tree-crop farmers are generally aging. Farming was the major occupation of the respondents yet they hold a second occupation as a strategy to reduce their over dependence especially on farming to meet their livelihood needs. Moreover, the married women assist their husbands to performing their farm tasks but both males and females felt that the different roles that they played were complementary in undertaking their farm task to increase productivity.

Also, there were three specific tree-crop farming systems in cocoa and oil palm in the study areas (farmers who grow (1) only cocoa, (2) only oil palm and (3) both cocoa and oil palm). The farmers had varied reasons for choosing specific tree-crop or combination to grow. Cocoa was seen as a generational tree-crop which is profitable than other tree-crops in Ahafo-Ano North District. Apart from the suitable land for cocoa cultivation, it was also used as future insurance such that farmers use their cocoa farms as collaterals to secure loans. Oil palm provides multiple benefits to farmers in the Kwaebibirem District through local processing. Among the multiple benefits from oil palm are extraction of palm oil and palm kernel oil for subsistence and commercial purposes and production of palm wine and alcohol from palm trees. Farmers also grow both cocoa and oil palm to supplement their income sources since diversification helps them to reduce the risk of reduced income during tree-crop failure.

Moreover, there were not substantial gender differences in the right to sell or transfer land in the study areas. However, there were only slight differences in the average land size of males and females. Whereas women farmers had a slightly higher average of cocoa land, the reverse was the case for oil palm. There were not much substantial gender differences in terms of tenure arrangements in either cocoa or oil palm farming. The only remarkable
difference was land-sharing (abunu), which male had more than female respondent in both cocoa and oil palm. The conditions for acquiring land among males and females were the same, but males have more access to land than females because they are physically stronger. This limits the chances of women to engage in tree-crop cultivation and subsequent engagement in agricultural related VCC projects.

Furthermore, study found gender disparity between males and females with regards to access to resources such as land, agricultural inputs and credit facilities in the study communities. This places limitations on females’ ability to engage in tree-crop cultivation and improve production. The farmers in both cocoa and oil palm sectors mainly depend on self-support for their farm activities. Whereas cocoa farmers receive some support from government in the form of subsidized inputs which are not reliable, oil palm farmers receive very little support from government except those involved in VCC intervention programmes.

Finally, males and females were involved in decision-makings however men make the final decisions at the household and farm level due to the cultural perception of males as household heads. Most farm activities especially at the production stage of both cocoa and oil palm were specified as men’s work. However; both men and women carry out activities that seem less tedious to perform at the production stage. Also, oil palm processing is no longer traditional to women as many young men have found a niche in processing of the palm fruits due to its lucratively and potential employment opportunities. Both males and females were engaged in processing of palm fruits at different stages depending on the labour requirement during each stage.
CHAPTER FIVE

FARMERS PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF GENDER ROLES AND RELATIONS ON THE ENGAGEMENT IN PRODUCTION AND MARKETING IN COCOA AND OIL PALM VALUE CHAIN COLLABORATIONS

This chapter focuses on farmers’ perceptions of the implication of gender roles and relations on the engagement in production and marketing in VCC intervention programmes. Section 5.1 focuses on farmers’ awareness of VCC intervention programmes in cocoa and oil palm and Section 5.2 looks at farmers’ perceptions of the implications of the observed gender roles and relations on engagement in cocoa and oil palm VCC. Section 5.3 deals with farmers’ perspectives on options to make VCC more gender-sensitive and inclusive to marginalized smallholder cocoa and oil palm farmers. Section 5.4 discusses the findings and concludes the chapter.

5.1 Farmers’ Awareness of Cocoa and Oil Palm Value Chain Collaboration Intervention Programmes

5.1.1 Farmers’ awareness of VCC programmes

Table 5.1 presents farmers awareness of value chain collaboration or partnership programmes in cocoa and oil palm present in the study areas. 76% of all respondents were aware of collaborations between farmers (producers) and buyers in the study areas. The remaining 24% of the respondents particularly in the Ahafo-Ano North District were not aware of any VCC intervention programme involving cocoa in their communities. All the 90 (100%) respondents in the Kwaebibirem District were aware of the collaborations among farmers and buyers in the oil palm sector particularly Serendipalm’s organic outgrowers scheme, GOPDC’s smallholders and outgrowers scheme and Presidential Special Initiative on Oil Palm (PSI). GOPDC’s collaboration with farmers was through contract farming schemes. Farmers provide labour whilst the company (investor) takes care of the inputs, credit, technical extension and land in the smallholder schemes. In Outgrower scheme, farmers provide land and labour whilst the company (investor) takes care of the inputs, credit and technical extension service. In return, the farmers were required to deliver all their
FFBs to the company after five to seven years of plantation. Some amount of money is deducted from the farmer’s delivery as payback for the credit. Contracts were binding for 25 years until its termination. The PSI was a Public-Private-Partnership initiative under the Ex. President Kuffour’s government which sought to provide inputs such as seedlings to farmers and private investors would build oil palm processing plants. The project was not successful as the farmers did not get all the support from government. According to the respondents, many farmers joined the PSI and received the first trench of the promised support to start the plantation and it stopped. The few farmers who ensured good maintenance are now benefitting without even paying a penny to the Government of Ghana. Serendipalm Company Limited is a foreign-owned certified organic and Fair Trade company that work exclusively with smallholder farmers. It buys palm fruits from local smallholder farmers who have converted their oil palm plantations to organic. The farmers are supported with mulch, manure and trainings on organic agriculture. The company pays premiums to the farmers. The company provides fair-trade projects including public toilet facilities, nurse’s quarters, maternity ward, boreholes and others to the farming communities. It provides farmers with oil palm seedlings of more productive varieties at cost and interest-free (Personal communication with Christian Boahen, Serendipalm Organic Company-Asuom, February 7, 2018). All the respondents in the Kwaebibirem District said that the VCC actors targeted all oil palm farmers but the FGD revealed that more men have benefited from the intervention programmes than women due to the dominance of men in the oil palm cultivation.

51% of the respondents in the Ahafo-Ano North District were aware of Armajoro’s Input Scheme in the study communities involving cocoa. The input scheme is a community specific collaboration between the farmers and the company, depending on the enthusiasm and commitment of the cocoa farmers to join (Personal communication with Victor Asare, SMS officer-Armajaro, Tepa, February 5, 2018). The company provides the input package including pesticides and insecticides to the farmers in credit and deduct part of the farmer’s income after weighing of his/her cocoa beans. He added that, the company is yet to introduce the scheme to other communities within their operational area due to low zeal from these communities to join the scheme. A peculiar challenge with the scheme was that, farmers divert their cocoa beans to different PCs making it difficult to payback within one
cocoa cropping season. Some of the beneficiaries also said that the price of the inputs were far higher than the market price of similar products which is responsible for their inability to payback. The Armajaro Company targeted all cocoa farmers irrespective of gender and farm size. Victor Asare indicated that “we want more customers to sell their cocoa beans to Armajaro therefore; we do not discriminate against any farmer who wishes to join our input scheme”. However, the FGD revealed that most of the beneficiaries were males because majority of the cocoa farms were owned and controlled by the males in the study communities.

**Table 5.1 Farmers awareness of VCC intervention programmes (partnership)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District Name</th>
<th>Farmers awareness of VCC intervention programmes in cocoa and oil palm</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (%)</td>
<td>No (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahafo-Ano North</td>
<td>46 (51)</td>
<td>44 (49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaebibirem</td>
<td>90 (100)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>136 (76)</td>
<td>44 (24)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Survey, 2018)

**5.1.2 Conditions for Joining VCC in Cocoa and Oil Palm sectors**

The actors involved in both cocoa and oil palm VCC had their unique conditions in their collaboration with the smallholder farmers. With respect to the Armajaro’s Input Scheme in the Ahafo-Ano North District, firstly, the farmer must be someone who cultivates and produces cocoa beans for sale. This implies that those whose cocoa trees are not matured for fruiting cannot join the scheme. Second, the farmer must be a customer of AGL or sells his/her cocoa beans to AGL purchasing clerk (PC). This is done to easily recover the credit because it is mostly deducted from the farmer’s yield after weighing the cocoa beans by the PC. However, a farmer who does not sell his/her cocoa beans to AGL can join when the AGL PC guarantees for the farmer. Finally, an initial 40% deposit of the total cost of the inputs collected must be paid before the inputs are given to the farmer (*Personal communication with Victor Asare, SMS officer-Armajaro, Tepa, February 5, 2018*). In the Kwaebibirem District, Serendipalm Organic Company was selected for this study because GOPDC has suspended its smallholder and outgrower schemes because of some mistrust.
between farmers and the company. This is because farmers were reported of diverting FFB to different buyers. With regard to the conditions for joining Serendipalm; firstly, the starting point is the farmer’s declaration of his/her willingness to convert his/her conventional oil palm plantation to organic which takes 3 years. This includes declaring the entire plantation field under the management of Serendipalm so as to prevent contamination of the organic palm as a certified company. Secondly, the farmer is made to understand the need to practice sustainable agriculture through protecting the environment and the ecosystem. Thus the farmer should avail him/herself for all activities including training, internal and external farm visit, present for group meetings in their communities and conform to all practices and standards of the company (Personal communication with Christian Boahen, Serendipalm-Asuom, February 7, 2018).

Although, the respondents in both districts indicated that there was no discrimination with respect to gender in joining VCC intervention programmes, the conditions prevented some of the farmers from joining. Victor Asare confirmed that “all the farmers were given equal chance of inclusion in the input scheme initiated by AGL irrespective of gender and farm size yet, the initial 40% deposit of the quantity of inputs collected hindered some interested farmers from joining the scheme” (Personal communication with Victor Asare, SMS officer- Armajaro, Tepa, February 5, 2018). One respondent also added that “I am aware of VCC intervention programmes through giving of inputs on credit to cocoa farmers but I could not afford the initial payment in order to benefit from the scheme” (Personal communication, February 3, 2018). Christian Boahen stated that Serendipalm gave equal opportunities to both males and females to be included in the organic and fair trade farming. He said efforts were even made to involve more women in their outgrowers scheme yet there is more room for improvement (Personal communication with Christian Boahen, Serendipalm-Asuom, February 7, 2018). The participants in FGD described how Serendipalm farmers are asked to follow strict rules and standards of organic farming, showing loss of control over their farm. Most of the farmers were satisfied with their decision to become members of Serendipalm due to the benefits they receive from the company. However, others were not happy that they cannot use fertilizers, insecticides and herbicides which make them experience lower yields and high cost of production.
5.1.3 Contract Signing and Informal Arrangement in Cocoa and Oil Palm VCC programmes

The respondents in the Kwaebibirem District said that the smallholder farmers who join oil palm VCC intervention programmes sign a binding contract with the buying companies. However, farmers in the Ahafo-Ano North District do not sign binding contract in the cocoa VCC. Informal arrangements also exist between the farmers and the buyers in both cocoa and oil palm farming systems in production and marketing. In the cocoa farming, farmers and PCs have their informal arrangement termed as "PC-farmer assistance arrangement" in both Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts. A special form of informal arrangement between farmers (producers) and buyers as well as processors of the palm fruits also exist in the oil palm farming and processing in Kwaebibirem District.

5.1.4 Benefits in VCC Intervention Programmes

The respondents who were members of VCC in cocoa and oil palm indicated that they receive benefits in both formal and informal VCC programmes. The formal VCC programmes render Corporate Social Responsibilities (CSR) and Fair Trade Projects respectively in the oil palm VCC in the Kwaebibirem District. In the cocoa sector, similar developmental projects are rendered by Ghana COCOBOD which is the regulatory authority of cocoa in Ghana such as cocoa roads across the length and breadth of the country. Apart from the COCOBOD projects in the cocoa sector, most of the benefits received in cocoa VCC reach only the individual farmers by their respective buying companies in terms of service provision. AGL also provides training and extension services involving farm visits to their farmers. They have cocoa demonstration plots in most of the communities in Ahafo-Ano North District where farmers occasionally meet for farm level training. They also provide free cocoa pods to their farmers for nursery in their various communities which are shared among those who participated during the nursery process. In the Kwaebibirem District, all the oil palm farmers who sell their FFBs to the buying companies and even those who do not sell to the companies are reached with benefits from the collaboration since most of their services are provision of social amenities. The farmers indicated that the benefits they receive in VCC were not sufficient for their farm work due to the size of their farms.
For instance, farmers in the Ahafo-Ano North District involved in the Armajaro Input Scheme were given inputs that covered only one acre of their cocoa farm. Accordingly, they were supposed to experiment to help them make informed decision on the choice and use of the inputs in future. They were supposed to buy additional inputs from the market to supplement what they received through joining the input scheme. In a FGD, one participant indicated that “the prices of the inputs (pesticides, insecticides and spraying machine) were higher than the market price which makes it unaffordable to collect and repay during the repayment time”. In the Kwaebibirem District, the Serendipalm farmers claimed the benefits were not sufficient as organic farming tend to involve more labour than conventional oil palm farming. One respondent said “we now have to weed under the plantation two to three times within the year as compared to using weedicides. It is dangerous to work in the farm when not weeded. You can easily be bitten by a snake or hurt yourself due to uneasy movement. We spend too much on labour but we do not get financial assistance for weeding the farm”. This affects the decision of some farmers negatively to join Serendipalm although they may receive premium yet it cannot compensate the cost of production. Notwithstanding, others indicated that it does not affect their decision to join VCC because half a loaf is better than none. One respondent said “although the inputs and other benefits were not sufficient enough to cover all our farm size yet it lessened the burden and struggle to get inputs particularly weedicides for maintenance of our farms”.

5.1.5 Presence of Traditional VCC and its Effects on Formal VCC

In the Ahafo-Ano North District, the respondents indicated that there was presence of traditional VCCs (informal collaboration among the farmers) in the district. This informal collaboration among the farmers also known as “nnobua system” is whereby farmers especially males organize themselves into groups of two or more neighbours to exchange labour in rotation to carry out their farm work. This practice is particularly common in the cocoa farming system. During harvesting, breaking of pods and carrying of fermented cocoa beans, cocoa farmers request from their neighbours to assist them to carry out these tasks. In return, when it is time for the other neighbour to carry out similar activity, he or she requests from the other neighbours within the same group to assist. Since the practice commonly exist among male farmers, females farmers do not form such groups. However, husbands of
the females require assistance from their wives during the group visit to their farm through cooking of food for the group members. They explained that the traditional VCC doesn’t negatively affect the formal or emerging VCC. It is supplementary to the emerging VCC such that farmers will always need labour even if they get financial assistance through VCC. One of the participants in FGDs stated that, “we get inputs, knowledge and training through the formal VCC and use the nnobua system to implement the benefits received through formal VCC”. Therefore, the membership in traditional VCC such as nnobua system helps in the application of knowledge gained in the formal VCC. This practice is not common in the oil palm sector in the Kwaebibirem District. According to the respondents, harvesting of palm fruits, for instance, is not an easy task that anyone can carry out; therefore they hire harvesters with special skill and energy to carry out this task. One respondent summed it up saying "every stage of the production and processing of oil palm create a unique job for certain group of people. No one will render his/her service for free unless you are his/her family member because that serves as their source of livelihood activity”.

5.2 Farmers’ Perception of the Impacts of Gender Roles and Relations on Engagement in Tree-crop Production

5.2.1 Effects of Limited Access to Support on Farmers’ Decision to Engage in Tree-Crop Production

Figure 5.1 presents effects of limited access to support services on farmers’ decision to engage in cocoa and oil palm production. 56% males and 47% females said limited access to support services delays their farm activities. They said it sometimes take more than the normal years to complete cocoa or oil palm plantation due to limited access to finance and input support. Participants confirmed this during FGDs in both Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts, and added that even farmers whose land tenure arrangements are land-sharing (abunu) are likely to lose their land tenure right if they are not able to complete the tree-crop plantation within the stipulated years. More females (48%) compared with males (33.6%) said limited access to support services affects their agricultural productivity hence they experience low productivity. They claimed that they are unable to afford inputs and therefore they don’t use some of the inputs leading to the low productivity especially women. The cocoa farmers lamented bitterly on the delay of the supply of pesticides by the
government through the Cocoa Mass Spraying Exercise. They said pest and disease attack on their cocoa pods becomes disastrous when the farms are not sprayed at the recommended time periods by Cocoa Health and Extension Department (CHED). This leads to low productivity especially women due to their inability to purchase pesticides and insecticides to maintain their farm. Moreover, more females (5%) than males (1.7%) said it affects the chances of women in getting land for farming because landowners are reluctant to give their farmland, especially to women to establish either cocoa or oil palm plantations. Finally, 8.6% of the male respondents said limited access to support services affects their interest to engage in cocoa and oil palm production negatively because they are discouraged to engage in production.

*Figure 5.1 Effects of limited access to support services on farmers' decision to engage in tree-crop production (Source: Survey, 2018)*
5.2.2 Farmers’ Perceptions of the Implications of Gendered Decision-Making and Engagement in Cocoa and Oil Palm Production

The participants in FGDs indicated that the difference in decision-making affects their engagement in tree-crops production. The females indicated that the strong social and traditional ideas of males being household heads and representing the collective interest of the household affect their decision to engage in production and VCC intervention programmes. The women argued that men have the final say in major decision-making which affects women’s active involvement in tree-crop production process because the men are seen as owners of the farm. Women have less influence in tree-crop production because decisions that concern the use of land and which crops to be grown on farmlands are mostly made by men. The female farmers especially the married ones feel voiceless in influencing agricultural decisions within their households. Some of the female respondents felt frustrated that they were involved in many farm tasks yet they were not involved in final decision-making. Nevertheless, majority of the female respondents acknowledge the importance of their roles in assisting their husbands to perform the farm tasks. Male and female respondents felt that the different roles they played were complementary to undertaking their farm task to increase productivity.

5.2.3 Farmers’ Perceptions of the Implications of Gender Division of Labour on Smallholders’ Engagement in Cocoa and Oil Palm Production

The respondents stated that males and females perform diverse tasks in production of cocoa and oil palm, and processing of palm fruits because some of the farm tasks are beyond the natural strength of women to perform. Women are naturally weaker than men; hence they cannot perform some of the difficult farm task. Therefore, they are actively involved in less tedious farm task in both cocoa and oil palm cultivation. One participant in FGD stated that “the Bible says the woman was created from the rib of the man and hence the woman is the man’s helpmate and a weaker creature. The strength of the males is more than females in performing of some difficult farm works”. The participants in FGDs also indicated that tree-crop production require significant amount of physical strength, thereby restricting women who are perceived to be less energetic than men. One of the major roles that men farmers
play almost exclusively is in the transport of cocoa beans to marketing centres and receiving of payments. This limits women farmers’ ability to benefit economically from cocoa growing and prevents them from proclaiming their rights as cocoa farmers.

5.3 Farmers’ Perspectives on Options to Make VCC more Gender-Sensitive and Inclusive

The following were the seven options mentioned by the participants during FGDs, through these they think VCC intervention programmes could become gender-sensitive and inclusive in cocoa and oil palm cultivation to the intended beneficiaries especially women.

First, the FGD participants advocated for the recognition of women as farmers whose unpaid household labour and value chain contribution need an adequate reward. They mentioned that for instance, the actors in cocoa and oil palm VCC intervention programmes could initiate special award scheme separately for men and women tree-crop best performing farmers. They mentioned that although, there is a best farmers award scheme for farmers in the country but it is not gender focus. They added that men continue to win the best farmers award over the years in their districts and even at the regional and national level. Therefore, initiation of special award scheme with gender focus on best male performing farmers and best female performing farmers will motivate the farmers to be actively engaged in cocoa and oil palm production especially women.

Second, the participants said value chain intervention programmes could become gender-sensitive and inclusive if landowners recognize that women are capable of performing their own farm task without always depending on men or their husbands. Therefore, they should give equal opportunity to women when acquiring land for tree-crop production because some women have money to hire labourers to work on their farm just as the men. Also, all stakeholders should recognize the fact that just as women can perform their household task which is equally important and tedious; they can equally undertake their own farm activities like the men. They indicated that, if some women who acquired their farmland through abunu have been able to complete their plantation while some men have not completed within the similar time period, then women could perform better if given equal chance in land acquisition.
Third, women are more engaged in petty trading related livelihood activities which imply that additional livelihood activities such as petty trading could serve as entry point for women with respect to joining VCC intervention programmes. Therefore, the farmers think value chain intervention programmes could become inclusive especially for women if the actors in VCC provide additional livelihood packages as component of their intervention programmes that suit women rather than the focus on cocoa and oil palm. This will empower women to be active members in joining VCC intervention programmes because such programmes will fall within their interest.

Fourth, another option suggested by the farmers was the provision of training and education in culturally sensitive ways that are focused on enhancing females’ involvement and position in the tree-crop production. I termed this as "women packaging" (thus special package designed for women farmers). This special training for women will help to identify women’s needs in tree-crop farming and provide necessary support for them to meet their needs. This will help the women farmers to undertake their own tree-crop farm activities. As part of women packaging, the participants mentioned that women could form female tree-crop groups or associations in their various communities. This will make it easy for companies and other actors in VCC to target the women for the provision of support services.

Fifth, the women participants stated that women could become active in tree-crop production if men recognize that women play important role in the tree-crop cultivation and that they (men) cannot do the farm alone. Therefore, they should involve women in decision-making by respecting their opinions which will motivate them, such that they may feel like being part of the farming process. Also, the participants mentioned that men should develop the habit of assisting their wives to start or perform their own tree-crop farms. This will help to change the notion that men are more engaged in tree-crops than women while the women always assist the men which makes them owners of most tree-crop farms.

Sixth, the participants said value chain intervention programmes could become gender-sensitive and inclusive if the actors and stakeholders in VCC could ensure female farmers have better access to land, farm inputs, financial credit and extension services. They added
that prices of inputs provided in VCC through credit could be made affordable and inclusive to reach everyone especially women tree-crop farmers.

Seventh, the participants of FGD mentioned that there is the need for actors in VCC to recognize that division of labour exists in farming activities. Therefore, special intervention programmes could be designed to target the needs of men and women separately in order to make VCC become gender-sensitive and inclusive.

5.4 Discussion and Conclusion

5.4.1 Farmers’ Awareness of Cocoa and Oil Palm VCC Programmes

The study found that all the respondents in the Kwaebibirem District were familiar with past and present collaboration among farmers and buyers in the oil palm sector in their district. The outgrower and smallholder schemes of Ghana Oil Palm Development Corporation (GOPDC), President’s Special Initiative for Oil Palm (PSI-oil palm) and Serendipalm smallholder scheme (organic oil palm farming) were examples of VCC intervention programmes mentioned. More than half of the respondents in the Ahafo-Ano North District were aware of VCC intervention programmes in cocoa particularly the Armajaro’s Input Scheme. The actors involved in both cocoa and oil palm VCC had their unique conditions in its collaboration with smallholder farmers. This implies that VCC actors in cocoa and oil palm determine who can and cannot be involved with them. Notwithstanding, farmers choose to either deliberately include or exclude themselves from joining the VCC based on the terms of engagement and benefits. Whereas some farmers were not happy with the conditions others were satisfied with their decision to join VCC especially in the oil palm sector. The result agrees with the findings of Manley (2016) who found that farmers were not satisfied with the obligations of Serendipalm which leads to low yield and high cost of production, yet the premium received from the company was not enough to compensate their low yield. Moreover, considering the unequal access to land and other resources, women tends to be more (self-) excluded from these collaborations. The study found that the conditions do not necessarily affect farmers' decision to engage in VCC but it limits the active involvement of women in VCC. This is because a farmer cannot become a member in
either the Serendipalm outgrowers or Armajaro input scheme unless he/she grows or produces cocoa or oil palm.

Farmers involved in oil palm VCC in the Kwaebibirem District sign binding contracts with the buyers. The details of the contract agreements are read to the understanding of the prospective farmer before signing the contract form. Farmers in the Ahafo-Ano North District involved in cocoa VCC do not sign any binding contract. The VCC intervention programmes normally take the form of informal arrangement between the PCs (acting on behalf of the buying company) and the farmers. The inputs are given to the farmers through the PCs and this makes the PCs responsible for recovering the money from the farmers. Deductions are made from the PC’s commission upon his or her failure to retrieve the money from the farmers. As a result, the PCs normally give the inputs on credit to their trusted farmers as well as those who consistently deliver their cocoa beans to them. This implies that some farmers are “adversely included” in VCC intervention programmes in cocoa.

The farmers involved in cocoa and oil palm VCC intervention programmes receive several benefits through their collaboration with the buyers. Apart from inputs and financial assistance that are given to the individual farmers in the oil palm sector, GOPDC and Serendipalm render Corporate Social Responsibilities (CSR) and Fair Trade Projects respectively. With respect to the Corporate Social Responsibilities (CSR) and Fair Trade Projects, even smallholder farmers who do not sell their FFBs to the buying companies benefit from such developmental projects.

The study found that traditional collaboration known as “nnobua system” exists among cocoa farmers particularly in the Ahafo-Ano North District. The farmers form groups to voluntarily exchange labour in rotation to perform their cocoa farm activities. The traditional VCC does not negatively affect the formal VCC; it rather supplements the formal VCC. The “nnobua system” is not practiced in the oil palm sector in the Kwaebibirem District since every stage of the production and processing of oil palm create a unique job opportunity for certain group of people for their livelihood. There were other forms of informal collaboration between the farmers and their buyers in both cocoa and oil palm. Respondents
termed this form of collaboration as “PC-farmer assistance arrangement” in the cocoa sector. The PC provides assistance in the form of finance and inputs (pesticides, insecticides, wellington boots and cutlass) to the farmers in order to keep them as customers and also get more customers. It depends on the consistency of the farmer in delivering his/her cocoa beans to the PC to benefit from this form of informal collaboration. In the oil palm sector, both the large and small scale processors fight for sufficient supply of the FFBs during the lean season. As a result farmers who get financial assistance from the processors for their farm maintenance supply their FFBs to the said processor during the lean season. Also, during the peak season when palm fruits are in abundance, farmers sometimes find it difficult to get buyers. This creates another relationship between the farmers and the processors such that those who buy their fruits become their constant customers; they supply their fruits to them during the lean season. Again, just as the processors assist the producers (farmers) financially, the farmers also credit the palm fruits to the processors for processing and payments are made after selling the processed oil. This strengthens the relationship between the farmers and the processors as a win-win approach during lean and peak season.

5.4.2 Farmers’ Perception of the Impacts of Gender Roles and Relations on Engagement in Tree-Crop Production

The study found that limited access to support services in the form of inputs, financial and improved technology affect farmers’ decision to engage in agricultural production especially women. The results showed that there were differences in farmers’ access to productive resources for farming. Men have more access to resources than women. The result agrees with the findings of Laven & Verhart (2011) who noted that females-owned rural businesses tend to confront more challenges than their male counterparts and receive far fewer supports and services. The limited access to support services delay farm activities leading to low productivity particularly women. Also, tenants are likely to lose their land sharing (abunu) tenure right if they are not able to complete the tree-crop plantation within the stipulated years. Also, farmers are discouraged to engage in tree crop production due to limited access to support services especially men.
Also, the unequal decision-making and power relations within the household and farm level negatively affect women to actively engage in tree-crop production. Decision-making is central to farm management and hence the engagement in tree-crop production. The more a farmer is involved in decision-making processes that affect the farm, the more likely the farmer may engage in the production. The women in the study areas felt voiceless in influencing major household and farm level decisions as final decisions are made by household heads. This creates disincentives for the women to engage in tree-crop production as they felt frustrated that they were involved in many farm tasks yet final decisions are made by men. The study revealed that across Tepa and Kwaebibirem Districts, the cultural definition of males as heads of households make them responsible for tree-crop production and marketing decisions.

Finally, the cultural perception of men as being stronger than women supports the practice of men’s control and dominance in tree-crop production. The result implies that women may tend to incur more cost of production than men. This is because men are more directly involved in all their farm activities physically than women who hire men to perform their difficult farm task for them. This implies that the profitability of women’s farm work is further reduced by the unequal gender division of labour within the farm level. Also, constraints on women’s time due to their multiple roles (productive and reproductive), limit their ability to actively engage in tree-crop production. This implies that unequal gender division of productive and reproductive labour at home and the cultural definition of the home as the appropriate space for women limit women’s participation in tree-crop production. The result agrees with the findings of Sarku (2016) who argued that the multiple of roles of females reduces the time and labour they may commit to the cultivation of tree-crops. The findings of the study suggest that any effort to expand tree-crop production is likely to have negative impacts on females if the current gender division of labour which is rooted in culture whereby females perform most of the work (reproductive and productive) is not addressed.
5.4.3 Farmers’ Perspectives on Options to Make VCC more Gender-Sensitive and Inclusive

The farmers mentioned seven options through which they think VCC intervention programmes could be more gender-sensitive and inclusive to marginalized farmers especially women. The first option was the recognition of women’s unpaid household labour and reward for their contribution in farming through special award scheme for best men and women farmers separately (thus gender focused award scheme). The second option was equal opportunity to women when acquiring land for tree crop production just like their male counterparts. The third option was the provision of additional livelihood activities such petty trading in VCC intervention programmes which could serve as entry point for women in VCC intervention programmes in cocoa and oil palm. Fourth option was “women packaging” thus provision of training and education in culturally sensitive ways that are focused on enhancing women’s participation and position in the tree crop production. Females could form tree crop associations for companies to easily target them for provision of support services. The fifth option was involvement of women in decision-making by men through respecting their opinions which will motivate them, such that they may feel like being part of the farming process. The sixth option was VCC actors in cocoa and oil palm ensuring that female farmers have better access to productive resources. Finally, there is the need for actors in VCC to recognize that division of labour exists in farming activities. Therefore, special intervention programmes could be designed to target the needs of men and women separately in to make VCC more gender-sensitive and inclusive.

5.4.4 Conclusion

This chapter assessed farmers’ awareness of cocoa and oil palm VCC programmes in the study areas. It also analyzed farmers perception of the impacts of gender roles and relations on engagement in cocoa and oil palm production and marketing in VCC and explored farmers’ perspectives on options to make VCC more gender-sensitive and inclusive.

Majority of the farmers were aware of VCC intervention programmes involving cocoa and oil palm in both Ahafo-Ano North and Kwaebibirem Districts. The VCC actors target both cocoa and oil palm farmers irrespective of gender and farm size yet men were more involved
in the intervention programmes than women due to their dominance in cocoa and oil palm cultivation. However, both male and female farmers have the capability to self-include or self-exclude owning to the conditions and benefits derived from joining VCC programmes. Also, informal collaborations exist between the farmers and their buyers in both cocoa and oil palm. This involves provision of assistance in the form of inputs and financial credit in terms of production and marketing. This strengthens the relationship between the farmers and their buyer in a win-win manner.

Also, farmers perceived limited access productive resources and support services as having negative effects on their decision to engage in tree-crop production. It delays farm activities leading to low productivity especially on women farmers. The unequal decision-making and power relations within the household and farm level also negatively affect particularly women to actively engage in tree-crop production. The women feel voiceless and frustrated in influencing major household and farm level decisions. This creates disincentives for the women to actively engage in tree-crop production as final decisions are made by household heads. The unequal gender division of labour (productive and reproductive) at home and the cultural definition of the home for women limit their ability to actively engage in tree-crop production.

Finally, the chapter provides seven potential options to make VCC more gender-sensitive and inclusive. These include; (1) Policy recognition of women farmers’ unpaid reproductive role and value chain contribution through separate best-performing men and women farmers’ award scheme. (2) Equal opportunity to women when acquiring land for tree crop production just like their male counterparts. (3) Additional livelihood activities that suits women could be provided in VCC to serve as entry point for women in cocoa and oil palm VCC intervention programmes. (4) VCC actors in cocoa and oil palm could ensure that female farmers have better access productive resources (5) Special training package (women packaging) designed for women farmers which are culturally sensitive and focuses on enhancing women’s participation and position in tree crop value chain could be included in VCC intervention programmes. (6) Involvement of women in decision-making by men through respecting their opinions which will motivate them, such that they may feel like being part of the farming process. (7) Special intervention programmes could be designed
by VCC actors to target the needs of men and women separately since gender division of labour exists in farm activities.
CHAPTER SIX

KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents the key findings, conclusion and recommendations. Section 6.1 touches on the key findings while Section 6.2 presents the conclusion. The last section (6.3) makes some recommendations.

6.1 Key Findings

The study found, first, that although the conditions for acquiring land among men and women were the same, men have more access to land than women because they are physically stronger. Landowners prefer men due to the fact that farming activities in cocoa and oil palm cultivation are physically demanding and beyond the strength of women to perform such tedious farm tasks. This limits the chances of women to actively engage in tree crop cultivation and subsequent engagement in agricultural related value chain collaboration projects. This is because access to land is a crucial factor in tree crop production since the crops remain on the land for longer period and also require large land size for cultivation.

Second, both males and females participate in farming, but males are more involved in tree-crop production, while females engage more in food crop production and oil-palm processing. Women were observed to engage in less tedious farm tasks and considered to ‘provide assistance’ to their husbands. Males dominated in the cultivation of cocoa and oil palm due to the fact that they were considered to be stronger and able to perform laborious tasks. Moreover, few females were engaged cocoa and oil palm due to the fact that they had limited access to productive resources such as inputs and financial credit. It could be concluded that the way in which females are engaged in the production of cocoa and oil palm has led them to be engaged in oil palm processing and petty trading. The processing of palm fruits is ascribed as a ‘kitchen job’.

Third, the findings reveal that there is gender inequity in household decision making. Most decisions were taken either jointly or by men, yet the final decisions were made by men. Women seldom make decision alone as they claimed that men are culturally accepted as being the decision makers in the household. Female respondents felt voiceless and frustrated
in influencing agricultural decisions within their households and farm level. This culturally prescribed role of men as heads of households and unequal roles with respect to decision making and unequal power relations in access to and control over productive resources and division of labour create a disincentive among females to actively engage in tree-crop production and marketing in VCC. However, both men and women felt that the distinct roles they played were complementary to undertaking their farm task to increase productivity.

Fourth, the respondents were aware of the presence of the VCC actors in cocoa and oil palm. No one was discriminated based on gender from joining VCC intervention programmes such as Serendipalm’s organic farming and Armajaro’s Input Scheme. The VCC actors (buying companies) of cocoa and oil palm determine who can and cannot be involved, yet the farmers had the capability to self-include or self-exclude owning to the conditions and benefits derived from joining the VCC. Considering unequal access to land and other resources, women tends to be more (self-) excluded from these collaborations.

Fifth, in spite of the involvement of both sexes in tree crop production, women’s role in tree crop production continues to be inadequately recognized and under-valued as compared to men. The reasons responsible for this were given as customs and gender division of labour, which keeps women subordinated to men in cash crop cultivation and continues the problem of unpaid reproductive and domestic activities performed by women. Thus, the cultural expectations of women’s performing domestic responsibilities reduce the amount of time (labour) they may have available for tree-crop farming.

Finally, among the options suggested by farmers to make VCC become gender-sensitive and inclusive were the recognition of women farmers’ unpaid reproductive role. Farmers suggested that policies need to recognize the value chain contribution according to gender through separate best-performing men and women farmers’ award schemes. Also, additional livelihood activities that suit women should be provided in VCC. A special training package designed for female farmers that are culturally sensitive and focuses on enhancing women’s participation and position in tree crop value chain could be included in VCC intervention programmes. Lastly, actors and stakeholders in VCC could ensure that female farmers have better access to land, farm inputs, and financial credit and extension services.
6.2 Conclusion

The study assessed the impact that gender relations and roles in cocoa and oil palm farming have on engagement in tree-crop production and explored farmers’ perspectives on options to make VCC more gender-sensitive and inclusive. It also assessed specific tree-crop farming and tenure arrangements from gender perspective. The distinct roles males and females play in cocoa and oil palm were assessed. Farmers’ awareness of cocoa and oil palm VCC programmes in the study areas were assessed. The findings suggest that division of labour, access to and control over resources, values and norms, and decision-making are the key dimensions of gender that influence the engagement in tree-crops farming in VCC. The study can state that women’s potential to engage in cocoa and oil palm farming is limited. Therefore, the engagement in cocoa and oil palm farming is not gender-sensitive. However, the study suggests that the oil palm sector seems more gender-sensitive than the cocoa sector. This is because two stages (production and processing) are involved in the oil palm sector whereas only one stage (production) is involved in the cocoa sector in the study areas. Both males and females are involved in the two stages depending on the labour demand in each stage. Whereas more males are involved in the production stage in both crops, more females are involved in processing stage of the oil palm, this creates a win-win situation for males and females in the oil palm sector as compared with cocoa. In general, the study concludes that any effort to increase tree-crop production without considering the social context of value-chain collaboration is unlikely to achieve positive gains for production especially for women.

6.3 Recommendations

Base on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made:

1. Current gender relations rooted in culture need further research to unearth the cultural barriers and opportunities that ensure active involvement of women in tree crop production.

2. Further research needs to document all available value chain intervention programmes in agriculture, their interest and contributions to agricultural production, especially with regard to cocoa and oil palm.
3. VCC intervention programmes should have a transformative and inclusive gender approach by supporting access and control over productive resources and the transformation of power relations between male and female partners at home and farm level.

4. Objectives of value chain intervention programmes aimed at promoting tree-crop production and marketing should be based on the needs of male and female farmers that are consistent with their roles. VCC program planners should therefore use gender roles and relations analysis when planning VCC intervention programmes.
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# APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: Operationalization of Key Concepts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Sub-concept</th>
<th>Dimension(s)</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Research methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Gender relations/roles</td>
<td>Division of labour</td>
<td>Gender division in land preparation/planting/sowing/weeding/harvesting</td>
<td>What roles do men/women have in the household/on the farm/cocoa production? Who does what in farming and in different stages of the cycle, from land preparation to post-harvesting? How is gender division of labour arranged in the different stages from land preparation to post-harvesting?</td>
<td>Surveys, Semi-structured interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to and control over resources and benefits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gender access to and control over benefits, ownership and access to land, capital, access to education, information, extension etc.</td>
<td>How is access to and control over resources arranged in the household? Who has control and access to resources in the household?</td>
<td>Surveys, Semi-structured interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision making</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Decision-making around crop choice/marketing of farm produce/labour allocations/income/ intra-household food distribution etc.</td>
<td>Who decides on what is grown? Who decides on what products to be marketed or for subsistence purpose? Who decides on the distribution of products within the household?</td>
<td>Surveys, Semi-structured interviews and Focus group discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value Chain Collaboration (VCC)</td>
<td>Territorial embedded VCCs</td>
<td>Organizations and their interest</td>
<td>Which actors are present in the community/district? Who is targeted by the actors? What are the terms of engagement?</td>
<td>What are the policies of institutions or organizations actors in VCC? What rights do farmers have in VCC and how does it affect their engagement in VCC? What is the commitment of actors in VCC? How does actor’s commitment in VCC affect engagement in VCC?</td>
<td>Surveys, Semi-structured interviews and Focus group discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structures</td>
<td>Enabling and constraining factors that emanate from formal institutions (policies, organizations, laws)</td>
<td></td>
<td>What traditional VCCs are present? Are there informal agreements or collaborations? How do these affect inclusiveness of emerging VCC?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Semi-structured interviews and Focus group discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>social and historically normalized and internalized 'rules of the game' that set the constraints, motivations, and legitimacies within which strategic choices and actions are made over time such as gender norms, taboos, etc). Gender norms and values Social rules/norms/values/status in the community/society.</td>
<td>What value or status is ascribed to men/women in the community?</td>
<td>Surveys, Semi-structured interviews and Focus group discussions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities in VCC</td>
<td>Inputs provision</td>
<td>What inputs are provided through VCC? What are the conditions on inputs provision? Who is targeted or reached?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Service provision (knowledge, finance)</td>
<td>What are the conditions on knowledge/finance provision through VCC? Who is targeted?</td>
<td>Semi-structured interviews and Focus group discussions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value chain relations</td>
<td>VCC relations in production</td>
<td>Land/inputs/technology/labour</td>
<td>How are VCC relations in access to land/inputs/technology/land arranged in the household? Who is included or excluded in production? What are the terms of engagement? How does this affect farmer’s engagement in VCC?</td>
<td>Surveys, Semi-structured interviews and Focus group discussions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VCC relations in marketing</td>
<td>Marketing of products</td>
<td>How are VCC relations in the marketing of products arranged in the household? Who is included or excluded? How is a farmer included? How does this affect farmer’s engagement in VCC?</td>
<td>Surveys, Semi-structured interviews and Focus group discussions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Questionnaires and Focus Group Discussion guide

Good day! My name is Samuel Asiedu, I am a student of the University of Energy and Natural Resources, Sunyani. I am conducting a study on gender relations in cocoa and oil palm value chain and implications for production and marketing in engagement in VCC as part of the WOTRO project. I would like to ask you some questions about your gender relations and roles in decision making, access to and control over resources, division of labour, values and norms and the impacts of these roles and relations for your engagement in production and marketing in value chain collaboration and, options to make value chain collaboration to become more gender-sensitive and inclusive. Your participation is voluntary: you may choose not to answer any questions or decide to stop the discussion at any time. I would like to assure you that your responses will be given maximum confidentiality.

Are you will to participate in this study?

YES/NO

SECTION A: SURVEY

1.0 General Questions

1.1 Name of respondent

1.2 Gender

1.3 District

1.4 Community

1.5 Mobile number

1.6 Age

1.7 Number of children

1.8 Marital status –

- Single
- Married
- Widowed
- Separated
- divorced

1.9 Highest education –

- no education
- primary
- JHS
- SHS
1.10 What is your primary occupation?
- Tertiary
- Others…specify………………………………..

1.11 Secondary occupation
- Unemployed
- Student
- Farmer (self-employed, part-time)
- Farmer (self-employed, full-time)
- Pensioner
- Small and medium business enterprise (e.g petty trading)
- Informal sector (e.g. artisans)
- Seasonal worker on farm
- Permanent worker on farm
- Other… specify……………………..

SECTION B:

RQ1: What are cocoa and oil palm farming systems and tenure arrangement from gender perspective?

RQ2: What are the relations and roles of women and men in the production and marketing of cocoa and oil palm in Ghana?

1.12 Are you the head of your household?
- Yes
- No

1.13 What is the sex of the household head?
- Male
- Female

1.14 How long have you being farming? ……………………………………………..

1.15 Are you cocoa or oil palm farmer?
- Cocoa
- Oil palm
- Both cocoa and oil palm

1.16 Why did you choose to plant cocoa?
- More profitable
- Future insurance
- Very easy to cultivate
- Suitable land for cocoa cultivation
- Cocoa lasts for long period
- Female
1.17 Why did you choose to plant oil palm?
- Oil palm has multi-benefits
- More profitable
- Very easy to cultivate
- Oil palm last long period
- Others specify …………………………………….

1.18 Why did you choose to cultivate cocoa and oil palm?
- Supplement income
- Suitable land for both cocoa and oil palm cultivation
- Both cocoa and oil palm last for long period
- Others

1.19 What is the most important crop?
- Cocoa
- Oil palm
- Plantain
- Cassava
- Maize
- Cocoyam
- Rice
- Cabbage
- Vegetables

1.20 What is your second most important crop?
- Cocoa
- Oil palm
- Plantain
- Cassava
- Maize
- Cocoyam
- Rice
- Cabbage
- Vegetables

2.0 Gender Access to and Control Over Productive Resources

2.1 What is the total amount of land do you use for agricultural purpose, in acres?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop type</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Tenure of land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil palm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food crop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other specify</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Codes for land tenure:
1=Permission to occupy 4=Land sharing (Abusa) 7=Family land
2=Title deed 5=Crop sharing (Abunu) 8=Inheritance
3=Land sharing (Abunu) 6=Crop sharing (Abusa) 9=Others specify

2.3 Do you have the ability to sell or transfer any of the land that you farm on?
- Yes
- No

2.4 Do you have the ability to restrict others from entering or using this land?
- Yes
- No

2.5 How likely is it that someone would take your land away from you?
- Impossible/would never happen
- Highly unlikely
- Unsure/don't know
- Likely
- Very likely
- Happening right now

2.6 If likely, by whom (select all that apply)?
- community chief
- government
2.7 How do you acquire land for farming in your community?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

2.8 Are the conditions for acquiring land by women different from men?

○ Yes

○ No

2.9 If yes, explain?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

2.10 Who has more access to land in this community?

○ Men

○ Women

○ Both men and women

○ None

2.11 Why do men or women have more access to land than the other in your community?

○ Men are physically stronger than women

○ Men can complete farms faster than women

○ Men can sell labour support their farm work

○ Believe that men are head of households

○ Depends on the owner of the farmland

2.12 Who has more access to agricultural inputs in this community?

○ Men

○ Women

○ Both men and women

○ None

2.13 Who has more access to credit in this community?

○ Men

○ Women

○ Both men and women

○ None

2.14 Who has more access to labour in this community?

○ Men

○ Women

○ Both men and women

○ None

2.15 Who has more access to extension services in this community?

○ Men

○ Women

○ Both men and women

○ None

2.16 Where and whom do you get support from for your farm activities?

○ Self-support

○ PC

○ Government

○ Relatives

○ Others

2.17 How does limited access to these support/resources influence your decision to engage in cocoa or oil palm production in value chain intervention programmes?

○ Low interest/discouraged to engage in production in VCC

○ Delay farm activities

○ Landowners are reluctant to give farmlands to women for tree crop production

○ Low production
3.0 Gender Decision-Making

3.1 Are there decisions related to your farm activities which also involve (are shared with) your spouse? 
   Yes      No

3.2 If yes, draw up a list highlighting which decisions are made by men only, by women only or jointly (see table below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Decisions</th>
<th>Males-only</th>
<th>Females-only</th>
<th>Jointly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Involving use of land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Decisions involving crops to grow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Decisions involving use of labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>What crops to be marketed or subsistence purpose?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Decisions involving where to market crops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Need for technical assistance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Price negotiation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Credit services eg. loan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Receiving payment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Use of income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.0 Gender Difference in Division of Labour

4.1.1 Who are mostly engaged in cocoa cultivation?
   ○ Men            Both men and women
   ○ Women          None

4.1.2 Why are **men or women** mainly engaged in cocoa cultivation?
   ○ Cocoa production activities are difficult for women
   ○ Men have more access to land and others resources than women
   ○ Men are stronger than women
   ○ Women are more interested in trading(business)

4.1.3 Who are mostly engaged in marketing of cocoa beans?
   ○ Men            Both men and women
   ○ Women          None

4.1.4 Why are **men or women** mainly engaged in marketing of cocoa beans?
   ○ Men know more about the cocoa weighing scale
   ○ Men own most cocoa farmers
   ○ Depends on the ownership of the cocoa farmland
   ○ Women are engaged in household chores

4.2.1 Who are mostly engaged in oil palm cultivation?
   ○ Men            Both men and women
   ○ Women          None

4.2.2 Why are **men or women** mainly engaged in oil palm cultivation?
Oil palm production activities are difficult for women
Men are stronger than women
Others

4.2.3 Who are mostly engaged in processing of oil palm at large, medium and small scale level?
- Men
- Both men and women
- Women
- None

4.2.4 Why are men or women mainly engaged in processing?
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………

4.2.5 Who are mostly engaged in marketing of oil palm fruits and processed oil palm?
- Men
- Both men and women
- Women
- None

4.2.6 Why are men or women mainly engaged in marketing of palm fruits and processed palm oil?
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………

4.3 Select who mainly performs the following task in cocoa and oil palm production

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Males-only</th>
<th>Females-only</th>
<th>Jointly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Land preparation/clearing vegetation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Plant nursery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Transplanting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fertilizer application</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Weed control (application of weedicide)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Pest and Disease control (spraying)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Carrying water for spraying</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4 Select who mainly performs the following task in cocoa production

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Males-only</th>
<th>Females-only</th>
<th>Jointly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting of cocoa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picking of cocoa pods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaking cocoa pods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drying the cocoa beans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head loading the dried cocoa beans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5 Select who mainly performs the following task in oil palm cultivation and processing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Males-only</th>
<th>Females-only</th>
<th>Jointly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lining and pegging</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pruning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Harvesting of palm fruits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Picking of palm fruits (FFB)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Processing of oil palm
6. Splitting FFB

7. Winnowing

8. Fetching water for oil processing

9. Boiling of palm fruits

10. Digested/extraction of oil

11. Boiling of oil/Zomi preparation/classification

12. Sorting of palm kernels from fiber

4.6 Why do men and women perform different tasks in cocoa or oil palm farming/production?

RQ4: What are farmers’ awareness of cocoa and oil palm value chain collaboration programmes?

5.0 Farmers Awareness and their Interest in Value Chain Collaboration Programmes in Cocoa and Oil Palm

5.1 Are you familiar with any VCC in cocoa or oil palm sector in your community/district? (Probe: Collaboration among farmers and buyers, government, NGOs or any private organization)
   Yes No

5.2 If yes, which actors in VCC are present in your community/district?

5.3 Who is/are targeted by the VCC actors? (Probe: adult males/females, youths, men only or women only, farmers only, which farmers (cocoa/oil palm/food crop etc….)

5.4 Are you a member of any of the VCCs in cocoa or oil palm?
   Yes No

5.5 If no, why haven’t you joined any VCC?

5.6 If yes, what are the conditions for joining the collaboration? (Probe: terms of engagement)

5.7 Do the conditions differ for male and female farmers?
   Yes No

5.8 If yes, how and why does it differ? (Probe: what condition for men only, for women only, ask reasons for differences)
5.9 Does the conditions and requirement affect your decision to join VCC?
   Yes  No
5.10 If yes, how does it affect your decision?

5.11 Do you sign any contract in VCC?
   Yes  No
5.12 If yes, what are the terms of engagement?

5.13 If no, is there any informal arrangement in cocoa and oil palm farming system in your community or district?
   o  Yes  No
5.14 If yes, explain the informal arrangement

5.15 Do you receive benefits in VCC?
   Yes  No
5.16 If yes, what kind of benefits do you receive in VCC? (Prove: what inputs, service, knowledge, training, finance etc are provided in VCC.)

5.17 Who is reached? (Probe: is it the powerful in your community, male farmers, female farmers or both)

5.18 Are the benefits sufficient enough for your farm needs?
   Yes  No
5.19 If no, why? (Probe: is it because of your size of farm, discrimination)

5.20 Does this influence your decision to join value chain intervention programme in cocoa or oil palm?
   Yes  No
5.21 If yes, how does it affect your decision?

5.22 How do you see the commitment of the actors in VCC?
   o  Very good
   o  Good
   o  Bad
   o  Very bad
5.23 How does actor’s commitment in VCC affect your decision to engage in VCC?

5.24 Are there traditional VCCs (informal agreements or collaborations) present in your community? (Probe: any form of informal collaboration among farmers)
   Yes  No
5.25 If yes, what form does it take and how different is it from formal VCCs?
5.26 If yes, how do these informal collaborations affect inclusiveness of emerging (formal) VCCs?

SECTION C

6.0 Focus Group Discussion Guide for Research Questions 3 and 5

RQ3: What are farmers’ perception of the implications of gender roles and relations for engagement in production and marketing in value chain intervention programmes?

RQ5: How can VCCs be more gender-sensitive and inclusive to smallholder cocoa and oil palm farmers?

1. What kind of support do you need for your farming activities? *(Probe: finance, inputs, technology, extension services etc)*

2. What rights do farmers (men and women /both) have in VCC and how does it affect their engagement in VCC?

3. What value or status is ascribed to men/women in the community? How does it influence farmers’ engagement in cocoa and oil palm production in value chain intervention programmes?

4. How is access to and control over productive resources arranged in the household? Who has control and access to resources in the household? *(Probe. Land, capital, inputs, extension services etc.)*

5. What are farmers’ perceptions of the implications of gendered access to and control over productive resources for engagement in cocoa and oil palm production and marketing in VCC?

6. What are farmers’ perceptions of the implications of gendered division of labour for engagement in cocoa and oil palm production and marketing in VCC?

7. What are farmers’ perceptions of the implications of gendered decision-making for engagement in production and marketing of cocoa and oil palm in VCC?

8. What are farmers’ perceptions of the implications of cultural norms for engagement in cocoa and oil palm production and marketing in VCC?

9. What could/should be done to address gender issues in?
   a. Access to and control over resources eg. Land, inputs
   b. Decision-making
   c. Division of labour
   d. Customs and norms

10. What could/should be done to make VCCs to become more gender-sensitive and inclusive?