



Gender dynamics in cashew and shea value chains from Ghana and Burkina Faso

Verina Ingram, Emma Lucie Yago-Ouattara, Abraham Lartey, Diana Mogre, Jo Wijnands and Jolanda van den Berg

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This study is part of a public-private partnership project 'Oilseeds specialties: opportunities for the Dutch business community in the vegetable oil industry' from 2013 to 2015. Demand is rapidly increasing for shea butter in cosmetics and food, derived from the oil rich nuts of the shea (*Vitellaria paradoxa*) tree and for cashew nuts, seeds of the (*Anacardium occidentale*) tree, used mainly as a food snack. A literature review, and interviews with 249 farmers and harvesters, processors, retailers, exporters, 42 traditional leaders, exporters, government, research institutions, non-governmental and civil society organisations and 17 focus group discussions were held between July and November 2014. The main findings are that rights to cashew and shea trees and their products differ greatly between men and women. Whilst regulations governing access to land and trees in Burkina Faso and Ghana do not discriminate between men and women, customary law governs in practice and do differentiate. Shea is predominantly wild harvested and cashew is cultivated. Access to land for cultivation is difficult for women in both countries. Land and tree tenure problems include a lack of knowledge of formal laws, costs and difficulties to register land, and insecure customary tenure. Benefits from participating in the value chains of these products have increased in both countries for both men and women. How the income is distributed depends on whether the product comes from a cultivated tree and if it was a joint, household or individual activity. Both sexes use the incomes from selling raw and processed products to meet family needs, men tend to spend more on family education and assets, women more on food. Women in cashew processing groups earn substantially higher income. Although initiatives are ongoing in both countries, these have not had dramatic impacts in the study areas. The main factors of success in improving gender equity in shea and cashew chains are ensuring and securing access to land and trees for smallholders. This means overcoming the significant cultural and associated financial barriers for women to own land and trees, but also for smallholders to enlarge their land holdings, and supporting women to organise into groups and improve the quantity and quality of processing. Further recommendations include raising awareness among traditional leaders, village elders and male household heads of the potential of women in agriculture and benefits for households; support for collective action and pilot activities, and celebrating women's - and men's - successes to improve their participation in decision-making processes in the value chains affecting them.

Key words: Gender, value chains, cashew, shea, West Africa, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Netherlands, trade

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P.O. Box 29703, 2502 LS The Hague, The Netherlands, T +31 (0)70 335 83 30,

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Contents

| | | |
|----------|---|-----------|
| | Preface | 5 |
| | Abbreviations | 6 |
| | Executive summary | 7 |
| 1 | Introduction | 9 |
| | 1.1 Public-private partnership initiative: Opportunities for Dutch businesses in special oilseeds | 9 |
| | 1.2 Objective | 10 |
| | 1.3 Gender and land, forests, trees and agriculture | 10 |
| | 1.3.1 Gendered access to land and tree tenure security | 10 |
| | 1.3.2 Gendered aspects of agricultural commercialisation | 12 |
| | 1.3.3 Gendered control and distribution benefits from cash crops | 15 |
| | 1.3.4 Land and tree tenure arrangements in Ghana | 15 |
| | 1.3.5 Land and tree tenure arrangements in Burkina Faso | 18 |
| 2 | Methodology | 20 |
| | 2.1 Study area characteristics | 20 |
| | 2.1.1 Ghana | 20 |
| | 2.1.2 Burkina Faso | 21 |
| | 2.2 Literature review | 22 |
| | 2.3 Field work | 22 |
| | 2.3.1 Key informant interviews | 24 |
| | 2.3.2 Sampling cashew and shea farmers, collectors and processors | 24 |
| | 2.3.3 Focus group discussions | 24 |
| | 2.4 Data Analysis | 25 |
| 3 | Gender relations in the chains | 26 |
| | 3.1 Gender relationships in the cashew chain | 26 |
| | 3.1.1 Activities | 26 |
| | 3.1.2 Tenure and rights | 27 |
| | 3.1.3 Tenure and rights problems | 28 |
| | 3.1.4 Benefits | 28 |
| | 3.1.5 Gender and chain enhancement activities | 31 |
| | 3.2 Gender in the shea chain | 32 |
| | 3.2.1 Activities in the chain | 32 |
| | 3.2.2 Tenure and rights | 35 |
| | 3.2.3 Tenure and rights problems | 37 |
| | 3.2.4 Benefits | 38 |
| | 3.2.5 Gender and chain enhancement activities | 39 |
| | 3.3 Barriers | 42 |
| 4 | Key success factors and opportunities | 43 |
| | 4.1 Successes | 43 |
| | 4.2 Opportunities | 43 |

| | | |
|----------|--|-----------|
| 5 | Conclusions and recommendations | 45 |
| 5.1 | Key conclusions | 45 |
| 5.2 | Recommendations | 47 |
| | References | 49 |
| | Appendix 1 Interview guides | 56 |
| | Interview guide Burkina Faso | 56 |
| | Interview guide Ghana | 57 |

Preface

The authors are grateful to all organisations and individuals in the shea and cashew chains for their participation in this study. Jolanda van den Berg (LEI) provided valuable structure and advice concerning the field work conducted in Burkina Faso and Ghana. Victor Owusu and Gyiele K. Nurah at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) supervised Diana Mogre and Abraham Lartey, whose Master's theses contributed to this study.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'J.G.A.J. van der Vorst', written in a cursive style.

Prof. dr. ir. J.G.A.J. (Jack) van der Vorst
General Director LEI Wageningen UR

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------|---|
| AAGDS | Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Development Strategy |
| APFNL | L'Agence de Promotion des Produits Forestiers Non Ligneux, Burkina Faso |
| ADF | African Development Fund |
| CAADP | Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme |
| CDP | Cashew Development Project |
| COCOBOD | Ghana Cocoa Board |
| CRIG | Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana |
| FAO | Food and Agricultural Organization |
| FASDEP II | Food and Agricultural Sector Development Policy II |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GoG | Government of Ghana |
| IFAD | International Fund for Agricultural Development |
| ISODEC | Integrated Social Development Centre |
| IFPRI | International Food Policy Research Institute |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| ISSER | Institute for Statistical and Social Research |
| KNUST | Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology |
| METASIP | Medium Term Agricultural Sector Investment Plan |
| MOFA | Ministry of Food and Agriculture |
| MoWAC | Ministry of Women and Children Affairs |
| NGOs | Non-governmental organisations |
| RCN | Raw Cashew Nuts |
| TC | Tree crop |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |
| USDA | United State Development Agency |
| WATH | West Africa Trade Hub |
| WIAD | Women in Agricultural Development |
| WUR | Wageningen University and Research Centres |

Executive summary

This study is part of a public-private partnership project 'Oilseeds specialties: opportunities for the Dutch business community in the vegetable oil industry' (TKI-AF 12097) from 2013 to 2015. Within the vegetable oils and fats sector, demand is rapidly increasing for shea butter in cosmetics and food, derived from the oil-rich nuts of the shea (*Vitellaria paradoxa*) tree. The Dutch market for cashew nuts, seeds of the cashew tree (*Anacardium occidentale*) used mainly as a food snack, is also growing. Both products are sourced from dry, tropical countries, with West Africa as a major exporter. The Netherlands is the biggest EU processor and distributor of shea nuts and butter in Europe and is the main point of entry for cashew nut kernels into Europe. Both products originate from slow-growing trees. Shea nuts are sourced from both the wild and cultivated trees. Cashew nuts are from farmed trees. Who has access and how access to land and trees is organised, as well as the cultivation, harvesting, trade and benefits thereof, are subject to complex and local rules. Both products are also consumed and traded locally. Empirical studies on intra-household gender dynamics in Africa have shown that when a crop enters the market economy, men are likely to take over from women, and women benefit little from market-oriented production. Studies on the gendered nature of resource tenure also have highlighted the disadvantageous position of women with regards to access to and ownership over resources such as land and trees. Given increased commercialisation, the gender dynamics in the shea and cashew value chains in Ghana and Burkina Faso are investigated. The study examines men's and women's rights to trees and raw and processed products from these trees; land and tree tenure security and tenure problems; the impacts of increased commercialisation of shea and cashew; and recent activities to enhance land and tree tenure security.

Data were gathered from interviews with 249 shea and cashew nut farmers and harvesters, processors, retailers, exporters, with 42 key informants (traditional leader's exporters, government, research institutions, non-governmental and civil society organisations), through structured interviews and in 17 focus group discussions, held between July and November 2014. A literature review supplemented and triangulated this primary data. The focus was on Leo and Bobo-Dioulasso villages in Sissili and Houet Provinces of Burkina Faso respectively, and Jaman, Bamboi, Bole, Kakiese and Mandari villages in Bole District, Northern Region of Ghana.

The main findings concerning *rights to cashew and shea trees and their products*, are that whilst regulations governing access to land and trees in both Burkina Faso and Ghana do not discriminate between men and women, customary law governs daily life in practice, and does differentiate on the basis of gender. Communal land tenure is common, with chiefs governing community lands and determining the acquisition of rights to and transmission and disposition of interest in land. Customary owners serve as spiritual heads and advisors to chiefs on land issues. Traditionally women can farm land and use trees but are not allowed to own them. Customary land tenure does not always secure ownership rights. Changes in this system have gradually been occurring in Burkina Faso, as traditional leaders sell land to raise personal income. This has increased the opportunities for women to own land and trees. However, women, particularly rural women in the area, indicated difficulties obtaining capital to buy land, and often require a male intermediary to negotiate with chiefs to purchase land. *Shea* in Ghana is predominantly wild harvested. Half (50%) of women harvest shea at no cost from land owned by their husbands, sons and other male family members, and 30% rented such land. Although 20% of women bought land, this is only possible in communities where land sales occur. Women have free access to shea trees on community land, but not on other people's farms. However, with increasing economic value of shea, increasing scarcity of land due to population increases, and increase in owned farmlands, access to wild shea trees is decreasing. For *cashew*, all of which is cultivated, customary rights exist to plant trees, to use trees as collateral, and to harvest, sell and use of income from the trees. Planters have exclusive right of the tree and its use. Cashew cultivation is male dominated in all the five Ghanaian villages.

Land and tree tenure problems were found, and include a lack of knowledge by farmers and harvesters about regulations, cost and difficulties to formally register land, the insecurity of customary tenure – particularly when pressure for land (through population increases and migration, poverty and expanding commercial agriculture) increases.

The *benefits from participating in the value chains* of these products have increased in both countries for both men and women. In Ghana, up to the 1980s shea collection was traditionally a women's activity, however men have become increasingly involved due to the high profits. Nuts and processed shea butter are mainly sold in local markets to monopolistic intermediaries who are (mostly) male. Few women in Bole were involved in wholesale or export. Even when land and trees belong to male family members, income from sales of shea and agricultural products from this land belongs to women. Shea was women's major source of income, contributing to between 38% and 60% of their total income. Men tend to reinvest more in their farm and family education, women in food, healthcare and the household. Women noted many challenges, including natural hazards (snakebites and scorpion stings), long forage distances and difficulties transporting shea from trees and farms to markets. Most Ghanaian (78%) cashew farmers are men, working individually. The majority earned between GHC1,700-2,200 (USD531-687) from cashew sales in 2013. Male and female revenues differ depending on whether cultivation is a household or individual activity. Men and women generally have exclusive rights over individually earned income, and tend to use jointly earned income for household use. If women work with their husbands, income is owned by their spouse. Men tend to spend more on family education and assets, women more on food. In Burkina Faso, revenues from shea belong to the women involved. Income is mainly used to meet household needs, in businesses and to increase women's social status. Men generally decide how cashew incomes are used, mainly to meet family needs. Women in cashew processing groups earn substantially higher income, investing in improved housing, their businesses and loans to other women.

Although not mentioned by respondents in Bole, several *initiatives* are ongoing in Ghana to improve small-scale farmers and particularly women's access to land, especially irrigated land. The government's 15-year Land Administration Project includes a gender initiative which focuses on gender dimensions in land administration, including access and control of land for both women and men. Shea projects have been common in Ghana since the 1990s, created and funded by agencies, and NGOs focusing on grouping and training female shea butter makers to produce high-quality oil meeting international quality norms and standardised processing techniques, and linking shea producer associations with cosmetics firms paying higher prices for quality oil. Since 2009, governmental agencies, the Ghana Cocoa Board (COCOBOD) and Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG) have been conducting research and promoting the industry, joined by an injection of government funded in shea planting and training project in 2014. In Burkina Faso, mainly NGOs are active, such as the Global Shea Alliance and the Millennium Challenge Corporation's land tenure project, and a women's development association, accessing trees by negotiating with local customary authorities.

The main *factors of success* in addressing gender equity in shea and cashew chains are ensuring and securing access to land and trees. This means overcoming the significant cultural and associated financial barriers particularly for women in permanently owning land and trees, but also for smallholders to enlarge their land holdings. Support to women to organise into groups and improve the quantity and quality of processing has been conducted on a sufficient scale and time period has contributed to the success of several women's groups. *Recommendations* include focussing on facilitating the security of land and tree ownership for smallholders, especially women. This could extend to mandatory titling of land devoid of gender differences. As of customary arrangements remain common, the awareness of traditional leaders and village elders and male household heads about the potential of women in agriculture and resulting benefits for households, could be raised, as a precursor to creating changes regarding customary land and tree tenure. To improve the participation and position of women in decision-making processes in the value chains affecting them, complementary activities of raising awareness, providing information, empowerment, support for collective action and pilot activities, and celebrating women's *and* men's successes is recommended. Social and cultural factors that marginalise women need to be addressed in interventions in the value chains.

1 Introduction

1.1 Public-private partnership initiative: Opportunities for Dutch businesses in special oilseeds

This study is part of a public private partnership project (PPP) 'Oilseeds specialties: opportunities for the Dutch business community in the vegetable oil industry' (TKI-AF 12097) in which Wageningen UR works together with the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation and two Dutch companies in the oilseeds sector. This project contributes to three of the 'top sector'¹ themes concerning market and chain innovations, international trade, and sustainability of the import of raw materials for food and feed. The PPP aims to support market opportunities for Dutch companies in the specialty segment of the plant-based oil seeds products and ingredients market. This PPP focuses on differentiated quality raw materials for specific markets and applications. This study aims to gain insight into success factors for Dutch businesses to achieve sustainable chains of differentiated quality products and ingredients derived from oil plants. It zooms in on crops exported from Africa in relatively small volumes. A precondition is that production and supply in the value chain are knowledge intensive and sustainable, as there are many crops yielding oilseeds worldwide, used in a variety of primary and secondary products and forming the ingredients for other products. Knowledge of and access to the right resources are key success factors identified for successful business. As such, the three priorities of the PPP² are:

- Stimulating innovation in the market and chains by developing new business models and commodities markets.
- Valorisation of by-products and increasing resource efficiency.
- Integral gains in chain sustainability based on a 'People, Planet and Profit' approach, where producers in developing countries are supported to be (further) integrated in sustainable production, which simultaneously improves their living conditions.

The first step is collecting and analysing information, from which success factors will be sought in pilot projects for cashew and shea, and then distilled for learning and to enhance the sustainability, taking into account the cultural and institutional environment of producers.

This study focuses on gender and on land and tree tenure issues. Within this project, other studies focus on:

- Quantity and quality aspects of Shea and cashew trees (Lengkeek and Ouedraogo, 2015a and 2015b).
- Value chain economics and opportunities (Wijnands *et al.*, 2015a and 2015b).
- Benefits of certification, quality and/or labelling systems (Ingram *et al.*, 2015).

This report does not address these topics, which are dealt with in other reports.

¹ Entrepreneurs and scientists are encouraged to collaborate in nine 'top sectors' identified as the major consortia for knowledge and innovation, with the aim being to develop and market innovative products or services, see <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/ondernemersklimaat-en-innovatie/investeren-in-topsectoren>.

² Alongside other studies which are part of this project, including a value chain analysis and of impacts of certification.

1.2 Objective

This study assesses the impact of the increased commercialisation of shea and cashew, tenure relations and income distribution with particular focus on gender, and provides a better understanding of the impact of the commercialisation of cashew production on gender and tenure relations and the gendered distribution of income from selling products derived from cashew trees. Answers are sought to the following questions:

1. What rights do men and women have to shea and cashew trees and raw and processed products derived from these trees?
2. What are the land and tree tenure security and tenure problems, for women in particular, in relation to increased sales of shea and cashew products?
3. What are the benefits from selling raw, processed and associated shea and cashew products, for men and women?
4. What are the recent and on-going governmental and non-governmental activities to enhance land- and tree tenure security for smallholder farmers, in particular for women?
5. What are the key success factors in addressing gender equity in shea and cashew production systems and chains, and the distribution of benefits?

1.3 Gender and land, forests, trees and agriculture

Gender roles are the behaviours, tasks and responsibilities that a society considers appropriate for men and women. Gender is the socially constructed difference between women and men (Kabeer 1999). Thus gender is about how society gives meaning to differences in femininity and masculinity, and the power relations and dynamics that characterise how women and men interact (Laven 2009).

Cash and export crops are frequently regarded as ‘men’s’ crops and subsistence crops as ‘women’s’ crops in developing countries, due to women being responsible for feeding the family and thus tending subsistence crops, and men are responsible for providing cash income and thus raise cash and export crops. Doss (2002), using empirical data, however argues such a gendered division of crops is more nuanced in practice: Although men are more heavily involved in cash crop production, women are involved in the production and sales of all of the major crops in Ghana and are increasingly active in commercial farming.

Empirical studies on household gender dynamics in Africa have shown that when a crop enters the market economy, men are likely to take over the activities involved in the crop from women, and women benefit less from market-oriented production (von Braun and Webb, 1989). Land ownership also affects the ability to produce cash crops. Since women often have more limited access to resources, especially land (Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2010), their participation in the production of many cash crops is very low compared to men. Women involved in high value crops (Lastarria-Cornhiel 2006) often benefit differently from men, partly because of the gender relations that segregate women from participation in certain tasks in agricultural value chains. Chapoto *et al.* (2013) found that cash cropping widens gender inequality because commercial opportunities are more accessible to men. Furthermore, Kaaria and Ashby (2001) found that poor, rural women are often excluded from accessing the more lucrative markets and did not benefit from market linkages as men took over the commodity once it became profitable.

1.3.1 Gendered access to land and tree tenure security

Land and tree tenure refers to the relationship, either legally or customarily defined, among people as individuals or as groups, with respect to land and trees, and the terms and conditions on which land, forests and trees are held and used (Bruce, 1986). Tenure also indicates the system of holding, which has evolved from the peculiar political and economic circumstances, cultural norms and religious practices of a people regarding land as natural resources, its use and development (Lund, 2003). It includes both ownership and access or use rights. The set of rights that a person or some private entity holds to land and trees may include the right to own, to inherit, to plant, to dispose of and to

prevent others from using land, forests, trees and tree products (Fortmann, 1985). Tenure thus concerns relationships between individuals and groups of individuals in which rights and obligations with respect to control and use of natural resources are defined. It is a social institution (Birgegard, 1993).

A factor that affects the level and type of consumptive utilisation of land, forests and trees in many settings is the security of tenure that local residents possess. *Land tenure security* is defined as 'the certainty that a person's rights to land will be recognised by others and protected in cases of specific challenges' (FAO 2002). Individuals lacking secure rights are often strongly tempted to utilise these resources before they are lost to the harvesting efforts of others (Banana and Gomya-Ssembajjwe, 1998). Similarly, where land and forest habitats have little economic value to local people because of restrictive access rules, sustainable local management institutions are unlikely to emerge (Lawry, 1990). Tenure therefore determines, in large part, whether local people are willing to participate in the management and protection of land, forest and tree resources. Fortmann (1985) identifies four main classes of rights making up a 'bundle of tree tenure rights':

- the right to own or inherit
- the right to plant
- the right to use and
- the right of disposal.

All these classes of rights, in some way, relate to or are influenced by the prevailing system of land rights. Studies on the gendered nature of resource tenure in Africa generally agree that women are at a disadvantageous position compared to men, and that because of the lack of 'ownership' of land for most women, their access to resources such as land and trees, usually controlled by their husbands or male relatives, has often been termed 'secondary' (Hilhorst, 2000).

Land ownership often provides collateral for securing access to credit, which is important in purchasing inputs for cash crop production, particularly for women (Hien 2008). Tenure insecurity can act as a disincentive to investment (Morrison, Raju *et al.* 2007) so that higher tenure insecurity experienced by women results in lower investment by women compared to men (Goldstein and Udry 2008). Land tenure defines rules, regulations and institutional structures - both customary and regulatory - which influence the holding and appropriation of land and other natural resources. Secure land rights provide a rationale to invest in the land and crops, greater access to extension services and more bargaining power (Duncan, 2004). According to Quisumbing *et al.* (1998), although a secure right to land does not necessarily guarantee sustainable land management, it can be a powerful incentive. Farmers with long-term access have greater incentive to sustain the land and develop ways of preserving and regenerating it (*ibid*). It is believed that secure land rights encourage investment; enabling smallholder farmers to safely hire out part of the land or rent other land; or, as a last resort, to sell land and harness the proceeds to develop new livelihood opportunities (Davidson, 1998).

Customary, communal land ownership continues to be a major feature of tenure systems in West Africa, even though statutory law does in principle govern land relations (Kameri-Mbote, 2005). In Ghana for example, in principle, both men and women have rights to land. However, women usually receive smaller portion of land with lower soil fertility level and sometimes further away from the village unlike their male counterparts (Baden *et al.*, 1994). Women are not traditionally allowed to own farmlands in northern Ghana but they work on private or farmland owned by their husbands and sons. There is a difference between ownership of land and access to resources on that land: even though women may not own lands, they are allowed free access to shea nuts and trees on communal land, except on people's farms. Women have long had access to land in sub-Saharan Africa, but men and women have rarely, if ever, had identical kinds of claim to land, largely because there are differentiated positions within the kinship systems that are the primary organising order for land access. Marriage is one way for women to claim land, with men allocating land to their wives for farming (Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003). The husband's kin groups may also provide land for women (Agarwal 2003; Duncan 2004). Women often also retain some residual land claims in their own kin groups and may obtain land by loan, or so-called 'earth borrowing' or as a gift from people in their wider social networks (Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003).

Customary arrangements regarding land, from colonial times onwards, have not assured secure tenure, particularly for women and marginal groups (Cotula, 2007 citing Swynnerton, 1995 and Wilson, 1971). Some customary land tenure regimes allow for exploitation and social exclusion (Platteau, 1996). Alden-Wily (2000) pointed out that the negotiation often possible within customary land tenure enables flexibility and adaptability, but can also lead to marginalisation of those with weaker bargaining power. The position of men and women in customary tenure varies considerably, many systems containing norms and practices that are gender discriminatory (Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003). Many governments have sought to replace customary land tenure systems with 'modern' systems of property rights, based on state legislation, on European concepts of ownership, land titling and registration. Whitehead and Tsikata (2003) found that statutory laws, whilst generally gender neutral, can discriminate against women, as titling and individualisation backed by statutes has severely eroded women's land rights, for example in Kenya. According to Whitehead and Tsikata (2003), legally backed land ownership is critical to rural women's production and economic efficiency. However, very little rural land has been registered, with formal tenure covering between 2 and 10% of land (Deininger, 2003), and customary land tenure systems continue to be commonplace in much of rural Africa (Alden Wily, 2006). It has been argued that land-rights position of women becomes degraded when land becomes scarce (Kasanga, 2003; Leonard and Toulmin, 2000) and when land registration takes place, (Gray and Kevane, 1996). Economic and political changes have pushed women onto the least desirable and productive land at best and, at worst, their limited rights may be extinguished altogether (Knowles, 1991). Processes of land reform have also solidified the rights of men into absolute ownership, to the exclusion of women (Gray and Kevane, 1999). Another aspect is that while a law may be progressive in its provisions, enforcement is often a problem. Butegwa (1991) argues that where statutory law may be favourable for women, they are not enforced or taken advantage of because of women's lack of awareness and power, resistance from male relations, fear of sanctions and the lack of political will on the part of government. A reason for this is that in many countries statutory law does not provide for women's rights to own land independently of their husbands or male relative's rights and when such legislation does exist, mechanisms to reinforce it are often absent (FAO, 2002).

1.3.2 Gendered aspects of agricultural commercialisation

Studies have shown that the commercialisation of agriculture benefits men more than women (DFID, 2004; von Braun, 1988; von Braun *et al.*, 1989; Kiriti and Tisdell 2003; Kaaria and Ashby (2001). Cash crops differ from food crops in that social norms dictate that they traditionally imply more male involvement in some of the decision-making, production and sale processes. Evidence suggests that female participation in cash crop markets is often lower than male participation (The World Bank *et al.*, 2009). As an example, women only represent 20% of cocoa farmers in Ghana (Vigneri and Holmes, 2009), and female-headed households are significantly less likely to farm coffee than households headed by men in Uganda (FAO, 2000).

From a gender perspective, there is evidence that women face more constraints in engaging in market systems. Empirical studies on intra-household gender dynamics in Africa have shown that when a crop enters the market economy, men are likely to take over from women, and women therefore do not benefit from market-oriented production (von Braun, 1988; von Braun *et al.*, 1989). On the other hand, social and cultural roles may assign productive and reproductive roles to men and women that can affect their access to markets (OECD, 2004). For example, in many cultures, women's role of household provisioning versus the men's role of providing cash requirements of the household, may affect women's ability to participate in markets. Kaaria and Ashby (2001), in a review of literature, found that poor rural women are often excluded from accessing the more lucrative markets. The review found that in various instances women did not benefit from market linkages due to men taking over the commodity once it became profitable. To avoid men taking over, women often select commodities with lower value and lower return, which do not interest men.

In many developing countries, especially patriarchal societies, men and women do not enjoy equal rights. The allocation of rights and responsibilities to resources are based on, among other things, gender. *Gender inequality* refers to the denial of opportunities and denial of equal rights based on

gender. Access to productive resources such as land, modern inputs, technology, education and financial services is a critical determinant of agricultural productivity.

Women generally face gender-specific constraints as agricultural labourers and in hiring-in labour. Low levels of human capital - education, health and Female-headed households face more severe labour constraints than male-headed households because they typically have fewer members but more dependants. In some areas, male out-migration adds to the constraint already imposed by gender-specific farming tasks (Peters, 1986).

Female-headed households may receive help from male relatives, but only after the men have taken care of their own plots. The fact that female-headed households typically farm smaller plots may not compensate for the lower availability of family labour. For example, among small-scale maize farmers in Malawi, females own less land but still use about 10% less total labour per hectare than their male counterparts and much of that labour is supplied by children, who must work to make up the shortfall caused by their mothers' other duties (Takane, 2008).

Household and community responsibilities and gender-specific labour requirements mean that women farmers cannot farm as productively as men and this makes it more difficult for them to respond when crop prices rise. Depending on cultural norms, some farming activities, such as ploughing and spraying, rely on access to male labour without which women farmers face delays that may lead to losses in output. For example, women maize farmers in Malawi require male labour for ploughing, but female-headed households often lack male family members who can do the work and they may not have the cash needed to hire. In addition, extension provision in developing economies remains low for both women and men, and women tend to make less use than men of extension services (Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2010). According to a 1988-1989 FAO survey of extension organisations covering 97 countries with sex-disaggregated data - the most comprehensive study available - only 5% of all extension resources were directed at women. Moreover, only 15% of the extension personnel were female (FAO, 1993).

In social contexts where meetings between women and men from outside the family nucleus are restricted, a lack of female extension agents effectively bars women from participating. The preference for female extension agents varies by country and marital status. In Ghana, for example, male and female farmers in male-headed households have equal contact with extension agents but female farmers in female-headed households have much less contact, although they are willing to speak to agents of either sex (Doss and Morris, 2001). In the United Republic of Tanzania, female farmers prefer to talk to a female extension officer and in 1997, one-third of extension officers were women, up from almost none 15 years prior (Due *et al.*, 1997). However, when women have access to extension services, the benefits may not be obvious. In Kenya, contact with the extension agent contributed significantly and positively to output on male-managed plots, but not necessarily on female-managed plots (Saito *et al.*, 1994). Extension service agents tend to approach male farmers more often than female farmers because of the general misperception that women do not farm and that extension advice will eventually 'trickle down' from the male household head to all other household members. Extension services are often directed towards farmers who are more likely to adopt modern innovations, for example farmers with sufficient resources in well-established areas. As discussed above, women are less likely to access resources and may therefore be bypassed by extension service providers (Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2010).

The way in which extension services are delivered can limit the information women farmers receive on innovations. Women tend to have lower levels of education than men, which may limit their active participation in training that uses a lot of written material. Time constraints and cultural reservations may hinder women from participating in extension activities, such as field days, outside their village or within mixed groups (Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2010). New and participatory extension approaches have been developed and tested in the past decade in efforts to move away from a top-down model of extension service provision to more farmer-driven services.

Evidence shows that female farmers are largely excluded from modern contract-farming arrangements because they lack secure control over land, family labour and other resources required to guarantee

delivery of a reliable flow of produce. For example, women comprise fewer than 10% of the farmers involved in smallholder contract-farming schemes in the Kenyan fresh fruit and vegetable export sector (Dolan, 2001), and only 1 of a sample of 59 farmers contracted in Senegal to produce French beans for the export sector was a woman (Maertens and Swinnen, 2009).

While men control contracts, much of the farm work done on contracted plots is performed by women as family labourers. For example, in 70% of the cases of sugar contract-farming in South Africa, the principal farmer on the sugarcane plots is a woman (Porter and Phillips-Horward, 1997). In a large contract-farming scheme involving thousands of farmers in China, women - while excluded from signing contracts themselves - perform the bulk of the work related to contract farming (Eaton and Shepherd, 2001). Women may not be well compensated as unpaid family labour in contract-farming schemes (Maertens and Swinnen, 2009). There is mixed evidence regarding whether contract farming increases overall household incomes or creates conflicts between the production of cash crops and food crops. Dolan (2001) argues that the growth of high-value horticulture supply chains has been detrimental to rural women in Kenya because land and labour resources traditionally used by women to cultivate vegetables for home consumption and sale in local markets have been appropriated by men for export vegetable production. Whilst Warning and Key (Warning and Key, 2002) found no differences in wealth measures and income between poorer and richer participants in a peanut contract-farming scheme in Senegal, Carney (Carney 1988) found that smallholder irrigated rice contract-farming schemes in the Gambia generated conflicts and struggles within project households over access to and control of female labour. This led to new labour systems in the area, shaping producers' abilities to comply with contract-farming production strictures.

Table 1 presents a summary of gender differences in agricultural systems.

Table 1
Gender-based differences in agricultural systems

| Aspect | Differences |
|------------------------|--|
| LAND | Land title and tenure tend to be vested in men, either by legal condition or by sociocultural norms. Land reform and resettlement have tended to reinforce this bias against tenure for women. Land shortage is common among women. Women farm smaller and more dispersed plots than men and are less likely to hold title, secure tenure, or the same rights to use, improve, or dispose of land. |
| EXTENSION | Women farmers have less contact with extension services than men, especially where male-female contact is culturally restricted. Extension is often provided by men agents to men farmers on the erroneous assumption that the message will trickle 'across' to women. In fact, agricultural knowledge is transferred inefficiently or not at all from husband to wife. Also, the message tends to ignore the unique workload, responsibilities, and constraints facing women farmers. |
| TECHNOLOGY | Women generally use lower levels of technology because of difficulties in access, cultural restrictions on use, or regard for women's crops and livestock as low research priorities. (There are often also cultural constraints to women's use of animal traction (Saito <i>et al.</i> , 1994). |
| FINANCE | Women have less access to formal financial services because of high transaction costs, limited education and mobility, social and cultural barriers, the nature of their businesses, and collateral requirements they can't meet, such as land title. |
| TIME | Women face far greater time constraints than men. They may spend less time on farm work, but work longer total hours on productive and household work and paid and unpaid work, due to gender-based division of labour in child care and household responsibilities. |
| MOBILITY | Women are less mobile than men, both because of their child care and household responsibilities and because of sociocultural norms that limit their mobility. |
| EDUCATION AND TRAINING | Women are less educated in parts of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Illiteracy hampers their access to and ability to understand technical information. Worldwide, women have less access to education and training in agriculture. |

Source: World Bank, 2008.

1.3.3 Gendered control and distribution benefits from cash crops

According to FAO (2000), changes in control over productive activities and the resulting income occur when the activities' profitability changes in response to market or other conditions. Canagarajah *et al.* (2001) found that the distribution of earnings differs by income type and by gender, with women in Ghana earning on average 40% less than men and in Uganda around 85% less. In both countries, the position of a woman in the household was also found to make a difference: being a female head of household had a positive effect on non-farm income, household heads having more discretion on how incomes are earned. An FAO (2000) study in Uganda found that women tend to control income from their off-farm income-generating activities, such as beer brewing, food processing and retailing, as do men from off-farm activities such as brick-making and charcoal-burning. However, because of societal norms, and because of illiteracy, for some their husbands handle their accounts. Income may be (partly) pooled for household expenses, with some reserved for personal use. Both the men and women agreed that women tend to spend most of their income on basic household needs. By contrast, men tend to retain more of the income for their personal use. According to women, much of men's income is spent on drinking, smoking and leisure. However, patterns differed by region, affected by sociocultural norms. Aregu *et al.* (2011) found that the division of farm tasks between women and men in Ethiopia varies according to the crop, farming system, technology used, and household wealth. Control over the benefits from farm production also varies between women and men, partly reflecting their labour input, but also the use of produce in the home or for sale, cultural norms regarding 'women's' and 'men's' work, and the dominance of men as the household head. Consequently, men are entitled to the most important resources such as land. In dual-headed households, Stockbridge (2007) found that men tend to control the revenues from cash crop production and have different spending priorities from women. As a result, household involvement in cash crops appears to benefit men more than women and children. Household bargaining models suggest that resource allocation decisions are made according to the relative bargaining power of the members of the household (Jones, 1983). There is empirical evidence to support this, including the work of Sorensen and von Bulow (1990), Dolan (2005), and Carney (1993).

1.3.4 Land and tree tenure arrangements in Ghana

1.3.4.1 Regulatory tenure

In pre-colonial Ghana, forests were owned in common by communities (families, clans and 'stools'). The 1927 Forest Ordinance gave authority to the colonial government to reserve parts of the country's forests. Although the bill did not alter ownership of the forest reserves, it vested control of them in the Government of Ghana and prescribed that they should be held in trust for the communities. Thus, control of forest products from forest reserves, including timber and non-timber tree species and products (NTFPs) is vested in the government (Owubah *et al.*, 2001). Although, in theory, the ownership of land and forests did not alter at the time of reservation, in practice, the traditional owners have no right of access to the trees or land in the reserve, except on permit from the competent government authority, the Forest Services Division.

All naturally-occurring timber trees - whether on private or on communal land, or even on private farms according to the law, is owned by the government. The use of such trees is controlled by legislation and it is an offence for an individual or community to cut or sell timber or merchantable tree species without permission from the appropriate government institution. The right to control and manage tree resources, including allocation of logging rights, is vested in the state (Matose, 2002). Farmers have no legal rights, either to harvest timber trees they maintain on their farms, or to any of the revenue accruing to timber extraction, though they continue to exercise judgement over which trees to maintain on their farms during clearing for cultivation (Amanor, 1999, cited in Marfo, 2006). This is a strong disincentive to farmer tree management and protection (Ardayio-Schandorf 2007).

1.3.4.2 Customary tenure

Customary rights to land and trees differ significantly to legal provisions. In a study of indigenous trees and forest tenure, Asare (1986) observed that, in most parts of the humid forest zone of Ghana, any individual (man or woman) who has the right to use a piece of land in perpetuity also has the right to plant any species of trees, and such ownership of trees are vested in the cultivator.

Acheampong (2003) noted that people generally have more secure rights to planted trees than those occurring naturally. However, trees planted on family or lineage lands can only be inherited by members of the lineage group. Indigenes and outsiders acquiring long-term title or land use rights through some form of agreement (such as granting on leasehold basis) also have the right to plant and use any species of tree. However, strangers with temporary use of land may not plant trees (Asare, 1986). Although customary laws do not prevent tenants from planting trees, landowners do not encourage this because most people believe that the long production period and the lack of appropriate documentation of land ownership increases the security of the tenant to land rights when trees are planted. Thus, an attempt by a tenant to plant trees is regarded as an attempt to acquire permanent ownership of land. This appears to be a common practice throughout much of Africa (Arnold and Bird, 1999; Warner, 1993; Agyeman, 1993).

Customary land tenure is predominant in northern Ghana. Although there are some differences among the various ethnic groups, enough is common amongst them to enable categorisation and characterisation into two very broad groups.

The first category involves communities with centralised political systems with a developed hierarchical order. Generally, these state-societies have a king or paramount chief at the top and various levels of chiefs and other political office holders under him. Examples of such communities include the Gonja, Dagbon, Mamprugu and Nanum. Land tenure among this category of communities recognises that the allodial title to land is vested in chiefs or kings (Kotey, 1995:109; Agbosu *et al.*, 2007:32; Kasanga, 2002). Allodial title in theory is vested in the indigenous communities represented by the paramount chief, such as the Ya Na (the king of the Dagbon) or the Nayiri (the paramount Chief of Mamprusi). However, practical land management is conducted by sub-kings. For example, in Diare and the Savelugu, both Dagomba towns, lands are managed by the Diare Na or Savelugu Na respectively and not the Ya Na himself. Likewise, Gambaga, Walewale and Langbisi lands are managed by the respective Naba (chiefs) (Kotey, 1995:109). Although these politically more centralised ethnic groups have tindemba (earth priests) they do not manage the land on behalf of their communities. Their role concerns conducting rituals to ensure the land fertility (Kotey, 1995). Kotey (1995:109) observed that although chiefs maintain that hold land on behalf of their communities, on closer examination many land was attached to families and households. Consequently, for most practical purposes the chiefs had little control or power over such lands.

The second category of communities in northern Ghana are non-state societies (mostly located in the Upper East and Upper West Regions) which are organised on the basis of relatively small clan, kinship and family groups and not part of larger political groupings. Chieftaincy is relatively unknown and political and legal authority centred around the Earth Priest and the village clan and lineage heads (Kotey, 1995:106). Examples of such communities include the Tallensi, the Lobi–Dagarti, the Builsa, the Sisala, the Kusasi and the Frafra. Allodial title³ to land in these communities is vested in the indigenous communities as represented by the various earth priests (*tindemba*) (Kotey, 1995:112-3), who give land out to groups, and the group leaders then control access to the land (Agbosu *et al.* 2007: 33). In the Upper East and Upper West Regions the tindemba lineage and family headmen are the key players in land matters. Generally, the tindemba have control over the land, particularly vacant communal land. Most agricultural and town lands are in the effective control of lineage and family headmen. Individual rights in appropriated land are pronounced and are inheritable and secure. Disputes over farm boundaries, rights in land and trespass on another's land are said to be rare. Land is hardly sold and could not be sold to a migrant by an individual without informing his head of family and, in some cases, the chief (Kotey, 1995: 115).

With the exception of some parts of the Upper East Region, land is generally not scarce in northern Ghana. Under the customary law, both in the Northern Region and the Upper East and West Regions, each member of a land holding unit is permitted to occupy and exploit any portion of this land. Access to land for indigenes is generally not difficult (Kotey, 1995: 124). Migrants have no inherent rights to

³ A system of ownership by which an owner has all rights associated with possessing a property.

use land but can acquire land with the permission of the landowner. The tenure systems allow migrants to farm on terms agreed on with the owners. In most communities, it is not permissible for migrants to plant trees since it is considered that this may result in their claiming ownership of the land. They can only plant trees with the consent of the person who gave them the land on such terms as may be agreed. Opportunities for leasing land for tree planting also exist (Kotey, 1995: 116). Land owners may lease land for woodlots and plantations on the payment of a mutually acceptable consideration (Kotey, 1995: 116-7). Otherwise, if a stranger plants trees without the requisite consent or permission the trees generally belong to the landowner (Kotey, 1995:124).

Trees growing naturally in the bush are owned by the land owner-chief, tindemba or families as the case may be (Pogucki, 1952:27). Planted trees are owned by the planter. Such a person can sell, give away and use such trees. It is striking to note that each tree can be inherited in the same way as land (Kotey, 1995:123). Apart from dawadawa (*Parkia clappertoniana*) which is often governed by different rules, all other trees and their fruits such as shea trees growing in the bush may be collected, used and enjoyed by all members of the land owning group (Kotey, 1995: 124). *Dawadawa* trees are, however, said to belong to the chief or tindana (Kotey, 1995:123). Trees growing naturally on farms, with the exception of dawadawa, are in most instances owned by the farmer. The farmer may use, cut down, harvest the produce, pick the fruits of, collect as firewood and in other ways use such trees on his farm (Kotey, 1995: 124). Rights to naturally-occurring trees differ according to tree value. For non-timber trees with a long history of commercial use (such as kola, oil palm, raphia palm, bamboo, etc.), customary rights depend on the commercial value (Acheampong, 2003; Asare, 1986) and are restricted to and vested in the landowner. For example, only landowners or people who have perpetual use of land on which kola or oil palm trees occur can harvest the fruits. Rights to naturally-occurring non-timber trees of subsistence value are more relaxed, for example, bamboo and fruit trees such as papaya, *Dacryodes klaineana*, *Chrysophyllum albidum*, *Spondias monbin*, etc. traditionally could be harvested without permission from the landowner, provided crops are not damaged (Asare, 1986).

This regime of land tenure in northern Ghana overlaps with other land uses, including communal grazing rights (Agbosu, Awumbila *et al.*, 2007: 33). Under customary law, a member of a landowning community has the right to graze his cattle or ruminants on any portion of the community's lands, provided that this right is exercisable in unenclosed areas and the animals do not damage farms and cultivated plants (Kotey, 1995:125). Members of the community can exercise rights to fuel wood, fruit trees and other edibles, medicinal plants, wood for local crafts and water rights. Use of common land resources is closely regulated through communal rules and practices, with key responsibility of enacting and enforcing rules through sanctions vested in clan leaders, the tendanas and the chiefs (Songsore 2001). The village is the main territorial unit that determined access to these resources and membership in it was critical in determining rights to these resources (Agbosu, Awumbila *et al.*, 2007).

Developments in the last two decades seem to be undermining the authority and significance of the *tendana* in the Northern Region. Although their traditional rights have largely remained, their ritual land ownership has been modified. Kotey and Kasanga (2001) also found that among the Dagomba and Nanumba, paramount chiefs have delegated control of the land to their sub-chiefs who no longer consult the local *tendana*. Consequently, the *tendanas* have lost their authority in land matters in much of the Northern Region.

Customary law regulating access to, use of and rights in land appear discriminatory against women (Kotey, 1995:118). In the Northern Region, women usually receive land for farming from their husbands. Unmarried women may receive land from their fathers or families. To access and use land, married women are treated as belonging to their husbands' family rather than their father's family (Kotey, 1995: 118). Where women gain access to land in their own families and clans, their rights tend to lapse once they marry and move to join their husbands. Generally, a wife who is given land by her husband has no right to permanently appropriate the land. Customary rules of succession in the Northern region also tend to discriminate against women. Landed property is generally inherited by men, either the patrilineal junior brother or the children. Under the patrilineal system of inheritance practiced by most of the societies, a wife is not a member of a deceased husbands' family and has no

right to inherit his property, though she may have a right to maintenance. Wives and daughters do not inherit landed properties. Men therefore have more property than women.

The net effect of customary laws are that they still have considerable influence and although women have access to land and resources, these rights are generally less permanent in nature than for men. Traditionally women can farm land and use trees but are not allowed to own them.

1.3.5 Land and tree tenure arrangements in Burkina Faso

1.3.5.1 Regulatory tenure

Burkina legislation does not discriminate against women, and provides equal access to land. Law No. 014/96 / ADP of 23 May 1996 concerning agrarian and land reform, Article 62 states that 'urban or rural lands of national land allocated to individuals, regardless of gender or marital status and legal entities under the conditions set by the legislation'. Section 66 indicates that 'rural areas are furnished or not occupied or used as an association, family or individual'. Decree 97-054/PRES/PM/MEF 06 February 1997 Art. 68 is even more specific about the conditions of access to land, specifying that development can be undertaken by individuals and public or private corporations. The Agrarian and Land Reform from 1984 revisited in 1996 by Law No. 014/96/ADP 23 May 1996 Art 4 stipulates that 'the national land is full property right of State' and specifies the conditions under which land rights are protected and guaranteed. Law 034/AN 2009 on rural land tenure provides for equitable access to rural land for all rural stakeholders, individuals and legal entities of public law and private law, to promote investment, increase productivity in the agricultural, forestry and pastoral sector and promote reduction rural poverty while promoting rational and sustainable management of natural resources and the preservation of social peace.

Trees and their products are covered by different codes which focus on community participation and sustainable management (MECV, 2002). These include the constitution June 2 1991, Article 14 which states that 'wealth and natural resources belong to the people. They are used for the improvement of living conditions'. The Environmental Code, Law No. 006/2013/ 02 April 2013, seeks to 'protect living beings against harmful or nuisance violations and risks that impede or jeopardise their existence due to the degradation of their environment and improve their living conditions'. The Forest Code, law no. 03/2011/AN, adopted on 28 April 2011, sets out forest resource management principles and aims to establish a harmonious relationship between the necessary protection of resources and economic needs, social and cultural population. The state guarantees the preservation of forest resources and exercises this responsibility through the forest technical services, in consultation with all stakeholders involved: 'The forests, wildlife and fisheries resources are natural resources and as such are in accordance with the constitution, an integral part of the national heritage. They must be protected in the interest of humanity in order to improve the living conditions of the population. Everyone has the right to respect these national assets and contribute to their conservation' (Article 4 of the Forestry Code).

1.3.5.2 Customary tenure

Traditional management of land and trees remains strong in rural areas. Traditional leaders have never accepted the state monopoly on rural land and denounce this situation as being far from the local reality. Land is generally administered locally by the chief, a descendant of the original inhabitants of the area, who governs land distribution, monitoring and control of the implementation, conflict resolution, traditions and rituals, and assigns user rights. The right to use rural land differs for indigenous and migrants, whose rights generally cease when their residency terminates. The Daganon, Yago and Ziba ethnic groups generally grant access to land only to men. Women can obtain through the sponsorship of a man, which involves gift giving. Land is passed down from father to son. Once married, women do not have rights to their father's land. Traditionally men provide for the basic needs of the family (food) therefore he owns the land. Trees on private land are available only to owners and women associated with the owner (Sane, 2008). Women traditionally 'bring the sauce to accompany the food' and have open access to resources in communal bush lands which are used as condiments and sauces. There are exceptions, such as in Leo, where shea trees are accessible to all women (indigenous and foreign) living in the area. Cashew trees however are personally owned as they have been planted. Only the owners wife can access the fruit, the nuts belong to men owning the

tree. Augusseau *et al.* (2006) report that migrant farmers often obtain rights to farm on land without any rights over the trees therein. Traditionally products from trees such as shea and locust bean were shared between the landowners and the tenant farmers. However, migrant farmers have started to plant cashew on rented land, which was seen to increase their tenure security and provide cash income. This practice has evolved since the 1980s when tenants were not normally allowed to plant trees on the owner's land (Fortmann 1985). Boffa (1999) cites examples where the borrowers are given a share or all of the wild fruit crops, such as shea nuts. Like borrowers, the pledges or mortgagees have restricted rights to the land. Although the restrictions are very context specific, they are generally not allowed to plant trees without the owner's consent (Fortmann 1985).

Customary laws therefore continue to have a strong impact and create less secure access for women to own land, which is particularly relevant for cashews and planted shea, but do allow access to women to shea nuts on communal lands.

2 Methodology

2.1 Study area characteristics

2.1.1 Ghana

Ghana is classified as a medium-developed country (138 out of a total of 187 countries)⁴. The Bole district in Northern region covers an area of about 4,800 km² which is 6.8% of the total landmark of the northern region. It has a population of about 87,656 (based on 2000 population census) and a growth rate of about 3.1% per annum. The population is sparse with a density of about 14 per a km². The district capital is the only urban centre in the district. Other semi-urban centres include Bamboi, Maluwe, Tinga, and Banda-Nkwanta. There are 148 communities and five area councils. The households are predominantly male-headed. The district has a heterogeneous population. The major tribe is Gonja. Other tribal groups are Vagla, Brifor, Safalba, Mo, Dagaaba, Grunshie and the Pantras. Most of the residents in Bole are of the Gonja ethnic group. However, other ethnic groups are common, such as Akans, Brifoos. In Bamboi and Jaman, the residents are mainly Moos and are predominantly Christians. Settlements have been created largely on ad-hoc basis near and around farms and largely on ethnic, clan basis, resulting in the scattered communities dotted across the district (Kavaarpuo, 2010).

Table 2

Demographic characteristics study area, Ghana

| Community | Jaman | Bamboi | Bole | Kakiese | Mandari | Average/ Total |
|---|-----------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|----------------|
| Population density (per km ²) | 10 | 18 | 22 | 15 | 12 | 15.4 |
| Major ethnic group | Moos | Moos | Gonjas | Brifoos | - | |
| Predominant Religion | Christian | Christian | Islamic | Islamic | Islamic | |

Daytime temperatures in the region vary from 40°C at the end of the dry season due to the harmataan, to 40°C in the wet seasons, annual rainfall varies from 750 to 1,050 mm, concentrated in May and October.

The topography is low undulating with the altitude ranging between 600 to 1,200 feet above sea-level. The main drainage system in the district is surface water. Surface water sources, comprise many small streams and the Black Volta River, which has 6 dams, are used for livestock, domestic and subsistence irrigation activities. The groundwater is tapped for human consumption (MoFA, 2013). The savannah soils are predominantly medium sandy loams in the upland and valleys with patches of gravel and stony land. Along the river banks alluvial sand is used for rice cultivation. The soils suited to a variety of cereals and other cash crops (MoFA, 2013)

The Bole district is predominantly Guinean Savannah with grasses interspersed with short trees. The vegetation is dense in the southern area bordering the Brong-Ahafo Region and thins out to the Sawla/Tuna/Kalba district. The largest tree area is the Bui National Park.

An estimated 75% of the population are engaged agriculture. Administratively, the district has three agricultural zones and fourteen operational areas. Agriculture in the district covers food crops (maize,

⁴ UN Human Development Indicators 2014 <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries>

millet, sorghum, rice, groundnuts, cowpea, Bambara bean, yam, and cassava), cash crops (cashew, shea, mango, and dawadawa), livestock (cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, guinea fowl, local and exotic fowls), fisheries and bee keeping with emphasis on mechanisation, value addition and organised marketing, hunting and gathering, and charcoal burning. The average farm size per holder is about 0.8 hectare. Land is used for crops, livestock, tree planting (afforestation), game /forest reserves (wildlife), road and building construction. shifting cultivation and mixed cropping predominates, with a minority practising mono cropping and crop rotation. Livestock and poultry keeping are generally extensive (free range) with a small proportion semi-intensive and intensive systems (CRIG, 2002). In Ghana women are estimated to constitute 8.6% of wage employees and work mostly in the lower echelons of jobs. Household heads who are farmers are the poorest in Ghana. Women's roles in agriculture are increasing due to male migration, early death, separation and divorce resulting in a steady rise of female-headed households. However poverty incidences among male headed households is higher (25.9%) than female headed households (19.1%)(Ghana Statistical Service 2014a).

The road network is good with a major road linking the area to Kumasi. In the rainy season some of the roads are difficult to access. The roads connecting the communities to farms, especially in Kakiese and Mandari are in extremely poor condition and often only accessible by foot. Motorcycles and tricycles are the primary mode of transport for most villages. Most residents have their own motorcycles and bicycles. Other modes of transport include buses, and cars. The majority of produce is generally transported by truck from the villages to the market centres at Banda Nkwanta and Bole. Cargo trucks come to the villages to transport food crops and sellers to markets. In Kakiese, produce must first be conveyed either by head loads or tricycles to the truck.

All the five research villages are connected to the national grid, although apart from the district capital, Bole and Kakiese, approximately one third of households have access to electricity.

2.1.2 Burkina Faso

Burkina Faso is classified as a low-developed country, with some of the lowest development indicators in Africa and globally (181 out of a total of 187 countries).⁵ The focus of the study is on Léo and neighbouring areas of Zoro. Léo is the capital of Sissili, located about 10 km north of the border between Burkina Faso and Ghana. Sissili one of the 45 provinces of Burkina Faso, located in its Centre-Ouest Region, covering an area of 7,136 km². In 2006 the population was 212,628⁶ and in 2011 the population was 240,830, an increase of 13.3%, with strong variations within districts. Houet province is located in the Hauts-Bassins Region. The capital of Houet is Bobo-Dioulasso. In 2006 the province had a population of 902,662.

The average annual temperature in Sissili is 27.5 °C and annual rainfall is on average around 940 mm (FAO, 2005), concentrated in the months July, August and September. All rivers in the area are seasonal and discharge only occurs during and shortly after the rainy season, after which surface water is only present in natural depressions in the rivers, upstream of dams and in pits along the road where water is diverted. The area around Léo is relatively flat with shallow incised river valleys, varying in elevations from 300 to 350 meter above sea level. The south and central portions of the country are much more densely populated due to the good land and better access to water. The central and southern areas are primarily tropical dry Sahelian savannah, mainly trees and shrubs, where bush fires are common. In the southern, eastern and western zones of the country rapid deforestation has been common, with the repetitive severe droughts from the 1980s contributing to major crop and domestic animals loss and leading to migrating towards the southern, eastern and western zones of the country where food production and grazing facilities are more available (Ouedraogo, Ouattara *et al.*, 2012). Along rivers (and especially near dams) small scale agricultural plots (*jardins*) using irrigation, surface or shallow wells are common. The main drivers of land use change at local and regional scale are increases in human population, change in farming system and infrastructure development.

⁵ UN Human Development Indicators 2014 <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries>

⁶ National 2006 census preliminary results

An estimated 90% of the labour force is involved in some kind of subsistence agriculture, including livestock. The lack of economic gains from agriculture is demonstrated by the fact that around 32.2% of GDP comes from agriculture. The dominant agricultural production methods in the study area are traditional subsistence farming systems with cereals (such as sorghum, millet and maize), tubers (yam and sweet potatoes) and animal husbandry. In the last ten years, there has been competition for land between the traditional farming systems and more lucrative production systems (Ouedraogo, Ouattara *et al.*, 2012). Large size farming of commercial crops such as cashew nuts, maize and beans, occurs in found in seven districts within the region with varying land size. Tree felling and cutting branches for fuelwood and local construction is common in both fields and grazing lands (Paré 2008).

Four main ethnic groups live in the area. The Nuni and Wala groups have been living in the area for centuries and are considered indigenous, the Mossi, who originate from the Central Plateau in Burkina Faso, and the Fulani, herders from the northern region of the country, are generally considered migrants. The latter two groups were attracted to the southern region during the 1980s in search of arable land and green pasture, respectively (Howorth and O'Keefe, 1999). In Léo, around Zoro, the Gourounsi are the main group, composed of three main large families: Daganon, the Yago and Ziba. Houet, in Bobo-Dioulasso, the main group is known as the Bobo.

The main road connecting the national capital, Ouagadougou, and Burkina Faso's second largest city Bobo-Dioulasso traverses the Houet from east to west. Burkina Faso's only railway connects the region's largest city, Koudougou with Ouagadougou, Bobo-Dioulasso and Ivory Coast. Local roads are of low density and generally unpaved.

2.2 Literature review

An analysis of secondary data was conducted, specifically legal and policy documents relating to gender and tenure relations and agricultural commercialisation, trade data and on projects and interventions in the chains. This is presented in the introduction section and alongside the results, to provide context and comparison.

2.3 Field work

In Ghana, the Bole District, shown in , was selected because of the high level of both cashew and shea production and processing. Bole District is located in the extreme west of the Northern region, bordered to the North by the Sawla and Tuna Kalba Districts, to the West by the Republic of Ivory Coast, to the East by West Gonja District and to the South by Wenchi and Kintampo Districts of Brong-Ahafo Region. The district also hosts the only governmental institution dealing with shea in Ghana, the Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG), established in 1976. CRIG has studied ways to increase shea and cashew production.

In Burkina Faso, Sissili and Houet provinces were selected because of the high level of both cashew and shea production and processing. Houet accounts for 6,212 tons or 24% (26,092 tons) of national cashew production (Kotchofa, 2014), and Sissili about 300 tonnes (APFNL). The two provinces are located the southern part of the country. In Sissili province, the first and largest factory for shea butter in the country, the Nununa Federation (ex-UGPPK Sissili- Ziro) a founding member of the Table Filière Karite (TFK) and large cashew plantations are situated in Leo (iCA, 2010), as well as the headquarters of the Sissili Union of Cashew Producers. In Houet Province, Bobo-Dioulasso municipality is a major cashew and shea cultivation and artisanal production shea butter area. Between 10 to 50 mid-level traders operate in Bobo-Dioulasso, most of which source shea in western Burkina Faso, and a few are national in scope (Rousseau, Gautier *et al.*, 2015). In Bobo a state-of-the- art shea crushing and refinery has been established, including a solvent extractor, that uses the shea cake as fuel for their processing activities.

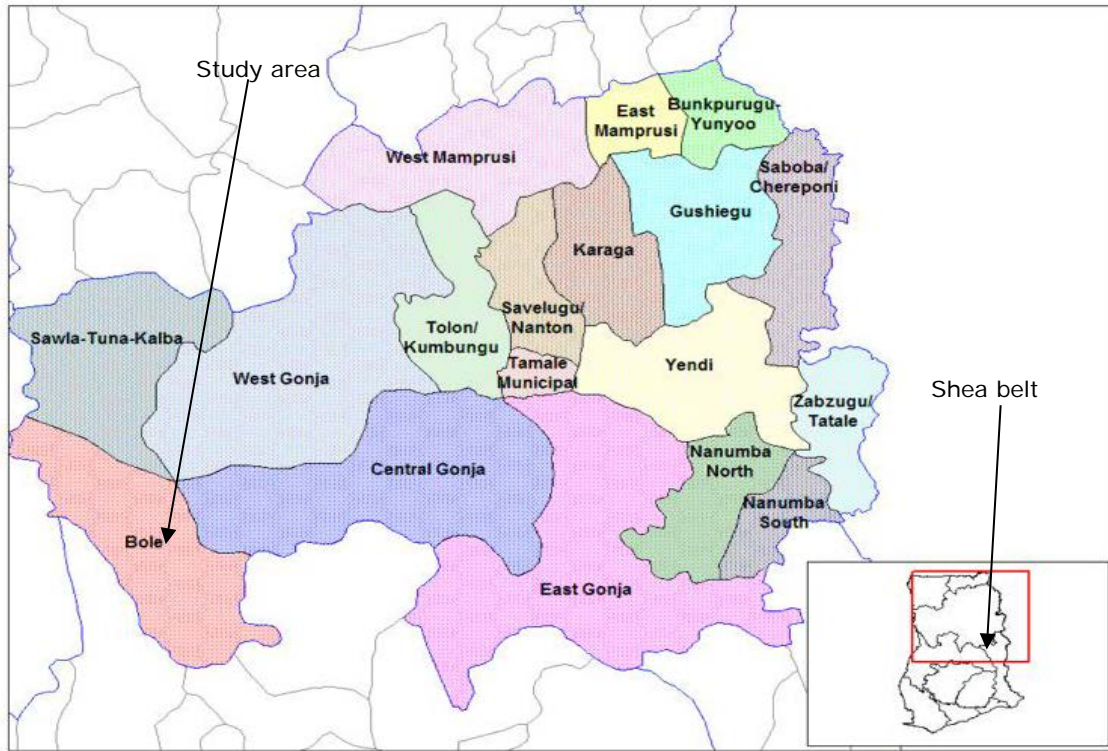


Figure 1 Bole study area in Ghana
 Source: Tamale Regional Coordination Council, March 2010.

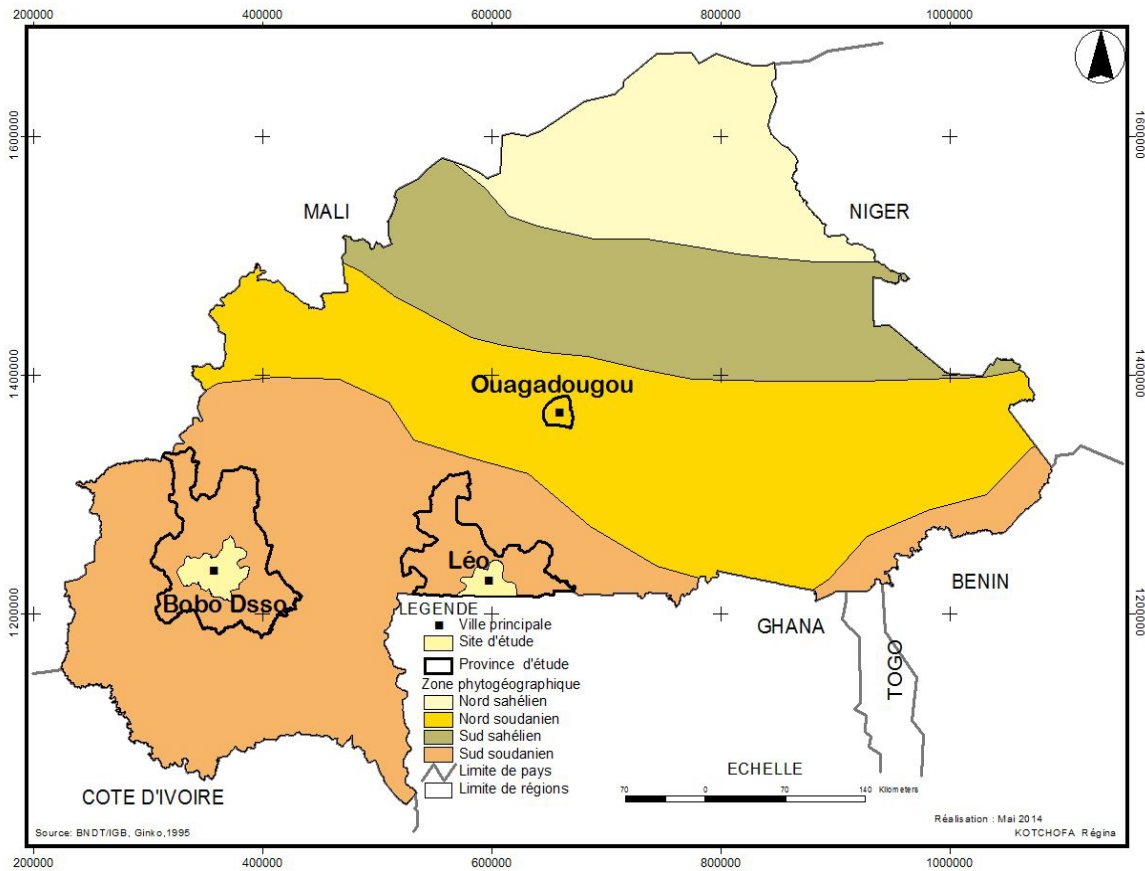


Figure 2 Sissili and Houet study areas in Burkina Faso
 Source: BNDT/IGB, GINCO (1995).

2.3.1 Key informant interviews

Key informants refer to people indirectly involved in the shea and cashew chains. Informants were interviewed in each area, using semi-structured interview (see Appendix 3) to obtain information about gender dynamics and activities in shea and cashew chains. In Ghana, 20 key informants concerning shea and 18 concerning cashew were interviewed and in Burkina Faso three informants. These included elders of the communities, NGOs, village chiefs, the customary land secretariat in Bole district, and Ministry staff in Ghana, such as MoFA, CRIG and the Africa Cashew Initiative (ACi). Key informants also suggested interviewees active in the chains in the villages and traders. Most interviews were conducted in English (in Ghana) and French (in Burkina Faso) and recorded if the respondent gave their consent.

2.3.2 Sampling cashew and shea farmers, collectors and processors

In total 209 direct stakeholders in the chain were interviewed in Ghana: 79 cashew farmers and 130 shea collectors, processors and traders, shown in detail in Table 3. In Burkina Faso 10 cashew farmers, 18 shea and 12 stakeholders involved in both were interviewed, shown in Table 4. Interviewees were asked about tenure, rights, their income sources and major expenditures, activities in the shea and cashew chains, problems and opportunities. The interview guides are shown in Appendix 3.

Table 3
Stakeholders sampled, Ghana

| Chain stakeholders interviewed | Community | | | | | Total |
|---|-----------|--------|------|---------|---------|-------|
| | Jaman | Bamboi | Bole | Kakiese | Mandari | |
| Shea collectors, processors and traders | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 130 |
| Cashew farmers | 15 | 14 | 19 | 17 | 14 | 79 |
| Total | 41 | 40 | 45 | 43 | 40 | 209 |

Table 4
Stakeholders sampled, Burkina Faso

| Chain stakeholders interviewed | Community | | | Total |
|---|-----------|----------------|---------------|-------|
| | Leo | Bobo-Dioulasso | Fada N’Gourma | |
| Cashew farmers, processors and traders | 10 | | | 10 |
| Shea collectors, processors and traders | 6 | 10 | 2 | 18 |
| Cashew and shea farmers, processors and traders | 6 | 6 | | 12 |
| Total | 22 | 16 | 2 | 40 |

2.3.3 Focus group discussions

In Ghana, nine focus group discussions were used to elucidate information regarding the tenure and management of shea and cashew trees in the communities. Four focus groups discussions were held for specifically shea, one with a farmer’s cooperative group at Mandari and three with members of a shea nut group working in Kakiase, Bamboi and Jaman. Five focus group discussions were held for cashew in Bole, Kakiase, Bamboi, Mandari and Jaman.

As part of the focus group meetings, male and female harvesters and farmers were separated. They were given 100 pebbles to represent their income and were asked to distribute these pebbles according to their major sources of income. After indicating their major sources of income, they were indicating the major items of expenditure.

They included farmers (both men and women) who manage the land and trees on a day-to-day basis, wives of men engaged in shea and cashew production, and women involved in planting and harvesting shea and cashew nuts. In Burkina Faso, eight focus group interviews were held with shea and cashew farmers and processors of both sexes including customary chiefs and shea butter and cashew union and association leaders. The average size of each group was six participants.

2.4 Data Analysis

The literature was analysed for relevant data on rights, tenure and current activities in the chains in the study areas. The interviews and focus group meetings were transcribed and coded, quotes were anonymised and attributed to a stakeholder group and location. Descriptive statistics were used to analyse the quantitative data. The current exchange rate at the time of study used was 1 euro to 4.13 Ghanaian Cedi (GHC), and equivalent of USD1 to GHC3.18. For Burkina Faso, 1 euro was equivalent to 655 West African Franc (XAF), USD1 or XAF586.

3 Gender relations in the chains

3.1 Gender relationships in the cashew chain

3.1.1 Activities

The main activities carried out in relation to the cashew chain are cashew farming (planting - either seeds or grafted seedlings), weeding, spraying fertiliser and pruning. This is typically conducted by men, but may also be done by women, or women household heads hire in labour. Harvesting is conducted by picking from the tree or collecting fallen apples - usually women's work. Fallen or cut branches are collected for firewood, generally by women and children. In processing, the nut is detached, dried and cooked.

Raw cashew nut buying companies in the study area normally contract middlemen, the majority of whom are women. They move from farm to farm to purchase the raw cashew nuts from the farmers. The harvesting and marketing activities of raw cashew nuts (RCN) occur during the four-month 'lean season' and therefore provide buffer cash flows to smallholder farmers who intercrop cashews with staples such as maize (MOFA, 2008).

Table 5 shows that more men (78%) are involved in cashew cultivation than women. The majority of both men and women are married, as shown in Table 6. Most of the female cashew farmers who have their own farms are heads of their household - these are women who are single, widowed or where their husbands have left home or migrated. Cash crop farming is generally considered a male activity in Bole District. The low involvement of women is also attributed to some of the physical activities involved. The majority of men conduct cashew-related activities (planting, pruning and tending trees, harvesting apples, processing and selling) alone, as shown in Table 7. A higher proportion of the women who are active in the chain (41%) conduct cashew-related activities together with their spouse. Decision making about conducting cashew-related activities however tends to be shared, particularly by male but also by female farmers.

This situation differs from 2012, when it was reported that, based on a survey of 31 women in Cascades, Hauts-Bassins and Sud-Ouest region:

'Women in Burkina Faso mainly only help their husband during harvest season and occasionally with other tasks such as clearing/weeding, drying, stocking etc. but are not responsible for cashew production and do not play an active role in it.' (Pohlmann, 2012 p15).

Table 5

Male and female distribution of cashew farmers, Ghana

| Community | Male | % | Female | % |
|-----------|------|----|--------|----|
| Bole | 15 | 19 | 4 | 5 |
| Bamboi | 9 | 11 | 5 | 6 |
| Jaman | 13 | 16 | 2 | 2 |
| Kakiese | 15 | 19 | 2 | 2 |
| Mandari | 10 | 13 | 4 | 5 |
| Total | 62 | 78 | 17 | 22 |

Table 6

Marital status of male and female cashew farmers, Ghana

| Household Head | Marital Status | | |
|----------------|----------------|---------|----------|
| | Single | Married | Divorced |
| Male | 20% | 75% | 5% |
| Female | 45% | 27% | 28% |

Table 7

Male and female activities in cashew cultivation, Ghana

| Sex of household head | Activities conducted together with spouse | Activities conducted individually |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Male | 19.36 % | 80.64% |
| Female | 41.2 % | 58.8% |

Table 8 shows that women and men generally tend to share decisions about cashew-related activities. When women are cashew farmers and the household is male-headed, they tend to have more authority and influence on decision making, with a higher proportion of women (59%) taking decisions on their own, than when men (13%) are farmers. However, when the household is female-headed, men predominate decision making. When the family cultivates cashew together, the man controls the income from the sale of cashew. This is due to the fact that in the Ghanaian perspective the man is the head of the family, even when the household is female-headed.

Table 8

Household decision making concerning cashew cultivation activities, Ghana

| Sex of cashew farmer | Male makes the decisions | Female makes the decisions | Decisions are shared |
|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| Male | 20% | 5% | 75% |
| Female | 45% | 2% | 53% |

3.1.2 Tenure and rights

In all the Ghanaian villages, land is acquired for farming by natives mainly through clearance and then occupancy. This is also the same as was found a decade ago (Kotey 1995). None of the communities reported problems of accessing land, with no land sales noted. No gender differences in acquiring land were noted, with the exception of Kakiese, where women cannot acquire land through first clearance and occupancy like their male counterparts. Women in Kakiese can only acquire their land through their husbands, sons and uncles. The explanation given for this is illustrated by the comment:

‘Women do not have to own land, because daughters are expected to marry and wives too should be housed and fed by their husbands, giving women access to land undermines the power and influence of men.’ Farmer, Kakiese

These findings are similar to Kotey’s (1995), who found out that the customary law rules and practices regulating access to, use of and rights in land discriminate between sexes.

Rights for migrants (also known as settlers or strangers, individuals and families who are considered not to be original inhabitants of the community) are different in all communities. Most settler households interviewed were second or third generation in the community. However, they continue to have migrant tenure rights regarding access to and use of land and trees. The process of land acquisition for farming is different for settlers than for indigenes. Settlers need to negotiate or use from the owner or the chief and elders of the community. Sacrifices are required to pacify the gods.

The land is allocated free of charge and once allocated, settlers have the same rights as indigenous households with full tenure rights over the trees on those lands. This is the same as was practiced a decade ago (Kasanga and Kotey 2001).

In all five villages in Bole District, women have the right to own and inherit trees, like their male counterparts. Women are allowed to plant cashew trees, and as with other planted cash crops, the tree planter has exclusive right over the tree with regards to its use, and has the right to use it as collateral, to its harvest, selling and use the income from its sale its related products.

In four of the communities, both men and women have the right to dispose (selling or chopping down) trees they have planted. Mandari has different arrangements concerning disposal rights. Persons leaving the community cannot dispose of their cashew trees.

‘He (settler) cannot sell nor destroy cashew (trees) if he wants to leave. The land was given to him free of charge and he cannot sell nor dispose those (trees) off. Once he leaves (the community) the tree belongs to the community.’ Village elder, Mandari

Although in Bamboi both indigenes and settlers can chop down or sell trees, trees are only felled when it is attacked by a disease. Cashew trees are rarely sold.

In all the villages, both indigenes and settlers do not have the right to sell the land or to use the land as collateral. Cashew farmers said they ‘owned’ their land, under customary title, not with formal land title and ownership documents.

3.1.3 Tenure and rights problems

Farmers in all Ghanaian five villages expressed concern about the security of land tenure. Since land has been allocated to farmers without any form of registration, it is very difficult to prove if an area of land belongs to them or not. Customary tenure can be uncertain, especially if it is enforced during a conflict or dispute, when the chief mediates and decides who has ownership. In view of this, the chief of Bamboi proposed registering farming land, to strengthen the security of land tenure. If people stopped farming the land or move away from the community for an extended period, other households in the community could use their lands or chiefs and elders could allocate these lands to new settlers. These problems were illustrated by the quote:

‘When you leave your land and come back later to find someone farming on it you can’t challenge that person because there is no documentation to that effect.’ Secretary, Gonja Customary Land Secretariat (CLS), Bamboi

Apart from planting cashew because of revenues from its sale, farmers also indicated that they plant cashew trees to secure their rights to the land. These plantations help ensure long-term tenure security.

3.1.4 Benefits

In Burkina Faso, cashew incomes belong to the man selling them. The income is generally used for family needs: health care, children’s schooling, clothing etc.). Women who were part of cashew-processing groups indicated that they gained considerable incomes from the activity, enabling economic freedom, and contributing to the household development. By supporting their husbands and other women (through loans), they experience an increase in their social status.

Table 9 shows that in Ghana most (35%) of all cashew farmers in the five villages in Bole earned the majority of their income from farming, ranging from 40 to 70%, followed by livestock (goats, cattle and sheep). More men (56%) earn income from farming than women (14%), who are on average to engage more in shea harvesting (52%). Shea collecting for female cashew farmers contributes between from 38% to 60% of their income, and shea trading contributes to 27% of income, ranging from 8 to 25%. Cashew trees were perceived to have potential to generate the same or higher

economic benefits comparable to wild, indigenous trees like shea. Men mostly derive income from cashew, whereas women from shea harvesting and processing.

The commercialisation of cashew was seen as creating a major change, resulting in increasing revenue gained from agriculture. For men, their major source of income prior to cultivating cashew was food crops such as yam, maize, millet, groundnut, guinea corn and sweet potato. They also derived an income from fishing, hunting and rearing of livestock. For women, prior to cultivating cashew, their major sources of income before were from shea, pottery, basketry and trading activities.

Table 9

Cashew farmer's income sources as percentage of total income (2013), Ghana

| Source of income | Average Men and Women | Men | | | | | Women | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|--------|------|-------|---------|---------|----------------------|--------|------|-------|---------|---------|----------------------|
| | | Bamboi | Bole | Jaman | Mandari | Kakiese | Average All villages | Bamboi | Bole | Jaman | Mandari | Kakiese | Average All villages |
| Farming | 35 | 40 | 45 | 60 | 70 | 65 | 56 | 12 | 25 | 8 | 15 | 10 | 14 |
| Hunting | 3 | 10 | 5 | 5 | | 6 | 7 | | | | | | |
| Lg livestock | 6 | 15 | 15 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 12 | | | | | | |
| Trading | 14 | | 4 | | 3 | | 4 | 30 | 32 | 30 | 25 | 16 | 27 |
| Carpentry | 2 | 4 | | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 | | | | | | |
| Masonry | 2 | 5 | | | 6 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | |
| Illegal mining | 2 | 5 | 5 | 10 | | | 7 | | | | | | |
| Shea harvesting | 26 | | | | | | | 50 | 38 | 60 | 48 | 65 | 52 |
| Pottery | 1 | | | | | | | 8 | 3 | 2 | | 1 | 4 |
| Clerical work | 3 | 6 | 16 | 5 | 2 | | 7 | | 2 | | | | 2 |
| Day labour | 7 | 15 | 10 | 6 | 5 | 10 | 9 | | | | 12 | 8 | 10 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Shown in Table 10, in the 2013 farming season, just over one third of all cashew farmers earned between GHC 1700 and 2200, with 76% of women earning GHC 1,700 or more, compared to 62% of men. A small proportion (3%) of men earned substantial incomes over GHC 4,000, whereas none of the women reported this level of income.

Whilst these figures are only for cashew and not for total income, and incomes are estimated based on recall (which can result in over or under estimates) an indication of the contribution to total household and per capita income can be gained by comparing them to the Ghanaian extreme poverty line level of GHC792.05 and an absolute poverty line of GHC1,314.00 per equivalent adult per year in the January 2013 (prices for Greater Accra Region). The absolute poverty line is equivalent to about USD1.83 per day and USD1.10 for the extreme poverty line (Ghana Statistical Service 2014a).

Table 10

Male and female farmer's income from cashew sales (2013), Ghana

| Income range | | % male cashew farmers (n=62) | % female cashew farmers (n=17) | % all farmers (n=79) |
|--------------|----------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| GHC | Euro | | | |
| <500 | <121 | 9.67 | 5.88 | 8.86 |
| 500-1,000 | 121- 242 | 16.13 | 0 | 12.66 |
| 1,100-1,600 | 266-387 | 1.64 | 17.65 | 5.06 |
| 1,700-2,200 | 412-484 | 32.25 | 47.06 | 35.44 |
| 2,300-2,800 | 557-678 | 11.29 | 5.88 | 10.12 |
| 2,900-3,400 | 702-823 | 17.74 | 0 | 13.92 |
| 3,500-4,000 | 847-969 | 8.06 | 23.53 | 11.39 |
| >4,000 | > 969 | 3.22 | 0 | 2.53 |
| Total | | 100% | 100% | 100% |

The control of income from cashew activities is dependent on whether cultivation is carried out as a household or individually. In all five communities most (80%) of the male household heads have their own farm, although 19% of male headed households undertake cultivation together with their spouse, as shown in Table 7. When men and women work together, the man controls the income from the sale of cashew. This was attributed to the custom that the man is the head of the family, illustrated by this quote:

'He is the head, so he controls the income.' Female cashew farmer

When both man and the woman undertake cashew cultivation together, they tend to pool their income. Men reported that they normally consult their wives in relation to how income is to be spent. In situations where men and woman undertake activities separately, the one who undertakes the activity has control over the income and normally decides what to do with the income from cashew sales. According to the men interviewed, they normally divide the income from the sale of cashew into three. A third is used to purchase agricultural inputs, a third is given to their wife and one third is normally for the man's personal use and generally for the household.

Table 11 shows that in all the five villages, men spent between 19 to 25 % of their income on food, while women spend a slightly higher proportion of between 28% 36% on food. Men spent a comparable proportion of their income on education to women. Expenditure on farming was fairly low for women compared to men, constituting between 5-12% compared to 12%-25% for men. Men and women spent similar proportions on assets. Women spent more on household items than men, 8 to 10% compared to 1 to 5%. Priority expenditures for men were education, farming, food and asset accumulation. For women this was food, education, home utensils and farming. These results are in line with traditional responsibilities of men and women within households where women are expected to deal food and household upkeep, and men have responsibility for school fees and assets. Men are also expected to pay for more expensive items such as: housebuilding and repairs, taxes, sons' marriages, and transport. Both men's and women's income are used for farm inputs (seed, tools, hired labour) and healthcare. The results are similar to Stockbridge's (2007) study which found that men have different spending priorities from those of women. As a result, cash crops often appear to benefit men (personally) more than women in a household.

Table 11

Male and female cashew farmer's household expenditure (2013), Ghana

| % of expenditure | Male cashew farmers | | | | | | Female cashew farmers | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|------|-------|---------|---------|----------------------|-----------------------|------|-------|---------|---------|----------------------|
| | Bamboi | Bole | Jaman | Mandari | Kakiese | Average All villages | Bamboi | Bole | Jaman | Mandari | Kakiese | Average All villages |
| Food | 24 | 25 | 19 | 20 | 25 | 23 | 30 | 36 | 29 | 32 | 28 | 31 |
| Education | 15 | 18 | 20 | 13 | 16 | 16 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 13 |
| Assets | 8 | 10 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Farming | 25 | 16 | 20 | 19 | 12 | 18 | 10 | 7 | 12 | 11 | 4 | 9 |
| Health | 2 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 5 |
| Savings | 2 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Clothing | 5 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 5 |
| Utilities | 5 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Community tax | 3 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 5 |
| Remittances | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Funerals | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| Travelling | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Leisure | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 5 | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Household items | 1 | 2 | | 2 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

3.1.5 Gender and chain enhancement activities

Only a few recent and on-going governmental and non-governmental activities in Ghana to enhance land and tree tenure security for smallholder farmers and in particular women in the study area were mentioned by the interview respondents.

The 15-year Land Administration Project (LAP)⁷ was launched in October 2003, designed to be implemented in five phases. Phase I ended on 30 June 2011. The overall objective of reducing poverty and enhance economic and social growth by improving security of tenure, accelerating access by the populace to land and fostering efficient land management by the development of efficient system of land titling, registration and administration, based on clear, coherent and consistent policies and laws supported by appropriate institutional structures. The specific objectives are:

- i. develop a clear, coherent and consistent set of land administration policies and laws;
- ii. ensure formal recognition of the right of all categories of land holders and facilitation of recording of these rights in an enhanced and decentralised land administration system;
- iii. establish an efficient decentralised land administration system operating throughout Ghana in accordance with Government policy and compatible with cultural usage and responsive to the needs of the people, within a self-sustaining financing mechanism;
- iv. establish an up to date efficient land information system that supports good land records management and transparent transactions in land;
- v. develop a well-functioning land market operating in both urban and rural areas.

The LAP's Gender Initiative focuses on the gender dimensions of land administration, and includes access to and control of land. The LAP's Gender Strategy seeks to address low levels of awareness of gender issues amongst the staff of the Lands Commission and other related agencies and institutions, low representation and or absence of women in decision making land issues; biases against women in the size and fertility of land and the interests they have in land; and discriminatory traditional land practices and insecurity of tenure against women and other vulnerable groups; and the rapid commercialisation of Land and inability of majority of women to afford land and its implication on their

⁷ <http://www.ghanalap.gov.gh/files/PAD.pdf>

livelihoods. The impacts on women of the reforms and activities are not yet clear from the project website and associated documents, with mainly output based indicators reporting on training received on gender, and the ongoing establishment of Gender Units within the Lands Commission headquarters.⁸

In Bobo-Dioulasso in Burkina Faso, the Yanta Union is a women's organisation working for welfare and nature conservation in the Hauts-Bassins region. It obtained the management and exploitation of land used to plant cashew, as part of the Participatory Development Project for the classified forests of Dinderesso and Kou. This project supports the production of shea butter, cashew nut processing and environmental conservation by prohibiting illegal logging and ensuring access to land.

Other cashew related projects such as the German Development's (GIZ) Gender transformation in the African Cashew value chain⁹, and the African Cashew Alliance¹⁰ all appear to have ceased operations by 2012. The African Cashew Initiative¹¹ - a pan-African initiative, also with GIZ, Bill and Melinda Gates, the Ministry of Food & Agriculture (MoFA) in Ghana and IDH¹² (which is active only in Burkina Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast, and the Netherlands), do not appear have not been active in the study area and/or were not mentioned by the interviewees. This is likely because most of these initiatives focus on the Brong Ahafo Region.

3.2 Gender in the shea chain

3.2.1 Activities in the chain

In Bole, Ghana, trees on farms are managed. Agricultural activities were noted as helping to protect shea trees as farmers weed under the trees and prune them, enhancing their growth. Selective thinning is practiced and non-fruiting shea trees are destroyed. Practices resulting in the destruction of shea trees are shown in Figure 3, and include hunters, honey collectors and charcoal producers burning the bush and felling trees to harvest honey from bees nesting in the tree and charcoal, and infrastructure development (buildings, road construction and electrification). The immediate consequence is that harvesters have to travel longer distances to collect wild shea fruits and nuts.

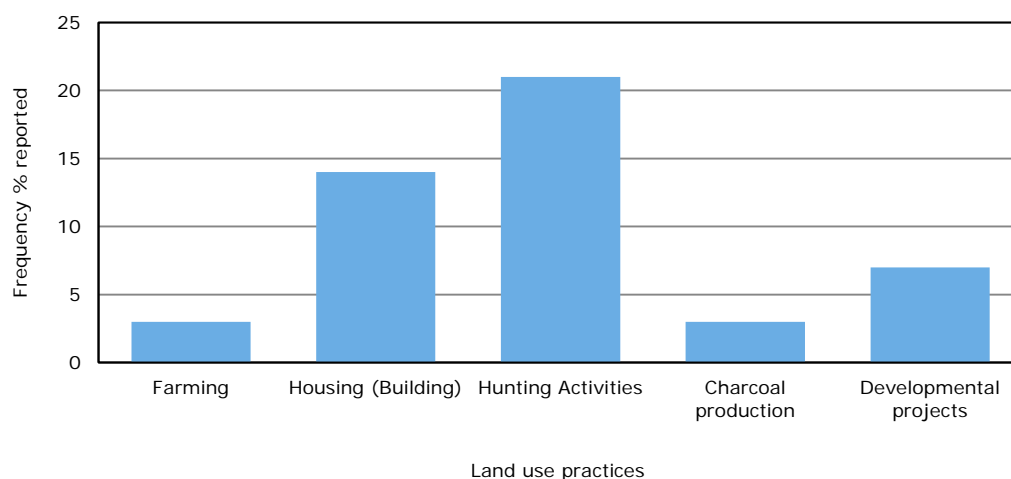


Figure 3 Practices affecting shea tree populations, Ghana

⁸ <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/cidaweb%5Ccpo.nsf/projEn/A034588001>

⁹ <http://www.gender-in-german-development.net/ghana2.html>

¹⁰ <http://www.africancashewalliance.com/sites/default/files/documents/ACA%20newsletter%20jan%202012.pdf>

¹¹ <https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/19011.html>

¹² <http://www.idhsustainabletrade.com/cashew>

Most harvesters (91%) are women of all ages from 11 to over 50 and 10% are children (boys and girls). The majority (61%) of the women collecting are aged between 21 and 40. Most women (43%) were local to the community, 24% were migrants, 32% classed themselves as 'other'. Shown in Table 12 and Table 13, most collectors are married in male headed households. The majority (43%) of women had been involved in shea for between 6 to 10 years, followed by women involved more recently from one to five years (25%) and between 11 to 15 years (12.5%) and 16 years or more (18%).

Table 12

Gender of household heads and marital status of shea collectors, Ghana

| Household Head | Marital Status | | |
|----------------|----------------|---------|---------|
| | Single | Married | Widowed |
| Male | 100% | 82% | 50% |
| Female | 0% | 18% | 50% |

Table 13

Gendered activities in shea collectors, Ghana

| Sex of household head | % |
|-----------------------|----|
| Male | 80 |
| Female | 20 |

Men do not traditionally collect shea nuts in the wild or process shea butter, but were reported as helping their wives and children to collect nuts on their farms. Men sometimes carry nuts back to the compound and help with cracking. The fallen ripe fruits and nuts remaining after being eaten by animals, are generally collected early in the morning. Shea was harvested mostly on land owned or leased for farming, but also from uncultivated lands, such that harvesters sometimes clash with land owners and land owners who have rights over shea trees on their respective lands. Shea trees on cultivated farms were reported to have higher yields than those on uncultivated land. Given the competition that can exist for shea in community lands, women generally focus first on collecting in the 'bush' and then on farm lands, except for elderly women or senior wives in polygamous homes, where the reverse is true. In polygamous homes there may be competition for nuts from farm lands among wives. The women take their nuts home to process, storing in bags in the home and selling when income is needed, often early in the season. Women generally boil and process their nuts alone (65%) even if they are many wives in one compound. A small proportion of women (8%) buy nuts for processing.

Men generally have not been involved in harvesting of shea, considering it as 'women's work' or being busy on their farm during the shea harvest period. A trend towards increased male involvement was noted, attributed to the increase economic value, higher home consumption, and the use of *nboa*, rotational labour gangs where a group of farmers move from one farm to another to help out. This pattern is similar to that found in other studies concerning northern Ghana (Chalfin, 2004), and reflects changes that have occurred as demand has increased and men assert more control (Elias and Carney, 2005), illustrated by the statement:

'We didn't know the shea business was a good one like this and we allowed the women to be harvesting alone, now we won't give them that chance at all. We will all pick the shea.' Male farmer, Mandari.

Shea processing is conducted mainly by individual harvesters who are mostly women, with men sometimes assisting their wives in processing shea butter. The nuts are processed into shea butter in nine stages: sorting, washing and drying nuts; crushing and coarse milling; roasting; fine milling into paste, kneading and mixing with water, heating the paste and scooping off the floating oil; filtering,

cooling and solidification to obtain butter. Sorting, washing and oil filtration are key steps in ensuring high quality, hygienic and clear butter. On average the process takes seven days, depending on sunshine. To enhance storage time, the nuts are dried for several days. Most collectors sold locally, either at home (38%) or in the local market (47%), with 10% selling to intermediaries and 6% selling in urban markets. Most women collected 31 to 50 kg of nuts a day in the season, shown in Figure 4.

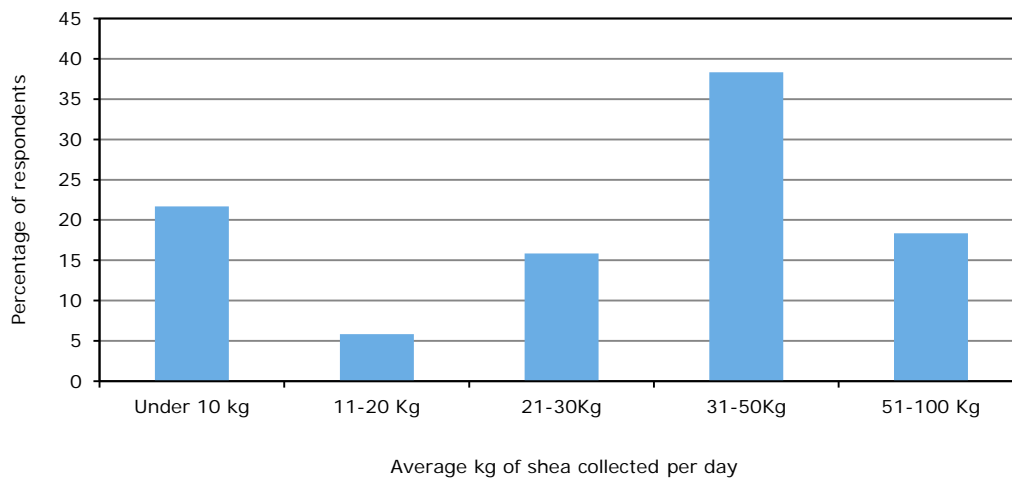


Figure 4 Average quantity of shea collected per day

The majority (58%) of shea butter producers purchase processed shea nuts. Most women who processed themselves make shea butter, part of which is used for household food needs and part sold either in local markets, in Leo Bobo or to traders for the international market, mainly destined for France and Canada. In Bole, most processing was done by individual women and is now conducted by groups, with butter being the most common product. Some individual women process further into cooking oil, ointment and soap, selling in local markets.

A recent trend in the last five or so years was noted with women organising into groups to attract support from NGOs and shea traders to acquire machines to process shea nuts collectively. In Burkina Faso these include the Nununa Women's Federation and the Yanta Union. The Nununa's women shea butter federation has been supported by NGO projects, such as SNV. Many of the shea processing groups also seek to provide social support and to produce shea butter in larger quantities so that they sell directly to companies and bypass middlemen.

Men are more involved in wholesaling. Their involvement in this stage was attributed due to their having sufficient capital to purchase in bulk, rent stores in the markets or main towns and transport.

The interviews and focus group discussions suggest there is understanding about the prospects for shea in the world market. A few people indicated that export used to be the domain of urban based people. The majority (79%) of respondents noted that export was the biggest growing market for shea. Those purchasing for the export market outnumber those purchasing for domestic consumption, and purchase in larger quantities, whereas domestic dealers generally buy only part of a sack.

Shown in Figure 5, across the five communities a general trend was apparent that producers are optimistic (43%) about the opportunities to expand their shea business. They believed that if they can obtain support from the government and NGOs, they could perform better in the export market. However, 39% felt that financial support from the government and other agencies was insufficient to start such a business. Nearly a fifth indicated that as rural inhabitants, they could not manage a business handled by 'urban people'. This response can be understood in age-specific terms since most respondents were in the 50 to 65 age group. These results suggest that there is willingness and possibilities to expand and integrate shea processors into the export side of the chain and to add value.

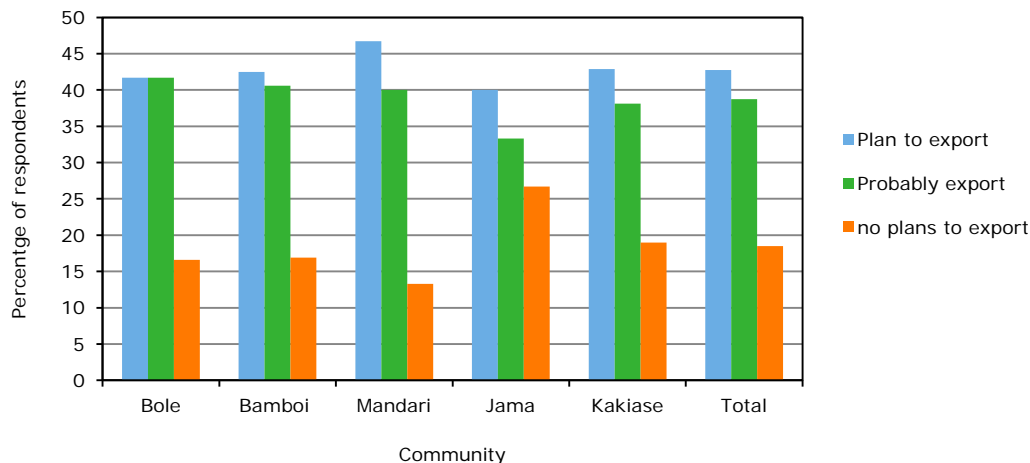


Figure 5 Shea nut producers interested in wholesale and export, Ghana

Traders buy in the local markets or from groups and also act as middlemen for the major export dealers and COCOBOD. Up to the early 1990s the regulation of the Shea nut trade in terms of pricing and marketing was solely in the hands of the State Marketing Board (i.e. COCOBOD). The government maintains its monopoly over the external marketing of shea nuts through COCOBOD. It buys from the Produce Buying Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of COCOBOD and from private Licensed Buying Companies (LBCs). As part of Ghana's Structural Adjustment programme initiated by the IMF and the world, the sector was liberalised in 1992 and the Government invited private participation in the internal marketing of shea nuts. Subsequently, licenses were granted and a few individual entrepreneurs and companies have since purchasing nuts and butter. The most significant quantity of exports from Bole area occurs through private buying companies such as Kassardjian Industries (Ghana) in Tamale, a produce buying company, Federated Commodities Limited, Farmers Star Limited and the international Business Group, Accra. In 2011 to 2012 111,194 tonnes of shea nuts were exported valued at USD25,086,810. Kassardjian Industries Limited, Shebu Company Limited, 3F Ghana Limited and Wilmar del Limited were the major operations in the national industry up to 2012 (COCOBOD, 2012).

3.2.2 Tenure and rights

In Bole, 28% of women collected on family farm lands, and 35% on their husbands farm lands - indicating that family-owned lands are the most important source. Slightly more than a third (37%) collected from either bush (not owned) and from uncultivated fields (i.e. other peoples land). Women's main form of land acquisition is to ask for land from their husbands or their husband's family members, with 50% of the women farming on family lands. The second most common way to obtain land is rent (30%). A minority (20%) of women had brought their own land.

In Ghana in the Bole study area, the chief and the community-level governance in the five villages is based on the Gonja customary laws. All women in the community have the right to collect shea nuts from their husband's farm and fallows, from the bush and other community lands without restriction. Women have no right to collect from other households' farms or fallows, which are considered exclusive to those households (and hence for women from such households), even when left fallow for more than two years. Collection does not take place on sacred lands, as collecting disturbs the spirits. Customary rules dictate that no one has the right to cut down shea tree in any of the communities visited:

'When they catch you cutting down shea tree you will be punished, because the shea tree help us to get money to buy food and pay our children's school fees.' Collector, Bole.

'When we catch you cutting down the shea tree, you will be fined. It is an economic tree for the community.' Chief, Kakiase.

'You can only cut down trees you have planted but you cannot cut down shea trees. It is a taboo and when we get you we will charge you greatly.' Village elder, Bamboi

This everyday reality contrasts sharply with Gonja customary laws regarding access to fallows older than two years, where land left fallow for more than two years reverts to community land where all members of the community have equal rights to access the resources thereon. Under customary law, all settlers who have settled on land with the consent of the chief and the landowner have the same rights as indigenous households with regards to access to land and trees, as is illustrated by the following statement:

'Once a stranger is given permission to settle and granted land to make a farm he is treated for all purposes like a citizen farmer, and is subject to all customary duties.'
MOFA government official.

Women have different customary rights to land than men, which affects their access to other resources and their economic, social and political status. Women's ability to use family lands for agriculture is limited as they are generally given land of poor quality and size. In situations of marital conflict or divorce, a wife's right to land becomes insecure, as it belongs to her husband and customary law does not recognise marital property or non-monetary acquisition during marriage. Women are not allowed to plant permanent tree crops on land, as doing so would make them owners of that land. A minority (45%) indicated that women can own land with shea trees.

In Burkina Faso, customary laws predominate in the study area around Gourounsi à Zoro. However, these statutory laws subject to controversy and are not accepted by the traditional leaders, nor that the state has a monopoly on rural land ownership. Land is seen as sacred and thus administered by the land chief from the Daganon family, a descendant of the original inhabitants of the area. He is responsible for land distribution, assigning land and tree user rights, monitoring of land use, conflict resolution, and as the guarantor of tradition performs rituals. Customary rules govern granting access to land for men, with land passed from father to son. When women marry, they 'leave' the family and do not inherit property. In both Bobo and Gourounsi women cannot own land, but have the right to use land:

'It is the man who provides for the basic needs (food) for the family, therefore it is he who needs land to grow. The woman, she brings the sauce to accompany it to and that is usually located in the bush.' Female farmer, Zoro

Women can access land through the sponsorship of a man, who has to refer to the family head before allocating land. A relatively recent trend is that women can access land by buying it, and this is more common in urban areas (mainly for commercial and residential use) where formal laws have more strength than customary. Land purchases date mainly from 1983 onwards, when the Burkinabe agrarian and land reform. However, traditional chiefs have never accepted the state monopoly on rural land and perceived corruption, due to some of the initial land sales in Leo benefitting senior state officials, have hampered the process.

Customary rules cover both land and trees. Trees on community land (bush) are free access for both men and women, which means that there can be competition, according to a 'first come, first served' basis. Trees on 'private' land (crop fields, agroforestry park) are generally available only to owners and women of the owner in the province. However, in Leo, shea and *néré* (*Parkia biglobosa*, also known as the African locust bean) trees are both accessible to all women in the villages (both indigenous and settlers). Cashew trees in contrast, are all privately owned because they do not occur outside of the owners fields. The fallen fruit can be eaten, as long as the seeds are left for the owner and women sponsored (permitted) by the owner can access the fruit, but the seeds belong to men or husbands who have created the plantation. In Bobo-Dioulasso, shea nuts belong to the women permitted by the owner. In Léo, Gourounsi, shea nuts belong to all the women of the village, under the regime of first come first served. As with cashew nuts, the nuts belong to men, even when they are collected by women, as men are the traders of nuts. Women purchase nuts for processing. Women have however developed recent strategies to change these customs. In Bobo-Dioulasso, recent

changes to such customs are that women have grouped together to trade and purchase nuts and in Léo, women have followed the same strategies, and also purchase land with shea by obtaining sponsorship from a man. Indigenous and settler households have different rights. Migrants have a right to be allocated land sufficient for their needs, upon giving gifts to the chief. This right to which ceases when their residency in the village ends. These rights are detailed in Table 14.

Table 14

Customary land and tree tenure and rights in Sissili and Léo, Burkina Faso

| Ethnic group & area | Land access rights | Tree access rights |
|-----------------------|--|--|
| Gourounsi (Léo) | Women (living in the village or in a city) access land through permission/sponsorship from their husband or a man, given a small area around ½ ha to grow. Outsiders can access (5ha more) through an indigene, widows may dispose of land from their late husband to feed the family | Access to the trees in the bush Free access for woman from the village to shea fruit on communal land |
| Bobo (Bobo-Dioulasso) | Women access fallow land without permission of their husband Women can access their husband's land where it is not cultivated, the husband can give his wife a small area of land (around 0.5 ha) A husband often gives his wife a small field to grow groundnuts, gombo (okra) and oseille (sorrel), and can reclaim if he needs it | Women can access to nuts and shea kernels in fields the entire community can pick fruit from trees in the forest (shea) Access to cashew fruit for food Limited access to cashew seeds that belong to men |

3.2.3 Tenure and rights problems

Whilst regulation in Ghana offer equal access to both men and women, in practice discrimination due to the predominance of customary law is common. Within the five communities in Ghana, general cultural norms and practices which constrain the roles and participation of women in the public sphere were seen as common. In community decision-making women's voices are generally muted, and in some situations, they are either not allowed to speak in public when men are present or are expected to express their views privately or through men. This traditional norm is perpetuated and illustrated by local proverbs, such as 'women are to be seen and not to be heard'. Women who do not conform to these rules find themselves accused of immorality or witchcraft and face sanctions and humiliation. Few women occupy key decision-making positions in economic, political and social life and do not play a prominent role in public decision-making. Traditional beliefs, discrimination and low levels of literacy in the villages were seen as contributing to the low level of women's participation in business and development based decision-making processes. Specifically concerning access to shea, 85.7% of those interviewed said they were not restricted by customs. However, when questioned further, women expressed interest in growing shea trees on their own land but indicated that they were restricted by customs that do not allow to place permanent tree crops on the land. The traditional land access system therefore grants higher and securer land and tree rights to men and effectively excludes women from land and tree ownership.

In Burkina Faso, customary arrangements also predominate, and dictate that men and women have different responsibilities. Men are usually the heads of families and make decisions in relations of production (agriculture and forestry), housing, health and clothing of the family, the education of children etc. women take care of domestic tasks, being responsible for the maintenance and care of children, preparing food, the marketing of timber and non-timber products (Yago-Ouattara, Belem *et al.*, 2009). This difference in the distribution of tasks has implications for access to land and tree management. As women are under the authority of their husbands, who have decision making powers which can result in precarious tenure, as women generally do not have the right to property and expose them to land insecurity.

3.2.4 Benefits

In Ghana, in all five communities, women decide on both processing, sale and the use of income of the products based on shea. The more men were more involved in assisting their wives gathering, carrying or processing shea nuts, the more they tended to be involved in spending decisions.

In Bole, women's average annual income from shea nut collection ranged from GHC100 to GHC500 (24 to 121 euros) for 60% of collectors 28% earned between GHC550 and GHC1,000 (133 to 242 euros) and 12% between GHC1,100 and GHC1,500 (266 to 363 euros). On average, 40% of women also had other off farm income sources. Average incomes for women engaging in different activities in the chain are shown in Table 15. Collecting provides the highest incomes, with less income derived from processing and retailing. Compared to the average gross annual household income in the Northern region of Ghana of just over GHC3,032 (Ghana Statistical Service 2014b), this is low.

Table 15

Collector, processor and retailer incomes in the shea chain (2013), Ghana

| Activity chains | in | Mean | | Median | | Minimum | | Maximum | | Standard deviation | |
|-----------------|----|-------|-----|--------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-------|--------------------|-----|
| | | GHC | € | GHC | € | GHC | € | GHC | € | GHC | € |
| Collectors | | 802 | 194 | 694 | 168 | 100 | 24 | 1,300 | 315 | 342 | 83 |
| Processors | | 534 | 129 | 463 | 112 | 150 | 36 | 1,950 | 472 | 228 | 55 |
| Retailers | | 668 | 162 | 578 | 140 | 125 | 30 | 1,625 | 393 | 285 | 69 |
| Total income | | 2,006 | 486 | 1,736 | 420 | 375 | 91 | 4,875 | 1,180 | 857 | 208 |
| Farm income | | 2,106 | 510 | 1,836 | 445 | 475 | 115 | 4,975 | 1,205 | 857 | 208 |

Shea is seen as an important source of income for women and is used by women to help educate children, buy food and pay for medication. Children can also cash from gathering nuts and selling at the market, used to buy clothes and for family purchases.

'The men are the household heads but we do everything in the house including buy food for the house and buying our children's school fees.' Female shea trader.

Although shea incomes provide women with a higher degree of autonomy and freedom for both household and personal expenditures, the majority (74%) of women interviewed agreed or strongly agreed that men control shea revenues, 195 were neutral and 6% disagreed.

Shea provides a major source of income to the households engaged in its trade. Most shea is sold soon after harvest, as this is the agricultural off season when men provide little income from farming. This practice results in fluctuating prices over the year. Few women indicated they were able to profit from the higher prices in off season. Female processors rated shea butter and nuts as the main and highest source of income, accounting for between 38% to 60% of their total income. The second major source was trading. Income from farming ranged from 8 to 25%. Wholesalers also indicated that trading shea was highly lucrative, with higher profits shea compared with groundnuts and maize.

For men, prior to commercialising shea, their main income was derived from food crops such as yam, maize, millet, groundnut, guinea corn and sweet potato. For the women, their major source of income prior to entering the shea chain was pottery, basketry and trading activities.

Men's have become more involved further along in the shea chain - trading as licensed buyers and intermediaries. This has given rise to perceptions by 32% of women interviewed that men also benefit from the shea business, 27% were neutral and 39% either disagree or strongly disagree.

Spending priorities from shea-derived income were food, (57% of respondents), children's education, household goods and clothes. This pattern reflects traditional female responsibilities to provide the ingredients for the soup eaten alongside the staple grain based food stuffs, the provision of which is the responsibility of the male household head.

In Burkina Faso, shea income belongs to women. This is used to meet basic needs related to food, clothing, schooling, healthcare and social obligations (such as gifts at weddings, baptism, death and other social events), and to a lesser extent, larger items such as bicycles. Being able to afford better clothing was noted as an external sign of signal of wealth and status. Shea incomes were noted to be a critical safety net in times when men were unable to provide for household needs, particularly food.

Women's income from farming was generally lower, as the small area limited the quantity of crops for sale, which are primarily used to provide food for the family. If food crops are sold, revenues are similarly used for women and children's needs.

Women claimed that shea and cashew products enabled their financial autonomy, so that they are less dependent on their husbands and can provide financial support to their husbands in some cases. This has changed relations. Some women used their incomes to loan other women money for petty trade, particularly to sustain and diversify trade in other agricultural and tree products such as soumbala/néré (*Parkia biglobosa*) seeds, groundnut and hibiscus flowers. Many women indicated that their societal status and visibility had increased due to shea trading. This was especially pronounced for female members of the Nununa Federation and Yanta Union, who reported that that the regularity and value of income derived from processing gave them an enhanced status. Shea incomes made it easier for women to access credit in savings and credit structures, both informal systems and formal organisations such as savings banks and FARF.¹³

3.2.5 Gender and chain enhancement activities

In Ghana, the focus groups, a policy deficiency was noted, with no current, effective government policy to coordinate and regulate the organisations and activities in the shea chain. Since 2009, COCOBOD has engaged in improving the shea sector, strengthening research activities already undertaken and setting up Shea Unit was established and tasked with the responsibility of undertaking programmes and projects and advancing new policies to support the sustainable growth and development of the shea industry. Although COCOBOD is mandated to oversee activities in the chain, it is not seen as effective and farmers, processors, companies and NGOs do not have any effective reference point to guide initiatives. The government has not been able to adequately respond to the credit and marketing challenges of producers.

Government programmes and projects include the Northern Accelerated Savanna Development Authority (NASDA) was established by an Act of Parliament in 2010, its office and staffing of directors and coordinators begun work in March 2013 to promote and oversee the growth and development of the North. Current government support for the shea industry was perceived by the direct stakeholders as inadequate. Political will to support the industry was perceived to be lacking. Support services can be rendered through the Metropolitan Assembly/Ministry of Food and Agriculture. For instance government could subsidise the provision of water and solar energy facilities to boost shea activities for economic empowerment of producers in Northern Ghana. There is also the need for the Metropolitan Assembly to facilitate the exploration of new markets and value addition to butter. This in the long run could increase foreign exchange, income and reduce poverty.

The Tamale shea project¹⁴ aims to promote the shea industry in northern Ghana. Under the project, two million shea seedlings are to be nursed and raised on 8,000 hectares of land in the three regions with support of GHS5m grant from the government. Twelve shea butter processing units are to be established in selected districts within the catchment area of the project to serve as markets for the nuts produced by the shea plantations, and 1000 women selected from across the project area are to receive training in modern shea technology and business development. The Shea Supervisory Consultative Committee, comprising chiefs from the three regions, and the Shea Technical Committee, comprising vice-chancellors of public universities, the Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG), Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Ministry of Land and Natural Resources, Savannah Plantations and

¹³ FARF are state structures providing credit to women's groups

¹⁴ See for more information <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/business/artikel.php?ID=310618>

individuals act as advisers to the project. The project is implemented by Savannah Plantations, a Tamale-based agro-forestry organisation, which had establishing shea plantations in the past few years due to the perception of dwindling stocks in the wild. The faster maturity (from over 20 years to five or six years) of species introduced by the Crop Research Institute of Ghana was a source of encouragement to establish shea plantations. Savannah Plantations has a two-million plant nursery at Daboya in the Northern Region which will supply seedlings for this project.

The Africa Cashew Initiative (ACI) has conducted a study of gender (ACI 2010, Heinrich 2012) in the cashew chain in Ghana and Burkina Faso. Whilst not mentioned by participants in the study areas, it is relevant to this study. It covers five countries Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Benin, and Mozambique and aims to achieve a 50% increase in productivity and additional annual income of at least USD100 for 150,000 cashew farmers, tripling current processing volumes, and creating 5,500 jobs in the processing industry by 2013. The ACI includes a formalised co-funding and implementation structure that involves public and private partners, and development organisations. As such, the ACI offers insights and lessons from its own experience in managing multi-stakeholder, cross-sectoral partnerships, working with partners and experimenting with different approaches to results measurement. The DCDE (Heinrich 2012) considers the ACI's innovative co-funding and implementation approach is considered as a critical factor in addressing the dominant position of Asian companies in the cashew processing sector, it appears that the complexities and transaction costs involved in its management were underestimated at the design stage. As a result, the programme is planning for a more streamlined structure for its next phase. Flexibility, understanding and mutual learning, proved to be key challenges for the lead implementing agency GIZ and all other stakeholders. This included building relationships with the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and public and private sector actors from all over the world. Bridging cultural differences and reaching common ground on diverging approaches, such as in measuring results, required open communication and management of expectations. This, also served as a basis for a fruitful exchange of ideas and knowledge.

At the programmatic level, the ACI illustrates some of the constraints faced in moving from a more production focused to an integrated, sustainable, market-driven approach, and in enabling African smallholders to compete in global agricultural commodity markets. Some promising results in Ghana include more than 37,000 farmers (240,000 for all ACI countries; numbers provided by ACI) trained in good harvest and post-harvest practices, high-yield planting material is being multiplied, and new processing plants have started operating. However, an analysis of possible local private sector partners, who could scale up and take over the programme's activities, illustrates some of the key difficulties that smaller and younger players in the cashew market may face. A longer time frame is seen as being needed for the private sector to provide the services that farmers need, and for the cashew sector to add value to the economy. This will also depend on bigger, underlying questions regarding the competitiveness of countries like Ghana relative to established market players like India and Vietnam. Energy and transport cost differences have not yet been sufficiently accounted for by the ACI and require more research.

The dominance of projects in the shea chain by NGOs was seen as a weakness of the government but some stakeholders interviewed, who see the state as the main player in development issues and in trade. Many NGOs have promoted shea nut and butter production and marketing in Ghana. Their support to shea processors includes linkages to markets, assistance with obtaining technology and training in business skills (Asante-Dartey *et al.*, 2009). Initiatives have been introduced in the shea producing areas due to the perceived potential to contribute to increase benefits to the rural poor; tackle dry land environment concerns and promote development (Lovett, 2004). USAID, Techno-Serve (TNS)-Ghana, Centre Canadien d'Étude et de Coopération Internationale (CECI), OXFAM, Christian Mothers Association and SNV Netherlands have all provided various forms of support for shea producers. These include business skills, improved resource management, women's participation in the chain, trade facilitation and increased in shea activities. None of these interventions or organisations were however noted by stakeholders in interviews or focus groups.

The increase (albeit not attributed to a specific project or programme) in growing shea trees in the study area were seen as increasing women's access to shea, with 91% of women expressing interest in having their own shea trees, and 9% seeing no need as shea is abundant in the wild. However, women also indicated the barrier formed by customary land ownership rules (that planting permanent tree crops on the land would make them de-facto land owners), but indicated that any national effort or policy to promote growing shea would be welcomed and supported by women from the study area.

In Burkina Faso, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), a project running from 2009 to July 2014, was supported by the United States Government, supports the Government of Burkina Faso to implement participatory land management and improvements in infrastructure and land management instruments in rural areas. To date, nearly 2,492,000 people have benefited, including from new dispute resolution system and new facilities in the 47 municipalities participating. In the project area, at least 29 widows were able to gain title for land customarily owned by their deceased husbands and 8 women were granted land ownership. The implementation of such land management practices has helped to allow access of small farmers and women to the irrigated Di Sourou Valley in the northwest of the country. Title and land leases were signed between the government and producers for nearly 3,000 agricultural plots. These have been praised by producers according to the MCC and are being replicated by the government in 135 communes in the 47 municipalities. The MCC project has helped communities plan their land, small farmers to access to land titles and secure tenure.

The MCC triggered initiatives by women's associations to advocate with local traditional authorities for women's access to trees and land. The Tin NaabiKiHanbi Kari Force Women's Development Association based in Fada N'Gourma, was founded in 1997 and renovated in 2006 and 2010. In Leo, the women lobbied and successfully obtained land rights to 12 hectares of small fields in six villages, in areas where shea trees are dominant with the local customary authorities to ensure shea harvest to produce shea butter and its derivatives, and practice maintenance and shea tree regeneration. They mobilised resources for the construction and equipment of a high-performance production unit for shea butter and its derivatives. The women have since undertaken steps with to obtain land titles on these plots with the local municipal authorities. Extensive discussions 'palaver' between the municipal administration, traditional authorities and the association, supported the formalisation of the donation of customary lands. Subsequently, the association is planning to acquire land titles such that the women become owners of land and shea trees. Support has also been provided by NGOs, such as SNV, which together with two other organisations, supported the formation of the Nununa Federation of women groups, and the creation of six production centres. The project which ended in 2012 also supported Nununa to change its business model from semi-artisanal processing to centralised and semi-industrial processing of shea butter. This is reported by SNV as turning the Federation into a more competitive and financially sound business model, and redistributing more profits (added value) to its members (Konaté, 2012).

The Local Convention of Téonsgo is an example of an agreement to manage the forest zone of Téonsgo. This concerns conflict prevention and preservation of natural resources, by agreeing the rules to prevent degradation, eventual punishments for infringement, and regulates the use of forest resources while maintaining the traditional use rights of local communities.

In Bobo-Dioulasso in Burkina Faso, the Yanta Union is a women's organisation working for welfare and nature conservation in the Hauts-Bassins region. It obtained the management and exploitation of a land as part of the Participatory Development Project for the classified forests of Dinderesso and Kou. This project supports the production of shea butter, cashew nut processing and environmental conservation by prohibiting illegal logging and ensuring access to land.

3.3 Barriers

The main barriers to women’s engagement in the shea and cashew chains in both countries are:

1. Customary legislation has been the main factor limiting access to land and trees, as traditional laws have not enabled women’s access to land and or planted trees, generally prohibit women from the right to own property and expose them to land insecurity. The intricacies of the constraints of customary law are shown in Table 16.
2. Whilst national legislation does not discriminate based on gender, a lack of awareness of formal legal rights, difficult titling processes and lack of enforcement has not promoted women’s land ownership.
3. Difficulties for harvesters in the study areas due to low income levels in general, and for women in particular, in accessing capital to enable them to invest in either land or production, processing and trading in shea in particular, create considerable difficulties for women to engage in the higher value activities ion the chain.
4. As women often sell nuts early in the season due to lack of cash flow, a lack of other seasonal (farm-based) income streams and absence of pre-financing, when prices are generally lowest. They therefore earn less than selling at higher prices later in the season when the nuts have fully dried and quality is generally higher.

Two methods of access for women and small farmers to the land were identified: gifts and loans. Lan loans are widespread practice, but there is often insufficient land to meet demand and the land available to loan differs strongly between lineages and villages. Loans are particularly insecure for women, as by their nature they are not permanent, and therefore are unsuitable for tree crops.

There possibility to purchase land and trees has been increasing, however, rural women and small farmers are often disadvantaged as they do not have sufficient financial resources.

Table 16

Customary barriers

| Location | Problems | Causes |
|-------------------|---|--|
| Léo, Burkina Faso | Women cannot be customary landowners | Traditionally land belongs to men Women are subject to their husbands decision making |
| | Unmarried women cannot access land | Women may not own land |
| | Women cannot plant trees | Traditional rules limit access to land and specific crops for women |
| Bole, Ghana | Women’s roles in public life are limited | Traditional rules limit women’s ability to speak and act in community decision making |
| | In Kakiese women can only acquire land through male relatives. | |
| | Unused customary owned land may be acquired by others, legally or customarily | Uncertain legal status of customary title |

4 Key success factors and opportunities

The cases suggest a number of key success factors and opportunities available to address gender inequity in the shea and cashew production systems and chains, and ways to make the distribution of benefits more equal.

4.1 Successes

Interventions into the chain and on the subject of land rights generally, indicate that women have been empowered to increased benefit and the benefits of trade, and provide more security, particularly noted in the shea chain, by:

1. Supporting the creation and functioning of association for female harvester and traders
2. Government actions to promote investment in agriculture and rural areas have led to a new class of business-orientated land owners, often located in urban areas, who compete with rural inhabitants, often these are men. It is difficult for both rural inhabitants, especially women, to access sufficient capital to purchase land.
3. Individual women using male sponsorship under customary system to gain access to land and trees.
4. Women's groups requesting traditional authorities to allocate land for shea and cashew cultivation
5. Loans by women to other women have acted as a stimulus to engage in the chain, with the successful women acting as role models for others to replicate their processing and trading activities.
6. In Burkina Faso, land tenure projects have resulted in women gaining land title.
7. Individuals and women's groups have gained access to and ownership by purchasing land.

4.2 Opportunities

Approaches which have contributed to make the distribution of benefits more equal include:

1. Further support to professionalise women's groups and develop market links between harvesters and processor associations and local and international markets - either through existing trader and exporter networks, or directly to international manufacturers. Both options have advantages and disadvantages, indicating that carefully considered chain inclusive intervention approaches are needed. Direct links between cooperatives and international manufacturers can result in individual and community wide social and economic benefits to women (Kamara, 2012). The traders that link the farmers and the exporters cannot be seen only as 'free riders' but as inextricably bound in trader and exporter networks. They constitute useful and relevant actors in the shea value chain, creating value at local and national levels. Thus, companies and also NGOs involved in developing the shea chain, should consider the role of the wholesalers in the chain and in the empowerment of the rural poor, particularly women. In Burkina Faso, direct supply from harvester to international firms was seen as be costly and not very efficient, and accounted for small quantities of shea. As a result, Rousseau and colleagues (2015) warn that 'trying to bypass wholesalers even with the laudable goal of empowering marginal social groups entails a risk of excluding other rural poor who rely on their income from shea'.
2. Creating awareness of how to use formal, legal means to clarify land and tree ownership and to obtain land. This needs to be accompanied by support to go through the land titling processes to enable women to access to land through purchase, to avoid further marginalising the very poor and those with no access to cash.
3. Given the insecurity of loans of land, particularly for women, support to access credit to buy land.

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4. Access to credit, either through formal systems (such as banks and credit unions) or via informal routes (tontines, revolving credit in women's groups), can also aid women to engage more in value adding activities such as longer storage times, better quality processing and trading.
 5. Government policies currently promote and support investments in rural development, however, a disadvantage is that the more affluent may be able to out purchase rural, customary owners in acquiring land and support.
 6. Customary systems can be used to gain access to land and trees, possibilities include:
 - a. Women make agreements to access unused or fallow land belonging to their husbands and male family members to grow cultivate mixed crops, including tree crops such as shea and cashew
 - b. Planting trees as a way to secure rights to land (for men and women)
 - c. Individual women and women's groups can request traditional authorities to allocate land for shea and cashew cultivation.
 - d. Individual women and women's groups can request traditional authorities to acknowledge and formalise collecting rights.
 - e. Registering customarily owned land with customary, and then the local land authorities
 7. Initiatives in other Sahelian countries highlight that mixing customary and formal systems can provide promising alternatives for participatory allocation and management of natural resources and land. This has occurred in the form of agreements¹⁵ between local stakeholders and users to allocate and govern natural resources can create political will to assign responsibility within communities to more equitably use and manage these resources.
 8. Collective action has been show in the study area and other areas to aid women to increase quality, lower costs, enable bulk purchasing and transport, purchase of processing equipment and provide credit so that nuts can be stored longer- as up to three years storage is possible (Rammohan, 2010; Konaté, 2012; Elias, 2010).
 9. Government actions to promote investment in agriculture and rural areas have led to a new class of business-orientated owners, often located in urban areas, who compete with rural inhabitants.
 10. Public-private-NGO interventions which involve to improve the efficiency and quality of processing in other areas in Burkina Faso and Ghana in the shea chain in particular have indicated increased engagement and income gained from shea-related activities, and increased influence on prices (Sika and Klinken, 2006; Kent and Bakaweri, 2010; Rammohan, 2010; Drost, Van Wijk *et al.*, 2012; Konate, 2012).

¹⁵ A variety of terms have been used to describe such agreements, such as local conventions, local codes, codes of conduct, MoU, management agreements, management contracts, territory charters, management plan, community forests, collaborative resource management etc., were groups and/or communities sign individually or through their representatives, for example in the form of associations.

5 Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Key conclusions

International demand by the food and cosmetic industries for shea and food snack sector for cashew has increased, stimulating trade in producer countries.

This study shows the important role shea and cashew trees play in households, both in terms of subsistence food use and generating income, which is generally used to provide for peoples basic needs, in particular for women and children. The contribution to household economies is critical given that Burkina Faso remains one of the poorest African countries, and whilst Ghana is classed as a medium development country, Northern Ghana has lagged behind the rest of the country in terms of development. Women, particularly in Burkina Faso, face problems to own land and trees. This is due to traditional systems which limit women's access to land, trees and their products. To redress this situation, government, donors, NGOs, civil society and trade partners have made a number of interventions that promote shea and cashew trade.

The main findings concerning the first question about rights to cashew and shea trees and their products, are that whilst regulations governing access to land and trees in both Burkina Faso and Ghana do not discriminate between men and women, customary law governs daily life in practice, and does differentiate on the basis of gender. Women in Ghana have the same rights to shea and cashew trees, raw and processed products as men. Communal land tenure is common in the study area and does not create a significant problem for women to access shea, as women generally have access to shea on community lands. However, with a gradually increasing trends in population growth and private ownership, where only the women of the owner can collect, this may present problems in the future. Women in Ghana however face land and tree tenure security problems, when lands are left fallow or sold. Communal land tenure is common, chiefs governing community lands and determining the acquisition of rights to and transmission and disposition of interest in land. Customary owners serve as spiritual heads and advisors to chiefs on land issues. Traditionally women can farm land and use trees but are not allowed to own them. Customary land tenure does not always ensure secure ownership rights, as lands left fallow for longer periods of time have been taken over by others. Changes in this system have gradually been occurring in Burkina Faso, as traditional leaders sell land to raise personal income. This has increased the opportunities for women to own land and trees. However, women, particularly rural women in the area, indicated difficulties obtaining capital to buy land, and often require a male intermediary to negotiate with chiefs to purchase land. Shea in Ghana is predominantly wild harvested. Most women harvest shea on land owned their husbands and other male family members, and 30% rented such land. Although 20% of women bought land, this is only possible in communities where land sales occur. Women have free access to shea trees on community land, but not on other people's farms. However, with increasing economic value of shea, increasing scarcity of land due to population increases, and increase in owned farmlands, access to wild shea trees is decreasing. For cashew, which is cultivated, customary rights for women do exist to plant trees, to use trees as collateral, and to harvest, sell and use of income from the trees. Planters have exclusive right of the tree and its use. Cashew cultivation is male dominated in all the five Ghanaian villages.

Regarding the second question on land- and tree tenure security and tenure problems, for women in particular, in relation to increased selling of shea and cashew products, the problems include the lack of knowledge about regulations, cost and difficulties to formally register land. The insecurity of customary tenure – particularly when pressure for land increases (through population increases and migration, poverty and expanding commercial agriculture), affects women more than men. This is particularly those collecting shea, as they can lose access to shea when communal lands become privatised. For women, few know their formal legal rights to land, and are constrained by customary norms under which most women have either or less secure access to land

Question three concerns the benefits from selling of raw, processed and associated shea and cashew products, for men and women. Women were found to be heavily engaged in harvesting and processing shea in the study communities in both countries. For most of the people, these constitute their major or only source of income, particularly for widows who do not have access to farms. The benefits from participating in the value chains of these products have increased in both countries for both men and women. In Ghana, up to the 1980s shea collection was traditionally a women's activity, however men have become increasingly involved due to the high profits. Nuts and processed shea butter are mainly sold in local markets to monopolistic intermediaries who are (mostly) male. Few women in Bole were involved in wholesale or export. Even when land and trees belong to male family members, income from sales of shea and agricultural products from this land belongs to women. Shea was women's major source of income, contributing to between 38% to 60% of their total income. Men tend to reinvest more in their farm and family education, women in food, healthcare and household. Women noted many challenges, including natural hazards (snakebites and scorpion stings), long forage distances and difficulties transporting shea from trees and farms to markets. Women and men, whilst both spending the majority of shea incomes on basic household needs, show slightly different patterns.

Most Ghanaian (78%) cashew farmers are men, working individually. The low participation of women in cashew cultivation is determined by the perception that tree farming is an arduous and male activity. The majority earned between GHC1,700-2,200 (USD531-687) from cashew sales in 2013. Revenue distribution depends if cultivation is as a household or individual activity, with men and women generally having exclusive rights over individually earned income. If women worked with their husbands, income is owned by their spouse. Men tend to spend more on family education and assets, women more on food. In Burkina Faso, revenues from shea belong to the women involved. Income is mainly used to meet household needs, in businesses and to increase women's social status. Men both earn and decide upon how cashew incomes are used, which are also used to mainly meet family needs. Women in cashew processing groups earn substantially higher income, investing in improved housing, their businesses and loans to other women.

Question four concerned the recent and on-going governmental and non-governmental activities to enhance land- and tree tenure security for smallholder farmers, in particular for women. A number of government and (non)governmental activities to enhance land and tree security for smallholder farmers in both countries. Some have focused on women, in particular creating links to markets, providing assistance with technology and training in business skills and improved resource management. However, impacts in the study areas have been modest. Although not mentioned by respondents in Bole, several initiatives are ongoing in Ghana to improve small-scale farmers and particularly women's access to land, especially irrigated land. The government's 15-year Land Administration Project includes a gender initiative which focuses on gender dimensions in land administration, including access and control of land for both women and men. Shea projects have been common in Ghana since the 1990s, created and funded by agencies, and NGOs focusing on grouping and training female shea butter makers to produce high-quality oil meeting international quality norms and standardised processing techniques, and linking shea producer associations with cosmetics firms paying higher prices for quality oil. Since 2009, governmental agencies COCOBOD and CRIG have been conducting research and promoting the industry, joined by an injection of government funded in shea planting and training project in 2014. In Burkina Faso, mainly NGO are active, such as the Global Shea Alliance and the Millennium Challenge Corporation's land tenure project, and a women's development association, accessing trees by negotiating with local customary authorities.

Question five asked what are the key success factors in addressing gender equity in shea and cashew production systems and chains, and the distribution of benefits. The main factors of success to address fundamental problems in gender equity in the shea and cashew chains appear to be ensuring and securing access to land and trees. Key factors to improve gender equity in the shea and cashew chains are the clarification of customary and formal ownership and land use rights; facilitating greater awareness of land rights and responsibilities among women, the very poor, landless and tenants. This means overcoming the significant cultural and associated financial barriers particularly for women in permanently owning land and trees, but also for smallholders to enlarge their land holdings. Support

to women to organise into groups and improve the quantity and quality of processing has been conducted on a sufficient scale and time period has contributed to the success of several women's groups. Recommendations include focussing on facilitating the security of land and tree ownership for smallholders, especially women. This could extend to mandatory titling of land devoid of gender differences. As of customary arrangements remain common, the awareness of traditional leaders and village elders and male household heads about the potential of women in agriculture and resulting benefits for households, could be raised, as a precursor to creating changes regarding customary land and tree tenure. To improve the participation and position of women in decision-making processes in the value chains affecting them, complementary activities of raising awareness, providing information, empowerment, support for collective action and pilot activities, and celebrating women's – and men's - successes is recommended. Social and cultural factors that marginalise women need to be taken into account in interventions in the value chains.

5.2 Recommendations

Foreign buyers that buy directly from producers and processors, individually and in groups, as well as those buying via traders and exports, can empower and support women to increase their benefits from engaging in harvesting, processing and trading. Supporting other actors in the value chain as mentioned below on gender and tenure issues will strengthen the position of women. Furthermore, international manufacturers including L'Occitane (Kamara 2012), Cosco Edible Oils, IOI-Loders Crocklaan (Wong 2011), Ele Agbe (Abban *et al.*, 2014) and Just Shea¹⁶ provide examples of the types of interventions which can be engaged in, either as individual enterprises, and/or together with other companies in the sector, government and NGO partners. As most recommendations address opportunities in the value chain, these will be discussed in the other reports (Wijnands *et al.*, 2015a and 2015b).

The main recommendations are:

- Facilitate the security of land and tree ownership for smallholders, especially women.
- Raise awareness among traditional leaders and village elders and male household heads of the potential of women in agriculture and resulting benefits for households.
- Raise awareness, providing information, empowerment, support for collective action and pilot activities, and celebrating women's - and men's - successes to improve the participation and position of women in decision-making processes in the value chains affecting them.
- Work with male and female farmers and harvesters to address social and cultural factors that marginalise women.

Recommendations made by stakeholders interviewed, combined with literature and experiences of *state and non-government organisations* playing a supporting role to those in the chain, indicates that the following activities have contributed to women's empowerment:

1. *Collaboration between state and customary land institutions*: Given the predominance of customary rules in the study areas, but gradually increasing role of the state in land tenure, collaboration between institutions (i.e. state departments and projects, customary lands secretariats and traditional authorities) providing information on land rights is important. Particularly in Ghana, the gender strategy for the Land Administration Project for the mainstreaming of gender issues in Land Administration and Management. This can be implemented through community durbars, radio programs, and meetings and developing of local conventions or agreements, which aid the integration of customary into formal laws.
2. Involving *local customary and religious authorities* in activities relating to the management and rights associated with community common lands.
3. Increased *capitalisation of successful experiences*, which promote access by women and small farmers to land ownership, such as the MCC and women's associations.

¹⁶ <http://www.sustainablebrands.com/sites/default/files/sb11/sbio/Justshea.pdf>

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4. *Coordinate interventions*: The multiplicity of government, private sector, advocacy groups and NGO interventions and valuable lessons learnt, indicate that more concerted sharing of experiences and impacts could make individual interventions more effective.
 5. Including a *gendered perspective* in development and value chain projects, which identifies and takes into account the specific needs and concerns of women and men.
 6. Initiatives, which empower women to purchase land and act collectively as businesses.
 7. Implementing *national and regional policies, strategies and action plans* to strengthen the participation of women in not only the activities in the chain from planting shea and cashew trees through to high value and quality processing, but also in decision making and support organisations, such as technical bodies, NGOs and CSOs.

A number of studies have focused on impacts of interventions in the shea chain, however, gaps which further *research* could address include:

1. *Social and economic impacts* (at individual, household and group level) if interventions in the chains – particularly cashew where ...
2. *Impacts of changing customary land tenure rules* regarding cashew and shea on household's income security.
3. *Advantages and disadvantages of interventions* which seek to bypass traders and exporters and connect groups to international manufacturers and integrated chain interventions.

Producers and their organisations could enhance:

1. *Land titling*: Land titling helps increase the security of access to trees on customarily held family lands, especially for women. This also gives women equal rights to land and both shea and cashew resources on family
2. *Formalising customary access on community lands*: where people have traditional rights to shea trees on open access, community lands, ensuring traditional leaders and village elders and male household maintain rights to this land and trees and only privatise such lands in consultation with the (female) harvesters is important. This could be accompanied by discussions that aim to create understanding that ensure women's secure access to land and trees does not undermine men's power and influence but rather contributes to increased income.
3. *Collective action*: As producer' and processor' groups are associated with increased efficiencies in production, higher price bargaining power and ability to harness technical support and credit, producers that are not already organised can benefit from organising into representative groups, particularly women.
4. *Training* is needed to increase women's involvement in all areas of cashew cultivation and production. Trained women have functioned as role models for other women and ensure that even if women do not perform these tasks themselves, for example due to hiring workers, they understand the processes involved.

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Appendix 1 Interview guides

Interview guide Burkina Faso

1. Quelles sont les législations traditionnelles et modernes qui régissent l'accès de toute personne à la terre ?
2. Quelles sont les législations traditionnelles et modernes qui régissent l'accès des femmes à la terre ?
3. Quelles sont les législations traditionnelles et modernes qui régissent l'accès de toute personne à la terre et aux arbres ? A quels arbres ?
4. Quelles sont les contraintes et opportunités d'accès des femmes à la terre, aux arbres et aux produits dérivés du karité et du cajou ?
5. Comment se fait la répartition des revenus issus de la vente des produits du karité et du cajou dans le ménage?
6. Quels sont les problèmes rencontrés par les femmes dans la répartition des revenus ?
7. Comment obtenir une meilleure répartition des revenus dans le ménage ?
8. Quelles stratégies envisagées pour faciliter l'accès des femmes et des paysans à la terre et aux arbres ?

Interview guide Ghana

Consent note: This survey is meant to elicit information from actors in the commercialisation of cashew to enable the researcher assess the EFFECT OF THE COMMERCIALISATION OF SHEA And CASHEW ON GENDER, TENURE RELATIONS AND INCOME DISTRIBUTION in Bole district. Your kind assistance would be greatly appreciated.

Identifying Questions

- a. Questionnaire number/ID
- b. Name of Community: Community Code/ID []
- c. Date of Interview Day / / Month /09/ Year /2014/
- d. Time interview started Time interview ended
- e. Enumerator's Name Enumerator Code/ID []

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHICS

2. Gender 1.Male [] 2.Female [] 3.Age (years):
4. Marital Status 1. Single [] 2.Married [] 3.Divorced [] 4.Widowed [] 5.Seperated [] 5. Literacy level: a. None [] b. Non-formal [] c. Basic education [] d. Secondary [] e. Tertiary [] 5a. Actual number of years of formal education
6. Religion a. Christian [] b. Muslim [] c. Traditionalist [] d. Atheist []
7. Ethnic background a. Northerner [] b. Akan [] c. Ewe [] d. Krobo [] e. Brong []
- 7a.If Northerner, which of these tribes do you belong? a. Gonja [] b. Moos [] c. Vaglas [] d. Brifos [] e.Other, specify.....
8. How many years have you been engaged in farming?
- 8a.How many years have you been engaged in cashew farming?.....
- 9.Do you produce organic Cashew?a. Yes [] b. No []
- 9a.How many years have been producing cashew organically.....
10. Household size 10a. Male.....Female.....

SECTION B: FARM CHARACTERISTICS

- 1a.What is the total farm land owned by your household (in acres)?
- 1b.Farm size devoted to Cashew production (in acres).....
2. What is the distance of farm from home? (Miles)

SECTION C: DECISION MAKING IN CASHEW PRODUCTION

| Male head makes the decisions | Female head makes the decisions | Decisions are shared |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| Yes [] | Yes [] | Yes [] |
| No [] | No [] | No [] |

SECTION E: COMMERCIALISATION OF CASHEW

Production and Sale of Cashew

| Area Cultivated(Acres) | Quantity Harvested | Quantity consumed | Quantity Lost | Quantity Sold | Price per unit (cedis) |
|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|
|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|

SECTION F: EXPENDITURE PATTERNS

1. Please indicate the amount of the income from cashew sales from the past season you spend on the following

| ITEM | AMOUNT (GHC) |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| Food | |
| Agricultural production | |
| Assets | |
| Education | |
| Health | |
| Clothing | |
| Social assistance | |
| Soft Drinks | |
| Alcohol | |
| Lotto | |
| Remittances | |
| Others | |
| Total | |



LEI Wageningen UR
P.O. Box 29703
2502 LS The Hague
The Netherlands
T +31 (0)70 335 83 30
E publicatie.lei@wur.nl
www.wageningenUR.nl/en/lei

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LEI Wageningen UR
P.O. Box 29703
2502 LS Den Haag
The Netherlands
E publicatie.lei@wur.nl
www.wageningenUR.nl/lei

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