

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

GENDERED DYNAMICS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION  
RELATIONS AND RURAL LIVELIHOOD INTERVENTIONS IN THE  
SUNYANI MUNICIPALITY

BY

LORETTA BAIDOO

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DECLARATION

**Candidate's Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate Signature: ..... Date: .....

Name: .....

**Supervisors' Declaration**

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature:..... Date:.....

Name:.....

Co-supervisor's Signature:..... Date:.....

Name:.....

## ABSTRACT

The success of the agricultural economy in many developing countries is challenged, mainly because women who represent a crucial resource are largely constrained in the access to productive resources. Researchers have demonstrated that cultural norms and values strongly influence access to productive resources. Development agencies in response to productive constraints provide programmes to improve rural livelihoods. The outcomes of these projects are however not always successful. The study sought to explain how agricultural production relations shape gendered responses to rural livelihood interventions in the Sunyani Municipality. The study adopted the qualitative research approach and specifically, the explanatory design. The purposive sampling technique was used to select respondents for focus group discussions, in-depth and key person interviews. The secondary data was analysed using gender analytical tools from the Moser Framework and the Social Relations Approach. The primary data was thematically analysed. The study found that men as household heads structurally controlled production relations and therefore had better access and control than women. All but one of the selected interventions was gender aware. Responses to interventions were gendered with men inclined to crop related interventions and the women, to those offering off-farm livelihood diversification. The study concluded that production relations affected the nature of responses to any intervention. It recommended that interventions should be planned in view of contextual production relations so as to address relations between men and women. Women farmers should also endeavour to form farmer groups to develop their agency.

KEY WORDS

Production Relations

Agricultural Interventions

Gendered Responses

Livelihoods

Control over

Access to

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DEDICATION

To my father, the late Mr. James Abraham Baidoo.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACF International	Action Contre la Faim (Action against Hunger) International
AEA	Agricultural Extension Agent
Africa Rising	Africa Research in Sustainable Intensification for the Next Generation
ARPA Molise	Agenzia Regionale per la Protezione Ambientale del Molise, Italy
BEA	Bio Economy Africa
CARGS	Competitive Agricultural Research Grant Scheme
CITeD	Centre for Innovation and Technology Dissemination
CEGRAD	Centre for Gender Research, Advocacy and Documentation
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FSSP	Fertilizer and Seed Subsidy Programmes
GAD	Gender and Development
GIS	Geographic Information System
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GU	Gulu University, Uganda
ICDD	International Centre for Development and Decent Work
IDS	Institute for Development Studies
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IITA	International Institute of Tropical Agriculture

MMYE	Ministry Of Manpower, Youth and Employment
MOFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
NCOs	National Steering Committees
PMAT	Plant Material and Associated Technology
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SATTIFF	Strengthening Innovations and Technology Dissemination for Sustainable development in cereals, cocoa and coffee value chains in western and eastern Africa
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
UENR	University of Energy and Natural Resource
UNIMOL	University of Molise, Italy
WAAPP	West African Agricultural Productivity Program
WAD	Women and Development
WIAD	Women in Agricultural Development
WID	Women in Development

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Agricultural Production Relations influence access to productive resources (Carr & McCusker, 2009), often leaving rural women disadvantaged. In response, various development agencies have provided policies to better the livelihoods, specifically for women owing to the key roles they play in agricultural production. However, the decision to participate in an intervention is informed by the ownership and control of productive resources emerging from existing production relations. According to Ajadi, Oladele, Ikegami and Tsuruta (2015), social norms and values inform the relations that moderate the role and livelihood activities of both women and men, as well as their access to land and other productive resources. Distinct social ascriptions for women, in addition, influence their decisions to adopt agricultural interventions as alternatives to their livelihood strategies. These social ascriptions, according to Marxists, inform how individuals relate to the means of production (Berbeshkina, Yakovleva, & Zerkin, 1985).

There exists literature on the various constituents of production relations (access to, control over ownership of and decisions regarding productive resources) and their resulting constraints (Umeh, Chwuku, & Oselebe, 2015; Ajadi, Oladele, Ikegami, & Tsuruta, 2015; Carr & McCusker, 2009). Such literature discusses the constituents independently in relation to responses to interventions. Studies rarely attempt to aggregate these individual constituents as a total unit for examination. However, experience shows that the various components are highly interdependent,

making an examination of production relations and how they shape differences in responses to livelihood interventions an important exercise.

### **Background to the Study**

Agriculture is vital for comprehensive development because it produces food, as well as provides economic wealth for many of the world's poorest people. According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) (2006), wealth produced from agricultural activities can be utilised in investing in improvement to education, healthcare, infrastructure and environmentally sound practices. The success of the agricultural economy in many developing countries is challenged, mainly because women who represent a crucial resource in this economy are largely constrained as far as access to productive resources is concerned (Team & Doss, 2011).

Women, relative to men, make essential contributions to the agricultural and rural economies in all developing countries (Okali, 2011). Their roles differ significantly between and within regions, and are changing rapidly in many parts of the world, where economic and social forces are transforming the agricultural economy. They are, however, over represented in unpaid, seasonal and part-time agricultural work. Available data on rural and agricultural feminization shows that this situation is more pronounced in sub-Saharan Africa (Team & Doss, 2011).

Rural women in Sub-Saharan Africa often manage more complex households and pursue multiple livelihood strategies as compared to rural men. Their activities typically include producing agricultural crops, tending animals, processing and preparing food, working for wages in agricultural or other rural



enterprises, collecting fuel and water, engaging in trade and marketing, caring for family members and maintaining their homes (Doss & Morris, 2011). Regarding labour for food production, women in the Sub Sahara contribute between 60 and 80 percent, both for household consumption and for sale. Furthermore, subsistent agriculture is becoming a predominantly female sector activity as a consequence of faster male out-migration and predominance of unskilled labour (FAO, 1998). Women now constitute the majority of smallholder farmers, providing most of the labour and managing a large part of the farming activities on a daily basis (Diao, 2010).

Researchers argue that the contribution made by women is considered an effective engine for social change in sub-Saharan Africa (Dobermann, Nelson, Beever, Bergvinson, Crowley, Denning, Lynam, 2013). This view underlies the need to focus on gendered productivity. Despite women's significant role in farming and post-harvest activities in most countries in the region, the varied set of social and cultural norms prevailing within rural communities dictate the division of labour between women and men. According to Mullaney (2012), an understanding of women farmers' role, their importance and their constraints are prerequisites to devising policies that would improve productivity and socioeconomic development.

The 1995 World Conference on women, popularly known as the Beijing Conference, proposed gender mainstreaming as the policy strategy of the future to transform social and institutional structures in order to make them more gender responsive and improve their beneficial outcomes (Sachs & Alston, 2010). This was meant to avoid treating women as victims of circumstance and rather regards them

as agents, responding to the constraints of their circumstances. What this meant was that policies were not to just focus on women's participation and perceived challenges but to acknowledge their needs and their positions in the production system. This clearly indicates that if the position of women in the farm household is not correctly analysed, development policies will continue to have unintended, negative outcomes. Production relations are vital to the understanding of women's positions within the farm households and should be clearly analysed in order to plan for women's integration into the development process.

In Ghana, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA) (2007) states that agriculture is predominantly practised on smallholder, family-operated farms, using rudimentary technology to produce about 80 percent of the country's total agricultural output. It is estimated that about 2.74 million households operate a farm or keep livestock only (Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), 2012). Agriculture is also a critical sector for women as nearly half (48.7%) of the total female population are self-employed in agriculture, with the majority being engaged in food production (GSS, 2014). A majority of Ghanaian women in agriculture have limited access to productive resources such as land, labour and capital due to cultural and institutional factors. Allodial rights, which are the ultimate right to land in Ghana are mainly (78%) controlled by clans and family heads as well as land priests who are predominantly males (Bugri, Yeboah, & Agana, 2016).

According to Quisumbing, Otsuka, Suyanto, Aidoo and Payongayong, as cited by Britwum, Tsikata, Akorsu, & Aberese (2014), access to land is often restricted to usufruct rights only. Women cannot provide collateral for credit

because they may not have legal ownership of tangible assets. Their reproductive roles, which are usually defined by culture, interfere with their productive roles. In the absence of the financial capability to hire labour, women also suffer a labour deficit. In many regions, men may pose roadblocks to women earning and controlling higher incomes. Due to their lack of visibility as farmers as well as other social constraints, development interveners usually miss women, even when policies are targeting gender issues (Escobar, 1995). Some projects have, however, sought to incorporate men in order to mitigate tensions between men and women as well as produce more sustainable results for women (Dobermann, et al., 2013).

In the Sunyani Municipality, agriculture remains a main source of livelihood for a majority of households, due to the rich soil and favourable climatic conditions. This is gradually being taken over by the service economy leading to diversification of the local economy. Despite this trend, GSS (2014) reports that as high as 34.3 percent of households in the municipality are engaged in agriculture. In the rural localities, eight out of every ten households, making up 72.2 percent of the total population, are agricultural households, while in the urban localities; the proportion is 28.0 percent of households. Women in the Sunyani Municipality dominate in the agricultural economy, as is characteristic throughout the nation, however, their productivity is constrained by cultural factors (GSS, 2012).

### **Statement of the Problem**

Agricultural activities in Ghana are mostly organised on a small scale and subsistence level; yet, farmers within this category produce a greater proportion of the entire agricultural output in Ghana. Diao (2010) confirms that small scale

farming employs almost about half of the population in Ghana on formal and informal basis, and therefore functions as a dominant economic activity in the rural household, particularly in food crop production. Rural poverty in Ghana is however more particularly widespread among these same traditional small scale farmers, many of whom are women and heads of rural households (Boon & Ahenkan, 2008). It is stated, “the feminization of agriculture has been a trend which, unfortunately, has grown, hand in hand with the feminization of poverty” (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2001). A higher proportion of females (10.3%) are contributing family workers compared to a proportion of (5.3%) males (GSS, 2014). As more women are contributing family workers, their roles tend to be considered less economically important.

Agricultural interventions are geared towards achieving improved, diversified and sustainable livelihoods for the rural poor, particularly for those dependent on marginal lands, like rural women and other vulnerable groups. Ghana has diverse interventions either to improve production output or to improve the livelihoods of the rural poor, mostly smallholder farmers. The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection in the National Social Protection Policy (2015), places smallholders under its first two main vulnerability categories which are “the chronically poor” and “the economically at risk.” Consequently, it has liaised with MOFA to come up with interventions to address the concerns of this category of farmers.

Other development agencies like International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) have also provided a number of interventions to improve

livelihoods. Studies by Geda (2001), Lemba (2009) and Mansour (2012) have demonstrated that women do not frequently have access to these interventions even if they are gender targeting. Secondary data on these interventions indicate that although more women are involved in subsistent agriculture than men, fewer women access interventions. Scholars have given various reasons why this occurs. Escobar (2011), for instance, blames this situation on the “modernization of patriarchy” assumed by the interveners. Due to the adherence to the capitalist paradigm by these development actors, women’s unpaid and lower paid labour is not factored into their analysis. This invariably reaffirms male dominance. Yoong, Rabinovich and Diepeveen (2012) blame the situation on institutionalized social norms. Here, practices of dominance and unbalanced relations between men and women are internalized and structuralised. Byerlee, Janvry and Sadoulet (2009) also believe that the “one size-fits-all approaches” implemented by these intervening agencies is a reason for the low access by women. These policies are designed as a standard to suit both men and women and not tailored to group specific needs. Policies therefore based on the assumption of a standard need, lose sight of the needs of women and, tend to ignore them.

To address these shortcomings, livelihood studies have focused on gender issues regarding the role of women in agriculture, the impact of gender division of labour and the consequences of women’s lower control over assets, resources and income (Bugri, Yeboah, & Agana, 2016; Britwum, Tsikata, Akorsu, & Aberese, 2014; World Bank, FAO and IFAD, 2008; Duncan & Brants, 2004). Though these relate to or constitute aspects of production relations, there is the need for studies

that isolate women's responses to interventions, and explain how existing production relations influence these responses (Ajadi, Oladele, Ikegami, & Tsuruta, 2015; Damisa & Yohanna, 2007). The present study sets out to fill this gap and to contribute to the understanding of how production relations shape gendered responses to existing interventions in the Sunyani Municipality.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The study sought to explain generally how agricultural production relations shape gendered responses to rural livelihood interventions. It examined the agricultural production relations and analysed the gender sensitivity of the interventions in the Sunyani Municipality. The study finally sought to explain how production relations shape the gendered differences in the responses to the analysed livelihood interventions.

### **Research Objectives**

The main objective of this research was to explain how agricultural production relations shape gendered responses to rural livelihood interventions.

Specifically, the study sought to:

1. explore the gender sensitivity of the selected interventions designed to support rural women's livelihoods in the Sunyani municipality;
2. examine agricultural production relations in the Sunyani Municipality.
3. analyse the responses of women and men towards the interventions meant to improve their livelihoods.
4. explain how the positions within existing production systems shape the gendered responses towards interventions

5. suggest ways for improving interventions meant for rural women's livelihoods.

### **Research Questions**

1. What are the existing interventions designed to respond to rural women's livelihood needs in the Sunyani Municipality?
2. What is the nature of agricultural production relations in the Sunyani Municipality?
3. How do women and men respond to the interventions meant for their livelihoods?
4. How does the individual's gendered position in the production system shape their responses to livelihood interventions?

### **Significance of the Study**

The study provides insight into how agricultural production relations shape gendered responses to rural livelihood interventions in the Sunyani Municipality. The results from the study can influence the design of interventions to achieve successful outcomes for rural women farmers. Interventions, which pay attention to the agricultural production relations in context, can stand a chance of mediating their success. This in the long run will be beneficial in sustaining rural women's livelihoods.

The study tends to add to the literature by moving away from isolating agricultural production relations and rural livelihood interventions, and rather examines the former's influence on the latter. The constituents of production relations also are discussed independently in relation to responses to interventions,

but not as a total unit (production relations). This study however specifies on the constituents of production relations embedded in culture as an institution and their influence on rural livelihood interventions in the Sunyani Municipality.

### **Delimitations**

Geographically, the study was carried out in the Sunyani Municipality, specifically in two settler communities, Nkrankrom and Yawhema. The choice of these communities was because of the varied cultural norms between the two communities, although both communities are within the same municipality. The import of selecting the two communities was thus to explore possible cultural differences in a particular setting, Sunyani Municipality. The first community traces its origin to the South of Ghana and the latter to the North. The study explored diverse concepts including agricultural production relations, gender differences in responses and livelihood interventions.

### **Limitations**

The study, like every other, had its limitations. First, it did not analyse the background of the development organisations in charge of the interventions. The backgrounds of the agencies were diverse and varied but could inform the responses to the interventions. For each intervention, multiple agencies were in charge. These agencies may have different backgrounds but for a specific intervention, they shared the same goal. The background of each intervention was however explored to grant a certain level of understanding of the gender sensitivity for each project. Second, it is necessary to note that findings from this study cannot be generalised as responses were based on the participants' point of view, which is subjective.



## **Definition of Terms**

### **Responses**

Responses in the study are described as the level of an individual's reactions to an activity, especially with regards to the decision to either participate or not participate in the activity.

### **Agency**

The study subscribes to the definition of "agency" as defined by Lukes (1974) as the 'power to' dimension of power, such as the ability to do things and follow through with one's decision.

### **Agricultural Production Relations**

Agricultural production relations, as employed in this study, refers to the system of proprietorship of agricultural productive resources with reference to the access, control and ownership of these productive assets as well as decisions made regarding the use of these productive resources.

### **Rural Livelihood**

The term refers to the capabilities, assets and access to assets mediated by institutions, which grant an individual various options to gain a living in order to cope with uncertainties and respond to new opportunities.

### **Interventions**

Interventions are programmes designed to change the behaviour patterns of people or to improve the standard of living of individuals, groups or an entire population

## **Organisation of the Study**

The study is organised into five chapters. The first chapter, the introduction, describes the problem under study, the importance of the problem, its relations to previous work and its theoretical implications. This same chapter gives a background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research objectives and their subsequent questions directing the study. The chapter as well covers the significance of the study, its delimitations, explaining its geographical as well as the conceptual scope. The study limitations and the organisation of the thesis are covered in this chapter. The second chapter presents reviewed literature on the theories and concepts as well as empirical evidences on the topic under study. The chapter concludes with a conceptual framework, which highlights the key concepts, which constitutes the basis of the study and informs the analysis of data gathered from the field.

Chapter three explains the research methods adopted for the study. To this end, the chapter discusses the research design, the study area, the study's population and sampling procedure. It also discusses the data collection instruments used, the data collection and processing procedures and analysis. The fourth chapter presents the results and discussions of findings from the field in relation to the study's objectives, taking into consideration the conceptual framework outlined in the second chapter. The final chapter, which is the fifth, presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study and highlights areas for further research.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

In explaining how production relations shape the differences in responses to agricultural interventions, this chapter reviews various related literature on theories and concepts; provides empirical evidence and proposes a conceptual framework. A number of theories were reviewed to explain production relations. Issues on gender and development, specifically gendered social relations and the various arguments surrounding production relations are also explored. Concepts of production relations, agricultural interventions and livelihoods are also discussed drawing on empirical evidence for emphasis.

#### Theoretical Issues

The human society is a system, which comprises social structures, institutions and roles. This system informs how a society is formed and the superstructures such as culture that govern the society. Various theorists such as Comte, Spencer, Durkheim, Parsons and Merton have attempted explaining production relations independent of human consciousness (Potts , Vella, Dale, & Sipe, 2014). They argue that production relations exist devoid of human agency. Individuals therefore have expectations of the other's action and reaction to their own behaviour, and that these expectations are "derived" from the accepted norms and values of the society they inhabit. Expectations are entrenched or institutionalized, and then a role is created, and this also informs the various positions and class systems within society. Although any individual, theoretically,

can fulfil any role, within the production system, the individuals are expected to conform to the norms governing the nature of the role they fulfil.

Functionalist theorists believe that the structures, institutions and roles interrelate and strive to maintain balance and order at the primary level of analysis, which is the household (Potts , Vella, Dale, & Sipe, 2014; Lamsal, 2012; Gingrich, 1999; Magill, 1993; Moos & Dear, 1986; Giddens, 1984; Parsons, 1951). Women's subordination, in the quest to maintain balance and order is however overlooked (Holmwood, 2005). Structural Functionalism also strongly emphasises the dominance of the social world over its individual parts, which mainly comprise its constituent institutions and human subjects (Giddens, 1984). According to Parsons (1951), social institutions, which he terms "the concept of structures", determine production relations. The structure is seen as an arrangement of persons in institutionally controlled or defined relationships (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952). There is therefore no sense of human agency and individuals according to this theory are seen as puppets, acting as their role require (Holmwood, 2005).

Poststructuralists however argue that production relations exist with the aid of human consciousness as humans form and reform production relations (Laibman, 2006; Cohen, 2000; Hennessey & Ingraham, 1997; Marx & Engels, 1968). These theorists claim that production relations are based on the primacy of economic forces, made up of human activities, which continue to transform the world until it reaches the height of communism. Human agency therefore plays an important role within production relations. These theorists also condemn the idea of a grand theory that can explain society in all its forms. This assertion is treated with

scepticism as it exposes the danger that a grand theory can pose, when it is not seen as a limited perspective, but as the only way of understanding society as a whole (Alexander, 1985). Other poststructuralists also talk about the suppression women within production systems face, which is neglected by the functionalist theories.

It is prerequisite therefore to employ poststructuralist theories to achieve the major research objective, which is to explain how agricultural production relations shape gendered responses to rural livelihood interventions. This is also in recognition of the limitation of the androcentric grand theory approach in understanding relations that functionalist theorists practise. For these reasons a gendered outlook is adopted. There are three major theoretical frameworks and they are discussed along with their corresponding feminist standpoints and development theories.

### **Gender Theoretical Perspectives**

Development, according to Parpart, Connelly, & Barriteau (2000), requires more than the creation of opportunities (interventions) for people to earn sustainable livelihoods. It also requires the creation of a conducive environment for women and men to seize those opportunities. Societal values inform production and this profoundly implicates the nature of production relations both at the market and non-market levels (Alba, 2000), and in essence, influences development programme (intervention) outcomes.

Gender has been acknowledged as the underlying factor that influences these production relations (Nazneen, 2010; Apusigah, 2009; Agarwal B. , 1998).

Nanzeen (2010) points out the various roles women and men play at different levels of institutions, and how these roles serve as a basis for the differences in accessing and controlling resources by both genders. There have been various feminist frameworks, which are informed by varied development theories.

Three major gender theoretical frameworks, which are: Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) and their corresponding feminist standpoints: liberal feminism, socialist feminism and radical feminism respectively can be identified. These three frameworks are also oriented within respective development theories, namely, modernization theory, dependency theory and critical theory. This section discusses the various theoretical frameworks with respect to production relations.

### **Women in Development (WID)**

Basing on liberal feminism and the modernization theory, proponents for WID aim at integrating women into production by introducing women-oriented policies to increase project efficiency and enhance economic development (Connelly et al , 2000). This goal was to balance the unequal relations within the production system. In fact, development in the 1950s and 1960s was measured linearly based on the achievement of the industrialised West. The modernization theory propounded a complete transition of a traditional society to reach modernity, by adopting western industrialization (Hussain & Tribe, 1981). Rostow's Stages of Growth, for example, equates modernization to economic growth and elaborates the stages a traditional society should undertake in order to be modernized (Pieterse, 2010) Therefore, a progress from the use of simple farm tools to highly mechanized

and technological implements was propounded. Development agencies operating within the tenets of modernization theory believed that a country can only develop when it is introduced to western technology and training (Wilson-Moore, 1996).

As a theory rooted in capitalism, with WID, individuals or a particular class of people were made privy to productive resources. Different programs were introduced externally to economically develop third world countries and promote access to resources. These programs rather favoured market systems and the owners of the means of production, making them better at the expense of the marginalized who the interventions should originally be intended for (Matunhu, 2011). Most projects ignored women and other disadvantaged groups. Access to training in new technologies was usually offered to men, rendering women's access to employment redundant (Wilson-Moore, 1996).

Esther Boserup's seminal agricultural work, "Women's Role in Economic Development" challenged the claim that the outcome of development support offered to men automatically trickled down to women. Beneria and Sen (1981) argued that projects ignored the fact that the household was a space of power relations that did not necessarily convert the aid given to male breadwinners into profit for "dependents", usually females. Liberal feminists sought to address the side lining of women by empowering them economically and politically, and involving them in the development process (Connelly et al, 2000). As a result of women's challenge to the trickle-down effect, a "gender-sensitive social-impact studies was required for all development projects, with the aim of helping to

integrate women into the national economies of their countries” (Connelly et al , 2000).

In the process of integrating women into the economic sphere, women’s significant role as productive economic contributors was emphasized. Projects introduced aimed at bettering women’s role in the productive system as well as reducing their household workload and subordination. (Moser, 1993). Women’s reproductive role which served as a major hindrance to their economic productivity was however overlooked (Hopper, 2012).

WID progressively adopted varied focuses. One of these focuses is the equity approach where positive discrimination policies are introduced to favour women in the redistribution of socio-economic development (Connelly et al , 2000; Jackson, 1997). There was also the anti-poverty approach where women’s subordinate position was attributed to their lack of access to private ownership of land and capital, and discrimination in the labour market (Snyder & Tadesse, 1995). Attempts to increase productivity was by providing basic needs and bettering women’s incomes.

A second approach, the efficiency approach, aimed at empowering women for effective development; it corresponded with the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). Like the SAPs, which were designed to reduce government expenditure and increase the power of market forces in Third World economies to increase productivity (Elson D. , 1992; Moser C. , 1989), the efficiency approach also sought to increase productivity and competence especially for women. But with the



reduction of government expenditure, state welfare expenses were cut back and the responsibility fell back on the household. This reinforced women's domestic roles and further subordinated women.

The various WID approaches did not regard women's subordination as resulting from production relations; rather, they introduced programmes to integrate women into the development process. Due to the capitalistic and privatized nature of production relations, a few people controlled production and therefore these people actually benefitted from the economic development provided by these projects. Other feminists contend that WID policies introduced the 'feminisation of poverty' and failed to enhance women's development (Vijayamohan, Ponnuswamy, & Asalatha, 2009). Other criticisms were that the theory treated women in isolation from the relations formed at the household and community levels. An overlook of social structures like culture, class and race and, the introduction of women-only projects that rather led to a further segregation of women informed the emergence of alternative theories that set to consider class and patriarchy (Vijayamohan, Ponnuswamy, & Asalatha, 2009).

### **Women and Development (WAD)**

In disagreement with the modernization theory, new strands of thinking emerged. One of these was the dependency theory. The theory critically reacted to the conventional approaches to economic development that the modernisation theory proposed. Its major proponent, Frank (1967) argued that the modernization theory is misleading as it assumes that the historical and economic stages of western capitalist development are similar to that of the Third World. Most developing

countries invest in agriculture, manufacturing and tourism, therefore classifying economies into well-ordered categories as suggested by the Rostow's linear development theory is challenging. Between and across nations, Matunhu (2011) argues that economic, political, social, and cultural institutions present in underdeveloped nations today came about as the products of Western capitalism as it spread throughout the world.

Dependency theorists argue that the capitalist system was created to perpetuate the dependency of developing countries. There is a categorisation of a core and periphery within the dependency argument (Matunhu, 2011). The core are developed and wealthy nations, whereas the periphery are underdeveloped and the provider of cheap labour and raw materials. Matunhu (ibid, p. 68) elaborates the relationship between the core and the periphery by stating that, "Europe and America are busy exploiting Africa; the urban areas are also busy exploiting their rural areas. Within those rural areas, one finds rich people exploiting poor individuals and the chain goes on and on." This explanation derives from Marxist notion of production relations where the owners of the means of production exploit labour power of workers. The inequality created by capitalism in production relations is brought to bear under Marxism.

Marxist theory of historical materialism recognizes the ways in which economic systems structure society (Chitty, 1998). Historical materialism, according to Laibman (2006), is an attempt to explain the origin and development of the society from a materialistic perspective. The economic systems, mainly agrarian, range from primitive-communal, slave owning, feudal, capitalist, socialist

and finally communist. The communist society is the most ideal, with each member of the society equally owning the means of production (Berbeshkina, Yakovleva, & Zerkin, 1985). Within the current system, the powerful hand of the market, which underlies capitalism, steers the means of production to a privileged few, and subjugates the majority productive forces that provide labour. Class conflicts are formed through the relationship between the privileged few, who own the means of production and the majority, who only have their labour power to offer.

Engels, as cited in Hennessey and Ingraham (1997), state that private ownership, which is a major factor under capitalism, has had an adverse effect on the status of women. A woman's subordination therefore is not because of her biological disposition, but of social relations. Here, social relations between women and men are further likened to relations between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, where a maintenance of the unequal relations legitimizes men's proprietorship and women's unpaid work in the capitalist society (Hennessey & Ingraham, *ibid*). In view of the unequal gendered relations, socialist feminists add to Engel's argument stating that patriarchy and capitalism form an instrumental force in creating a political hierarchy in which women serve as consumers, reproducers, and cheap labourers (Wilson-Moore, 1996).

Drawing from the thoughts of Marxism and socialist feminism, proponents of WAD recognize that women are the backbone of agricultural production in many areas of Africa, although their contribution has been systematically overlooked and marginalized in national and donor development plans (Connelly et al., 2000). WAD theorists propose separate women-only development programmes, arguing

that the mainstream development is subject to the risk of domination by patriarchal interests and thus further side lining women.

In its deliberations, the WAD argument tends to see women as a class and therefore as a homogenous group. It downplays differences among women, particularly regarding class, race and ethnicity (Jackson, 1997). The theory also assumes that solutions to problems affecting women can be found in the experiences and agendas of women as a heterogeneous group. On the household level also, little attention is paid to reproduction and relations between men and women. Tasks performed by women especially regarding reproduction are assigned no economic value (Vijayamohanan, Ponnuswamy , & Asalatha, 2009; Kabeer, 1994). WAD theorists therefore align with WID values of introducing women only projects.

### **Gender and Development (GAD)**

As an extension of the Marxist theory, the Critical theory also contributed to the understanding of production relations. It was developed in the 1930s as a neo-Marxist theory. One of its proponents, Max Horkheimer, in his *“Traditional and Critical Theory”* argues that the Critical Theory is aimed at critiquing and changing society, and not just understanding like other theories do. Rush (2004, p. 9) also explains this theory as “a way to instigate social change by providing knowledge of the forces of social inequality that can, in turn, inform political action aimed at emancipation (or at least at diminishing domination and inequality)”. The critical theory, unlike its contemporary traditional theories, moves from just explaining a phenomenon to requiring a change in that phenomenon.

Critical theorists argue that development interventions often overlook the diversity between and within countries because they perceive developing countries as a homogeneous group. The standard modernist route to development is questioned, and a multiple outlook to development is recommended (Hopper, 2012). Critical theorists also argue that the individual is an active participant in development and therefore, in production should not be treated as only a beneficiary. Leaning on these thoughts, particularly on the major goal to interrogate dominance and inequality, and also regarding the heterogeneity of every community, radical feminists evolved.

Radical feminism argues that the root cause of women's subordination is patriarchy and therefore an eradication of that will result in equality between the sexes. Feminists in this movement seek to do so by challenging social norms, which view women as a lower class as compared to men (Crossman, 2017). Due to these patriarchal structures, men enjoy privileges from the subordination of women. In production relations, women work as unpaid labour for their male partners and family. This is because their work, no matter its volume, is undervalued because they are women, , and even when they are paid as hired labour, their salaries tend to be lower as compared to that of men (Rao, 2012). To resolve this inequality, the Gender and Development (GAD) theoretical framework was introduced.

In its operation, GAD critiques WAD's assumptions of a one-size-fits all solution for women as well as the overlooking differences such as race, class within women, culture and ethnicity. As a result of its critique, GAD adopts a dual approach where women's material conditions and class position, as well as the

patriarchal structures and ideas that define and maintain women's subordination are focused on (Snyder & Tadesse, 1995). Women's status in society, according to Connelly et al. (2000) is deeply affected by their material conditions of life and by their position in the national, regional, and global economic structures. Patriarchal power within superstructures, example culture, at the national, community, and household levels is also noted to affect the status of women. These material conditions and patriarchal authority are both defined and overseen by the prevailing norms and values that define women and men's roles and duties in a particular society (Sen & Grown, 1987).

As a result of the material conditions and patriarchal power, proponents of GAD propose a critical empowerment of women especially regarding their relations to the means of production (Kabeer, 1999; Moser C. O., 1993). Beneria and Sen (1981) specifically criticise economic empowerment-only projects, where policies are designed for women without questioning the domination they suffer, or any chance of social redistribution. Radical feminists, mainly proponents of GAD, therefore argue for a change from the focus of integration of women into the development sphere, to the unequal relations between men and women (Moser C., 1989; Vijayamohanan, Ponnuswamy, & Asalatha, 2009). There is therefore an attempt to understand gender relations by analysing culturally specific forms of inequality. An equal partnership of women and men in determining their collective future within economic structures (as Marx suggests under communism for all people) is a projected long-term goal. To achieve this, people are suggested to be their own agents of development.

### ***Rationale for the Choice of the GAD Theoretical Framework***

The three theoretical frameworks played a role to an extent in bettering women's role in the production system. WID's attempt to reintegrate women into the production sphere helped in empowering women economically. WAD, also dealt with the various class systems within the production system. Production relations, as a concept was brought to bear within the WAD era. Socialist feminists who are proponents of the WAD framework worked with Marxists to address the unequal class systems created by production relations. With so much emphasis on production relation based on the derived class systems, and with less attention on patriarchy, radical feminists introduced GAD to address patriarchal conditions existing within production systems. Therefore, as much as WAD explains production relations, it is essential to adopt GAD thoughts of patriarchy within the production system as well. This is to serve the purpose of a gendered dimension sought by the study.

### **Gender Analytical Frameworks**

According to March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay (1999), gender frameworks provide tools for analysis and, components from different frameworks are sometimes combined to form a hybrid. The two main kinds of gender analytical frameworks, which are roles and relations analysis, either dwell on the WID approach or the GAD respectively. But for the purpose of this study, which gleans from GAD thoughts, gender relations analytical frameworks were adopted. These were the Moser framework and the Social Relations Approach.

The Moser Framework was introduced by Caroline Moser in the 1980s to treat women's issues relative to men, and is not mutually exclusive like the WID approach suggests. The main aim of the Moser Framework was to set up gender planning to emancipate women from their subordination, and achieve equality, equity and empowerment. The framework has six tools – gender roles identification, gender needs assessment, disaggregating control of resources and decision making in the household, planning for balancing triple role, distinguishing aims in interventions, and involving women, and gender-aware organisations and planners, in planning.

The first tool charts the household division of labour based on gender. Moser (1989) adopts in her framework, the tripartite work role of women. This role is termed as a triple role and includes reproductive, productive and community work. Reproductive work involves maintaining the household and caring for its members. Additionally, productive work involves the production of goods and services and the remuneration that results from it. Although both genders are involved in productive work, women's work is undervalued relative to men's. Community work, also, includes the organisation of social events and services. This as an extension of the reproductive role, is unpaid and not considered as work. The analysis of the triple role points out at what level reproductive or community work interferes with productive work.

The gender needs assessment, which is the second of the Moser tools, classifies gender needs under practical and strategic needs. Practical gender needs are the material challenges in women's living conditions. The provision of water,



basic services, and an opportunity for an income earning activity constitutes practical gender needs (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 1999). However, these provisions do not change women's subordinate position. The strategic gender needs relate to the gendered division of labour, access, control and ownership of resources, and the power to make decisions. Using this tool, interventions are expected to target a greater equality and challenge women's subordinate position. The third tool is built onto the second. It focuses on disaggregating household control of resources and decision-making. By doing so, this tool connects the allocation of resources in the household to the bargaining processes employed.

The fourth tool examines whether a planned project will increase a woman's workload in one of her roles to the disadvantage of other roles. It is important to note that the time spent in a particular role accounts for time lost in another and so this tool identifies how sectoral projects are detrimental especially to women. The fifth tool distinguishes between different aims in interventions. Here, the tool is used to examine the approaches adopted by development agents in their planning. These approaches range from welfare through to equity, anti poverty, efficiency and empowerment. Interventions are expected to address both practical and strategic needs. However, only two of the approaches, equity and empowerment, strive at addressing strategic needs.

The final tool in the Moser Framework analyses the involvement of women, and gender-aware organisations and planners in projects. The aim of this tool is to investigate whether real practical and strategic gender needs are identified and incorporated in the planning process and implementation of interventions. This

study adopted the last tool to respond to its first objective, which was to explore the gender sensitivity of the interventions. The main focus of the sixth analytical tool is to examine the secondary data, which are policy documents of the development interveners.

The second framework used in the study is the social relations approach, which was developed by Naila Kabeer in 1996. Its aim is to examine existing gender inequalities in the allocation of resources, responsibilities and power. It is also geared towards ensuring interventions that enable women to be agents of their own development. The Social relations approach has five main concepts namely development as increasing human well-being, social relations, institutional analysis, institutional gender policies, and finally, immediate-underlying and structural causes.

The first concept looks at development as increasing human well-being. Human well-being is considered as the ability to be secured and autonomous, and to survive. Interventions are therefore not to only be efficient technically but to ensure security, survival and autonomy. This however ensures individual capability, which is not the actual focus of the study. The study focuses on male and female farmers as collectives. Social relations, the second concept, describe the structural relationships that create and reproduce systemic differences in the positioning of different groups of people. These relations determine the resources available to people.

The third concept analyses the State, Market, Community and household under four different categories, and the various forms of inequalities they inhabit.

The interplay between these institutions is interrogated to challenge the ideological neutrality and independence of institutions. This is to prove that all institutions produce and reproduce systemic inequalities, and are dependent on each other. The fourth concept analyses the policy documents of the interventions. Here, interventions are classified either as gender blind or gender aware.

Gender blind policies recognise no difference between the sexes and therefore design interventions in a standard unit. Gender aware policies recognise the different roles played by women and men. This category is further divided into three subunits – gender neutral, which recognise the difference between men and women and aim at addressing only their practical needs. There are also the gender specific policies that address the practical needs of a particular sex. The gender redistributive policies aim at transforming existing resource allocations to create a more balance relationship. In addressing practical needs, such interventions target strategic interests. The last concept addresses the immediate, underlying and structural causes of inequality and their corresponding effects.

Although all the tools in the Moser Framework and the concepts in the social relations approach were suitable for the analyses. The study preferred the sixth of the Moser Framework and the fourth tool of the social relations. This is because of the focus of the study to analyse only the secondary documents, which were the policy documents of the interventions. The study only paid attention to the interventions and not the organisations that designed and ran them. This therefore explains the study's challenge in adopting other tools and concepts which were more interested in analysing the organisation vis-a-vis the household and

community as institutions. The resource allocations pursued by the other tools were also covered with thematic analysis through the collection of primary data. To reiterate, the gender analysis was only focused on the policy documents.

## **Conceptual Issues**

### **Production relations**

Marx, according to Cohen (2000), explains that the most important aspect of social reality is the economic structure of society. This structure involves the ways in which different groups of people are related to economic resources and their respective production relations. Marx employs different terms in explaining production relations and its role in society. The first is the object of labour, which are plants, earth and animals, which humans act on; the second, the means of production, the things including tools and other resources that people place between themselves and the objects of labour and finally; productive forces which are the skills and knowledge employed during production (Nellickappilly, 2014). An interaction between the object of labour, means of production and productive forces form production relations.

The core of production relations is based on the ownership of the means of production. Therefore, whoever has access and control over the means of production forms a focal part of how production relations are formed. A production relation is defined as “the objective material relations that exist in any society independently of human consciousness, formed between all people in the process of social production, exchange, and distribution of material wealth” (Kelle & Koval’Zon, 2010). This means production relations are the holistic material

economic relations among people, in social production and in the movement of social product from production to consumption.

Chitty (1998, p. 57), on the other hand in explaining Marxist's concept of production relation argues that these relations give society "its fundamental character and also forms a base, and with social institutions such as political and legal systems making up the superstructure." Kelle & Koval'Zon (2010) explain production relations from the economic point of view where the emphasis is on the production of goods and services through to its consumption. Chitty (1998) however is of the view that production relation is not only limited to economic production but rather engulfs all aspects of society. This informs how a society is formed and the superstructures such as culture that govern the society. These superstructures also serve as a backdrop for production relations and fuel its existence.

Although both definitions above emphasize the formation of relations through social processes, the former argues that production relations exist devoid of human agency while the latter places emphasis on agency. Reiterating Marx and Engels' position that people do not only act on nature but on one another, and that their actions on nature form production relations within social institutions. The production relations, which sit within these social institutions, are termed the superstructure, and therefore the institutions determine what form productions relations should take. This implies that production relations are context specific.

Stamp (1989) indicates that the ideology and practice of kinship and kin relations (which are a subset of political systems) as the superstructure of

production relations is central to the shaping of these relations both conceptually and in practice. Other superstructures such as culture is described by Schalkwyk (2000) as part of the fabric of every society which shapes the way things are done and our understanding of why this should be so. A gendered relation is also a superstructure embedded in, and shaped by culture. Culture determines the expectations, attributes and behaviours appropriate to women or men and about the relations between women and men. These as mentioned earlier form social institutions that accommodate the production relations. Superstructures thrive within political spaces, one of which is the household (Schalkwyk, 2000).

The household is described by Apusigah (2009) as a political space with men positioned as super-ordinates and women as subordinates. People then who are deprived of the basic means of production inevitably become dependent on the owners of the means of production (dominant), and this predetermines the relations of either domination or subordination. This explains Apusigah's (ibid) positioning of women being subordinates and men being super-ordinates indicating that men are the owners of the means of production, and pointing out women's low access and control of the means of production. This relation of domination-subordination extends from the household level to institutions such as the community, market and even the State.

The agricultural economy, which plays an important role in political spaces such as the market and the state, also harbours production relations. It extends to division of labour, access/control and ownership of the means of production, and cropping patterns within this economy. Production relations in a given context

decide the activities and crops assigned to each gender. Therefore, different roles are assigned to different gender per their position within the production system. In Ghana for example, a clear division of labour according to age and sex, guides the various tasks farmers perform and therefore explain the highly gendered nature of agriculture (Britwum, 2009; Apusigah, 2009; Doss, 2002). Cropping patterns in many contexts to an extent are assigned on a gender basis (Hill & Vigneri, 2009; Doss, 2002) and women and men play different roles in farm activities. This is what Apusigah (2009) terms as “culturally-specified gender division of labour”.

#### *Access, control and ownership of productive resources*

Production relations constitute access to, control over, ownership of, and decision-making regarding productive resources. Access is defined as the ability to use a resource (Britwum, Tsikata, Akorsu, & Aberese, 2014; Duncan & Brants, 2004; March et al, 1999; Woldetensaye, 2007). Woldetensaye (2007) further states that access aside the ability to use a resource, grants the individual the opportunity to make decisions, and therefore gain control over the resource. This is however refuted by Britwum et al. (2014, p. 10) who define access with respect to land, only as “the ability to use land without the power to determine who can use it”. One can therefore have access to another person’s land for agricultural purposes, and thus access can be argued to be temporary and restrictive.

Control is however defined as the power to decide how a resource is used, and who has access to it (Britwum et al 2014; March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 1999). Control therefore goes beyond access, providing the authority to determine who can use a given resource. Duncan and Brants (2004) further explained control

as one's ability to take decisions with regards to land. Decision making here means the power to determine the size of land used and for what activities the land will be used (food or cash crop production, fallow).

Ownership, with regards to land, is determined per the allodia titling one holds (Bugri, Yeboah, & Agana, 2016). Decision-making is a major determinant at both levels of control and ownership. It differentiates the power an individual has to simply access a productive resource, from controlling or owning the resource. Access to resources, its control and ownership are all constituents of production relations determining what form the relations take. Although decision-making is evident at the levels of control and ownership, Ajadi, Oladele, Ikegami, & Tsuruta (2015) discuss it as an independent concept. They argue that ultimately a level of control or ownership will grant an individual the power to make critical decisions regarding land.

Women's access to other assets such as agricultural extension services too are limited as women farmers have quantitatively and qualitatively less access to factors of production such as information, technology, land inputs and credit (Doss & Morris, 2011). Policy-makers, managers, agents and participants in agricultural support services are generally males, who are not always sufficiently aware of the specific problems and needs of women farmers. As a result, information and extension services are typically geared towards male farmers, with the assumption that the message will trickle across to women. Evidence, according to Saito, Mekonnen, & Spurling, (1994) shows that, in reality, this is not the case.



However, recently, there has been a focus on how social institutions mediate women's access to, and control over natural resources in the production system (Agarwal B. , 2002; BRIDGE, 2008). This covers how women's agency is affected by, or how women exercise agency, given the available resources and the context of choice (Kabeer, 1999). "Agency" in this study is interpreted by Lukes (1974) as the 'power to' dimension of power, such as the ability to do things and follow through with one's decision. Therefore, if the context is restrictive, then women, despite the fact that resources are available, may decide not to use them. This suggests that superstructures, dominantly culture, even with introduction of interventions and available resource determine the nature of responses to interventions. Consequently, the nature of responses to interventions as defined by culture determines the success of interventions.

#### *Land tenure and production relations*

Production systems in the agricultural economy aside being gendered are also tied to land tenure issues. Land tenure systems, according to Quisumbing, Otsuka, Suyanto, Aidoo and Payongayong (2001), govern the use and allocation of land and they range from communal ownership of land to state ownership, common property, and private ownership. Land tenure arrangement is also specifically described by Christian Lund as,

“... the system of landholding, which has evolved from the peculiar political and economic circumstances, cultural norms and religious practices of a people regarding land as a natural resource, its use and development. It includes rules, regulations and institutional

structures both customary and enacted legislations, which influence the holding and appropriation of land and its resources for socio-economic reasons". (2003, p. 595)

There are therefore local and non-formalised social practices regarding land holdings as organised by communities as well as customary and statutory conditions. These govern land tenure systems and in this regard, the use and allocation of land. Although Lund (2003) describes land tenure as statutory and customary rules and regulations, Birgegård differs. He explains that in defining land tenure, it cannot only be restricted to fixed rules and regulations but its ability to adapt and change (Birgegård, 1993). This explains the various forms land tenure assumes - communal ownership of land to state ownership, common property and private ownership.

Access to land and other resources is central to livelihoods and, often considered a question of fundamental human rights (Duncan & Brants, 2004). Legally, various existing systems provide rights of ownership on land. In Ghana for instance, the system of legal plurality is practised where customary laws sit with statutory, constitutional and religious laws. These separate laws do not operate in isolation but intertwine to govern the land tenure system (Britwum et al., 2014). According to Kameri- Mbota as cited by Bugri, Yeboah, and Agana (2016), in some countries, although there are statutory laws as well as customary laws that govern land relations, customary practices continue to determine land rights.

Gender based inequalities such as the customary tenure systems, where land and other resources in most areas are accessed by a woman through a man (father,

brother, husband or son) inhibit fundamental access rights (Doss, Truong, Nabanoga, & Namaalwa, 2012). Men often use their discretion to grant access based on the cordiality of their relationship and the amount of land available. This access can easily be lost as a result of widowhood, divorce, desertion, or male migration. Women's access and control has been noted to be better if the land is solely owned by the husband and not the family (Rünger, 2006). Opportunities granted by land reform laws are generally according to studies hindered by women's lack of awareness and power, resistance from male relations, the fear of sanctions and the lack of political will on the part of governments (Apusigah, 2009; Butegwa, 1991).

### ***Household relations***

The concept of the household is used to denote a residential unit in the field of development and in the social sciences (Schmink, 1984). It is mostly the primary unit of social analysis and provides an intermediate level of analysis between the individual and society. It is also functional when there is a need to determine relations in a larger scope, such as the community or even the market. GSS (2014, p. x) defines a household “as a person or a group of persons, who live together in the same house or compound and share the same house-keeping arrangements.” Households are set resource allocation where tasks and activities are distributed among the members (Mengesha, 1990). In India, Goody (1983) explains that the control of economic resources is vested in the hand of a male head of the family who may allocate resources differently to household members

according to the positions they occupy, in terms of age and sex. Women are therefore subordinated to their males, when males head households.

Kinship systems play a key role in reinstating the super-ordinate or subordinate positions of household members. These positions result from women's lack of a stable residence, as they have to join their husbands in marriage. The males monopolize control of the most important means of production such as land and capital. Whatever their activities are within or beyond the confines of the household, women maintain reproductive roles that interrupt their productive work (Connelly, Li, MacDonald, & Parpart, 2000).

In Ghana, rural women often manage complex households and pursue multiple livelihood strategies. Their activities are typically productive or reproductive in nature. The productive activities include producing agricultural crops, tending animals, processing and preparing food, working for wages in agricultural or other rural enterprises, and engaging in trade and marketing. The reproductive activities include collecting wood fuel and water, caring for family members and maintaining their homes. These serve as a platform for inequality as their male counterparts combine fewer activities and therefore are more productive.

Household dynamics serve as a challenge to women's productivity in production relations. Here, women combine their agricultural work as well as other unpaid labour on family farms most especially owned by men. They also have a limited control over their outputs and therefore lack incentives to increase production. Okalie (2011) describes women as altruistic because they put their

children and household food security first. However cultural norms and expectations, as discussed by other studies explain why women put their children and household food security first (Apusigah, 2009; Duncan & Brants, 2004). This adversely affects their productivity most importantly with regards to income. Husbands especially take advantage of this to reduce their household contributions.

There are instances where women exercise autonomy when they have access to their own plots for cultivation and sale of food stuff (Damisa & Yohanna , 2007). Yet Duncan and Brants (2004) cite Benneh, Morgan, and Uitto claiming that women are more involved in food crop production because it is less costly, it requires less labour and food crops can be grown on the less fertile soils. It is however argued that women act upon their household provisioning roles and this is used to justify female and male differences in access to and control over productive resources (Apusigah, 2009; Doss, 2001). Women's provisioning role suggests the kind of autonomy exercised. It also describes the nature of relations within the household where the position of super-ordinance is given to the males as providers of cash income.

### **Livelihoods**

According to Scoones ( 2009, p. 179), “any basic search of literature or development project material will uncover numerous mentions to livelihood approaches, perspectives, methods and frameworks”. A variety of definitions are offered in the literature, including, for example, Chambers & Conway's (1991) description of livelihoods, which comprise the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. In the

opinion of Eyob as cited by Alhassan (2010), livelihood best expresses the idea that individuals and groups strive to make a living, attempt to meet their various consumption and economic necessities, cope with uncertainties, respond to new opportunities, and choose between different options. Ellis (2010, p. 10) also defines livelihood as comprising “the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital which are also productive resources), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household.”

Issues on capabilities, assets and strategies ran through all definitions reviewed (Alhassan, 2010; Ellis, 2010; Chambers & Conway, 1991). Chambers and Conway (1991) state the individual’s capacity to use assets in order to gain a living. Alhassan (2010) however introduces sustainability and diversification, which he states, is actually appropriate in holistically describing the livelihoods of a person. Sustainability is discussed by Scoones (1998) in terms of coping with uncertainties and new opportunities. Sustainability is also discussed in terms of diversification. This is especially when there are different options to select. Ellis (2010) in addition to the discussion of assets, capabilities and strategies introduces access to these assets, which are predominantly mediated by institutions and social relations.

Ideally, combining all three definitions, livelihoods can be said to be the capabilities, assets and access to assets mediated by institutions, which, grant an individual various options to gain a living in order to cope with uncertainties and respond to new opportunities. This implies that individuals and households may use their assets to engage in different activities within the bounds of the opportunity

structures presented by resources such as the environment, settlement structure, and socio economic status among others.

Chambers and Conway (1991) label a livelihood as sustainable when an individual or a household can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base. The sustainable livelihoods idea was first introduced by the Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development as an alternative to the Integrated Rural Development Planning approach and was popularized by Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway in the 1990s (Krantz, 2001). The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) was introduced to employ a holistic perspective in the analysis of livelihoods to identify those areas where an intervention could be strategically important and efficient (Carney, 1998). It is essential to note then that SLA requires a commitment to develop a realistic understanding of the livelihoods of poor people and how that can be improved, and not necessarily on just technical, political and institutional issues (Carney, *ibid*).

The nature, then of existing production relations determines how people access the resources available to them and what hinders their access and control over these resources. It also explains how they cope with such constraints and in what forms the coping strategies are presented. Mumuni and Oladele (2016) also assert that sustainable livelihoods are achieved through access to a range of livelihood resources (natural, economic, human, social and physical capital, also referred to as productive resources), which are combined in the pursuit of different

livelihood strategies. People's ability therefore to better their lives depends on their access to assets.

The range of resources covers land, capital, and technological know-how through to social relationships. These resources are in total categorised as livelihood assets, and are made up of financial capital, which includes credit, savings, and remittances, physical capital involving household assets, agricultural implements and infrastructure. The other two assets are human capital including knowledge, skills, health and labour availability and social capital, which includes adherence to rules, relationship of trust, kin and ethnic networks and social organisations.

Embedded in production system, are factors that determine who owns or may control land; how capital is accessed and who is in charge of decisions regarding these productive resources (Kelle & Koval'Zon, 2010). These factors regarding who controls the means of production and who is denied control, is what is termed as production relations. One's ability to combine the various productive resources in order to diversify is also highly influenced by the nature of production relations. It is one's access to certain assets that can permit a person to diversify. The combination of strategies is not necessarily people moving from one form of employment to another but rather for people to combine activities to meet their various needs at different times.

Scoones ( 2009) proposes a framework, which focuses on the analysis of superstructures such as culture and political spaces that mediate the livelihoods outcome. These factors inform social relations which reinforce positive choices



when they function well and facilitate mobility. However, in other cases, social relations act as a major constraint to choice, restricting access (e.g. in the case of rigid cultural systems), reducing the mobility of access to assets. Under such circumstances, people might be viewed as making ‘negative choices’ regarding their livelihood strategies, or they may have no choice at all. In the case of a rigid patriarchal society where all means of production as well as objects of labour are deemed as the reserve for men.

### ***Sustainable livelihood approach***

Thomas (2000) has argued that the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) was adopted by a number of agencies and organisations during the 1990s as an integrative framework for thinking about development issues, and in particular for addressing poverty. The sustainable livelihood framework underpins interventions provided by these organisations. The SLA seeks to develop an understanding of the factors that lie behind people’s choice of livelihood strategy and then to reinforce their competences in order to mitigate the constraints that arise from the nature of their existing production relations. It embraces a wider approach to people’s livelihoods by looking beyond income generating activities in which people engage (Chambers & Conway, 1991).

The SLA framework links the concepts of capability, equity and sustainability. Capabilities are used by Amartya Sen as quoted by Chambers and Conway (1991), to denote the ability to perform certain functions such as, in this study, the freedom to perform productive activities, and access resources and interventions. The term, capability is situated within livelihoods studies as being

able to cope with stress and shocks, and being able to find and make use of livelihood opportunities (Ellis, 2010; Scoones, 2009; Carney, 1998). The freedom to cope with stress and access different opportunities, also grants the access to resources that may lead to building human capital as well as better natural resource management. The expansion of capabilities provides people with opportunities for self-determination and the flexibility to adapt over time.

Sustainability refers to an individual or a group's ability to maintain and improve their livelihoods, while at the same time maintaining the local and global assets on which livelihood depend. Sustainability therefore captures two areas- environment and social. Environmental sustainability is where the productive resource base is preserved. This is done at the local level, protecting the natural resource base- land, soil fertility, trees and water bodies (Chambers & Conway, 1991). Globally also, environmental sustainability focuses on issues such as global warming, greenhouse gases and the protection of the ozone layer (Agarwal & Narain, 1991). The second phase of sustainability is social, where an individual or a household maintain their livelihoods coping with stress and shocks without harming the natural resource base. Equity, on the other hand seeks a redistribution of assets and opportunities especially geared towards the deprived. In this case, an end to all forms of discrimination against women and all other forms of social imbalance is redressed (Hussein & Nelson, 2016).

## **Agricultural Intervention**

Intervention as a term has been defined by Whitehead (2002) as any programme designed to change the behaviour patterns of people or to improve the standard of living of individuals, groups or an entire population. The European Commission (1999) also explains interventions as any action or operation (policy, programme, measure or project) carried out by public authorities, whereas the European Commission limits programmes to just public officials, there are private officials who also offer interventions and are covered by Whitehead (2002). This is mostly geared to better the livelihoods of poor people or the underprivileged.

Both definitions explain interventions as externally devised. In this context, the term external means not generated by the people themselves but come as assistance from outside. Mapila, Kirsten, & Meyer (2012) shift from the popular top-down approach, where interventions are offered externally by authorities. They propose that interventions should take a nonlinear dynamic system (bottom-up and top-down) to enhance end users capacity and livelihoods.

The main objective of agricultural interventions according to ACF International (2014, p. 12) is “to fight hunger while improving the income of vulnerable households.” However, research (Mansour, 2012) shows in Asia that this is not the case as interventions do not necessarily fight hunger and improve the income of vulnerable households but rather worsen the situations of smallholders or subsistent farmers who usually move to commercial farms as wage labourers. Byerlee, Janvry and Sadoulet (2009) assert that poor understanding of agrarian dynamics, weak governance, and the tendency for donors (and other intervening

institutions) to seek one size-fits-all approaches are contributing factors to the failed objective of most agricultural interventions. Interventions therefore are not designed contextually, but rather generally, and this brings about their failure. If a person cannot relate to a programme, then there will be no interest in participation and that repeats itself until the failure of the programme (Rao, 2012)

Post-modernist theories propose an intervention that serves as the core principle to an individual's well-being and attainment of quality of life (Sen.,1987). This is opposed to the modernisation theorists, who use individuals as the means to the ultimate goal of economic growth (Clark, 2006). Agricultural interventions, which are informed by modernisation theories, end up worsening the livelihoods of the people, as their ultimate goal is economic growth, which may not necessarily capture the true reflection of the situation of a poor subsistent farmer.

In her study, Mansour (2012) indicates that women-only agricultural interventions are aligned with home economics such as home gardening, sewing, food processing such as pickling, and handicrafts. This is evident in Ghana with regards to food processing and handicraft interventions implemented by Women in Agricultural Development, a Directorate of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. Agricultural interventions introduced thus come in different forms. Those typically aligned to men, such as technological practices for soil fertility and improved farm practices are usually related to increase in economic productivity whereas women-only agricultural interventions, aligned with home economics are geared towards subsistence.

There are some contextual differences between Asia and Africa regarding the success of interventions. Mansour (2012) for example blames the failure of interventions on industrialization and neoclassical economic principles, which negatively affect smallholder farms in Asia. Africa, has a different situation with a thriving subsistent farming, but threatened by rural-urban migrations and differences in social relations such as gender inequities (Geda, 2001; Lemba, 2009; Baah, 2014). The similarity between the two continents is the feminization of the subsistence sector. Asia's subsistence farming is feminized because of industrialization, and Africa, as a result of migration and gender inequities (Mansour, 2012). Yoong, Rabinovich, & Diepeveen (2012) however, note that social norms or lack of legal rights for women could hinder the success of interventions even if they are gender-targeting.

### **Empirical Evidence**

A number of studies have investigated interventions and responses as well as how social structures influence decisions made by individuals. This section will review relevant studies that either discuss interventions and women's responses, and/or how production relations informed by cultural norms influence decision-making.

Damisa & Yohanna (2007) argue that male dominance in decision-making in the household and the economy has continued even in areas where women are the key providers of labour because the power of women has not been recognized. As the GAD theorists argue, social norms and values are informed by superstructures such as culture and gender and produce glass ceilings that may constrain women

from controlling or owning and even in some contexts accessing productive resources. This eventually entrenches women's subordination as juxtaposed to male dominance. Unequal gender relations are formed within political spaces such as the household, community or largely the economy. Damisa and Yohanna's (2007) study sets out to examine the level of participation of rural women in decision making in different areas of agriculture and to study the factors influencing their participation in the decision making process in farm management in the Zaria area of Kaduna State, Nigeria. Data was collected during the 2005/ 2006 cropping season with the aid of structured questionnaires. The responses were studied on a three-point scale, being whether women farmers were only consulted; whether their opinions were also considered and; their involvement in taking final decision. Responses were analysed using simple descriptive statistics and the ordered Probit model.

The study concluded that the participation of the women in decision-making was quite minimal. Overall, only between one and 2.5 percent of women (participants) took the final decision in all of the farm operations. This finding clearly raises questions on women's access through to ownership of productive resources. One's access to an asset, control over and even ownership of productive resources grants the person the license to make decisions regarding these productive resources. So the proportions of one percent and 2.5 percent of women who take the final decision suggest that there is minimal access or control over productive resources. The extent of women participation in farm management decision-making process depended on a number of factors namely the age group, education, and

wealth status, and tenancy variables. These were found to have significant influences on the level of women participation in farm management decision-making. With regard to age, older women participated more in decision making as compared to their younger counterparts. Older women tend to have a change in their position at the household level as either mothers-in-law, mothers or even older wives and the change in their positions grant them better access to especially family owned assets noted in the study by Damisa and Yohanna (ibid).

The level of wealth status of a woman was also a strong determinant. Thus, the financially stronger a woman was, the deeper her involvement in decision-making. With regard to tenancy, landless women did not make significant participation in farm management decision making because they cannot take a major decision that has to do with the land without the owner's consent. Religion was however not significant in determining the level of participation of decision-making. The concluding finding raises issues on culture (social norms) as a major determinant and bedrock for production relations. As described by Schalkwyk (2000), as part of the fabric of every society which shapes the way things are done and our understanding of why this should be so including gender relations, a study, which both analyses gender and culture, and its role in shaping decision-making is relevant at this point.

Ajadi, Oladele, Ikegami, and Tsuruta (2015) primarily analyse ownership and control of productive resources by gender determined by culture. They sought to reiterate male dominance in decision making as the ultimate level in the production relations, but introduced culture as a determinant. The study is based on

earlier studies, which isolate gender and productive resources on one hand and gender and culture on the other. It explores the relationship between gender, culture and productive resources. Their major argument is that culture moderates the role and livelihood activities of women in most parts of Nigeria as well as their access to land and other productive resources and thereby defining the form production relations take. It therefore structures and determines the way social institutions shape life “as well as cultivated and imposed behaviour communally transmitted from one generation to another” (Ajadi et al., 2015, p. 28)

The study examined rural women’s access to productive resources in Nupe and Yoruba cultures of Nigeria, from the viewpoint of their decision making on family assets and farm management. Its main objective was to analyse ownership and control of productive resources from the viewpoint of gender, as well as decision-making on farming activities including both subsistence agriculture and market-oriented agriculture unlike the earlier study by Damisa and Yohanna (2007), which examined the level of participation of rural women in decision-making but overlooks culture as a major determinant.

The study was conducted with the use of structured interviews covering ownership, and decision-making on selected productive resources such as agricultural land, small and large ruminants and non-mechanized farm equipment in February 2013. In analysing the data, frequency counts; percentages and chi-square tests were applied. Gender and ownership as well as decision-making were cross-tabulated and layered with culture as a third variable.



Male-female differences which exist on access, control and decision making on productive resources was attributed to cultural differentiated reasons which permeate the behavioural disposition in relation to productive resources. The study revealed that men predominate in ownership of productive resources among the Yoruba than the Nupe. Women from Nupe had a higher access to productive resources but this was attributed to outmigration tendencies of men in Nupe as compared to Yoruba men. Women who had access were limited to control and even ownership by cultural as well as legal laws. Males in both cultures dominate the possession of all the productive resources because they are culturally believed to be in charge of these resources. Males, again, in both cultures were in charge of decision-making but the women could decide on the sale of small ruminants and marketing especially when they owned the products.

The Chi-square on differences at significant levels of one percent, five percent and ten percent showed a strong cultural influence. The results concluded that ownership of productive resources is strongly influenced by culture for land, large and small livestock as well as farm equipment. This can be extended to the fact that once ownership is claimed or retained by men the decision and control also rests with them.

The level of access to and control of productive resources as well as decision making, according to Damisa and Yohanna (2007), is clearly gendered and influenced by superstructures such as culture as indicated earlier. The attitudes portrayed as defined by gender and culture influences programmes that are introduced to better the standard of living of people. Umeh, Chwuku, and Oselebe

(2015) in Ebonyi State, Nigeria broadly sought to study gender and socio-economic perspectives to rural women's participation in a selected intervention, National Programme for Food Security (NPFS) in Ebonyi State. This they explained is because of the existing low level of consciousness about the roles played by women in the development of agriculture in the State. The deep beliefs and traditional practices earlier discussed by Ajadi, Oladele, Ikegami, and Tsuruta (2015) also prevent women from playing their full roles in the development process in Nigeria and this underscores the need to investigate socio-economic, and gender dimensions to rural women's participation in a selected agricultural intervention.

Specifically, Umeh, Chwuku, and Oselebe (2015) sought to describe the socio-economic characteristics of the participants; comparatively analyse women's participation in NPFS; determine the influence of socio-economic characteristics of the rural women on their level of participation in the intervention, NPFS in Ebonyi State; identify constraints limiting rural women's participation in NPFS in the state of Ebonyi. The data analysis employed both descriptive and inferential statistics. The specific objectives were analysed separately with the first two objectives respectively describing the socio-economic characteristics of the participants; and comparatively analysing gender participation in the intervention with the use of percentages. Multiple regression analysis was used for the third objective, which was to determine the influence of socio-economic characteristics of the rural women on their level of participation in intervention. The fourth, which was to identify constraints limiting rural women in the participation of the intervention, was evaluated with factor analysis.

The study concluded that while rural women in Ebonyi State may compete favourably with men in terms of participation in agricultural activities, gender economic attributes of the women farmers significantly influenced their participation in the intervention. Access and control of resources positively affected a woman's economic status, and so a lack of access meant a disinterest in participation. Specifically, they indicated that an ageing farming labour because of the outmigration of youths to urban centres in search of white collar jobs influenced adoption in several ways, most especially traditional inclination to past knowledge. Low level of literacy and household sizes were also determining factors in responding to the intervention.

With the final objective, which was to identify constraints limiting rural women in the participation of the intervention, it was observed, that three categories of constraints limited women's participation in intervention. The first was identified with lack of land, capital and credit facilities and thus noted as financial constraint. The second was administrative as non-involvement of farmers in the distribution of farm inputs due to limited state resources also served as a constraint. Inadequate extension contacts, poor government policies and poor marketing of farm products were identified as institutional constraints hindering women in their participation in the intervention. This explains how production relations interfere with the success of interventions. The lack of access to assets forms a barrier to participating in any intervention. Therefore, interventions, which are ideally meant for a larger population, are rather accessed by a smaller group of people. This is usually

because of the smaller group's advantage of control of resources over the larger group.

Carr and McCusker (2009) engage relations of power and knowledge that both shape and are shaped by human meanings. Their point of view is that land use is "reflective of a power-laden ordering of the world, where appropriate crops, labour, land area, and intensity for a given context are not only agricultural but important forms of knowledge that rest upon and produce relations of power" (Carr & McCusker, 2009, pp. 569-570). The study's major focus then was to examine the social processes by which individuals and groups negotiate the everyday conditions that shape their lives and its implications on development interventions.

A comparative study was done between Ghana and South Africa with empirical evidence collected over 10 years (Carr & McCusker, 2009). In South Africa, in the Central Limpopo Area, specifically, in Makweng, it was realized that policies rather widened the gap between discourses of development and the material experience of those trying to develop. There was access to modern facilities such as electricity but adversely affected livelihoods of the rural people most especially those in agriculture. Those who reacted negatively to the neoliberal-informed policies argued that their materiality was rooted in specific livelihood geography that was different from the policies offered. Agriculture then was deemed as an 'old thing' for the old people.

Similarly in Ghana, Carr and McCusker (2009) placed their study in the context of social relations. They found out that a historical introduction of shifted

agro ecologies to cash crops and hybrid varieties in Dominase and Ponkrum in the Central Region resulted to diversification of livelihoods within the community. This led to varying household, agricultural production with the men focusing on market production and the women on subsistence production. Diversification, Carr and McCusker (2009), found also leads to the constrain of women's production, thereby limiting their income and in effect the resources available to the household. Men, it was discovered, choose to limit their wives' production to ensure they continue to play the gendered role of reproduction even though it comes at a material cost to the household as it reinforces women's dependence.

As the earlier studies reviewed, social relations of gender at the household level is informed by superstructures such as culture, and privileges men as the principal decision makers (owner of means of production). The choice of participating in an intervention is therefore made by the man. It was concluded that interventions should be designed with local-sensitization instead of standardizing globally. The interventions fail as a result of the use of a standard development lens, expecting interventions to fit all contexts. However, to be effective, these interventions need to be context-specific, taking into consideration particularly local relations.

Mapila, Kirsten, and Meyer (2012), subscribing to the views of Carr and McCusker (2009), add that interventions should be designed to influence the livelihoods of a people, which of course include their culture as well as relations within the production system. They rather specifically set out to assess the impact of interventions on agricultural innovation systems in rural livelihoods in Malawi

specifically Ukwe Extension Planning Area in Lilongwe District in Malawi's Central Region. According to Mapila, Kirsten, and Meyer (2012), households were selected from a control village and one that had participated in the intervention. Both villages were chosen with similar socioeconomic characteristics and agricultural production systems. For the study, the observed characteristics were the households' socioeconomic characteristics and farming systems. A propensity score matching, logit regression modelling and chi-square test were used for the analysis of the findings as well analysing by themes for the qualitative section.

The significant difference in maize production was mainly attributed to intervention households planting more land than their counterparts in the control village. Households in the intervention villages had larger total land holdings as well as higher valued assets owned and planted more separate farm plots than households in the control village. This confirms results from the other studies indicating level of wealth status informing the level of access and control of productive resources and this in turn informs responses to either participate or not participate in interventions.

Participating households indicated, in informal interviews, that the increased income, along with changes in their decision-making processes, enabled them to invest more not only in their pigs but also in household assets and other livestock, especially poultry. Another finding was that the intervention did not have a statistically significant impact on households' membership of farmer groups, as the membership level was similar for the intervention and control communities. In both groups for either the control group, which did not access the interventions, or for the

groups, which did, the gender representation was similar. This similarity demonstrates the potency of social factors such as relations (power) that emerge out of culture and other socio-economic factors influencing interventions just as Carr and McCusker (2009) argue. These relations even hold if the intervention does have an impact on the livelihoods of the people.

Finally, Britwum and Akorsu (2016) evaluate the gender implications of a programme introduced by the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA). The programme, Africa Research in Sustainable Intensification for the Next Generation (Africa RISING) was rolled out in a number of countries including Ghana, and specifically in the Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions of the country. Britwum and Akorsu (ibid) sought to understand the existing gender differences used to evaluate the suitability of new agricultural practices and also understand the impact of gendered access to, and control over, productive resources on the adoption or rejection of agricultural practices introduced by Africa RISING. They also set out to analyse the gender consideration informing the possibility of female and male farmers to adapt project's agricultural practices; and find out existing gender differentials in accessing information and learning about agricultural practices.

The study was conducted using qualitative methods such as focus group discussions and key informant interviews in November 2015. The analytical framework was informed by Kabeer's social relations approach exploring how rules set by the four main institutions, the state, market, community and household define gender orders underlying women's reaction to agricultural interventions. It was

observed that access to community based resources, like land, labour time, storage, and markets and externally based ones; capital or credit, technology and extension services were gendered. Women were more eager to learn about innovations because of their meal provisioning roles.

The main information source for learning about Africa RISING's innovations was top down and male centred with few instances of peer exchange. Women were more likely to gain information from sources that rely on interactive human contact and male sources were input dealers, extension officers, radios, mobile phones, and lead farmers. Gendered factors limiting women's information access were domestic chores, costs and husbands. The study also discovered that the community and household framed the criteria for evaluating technology suitability for uptake through rules on gender provisioning, marital responsibilities and female public conduct. Women's marital statuses created differences amongst them and informed their ability to adopt the project's technologies. Culture also played a major role here as women's land access was determined by cultural rules.

### **Lessons learnt**

From the foregoing review, it is seen that male dominance in decision-making is very evident. The literature reviewed in this section (Britwum & Akorsu, 2016; Ajadi, Oladele, Ikegami, & Tsuruta, 2015; Umeh, Chwuku, & Oselebe, 2015; Mapila, Kirsten, & Meyer, 2012; Carr & McCusker, 2009; Damisa & Yohanna, 2007) also point to the need for us to analyse culture as a determining factor in production relations. It is also necessary for this study to examine production relations at the household level as it is the primary space where rules on gender



provisioning, marital responsibilities among others are enforced (Britwum & Akorsu, 2016). Carr & McCusker (2009) also point out that the interventions should be studied context specifically to determine its relevance per the existing social relations. Umeh, Chwuku, and Oselebe (2015) indicate the influence of interplay between administrative and financial factors on one side and production relations on the other side. They both inform attitudes and in the case of this study, responses to either participate or not participate in an intervention. The literature reviewed mentioned gender and analysed it as a variable but it will be more appropriate if in analysing gender, a gender analytical framework is employed

### **Conceptual Framework**

In explaining how production relations shape the differences in gendered responses to agricultural interventions, the study adopted concepts from the reviewed theories. All three theoretical frameworks, WID, WAD, and GAD explain issues relating to women's access to productive resources differently and suggest diverse ways in addressing women's subordination to men. WID proposes reintegration of women into the development process; WAD argues on connecting class and patriarchy to better improve women's access and, GAD emphasises on patriarchy, pointing out women's relation to men and suggesting a focus on cultural specific gender relations for a better development.

The conceptual framework introduces superstructures, which include culture, gender and household relations and their influence on political spaces. These political spaces, household, community, market and the state serve as institutions where these superstructures operate. The interactions within these

political spaces inform the nature of production relations. The framework in determining production relations will assess the access, control or ownership and then decision making of productive resources. These productive resources in the framework are termed as livelihood assets. These assets are financial capital, which includes credit, savings, and remittances, physical capital involving household assets, agricultural implements and infrastructure. The other two assets are human capital including knowledge, skills, health and labour availability and social capital, which includes adherence to rules, relationship of trust, kin and ethnic networks and social organisations.

The existence of livelihood assets (productive resources) should ideally produce sustainable livelihoods. The interference of production relations however does not necessarily assure a sustainable livelihood. According to Krantz (2001), the way resources and other livelihood opportunities are distributed locally are often influenced by informal structures of social dominance and power within the communities themselves. Interventions are at the extreme right in the framework, and external development agents to help generate sustainable livelihoods introduce them. The success of these interventions to sustain livelihoods depends largely on the influence of production relations. Production relations determine decisions either to participate in interventions or not. Production relations then will determine the access; control or ownership of assets, and these determines the gendered response to any intervention.

Interventions have their guiding policy documents, and to explore their gender sensitivity, two tools were borrowed from the Social Relations Approach

and Moser Framework. The fourth concept of the social relations approach classifies policies into two categories, depending on the level to which they recognize and address gender issues. These categories are: gender-blind policies and gender-aware policies. Gender blind policies, according to March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay (1999) recognize no difference between males and females and incorporate biases in favour of existing gender relations. Gender-aware policies however acknowledge that males and females are both development actors, and that they are constrained in various ways as potential participants and beneficiaries in the development process. Interventions therefore are meant to sustain livelihoods and be beneficiary to both genders to attain a certain level of gender awareness. Again, the Moser's Framework tool six also asks development interveners to think about the importance of involving women, gender-aware organisations, and planners themselves in planning.

Involving the aforementioned groups (women, gender-aware organisations and planners) is essential to ensuring that real practical and strategic gender needs are identified and incorporated into the planning process. These individuals or organisations must be involved not only in the analysis of an intervention, but also in defining the goals of the intervention, and in its implementation (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 1999). Therefore, secondary data on the interventions are investigated to find out their involvement of women and gender aware planning agencies to analyse their level of gender sensitivity. The gender sensitivity of the intervention also in the end affects responses to the intervention. The expected

outcome is to examine the gendered differences in responses based on the production relations existing in the selected communities.

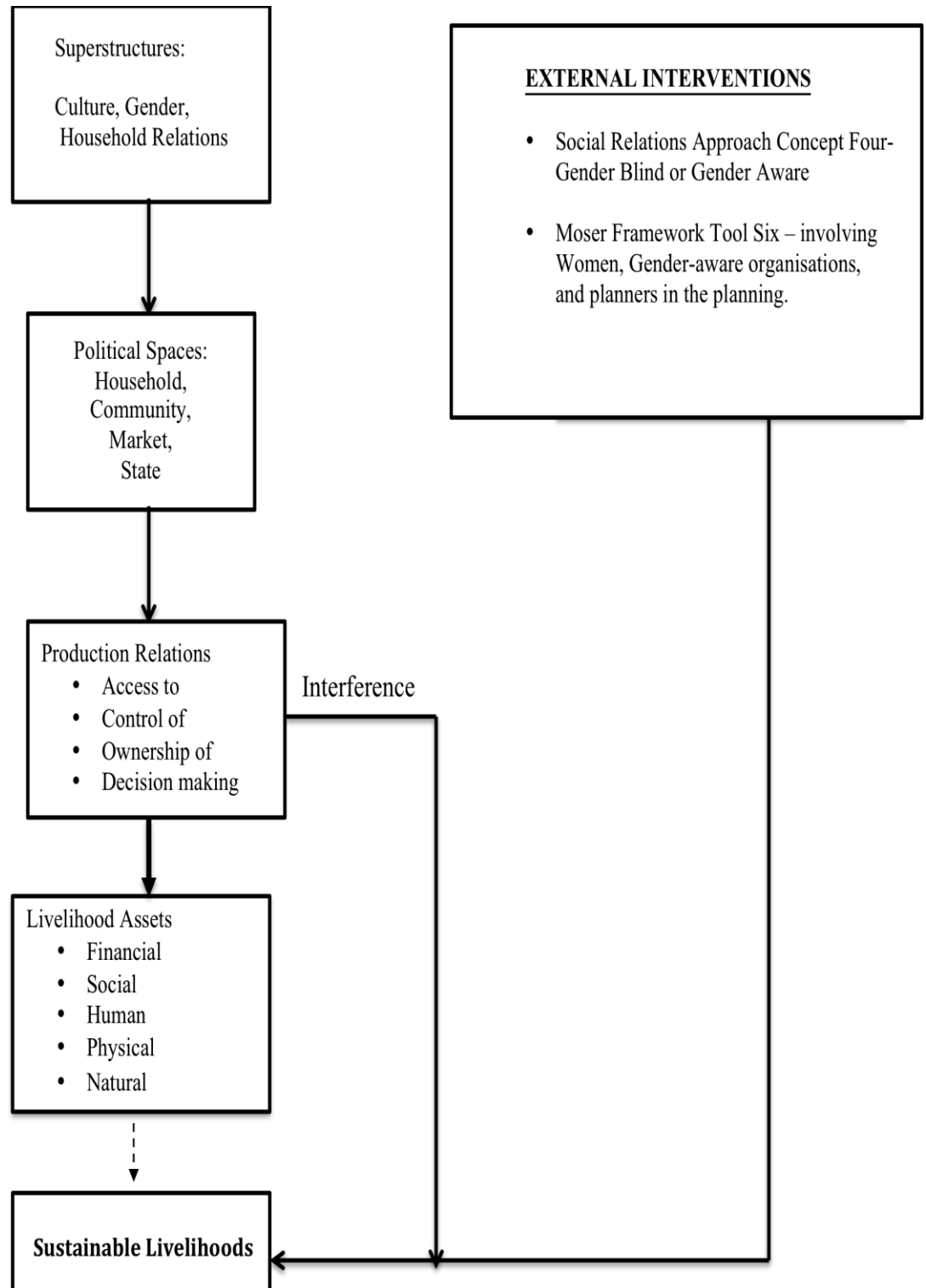


Figure 1: Agricultural production relations and livelihood sustainability

Adapted from (Cohen, 2000; March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 1999; Scoones, 1998)

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODS

#### Introduction

The methodology is generally the overall plan for connecting the conceptual issues underlying the research problem to the relevant empirical approaches (Sarantakos, 2012). It articulates the data required, methods that will be used to collect and analyse the data to answer research questions. This chapter discusses the methodology used in addressing the main objective of the study, which is to examine the production relations, and how it shapes responses to rural livelihood interventions. The chapter covers the research design, study area, target population and sampling procedure. It also covers the data collection instruments and data collection procedures used in the study and concludes with an outline of how data gathered from the field was analysed.

#### Research Design

A qualitative methodology was adopted to explain how agricultural production relations shape responses to rural livelihood interventions. This is because the qualitative methodology draws from the epistemic interpretivist tradition, which states that “no external reality exists independent of our beliefs and understanding (and that) reality is only knowable through the human mind, and socially constructed meanings” (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013, p. 16). Interpretation of data accrued therefore, and the knowledge acquired is based on the participants’ point of view, and is grounded in the individual’s world of experience (Shank, 2006).

The qualitative research methodology is explained as the approach which allows a deeper interrogation of the assumptions, questions, and logic of theoretical perspectives, and the fact that people continuously construct, develop and change the everyday interpretations of their world (Charmaz, 2004; Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In social research, the qualitative research design, according to Ospina (2004), provides flexibility and sensitivity to contextual factors; ability to study symbolic dimensions and social meaning; and increased opportunities to develop empirically supported new ideas and theories. However, it is often criticized as being time-consuming, according to Chadwick, Bahr, and Albrecht (1984), even with a small sample size. Another concern is its inability to generalize, and its use of subjective data. This study was interested in context-specific issues and therefore the problem about generalisation does not apply. Varied qualitative methods were also used to ensure both diversity and validity in the data collected. The findings accrued cannot be replicated in all contexts, but rather, they can be transferred to similar contexts.

The choice of the research methodology was aimed at collecting data that will enable the study draw out subjective differences between women and men with regard to their responses to interventions, and how production relations explain these differences. It was therefore appropriate to use the qualitative research to focus on an in-depth insight into the study communities for a better understanding of their culturally informed agricultural production relations. This was also to ensure sensitivity to existing gender differences.

The explanatory study design was adopted to examine how agricultural production relations shape responses to livelihood interventions. Neuman (2011, p. 40) defines the explanatory design as “research whose primary purpose is to explain why events occur”. According to Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston (2013), the explanatory design provides a tool for explaining an occurrence or situation, as a result of its concern for why an event occurs and the forces that drive its occurrence. It tends to be developed at the later stages of analysis when most of the descriptive work has been undertaken (Walliman, 2011). A number of descriptive studies have been conducted on the individual components of production relations (access, control and ownership). In addition, very few studies exist on these individual components as an aggregated total unit (Carr & McCusker, 2009; Mapila, Kirsten, & Meyer, 2012; Umeh, Chwuku, & Oselebe, 2015). In view of this characteristic, the study adopted the design to explain how the combined components of production relations inform responses to interventions.

### **Study Area**

Sunyani Municipality is one of the twenty-seven districts in the Brong Ahafo Region. The Sunyani Municipality covers a total land area of 506.7 Km<sup>2</sup>. The monthly temperatures range between 23°C and 33°C, with the lowest temperature recorded approximately in the month of August and the highest around March and April. The average rainfall is approximately 90cm. The Municipality experiences double maxima rainfall patterns with the main rainy season experienced between March and September and the minor beginning from October to December. The Municipality is characterized with moist semi-deciduous forest, which is



conducive for the production of a variety of cash and food crops and the rearing of farm animals.

There are about 18 communities in the Sunyani Municipality among which are Sunyani, Kwatire, New Dormaa, Nsuatre, Abessim, Nkrankrom, Fiapre, and Yawhema (see Figure 2). The economy of the Municipality used to be predominantly agrarian but has been taken over by the service sector. This shift notwithstanding, agriculture is a major industry and employs about 29 percent males and almost 24 percent of females of the working population. A little more than 80 percent of the population is urban while 28 percent of households in the urban area are into agriculture. In the rural localities however, eight out of ten households (72.2 %) are agricultural households. Most households in the municipality (93.7%) are involved in crop farming. Poultry (chicken) is the dominant animal reared in the district. The Municipality's agrarian nature is due to the rich soil and favourable climatic conditions (GSS, 2014). The average household size of the Municipality is lower (3.9) than the regional average of 4.6 and the national household size, which is four.

The inhabitants of the Sunyani Municipality also have diverse ethnic backgrounds. The Municipality is inhabited predominantly by Akans. Other ethnic groups found in the Municipality include diverse Northern tribes like the Sisalas and the Kassenas, Ewes, and Ga-Dangme. The favourable climatic conditions in the Municipality explain the immigration of other ethnic groups from both the South and North of Ghana primarily to farm. These migrant farmers access land from the indigenes mainly through sharecropping. The sharecropping arrangement comes in

two forms, the *ebunu* and the *ebusa*. According to the Ministry of Manpower, Youth & Employment (MMYE) (2007), in the sharecropping arrangements, the migrant farmers in the ‘*ebunu*’ system are responsible for cultivating the farm on a virgin land for the farm owners and during the harvest period, the proceeds are shared equally between the landholder and tenant farmer. On the other hand, in the ‘*ebusa*’ system, the sharecropper takes care of the matured farms and the proceeds are shared at the rate of one-third to the tenant farmer, and two-thirds to the landholder. Tenant farmers pay a fee taking into account factors such the size of the land and the duration of tenancy. These landholders are customary owners of land operating under the stool, clan or family. They are indigenes tracing their origin to the Municipality.

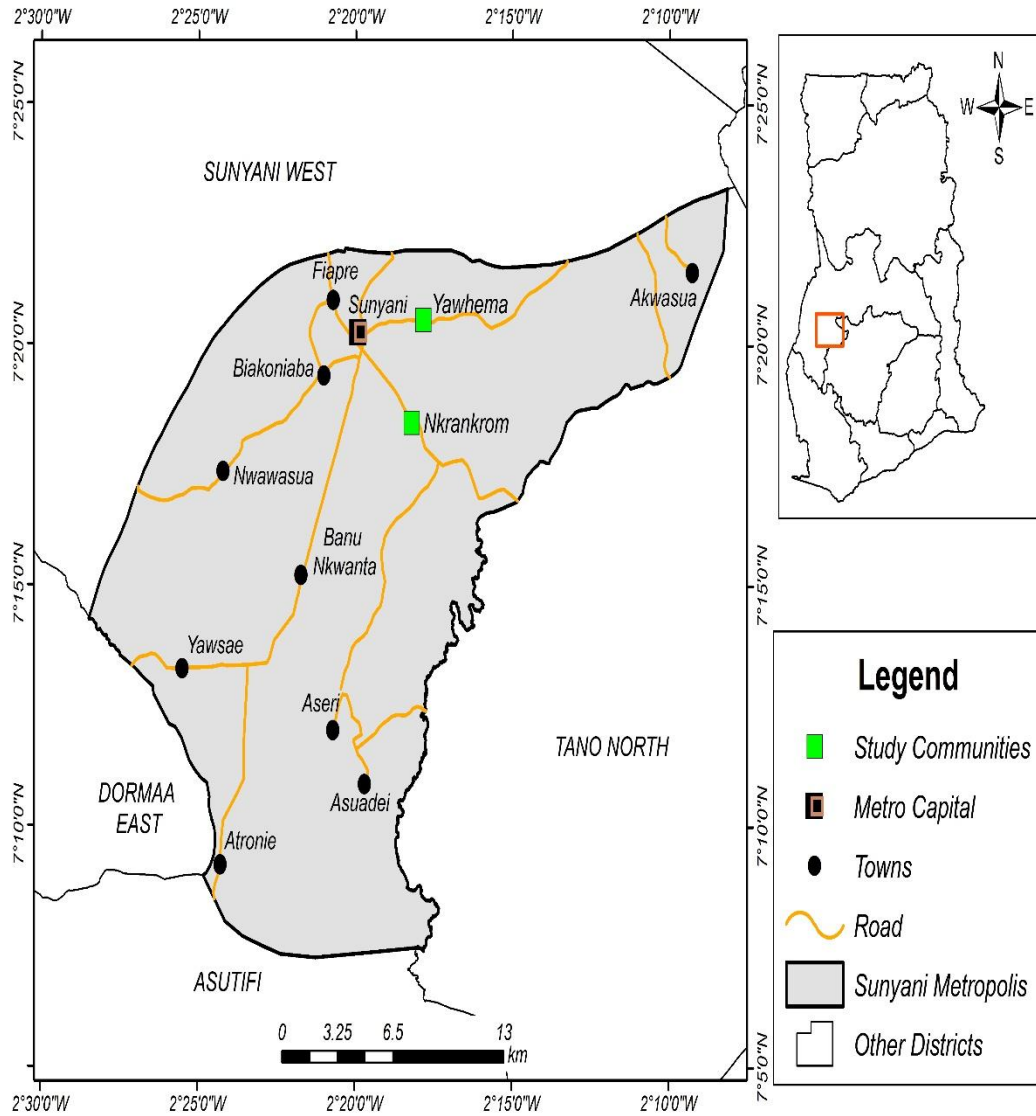


Figure 2: A map of Ghana showing an overview of the Sunyani Municipality

Source: GIS Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, (2017).

### Population

The study's target population are two-pronged: First are farmers in the communities who are engaged in the development interventions and the second comprise officials in charge of the interventions in the Sunyani Municipality. As an agricultural area with a major proportion of its rural agricultural households

(97.3%) engaged in crop farming, the Sunyani Municipality has its fair share of interventions to support agricultural activities and sustain livelihoods. The communities were selected based on the existence of the selected interventions. The communities had all four interventions running. The communities, also out of the study's eighteen communities, were settler communities. The study also sought to interrogate the cultural differences, which informed the nature of production relations. The first community selected was Yawhema, which traces its origin to the Northern part of Ghana while the second; Nkrankrom traces its origin to the South. The study's target population were farmers in the two communities and development interveners. The farmers were both males and females who had accessed the interventions. The development interveners comprised Agricultural extension officers who had direct contact with the farmers, desk officers and regional or municipal coordinators of the various interventions. An intermediary merchant of the fertilizer and seed subsidy programme, which is one of the selected interventions, was also interviewed.

### **Sampling Procedure**

This study adopted the purposive sampling technique to generally select the interventions, the communities they existed in, the managers of the interventions and female and male farmers who were aware of rural livelihood interventions. Purposive sampling involves selecting units, which have particular characteristics to enable detailed understanding of a central theme (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013). As earlier on stated, the selection of the communities was informed by cultural dynamics.

The specific purposive sampling techniques used were the criterion sampling technique and the expert sampling technique. The criterion sampling is defined as searching for particular cases or individuals who meet a certain condition (Neuman, 2011; Palys, 2008). Interventions concentrating on rural livelihoods were thus purposively sampled using specific categories. The bases for selection were the duration and the target beneficiaries (see Table 1). The study explored interventions that had existed for a period of two years or more. It also examined those that solely targeted small holders who are usually food crop farmers.

Table 1: Sampled Interventions, Period and Target Beneficiaries

<b>PROJECT TITLE</b>	<b>PERIOD</b>	<b>TARGET BENEFICIARIES</b>
Farm field Schools	2014 – till date	Cereals (maize) farmers
Training by Women in Agricultural Development	2006 – till date	Women farmers
West African Agricultural Productivity Programme	2006 – till date	Basic food crop farmers
Fertilizer and seed Subsidy Programme	2008 – till date	Smallholders Cultivating Maize, Rice, Sorghum, Millet Food Crop Farmers Out growers Women Farmers

Source: Field Work, 2016

The selected interventions defined the selection of the communities. Two communities, Nkrankrom and Yawhema, were selected based on their participation in the selected interventions and their cultural differences. In the communities, the study was interested in two groups of farmers: those who were participating in the selected interventions and, others who were not. The study also focused on the gendered differences of the participants. Key persons were selected using the expert

sampling technique. This sampling technique, according to Eliassen, Melhus, Kruse, and Poppel (2012) involves persons with demonstrable experience and expertise in an area. The study employed this technique to identify the point of view of the development interveners about the interventions they managed. For this study, the specific key persons were officers in charge of interventions, AEAs and MOFA representatives (see Table 2).

Table 2: Sampled Interventions and Organisations in Charge and Key Persons Contacted

<b>PROJECT TITLE</b>	<b>INITIATING ORGANIZATIONS</b>	<b>KEY PERSON(S)</b>
1. Training by Women in Agricultural Development	Women in Agric. Development	Regional Director, WIAD
2. SATTIFS	University of Molise (UNIMOL), Italy ARPA Moilse, Italy Gulu University (GU), Uganda Bio economy Africa (BEA), Ethiopia University of Energy and Natural Resources (UENR), Ghana	Ghana Team member
3. West African Agricultural Productivity Programme	Ministry of Food and Agric., Ghana ECOWAS The West and Central African Council for Agricultural Research and Development (WECARD/CORAF)	MOFA Officer in charge of project AEAs Municipal Director, MOFA
4. Fertilizer and seed Subsidy Programme	Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Ghana Ghana Agro Inputs Dealers Association Seed Producers Association of Ghana	MOFA Desk Officer in charge of project, Sunyani Municipality AEAs Intermediary seller Municipal Director, MOFA

Source: Field Work, 2016



## **Data Sources**

Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected from community farmers and the key persons. The secondary data was obtained from project documents which included policies and reports on the different interventions studied. These were acquired from the various project offices at the municipal and regional levels. Some documents were retrieved from the websites of implementing organisations.

## **Data Collection Methods and Instruments**

The primary data collection methods used in the study were focus group discussions (FGDs), interviews with key persons and in depth interviews. Documents were also collected from the various development interventions for analysis. According to Neuman (2011), the FGD is a special qualitative research data collection method where people are informally interviewed in a group setting. The FGD requires a membership of 8 to 12 participants. Differences within groups bring out issues that would usually neither have been anticipated by the study nor would have emerged from individual interviews (Babbie, 2005). The FGDs were employed because of the study's focus on the spontaneity that arises from the groups' stronger cultural context. Another reason was the expectation that participants would reveal more of their own perspectives on rural livelihood interventions and agricultural production relations. The FGDs were used to gain information on the dynamics in responses to agricultural interventions. The FGDs were conducted in both study communities, Nkrankrom and Yawhema in the Sunyani Municipality, with the assistance of a research team. The FGDs constituted

men only and women only groups to avoid male presence influencing female responses and vice versa. . A major factor on which FGD participants were selected was their participation in the chosen interventions. Other methods used were the interviews with key persons and the in-depth interview with famers. The key person interview was used to select participants who were in charge of the selected interventions. The in-depth interview was however used for specific farmers to probe further what the FGD could not cover.

The data collection instruments for the study were key person interview guide, focus group discussion guide and in-depth interview guide. All three guides were unstructured and based on the themes derived from the study's objectives. The thematic areas covered in the instruments were interventions designed to support rural livelihoods, existing agricultural production relations, responses of women and men towards the interventions and on how the positions within existing production relations shape the gendered responses. For both communities, although the various guides were written in English Language, the interactions were conducted in the local language, Twi.

The study at the point of saturation, where no new theme(s) had come up, had covered a total number of 82 participants, comprising six focus groups, four in-depth interviewees and eight key persons. A total of 70 individual farmers were covered in the six FGDs and twelve individuals as presented in Tables 3 and 4 below.

Table 3: Distribution of Community Participants

Status	Nkrankrom	Yawhema	Total
Male	24	12	36
Female	22	12	34
<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>70</b>

Source: Fieldwork, 2016.

Table 4: Distribution of Individual Interviewees

Status	Key Persons	In-depth	Total
Male	5	2	7
Female	3	2	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

### Data Collection Procedures

Data was collected in October 2016, following the initial reconnaissance study as mentioned earlier. The Sunyani Municipal Desk officer of MOFA was contacted to identify the study participants. The research team conducted between two to four interviews daily. Two FGDs were conducted each day. Highlights of the various interviews were transcribed at the end of each day. The transcription was also done daily in order to capture details of the interviews accurately. Notes taken were also grouped in the context of the research objectives to facilitate the analysis.

### **Ethical Considerations**

Participants initially were reluctant to use their productive time to answer questions but they accepted to participate in the study when the rationale of the study was explained to them. This explanation given to them was to give the choice to participate in the study or not. The research participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality. Consent was also sought from each participant before the interviews were conducted, FGDs were recorded, and pictures were taken. Permission was also sought from them to use their pictures in the research report.

### **Data Processing and Analysis**

All the interviews with focus groups and those with the individual participants were transcribed and translated. The key person interviews, originally conducted in English, were also transcribed. The data was grouped under various thematic areas. Due to the central focus on production relations and rural livelihoods, demographic data were collected only on the focus group participants. In the process of explaining how production relations shape responses to interventions, the processes and/or activities that form production relations were analysed as units as well as their influence in decisions made with regards to responses. The study chose these units of analysis because it sought to analyse the processes that make up production relations and how they shape responses.

The research analysis was guided by the objectives and research questions of the study. The first objective explored the background of the selected interventions using secondary data. The other objectives, which were to examine

production relations, analyse the responses of women and men towards the interventions, and explain how the positions within existing production relations shape the gendered responses, were analysed by themes. Themes were identified using open coding where the data collected suggested the various themes for analysis. A number of quotes were used in the text of the analysis to support some of the arguments that were made.

### **Chapter Summary**

In conclusion, the study employed a qualitative research design to explain how agricultural production relations shape gendered responses to livelihood interventions. FGDs, in depth and key person interviews were conducted to collect data in response to the research questions. It is however important to note that economic and time constraints did not permit the analysis of the background of the various development organisations in charge of the interventions. The backgrounds of the agencies were diverse and could have informed the responses to the interventions. For each intervention, multiple agencies were in charge. Though these agencies may have had different background, they shared the same goal for each intervention. The context of each project was however explored to grant a certain level of understanding. It is also necessary to note that findings from this study cannot be generalised as responses were based on the participants' point of view, which is subjective. This limitation however poses no problem, as the study is context specific.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings seeking to explain how agricultural production relations shape gendered responses to rural livelihood interventions. The proposed conceptual framework for the study is used in interpreting the findings. There are four broad themes in the discussion of the findings, which are presented according to the specific objectives of the study. The first thematic area examines the policy orientation of the selected interventions in the Municipality under study. The existing agricultural production relations are also examined. This necessitated including socio-demographic background of the participants to enable easier understanding and interpretation of the data. The third section analyses the responses of women and men towards the interventions. The final section explains how the positions within existing production relations shape the gendered responses, and suggests ways for improving interventions meant to improve rural livelihoods.

#### Existing Interventions in the Sunyani Municipality

This section analysed the interventions with two gender analytical tools. The first is the Moser Framework tool six which asks development interveners to think about the importance of involving women, gender-aware organisations, and planners in the project design. The second tool is the Social Relations Approach concept four. This concept classifies policies into two categories: gender blind and gender aware, depending on the level to which they recognize and address gender

issues. The interventions selected were Strengthening Innovations and Technology Dissemination for Sustainable Development in Cereals, Cocoa and Coffee Value Chains in Western and Eastern Africa” (SATTIFS project /Farm Field Schools) by University of Energy and Natural Resources, Sunyani. The others were WIAD projects, Fertilizer and Seed Subsidy Programme (FSS) and West African Agricultural Productivity Programme (WAAPP) as presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Existing Livelihood Interventions in the Sunyani Municipality

<b>PROJECT TITLE</b>	<b>DISTRICTS/ COMMUNITIES</b>	<b>TARGET GROUPS</b>
Farm field Schools	Sunyani(maize)	Cereals (maize) farmers
Training by Women in Agricultural Development	Nkrankrom Yawhema Sunyani	Women farmers
West African Agricultural Productivity Programme	Sunyani Nkrankrom Yawhema	Basic food crop Farmers
Fertilizer and seed Subsidy Programme	Sunyani Nkrankrom Yawhema	Smallholders Cultivating Maize, Rice, Sorghum, Millet Food Crop Farmers Out growers Women Farmers

Source: Field Work, 2016

The first intervention analysed is the SATTIFS project. This intervention was geared towards strengthening innovations and technology dissemination on cereals, cocoa and coffee value chains in Western and Eastern Africa. Specifically, in Ghana, it focused on the production of cereals such as maize and cocoa in the Eastern and Brong Ahafo regions. The Sunyani Municipality, the study area, was one of the target areas. The project aimed at building capacity in science, technology and innovation to boost food security and socio-economic development. The project document indicated that it focused on the poor and the disadvantaged, using training on various appropriate technological methods to increase yield (Obeng-Ofori, Opare, & Agyei-Ohemeng, 2013). Farmer groups were specifically targeted for training, but from the field data, farmer groups in the study area were not common. It is necessary to employ gender analytical tools to determine the project's gender sensitivity and make recommendations.

The project's partners were University of Molise (UNIMOL), Italy; Agenzia Regionale per la Protezione Ambientale del Molise (ARPA Molise), Italy; Gulu University (GU), Uganda; Bio Economy Africa (BEA), Ethiopia and UENR, Ghana. Applying the Moser tool six, it is found that there is no indication of a gender-aware organisation or planner as these partners are all science-based organisations. In addition to the academic partners, local stakeholders such as farmers, artisans and AEAs were involved. The number of women involved in all three categories were not representative enough as there were fewer women targeted than men of the population from which they were drawn. The local



stakeholders informed the kind of appropriate technologies that would be concentrated on for the project.

The expected outcomes outlined in the project report were to improve knowledge, skills and attitude about various technologies that help to advance productivity and food security among the target groups. Another outcome was to increase awareness on the availability and use of successfully proven appropriate technologies. The remaining outcomes were strengthening human resource capacity in order to develop collaborative research, technology transfer and knowledge exchange on best practices and procedures in sustainable maize and cocoa value chains.

Classifying the policy under gender aware or blind to find out the extent at which the intervention recognises and addresses gender issues, the study revealed that although the project targets small-scale farmers, it does not acknowledge the gender differences between these small-scale farmers. It also ignores the practical and strategic gender needs which a gender-aware planning organisation, if involved, may have identified, and incorporated into the initial planning process. Farmers are seen as a unit and this reflects in the nature of stakeholders that were contacted and the extension officers involved. The project's report also indicated that women were concentrated on maize farming and men on cocoa farming. Maize, unfortunately, is seasonal and short term, whereas cocoa production is for long-term security.

There was no suggestion of involving a gender-aware organisation, and this explains why the intervention is gender blind as implied by the gender blind/aware

policy classification. This therefore means that by ignoring the use of a gendered lens, invariably women's strategic needs will not be addressed, and that consequently explains their non-participation. The SATTIFS project can be said to incorporate biases in favour of existing gender relations, which confirms Byerlee, Janvry, and Sadoulet's (2009) argument that interventions have not been successful because of the "one size-fits-all approaches".

The second intervention examined is WIAD's training programme offered on the processing agricultural products and food based nutrition. A third quarter report by WIAD claimed that gender mainstreaming activities like training on improving access by farmers to financial services are also offered (MOFA, 2016). Although, the intervention is an agricultural one, its diverse training activities give individuals different livelihood options. Women in agriculture according to MOFA (2007) have limited access to productive resources such as land, labour and capital due to cultural and institutional factors. This situation thereby renders them deprived, and therefore the projects offered by WIAD targets women farmers and processors in the rural areas, peri-urban and urban communities. Although, on the face value WIAD appears to be gender-sensitive, it is essential to employ further gender analytical tools to determine its level of gender sensitivity.

The study finds out the reason why the department mainly targets women by looking into its background. It is discovered that WIAD traces its background to the Home Economics Unit of the Department of Agriculture. It was specifically established to focus on women's role in agriculture and their support to the family (household). Its main areas were home extension, which focused on food

production processing and preservation, for home consumption and farm and home resource management such as other alternative livelihood skills. The areas were situated in Women in Development (WID) ideologies where women are included in development projects in order to make them more efficient. This overlooks inequalities in women and men's social roles in relation to development, and therefore does not necessarily empower women.

The WIAD report claims that it became necessary to adopt an additional mandate to allow it to participate in the development and implementation of all policies emanating from MOFA. WIAD focused on food-based nutrition such as the promotion of education on basic nutrition and fortification of foods. There was also attention on food processing, preservation and value addition, food safety and gender mainstreaming. With the gender mainstreaming, WIAD facilitates access to productive resources and equips women with income generation activities such as soap making.

WIAD assumes a certain level of gender sensitivity because it aims at addressing inequities. It can be said to employ the efficiency approach by economically integrating women. However, in the WIAD 2016 report, it was justified that “males control most of the homes” and they were needed to “also understand the nutritional needs of the various family members and help the women with the planning of the menu” (MOFA, 2016, p. 4). This position enforces the existing gender relations, when one applies the Moser Framework tool six, questions can be raised as to the practicality of WIAD as a gender-aware

organisation. According to this tool, it is not only enough to involve women as material beneficiaries but more importantly, to address their gender strategic needs.

The intervention can be classified as gender aware, since it acknowledges that males and females are both development actors. However, it fails to address strategic gender interests, especially the unequal relations between men and women. Therefore, although WIAD may claim to empower women to gain access, it is done on the “welfare” level, which according to Longwe (1999) is women's material welfare, relative to men. The rationale behind involving men in the project activities to “help the women with the planning of the menu” (MOFA, 2016, p. 4) reinforces the woman’s reproductive position, and the man’s dominant role at the household level. Though the intervention proposes facilitating access to productive resources, it is gender aware but neutral and therefore it means that it reinforces unequal relations. Other structural limitations continuously constrain equal access to land, labour, credit, training, marketing facilities, and other productive resources.

The third intervention covered was the Fertilizer and Seed Subsidy Programme, an intervention managed by MOFA. The programme was introduced for small-scale farmers to access fertilizers at a subsidized cost and increase yield from 5 to 10 bags per acre. It is aimed at increasing farmers’ accessibility to inputs. This is in consonance with the Abuja Declaration of fertilizer use for an African Green Revolution. It was also with the ultimate objective of improving crop productivity, and farmers’ incomes (African Union, 2006).

Although the programme dealt with two items: fertilizer and seeds, the fertilizer subsidization is more prominent and that is what emphasis was laid on. Actually, as at the time of the study, the seed subsidy had ceased. This therefore meant a sole focus on fertilizer for the study. The Fertilizer Subsidy Programme was driven by the private sector. The fertilizer companies were given regional quotas to supply to farmers and this was meant to ensure equity in distribution. Private enterprises imported and supplied fertilizers to the farmers, and the government in turn, paid part of the cost as subsidies to the companies. The selling prices of subsidized fertilizer were the same in all the regions. As an exit strategy, the quantum of subsidy was reduced over the years. The subsidy level dropped from 45.3 percent in 2008 to 20 percent in 2015.

The rationale underpinning the programme, that private enterprises acting as representatives at all the stages from importation to intermediary sales can help small-scale farmers, is questionable. The reasons being that private enterprises are mostly profit oriented and create market distortions among others. Therefore, they have limited capacity to improve the livelihood of small-scale farmers. The Sunyani municipal desk officer-in-charge of the programme and an intermediary seller explained that some commercial farmers buy fertilizer in large quantities. This of course benefits the intermediary seller financially but the major objective of helping small-scale farmers is not reached. There are checks and balances in terms of quantities that can be bought but these are negatively controlled and weakened because of self-seeking motives, poor monitoring of the system and feedback.

Therefore, the objective of a redistribution of public resources within the society is severely constrained.

Going a step further, there is a need to analyse provisions made by the intervention to address gender sensitivity. The intervention reports a part of its target categories placing “priority as much as possible for women farmers.” There is no clear indication in the project’s report as to how this can be achieved. The representative of the programme covered in the study explained that neither men nor women received special treatment. This indicates that the intervention is gender neutral per the classification by the fourth concept of the Social Relations Approach. The project report therefore acknowledges the existence of males and females, but there is no effort to address the unequal relations (differences in power wielded through access, control, ownership and decision making about productive resources) between them.

A further enquiry was made to examine whether WIAD, which also is under the umbrella of MOFA, and is tasked to collaborate with other directorates to mainstream gender, is involved in the programme. The Sunyani Coordinator of the fertilizer and seed subsidy stated, “the programme is running without involving WIAD.” It can therefore be said that the FSSP fails to involve its gender-aware directorate and therefore are challenged at being gender-sensitive.

The final intervention selected for the study was WAAPP, which also like the fertilizer and seed subsidy, is ran by MOFA. The major objective of WAAPP is to transform agriculture through the development, dissemination and use of

improved agricultural technologies. The intervention has been implemented through four operational components, among which are organisations for project coordination, management, monitoring and evaluation. In Ghana, the WAAPP Coordination Unit is the Projects' Division of MOFA whilst the implementing agency is the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). In achieving its major objective, WAAPP aims at creating an enabling environment for regional cooperation in technology generation and dissemination. It also seeks to create a National Centre of Specialisation to strengthen research and provide a demand-driven technology generation and adoption.

The structures put in place to govern and manage the WAAPP in Ghana are the National Steering Committee as well as their Management Committee, and the Competitive Agricultural Research Grant Scheme (CARGS) Board. The various committees are in charge of the implementation of the policy. There is no mention of a gender aware organisation. This policy can be said to ignore women and gender aware organisations in both the planning and implementation stages.

However, the second quarter report of 2015 presents gender-disaggregated data stating the number of beneficiaries according to gender. The intervention recognizes the difference between male and female. The Sunyani Municipal coordinator as well as the AEA in Yawhema confirmed that the project usually targets farmer groups and there is a special effort to include women. These farmer groups are generally advised to involve at least 40 percent women, even though this is not clearly stated in the project's report.

There are however, indications of unequal relations within the farmer based organisations within the study, even if they have achieved their target number of female participation. It is only usual for women to decline the executive roles, which according to the participants, are mostly occupied by men. A further probe to assess WAAPP's level of gender awareness indicates that the intervention is gender neutral. It recognizes a difference between male and female farmers but not as a unit. Such an intervention will rather worsen the unequal relations between men and women, and further incline production relations in the favour of men.

It was evident that all interventions except the SATTIFS project were gender aware. The training by WIAD, the women organ of MOFA was gender aware so was WAAPP and FSP. However, the latter are gender neutral because they end at recognising the differences between men and women. WIAD's activities go a step further to offer women economic empowerment. The unequal relation between men and women is however not addressed and they therefore fail at redistribution. All interventions do not involve a gender aware organisation in their planning or implementation process except WIAD.

### **Socio-Demographic background of farmers**

A number of socio-demographic characteristics were examined in the study. These were the marital status, dominant marriage type and household size, religion, educational attainment and the agricultural activities of the research participants. The characteristics were highlighted because of their potential influence on the participants' positions in production relations. Due to the central focus on production



relations and rural livelihoods, demographic data were collected only on the focus group respondents.

A total of 70 individual farmers participated in the six FGDs. Their sex distributions were recorded as follows: there were more men (51.42%) than women (48.60%) in both communities. In Yawhema, participation for both men and women were at par (50% for both sexes). However, at Nkrankrom, more men (52.17%) participated than women (47.83%).

Table 6: Sex Distribution of Community Participants in FGDs

Status	Nkrankrom		Yawhema		Total	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Male	24	52.17	12	50	36	51.42
Female	22	47.83	12	50	34	48.60
<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>65.71</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>34.29</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100</b>

Freq-Frequency, %-Percentage

Source: Fieldwork, 2016.

A majority of the members in the groups were married. All the married were in monogamous marriages as well. Across the groups in both communities, their average household size was eight. This is twice the average national household size, which is four (GSS, 2014). Participants from Nkrankrom were mainly Christians, whereas those from Yawhema were mainly Muslim. The male participants tended to have a higher level of formal education as compared to the females. The highest education level of the males in both communities was senior

secondary and that of the female participants was upper primary. All participants covered in the study were farmers, there was however some form of diversity in terms of crops grown. Male farmers were either cash crop (e.g. cocoa) farmers or grew staple crops like cassava. The female participants however cultivated maize and vegetables. Most female participants were involved in off-farm activities, particularly marketing farm crops or processed foods and other on-farm activities such as poultry farming or rearing of small ruminants. Other female participants also were involved in non-farm activities such as dressmaking, hairdressing and soap making.

### **Existing Agricultural Production Relations in the Sunyani Municipality**

In order to examine the agricultural production relations within the Sunyani Municipality, it was necessary to find out the productive resources available and how these resources are accessed and controlled. It was also necessary to outline ownership systems in operation in the different study communities in order to help determine the relations in place. The gendered differences in access, control and/or ownership were thus discussed. The assignment of farming processes to various social groups in the communities with regards to crops grown and farm tasks are also examined.

Productive resources found in the study area were categorised under the different livelihood assets as discussed in the conceptual framework. These are the financial, physical, natural, human and social assets. First to be discussed are financial assets. Research participants mentioned the following, credit from financial institutions and individuals, start-up capital, and savings. The various

human assets mentioned were training in farm practices such as application of fertilizer and tending improved crop varieties, extension services and labour. Physical assets, included farm tools such as cutlasses, hoes and knapsack sprayers, and household assets such as domestic animals. The specific natural asset mentioned was land. Finally, social assets mentioned were culturally ascribed community rules and obligations.

In both Nkrankrom and Yawhema, the study found out that the major productive resource for crop farmers was land. Land is generally accessed through share cropping (70% to 80%), in both communities. Again, a majority of participants for both males and females were sharecroppers or tenant farmers practising the '*ebunu*' or the '*ebusa*' system. The tenant farmers had access to land for agricultural purposes but did not have the authority to determine who can use the land. In Nkrankrom, owners of the land who are indigenes from Abessim, had direct access to family land and could determine who can use the land. Nkrankrom was reported by the participants to be on the Abessim land.

In Yawhema and Nkrankrom, it was realised that both the *ebunu* and the *ebusa* systems were practised. It was discovered that there were different sharecropping arrangements for different types of crops grown. Food crops such as cassava, and cash crops like cocoa were grown under *ebunu* arrangements, whereas grains like maize were grown under *ebusa*. The difference between crops grown under *ebusa* and those under *ebunu* is in the cultural importance placed on the different crops as well as their varied economic values.

Participants from Nkrankrom stated that the land is owned by indigenes of Abessim and that they (from Nkrankrom) are settler farmers. The Municipal Director of MoFA acknowledged that,

The migrants usually farm under the *ebunu* and the *ebusa* sharecropping arrangements. There are situations where the farmer is given access to land but is tasked to take care of both the cash crops (owned mostly by the landholder) and the food crops (planted by the migrant). (Municipal Director, MoFA)

Under the sharecropping system, land is usually leased for two to three years. Longer periods of the lease increase the cost to the sharecropper. The farmers have to inform the landholder about the crops they want to cultivate in order to determine the duration of the tenancy agreement. There are situations, according to the Sunyani Municipal Director, MoFA where “the landholder determines the type of crops the farmer should grow.”

Land is usually leased for two years. After the two years, you can choose to renew at a higher cost or change landlords (FGD, Nkrankrom)

They take money for the *ebunu* and the *ebusa*, and in addition a bottle of Schnapps. (FGD, Yawhema)

The study also discovered another sharecropping system, which mainly focuses on cash crops specifically cocoa and oil palm. The landholder determines the arrangement and usually when the land is cultivated for a period of time (3 – 5

years), the harvest as well as the farmland is divided into two and shared between the landholder and the tenant farmer. Under this arrangement, land interest of the tenant farmer moves from just accessing, to controlling, where the tenant farmers will not only access land but also after a period determine who can use their portion of the land. A male participant revealed that he practised this form of sharecropping. A key person mentioned this arrangement too:

I practise the *ebunu* and paid a tenancy fee of GHC 1,200.00 (equivalent to USD 299.22 at rate of GHC4.01040<USD1 in October, 2016). I am entitled to half of the farmland and produce when the cocoa matures (FGD participant, Nkrankrom)

...With the oil palm for example, the land tenancy arrangement practised is the *ebunu*. Usually the tenant farmer pays the landholder the fee, harvests for the first two years and then starts sharing the produce. They come to control a portion of the land after the two years. (AEA, Yawhema)

Men in Nkrankrom, according to FGD participants, typically access and control land through sharecropping arrangement. This is because of the role-played and authority given in the various political spaces, for example, household, which is influenced by culture. Participants in Yawhema FGDs mentioned land renting as a means for accessing land.

Other means of accessing land for farming the research participants mentioned were purchasing or renting. In Nkrankrom, the participants at the female

FGD indicated they did not own the land, and that their landlords were indigenes from Abessim. They also acknowledged that the lands they farmed on were family lands for the people of Abessim. As against State and stool lands, it was confirmed that the family lands could be purchased from individuals. Purchasing of the family lands were customarily and legally performed with the consent of decision makers in the family, who are the traditional custodians of the lands.

Finally, another means of accessing land, as reported by research participants in both communities, was through inheritance. Two modes of land inheritance were mentioned. These were those passed on through the family by indigenes and those passed on to family by tenant farmers. In Nkrankrom, it was found out that their landholders, indigenes from Abessim, usually inherited the land through family. The tenant farmers also sometimes controlled land by inheritance. This was executed through the *ebunu* system where the tenant farmer shares the land and farm produce equally with the landlord. With the authority to own a portion of the land, they could easily pass it on to other relatives. There was an instance where a female participant interviewed stated she owns a cocoa farm, which she inherited from her husband. A male participant also mentioned inheriting land from his father.

Research participants pointed out the challenges they face in accessing land. The scarcity of land and other competing demands of land specifically, construction activities (building of houses) discouraged farmers from purchasing. Lands were priced exorbitantly and so the farmers could not afford, and therefore, they gave up their lands at a point. Participants in the FGDs in Nkrankrom stated that,

Money restricts us from purchasing land but we usually control land through negotiations (*ebunu* arrangement of dividing farmland) (FGD Nkrankrom)

The land is expensive. You won't get an acre of land to rent for GHC100.00 (equivalent to USD 24.93 at rate of GHC4.01040<USD1 in October, 2016). If you get it, it will be out of sympathy (FGD, Yawhema).

Participants reported a preference for renting land for a shorter period of time due to high cost. This choice comes with its own disadvantage. Farmers face the fear of unexpected increase in rent charges, and also receive hostile attitudes of landholders. Landholders, according to research participants, arbitrarily change their tenancy agreements with the farmers from renting to sharecropping when they realise that the farm yields are high. A quotation by a female FGD participant in Yawhema confirms this assertion:

What prevents us from renting is the attitude of landholders. Sometimes, they dictate to us what to plant. Again, these land owners are so greedy that they would want to take our lands when they realise the crops are blooming. After they have agreed to the renting terms, they change their minds and say they want the sharecropping terms (FGD, Yawhema)

Responses given by both female and male participants revealed that landholders in the share cropping system increase prices arbitrarily and they usually do this on annual basis.

We have related problems with renting the farmlands. There are unexpected increases in the price of the farmland rents every year....

We choose not to negotiate when we cannot afford it anymore. Again, we cease renegotiation when we are fed up with the landholder's uncompromising attitude (FGD, Nkrankrom).

In response to the accusations of tenant farmers in the FGDs, a key participant, a landholder explained:

I inherited the land from my family. I take care of the land and rent it out. Tenant farmers misuse the land and so sometimes it is not advisable to rent out (FDG, Nkrankrom).

Financial assets, which were also identified by the FGDs as key productive resources, were usually accessed through credit from financial institutions, occasional subsidies by the government, and savings from produce sold, as well as income from other livelihood activities such as dressmaking, food marketing or rearing of small ruminants. Farm tools were other productive resources mentioned by research participants. Among tools mentioned were cutlasses and knapsack sprayers for fertilizer, weedicide and pesticide application. However, none mentioned highly mechanised farm implements like tractors and harvesters. Other physical assets mentioned was information bearing instruments like mobile phones



and radios. There were indications of social assets such as family ties, women networks for non-farm livelihood activities, and active welfare support for social events such as community gatherings. Finally, human assets accessed as indicated by the FGDs were unpaid labour from household members, hired labour and varied trainings offered by extension services.

The study enquired further to distinguish gendered differences in accessing, controlling or owning productive resources. It was found that male participants in Nkrankrom had better access to financial assets and this access helped them to access larger farm lands. A female participant who stated “men’s financial status allows them to farm bigger plots of land” confirms this. In Nkrankrom, men averagely take 3-4 acres of land, but women take half an acre of land. Both communities gave different reasons why men generally had larger farmlands. Nkrankrom research participants explained that most of the women diversify their livelihoods, and as a result, they do not have adequate time to expand their farms.

Males have larger farms than females. This is because most of the women add other activities such as marketing and trade to their farming activities. Therefore, they do not have adequate time to farm larger farms. The males focus solely on the farming activities. The women support us a lot (FGD, Yawhema).

Male participants in Yawhema explained that they decide what should be planted on the farms since they are in charge of providing physical assets such as procuring farm implements, a fact which explains why they had larger farms. In

both communities, the males stated that women's farming activities are undertaken to support the men. Although it has been earlier stated that men have better access to financial assets than women, there were interesting statements made by some of the male participants, which actually suggested a level of male financial dependence on women.

Women usually market and so they give out loans to the men. (Male, FGD, Nkrankrom)

The individual farmers do not access capital from the banks neither do they give out loans to their colleagues. We therefore take loans from our wives (Male, FGD Nkrankrom)

....Livestock, they (women) rear are also sold for solving financial problems and other emergencies (Male, FGD Nkrankrom)

However, some of the female participants stated that their access to financial resources even as groups were hindered by non-access to capital from financial institutions and this discouraged them as a group.

We used to have women farmer groups but it doesn't exist anymore. We were saving toward getting access to loans but since we didn't get, we dissolved the group (FGD, Yawhema).

With access to land through sharecropping, only female participants from both communities complained about the landholders dictating what to cultivate on their farmlands. Even though they may access land at almost the same price as the

men, the attitudes of landholders who are usually men discouraged them (the females) from acquiring their personal farms. A female participant in Yawhema complained bitterly,

The owners of the land do not allow us to take the produce for feeding ourselves no matter what. They are always on the farm patrolling and monitoring. (FGD, Yawhema)

According to the FGD participants in Nkrankrom, the husbands assist their wives in acquiring land. In Yawhema, females, during the FGDs, stated that they are obliged to inform their husbands before acquiring land. The women farmers usually search for the land, express interest to the landholder and then discuss with their husbands to assist them to acquire it. The final decision therefore depends on the man.

A possible advantage for women was that “the wife inherits the land by default under the cash crop shareholding (*ebunu*) arrangement”. It was explained that during the “dividing of land and produce arrangement”, after the husband’s demise, a woman still has the right over the entitlement of her husband and therefore even in his absence, the woman gets to inherit his share of the farmland and the produce as stated in the existing sharecropping arrangement. The officer in charge of fertilizer subsidy reported the difference in the inheritance system in the communities. In reference to Nkrankrom he indicated that,

The community is matrilineal; therefore, the men pay more attention to their nephews.

The participants from Nkrankrom inherit through their maternal lineage whereas those from Yawhema inherit assets paternally. In spite of this distinction between the communities, research participants indicated that there is a better opportunity for men to inherit land and other properties for both systems either as sons or nephews. This notwithstanding, women in both communities specified that they sometimes inherit land from their fathers or husbands. Inheritance, again is usually through their sons till the sons are mature enough to control the assets. These are in situations where their sons are not old enough to manage the inheritance. Sons therefore directly inherit from fathers when they are mature enough to take care of the assets. Women's access by inheritance, through male relations, therefore indicates the secondary rights female participants hold with respect to productive resources. It was argued in an interview by one of the key persons that,

The women inherit land with the premise that if she is deprived of the land, then the children, who are the core of the family, will be denied of their rights to the land (Municipal Director, MoFA).

This quotation explains that women are culturally allowed to inherit from their husbands to safeguard their children's future on the subject of productive resources. They therefore hold the land in trust for their underage sons. The woman therefore serves as a temporary supervisor of the resources till the male child assumes the role of the household head as argued by Yngstrom (2002). Women's secondary rights to land tend to be insecure as they are usually not documented, and are subject to change. A quotation by a female farmer interviewed stated that:

Most female cocoa farmers get access to land through their fathers or husbands (FGD, Nkrankrom).

A male farmer who indicated that the only female cocoa farmer he knew of and who controls her land which she inherited through her husband, also confirmed this assertion.

In order to determine production relations, farm processes, off-farm activities, income expenditure and the kind of labour used are also interrogated. These farm processes are defined as the kind of work undertaken on the farm. This section explores women and men's roles in farm activities. To interrogate the culturally informed productive roles, both communities were compared. To determine the relations, participants were first questioned about the kinds of crops they cultivate. This questioning was done with the aim of finding out if there were any gendered dynamics with crops grown. Specifically, differences suggested by the participants revealed that crops are assigned on a gendered basis centred on the type of crop, its market value and maturity duration.

Interactions with the participants showed that crops grown in the communities are either cash crops or food crops. The dominant cash crop mentioned in both communities was cocoa. Food crops were further categorised under vegetables and grains, and hard crops. Crops mentioned under vegetables and grains were pepper, garden eggs, groundnut, onion, maize and okro. Some of the hard crops mentioned were plantain, yam, and cassava. Female participants for both

communities were associated more with the vegetables and grains while the men assigned themselves with cash and hard crops such as cocoa and yam.

The women plant okro, kontomire and pepper (FGD, Nkrankrom)

Cocoa farmers are mostly men but there are some women who are involved in cocoa farming mostly through inheritance. (FGD, Nkrankrom)

Further enquiries revealed that for both communities, crops grown by women are usually for subsistence. It was also stated that even when women grow food crops other than vegetables, it was usually for subsistence use. An FGD participant was of a different opinion. He argued that women are now more involved in hard crops such as cocoa and yam due to lack of resources and the need for them to support the family.

Women plant yams as well but they are usually for subsistence use (FGD, Nkrankrom).

The women plant garden eggs, pepper and groundnut because it is easy to plant them. They currently started adding the maize and other hard crops. This became necessary because of the scarce resources (money) and the need to get money to support the family. (FGD, Yawhema)

Women mostly work on their husbands' farms as well as theirs because the man's farm is deemed as the family farm and the main source of livelihood.

Different crops had different market values as well. This observation also had a gendered implication. Crops grown by women provided low or short-term market value, whereas crops grown by men had long-term market value. Cocoa, which is a cash crop, according to the participants in Nkrankrom, provides long-term security and that is why it is associated with men.

Maize farming is more profitable in the short term. With the maize, it provides security for subsistence and income. The cocoa rather helps with life security. The women actually access cocoa farms through their husbands. They grow food crops to give the cocoa seedlings some shade. (Male, Nkrankrom)

The maize brings in income in the short term but cocoa fetches more income after some time. There is therefore security with cocoa plantation than maize. (FGD, Yawhema)

Other reasons given by participants in Yawhema on why women farmed vegetables and grains was that they are easy to plant. This however is in contrast to an earlier finding at Nkrankrom, which states that women farm food crops because of their tendency to diversify. In Yawhema, crops grown were culturally assigned to women and men.

Though the participants initially specified that there are no gender differences in farm activities, further probing revealed the contrary. Participants in both communities stated that men are in charge of certain farm tasks. The first activity mentioned was fertilizer application. Women, according to the participants,

usually provide water for mixing the chemical whereas men are in charge of the spraying of the fertilizer. The male participants stated that they educate the women on how to spray but they usually do the spraying because of women's time demands arising out of their reproductive roles. Other activities assigned on a gendered basis were planting, crop harvesting and marketing for women, and weeding and mounds making for men (see Figure 3).



*Figure 3:* A couple going to farm, with the woman carrying a bucket, and the man carrying knapsack for fertilizer application and a cutlass.

Photo credit: Field work, 2016.



The male farmers explained that,

Fertilizer application is laborious and is therefore not attractive to the women who usually have their hands full with reproductive roles (FGD, Nkrankrom)

We educate the women on how to spray farmlands. Nevertheless, we are engaged in the spraying of the farmlands. They only spray farmlands when the farm belongs to them. Women are engaged in other activities such as harvesting, marketing and fetching water for the men to spray their farms. Men do the weeding, creating of mounds and spraying (FGD, Yawhema).

We go to the farms and do housework as well. (FGD, Nkrankrom)

Some of the women who have their farms even claimed they plead with their husbands to help them with fertilizer application. Even as hired labourers on farms, women and men do different activities. One of the key persons confirms this by acknowledging that,

Within the labourers too, women are hired to plant while men do the other tasks such as weeding. (AEA, Yawhema)

The dominant off-farm activity among the Nkrankrom FGDs was marketing farm produce. Women are usually in charge of marketing. They reported that market conditions, and not the men, determine the prices. A male participant attested that:

Women market better than their male counterparts and therefore marketing farm produce is left in their care. (FGD, Nkrankrom)

In Yawhema however, in contrast to Nkrankrom, men determine the prices at which goods should be sold.

Men determine the prices. We sell the produce. We give the monies to our husbands and account to them. (FGD, Yawhema)

Women rather account to the men after marketing. This is usually for produce from the family farms. A female participant indicated that the females get to control the produce when they control the farms.

We, the women control our own produce from our farms and market the family's produce. (FGD, Nkrankrom)

The women give monies realised from the sale of farm produce to their husbands. Women keep money from the sale of farm produce from their own farms. It was also found that there were gendered differences in household expenditure. Although the female participants stated that the men's farms are the main source of household income, they also stated that proceeds from their farms are also used to provide household needs. Men are responsible for paying school fees and women, household food and medical care. Women's expenditure is seen as supporting men.

The men control the income and produce for the family. The women use their income for subsistence use and the men take care of fees.

The women just help. They do not take care of the house (FGD, Nkrankrom)

....We spend so much money on food and school. Those who have children at the tertiary level feel the financial constraints the more. (FGD, Nkrankrom)

Women's role is therefore considered subsidiary to the man, although they contribute a lot to the upkeep of the family. They take care of food, child health care and sometimes subsidize the paying of school fees. Yet, due to their position in the household as is suggested in the conceptual framework, their role is considered subsidiary to the heads of the household, men. Therefore, as termed by the participant, whatever role they perform is help to the man. This view also confirmed by Damisa & Yohanna's (2007) term of women's subsidiary position to men.

It was also found out that most crops grown by the women are for subsistence, and livestock reared is to solve financial problems and other emergencies pointing out their need to diversify. One of the females in the FGDs claimed that they mostly engaged in farming but,

...usually diversify by selling cooked food, selling maize, marketing, rearing small ruminants and learning a trade such as soap making or sewing. (FGD Yawhema)

The study also explored the gendered differences in access to human assets, specifically labour. According to participants, access to labour had two dimensions: either through the household or hiring. Household labour is usually unpaid and is

accessible by a person's position. Men's farms are the family farms and because of their position as household heads, all members including their wives are expected to work on these farms without rewards, even when women have their own farm. A female participant admitted that they as women work on the family farm owned by their husbands and their own farms. Most of the participants explained that the women are expected to work on their husbands' farms as such farms are the household farm and therefore rewards are not expected. One of the key participants argued that:

No farmer will pay his wife for working on his farm. They see it as the woman's duty (Desk officer, MoFA)

This indicates that both the men and the women have a culturally entrenched notion that it is a woman's duty to work on her husband's farm and the man is also not compelled to reciprocate this act on his wife's farm. Culture, here therefore informs agricultural production relations within the study communities as indicated by the participants. This practice reveals the operation of a superstructure in this case, culture which affects household relations.

Rewards for hiring paid labour were either in cash or kind. Wage rates differed according to the cost of tools, sex of the farmer, tasks assigned and nature of the crops. Labour rates depended on the changes in the purchase price of the cutlass. These rates are normally set at community meetings. A key person specified that

The town committee at its meetings sets the labour rates when the purchase price of the cutlass changes (Nkrankrom).

However, the participants in Yawhema, explained that the labour rates depends on the negotiation skills of the labourers.

We hire labourers and pay GHC15.00. The pay varies. It is determined by the labourers (FGD, Yawhema).

The sex of the farmers also determined the differences in wage rates. Women, according to the participants, were paid at a lower rate than the men. Rates varied also according to the duration of the engagement. Waged labour was hired either for a full day (8am-5pm) and a half-day (8am-12noon). The duration spent in working, according to the participants, were gendered, as female labourers tend to spend a whole day for GHC20.00 while males, spend half day for GHC17.00.

Women are paid less than men. The duration is as follows, from 8am- 5pm, women are paid at the rate of GHC20.00 and men from 8am- 12noon are paid at the rate of GHC 17.00. (Male In depth, Nkrankrom)

There were also differences with the labour hired for crops and tasks assigned. Females were usually hired to tend food crops and their tasks were usually to harvest produce. Male labourers were however hired on cash crop farms and their tasks were to weed.

Female labourers are usually employed to work on food crop farms such as maize. This is because they have enough time for planting.

(MoFA Director)

Women labourers harvest vegetables and soup ingredients. Men only work on cocoa farms as labourers (Male, In depth interview, Nkrankrom).

With garden eggs, women are hired as labourers and with cocoa men are hired. Women are usually hired as harvesters (FGD Nkrankrom)

Women who owned their farms also accessed labour provided they had the financial capability. They are usually paid for labour using income from the sale of their farm produce.

The money from our farm produce is used to pay labourers...(FGD, Yawhema)

Women who however could not access the hired labour due to low income paid in kind.

We hire labour but we have a portion we give to the person to farm on and then we share the produce (Female In-depth, Nkrankrom)

In conclusion, to answer what the nature of agricultural production relations is in the Sunyani Municipality, it was observed that the owners of the means of

production are usually men. Therefore, women acted as productive forces and any activity performed by a woman was considered assistance to her husband. Men had better access to women's labour, which at the household level was usually characterized as unpaid. Wages within paid labour also varied on a gendered basis. Women's access to land did not allow them to determine who can use it. This corroborates Britwum, Tsikata, Akorsu, and ~~&~~Aberebrese's (2014) interpretation of access in the land tenure system as the ability to use land without the authority to determine who can use it. Women's access right is also seen as secondary as they only exercise that right through a father, brother or son. This finding confirms the assertion that in Ghana, a clear division of labour according to age and sex guides the various tasks farmers perform and therefore explains the highly gendered nature of agriculture (Britwum, 2009; Apusigah, 2009; Doss, 2002). Their (women's) lack of control renders them as subordinates to their male partners who usually have control over the means of production. This finding supports Apusigah's (2009) argument that women are positioned as subordinates while men as super-ordinates, thus making men the controllers of the means of production. The kind of crops grown and its use, productive roles played and decision making are also found to be gendered (Britwum, 2009; Apusigah, 2009; Doss, 2002).

### **Gendered Responses towards Interventions**

This section focuses on the differences in responses between the male and the female participants. A general view of why interventions were accessed was first sought and then subsequently, the study probed further to analyse the gendered differences. The major factors influencing responses to interventions, according to

participants were the cost, access to subsidized fertilizer and seeds, information about improved farm practices, demand of tasks, and market value of the crop introduced. Dominant (60%) among these reasons is the access to fertilizer at a subsidized cost. The subsidized cost of fertilizer therefore gives farmers the advantage to access more bags of fertilizer. More importantly, it was noted that the access to fertilizer leads to a higher yield. The Municipal Director of MoFA explained that,

Interventions are accessed when they are less expensive and provide high yield. The factor of a higher yield is ranked most among the reasons why farmers access.

Information on improved practices disseminated by AEAs to farmers was another factor motivating responses to interventions. Farmers were encouraged to adopt different improved practices to protect their crops against pests and weeds. Other farmers also accessed interventions to reduce their demands on time and therefore preferred interventions with easier farm tasks. Female participants who had a lot of demands on their time especially made this point.

The evidence of a better yield attracts us to the interventions and also easier tasks (FGD Nkrankrom)

The market worth of crops introduced by the development actors also served as a reason why some of the participants accessed interventions. Responses to interventions promoting crops with higher market value were accessed by a particular gender. Interventions focused on off farm activities were mainly accessed



by women. Specifically, the skill acquired in off-farm activities such as gari production, soap and shea butter making was a reason why some of female participants accessed interventions. One of the key persons in Yawhema in affirmation, mentioned activities that are provided by WIAD stating that,

WIAD involves farmers in many projects through demonstrations. Particularly in Yawhema, women are introduced to gari processing and soap making. (AEA, Nkrankrom)

Participants were asked whether they had discerned any existing male and female differences in accessing interventions. The male group from Yawhema argued that it is in women's nature to easily accept things without questioning and that was the reason why most females accessed interventions. They suggested that the men access interventions when there is evidence of its success. One participant from the male FGDs in Nkrankrom commented that,

....The evidence of a better yield attracts us to the interventions  
(Male, FGD, Nkrankrom)

However, two key persons stated that in implementing interventions, men respond to interventions quicker than women because the “women work with their husbands.” Men also access more interventions than women because their farms are larger and this also informs the kind of interventions they access (crop varieties, fertilizer and seeds and cash crop interventions).

The premise of access to farmlands also, according to the AEA in Yawhema, is what prevented a lot of people especially women from accessing the

interventions. A lack of access to land definitely results in a decline in an interest in accessing a particular intervention especially, farm related ones. This encouraged the participation in off-farm interventions such as the training in soap making and gari production, which is provided by the Women's Unit of MoFA. But the off farm interventions are also further constrained by lack of inputs such as cassava to produce gari. The lack of raw materials therefore reduced the interest in participation.

We do not engage in these activities because the raw materials are not found in Sunyani, unless we go to Kumasi (Female In-depth, Yawhema)

The difference in land tenancy was one reason deterring people from accessing interventions. In situations where a piece of land is rented out to more than one person or the landholder decides to increase the amount of rent exorbitantly, land access is constrained and so is the interest in participating in an intervention. There were instances of land given out to more than one person, which threatened access to interventions as well. The issue of control was raised here, where it is not only about accessing land but also deciding what use it can be put to. The focus of interventions on cash crops such as cocoa and not on food crops also reduced the participants' interest in participation.

...We do not benefit much from MoFA because they mostly concentrate on the cocoa farms and not on the food crops. (Female FGD, Nkrankrom)

The market also influenced the success of some interventions as a fall in the demand for a particular crop led to a decline in the participation in the interventions. This is especially in relation to crop-specific interventions. Again, competition on the market also discouraged the access to some other interventions especially interventions that were off-farm related. Products that were manufactured through the various trainings offered by WIAD were not in high demand and therefore resulted in a loss for the beneficiaries. These products had to compete with imported products and usually there is a better demand for the imports as compared to the locally manufactured small scale products. The following are views expressed by participants on this issue:

The market also drives interventions. In the situation when demand for a particular crop or a variety of a crop is not demanded for, then the farmers will not buy into the intervention (AEA, Yawhema).

The soaps we produced were not being purchased. People preferred the sweet-scented soaps so since the soap was not purchased we used it on home basis for our families and that made us ran at a loss. (Female, Key informant, Yawhema)

....The high competition of certain products on the market also cause the lack of interest to access certain interventions. The market for locally made soaps for example is very small as compared to that of other soaps. The women ran at a loss and therefore lose interest in the intervention. (AEA, Yawhema)

Furthermore, other reasons given for non-participation of the interventions were a preference to past knowledge of how things are done, and financial constraints. There was also an indication of a passive reception towards the extension officers for offering knowledge based interventions and not material inputs.

It is difficult following what the officers teach us because we prefer sticking to our past knowledge of how things are done. (Male, FGD, Yawhema)

For those who do not respond to the interventions, it is because they are fed up with the AEAs. They want to get material inputs like seeds and fertilizer. They have no value for the knowledge imparted them. (Desk officer, MoFA)

The lack of resources for the farmers such as scarcity of cassava for gari production also influences the failure of certain interventions... (AEA, Yawhema)

Implementing approaches used by the organisations such as the choice of the mode of communication was another reason affecting farmers' participation in the interventions. Projects that used text messages on mobile phones were reported as having low participation rates. Even though some farmers owned mobile phones, a good number are non-literate, and this served as a challenge. A female participant indicated that,

The coupons for fertilizer subsidy are sent via text message and we are not technologically literate and so this hinders our access to information (Female FGD, Nkrankrom).

One of the participants who accessed one of the interventions was sure that no one had contacted them for the fertilizers. When she was told that it had been sent to her phone she replied by stating that,

“Even if it appeared on my phone, how will I understand it?”(Female FGD, Nkrankrom)



*Figure 4: A message indicating the code for fertilizer subsidy*

Almost all the female participants had phones; however, most of them depended on relatives for information from the organisations. One of the male FGD participants mentioned the nature of support they give to women regarding accessing to information.

Since text messaging is our main source of communication, we are able to share with the women when we receive information. (Male FGD, Nkrankrom)

Specifically, the reasons female participants gave for not accessing the interventions were time constraints because of the demands of housework.

In the mornings, I cook banku and take some before going to farm. By the time I return, I am too tired to cook again so I just take the leftover of the morning's banku. (Female FGD, Nkrankrom)

The farmers face serious financial difficulties and time constraints, especially the women because they are engaged in household chores, they want someone to listen and bring them the feedback. (Desk officer, MoFA)

The dual role of combining productive and reproductive activities prevents women from finding time to access the interventions especially the project-based ones, introduced by WIAD or even attending meetings for the farm field interventions (information dissemination). Even within farmer-based organisations, according to the WAAPP extension officer, women are not regular at meetings. Unfortunately, these meetings serve as the fora where MoFA introduces new interventions or disseminates information on existing ones. Interestingly, a male participant corroborated the view that the dual role women play is a key factor that prevents them from accessing these interventions. He stated that,

Women do the household chores. Women get stressed up more than men but we don't tell them otherwise they will be head-swollen. However, we express our appreciation through our actions. (FGD, Nkrankrom)

The dwindling of the start-up capital for projects (gari processing, soap making) also caused disinterest in participating in interventions. The start-up capital was used for the provision of family needs and community welfare issues. Women's provisioning role and implications for wealth accumulation was threatened by altruism and this had implications for capital.

The major challenges we faced were financial constraints....It helped in a day-to-day feeding of the family but there was no capital to continue it. The family we were taking care of was another reason why the project failed because the little profit we had was for our families and therefore we lacked capital.... Welfare issues too broke up the group. We were supposed to help with social activities for the group members but couldn't because of the lack of money. This caused a number of people to leave the group. (Female, In-depth, Yawhema)

The intervening organisations were also asked about the challenges they face in implementing interventions. The major factor that ran through the responses was financial constraints from the central government. The representative for fertilizer and seed subsidy mentioned that there is difficulty in accessing state funds

in implementing interventions. Logistics such as means of transportation to disseminate information about interventions to the farmers also served as a constraint according to WAAPP and WIAD representatives. Inadequate number of staff to reach all communities was also mentioned as a challenge in implementation of interventions.

Farmers expect the AEAs to give everything for free. There is difficulty in accessing the State funds. A typical example is the fuelling of the motorbikes, which is a means of transportation to contact the farmers. (AEA, Nkrankrom)

Some challenges faced are inadequate staff to reach the women, lack of logistics and money from the government...(WIAD officer)

There are various reasons why these interventions do not meet their objectives. The lack of resources for AEAs in organising demonstrations (trainings) for the farmers is a major setback for many interventions. (AEA, Yawhema)

Some of the challenges are that there is a constraint on financial resources. In 2016 for instance only nine districts were selected to benefit from the intervention in the Brong Ahafo.... The issue of insufficient funds serves as a challenge. (WAAPP officer)

Other interventions were also limited due to their target groups. SATTIFS, the private intervention, reported that farmer groups were usually targeted as a result of their capacity building goal. However, from the field data, farmer groups in



the study area were found to be not popular, and even though other development actors encouraged female participation in these groups, their numbers were usually not encouraging.

As explained in the conceptual framework, superstructures such as culture, which exist in political spaces, inform production relations interfering with the objective of interventions to sustain livelihoods. From the findings, production relations inform a woman's role, which inhibits interventions especially creating disinterest for beneficiaries.

### **Positions within existing production relations and gendered responses**

The study sought to explain how production relations shape the differences in responses given by the participants. In both communities, the study observed that the major superstructure, which served as a determinant and bedrock for production relations, was culture. It was noted that the positions within the relations, at the primary level, the household, determined the access, control and ownership of productive resources, particularly land. The owner of the means of production and the productive forces determine these relations. The former therefore can be termed as the superordinate, and the latter, as the subordinate. In political spaces such as the household, men are usually seen as the household heads and women, their subordinates. The participants' positions within production relations also explained the nature of decision making both at the household and community levels. Finally, it was revealed that these positions and their accompanying roles within production relations determined the choice of interventions.

Participants were again asked whether their position within production relations, which grants them access, control or ownership affected the nature of responses given to the interventions. In response, they stated that the access to productive resources informs the kind of interventions they access (crop varieties, fertilizer and seeds and cash crop interventions). Female participants in both communities, especially the married ones who were in the majority, revealed that their position is to support their male partners on the farms. Others who had their own farms had to first work on their husbands' farms; before they can go on to work on their own. The males explained that their farms were the family farms. This therefore meant that the woman is duty bound to the family farm first, before she can take care of her personal farm.

Women's positions as wives within political spaces such as the household culturally ascribe to them a supporting role. This role also influences their access and control to productive assets and results in their reactions interventions. Married women's positions therefore serve as a challenge to their productivity as a result of their combination of agricultural work as well as other unpaid labour on family farms. Married women work on family and their own farms. Women's lack of access to land as a result of their productive position, which renders them financially handicapped, prevents them from accessing some interventions. Therefore, a lack of access to land and capital causes a disinterest in accessing a particular intervention especially crop related ones.

A number of participants mentioned controlling land through family inheritance and sharecropping. Such participants were in a better position within the

production system to practise any intervention if they so wished. There were situations where women had their farms and could make decisions regarding the use of intervention on their farms and not on the family farms.

Although ownership was not a common way of acquiring land within the study, there were issues of control, which affected beneficiaries' participation in interventions. This was due to differences in land tenure arrangements. Tenant farmers had instances when landholders' attitude discouraged them from accessing certain interventions. A particular instance is when the landholder decides what should be grown on the land. Therefore, if this targeted intervention is crop specific like the WAAPP or the SATTIFS, then the farmer will have no choice but to let it go. Another instance is when; the landholder decides to increase the amount of rent arbitrarily, during the process of accessing an intervention. This situation creates problems in for the famers in accessing land and hence, their disinterest in participating in interventions.

Certain crops on the lands owned by the family cannot be cultivated unless the family is informed. Crops that were specifically identified were cash crops. Although every family member has access to the family lands on which cash crops are grown, each member of the family can only grow crops on condition that the family gives their consent. Therefore, if an intervention targets cash crops, like the SATTIFS project does, its access will be hindered.

The lack of access to crop related interventions encouraged the participation in off-farm interventions such as the training by the Women's Unit of MoFA. There

were also cases of access to information and capital as different resources. Access to either of these resources was critical to farmers' participation. There was a tendency for those with low literacy level not to access the information through text messages.

The participants were further asked whether their position within the household either as a household head or household member had any influence in their decision making about productive resources or otherwise. It was revealed that men usually make decisions regarding resources and decisions to access any of the interventions. The female participants argued that although they were household members, their husbands who are the heads did not prevent them from farming; rather, they assisted them. They however after searching for the lands on their own had to tell their husbands about it to help them rent it. Focusing on their responses to interventions, it was confirmed that within the communities, the male decisions usually overcome the female preferences. This phenomenon reinforces the man's dominance as the head in relation to the woman's subordinated position as argued by Apusigah (2009). So even when a woman may be interested in an intervention, the decision to access it or not is made by the man. The director of WIAD restated this in her interview testifying that,

There are instances where men resist female adoption of interventions. It is difficult for the women sometimes. Sometimes, the land is controlled by the man and the woman has no say in it. The man determines how the land should be used (WIAD Director, Sunyani Municipality)

In addition, the study found out that normally, before interventions are accessed, men and women discuss as a family but the man has the final say especially with the farms that belonged to the household. Again, the women do not usually have a say till the impact of the intervention has been seen. This of course is conditional, meaning that the women can only exercise some kind of authority when the intervention is effective. Should an intervention suggested by a woman fail, then their subordinated position becomes more entrenched. Women are less likely to show up for meeting where their husbands are present. This is because the presence of their husbands intimidates them. This therefore suggests that men have the final say in decision-making.

Among the responses given, there were some women who in spite of the cultural ascriptions (men being decision makers) still went on ahead to exercise power with regard to decision-making. Agency is therefore evident in decision making especially by some of the female participants. It was noticed during the study that although the decision to access interventions was generally made by the man, the woman could also make decisions if she had her own farm.

There were instances where husbands supported women's agency but that was with the condition that the woman owned the piece of land she farmed. In this case, women who had control over their farms are encouraged to participate, as they may need the knowledge. This situation accounts for the differences in responses of male partners to females who control their personal farms, and females who worked on family farms. However, one factor that hindered this agency was the man's control over the woman's labour power. Women are expected to work on their

husband's farm and, their own farms in the process are neglected due to time constraints. Exercising agency can be hindered by the absence of capital.

We used to have women farmer groups but it doesn't exist anymore.

We were saving toward getting access to loans but since we didn't get, we dissolved the group (Female, FGD, Yawhema)

...Taking of loan is very difficult especially due to less market value  
(Female, FGD, Nkrankrom)

The study found out that the productive roles ascribed with their positions within the production system, impacted on the choice of intervention to be accessed. Initially, the productive roles of both genders were enquired and the participants stated that the women are engaged in farming but they usually diversify by marketing and rearing small ruminants in Nkrankrom. In Yawhema, the female participants stated that they engage in other activities such as soap making, selling pito (a locally brewed drink) and making clothes. The differences in the roles inform their choice of interventions.

Out of the four selected interventions, all the male participants had accessed at least one of the crop related interventions, which are FSSP, WAAPP and SATTIFS. The only intervention, which had the majority of the female participants accessing, was the training ran by WIAD. The training WIAD offers are aligned to home economic agricultural interventions such as food processing, soap making and fabric design. This was so because they are specifically targeted at women, validating Mansour's (2012) claim that crop related agricultural interventions have

been geared for men, while women aligned with home economics ones such as home gardening, sewing, food processing such as pickling, and handicrafts. Women's gender roles were another reason why they accessed home economics interventions. It also actually reinforces women's reproductive role of housekeeping and caretakers of household chores but gives them extra options to diversify their livelihoods and therefore expand their income sources.

In situations where women accessed the crop-related interventions and had to meet within mixed groups, they extended their household positions as subordinate to men by being usually passive at the meetings.

These farmers are not intrinsically motivated. The women have no courage to show up for meetings. They are shy to speak up in the mixed group (Desk officer, MoFA)

With the gender issues, men try to dominate in the Farmer Based Organisations and this makes the women timid and less vocal...(WAAPP officer).

The women state that because their husbands are already there (at the meetings) they do not access the intervention. They are mostly passive unless they are prompted (Nkrankrom, AEA).

The executive roles are mostly occupied by men...(WAAPP officer).

The intervening organisations when asked, specified that women usually do not want to take the pain in adopting crop related interventions as they are time consuming, are laborious and require waged labour which is costly.

The roles impact the interventions accessed. This is why the choice of easy task is made. Some practices are considered as laborious like row planting and fertilizer application (Municipal Director, MoFA)

It has already been argued that the dual role of combining productive and reproductive activities prevents women from finding time to access the interventions. Therefore, if an intervention is intensively laborious especially the practices based interventions such as WAAPP and SATTIFS, then this rather deters women who are already time constrained.

### **Chapter Summary**

The first section of this chapter examined the background of the selected interventions. Although the respective goals of the interventions were geared towards sustainable livelihood, the study revealed that gendered roles and relations interfered with their success. Again, it was revealed that all the interventions but the SATTIFS were gender aware. The SATTIFS project was gender blind. It did not recognise the differences between men and women, and therefore women's practical and strategic needs were ignored. The other interventions were found to be gender aware because they acknowledged the differences between males and females as development actors. WAAPP and FSSP ended at the point of gender neutrality because they only recognised the differences between male and female



but did not make any efforts to redistribute resources. WIAD however aimed at empowering women but the intervention failed at addressing the unequal relations within the production system.

The next section discussed the main productive resources, which were financial assets (credit, start-up capital, and savings); human assets (training in farm practices and labour) and physical assets, including farm tools. The natural asset mentioned was land, and social assets were community rules and obligations. The section also discussed access, control and/or ownership of the productive resources. It was observed that indigenes within the study area owned land. Migrant farmers however only accessed or controlled lands depending on their tenancy arrangements. Sharecropping was also found to be the major means through which the migrant farmers accessed land. Other means were purchasing, renting and inheritance. It was found out that the owners of the means of production are usually men. Women therefore acted as productive forces and any activity performed by a woman was support for her husband. Men had better access to productive resources including women's unpaid labour.

Another major finding of the study was that the general factors influencing responses to interventions were the cost, access to subsidized fertilizer and seeds, information about improved farm practices, demand of tasks, and market value of the crop introduced. Men responded to interventions quicker than women. It was also found out that men were more associated with crop related interventions like FSSP, WAAPP and SATTIFS. This was because more men were in tenure arrangements that allowed them control over the land they farmed. Further, it was

found that women were more likely to access off-farm interventions. In addition, the study revealed that the lack of access to land reduced the interest in the crop related interventions and redirected participation to off farm interventions such as WIAD's skills training programmes.

Other challenges that hindered the success of interventions were the market worth of crops and differences in land tenancy. Implementing approaches adopted by organisations also posed as challenges in women's interventions taking. A typical case was the mode of communication where women became more dependent on men. Another challenge were time constraints as a result of women's reproductive and productive work.

Finally, the study noted that production relations which was primary at the household determined the access, control and ownership of productive resources. Males were household heads and usually owners of the means of production. The choices of interventions made by married women were dependent on the final say of the man. Women who had their personal farms could however exercise agency. Women could make their own decisions to participate in off-farm related interventions. The differences in their positions within the production system informed their choice of interventions.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations from the study. In the first section, a summary of the findings from the study is presented as discussed in the previous chapter. The second presents the conclusions drawn from the findings. Finally, the third section of the present chapter offers some recommendations to the various stakeholders.

#### Summary of the main findings

The study analysed the various interventions through a gendered lens. On the nature of the interventions, the study revealed that among all the four selected interventions, SATTIFS is the only gender blind intervention. The SATTIFS targets small scale farmers as a group and does not acknowledge the gender differences between these small scale farmers. The other three interventions were found to be gender aware but this awareness were on different levels. WIAD's skills training, the study found, is gender aware but does not specifically address gender inequities. It was also found that the rationale of involving men in their activities to help women in planning menus reinforces the woman's reproductive positions and the man's dominant role at the household. On the other hand, the FSSP reports as part of its target categories, placing priority as much as possible on women farmers. There is no clear indication in the report as to how this can be achieved. There is no special treatment for either gender. This indicates that the intervention is gender neutral. FSSP therefore acknowledges the existence of males

and females but there is no effort to address the unequal relations between them. WAAPP was gender neutral as well. Again, although moved a step further by giving women a forty per cent placement preference, the intervention at the planning level involved neither women nor gender aware planning organisations. Farmer groups who participated in the intervention were encouraged to involve more women but there was no means to sustain the female placement level.

Secondly, the main findings on the existing agricultural production relations were that productive resources in the study area were financial assets (credit, start-up capital, and savings); human assets (training in farm practices and labour) and physical assets, including farm tools. The natural asset mentioned was land, and social assets were community rules and obligations. Land was generally accessed, controlled and/or owned through the sharecropping system, renting, purchasing and inheritance. The majority of the participants, both males and females, were sharecroppers or tenant farmers practising the '*ebunu*' or the '*ebusa*' system. The study found that men typically access and control land through the *ebunu* sharecropping arrangement where cash crops are grown. However, women particularly control land through inheritance from their fathers or husbands but such access rights are secondary. Male participants decide what should be planted on the farms and they are in charge of procuring all farm implements. The activities women perform are support to men. The female participants also tend to diversify their livelihoods by taking up other off-farm activities. There were however unique differences between the communities with regards to farm processes. A particular difference was the kind of crops grown by either gender in each community. In

Nkrankrom, there was no traditionally specified crop for male or female. This rather was different in Yawhema where there was a clear distinction between crops grown by women and men. Women cultivated vegetables whereas men produced cash crops. Finally, the study found that crops grown had different market values and better values were placed on crops grown by men.

Another major finding of the study was that the general factors influencing responses to interventions were the cost, access to subsidized fertilizer and seeds, information about improved farm practices, demand of tasks, and market value of the crop introduced. It was revealed that men responded to interventions quicker than women. It was also found out that men were more associated with crop related interventions like FSSP, WAAPP and SATTIFS. This was because more men were in tenure arrangements that allowed them control over the land they farmed. Women, however, were more likely to access off-farm interventions. The lack of access to land reduced the interest in crop related interventions and redirected participation to off farm interventions such as WIAD's skills training programmes. Other challenges that hindered the success of interventions were the market value of crops and differences in land tenancy. Implementing approaches adopted by organisations also posed as challenges in women's interventions taking. A typical case was the mode of communication where women became more dependent on men. Another challenge were time constraints as a result of women's reproductive and productive work.

Finally, the study sought to explain how positions within production relations shape the differences in responses given by the participants. It was noted

that mainly, the relations which were primarily at the household determined the access, control and ownership of productive resources specifically land. Men had the final say in choosing interventions and the women do not usually have a say until the impact of the intervention has been seen. Should an intervention suggested by a woman fail, their subordinated position becomes more entrenched. The differences in their roles within the production relations also inform their choice of interventions. Out of the four selected interventions, all the male participants were found to have accessed at least one of the farm related interventions which FSSP, WAAPP and SATTIFS. The only intervention, which had majority of the female participants accessing, was WIAD's skills training. The dual role women play by combining productive and reproductive activities primarily hindered them from finding time to access the interventions.

### **Conclusions**

In analysing the interventions, all but one intervention were gender aware. An academic institution, UENR, managed the only gender blind intervention, SATTIFS. In its policy, farmers were documented as a unit and no gender variation was reported. The planning of the intervention was handled by solely scientific and academic organisations, losing sight of women and other gender aware organisations. The intervention therefore did not make any attempt to address structural unequal relations between men and women. The other gender aware interventions were either gender neutral or reinforced the status quo even if they targeted women.

It was also necessary to examine the existing agricultural production relations in the Sunyani Municipality. It is evident from the findings that men culturally control production relations. They are mostly dominant due to their access to, control and ownership of productive resources. The man with regards to farm processes also predominantly determines decision-making. The communities based on crops grown make a gendered distinction, and in addition productive resources like the size of land and capital available.

The next objective was to examine the gendered responses to the interventions. The nature of the intervention informed the responses by either male or female. The men were inclined to the farm related interventions and the women responded more to the intervention that was geared towards diversifying their livelihoods. Therefore, men accessed crop related interventions more frequently than women. Their various positions in production also informed the choice of interventions and affected their participation in some interventions.

The study concludes that production relations affect the nature of responses to any intervention. Men's position within the political space predominantly as household heads enforced them as owners of the means of production. They therefore had access, control and ownership of productive resources. Women's preferences to interventions were only realised if their male partners were interested or the impact of the intervention had been proven. Should the intervention fail, the woman's position becomes further entrenched. The women could however make their own decisions to respond to interventions if they controlled their own farms or the interventions are off-farm related. Women's responses to interventions also tend

to be low due to the dual role they play by combining productive and reproductive activities.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the afore-mentioned conclusions, recommendations to the development organisations and the community farmers are made. The first recommendation to the development organisations is that the planning and implementation of interventions and projects by the development organisation should involve gender aware organisations in the planning and implementation of projects so as to ensure an effective and efficient address of gender inequalities to make interventions gender sensitive. WIAD and other women targeting organisations should also strive at a higher level of empowerment for women. While it is positive to economically empower women, in a household where there are unequal relation in favour of men, questions about how income accrued is used can be raised.

It is again recommended that women's voices should be added to decision making at the policy making level. Gender-neutral interventions like WAAPP and fertilizer and seed subsidy should incorporate affirmative action policies so as to increase the number of women farmers that access the intervention. Development practitioners should help create an enabling environment to change the mind-set of the farmers and regarding social norms guiding production relations. Finally, interventions should be planned in view of contextual production relations so as to address relations between men and women. Overlooking these relations has the



tendency to overburden women in their reproductive roles and this in turn discourages them from participating in interventions.

Women farmers in the community should endeavour to form farmer groups so as to collectively and easily access productive resources such as land and even capital from the financial institutions. This will help develop their agency as women. Women's voices should also add to decision making at the household. It is obvious from the study that women contribute a lot in the household both productively and reproductively. It is essential therefore for them to be treated as partners and not subordinates within the production system.

### **Suggestion for Further Research**

The study adopted the qualitative methodology to explain how production relations inform the gendered responses to interventions. However, as a further research to generalize and inform policy, the quantitative approach can be adopted to compare the interventions as cases and be analysed quantitatively, using logistic regression. This will compare the responses as influenced by the various independent variables that make up the production relations.

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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A**

**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST**

**INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

**GENDERED DYNAMICS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION RELATIONS**

**AND RURAL LIVELIHOOD INTERVENTIONS**

**KEY PERSONS INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DEVELOPMENT INTERVENORS**

Date:.....

Start Time:.....

Domain	Issues and Probes
<b>Background Information</b>	1. Sex 2. Organisation 3. Length of service (How long the person has stayed with the organisation) 4. Position of Participant
<b>Existing Interventions Designed to Support Rural Livelihoods</b>	5. Existing interventions designed to support the livelihoods of farmers 6. How interventions are designed 7. Goals of the intervention and Target Group(s) 8. Gender sensitivity (Gender issues informing interventions, Mechanisms to ensure sensitivity)

	<p>9. Link between your intervention and other interventions within the target community</p> <p>10. Selection criteria (type of farmer, ability of farmer to meet criteria)</p> <p>11. Success criteria for the farmers?</p> <p>12. Monitoring and identifying farmers' responses</p> <p>13. Any observed gendered differences in terms of their rate of adoption?</p> <p>14. Do you modify the interventions to suit the demands of the farmers?</p> <p>15. What are the challenges for implementing the intervention?</p>
<p><b>Agricultural Production Relations</b></p>	<p><b>16. Access to Productive resources/assets</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Owner of the means of production, especially land</li> <li>• Acquisition of assets(dominant mode)</li> <li>• Gendered differences regarding acquisition</li> </ul> <p><b>17. Farming processes, Labour and Decision making</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Major crops grown in the area</li> <li>• Differences between crops women grow and crops men grow</li> <li>• Crops grown for consumption (subsistence) and ones grown for the market</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Farming processes employed by the farmers in these communities (from land clearing, dibbling, mound making, fertilizer application, weedicides/ herbicides/ pesticides application, consumption or marketing)</li> <li>• Who is in charge of each of these processes you have mentioned? (boys, girls, men and women)</li> <li>• Farming processes and labour (Paid or unpaid)</li> <li>• What do you think the income for the sale is used for?(perceived differences between male and female)</li> <li>• Decision making on farm activities at the household level (Who makes, and what decisions made)</li> </ul>
<p><b>Gendered Responses to Interventions</b></p>	<p>18. Differences that exist in the male and female reasons for accessing the interventions</p> <p>19. Reasons why some farmers decline to access the interventions (gender differences)</p> <p>20. Challenges that come with accessing any of these interventions (gendered effect of challenge on farmers, and their decision making)</p>

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

GENDERED DYNAMICS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION RELATIONS

AND RURAL LIVELIHOOD INTERVENTIONS

INDEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY FARMERS

Domain	Issues and Probe
<p><b>Background Information</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Community</li> <li>2. Sex</li> <li>3. Category of crops participant produces</li> <li>4. Marital status of participant</li> <li>5. Household Composition of participant</li> </ol>
<p><b>Agricultural Production Relations</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. <b>Access to productive resources/assets</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Owner of the means of production, especially land</li> <li>• Acquisition of assets(dominant mode)</li> <li>• Gendered differences regarding acquisition</li> </ul> </li> <li>7. <b>Farming processes, labour and decision making</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Major crops grown in the area</li> <li>• Differences between crops women grow and crops men grow</li> <li>• Crops grown for consumption (subsistence) and ones</li> </ul> </li> </ol>

	<p>grown for the market</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Farming processes employed by the farmers in these communities (from land clearing, dibbling, mound making, fertilizer application, weedicides/ herbicides/ pesticides application, consumption or marketing)</li> <li>• Who is in charge of each of these processes you have mentioned? (boys, girls, men and women)</li> <li>• Farming processes and labour (Paid or unpaid)</li> <li>• What do you think the income for the sale is used for?(perceived differences between male and female)</li> <li>• Decision making on farm activities at the household level (Who makes, and what decisions made)</li> <li>• Differences that exist in the male and female reasons for accessing the interventions?</li> <li>• Reasons why some farmers decline to access the interventions (gender differences)</li> <li>• Challenges that come with accessing any of these interventions (gendered effect of challenge on farmers, and their decision making)</li> </ul>
<p><b>Existing Interventions</b></p>	<p>8. Interventions you benefit from in this community (State, NGOs, donor agencies or private persons)</p>

<p><b>Designed To Support Rural Livelihoods</b></p>	<p>9. Introduction to intervention and benefit</p> <p>10. Do the intervenors seek feedback from you?</p> <p><b><u>Selected Interventions</u></b></p> <p>11. Awareness of selected interventions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Farm field Schools /SATTIFS by the University of Energy and Natural Resources, Sunyani</li> <li>• West African Agricultural Productivity Programme (Ministry of Food and Agric)</li> <li>• Fertilizer and seed Subsidy Programme</li> <li>• Training by Women in Agric. Development</li> </ul> <p>12. Access (which among the above is accessed, reasons, how it is accessed, benefits)</p>
<p><b>Gendered Responses towards the Interventions</b></p>	<p><b><u>Differences</u></b></p> <p>13. Differences that exist in the male and female reasons for accessing the interventions</p> <p>14. Reasons why some farmers decline to access the interventions (gender differences)</p> <p>15. Challenges that come with accessing any of these interventions (gendered effect of challenge on farmers)</p> <p>16. How challenges affect your decisions in responding to these interventions as a male or</p>



	female?
<b>How Positions within Production Relations shape the differences in Responses</b>	<p>17. Farmer's position (decision making level) within the household and influence in their decision to access these interventions (Married/Single, Household head/Household member, Female/Male, Young/ Old, son/daughter)</p> <p>18. Roles in farming activities and their influence in decisions to respond to the interventions</p> <p>19. Do you have any suggestions on ways for improving interventions meant for rural livelihoods?</p>

**APPENDIX C**

**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST**

**INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

**GENDERED DYNAMICS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION RELATIONS**

**AND RURAL LIVELIHOOD INTERVENTIONS**

**FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY FARMERS**

Domain	Issues and Probe
<p><b>Background Information</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Community</li> <li>2. Sex Composition of group: All Male/All Female</li> <li>3. Number of participants</li> <li>4. Category of crops participant produces</li> <li>5. Marital Composition</li> <li>6. Household Composition</li> </ol>
<p><b>Agricultural Production Relations</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. <b>Access to productive resources/assets</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Owner of the means of production, especially land</li> <li>• Acquisition of assets(dominant mode)</li> <li>• Gendered differences regarding acquisition</li> </ul> </li> <li>8. <b>Farming processes, labour and decision making</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Major crops grown in the area</li> </ul> </li> </ol>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Differences between crops women grow and crops men grow</li><li>• Crops grown for consumption (subsistence) and ones grown for the market</li><li>• Farming processes employed by the farmers in these communities (from land clearing, dibbling, mound making, fertilizer application, weedicides/ herbicides/ pesticides application, consumption or marketing)</li><li>• Who is in charge of each of these processes you have mentioned? (boys, girls, men and women)</li><li>• Farming processes and labour (Paid or unpaid)</li><li>• What do you think the income for the sale is used for?(perceived differences between male and female)</li><li>• Decision making on farm activities at the household level (Who makes, and what decisions made)</li><li>• Differences that exist in the male and female reasons for accessing the interventions?</li><li>• Reasons why some farmers decline to access the interventions (gender differences)</li><li>• Challenges that come with accessing any of these interventions (gendered effect of challenge on farmers, and their decision making)</li></ul>
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<p><b>Existing Interventions Designed To Support Rural Livelihoods</b></p>	<p>9. Interventions you benefit from in this community (State, NGOs, donor agencies or private persons)</p> <p>10. Introduction to intervention and benefit</p> <p>11. Do the intervenors seek feedback from you?</p> <p><b><u>Selected Interventions</u></b></p> <p>12. Awareness of selected interventions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Farm field Schools /SATTIFS by the University of Energy and Natural Resources, Sunyani</li> <li>• West African Agricultural Productivity Programme (Ministry of Food and Agric)</li> <li>• Fertilizer and seed Subsidy Programme</li> <li>• Training by Women in Agric. Development</li> </ul> <p>13. Access (which among the above is accessed, reasons, how it is accessed, benefits)</p>
<p><b>Gendered Responses towards the Interventions</b></p>	<p><b><u>Differences</u></b></p> <p>14. Differences that exist in the male and female reasons for accessing the interventions</p> <p>15. Reasons why some farmers decline to access the interventions (gender differences)</p>

	<p>16. Challenges that come with accessing any of these interventions (gendered effect of challenge on farmers)</p> <p>17. How challenges affect your decisions in responding to these interventions as a male or female?</p>
<p><b>How Positions within Production Relations shape the differences in Responses</b></p>	<p>18. Farmer's position (decision making level) within the household and influence in their decision to access these interventions (Married/Single, Household head/Household member, Female/Male, Young/ Old, son/daughter)</p> <p>19. Roles in farming activities and their influence in decisions to respond to the interventions</p> <p>20. Do you have any suggestions on ways for improving interventions meant for rural livelihoods?</p>

**APPENDIX D**

**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST**

**INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

GENDERED DYNAMICS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION RELATIONS

AND RURAL LIVELIHOOD INTERVENTIONS

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY FARMERS WHO

DO NOT ACCESS INTERVENTIONS

Domain	Issues and Probe
<p><b>Background Information</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Community</li> <li>2. Sex Composition of group: All Male/All Female</li> <li>3. Number of participants</li> <li>4. Category of crops participant produces</li> <li>5. Marital Composition</li> <li>6. Household Composition</li> </ol>
<p><b>Agricultural Production Relations</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. <b>Access to productive resources/assets</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Owner of the means of production, especially land</li> <li>• Acquisition of assets (dominant mode)</li> <li>• Gendered differences regarding acquisition</li> </ul> </li> <li>8. <b>Farming processes, labour and decision making</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Major crops grown in the area</li> <li>• Differences between crops women grow and crops</li> </ul> </li> </ol>

	<p>men grow</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Crops grown for consumption (subsistence) and ones grown for the market</li><li>• Farming processes employed by the farmers in these communities (from land clearing, dibbling, mound making, fertilizer application, weedicides/ herbicides/ pesticides application, consumption or marketing)</li><li>• Who is in charge of each of these processes you have mentioned? (boys, girls, men and women)</li><li>• Farming processes and labour (Paid or unpaid)</li><li>• What do you think the income for the sale is used for?(perceived differences between male and female)</li><li>• Decision making on farm activities at the household level(Who makes, and what decisions made)</li><li>• Differences that exist in the male and female reasons for accessing the interventions?</li><li>• Reasons why some farmers decline to access the interventions (gender differences)</li><li>• Challenges that come with accessing any of these interventions(gendered effect of challenge on farmers, and their decision making)</li></ul>
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<p><b>Existing Interventions Designed To Support Rural Livelihoods</b></p>	<p>9. Interventions in this community (State, NGOs, donor agencies or private persons)</p> <p>10. Introduction to intervention and benefit</p> <p>11. Evidence/Testimonies of benefit from colleague farmers</p> <p>12. Reasons why colleague farmers access</p>
<p><b>Gendered Responses towards the Interventions</b></p>	<p><b><u>Differences</u></b></p> <p>13. Differences that exist in the male and female reasons for accessing the interventions</p> <p>14. Reasons why you decline to access the interventions (gender differences)</p> <p>15. How reasons affect your decisions in responding to these interventions as a male or female?</p>
<p><b>How Positions within Production Relations shape the differences in Responses</b></p>	<p>16. Farmer's position (decision making level) within the household and influence in their decision not to access these interventions (Married/Single, Household head/Household member, Female/Male, Young/ Old, son/daughter)</p> <p>17. Roles in farming activities and their influence in decisions to respond to the interventions</p>



	<p>18. Difference in gender roles between those who access interventions and those who don't.</p> <p>19. Do you have any suggestions on ways for improving interventions meant for rural livelihoods to appeal to you as well?</p>
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