
GENDER ANALYSIS WITHIN THE COCOA SUPPLY CHAIN IN GHANA

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Abstract

This study interrogates the place of gender in cocoa production in two leading producing districts in Ghana (Bia East and Atwima Mponua Districts). Drawing on triangulated data from Focus Group Discussions with cocoa farmers, in-depth interviews with relevant institutional stakeholders, and household surveys, evidence from this study suggests that women contribute substantially to cocoa production both as direct and indirect labor force. Despite their diverse contributions, most women continue to be located at the margin of the supply chain. More women than men are likely to circumnavigate complex and intersecting inequalities in their journeys in becoming efficient cocoa farmers as a result of dominant cultural ar-

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rangements and patriarchal practices. For women cocoa farmers, especially women who work jointly with their husbands and on their own farms, increasing their productivity would mean navigating multiple barriers and constraints, including limited time, limited access to land, inadequate finances, high cost of labor and input, etc. Based on the findings, it is recommended that relevant stakeholders should design and deliver more focused and gender-sensitive interventions with the ultimate aim of contributing to women's empowerment as central to the future sustainability of the cocoa sector.

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES	iii
LIST OF BOXES.....	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	v
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	vi
1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....	1
2 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT	3
3 STUDY OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS.....	4
4 METHODOLOGY.....	5
5 FINDINGS.....	8
6 RECOMMENDATIONS.....	38
7 CONCLUSIONS.....	41
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	43
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	44
APPENDICES.....	44

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 5.1 Proportion of girls and boys involved in the cocoa supply chain	17
Figure 5.2: Proportion of farmers who received support from government, NGOs and Private organizations in the past year preceding the survey by districts	27
Figure 5.3: Proportions of males and females farmers who received support from government, NGOs and Private organizations in the past year preceding the survey	27

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1: Data collection methods and target respondents of qualitative study at community and institutional levels	6
Table 5.1: Socio-demographic and economic characteristics of survey respondents.....	9
Table 5.2: Responses on the stages of the cocoa production process men are involved in.....	12
Table 5.3: Responses on the stages of the cocoa production process women are involved in	13
Table 5.4: A summary of gendered division of labor among cocoa farmers	14
Table 5.5: Stages of the cocoa production process boys are engaged in.....	17
Table 5.6: Stages of the cocoa production process girls are engaged in	17
Table 5.7: Percentage of responses on the challenges/problems women (W) and men (M) face in cocoa production.....	21
Table 5.8: Percentage of responses on the challenges/problems children face in cocoa production.....	23
Table 5.9: Kinds of support farmers received from Government, NGOs and private organizations in the past one year preceding the survey	26
Table 5.10: A sample of groups' leadership composition by gender	32

LIST OF BOXES

Box 5.1: Excerpts of interview with a national key informant of COCOBOD on the availability or otherwise of gender policies in cocoa production.....	11
Box 5.2: Excerpts of interview with a District Manager of CHED.....	11

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BAC	Business Advisory Centre
CCP	Cadbury Cocoa Partnership
CHED	Cocoa Health and Extension Division
COCOBOD	Cocoa Board
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DA	District Assembly
FBOs	Farmer-Based Organisations
FBS	Farmer Business School
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
LBCs	License Buying Companies
M	Men
MoFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PBCL	Produce Buying Company Limited
PC	Purchasing Clerk
ToR	Terms of Reference
VSLAs	Village Savings and Loans Associations
W	Women

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The study was conducted at the instance of OXFAM in Ghana. The overarching aim of the study was to identify and ascertain the differences between and among women and men in terms of their relative position, work, ownership of property, distribution of resources, opportunities, constraints and power within the Cocoa supply chain in Ghana. The study was conducted in Bia East and Atwima Mponua Districts in the Western-North and Ashanti Regions respectively. A mixed method research was employed in data collection and analysis with the aim of building synergy and complementarity between qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitatively, data were gathered through FGDs with men and women cocoa farmers and in-depth interviews with key informants from COCOBOD at the national and district levels, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, District Assemblies, PBCL, NBSSI, LBCs and communities. This was supplemented by a survey with 400 cocoa farmers in both districts with 49.8% of respondents being females. The key findings are structured below around the specific objectives and questions of the study as set out in the ToR (Appendix 1), followed by recommendations and conclusions.

A. Key Findings

Policies and Strategies for Addressing Gender Issues in the Cocoa Supply Chain

- Although there have been various programmes and interventions aiming to increase cocoa production notably by Ghana's COCOBOD, key informant interviews with representative from COCOBOD revealed that there is no gender specific policy document on cocoa production, processing and marketing in Ghana. Nonetheless, a national key informant reported that COCOBOD pays attention to the needs of both men and women cocoa farmers without necessarily prioritizing one gender group over the other. Such an approach was informed by the perception that cocoa is a private enterprise much like any other economic venture, where people (men and women) decide to invest in. Despite the absence of a clear gender policy and guideline in cocoa production, the District Managers of the Cocoa Health and Extension Division (CHED) were aware of the disproportional challenges women, especially women cocoa farmers face within the cocoa sector as a result of intersecting inequalities. Thus, in the face of limited resources, district managers of CHED give priority to the needs and challenges of women cocoa farmers over men. Key informant interviews with the district managers revealed that such decisions were not guided by any policy from COCOBOD at the national level. Paying more attention to the needs and challenges of women cocoa farmers, especially in the distribution of critical agricultural inputs and other resources was an informal initiative of the district CHED managers (and not guided by formal policy) aimed at addressing gender inequalities within the cocoa sector.

Gendered Performativities in the Cocoa Supply Chain

- Analysis of survey responses on the stages of the cocoa production process that men and women are involved in revealed that more men are involved in land acquisition, land preparation, planting, farm maintenance, harvesting and post-harvesting than women. Nonetheless, over two-third of respondents indicated that women are involved in planting, farm maintenance, harvesting

and post harvesting activities. In addition to their involvement in the agricultural labor force as farmers, labourers, and spouses of cocoa farmers, women take primary responsibility for domestic chores, including taking care of children and the aged. While our findings revealed that women spend almost the same time working on the farm much like their husbands or male counterparts, it became striking that men spend comparatively less time engaging in domestic chores as a result of local cultural norms that govern marriages and family dynamics.

- From the survey, 30% of children between the ages of 8 and 17 were reported to be engaged in cocoa work. Between the two study districts, the proportion of children potentially involved in cocoa production in Bia East District (31.7%) was slightly higher than in Atwima Mponua District (27.7%). With the exception of land acquisition, boys and girls were reported to be involved (either directly or indirectly) in almost all the stages of the cocoa production process. Boys were reported to be mostly engaged in planting, followed by harvesting, farm maintenance, post-harvesting activities and lastly land preparation. Similarly, girls mostly support their parents in land preparation, planting, farm maintenance, harvesting, and post harvesting.

Gendered Challenges in the Cocoa Supply Chain

- Broadly, the challenges farmers face in cocoa production include limited access to land and inputs, inadequate funds, pest and disease infestations and health risks. From the survey, the challenges male and female farmers face were not significantly different. For instance, between 50 and 70% of respondents reported inadequate funds to buy inputs, high cost of labour and injuries as the top three challenges facing both male and female cocoa farmers.
- It was uncovered from the qualitative study that the main challenge facing women in cocoa farming is inadequate funds. Women cocoa farmers often need more money to enable them hire more labourers. Across both male and female focus groups, it emerged that men often form labor groups popularly known as *nnoboa*. Such groups are called upon to offer labor for group members in times of need, especially among poorer farmers who cannot afford the cost of hiring a wage laborer. Our findings demonstrate that while poorer male farmers frequently rely on the services of the *nnoboa* labor as well as the labor of family members, female cocoa farmers tend to rely more on the services of hired labor. Increasing the farm size, productivity, and quality of cocoa produce by women, especially those experiencing extreme poverty would mean that women have to overcome the burden of higher costs of production as more wage labourers are hired.
- From the survey, the main challenges children face in cocoa farming include neck, head, joint & body pains (66.5%), injuries from cutlass, trees, thorns, toxic irritant plants, cocoa pods etc (54.8%), reptile bites (35.3%), inability of children to study after school (31.2%), lateness to school (31.2%), pesticide/insecticide poisoning (31.2%), school absenteeism (28.1%). These challenges were evident across focus group discussions conducted with both boys and girls.

Access to Productive Resources and Support for Cocoa production

- Women are less likely to access land and credit for cocoa production compared to men. It became clear in both male and female group discussions that many women continue to experience substantial gender-based discriminations, particularly in accessing land and credit for cocoa production. Most women claimed that land owners (who are predominately men) do not usually trust their ability to produce large quantities and quality cocoa farms hence their refusal to give women land to farm as sharecroppers or caretakers.

- In both study districts, it was uncovered that government (through COCOBOD), NGOs and private organizations provide diverse forms of support to farmers with the aim of increasing yield. They include increase in price of cocoa, payment of bonuses, supply of inputs (mainly fertilizer, pesticides/insecticide, slashers/pruners, and sprayers) and trainings on best agronomic practices (e.g., farm maintenance, fermentation, drying, pruning etc.) In the survey, government was identified as main supporter of cocoa farmers; 88% of farmers received support from government in the past one year preceding the study, 37% got support from private organizations, while only 16% received support from NGOs. Analysis by gender of respondents revealed that more male farmers have access to government support than female farmers while more female farmers have access to support from NGOs and private organizations than male farmers.

Availability of Gender Disaggregated Data in the Cocoa Sector

- The results of the study showed that most government departments and LBCs rarely disaggregate data of cocoa farmers by gender. Although the CHED managers, stakeholders from the District Assemblies, and leading LBCs such as AgroEcom and Kuapa Kokoo claimed that achieving gender equity and inclusivity is core to their activities, there was no existing gender disaggregated data to back their claim. None of these stakeholders could give the exact numbers of women cocoa farmers that they have supported or are currently supporting. Consequently, it became difficult to ascertain the extent to which such commitments are truly addressing gender inequalities and disparities within the supply chain.

Opportunities for Women Voices to be Heard through the Cocoa Supply Chain

- A common practice that potentially mitigates women's risk of exclusion from certain opportunities and privileges associated with cocoa farming is for them to be members of a local cooperative. However, it was striking to learn that although cooperatives are usually open to all farmers, women are poorly represented in membership and leadership positions as they are not necessarily recognized as farmers in their own right. This was further complicated by dominant perception that cocoa farming is men's work. Additionally, women were poorly represented because their husbands and/or male relatives might have already joined such cooperatives. The phrase "the women are under the care of their husbands" was common across most group discussions with men and women. Analysis of focus group discussions with both male and female farmers highlight that entrenched socio-cultural norms determine the membership composition and leadership positions of cooperatives hence women's voices in decision-making within cooperatives are invisible.
- While District Assemblies are expected to undertake broad consultation on the needs and aspirations of people within their jurisdiction, it is sad that the sampled District Assemblies may not been living up to their task in that respect. Women are hardly consulted on matters that concern their everyday gendered subjectivities. Our interviews revealed that, in reality, consultation is often poor at the community level, where women, and by implication, women cocoa farmers are located. During the fieldwork, we asked women whether they ever had the opportunity to air their concerns and challenges that they face in their farming activities to the District Assembly (including the Assembly member), the Member of Parliament, or any other government appointee, the commonest names that almost all participants (both men and women) mentioned were the extension officers and purchasing clerks. Extension officers and purchasing clerks were the first point of call when farmers have challenges with regard to, for example, inputs and finances.

Social-Cultural Norms and Practices that Foster Gender Inequalities in Cocoa Production

- Our findings suggest that there are widespread perceptions that the various roles that women cocoa farmers or spouses of male cocoa farmers play in the cocoa supply chain could merely be described as “supportive” and “natural”. Such perceptions were taken to construct men as breadwinners and family providers while spouses of male cocoa farmers were generally more likely to be unremunerated for their labor. It is therefore no surprise that even in households, where women perform both productive labor force (engaging in farming activities with big economic return) and reproductive labor force (engaging in domestic, unremunerated activities with less economic rewards), many women are not likely to be recognized as cocoa farmers. This is particularly true in households where both man and woman work on the same cocoa farm as a family. In such households, women were perceived to be responsible for producing food crops for the sustenance of the household, including cassava, maize, plantain, cocoyam, pepper, etc.
- While the contribution of women in family-owned or couple-shared cocoa farms cannot be downplayed, most women we interviewed complained that they have very little control on how, when, and on what the revenues generated from cocoa are used for. The sales and managing of the proceeds of cocoa was perceived to be a man’s business since cultural norms and heteronormative marital arrangements dictate that men become heads of the household. Culturally, being a head of the family may mean that men have the ultimate power and authority in deciding what to use the money from the sale of cocoa beans for with women possessing less decision-making power.

Best practices in women’s Empowerment in the Cocoa Sector

- The study uncovered some best practices of women empowerment in the cocoa sector. Foremost, some cocoa marketing companies like AgroEcom and Kuapa Kokoo were found to be supporting women in alternative livelihoods, giving bonuses and trainings on best agronomic practices. Additionally, Kuapa Kokoo advocates for male cocoa farmers to gift land to their wives in a manner that may promote greater women’s participation in Ghana’s cocoa value chain. COCOBOD through CHED also supports cocoa farmers, including women with free/subsidized inputs like fertilizer, insecticides and pesticides.
- Another best practice that needs to be highlighted is the Farmer Business School (FBS). FBS comprises of a series of sessions where male and female farmers are taken through different forms of activities to enable them recognize farming as a viable business option. The sessions draw on various models and exercises with the view to enhance the financial management skills and literacy of farmers. For example, some exercises in the program build farmers’ knowledge on how to manage cash inflow and outflow as cocoa is a seasonal crop. This became necessary to enhance farmers’ ability to be financially resilient during the lean season when limited cocoa is harvested.
- In both districts, the managers of CHED give priority to women cocoa farmers in terms of inputs distribution and other critical support. The formation of women’s groups enables women to access credit and other social support services. It also enables them to engage in Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLA). VSLA have become almost exclusively incorporated in the sustainability programs of most industrial players across the supply chain. Key informant interviews with LBCs revealed that empowering women through VLSA is inevitable because an empowered woman tends to invest more in her family. This idea was strongly articulated by women in the group discussions.

- Another best practice on empowering women we uncovered was the employment of female extension officers. Throughout the fieldwork, we observed that in communities where the research team was led by a female field supervisor, women were more open and willing to share their experiences compared to communities where a male field supervisor led the team. In such communities, most female cocoa farmers we interviewed suggested that they are more comfortable to discuss their challenges with a fellow woman field supervisor because they believe the latter will pay attention to their concerns.

Benefits Men and Women Derive from Cocoa Farming

- It emerged that owning a cocoa farm can enable farmers to leverage their farms for their own advantage. That is, the farm could be used for specific needs and uses as and when this becomes necessary. In addition to this, in owning a cocoa farm, a woman or man has the right to exercise control over any income accruing from their farms. It became evident from the interviews that both men and women who own cocoa farms derive multiple benefits from their farms. Owning a cocoa farm gives the owner the right to possess, control, and use the income derived from cocoa farming.
- Women who own cocoa farms were noted to be very resourceful, confident, resilient, have a peace of mind, and more active in FBOs. For instance, most women we interviewed and who have cocoa farms engage in alternative livelihood activities, such as starting a table top business and engaging in other petty businesses. Such women were more likely to send their children to school. They were able to build their own houses in their current location or back home in the case of migrant farmers to accommodate their families. Compared to women who do not own cocoa farms, women who are owners of cocoa farms are accorded greater social respect and recognition. Such social respect and recognition were sometimes greater than what society accords men who do not own cocoa farms. These women exercise agency and power by hiring men to work on their farms for a fee. In essence, the benefits of owning a cocoa farm were both material and symbolic.

B. Recommendations

Based on the findings that this study has uncovered, the research team is convinced that a more integrated and multi-sectoral approach involving all value chain actors (relevant Ministries, COCOBOD, Licensed Buying Companies, District Assemblies, farmer-based associations, non-governmental organizations, private organizations, etc.) is urgently needed in tackling gender inequalities. Based on our findings, we recommend stronger multi-sectoral collaboration and dialogue in fostering gender equity within the cocoa supply chain. Such partnership should privilege the diverse experiences, interests, challenges, and priorities of farmers, especially women farmers. In a sense, such partnership should stimulate broad-based institutional commitment to integrate gender more consciously into programs and interventions. This process allows for effective monitoring and evaluation of programs and interventions in order to measure results and outcomes. This is important in any attempt to achieve sustainable, transformative, and inclusive cocoa supply chain. Ghana's cocoa production can only be meaningfully understood if the diverse contributions and roles of men and women are properly considered and recognized. When women's diverse contributions and roles in cocoa production are ignored, it is likely that policy makers and other social interventions and programs are likely to miss an important point of entry in generating cultur-

ally-driven sustainability packages. Women working in cocoa farms either as direct or indirect producers of cocoa appear to suffer from substantial gender-specific discrimination and inequalities compared to their male folks. It emerged that most women are often denied recognition for their substantial contributions to the cocoa economy as a result of discriminatory cultural norms and arrangements. We recommend that development actors, NGOs, government departments, and other private organizations interested in promoting gender equality within the cocoa supply chain to collect, triangulate, and analyze data from multiple sources from men, women, and the youth. This is important in giving critical insights into the everyday experiences and challenges of cocoa farmers across different cocoa growing communities in Ghana. This is important in shedding light on the complex interplay of social class, gender, age, disability, geography, religion, and migrant status in shaping the experiences and navigations of men and women cocoa farmers.

C. Conclusions

The government of Ghana has announced its target in terms of cocoa production for the current farming season. Despite the significant contributions that the government of Ghana, NGOs, and private organizations have been doing within the cocoa sector in attempt to make this target a reality, our findings suggest that there is a long way to go in achieving inclusive, equitable, and sustainable cocoa supply chains. One of the major areas of concern is difficulty in keeping accurate, gender-disaggregated data on the contributions, roles, responsibilities and challenges of male and female cocoa farmers in the cocoa sector. The absence of such data makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to assess and measure gender equity and transformation within the cocoa sector. The availability of gender-disaggregated data will enable COCOBOD, various ministries, decentralized government departments, private organizations, and NGOs to design and deliver more appropriate, gender-conscious, and contextually-driven interventions and programs with the aim of addressing gender inequalities in the cocoa sector. Gender-disaggregated data is important in approaching and tackling gender inequalities and the general invisibility of women in the supply chain. For example, cultural barriers, societal challenges, and unfavorable land tenure rights and arrangements continue to disadvantage women cocoa farmers. Discriminatory practices against women, fueled by entrenched cultural norms, stereotypes, and ideologies continue to slow down any rapid process in empowering women within the cocoa sector. Such practices, norms, and ideology continue to be significant barriers in facilitating equitable sharing of income earned from cocoa and household chores between men and women in cocoa growing households. Our findings suggest that a significant number of women in the selected Districts in Ghana provide labor on cocoa farms, particularly cocoa farms owned by their husbands. Unfortunately, most of such women are often not recognized for their substantial roles and contributions in cocoa production as both direct and indirect producers of cocoa.

Our findings indicate that gender intersects with other forms of oppression to push women cocoa farmers to the margin of the supply chain. In order for women to be relocated from the margins of the supply chain to the centre, it is important that an integrated and intersectional approach in understanding women's contributions in both productive and reproductive domains be deployed. This is important because any analysis that fails to incorporate both productive and reproductive roles of women within the cocoa supply chain is likely to offer narrow and limited understanding of the complexity of gender, and how gender shapes the contributions of women across the supply chain. Gender relations and the benefits, opportunities, and challenges that men and women face are structurally and systemically entangled. Such entanglements should be a primary point of analysis in any programs and policies seeking to address gender inequalities in the cocoa sector. Our finding indicate that most women cocoa farmers are jostling multiple

responsibilities and roles across both productive and reproductive domains. An integrated approach in understanding women's productive and reproductive contributions to the cocoa supply chain has the potential to nuance critical analysis of women cocoa farmers' disproportionate vulnerability to exploitative cultural norms within the cocoa sector broadly. In attempting to foreground the sources of such vulnerabilities, it is evidenced in this study that women cocoa farmers face multiple inequalities and constraints in accessing different productive resources and opportunities to enhance their capacity as farmers in their own right.

As a result of prohibitive cultural norms and unhealthy stereotypes, women access to critical inputs, such as land, labor, and credit remain a major challenge. Our findings indicate that access to these critical inputs among men and women is often tied to the landowner or lender's perception of the farmer's ability to repay the loan timely or produce significant yields. In order for a woman cocoa farmer to receive credit and access land for farming, she has to prove her ability to produce a marketable quantity of cocoa. This continues to influence the size of the land that women work on and the benefits that women are likely to derive from their smaller farm sizes. Dominant perception that men are cocoa farmers and women only produce crops for home consumption and less for the market is less helpful. Influenced by such perception, most women compared to fewer men have a harder time obtaining land and credit. Also, institutional biases towards women further exacerbate the struggles of women in accessing critical agricultural inputs. Most institutional actors continue to perpetuate the perception that men are cocoa farmers and heads of the household while women offer supportive services. Throughout the key informant interviews, we realized that gender initiatives were isolated from a broader gender empowerment framework. Such initiatives remained largely individual strategies aimed at promoting gender equality by the staff working in the district. Regrettably, such initiatives were not supported by any overarching national gender empowerment policies, programs, or documents.

1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Ghana is the second largest producer of cocoa in the world. Apart from gold and oil, cocoa is the next most important source of export for Ghana. Cocoa contributes significantly to Ghana's gross domestic product, as well as provides an important source of income and livelihood to different categories of Ghanaians along the cocoa value chain. While it has become evidence that cocoa has huge potentials in contributing to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, there have been growing concerns about the future sustainability of cocoa production in Ghana (e.g., Barrientos, Asenso-Okyere, et. al., 2008; Hainmueller, Hiscox, and Tampe, 2011; Barrientos and Bobie, 2016). A study conducted by Barrientos, Asenso-Okyere, et. al. (2008) to assess and map out the future sustainability of cocoa production in Ghana has revealed that there are decreasing productivity, persistent poverty among cocoa growing communities, poor infrastructure, inadequate access to relevant information, resources, inputs, and extension services, and lack of innovative, climate-smart agronomic practices among farmers. These challenges have also been reported to have differential impact on men and women who are involved at different stages of the cocoa value chain. The cocoa value chain, particularly the supply value chain continues to be cloaked with gender imbalances and inequalities. In order to improve the livelihoods and productivity of women in the cocoa growing industry, it is important to examine the gender dimension of the supply-side value chain, where women contribute up to about 45% of direct labour force (Greene and Robles, 2014). Cocoa production has been widely perceived to be a masculine enterprise. Until quite recently when Oxfam mounted pressure on leading cocoa producing brands to commit to gender equality and women's empowerment (Barrientos and Bobie, 2016), gender issues in the cocoa value chain have remained neglected. Yet, a critical analysis of gender along the various stages of the cocoa supply value chain: from obtaining inputs, production, processing, manufacturing, distribution, retailing, and finally, consumption is crucial to ensuring the future sustainability of the cocoa sector.

Within a patriarchal society such as Ghana, gender equality is often in conflict with entrenched customary norms, stereotypes, and practices, and the cocoa producing regions in Ghana are not immune from this reality. For example, pervasive customary norms and traditional belief systems, especially on land tenure and governance dictate that men have the right to determine who own and/or access land and for what activity. In fact, customary norms and practices almost make it normative that the majority of men are easily recognized as farmers as a result of their landholding capacity. Since such perceptions have gained grounds in the Ghanaian society, it is almost certain that men are more likely to be the primary recipients of agricultural training/capacity building, extension services, and access to finance, resources, and inputs. In the cocoa growing communities in Ghana, entrenched traditional norms and patriarchal scripts on gender may also mean that men possess the passbooks that enable farmers to sell cocoa to licensed buying companies. The implication of such arrangements is that women are likely to depend on their husbands and heads of households in order to benefit from agricultural interventions that target cocoa farmers.

In cases in which women work as labourers (either as family members or casual workers) at various stages of the value chain (e.g., gathering cocoa, carrying cocoa pods from farms to the house, fermentation, drying of cocoa beans), the contributions of these women are likely to be unrecognized and largely unremunerated. This is so because, in places where land is scarce and often under the control of the male figure, women may work as labourers in the farms owned by their husbands and families. In certain cases, such women are likely to rely on their husbands or male heads of the family in accessing relevant

information, inputs, extension support, training, and obtaining loans from banks. Consequently, the gendered needs, priorities, and concerns of men and women at various stages of the cocoa value chain are likely to be ignored in interventions that target cocoa production. We must admit that the situation is not the same for all women. We understand gender as a cross-cutting construct that intersects with other social markers, such as ethnicity, religion, class, politics, education, disability, culture, and many others. For instance, a woman who is well-resourced and politically connected can purchase land and use it for cocoa growing purposes without necessarily needing to leverage on the position of any man as landlord, husband, or head of the family. The same cannot be applicable to women who are migrant labourers or settlers. In most analysis, the nuances and intra-gender complexities among women themselves are not given critical attention.

In order for men's and women's diverse contributions to be evaluated fairly within the cocoa supply chains, there is need to put in place inclusive and participatory frameworks that allow men and women to take part in generating gender-segregated data that speak to their complex needs and challenges. This way, both men and women are given the opportunity to evaluate traditional assumptions, social norms, attitudes, and biases that shape their everyday practices. Against this background, there is urgent need to garner relevant, gender-segregated data that have the potential to unearth emerging good strategies, practices, and opportunities that work well to empower women across the cocoa value chains. Such intervention also allows relevant stakeholders to problematise the range of socio-cultural challenges and structural barriers that continue to frustrate women from lifting themselves out of rural poverty. We are of the view that such an approach to understanding the barriers that militate against women's empowerment and promoting gender equity is important for a number of reasons. It has the potential to enhance critical understanding of the multiple needs of women along the cocoa value chain. It also has the potential to make relevant stakeholders and partners within the cocoa value chain to incorporate women's voices and priorities, as well as being accountable to women. The practical and ethical implications of integrating the voices and needs of women into the cocoa value chain is that stakeholders within the sector are likely to take specific measures and initiatives to strengthen the rights and wellbeing of women across the spectrum of cocoa production.

In view of this, the purpose of this assignment is to critically examine the gender dimension of the cocoa supply value chain in specific cocoa growing communities in Ghana. In this assignment, we focus primarily on the socially constructed relations between men and women at different stages of the cocoa value chain. By using gender as a cross-cutting theme, we additionally aim to map out the opportunities and challenges that may promote or hinder gender equality in the cocoa value chain. Attempting to map out the opportunities and challenges has the potential to provide useful information for all actors engaged in the cocoa value chain in Ghana.

2 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The remainder of this report is structured into six (6) sections. Section three captures the objectives and research questions of the study. Section four (4) presents the methodology employed in the study. The findings of the study are presented in section five (5) with a focus on the objectives of the study and research questions. The findings are structured in themes, comprising socio-demographic and economic characteristics of cocoa farmers; policies and strategies for addressing gender issues in the cocoa supply chain; gender performativities and challenges in the cocoa supply chain; access to productive resources and support; socio-cultural norms and practices that foster gender inequalities in cocoa production; best practices in women empowerment and finally the benefits men and women derive from cocoa farming. The recommendations of the study are outlined in section six (6) with conclusions in section seven (7).

3 STUDY OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

The purpose of the assignment as stated in the ToR (Appendix 1) was to identify and ascertain the differences between and among women and men in terms of their relative position, work, ownership of property, distribution of resources, opportunities, constraints and power within the Cocoa supply chain. Specifically, the study seeks to;

- identify differences between and among women and men, based on the unequal distribution of resources, opportunities, constraints and power within the Cocoa supply chain.
- identify the different needs of women and men and how they are addressed at all stages of the policy cycle.
- map the Cocoa supply chain and indicate stages where women are more involved and what benefits they derive.
- identify social norms that foster gender inequality.

Key research questions as contained in the ToR (Appendix 1) include the following;

- How are women being engaged within the Cocoa supply chain. i.e. what are the roles of women within the Cocoa supply chain?
- What are the different needs of women and men and how are they addressed at all the stages of chain? Are they backed by policy?
- How can the cocoa industry better value the contribution of women cocoa farmers? And how are they compensated for what they do?
- How is the government supporting training, providing access to finance, and establishing other pathways to women's economic empowerment as a way of finding solutions to social norms that hinder equality?
- What opportunities exist for women's voices to be heard throughout the cocoa supply chain (e.g. through cocoa cooperatives, through direct engagement with CSR programs), and how effective are these entry points in addressing gender inequality?
- Is any industry actors' routine practice of disaggregating data by sex?
- Are there examples of good practice to addressing women's empowerment in the cocoa sector building off Oxfam's report in 2015?
- How are women participating in the social, political and economic lives of their communities?

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Study Area

This assignment was conducted in Atwima Mponua district in the Ashanti region and Bia East in the Western North region. In consultation with Oxfam in Ghana, these regions were selected due to their critical contribution to cocoa production. Ashanti and Western North regions represent two leading cocoa growing regions in Ghana. With close consultation with district managers of CHED, we sampled two (2) communities in the Atwima Mponua district (i.e., Akantaso and Akrobokrom) and four communities (i.e., Amoatengkrom and Kwasare) in the Bia East District. Two communities were sampled from Atwima Mponua district because we were able to get the required sample size for the quantitative survey (100 in each community), while four communities were selected from Bia East because we could not get the desired sample size per community. These communities were recommended by the district managers of CHED as they were among communities with active and vibrant cooperatives and FBOs. We leveraged on the vast knowledge of the district managers of CHED in selecting our sample population for the interviews. These communities also aligned with our selection criterion. Much attention was paid to heterogeneous demographics among cocoa farmers. The two districts were selected because of their high population of migrant workers who are rarely the focus of much of the extant literature. In both Districts, the research team worked closely with extension officers and field supervisors from CHED, the district cocoa division of Ghana's COCOBOD. In sampling participants for the interviews, the research team incorporated cocoa workers of varied migratory status, age, class, religion, varied tenureship arrangements, and gender diversity as demonstrated in Table 5.1 below

4.2 Study Design

With reference to the objectives of the study as stated earlier, a mixed method design was adopted as the most appropriate for the study. This design builds synergy and complementarities between qualitative and quantitative approaches, and this enriches the findings of the study as compared to the use of a single approach. Data collection and analysis were staggered in three interrelated phases, comprising of a desk review, qualitative study, and a household survey.

Phase One: Desk Review

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he first phase of the assignment was to review relevant literature and policies on gender inequality in the cocoa supply chain. The review among others focus on differences in roles, benefits, opportunities, constraints and needs of men, women, boys and girls in the cocoa value chain. Furthermore, the review examines policies aimed at addressing the needs of male and female farmers in the cocoa supply chain. In collaboration with Oxfam, existing evaluations, policy documentations, scientific papers, and other relevant documents were reviewed. The desk review enabled the research team to gather and collate all available evidence on gender inequality, challenges, and opportunities as far as cocoa supply chain is concerned. The information gathered from this phase of the research provided useful guidelines in developing qualitative and quantitative instruments for the second and third phases.

Phase Two: Qualitative Study

Informed by our gender critical interest, the second phase of the assignment draws on dominant feminist methodologies that are inclusive, participatory, transformational, and intersectional. In order to unpack how gender inequalities are implicated in the cocoa supply chain, it is necessary to invest in qualitatively understanding multiple experiences and perspectives as shaped by multiple subjectivities and intersecting inequalities. The qualitative aspects of the research included conducting a series of participatory, inclusive, and dialogical discussions at the community and institutional levels in the selected Districts. At the **community level**, 16 focus group discussions (FGDs) were held separately with men, women, boys and girls (Table 4.1). At the **institutional level**, 12 in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants from district and national institutions that play various roles in addressing gender issues in cocoa production (Table 4.1). They include District Assembly, Department of Agriculture, Department of Gender, Cocoa Health Extension Division, Ministry of Gender & Social Protection, Ministry of Food & Agriculture, Ministry of Employment and Labor Relations, LBCs, and COCOBOD.

In addition to field notes and with the permission of participants, all in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were audio recorded in English and Twi (the two dominant languages of the sampled districts) and later translated and transcribed. Content and thematic data analysis approach was adopted to foreground the narratives of participants. The approach basically involves a detail examination of transcripts, labelling of key findings, sorting of findings around themes and finally harmonization. Key striking findings are presented as quotations. Together with the desk review, the findings from the qualitative phase informed the design of data collection tools for the household survey, aimed at gauging how issues of gender inequalities in the cocoa value chain are widespread.

Table Error! No text of specified style in document..1: Data collection methods and target respondents of qualitative study at community and institutional levels

Data collection method/target respondent	Total number	Distribution
<i>Community level</i>		
In-depth interview with Assembly members	2	1 in 2 of the communities sampled
Focus Group Discussion with men	4	1 in each of the 4 sampled communities
Focus Group Discussion with women	4	1 in each of the 4 sampled communities
Focus Group Discussions with boys	4	1 in each of the 4 sampled communities
Focus Group Discussions with girls	4	1 in each of the 4 sampled communities
<i>Institutional level</i>		
In-depth interview with District Gender officer	2	1 in each of the 2 sampled districts
In-depth interview with District Development Planning Officer	2	1 in each of the 2 sampled districts
Key Informant interview with LBCs	4	3 across the 2 sampled districts and 1 at the national level
In-depth interview with key informant at the Ministry of Gender and Social protection	1	N/A
In-depth interview with key informant at Ghana Cocoa Board	1	N/A
In-depth interview with key informant at the Ministry of Food and Agriculture	1	N/A
In-depth interview with Ministry of Labor and Employment Relations	1	

Phase Three: Household Survey

The third phase of the research involves carrying out a household survey. While qualitative methods can help generate rich and contextually detailed data, the inherently limited potential for only qualitative methods to comprehensively address the focus of this assignment requires quantitative methods. The insights that would be gained from the dialogical qualitative data collection and analysis process were supplemented and strengthened by quantitative data to understand the prevalence and complex nature of gender inequality in the cocoa value chain in Ghana.

A representative sample of 392 households was determined for the household survey based on Taro's (1973) sample size formula;¹

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2}$$

Where; n = Sample size

N = Total number of households in the two districts

e = Level of precision or Sampling error (±5%)

The unknown variable in the above sample size formula is the total number of households (N) in the study districts. Although the two districts are yet to be sampled, our experience shows that the average number of households in a rural district in Ashanti and Western Regions is 10,000. Thus, a total of 20,000 for the two districts. Substituting this into the formula, we obtained a representative sample of 392 households. This was rounded off to 400. This was distributed proportionally among the two study districts and 7 communities namely: Akrobokrom and Akantanso in the Atwima Mponua district; Amoatengkrom, Kwasare, Camp Junction, Bredi, and Harunakrom in the Bia East district. In each community, both cocoa laborers or migrants and owner households were targeted. At the household level, questionnaires were designed to cater for the challenges, needs, and concerns of both spouses. In households where both spouses were present, questionnaires were administered separately and subsequently triangulated with the FGDs. Questionnaires targeting female respondents were administered by female enumerators, while those targeting male respondents were administered by male enumerators. This was informed by our understanding that the gender of the enumerator may influence the information that respondents are likely to share with the research team. SurveyCTO, a mobile data collection technology was used for data collection to enhance data quality. Data were collected on the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents and households, differences between and among women and men, boys and girls, with regards to roles, benefits, distribution of resources, opportunities, constraints, needs and power dynamics within the Cocoa supply chain; access to services/programmes that address their needs; and finally, social norms that foster gender inequality. The household survey was downloaded from the SurveyCTO server in SPSS format and analyzed using relevant descriptive and inferential tools. The quantitative data was triangulated against the qualitative data to enhance validity and reliability.

¹ It assumes a maximum degree of variability/heterogeneity within the population (Yamane, 1973 p1088)

5 FINDINGS

5.1 Socio-Demographic and Economic Characteristics of Respondents

From the in-depth interviews, the ratio of male to female cocoa farmers was estimated to be 7:3 in both Bia East and Atwima Mponua District. However, in respect of the gendered nature of the study, the proportion of males (50.2%) and females (49.8%) who participated in the survey was almost at par. A majority of survey respondents were farm owners (84.8%) with a few being labourers (10.5%) or both owners and labourers at the same time (8.8%) (Table 5.1). The sizes of cocoa farms ranged from 1–82 acres with the average being 9.6 acres (Table 5.1). Comparatively, the sizes of cocoa farms in Atwima Mponua District were bigger than those in Bia East District. In terms of gender, the average farm size of a female cocoa farm (8.8 acres) was smaller than that of a male cocoa farm (10.3 acres). The minimum, maximum and average ages of respondents were 18, 80 and 46 years respectively. Per the sample communities in both districts, over two-third of respondents were married. The remaining were either singles (11.8%), cohabitating (3.2%) or widows/widowers (9.2%).

The educational attainment of cocoa farmers was generally low: 28.2% of cocoa farmers surveyed have never been to school; 62.3% have basic education; 6% have secondary education; and 3.5% have tertiary education (Table 5.1). The educational background of cocoa farmers in Bia East District was not very different from those in Atwima Mponua District (Table 5.1). In terms of religion, a majority (76.5%) of cocoa farmers in the two study districts are Christians. Cocoa farmers who participated in the survey were predominantly Akans (63.2%) (Table 5.1). A few others were Dagaaba (9.5%), Mosi (5.5%), Krobos (5.5%), Gurunsi (2.5%), Kusaasi (2.5%) and Busanga (3.8%). In each district, over 70% of cocoa farmers surveyed were migrants (Table 5.1).

The farmers who participated in the study have enormous experience in cocoa farming, and thus better placed to shed light on the gender dynamics in the cocoa supply chain. From the survey, the average number of years respondents have been into cocoa farming was 18 with 44.5% of respondents' haven more than 18 years of experience in coca farming (Table 5.1). All farmers surveyed have ever harvested their cocoa. In 2019, the number of bags each farmer harvested ranged from 1 to 150 with the average being 20.1 (Table 5.1). Between the two districts, the average number of bags sold per farmer in Bia East District (20.9) was slightly higher than their counterparts in Atwima Mponua District (19.6%). The average earnings of men from cocoa farming was almost twice that of women (Table 5.1). This leaves women in a disproportionate state in terms of financing cocoa production. Cocoa production was uncovered as the main source of livelihood for 94% of farmers surveyed. In Atwima Mponua District, it was as high as 98.5%.

Table Error! No text of specified style in document..2: Socio-demographic and economic characteristics of survey respondents

Socio-demographic & Economic Characteristics	Percentage of respondents		
	Bia East District (n=200)	Atwima Mponua District (n=200)	Both (n=400)
<i>Gender of respondent</i>			
Males	62%	38.5%	50.2%
Females	38%	61.5%	49.8%
<i>Ownership type of cocoa farm:</i>			
Own farm	87.5%	82%	84.8%
Labourer	6.5%	14.5%	10.5%
Both	6%	3.5%	4.8%
<i>Farm sizes (acres):</i>			
Minimum	1	2	1
Maximum	60	82	82
Average	8.3	10.8	9.6
Average of men/women	8.8/7.6	12.8/9.5	10.3/8.8
<i>Age of respondent</i>			
Minimum	18	20	18
Maximum	86	80	86
Average	45.5	47.4	46
Average of men/women	44/48	47/47	45/48
<i>Marital status:</i>			
Single	9.5%	14%	11.8%
Cohabitation	0.5%	6%	3.2%
Married	83%	68.5%	75.8%
Widow/widower	7%	11.5%	9.2%
<i>Educational attainments:</i>			
No formal education	28%	28.5%	28.2%
Nursery/Kindergarten	4%	10%	7%
Primary	18.5%	20.5%	19.5%
Middle School/JSS/JHS	39.5%	32%	35.8%
SSS/SHS/O'Level/A' Level	4.5%	7%	5.8%
Vocational/Technical School	0%	0.5%	0.2%
Tertiary	5.5%	1.5%	3.5%
<i>Religion:</i>			
African Traditional religion	0.5%	0%	0.2%
Christianity	75.5%	77.5%	76.5%
Islam	19%	22%	20.5%
No religion	5%	0.5%	2.8%
<i>Indigene/migrant:</i>			
Indigene	13.5%	24.5%	19%
Migrant	86.5%	75.5%	81%
<i>Ethnicity:</i>			
Akan	63%	63.5%	63.2%
Dagaaba	14.5%	4.5%	9.5%

Mosi	9%	2%	5.5%
Krobo	5%	0%	2.5%
Gurunsi	3.9%	1.5%	2.5%
Kusaasi	1.5%	12.5%	7%
Busanga	1%	6.5%	3.8%
Others	2.1%	9.5%	6%
<i>Number of years in cocoa farming:</i>			
Minimum	1	1	1
Maximum	61	46	61
Average	20.2	16.7	18.4
% above average	38.5%	45.5%	44.5%
<i>Number of cocoa bags harvested in 2019:</i>			
Minimum	1	1	1
Maximum	100	150	150
Average	20.9	19.6	20.1
% who harvested above average	36%	35%	33%
<i>Income from cocoa:</i>			
Minimum	Ghc500	Ghc515	Ghc500
Maximum	Ghc51,500	Ghc77,250	Ghc77,250
Average	Ghc9,798.09	Ghc9,023.76	Ghc9,410.93
Average of men / women	Ghc 11,070 / Ghc 7,722	Ghc 11,639 / Ghc 7,387	Ghc 11,288 / Ghc 7,515
<i>Is cocoa farming your main source of livelihood?</i>			
Yes	89.5%	98.5%	94%
No	10.5%	1.5%	6%

Source: Field survey, June 2020

5.2 Policies and Strategies for Addressing Gender Issues in the Cocoa Supply Chain

In Ghana, Cocoa Board (COCOBOD) is the institution responsible for the production, processing and marketing of cocoa, Shea and coffee. Periodically, the body formulates policies/strategies to guide its work and sometimes achieve strategic objectives. For instance, in order to meet targeted 1million metric tons of cocoa yield in the 2020/2021 cocoa season, COCOBOD has rolled out series of programmes, comprising rehabilitation of cocoa farms affected by swollen shoot; mass spraying; sensitization and mass pruning of cocoa farms; artificial pollination; provision of irrigation facilities; supply of fertilizers, insecticides, pesticides, seedlings and motorized dual-purpose pruners & slashers, increase in the producer price of cocoa, among others.

Although COCOBOD plays lead roles in regulating the cocoa sector in Ghana, key informant interviews with representatives from COCOBOD revealed that there is no gender specific policy or department mandated to mainstream gender in cocoa production, processing, and marketing in the country. Key informant interview held with COCOBOD revealed that a gender-blind approach is often used in addressing the needs of both men and women cocoa farmers. Such an approach does not necessarily prioritize one gender group over the other, despite their complexities and differential vulnerabilities. This is perhaps un-

derstandable because COCOBOD believe that cocoa is an economic enterprise, where people (men and women) decide to invest in. Informed by such perception, key informant interview with COCOBOD emphasized that socio-cultural issues and barriers that disempower female cocoa farmers are outside the purview of COCOBOD as demonstrated in Box 5.1 below.

Box 5.1: Excerpts of interview with a national key informant of COCOBOD on the availability or otherwise of gender policies in cocoa production

Interviewer: COCOBOD as one of the government bodies, do you prioritize gender within your policies; do you have any thing that talks about mainstreaming gender within farming in general and cocoa production in particular?

Interviewee: We do. As I said earlier, farming is an individual decision and venture that people embark on but so long as you start farming, we [COCOBOD] are interested in making sure that you survive in the farming. Therefore, gender is an issue you address, ok; is part of things we do. You educate the farmers, including men and women. When they have a particular issue that should be addressed for men and women, we do that. So COCOBOD, yes, we are interested in gender issues. But on the context of that cultural arrangements and farming returns and the sharing of returns, that is not COCOBOD business. If anything at all, is another ministry that is in charge of socio-cultural and religious issues.

Interviewer: If I get you right, it means that you don't prioritize women in the intervention that you offer to farmers in general.

Interviewee: It seems you didn't get my point clear. Are you interested in the word prioritization or what? We have a whole ministry in charge of gender.

Interviewer: Ok, but I am talking with regards to COCOBOD as a body.

Interviewee: I have told you that we are doing so many things to support all farmers, including men and women.

Despite the absence of a documented gender policy in cocoa production, the District Managers of the Cocoa Health and Extension Division (CHED) were aware of the disproportional challenges women face in the agricultural sector. Thus, in the face of limited resources, they give priority to the needs of women over men (Box 5.2). This is however a personal initiative aimed at addressing the intersecting inequalities that women face (Box 5.2).

Box 5.2: Excerpts of interview with a District Manager of CHED

Interviewer: Are there priority for women farmers?

Interviewee: Yes, we have women farmers groups. We intentionally did that so that we can in a way give them priority. When it comes to distribution of inputs to the cooperatives. This has even attracted the attention of the men who make comments like, we will also form our men group because you give so much attention to our wives.

Interviewer: It the decision to form groups informed by directives from the national office?

Interviewee: Not really. It was our own initiative. The national office only directed that we should form groups and that the groups should be gender sensitive/balanced.

As part of the national gender concerns, you can't have a group which is all male. It should either be all female or mixed. This is often a major area of concern during our farmer business school sessions.

5.3 Gendered Performativities in the Cocoa Supply Chain

5.3.1 Men and women

Anchored on an inclusive, participatory, and farmer-centered approach, we recognized participants as important knowledge producers. Thus, to gain an in-depth understanding of the issues under investigation, participants were asked to share their views on the various processes and stages involved in cocoa production. In female only group discussions, discussants were asked the following questions: If a woman wants to start farming cocoa in this community, what does she need to do first or where does she start from? Is this process different from those of men? Are these processes the same for all women or there are differences? Likewise, men were also asked: If a man wants to farm cocoa in this community, what does he do first or where does he start from? Is this process different from those of women? Are these processes the same for all men? By asking these questions, we were interested in gaining deeper understanding and contextually-driven insights of the various processes and stages that different categories of farmers (both men and women, owners, labourers, and sharecroppers) navigate in their farming journeys. The evidence that emerges from both quantitative and qualitative data suggest that both men and women that we interviewed are very knowledgeable of the various processes and stages involved in cocoa production, thus, from the point of conceiving the idea to cultivate cocoa through to maturity, harvesting, deciding who to sell the cocoa beans to, and finally, what to use the money from the sales of the cocoa for. Results from both the survey and in-depth interviews held with cocoa farmers revealed that the cocoa supply chain comprises of six (6) main stages, namely, land acquisition, land preparation, planting, farm maintenance, harvesting, and post-harvesting. Analysis of survey responses on the stages of the cocoa production process that men and women are involved in revealed that more men are involved in land acquisition, land preparation, planting, farm maintenance, harvesting and post-harvesting than women (Tables 5.2 and 5.3). A similar trend is discernible in both Bia East and Atwima Mponua Districts. Nonetheless, over two-third of respondents indicated that women are involved in planting, farm maintenance, harvesting and post harvesting (Tables 5.2 and 5.3). In the selected communities that we interacted with men and women, it became evident that women make up about half of both direct and indirect labor force. In addition to their involvement in the agricultural labor force as farmers, labourers, and spouses of cocoa farmers, women take primary responsibility for domestic chores, including taking care of children and the aged.

Table Error! No text of specified style in document..3: Responses on the stages of the cocoa production process men are involved in

Stages	Percentage (%) of respondents		
	<i>Bia East District</i>	<i>Atwima Mponua District</i>	<i>Both</i>
Land acquisition	85.7%	68.2%	77.8%
Land preparation	94%	97.4%	95.5%
Planting	95.6%	98%	96.7%
Farm maintenance	94%	100%	96.7%
Harvesting	96.7%	98.7%	97.%
Post-harvesting	89%	97.4%	92.8%

Source: Field survey, June -July 2020

Table Error! No text of specified style in document..4: Responses on the stages of the cocoa production process women are involved in

Stages	Percentage (%) of respondents		
	Bia East District	Atwima Mponua District	Both
Land acquisition	20.7%	7.5%	14.4%
Land preparation	43.7%	65.4%	54.1%
Planting	89.1%	93.1%	91%
Farm maintenance	46.6%	95%	69.7%
Harvesting	89.7%	95%	92.2%
Post-harvesting	72.4%	73%	72.7%

Source: Field survey, June -July 2020

While there were strong commonalities in how men and women navigate the various stages in the production process, there were noticeable differences among different categories of men and women. For example, the processes and stages involved in cocoa production for a male farmer who is an indigene were observed to be slightly different from those of a male farmer who is a migrant. Similarly, among women themselves, there were clear differences from the point of obtaining land, land preparation through to harvesting, and sales of the beans. The processes for women who are indigenes were slightly different from those of migrant women. For example, women who are indigenes were more likely to have easy access to land as a result of inheritance arrangements/systems. Also, issues of class play an important role in the process. Irrespective of their migratory backgrounds, women who have the financial means were also more likely to escape the difficulties embedded in acquiring land. Such women are able to pay the money required for the outright purchase and ownership of the land.

Our findings suggest that women cocoa farmers or female spouses of cocoa farmers are actively involved in almost all stages of the production process. While land acquisition was perceived to be the prerogative of men, both men and women confirmed that women are actively involved in land clearing, planting and weeding, farm maintenance, as well as post-harvest activities, such as gathering and heaping of cocoa pods, extracting of beans from the pods, transporting the pods from the fields to the house for fermentation, drying and sorting of the beans. In a focus group discussion with women in Camp Junction in the Bia East District, Afia, a farmer, shares this:

“As a woman, if I want a parcel of land to farm, my husband always helps me to acquire it. Land acquisition is a man’s work. It is very rare to see women acquiring land by themselves. These women are financially well-to-do”.

In a FGD discussion with men in Kwasare in the same District, Kwaku, a migrant sharecropper, confirms this assertion:

“Cocoa farming is a tedious job. Once a man acquires the land, you will have to clear it. Some women acquire land through purchase or inheritance. Clearing the land involves lot of energy. Most women cannot do this, because they don’t have enough energy. After clearing the land, you will have to cut down and burn the trees. These are all physical activities. The role of the woman starts when it is time to plant food crops (e.g., plantains, cocoyam, cassava, maize, pepper, etc.) in the cocoa farm. Men don’t plant these crops”.

While articulating the processes and stages that men and women engage in, in the production process, participants pointed to the gendered division of labor pervasive in the production process as illustrated in Table 5.4 below.

Table Error! No text of specified style in document..5: A summary of gendered division of labor among cocoa farmers

Key activities	Men	Women	Children [boys and girls]
Land acquisition and negotiation	Mostly men	Few women who can purchase the land or acquire through matrilineal inheritance systems	
Land preparation and weeding	Mostly men	Some women	Some boys Girls prepare food
Purchasing and/or arranging for cocoa seedlings	Mostly men	Few women with the requisite money	
Planting	All	All	Some boys
Intercropping of food crops		Women	Some girls
Cocoa spraying	Mostly men	Women fetch water for mixing with chemical	Girls fetch water for mixing with chemical
Thinning and pruning	Men due to its physically arduous and dangerous nature	Some women	
Plucking of pods	Men	A few women	
Pods breaking	Men	Women prepare food for the men	Girls fetch water for the men while boys observe the process
Gathering and carrying pods to designated place for fermentation	Some men when the depot is far from the farm	Mostly women	Some girls
Fermentation and drying of cocoa beans at "Apa"	All	All	
Bagging	Men	Women hire male labourers	
Sale of beans to local purchasing clerk	Mostly men	Few women who own their farms	

Source: Fieldwork 2020

We interrogated why specific activities as presented in Table 5.4 above were dominated by only men, only women, or both men and women in the supply chain. We were also interested in understanding the possibility of enhancing women's relative position at the various stages of the supply chain, where they have less control. While our findings revealed that women spend almost the same time working on the farm much like their husbands or male counterparts, it became striking that men spend comparatively less time engaging in domestic chores as a result of local cultural norms that govern marriages and family dynamics. In most of our focus group discussions with male and female participants and key informant interviews mostly with men, domestic chores were widely perceived to be the work of women and girls. Accordingly, men and boys were considered more suitable for physically demanding and more market-oriented activities as a result of the perception that men are naturally stronger than women. These activities may allow men to perform their gendered responsibility as breadwinners and family providers. Such perceptions were deeply rooted in traditional socialisation processes through which boys and girls are taught and encouraged to gender specific activities and roles which are perpetuated over time.

Across focus group discussions with men and women and Key Informant interviews, the question on why men were minimally involved in household chores elicited enormous laughter. Most participants attributed this to cultural arrangements, which shape heteronormative relationships. In addition to culture, some female participants suggested that men do not have the requisite skills needed to prepare delicious meals. It appears that men who expressed interest in participating in household chores are likely to be branded with derogatory descriptions as such men were perceived to be invading the territory of women. Such perceptions were evident in both men and women's group discussions. Most men and women perceive that once a man marries a woman, it is her natural responsibility to prepare food for him without expecting any tangible reward in return. This perception was also common among some key informants and industrial actors. For example, Noami, a labourer and wife of a cocoa farmer in Harunakrom, Bia East, argues that:

"I personally see preparing food for the house as part of the reasons why the man married me. How will I sit down and allow my husband to be preparing food? How will society perceive me? So, I see the domestic chores to be part of my natural responsibility as a married woman. I don't expect anyone to tell me that Noami, you need to do this or that in the house. The man needs to concentrate on activities that may generate income for the family. That makes him the man of the house".

In our interaction with men in a focus group discussion in Kwasare in the Bia East District, Adjei, a cocoa farmer, agrees with such perception, arguing:

"What may make me assist my wife in the kitchen is when we both close late from the farm; otherwise I would not help her in household chores. I marry her because of these activities".

Key informant interviews with mostly men supported the view that such cultural arrangements are normal and are not gender discriminatory within marriages. They were perceived to be normative and natural because such cultural arrangements have become part and parcel of discursive understanding of gender which requires men and women, boys and girls perform distinct activities within the household economy. In households with rigid constructions of gender, women's contribution in cocoa production were largely described as "supportive" and "normative", such as fetching water for the man to drink and preparing food for him while he is on the farm. Societal norms and gender stereotypes continue to perpetuate such beliefs which unfairly treat women as supportive workforce and not active agricultural labour force in their own right. However, in other group discussions, some women (either as cocoa farmers or spouses of male cocoa farmers) described such cultural arrangements as discriminatory in a sense that women are unfairly burdened with both productive and domestic activities. Most women we interviewed, especially women who work jointly with their husbands on the cocoa farm complained that they have been unfairly

cheated as a result of deep-rooted cultural norms and patriarchal ideologies which continue to afford greater authority and power to men over women. Understandably, discriminatory cultural practices and norms work in tandem to limit the opportunities accessible to women as discussed throughout this report.

While the perception that women are normatively required to work as both domestic and productive labour force was the dominant narrative among most men and women, other men contested such notions as illustrated in the comment of Kwame, a cocoa farmer, Bredi community:

“When I return from the farm in the evening, I always help in bathing the children. This allows my wife to concentrate on preparing the food so that we can eat early. We are both tired and I need to support her somehow”.

Kojo, a cocoa farmer in Camp Junction, equally believes that helping his wife in the kitchen has beneficial consequences in fostering the growth of the marriage:

“I always see my wife as my helper. She cooks for me while I am working on the farm. So, when I return from the farm and realize that she is busy in the kitchen, I try as much as possible to assist her. That makes the relationship grow”.

Other male participants thought that women are overburdened with work both in the private sphere and on the farms. In the view of Amatus, most women do not have enough time to rest as they navigate their caregiving responsibilities and productive labor. He narrates:

“Most women have no time for themselves. They have to wake up early in the morning, travel far to collect water. Before they are done sweeping the compound, cooking and others, they are already tired. Here is the case they still need to go to the farm to compete with their male colleagues. Women have very little time to invest in their farms. This affects their productivity”.

5.3.2 Boys and girls

From the survey, 30% of children between the ages of 8 and 17 were reported to be engaged in cocoa work (Fig. 5.1). Between the two study districts, the proportion of children potentially involved in cocoa production in Bia East District (31.7%) was slightly higher than in Atwima Mponua District (27.7%). In general, more boys (32.3%) support in cocoa production than girls (27.5%). However, in the Bia East District, the proportion of girls that support parents in cocoa related work was marginally higher than that of boys (Fig. 5.1). Reasons cited by parents for the involvement of children in cocoa work in descending order of frequency include inadequate finances and high cost of labour (46%), form of punishment (44.8%) and occupational training (31.3%).

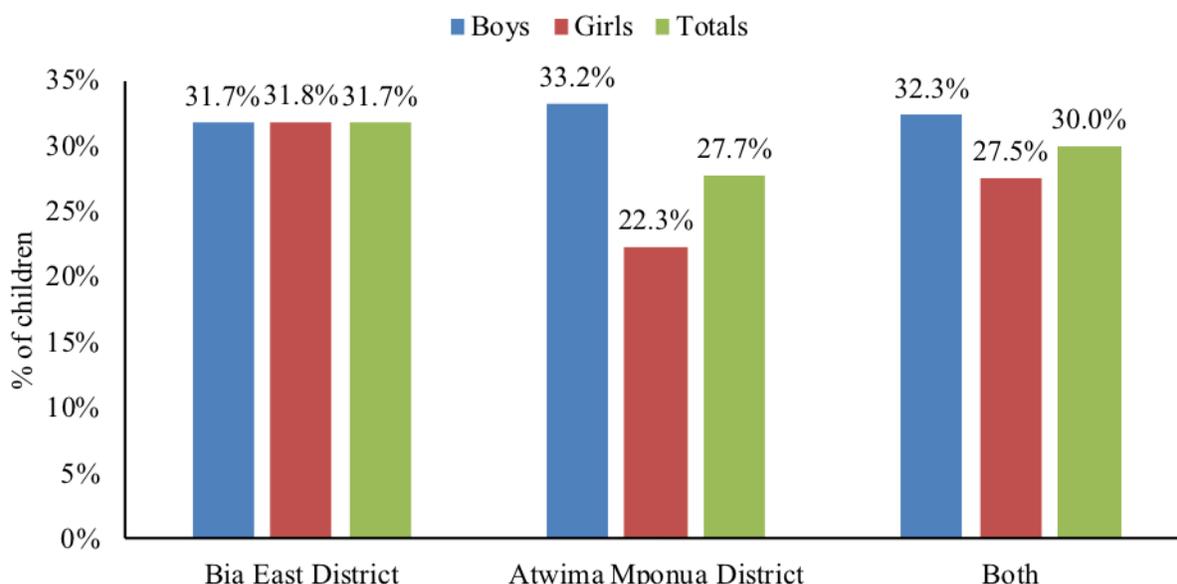


Figure Error! No text of specified style in document..1 Proportion of girls and boys involved in the cocoa supply chain

With the exception of land acquisition, boys and girls were reported to be involved (either directly or indirectly) in almost all the stages of the cocoa production process (Tables 5.5 and 5.6). The proportions of respondents that indicated that boys support in land preparation, planting, farm maintenance, harvesting and post harvesting were higher compared to the proportions that indicated for girls. Boys were reported to be mostly engaged in planting, followed by harvesting, farm maintenance, post-harvesting activities and lastly land preparation (Table 5.5). Similarly, girls mostly support their parents in planting, followed by harvesting, post harvesting, farm maintenance and finally land preparation (Table 5.6).

Table Error! No text of specified style in document..6: Stages of the cocoa production process boys are engaged in

Stages	Percentage of respondents		
	<i>Bia East</i>	<i>Atwima Mponua</i>	<i>Total</i>
Land preparation	11.6%	33.3%	18.3%
Planting	89.3%	55.6%	78.9%
Farm maintenance	23.1%	61.1%	34.9%
Harvesting	67.8%	88.9%	74.3%
Post-harvesting	26.4%	38.9%	30.3%

Table Error! No text of specified style in document..7: Stages of the cocoa production process girls are engaged in

Stages	Percentage of respondents		
	<i>Bia East</i>	<i>Atwima Mponua</i>	<i>Total</i>
Land preparation	6.6%	31.6%	12.6%
Planting	79.3%	39.5%	69.8%
Farm maintenance	13.2%	52.6%	22.6%
Harvesting	54.5%	84.2%	61.6%

Post-harvesting	20.7%	42.1%	25.8%
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5.4 Gendered Challenges in the Cocoa Supply Chain

Our findings reveal that there are widespread gender-specific constraints and challenges that women cocoa farmers and female spouses of cocoa farmers face. Due to local perceptions and constructions of gender, some tasks on the cocoa farm were perceived to be inappropriate for women. For example, discussants in both male and female FGDs confirmed that it is typically considered inappropriate for a woman to perform activities, such as land acquisition, pruning, removing mistletoes, applying agro-chemicals, harvesting, and selling cocoa beans. Informed by such stereotypical perceptions, most women who own their cocoa farms often rely on the services of male labourers to perform these activities for a fee. The majority of women who rely on the services of hire labour alleged that the cost of procuring hire labor is high. Women in general were considered to be physically weak compared with men who are thought to be naturally strong and could rely on their own physical strength in farming. For example, Fatima owns 10-acre cocoa farm in Akantanso. Her dream has always been to expand her farm to maximise profit. Fatima husband passed on a few years ago and this, according to her, is a major blow to her dream of becoming one of the best cocoa farmers in her community. Like most of her female colleagues, Fatima lamented that cocoa farming is a capital-intensive and stressful business hence vulnerable and economically marginalized people like her struggle to actualize their dreams. She explains further:

“I always want to increase my farm size to plenty acres. However, acquiring the land these days is too expensive. The cost of labour and inputs is also too high for me to afford as a widow. I don’t have the money to hire labour. Because of this, I am forced to rely on my own strength hence I am unable to expand my farm size as I wish”.

In few exceptional cases (women who have money to purchase land on their own), our findings from both quantitative and qualitative data established that women’s farms are smaller than men (Table 5.1). One of the main reasons that participants gave as accounting for the smaller sizes of women’s cocoa farms was increasing demand for land for agricultural activities and rapid urbanization. In both districts, it was reported that there is scarcity of land for cocoa farming as a result of increasing population. It emerged that people interested in cocoa farming have to travel long distances in order to acquire the land as a result of limited availability of land. While both men and women could have access to such land based on one’s purchasing power, most women are doubly disadvantaged. Marian, a cocoa farmer, Kwasare, opines that:

“The men always use their motorbikes to travel far to acquire land. Women don’t have the means of transport to travel long distances away to secure farmlands. So, the small land close by which I can afford is what I will have to manage with. All these combine to influence the farm sizes of women”.

The perception that most women needed to rely on their husbands or male relatives in acquiring land for cocoa farming was widely supported across FGDs and Key Informant interviews. Lydia, spouse of a cocoa farmer, Amoatengkrom, shared this with us:

“If a woman is interested in starting a cocoa farm, she has to channel it through her husband. Your husband plays very crucial in acquiring land. If you’re not in good terms with your husband, he may refuse to lead you”.

In families with jointly owned cocoa farms, some men appear to be benevolent enough by gifting a portion of the cocoa farm to their wives. Despite this, it emerged that such farms could easily be taken away by the man whenever he feels doing so as narrated by Akos, a cocoa farmer, Bredi:

“After giving you the farm, some men can collect it back anytime he feels doing so. This is so because there is no documentation to show that the woman owns the farm. In order to continue farming on the land, you must maintain good relationship with him otherwise you lose that land”.

There is no formal contractual arrangement in sharing cocoa farms or the cocoa proceeds between a man and his wife who jointly work on the same farmland. Most women thought that the absence of concrete contractual agreements between couples who work on a jointly owned cocoa farm is problematic as far as women’s empowerment is concerned. Women who are in polygamous families bear the brunt of such poor arrangements as they always need to compete among themselves in eliciting “favors” and “appreciation” from their husband. Giving a portion of cocoa farm to a woman by her husband was widely described as doing the woman a “favor”. To most men across FGDs, this practice was also to show appreciation for the support that a woman has been rendering to her husband on the farm. To gain such “favor” and to be “appreciated”, a woman must maintain good relationship and loyalty to her husband who has a cocoa farm. Additionally, a woman must demonstrate that she is hardworking and that she would be able to independently take care of the farm by paying for the services of hire labor. Our analysis reveals that women’s access to jointly owned farm land as a form of gift or appreciation was contingent on submissive femininity. Submissive femininity entails that a woman ought to embody quality of hard work which enables her to efficiently manage both productive and reproductive activities.

Yet, the stories and experiences of other women who are well-resourced were different. Women may generally be disadvantaged within the domain of cocoa farming, but their experiences are not homogenous. Rather, women’s experiences as cocoa farmers or spouses of cocoa farmers are deeply shaped by interlocking factors, such as class, marriage, culture, and geography. Women such as Akua, a business woman and owner of a cocoa farm, Akrobokrom, shared her experience with us:

“I bought my own land [10 acres]. I don’t need a man to lead me or something in acquiring a land. My money leads me. I did everything all by myself except activities that demand lot of energy whereby I hired men to do them for me”.

The experience of Rita, a teacher and cocoa farmer, Camp Junction, is similar to Akua and many other well-resourced women:

“I bought my 3-acres cocoa farm for 3000 Ghana Cedis in 2010. Later on, I bought 12 acres for 19,000 Ghana Cedis, which I have given to a caretaker to manage on my behalf. So, when my colleagues say their husbands needed to lead them to landowners, it is not the same for all of us. I don’t need my husband to lead me. My money speaks for me. I only need to inform him as courtesy demands”.

Irrespective of marital and migratory status, such experiences were common among women who have the financial means to purchase land independently of men (whether male relatives or husbands). In the case of Song-na, her experience in securing land is completely different due to her migrant, poor, and unmarried status. She narrated painfully how women like herself struggle to secure land for cocoa farming:

“Over here, it is the men who acquire and manage the land on behalf of the woman. It is difficult for an unmarried woman like me to easily secure land for cocoa production if I don’t have plenty money. If I have money, I don’t need anyone to lead me to the landowner. Cocoa farming is an economic venture and with the needed finances, everyone can venture into it”.

In order to compete with their male colleagues, women in the FGDs expressed the views that they (i.e., women cocoa farmers) often need more money to enable them hire more labourers. Across both male and female focus groups, it emerged that men often form labor groups popularly known as *nnoboa*. Such groups are called upon to offer labor for group members in times of need, especially among poorer farmers who cannot afford the cost of hiring a wage laborer. Our findings demonstrate that while poorer male farmers frequently rely on the services of the *nnoboa* labor as well as the labor of family members, female cocoa farmers tend to rely more on the services of hired labor. Increasing the farm size, productivity, and quality of cocoa produce by women, especially those experiencing extreme poverty would mean that women have to overcome the burden of higher costs of production as more wage labourers are hired. In both male and female group discussions, participants alleged that women are physically weak hence their inability to perform specific activities on the farm. Both men and women perceived that activities described as physically arduous, such as felling of trees, spraying of agro-chemical, plugging of pods, pruning, etc. were typically considered inappropriate for women hence the need to procure the services of a wage laborer. This perception of the gendered performativities embedded in cocoa production was confirmed throughout our interaction with participants. Most women complained that they are unable to use the spraying machines (popularly known as “motorburo”) because of their heavy nature. Except in a few cases, the heavy nature of spraying machines makes it difficult for the majority of women to use them as narrated by Nancy, cocoa farmer, Harunakrom:

“If the spraying machines were less heavy like the Knapsack, women could use them to spray our farms without hiring any laborer or relying on our husbands. The men always prioritize their farms first. By the time they come to spray your farm, the farm might be infected with pests, insects, and “Emoa Nkanka” (caterpillars)”.

In our group discussion with women in Camp Junction, Yaa, a widow and cocoa farmer, narrated how she always struggle to maintain her cocoa farm, which her late husband gifted her. She argues:

“I belong to a cooperative which has helped us to share and exchange ideas. Through the cooperative, I am able to obtain agro-chemicals and the spraying machine. But you know I am a woman; I am not like the men. I cannot handle the machine; it is too heavy. So, I often hire male labourers to help me. That is what I have been doing for the past years when my husband passed on. We want the government to help us with loan so that we can hire more laborers to increase our yields”.

Another discussant, Abena, a cocoa farmer, Akantanso, agrees with Yaa and many other participants. She argues:

*“I have been farming cocoa for the past 30 years. I can tell you everything about cocoa production. My concern has always been that the men are cheating us. Whereas they [men] use *nnoboa*, women have to hire labourers. We don't have enough strength like the men. So, once we get some support [loan], a lot of our challenges will be resolved in a sense. With the required farm inputs, training, and support, we will be able to increase our farm yields”.*

Although the perception that women are physically weak and always need to procure the services of male labourers to work on their farms was widespread, Yaw, a cocoa farmer, Akrobokrom, contested such perceptions, arguing:

“I disagree with those who tell you that women are weaker than men. Some women can farm very well than some men. My wife is an example. When I go to the farm with my wife, I don't always want to stand by her. She always wants to disgrace me on the farm with her farming prowess. My wife is very hardworking. Her own farm is even bigger than the farm size of some men”.

Our interaction with male and female cocoa farmers, especially in the Atwima Mponua District confirmed that a few exceptional women who own large cocoa farms do not rely on the services of hire labor. Instead, such women shoulder everything from clearing of land to harvesting.

Throughout the interviews, there is a dominant perception that it is the conjugal duty of a woman to help her husband on his farm. This was a common practice across all the descents (both patrilineal and matrilineal) we interacted with. In the focus group discussions with men and women, it emerged that women always need to work on their husbands' cocoa farms to reduce the high labor costs, especially during the initial stages of farming. This was particularly common among young cocoa farming families, where there was no child of farming age. In families with adult children who could cushion the labor needs of the family, the tendency to allow women to involve in their own cocoa farming activities was high.

While participants acknowledged that agricultural inputs, such as chemical, fertilizers, cutlasses, spraying machine, pruners, etc. are always given to them by the government, NGOs, and LBCs, it emerged that such support is inadequate to meet the growing needs of farmers. Even as participants acknowledge such support as laudable in enhancing their productivity, most participants (both males and females) suggested that these inputs always arrive in their communities late. The late arrival of farm inputs was noted to be affecting farmers negatively. Our interaction with the Assembly member who doubles as one of the executives of Peace and Love cooperative in Kwasare confirms this. He argues:

“The government is doing well in supporting farmers with inputs. However, our concern is that most of these inputs are distributed to farmers late. Farmers need the inputs at the beginning of the farming season. By the time we get the subsidized inputs, the harm has already been caused”.

In our interview with the chief female cocoa farmer at Akantanso, she lamented that women are the hardest hit when inputs are delayed:

“Farmers always need the inputs timely. This can enable us to apply them at the right time to improve our yields. When the inputs are not distributed early, women cocoa farmers suffer the most. Women would need to go to the market to buy these inputs at commercial prices. Most women do not have the money to afford the required quantity of inputs at commercial prices to enable them gain good harvest”.

The survey data complemented the qualitative narratives in light of these challenges as reported in Table 5.7 below.

Table Error! No text of specified style in document.:8: Percentage of responses on the challenges/problems women (W) and men (M) face in cocoa production

Challenges	Percentage (%) of respondents					
	Bia East District		Atwima Mponua District		Both Districts	
	W	M	W	M	W	M
Inadequate funds to buy inputs	42.0%	56.6%	81.1%	81.5%	60.7%	67.9%
High cost of labour	44.3%	47.3%	79.9%	86.1%	61.3%	64.9%
Injuries from cutlass, thorns, trees etc.	39.1%	35.7%	81.1%	83.4%	59.2%	57.4%
High cost of fertilizer	47.1%	57.1%	41.5%	55.0%	44.4%	56.2%
Limited access to spraying machines	55.5%	61.0%	33.3%	49.0%	45.0%	55.6%
Inadequate pesticides/insecticides	58.6%	68.7%	30.2%	37.7%	45.0%	54.7%

Untimely supply of fertilizer/chemicals	39.7%	45.6%	49.7%	61.6%	44.4%	52.9%
Body pains arising from the labour intensive nature of cocoa production	33.3%	28.6%	84.3%	80.1%	57.7%	52.0%
Limited access to labour	39.1%	36.3%	59.7%	58.9%	48.9%	46.5%
Scarcity of land	26.4%	33.5%	47.2%	60.9%	36.3%	45.9%
Low price of cocoa	36.2%	43.4%	27.7%	35.8%	32.1%	39.9%
Limited access to seedlings	39.1%	43.4%	28.9%	30.5%	34.2%	37.5%
High cost of seedlings	39.7%	39.6%	25.8%	28.5%	33.0%	34.5%
Reptile bites	27.6%	30.2%	37.7%	37.7%	32.4%	33.6%
High cost of land	29.9%	33.0%	13.2%	26.5%	21.9%	30.0%
Pest and disease infestations	25.9%	25.3%	28.9%	35.1%	27.0%	29.7%
Unable to back/use spraying machine	27.6%	25.3%	35.2%	33.1%	31.2%	28.8%
Chemical poison/infection	26.4%	25.3%	27.7%	28.5%	27.0%	26.7%
Unfavorable land tenure arrangement	29.3%	31.9%	7.5%	8.6%	18.9%	21.3%

As reported in section 5.3.2, boys and girls support their parents in cocoa farming, spanning from land preparation to post harvesting. Their participation is however not without problems. From the survey, the main challenges children face in cocoa farming include neck, head, joint & body pains (66.5%), injuries from cutlass, trees, thorns, toxic irritant plants, cocoa pods etc (54.8%), reptile bites (35.3%), inability of children to study after school (31.2%), lateness to school (31.2%), pesticide/insecticide poisoning (31.2%), school absenteeism (28.1%) (Table 5.8). These challenges were evident across focus group discussions conducted with both boys and girls. Like her colleagues, Latifa, a 16-year-old girl, Harunakrom, narrates as follows:

“After fetching water for the spraying, I always come home and my whole body is doing like ji-gi-ja ji-gi-ja [paining]. I cannot study well. I always experience so much body pains. Because of that I am forced to sleep instead of reading my books. So, I am less motivated to become a farmer in the future. That is why I am learning very hard in school to become a lawyer.”

Similar challenges emerged in focus group discussions with boys as narrated by Yaw Manuh, a 17-year old boy, Akrobokrom:

“At times, the cutlass cut us when we go to weed the farm. We are equally exposed to other dangerous animals, including reptiles. If one is not careful, you can fall from the trees when you climb to remove the mistletoes.”

In other focus group discussions with girls, cocoa farming was described as a “dirty” work with unstable income. Others thought that cocoa farming makes farmers easily grow old and die early as illustrated by Kobina, a-17-year-old boy, Amoatengkrom:

“I would personally not want to go into cocoa farming because it makes you grow old early. It is so stressful. You visit some cocoa farming communities and realized that young men show visible signs of aging at very early stages of their lives.”

Most participants thought that cocoa farming is too stressful that they would not encourage their children to join. The majority of participants expressed the view that cocoa farming is an energy-sapping activity with so much suffering.

At the district level, problems of body pains and injuries were widely reported in Atwima Mponua District compared to Bia East District (table 5.8). Conversely, the proportion of respondents that reported problems of reptile bites, inability of children to study after school, lateness of children to school, pesti-

cide/insecticide poisoning and school absenteeism were higher in Bia East District than in Atwima Mponua District (Table 5.8).

Table Error! No text of specified style in document.:9: Percentage of responses on the challenges/problems children face in cocoa production

Challenges	Percentage (%) of respondents		
	Bia East District	Atwima Mponua District	Both
Neck, head, joint & body pains	59.9%	81.2%	66.5%
Injuries from cutlass, trees, thorns, toxic irritant plants, cocoa pods etc	46.7%	72.5%	54.8%
Reptile bites	40.8%	23.2%	35.3%
Inability to study after school	36.8%	18.8%	31.2%
Lateness to school	34.2%	24.6%	31.2%
Pesticide/insecticide poisoning	35.5%	21.7%	31.2%
School absenteeism	38.8%	4.2%	28.1%

5.5 Access to Productive Resources and Support for Cocoa production

5.5.1 Access to resources

Throughout our focus group discussions with men and women, it was revealed that women lack the physical strength to become cocoa farmers in their own right. When asked to share their opinion on a situation in which a man and woman are both interested in a parcel of land for cocoa production, but both do not have the required money to purchase the said land, who is a typical landowner more likely to give the land to farm? It was common for participants (both men and women) to articulate that it is more profitable to give the land to the man to manage as a sharecropper or caretaker since men are physically stronger and adventurous than women. Like most participants, Evelyn, a cocoa farmer, Kwasare, believes that:

“The men have the advantage over we the women in accessing land. Most landowners would prefer to give their land to the men because the men are considered to be physically stronger and hardworking than women”.

This perception was confirmed by our key informant interviews with some Assembly members. The Assembly member for Bredi shared this:

“In this community, men are given preferences in terms of land because they are physically stronger than women. Women may not have the time needed to fully commit to the farm work since women are burdened by domestic responsibilities”.

There was widespread perception that women cannot work hard like their male counterparts. Most male participants believed that if they were landowners, they would prefer to give their land to men (and not women) as giving the land to the latter would mean that their share of the proceeds is likely to be affected

as a result of low productivity. In a situation in which a landowner (mostly men but also some women) wants to give a parcel of land to a woman, the latter's prospect in obtaining the land is enhanced if she is accompanied by her husband or other male relatives to the landowner. These relatives and husband serve as a form of social insurance/collateral as recounted by Akosua, a cocoa farmer, Akantanso:

"In this community, when women go to acquire the land, they are asked by the landowner to bring their husbands or a male relative before they can proceed with the process. This is unfair to women as this practice makes men look superior to women. If a man can access land without necessarily involving his wife, a woman should be allowed to do same. We are in a world of gender equality".

While women in general are severely constrained in cocoa production, our findings suggest that unmarried and migrant women are particularly disadvantaged in the production process as they navigate multiple inequalities and gender-specific barriers. For example, migrant and unmarried women do not generally have the financial means needed to make the initial payments in acquiring land for their own cocoa production. In the case of such women being caretakers or sharecroppers, they often lack the requisite social collateral that could guarantee that they are capable of producing enough and quality cocoa beans that could allow landowners to maximize profit. The fear that women's caretakers or sharecroppers are incapable of producing maximum yields further complicates their insecure land tenureship and their potential to become efficient cocoa producers.

In analysing the time spend by men and women in a typical cocoa growing household, it became evident that most women are increasingly working a third shift. For example, it is the primary responsibility of women to take care of their families. Secondly, women need to earn an income in order to pay for the cost of labour and buy critical farm inputs. Lastly, women need time to fully commit to their farms in order to have good yields much like their male counterparts. The feminization of responsibility further complicates the plight of female cocoa farmers in the selected communities. Informed by cultural norms and marital arrangements, women were noted to be exclusively responsible for reproductive care work as well as accounting for most of the productive labour. Comparatively, women were noted to working more than men, yet women's crucial contribution to cocoa production does not necessarily translate into the everyday empirical realities of women. Ultimately, most women continue to suffer from many gender-specific inequities. our findings suggest that most women, especially those who are into cocoa farming can get out of poverty, increase in their personal well-being, enhanced nutritional needs of their children, and better empowered if women are given the resources needed.

It became clear in both male and female group discussions that many women continue to experience substantial gender-based discriminations, particularly in accessing land and credit for cocoa production. Most women claimed that land owner (who are predominately men) do not usually trust their ability to produce large quantities of quality cocoa beans hence their refusal to give women land to farm as sharecroppers or caretakers. In households where both husband and wife work on the same cocoa farm, women are poorly recognised as active workforce much like their male counterparts.

As a result of inadequate supply of agricultural inputs, some male farmers thought that they could access more government subsidised inputs, and by implication, expand farm sizes if they give a portion of land to their wives. This was observed to be an emerging practice in some of the communities we conducted the interviews. Being formally recognised as a cocoa farmer allows a woman to join a local cooperative. By extension, belonging to a local cooperative gives women access to subsidized agricultural inputs, especially those offered by the government. While this could be described as a potentially progressive practice, most women claimed that their husbands control the passbook and the income earned from the sales of cocoa. When asked whether women contribute to decision regarding how income from the sales

of cocoa is used and for what purpose, it was widely articulated among men and women in the group discussions that it is the man [as the head of the family] who has the final say in deciding what to use the income earned from cocoa for. As illustrated by Boahema, spouse of a cocoa farmer, Akrobokrom:

“For me, I don’t know what my husband always use the money for. We always suffer together on the farm, but we don’t enjoy together after the harvest. Besides giving me “chop money” he does not give me anything”.

In some households, women confirmed that they were consulted by their husbands regarding what to use the earning from the sale of cocoa beans. While men consulting their wives may appear progressive, this appears to be a mere courtesy and that women’s views may not necessarily be considered by men as the heads of the family. This was strongly foregrounded in the comment of Lucy, spouse of a cocoa farmer, Camp Junction:

“So, when we harvest the cocoa, my husband decides who (Purchasing Clerk) to sell the beans to because he has the Passbook. At the start of the farming season, he goes to these PCs to obtain loans. After the sale of the beans, he manages the income because the man is the head and breadwinner of the family. So, while we all work together on the farm 24/7, I don’t compete with my husband on what to use the income for. It is the sole prerogative of the man to decide whether to give some of the money to me as his wife or not. I cannot force him”.

In another group discussion with women, Benedicta, a migrant woman cocoa farmer, Harunakrom, agrees with such sentiment, arguing:

“While I always work together with my husband on the farm, I have realized that it is just men’s nature to cheat we the women. When my husband is happy, he consults me on what to use the income for. Sometimes I advise him to use it for our building project back in our hometown in the North. Another time I suggest to him to deposit it in the bank for safe keeping since cocoa is seasonal. He can decide to ignore all that I tell him because he is the head of the family”.

However, this practice of not consulting women was not uniform for all women as contestations were evidenced. For example, women who own land in their own right (through outright purchase or inheritance) do not consult anyone before using the income earned from cocoa. In instances in which a man gifts a land to his wife to farm, the dynamics are quite different. While women in such families may want to invest the income earned from the sale of cocoa in alternative livelihood ventures with the potential to empower them, women often need the approval of their husbands. In focus group discussions (FGDs) with men and women, the view that women always need permission/approval from the husbands before using the proceeds for any project was dominant. No matter how potentially promising these alternative livelihood ventures may be to women’s empowerment, some men in the group discussion argue that they may not grant their wives approval due to the fear that their masculine position may be threatened when women are “over empowered”. In this case, the woman has no option than to rescind her plans and acquiesce to the view of the man. These double standards, which discursively accord men greater power, legitimacy, and cultural authority over their own income and the income of their wives emerged to be deeply-rooted in the cocoa communities that we interviewed. Key informant interviews with relevant stakeholders within the cocoa supply chain confirmed that women make up a large proportion of cocoa labour force either as direct and indirect contributors. Importantly, women cocoa farmers are making significant contribution to cocoa production, yet most women exercise little agency and voice in decision-making regarding what, when, and how to use income earned from cocoa production. Due to widespread perception that cocoa farming is a physically demanding work, hence more suitable for men than women, significant contributions of women in the Ghanaian cocoa sector, particularly family-owned farms are often unrecognized and unremunerated. Consequently, husbands and other male relatives are often credited as the producers of cocoa and less is said about women’s roles in cocoa farming. The practice of neglecting the diverse contributions of women in cocoa farming appeared to be a normal practice among most households we interviewed.

Focus group discussions with men and women cocoa farmers and leading cocoa purchasing companies (e.g., PBCL, Kuapa Kokoo, AgroEcom) revealed that it is a common practice for most men (acting as the heads of their households) to possess the passbooks. Within the Ghanaian cocoa sector, passbooks are required for the sale of cocoa to licensed buying companies (LBCs). It was evident that possessing a passbook could enhance the chances of a farmer securing loans/credit from LBCs and Purchasing Clerks (PCs) as illustrated by Maame Abena, the women’s chief farmer, Akantanso:

“Having a cocoa farm alone is enough guarantee for you to obtain a loan from the PCs since they are sure you will pay back with cocoa”.

In many of the key informant interviews with District Managers of LBCs, it was uncovered that most farmers deal with multiple LBCs as a mean to diversify their stream of credit. While all the LBCs we interviewed complained that farmers are becoming increasingly less trustworthy as most fail to honour their obligations when the time for the repayment of the loan is due, farmers on the other hand thought that the PCs, who work under these LBCs always cheat them by weighing their cocoa more than the required 65 kilos.

5.5.2. Access to support

In both study districts, it was uncovered that government (through COCOBOD), NGOs and private organizations provide diverse forms of support to farmers with the aim of increasing yield. They include increase in price of cocoa, payment of bonuses, supply of inputs (mainly fertilizer, pesticides/insecticide, and slashers/pruners and sprayers) and trainings on cocoa production (e.g., farm maintenance, fermentation, drying, pruning etc.) as listed in Table 5.9.

Table Error! No text of specified style in document..10: Kinds of support farmers received from Government, NGOs and private organizations in the past one year preceding the survey

Kinds of support	Percentage of farmers		
	Government	NGO	Private organizations
Increase in price of cocoa	55.5%	0%	0%
Received bonuses	38%	15.3%	33.8%
Received fertilizer	57.8%	2%	2.3%
Received pesticides/insecticides	82.8%	15.8%	17.5%
Received slashers/pruners	40%	2%	2.5%
Trainings on cocoa production	69%	15.3%	25.5%
Others	0%	0.8%	4.3%

In the survey, government was identified as main supporter of cocoa farmers; 88% of farmers received support from government in the past one year preceding the study, 37% got support from private organizations with only 16% being supported by NGOs (Fig. 5.2). Between the two districts, the proportion of farmers who got support from the government, NGOs and private organizations were higher in Atwima Mponua District than Bia East District (Fig. 5.2). Analysis by gender of respondent also revealed that more male farmers have access to government support than female farmers while more female farmers have access to support from NGOs and private organizations than male farmers (Fig. 5.3).

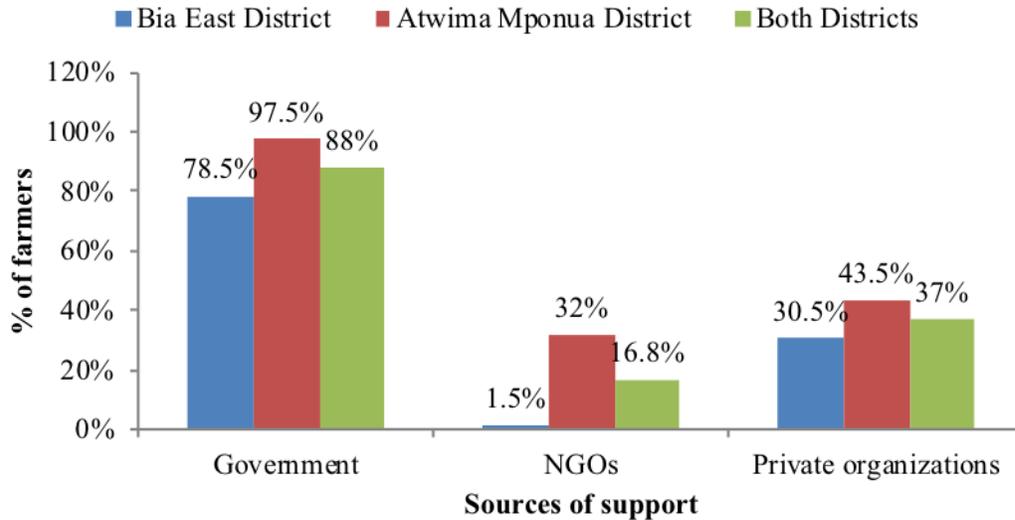


Figure Error! No text of specified style in document..2: Proportion of farmers who received support from government, NGOs and Private organizations in the past year preceding the survey by districts

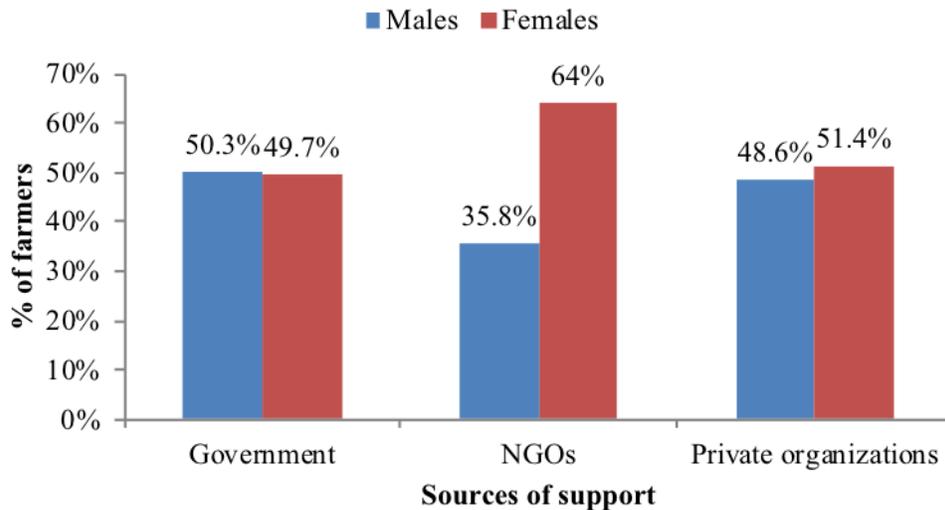


Figure Error! No text of specified style in document..3: Proportions of males and females farmers who received support from government, NGOs and Private organizations in the past year preceding the survey

5.6 Availability of Gender Disaggregated Data in the Cocoa Sector

To what extent are government departments, NGOs, private organizations, and other relevant stakeholders contributing to promote gender equality within the cocoa supply chain? To what extent are women prioritized in the distribution of supports and resources to cocoa farmers at the community level? Are there sex-disaggregated data to back how various organizations/actors are incorporating the needs, concerns, and challenges of women cocoa farmers into their support systems? Creating a sustainable and inclusive supply chain requires understanding the contributions of men and women cocoa farmers. It also requires paying close attention to the consequences of the different roles and activities that different categories of men and women play at various stages of the supply chain. Such an approach allows development actors to foreground the priorities, interests, and challenges of different categories of men and women as they intersect with sociocultural and economic realities. From our interactions with both male and female cocoa farmers in both districts, it is clear that there are good reasons why robust, gender-disaggregated data are urgently needed to inform policy formulation and interventions within the cocoa sector.

It is important that government departments, LBCs, NGOs, and other relevant stakeholders collect gender-disaggregated data as a means to understand how women's experiences and needs in the cocoa sector may be different from the experiences and needs of men. For example, such data may paint a better picture of the income of female cocoa farmers vis-à-vis the income of male farmers during a particular farming season. Furthermore, the availability of gender-disaggregated data is also likely to offer better insights on women's access to leadership positions, and decision-making roles in their immediate households and communities, including women's relative participation in farmer-based organizations/cooperatives/associations. Additionally, gender-disaggregated data have the potential to capture the extent to which male and female cocoa farmers are accessing credit and how such access could shape their choices for, and utilization of, certain agronomic practices, trainings, and even engaging in alternative livelihoods. Despite these potential benefits outlined above, it seems most of the government departments and LBCs interviewed are facing some difficulty in tackling issues of gender inequalities within the cocoa supply chain. As a result, there is high tendency that most actors operating along the supply chain are knowledgeable about the range of problems facing women cocoa farmers, yet setting realistic goals, delivering gender-sensitive interventions, and measuring the extent to which such interventions are contributing to women's empowerment in the cocoa supply chain remain difficult. For example, while the CHED managers of both Districts, the District Assembly, and leading LBCs, such as AgroEcom and Kuapa Kokoo claimed that achieving gender equity and inclusivity is core to their activities, there was no existing gender disaggregated data to back their claim. None of these stakeholders could give the exact numbers of women cocoa farmers that they have supported or are currently supporting. While Figure 5.2 above demonstrate some commitment by the government, NGOs, and private organization in supporting cocoa farmers, it became difficult to ascertain the extent to which such commitments are truly addressing gender inequalities and disparities within the supply chain. Government continue to play lead roles in supporting cocoa farmers than any other player in the sector as shown in the Figure 5.2. The two LBCs (AgroEcom and Kuapa Kokoo) that we interviewed did not have data reporting on the gender compositions of their initiatives. Take for instance our interaction with key informant at Kuapa Kokoo below:

Key informant: *Gender is central in our operations. Every zone has a Purchasing Clerk (PC). In addition to these PCs buying cocoa from farmers, they are also tasked to record the particulars of every farmer who sells cocoa to them. So, every farmer who brings cocoa to the PC, your name, sex, date, number of*

bags, and the amount paid to you are recorded in a book. Last season, for example, we bought about 7,000 bags of cocoa from farmers.

Interviewer: *Out of the 7,000 bags, how many bags were sold by women cocoa farmers and how many were sold by men? Do you have data on this disaggregation?*

Key Informant: *As I said earlier, there is a book that records the total number of bags sold by each farmer. I cannot give you the exact figures, but what I know for sure is that men dominate the figures. Women are the minority because cocoa farming is mostly done as a family work. So, the head of the household brings the cocoa to us.*

From the above, there are significant gaps in mapping out the contributions of women in the supply chain as women are likely to be unrecognized. The idea that cocoa farming is a family affair further contributes to the under-reporting of the roles of women at various stages of the supply chain. The question that lingers is if one does not know the exact number of female cocoa farmers working and supplying cocoa beans within a particular location, how then will the needs, problems, and priorities of women be attended to? In the few cases that gender was mentioned in the distribution of supports (e.g., a case in point is AgroEcom), the data are often inconsistent or poorly recorded to warrant any serious analysis. Key informants from LBCs expressed difficulty in keeping accurate and gender disaggregated data on men and women cocoa farmers and their respective contributions within the supply chain. This difficulty was captured by our key informant at PBCL in the Atwima Mponua district as follows:

“We have been buying cocoa from farmers, but it is very difficult to track the exact number of bags sold by men or women. We are unable to capture this since in most families, the passbooks bear the names of the men. So, even if the beans belong to the woman, the man is in charge of selling it. We always interact with the men because they come to take loans from us”.

The practice of men always possessing the passbooks was further activated by cultural norms which accord men greater power and authority over women and their properties. In focus group discussions with men and women, it became common for most participants to suggest that once a woman is married, she is answerable to her husband. The danger of such construction is that it takes for granted the contribution of women, especially in households in which both husband and wife jointly own the farm. For example, Kwaku, who owns a joint cocoa farm with his wife in Kwasare, suggested that:

“When we are counting farmers, we often count men in place of their wives. This is so because the men represent the entire family. The men are the heads of their households. Women are only counted as farmers when there are no men in the household”.

Other participants, such as Mansa, spouse of a cocoa farmer, Harunakrom, agree with such views: *“In this community, men are the family heads. They are the farm owners; women only work to support them”.*

5.7 Collaboration between COCOBOD and Other Organizations in Addressing Gender Issues in the Cocoa Supply Chain

The findings of the study show that entrenched socio-cultural norms and intersecting inequalities continue to disadvantage more women either as cocoa farmers themselves or spouses of cocoa farmers compared to men. To address these inequalities and empower women, partnership is inevitable. This is so because no single department, NGO, private organization etc. is likely to be successful in tackling gender inequalities in the sector without leveraging on the strengths, skills, and expertise of other institutions. Institutional collaborations could enhance the prospects of various industrial players to offer tailored interventions to

different genders within communities where cocoa is produced. Additionally, institutional collaborations would not only prevent duplication of efforts as demonstrated in our study, but also achievement of goals with limited resources for all parties. In view of this, the study among others explored the nature of collaboration between COCOBOD and other relevant stakeholders with respect to women's empowerment across the cocoa supply chain. Our interactions with key stakeholders at the district and national levels revealed some modest level of collaboration among actors in the cocoa sector.

At the national level, COCOBOD was reported to have collaborated with a number of public institutions (e.g Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations), private organisations (e.g Kuapa Kokoo and AgroE-com) and CSOs (e.g GIZ, Solidaridad, and World Cocoa Foundation). However, these collaborations do not directly aim at addressing gender inequalities in the cocoa sector, but rather increasing cocoa production. For instance, the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations collaborates with COCOBOD to tackle issues of child labour in the cocoa industry.

Unlike the national level, empowerment of female cocoa farmers received much more attention at the district level. Key Informant interviews with the District Planners in Bia East and Atwima Mponua Districts suggested that women's empowerment is core to their activities. Both argued that a sustainable multi-stakeholder collaboration and engagement between and among government institutions/departments, as well as healthy partnership with NGOs is key to promoting gender equality. Key informant from the District Assembly in Bia East suggested that:

"In my capacity as the District Planner, I see women's empowerment as central to my work. Before society can move, we must move along with women. When women are empowered, the whole family is empowered. I know that women work hard in the cocoa farms much like men, yet women are constrained in many ways. They lack access to land for farming. They lack finances and many others. So, the interests and priorities of women are at my heart. So, over the years, I have been collaborating with MOFA, CHED, and the Business Advisory Department at the district level to see how far we can champion women's empowerment. We collaborate to distribute inputs, including seedlings, fertilizers, and agro-chemicals to farmers and we prioritize women".

Also, in both study districts, the department of gender was reported to be collaborating with CSOs and other decentralized government institutions including CHED to tackle cultural norms and barriers that foster gender inequality. The Gender Desk Officer in Atwima Mponua District avers that:

"We [staff of the department of gender] have been collaborating with CHED, Business Advisory Centre (BAC) and Mondelēz in the district. We collaborate to educate our women on business prospects and how to become self-reliant. We train them on soap making, poultry, farming, VSLA, pastries, among others. We always encourage CHED to prioritize women's farms during pollination and pruning. We empower them to know their rights and get involved in governance and leadership positions. We train women to be able to face their own challenges without relying solely on men. Our problem is that we cannot reach all the women as we are constrained logistically".

Furthermore, the District Manager of Kuapa Kokoo in the Bia East District also reported of a cordial working relationship with other stakeholders in the district, including CHED. He stated as follows;

"We collaborate very well with other state agencies in the district and this has been very helpful. Sometimes we provide data to CHED in support of the distribution of incentives to farmers. Currently, we are collaborating with CHED to get soap distributed to the farmers as a result of COVID-19".

The Managers of CHED in both Atwima Mponua and Bia East Districts also attested to partnering with other stakeholders in the cocoa sector as follows:

“We have organizations like Cargill and Mondelēz who are also very instrumental in the welfare of women through their programmes. The collaboration is very helpful. They sometimes handle the pruning activities for the women with the believe that, women farms yield more and give them more money” (CHED Managers, Atwima Mponua District).

“We do collaborate with some stakeholders in the industry. When we have some needs and we think we can go to their outfit to get support, we do go to there. Just a few months ago, Kuapa Kokoo supported us with some soap to be given to some farmer groups to help them fight the COVID-19 pandemic. Also, we went to PBC to help us with one of their trucks to covey seedlings to our treated farms” (CHED Managers, Bia East District).

Although the above verbal statements from district actors point to some form of collaborations between COCOBOD/CHED and CSOs, private sector organizations and non-governmental agencies, there is no district level platform for stakeholders to interact and exchange best practices. As a result of this, there were duplication of interventions implemented by different industrial players within the same district. Also, collaborative efforts on women’s empowerment were reported to be inadequate and limited in coverage. Additionally, our interactions revealed that although COCOBOD is the main player in the cocoa sector, issues of partnership, especially on women’s empowerment appeared to be initiated by CSOs and NGOs as part of their sustainability initiatives. This may be due to COCOBOD’s lack of policy document on women’s empowerment.

We recommend stronger multi-sectoral collaboration and dialogue in fostering gender equity within the cocoa supply chain. Such partnership should privilege the diverse experiences, interests, challenges, and priorities of farmers, especially women cocoa farmers. In a sense, such partnership should stimulate broad-based institutional commitment to integrate gender more consciously into programs and interventions. We recommend that development actors, NGOs, government departments, and other private organizations interested in promoting greater women participation within the cocoa supply chain to collect, triangulate, and analyze data from multiple sources from men, women, and the youth. This has the potential to inform what intervention is likely to work well for a specific category of cocoa farmers than others.

5.8 Opportunities for Women Voices to be Heard through the Cocoa Supply Chain

Within the context of cocoa production, cooperatives have become important platform through which farmers share and exchange ideas on farming. However, our interaction with relevant stakeholders at the district revealed that most farmers have not demonstrated enough commitment in joining such cooperatives. Farmers on the other hand confided in us that there is declining interest among them because authorities have deceived them for far too long without any concrete interventions. This was articulated by Dorothy, a cocoa farmer, Bredi:

“We always waste our time to register but the initiatives that these cooperatives always promise don’t come. Nothing meaningful come out of this. Because of this, we are not motivated. We don’t want to waste our time to support fruitless initiatives any longer”.

Another participant, Atta, cocoa farmer, Camp Junction, agrees:

“Each time farm inputs meant for us all are brought, we do not all benefit. When you called me to come for this meeting, I nearly declined because I don’t want to waste my time”.

A common practice that potentially mitigates women’s risk of exclusion from certain opportunities and privileges associated with cocoa farming is for women to become a member of a local cooperative. Un-

derstandably, cooperatives offer women an important opportunity to benefit from farm inputs, trainings, financial literacy, etc. This is clearly demonstrated in the comment of Gabriela:

“Most of us are members of many cooperatives. I personally belong to 4 cooperatives so that I can get enough support since my cocoa farm is very large (20 acres)”.

Table Error! No text of specified style in document..11: A sample of groups’ leadership composition by gender

S/N	Name of Association	No. in group	Distribution by gender	Number of Executives	Executives by gender	
1	Young cocoa farmers association	30	7 women	4	Male	3
			23 men		Female	1
2	Peace and Love group	30	3 women	3	Male	2
			27 men		Female	1
3	Nyame Nnae group	30	3 women	4	Male	3
			27 men		Female	1
4	Enso Nyame ye	30	10 women	4	Male	2
			20 men		Female	2
5	Anidasoo cocoa farmers association	30	10 women	4	Male	3
			20 men		Female	1

Typically, management positions within most of the co-operatives were male dominated as shown in Table 5.10 above. Similar trend of leadership was observed in most of the group discussions and across the household surveys. Evidence from the field suggests that having women in cooperatives or associations does not automatically challenge normative gender norms embedded in everyday social relationships at the community and family levels. Our findings indicate that more men than women are still more likely to become leaders of Farmer-Based Organisations (FBOs), cooperatives, and other associations. Even in cooperatives, FBOs, and other associations in which women are members and leaders, to a large extent, they often occupy mostly the position of a treasurer. Key Informant interview with the District Manager of Kuapa Kokoo in the Bia East District suggests that the company has made some important thrives in enhancing the leadership potentials of women at the community level. According to him, a decision has been made by the company to compulsorily reserve two slots of leadership positions for women within cooperatives. This attempt is intended to augment the voices of women both within their immediate families and larger community. He narrates as follows:

“We deal with both men and women cocoa farmers. I realized that women were not represented in leadership positions within cooperatives. We cannot empower women when they are not represented in cooperatives. We wanted to ensure gender balance through the formation of gender committee. This committee prioritizes the needs of only women. We want to empower the women to take charge of their lives, and not relying on men”.

It was striking to learn that although cooperatives are usually open to all farmers, women are poorly represented in membership and leadership positions as they are not necessarily recognized as farmers in their own right. This was further complicated by dominant perception that cocoa farming is men’s work. Additionally, women were poorly represented because their husbands and/or male relatives might have already joined such cooperatives. The phrase “the women are under the care of their husbands” was common across most group discussions with men and women. Analysis of focus group discussions with both male and female farmers highlight that entrenched socio-cultural norms determine the membership composition and leadership positions of cooperatives hence women’s voices in decision-making within

cooperatives are invisible. Key informant interviews harmonized the qualitative data that women are poorly represented in cooperatives as a result of cultural norms and practices. One Key Informant narrates:

“My experience working in the cocoa sector is that it is difficult to get women to attend meetings. In some communities, a woman will require the approval of her husband or male relatives before she joins a meeting. So, most of the meetings are always dominated by men with fewer women. The idea is that men will share the information obtain from such meetings with their wives when they go home”.

Another key informant suggested that:

“Whenever we want to meet farmers, we inform executives of their cooperatives. Everyone is always invited to attend. The main problem is that women are not always interested in availing themselves for leadership positions. The few women who are members of the various cooperatives always leave everything in the hands of the men”.

The few women who are members of cooperatives thought that their membership has enhanced their capacity to voice their concerns even in the presence of men as narrated by Gladys below:

“Whenever there is going to be any meeting, the announcer moves from one part of the community to another inviting all of us to be present. Initially, I used to feel intimidated and shy to speak amidst men, but through my leadership position in the cooperative [as the secretary], I feel more empowered now than ever before. I can speak during communal meetings without feeling intimidated by men. I always encourage my fellow women to speak against anything that they are not happy with. Now, when a woman has money, she has a voice and even men would want to listen to you speak”.

5.9 Social-Cultural Norms and Practices that Foster Gender Inequalities in Cocoa Production

As demonstrated throughout the report, our findings suggest that there are widespread perceptions that the various roles that women cocoa farmers or spouses of male cocoa farmers play in the cocoa supply chain could merely be described as “supportive” and “natural”. Such perceptions were taken to construct men as breadwinners and family providers while spouses of male cocoa farmers were generally more likely to be unremunerated for their labour. It is therefore no surprise that even in households, where women perform both productive labor force (engaging in farming activities with big economic return) and reproductive labor force (engaging in domestic, unremunerated activities with less economic rewards), many women are not likely to be recognized as cocoa farmers. This is particularly true in households where both man and woman work on the same cocoa farm as a family. In such households, women were perceived to be responsible for producing subsistence crops for the sustenance of the household, including cassava, maize, plantain, cocoyam, pepper, etc.

While the contribution of women in family-owned or couple-shared cocoa farms cannot be downplayed, it is sad that most women we interviewed complained that they have very little control on how, when, and on what the revenues generated from cocoa are used for. The sales and managing of the proceeds of cocoa was perceived to be a man’s business since cultural norms and heteronormative marital arrangements dictate that men become heads of the household. Local constructions of gender, including patterns and practices of masculinity and femininity dictate that men act as heads of the households. Culturally, being a head of the family may mean that men have the ultimate power and authority in deciding what to use the money from the sale of cocoa beans for with women possessing less decision-making power. While some key informants and male cocoa farmers thought that such arrangements were less problematic, most women we interviewed complained about this practice as unfair treatment which fails to recog-

nize the labor of women. In their view, the solution to avoid women being unfairly treated by their husbands is to empower women as narrated by Zainab, spouse of a cocoa farmer, Akantanso:

“When women are empowered, we would be able to manage the money well. When the men are in-charge of the income, they abuse it. Some use it on alcohol. Others flirt with unscrupulous women. When the money is in our hands, we make a judicious use of the money for the benefit of the entire family”.

5.10 Best practices in women’s Empowerment in the Cocoa Sector

It appears the commitments of the District Assembly and leading cocoa buying companies mentioned earlier (PBCL, AgroEcom, Kuapa KoKoo) in promoting gender equality could not be assessed as there was no data regarding the women’s empowerment interventions that they have implemented over the years. For the leading cocoa buying companies, their women’s empowerment initiatives were limited to supporting women with alternative livelihood, giving bonuses, and training on best agronomic practices; initiatives which should naturally fall under their corporate social responsibility. Additionally, Kuapa Kokoo advocates for male cocoa farmers to gift land to their wives in a manner that may promote greater women’s participation in Ghana’s cocoa value chain. Our findings suggest that supporting women with alternative livelihood is not sufficient enough in promoting their greater participation in cocoa production. Our analysis further highlights that most of the initiatives implemented by relevant stakeholders primarily focused on training and offering inputs to farmers. While it is certainly important that farmers are exposed to best agronomic practices, climate-smart technologies, and financial literacy, a holistic approach to empowering vulnerable and marginalized farmers, especially women would mean paying attention to entrenched gender norms and cultural barriers which continue to render the contributions of women invisible and unrecognized within the supply chain. Our interactions with women (who are either cocoa farmers themselves or spouses to male cocoa farmers) gathered that if deeply-embedded cultural norms are not addressed, providing alternative livelihood may mean nothing to women as they are burdened with taking care of the nutritional needs of their children and the aged as narrated by Beatrice:

“We [women] often use our monies to take care of the children. When the children are hungry, they run to we the women. A woman cannot leave her child hungry. You have to do your best to feed her/him”.

Another emerging good practice that needs to be highlighted is the Farmer Business School (FBS). FBS comprises of a series of sessions where male and female farmers are taken through different forms of activities to enable them recognize farming as a viable business option. The sessions draw on various models and exercises with the view to enhance the financial management skills and literacy of farmers. For example, some exercises in the program build farmers’ knowledge on how to manage cash inflow and outflow as cocoa is a seasonal crop. This became necessary to enhance farmers’ ability to be financially resilient during the lean season when limited cocoa is harvested. FGDs held with men and women and other key informant interviews indicated that most farmers lack money during the lean season. Most farmers we interacted with revealed that they are compelled to go in for loans from PCs at exorbitant interest rates (100%) against the harvest. So, one initiative that industrial player like CHED is currently doing in the Atwima Mponua District is to educate farmers on how to manage well income from cocoa such that they do not become vulnerable to financial shocks during the lean season. In the process, the financial management skills and awareness of the risk of over spending among farmers are developed. Additionally, FBS devotes some sessions and exercises to sensitize farmers on the need to challenge gender inequalities and problematic cultural arrangements in the household and community level. For example, farmers are exposed to how gender inequalities and stereotypes may hinder income generation among

men and women at the household level. Our interaction with one facilitator of the FBS in the Atwima Mponua District indicated that the program is intended to make male and female cocoa farmers to become independent, motivated, and empowered in their cocoa businesses. He pointed out that the various exercises and role plays embedded in the program are aimed at enabling men and women in cocoa producing households to deliberate on how to become successful farmers.

Some key informants we interviewed demonstrated some degree of commitments in promoting equal opportunities for women farmers. Such commitment provides important foundations for the formation of women only cooperatives. According to the District Manager of CHED in the Atwima Mponua district, the formation of women only cooperative is to enable women to compete with their male colleagues in accessing critical farming inputs. In his view, a key goal of women only cooperative is to create equal footing ground for women cocoa farmers. The formation of these cooperatives provides important ground that will make the aspirations of women cocoa farmers a reality. This has resulted in some positive outcome as shared by the Atwima Mponua District Manager of CHED:

“In 2018, our district won the national best most enterprising female farmer. This has been the result of our constant support that we give to these women only cooperatives. We have always prioritized the issues of women farmers at all times. Plans are far advanced to form many women-alone groups for effective execution of women empowerment activities in our societies. We need to get women to be functional even during the lean seasons since they bear the brunt of economic hardship”.

In both districts, the managers of CHED give priority to women cocoa farmers in terms of inputs distribution and other critical support. The formation of women’s groups enables women to access credit. It also enables them to engage in Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLA). VSLA have become almost exclusively incorporated in interventions aiming to empower women. Key informant interviews with LBCs revealed that empowering women through VLSA is inevitable because an empowered woman tends to invest more in her family. This idea was strongly articulated by women in the group discussions.

Another potential best practice that will empower women cocoa farmers is the recruitment of female extension officers. Throughout the fieldwork, we observed that in communities where the research team was led by a female field supervisor, women were more open and willing to share their experiences compared to communities where a male field supervisor led the team. In such communities, most female cocoa farmers we interviewed suggested that they are more comfortable to discuss their challenges with a fellow woman field supervisor because they believe the latter will pay attention to their concerns. Key informant interview with the district department of gender confirmed this:

“It is important that women lead their own empowerment. So, my view is that those who usually visit women farmers to train them or distribute inputs should be women. Women need to lead the work. If it is about training, messaging on best agronomic technologies, and distribution of inputs, women should lead their own empowerment”.

It became evident that women farmers are more comfortable to learn from and share ideas with their fellow women. In Akantanso, where FGD was conducted with women only cooperative, it emerged that exchanging and sharing ideas and experiences among women themselves build their confidence and agency. Women are in charge of their own affairs in women only cooperatives. Among female participants that we interacted with in such cooperatives, some women are motivated to aspire for leadership positions in the community and even district Assembly elections. Some women in these cooperatives are members of community water management committees and other local government institutions, such as Unit Committee.

5.11 Benefits Men and Women Derive from Cocoa Farming

In both male and female FGDs, the following questions were asked: What benefits does owning a cocoa farm, being a caretaker/sharecropper give to men? Are these benefits different from those that female cocoa farmers/caretakers/sharecroppers receive? What accounts for the differences if any? What benefits do girls whose parents are owners of cocoa farmers/caretakers/sharecroppers derive? Are these benefits the same or different from those of boys whose parents are owners of cocoa farms/caretakers/sharecroppers? In asking these questions, we were interested in gaining a deeper understanding on whether there exist any differences between and among different categories of respondents. Throughout the FGDs, we paid attention to these questions. It emerged that owning a cocoa farm can enable farmers to leverage their farms for their own advantage. That is, the farm could be used for specific needs and uses as and when this becomes necessary. In addition to this, in owning a cocoa farm, a woman or man has the right to exercise control over any income accruing from their farms. It became evident from the interviews that both men and women who own cocoa farms derive multiple benefits from their farms. Owning a cocoa farm gives the owner the right to possess, control, and use the income derived from cocoa farming as narrated by Mumuni, a cocoa farmer, Amoatengkrom:

“When we go for loan, we are always asked to use our cocoa farms as collateral before we could obtain the loans”.

Women who own cocoa farms were noted to be very resourceful, confident, resilient, have a peace of mind, and more active in FBOs. For instance, most women we interviewed and who have cocoa farms engage in alternative livelihood activities, such as starting a table top business and engaging in other petty businesses. Such women were more likely to hire wage labour to work on their farms rather than relying on their own physical strength. They were more likely to send their children to school. They were able to build their own houses in their current location or back home in the case of migrant farmers to accommodate their families. Compared to women who do not own cocoa farms, women who are owners of cocoa farms are accorded greater social respect and recognition. Such social respect and recognition were sometime greater than what society accords men who do not own cocoa farms. These women exercise agency and power by hiring men to work on their farms for a fee. In essence, the benefits of owning a cocoa farm were both material and symbolic.

For the majority of migrant cocoa farmers, they remit their families back home after the sale of cocoa as narrated by Salifu:

“As a migrant farmer, I cater for my immediate family needs and remit back home to support the rest of the family back home. This goes a long way to support their upkeep”.

For most women who jointly work on the same farm with their husbands, it was common for husbands to buy clothes for the women and children every year after the sale of the cocoa. Most women acknowledged that their husbands give them house-keeping money as illustrated by Ama, spouse of a cocoa farmer, Akrobokrom: *“My husband usually give me money for the general upkeep of the family”*. For sharecroppers like Kwaku Dagarti, cocoa farms serve as important source of land inheritance for his children. He argues: *“Through sharecropping, I have been able to acquire some parcel of land. They are registered in my name. When I die today, my children will inherit the parcel of land. No one will take it away from them”*. Almost all the participants we interviewed pointed that cocoa farming has been helpful in enabling them to send their children to school as narrated by Lizzy, cocoa farmer, Kwasare:

“Through cocoa, I have been able to take care of all my children in the university. I don’t even feel that my husband is dead. I have also been able to build a house, pay hospital bills, etc. In fact, cocoa is my everything. Cocoa puts smiles in our faces”.

Despite the several benefits cited by participants above, some women argue that there is the need for better compensation of women for the multiple roles that they play along the supply chain. This is demonstrated by the view of Adwoa, spouse of a cocoa farmer, Harunakrom:

“In addition to working on the cocoa farms, women do a lot of unpaid work at home. We would have been happier if the men compensate us for those extra efforts besides the normal house-keeping monies and clothes they often give us”.

Similar sentiments were evident among children of cocoa farmers. Osman, a 17-year-old boy speaks about the financial benefits associated with cocoa farming:

“For me there is joy in farming cocoa. Despite all the stress, cocoa is our main source of livelihood. When we sell the beans, it puts money in our pockets. When there is money in our pockets, we are happy”.

Despite the many benefits that are associated with cocoa farming, most of the children we interviewed during the fieldwork demonstrated declining interest and willingness to become cocoa farmers in the future. Most of them thought that their parents are not well compensated for as cocoa farmers. All the children we interviewed suggested that the income from the sale of cocoa is inadequate hence the need for their parents to engage in alternative sources of income. For example, Hamza, 12-years-old, Akantanso, thought that cocoa farming was so stressful and capital intensive. Like many of his colleagues, Hamza does not see himself becoming the type of cocoa farmer like his father who relies on his physical strength. For Hamza and most of the children we interacted with in the field, they may want to be owners of cocoa farms which rely on the services of hire labor. Hamza narrates:

“As for me I will not like to become a cocoa farmer. It is very stressful. Cocoa farmers have no pension like other professions. In our community, cocoa farmers are the poorest because their earnings are seasonal. I want to become a teacher so that I can earn a monthly salary. I can use my salary to hire labourers to work on my farm”.

In a different focus group discussion with girls, Priscilla, a 17-year-old girl, Akrobokrom, imagines becoming a nurse because cocoa farming is a difficult work. She is of the view that women, especially those involved in cocoa farming in her community are suffering without being adequately remunerated or compensated for. She wants to use her nursing profession as a conduit to empower women, especially her poor mother. Priscilla argues that:

“Farming is so stressful. Whenever I followed my mother to the farm during weekends, I always asked myself whether I want to become a farmer too. It is so stressful with less income. Even at old age, a nurse can still work without much hurdle”.

5.12 Potential Impact of Covid-19 on Women’s Livelihood

Most farmers the team interacted with complained that covid-19 has disrupted their activities and livelihoods. Women who were traders were the hardest hit amidst the pandemic as narrated by Cynthia: *“In addition to farming, some of us are traders. We sell other stuff to supplement the family income.”* Another participant, Grace, explained that the pandemic has caused so much toll in their lives:

“We are unable to go to the market to sell because of the restrictions. Our children are all home, making feeding a big problem. When the men wake up in the morning, they go out leaving the children with you the woman. It has not been easy for us”.

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Establish a national gender policy and/or department to mainstream gender in cocoa production

While the contributions of women to cocoa productions as both direct and indirect labour force are indispensable as demonstrated in this study, there are no clear guidelines and commitment by COCOBOD on how to empower women in cocoa production. Even COCOBOD, the main regulator of the cocoa sector has no national policy document or department dedicated to addressing gender inequalities embedded in the cocoa supply chain. This perhaps is borne out of the widely held perception that COCOBOD's main focus is to maximise economic returns from cocoa and not being concerned about how socio-cultural norms and practices affect cocoa production. But we argue that insofar as socio-cultural issues undermine cocoa production and for that economic returns, COCOBOD should be interested in addressing them in order to enhance the productivity of cocoa. Based on the findings of the study, this study strongly recommends that COCOBOD should establish a department/unit whose overarching focus is to mainstream gender in all activities, programmes, and interventions of COCOBOD. The gender department should invest in consciously mainstreaming gender across the cocoa supply chain. The department should also demonstrate clear commitment and direction on how to empower women in the cocoa sector since most women continue to navigate multiple barriers and challenges in becoming efficient farmers.

2. Design and implement gender-sensitive programmes and interventions

Ghana's COCOBOD and LBCs should avoid designing and implementing gender-blind programmes. Being gender blind or not being gender-sensitive in the design and implementation of programmes and interventions can have unintended consequences. For example, it can result in missed opportunities in truly addressing the complex needs, concerns, challenges, and priorities of different categories of men and women operating along the cocoa supply chain. Gender inequalities within the cocoa sector are profoundly interlocked with other forms of social, cultural, economic, and political inequalities. To be only interested in addressing the economic aspect of cocoa production as COCOBOD is currently doing would mean neglecting a broader web of inequalities which reinforce each other.

3. Design and implement gender-sensitive policies

As it stands now, COCOBOD has no policy document on how to mainstream gender issues within the cocoa sector. It is important that COCOBOD develops a gender policy document with the overarching aim of mainstreaming gender across all stages of the cocoa supply chain. The policy document should among others focus on addressing socio-cultural barriers that limit women participation in cocoa production and access to benefits as well as improving women access to productive resources such as land and credit. Such a policy document would not only guide COCOBOD's work but also serves as a framework for CSOs and private sector organizations that are interested in addressing gender inequalities in the cocoa sector. Related to this, we strongly recommend the setting up a gender unit within COCOBOD to lead and coordinate the implementation of gender programmes as well as track progress with respect to targeted objectives.

The Ministry of Employment and Labour relations should also step up effort in addressing unfair labour issues that continue to disadvantage women in the cocoa sector. The Ministry of gender, Children and Social Protection should also elaborate realistic strategies and policies within the National Gender Policy

on how to carry out gender sensitization/education programmes at the grassroots levels. Importantly, a system-wide transformation is required. Such transformation should entail commitment from the national level combined with gender-conscious resource allocation and increased human capacity among stakeholders at the district and community levels. This has the potential to open new possibilities and pathways for achieving gender equality within the cocoa sector.

4. Invest in collecting and analyzing gender-disaggregated data

The various industrial players across the cocoa supply chain should invest in deconstructing and addressing entrenched cultural norms and arrangements which continue to constrain women from benefiting optimally from their substantial contributions in the cocoa sector. A better grasp of the gendered roles, opportunities, and responsibilities in the cocoa sector has the potential to enable COCOBOD, NGOs, and private organizations to design and deliver more focused and gender-sensitive interventions with the ultimate aim of contributing to women's empowerment. This is only possible when industrial players invest in collecting and analyzing gender-sensitive data that profile the different categories of farmers that they work with. Gender-disaggregated data enable industrial players and partners to gain deeper understanding and awareness on the type of farmers (men and women) they are currently working with. Importantly, such data may also spotlight the farmers who are being excluded from their outreach programmes and interventions. In the process, COCOBOD and other actors within the supply chain can develop more focused support services that respond to the different needs and challenges that different categories of farmers face. Generally, there is more data on cocoa farmers generally and less data on women cocoa farmers specifically. There should be a conscious effort to detail how specific sustainability programmes and policy objectives aiming to improve the socio-economic status of women in cocoa growing communities are translated into grassroots gender politics and cultural bargaining. Such policy effort must demonstrate who should be the primary target for specific service delivery. Policies and programmes should be explicit about how cocoa sustainability initiatives translate in effectively meeting the complex demands and diverse needs of different categories of women along the supply chain. COCOBOD in particular should be aware that different categories of women, much like men, are likely to have different needs as a result of culture, kinship arrangements, age, disability, geography, gender, etc. Understanding the inter-linking nature of these social markers is important in the design and implementation of different support systems, including training, financial support, education, delivery of agricultural inputs, etc.

5. Develop stronger institutional collaboration at multiple levels

While there are some forms of collaborations currently ongoing between and among most industrial players across the cocoa value chain, there is urgent need for stronger, multi-sectoral collaboration. Such collaboration has the potential to enable different industrial players to harness expertise, resources, and labour in ways that may contribute to addressing gender inequalities within the cocoa supply chain. More action is clearly needed in the cocoa sector, which remains largely market-driven and gender-blind. In so far as addressing women's specific needs, challenges, and perspectives is concerned, various sustainability programmes and interventions should be anchored on a critical gender lens. It is important that policy makers are aware and committed to addressing the barriers and inequalities that most women, especially poorer and less visible women face. Without such awareness and commitment, additional livelihood interventions aiming to improve cocoa farmers' livelihoods may reproduce the same inequalities that they are aiming to tackle. It is practically impossible to expect that one intervention alone should be sufficient

in addressing gender inequalities within the cocoa sector. It is, however, rewarding for different stakeholders across the supply chain to optimise and leverage on their diverse expertise, knowledge, and resources.

6. Design and implement culturally sensitive trainings and workshops

Our findings reveal that women play an indispensable role on the cocoa farm owned by their husbands. While working together with their husbands on farms as direct and indirect labour force, women are rarely considered cocoa farmers in their own rights. This is problematic as the substantial contributions of women continue to be unrecognised. In order to promote solid, inclusive, and sustainable supply chain and to ensure that the future sustainability of the cocoa sector is enhanced, there must be conscious effort to rethink the diverse contributions of women as caregivers, domestic workers, and producers of cocoa alongside their husbands. The subsistence food produced mostly by women for the household economy is crucial in increasing cocoa production. Yet the majority of the cocoa growing households are male headed. This means that men are often registered as cocoa farmers with women playing supportive roles. Men are the ones that sell the cocoa and decide how the revenues earned from cocoa are spent.

7. Formation of women only farmer-based organizations associations

It is a huge success story that women only cooperatives emerged to be a keystone in attracting more female members to the association. Our findings establish that women often feel more open and comfortable in discussing and sharing issues peculiar to women. Because of the dominance of men in cooperatives, women's interests are not rarely taken into account by leadership of these cooperatives. Some women participants suggested that female leaders would be in a better position to understand their unique challenges and priorities. In Akantanso in the Atwima Mponua District of the Ashanti region, women in leadership positions within cooperatives serve as role models as young girls look up to them for inspirations. This contributes to enhancing the agency, bargaining power, self-confidence, voice, and social respectability of women.

7 CONCLUSIONS

In this study, we have attempted to explore and understand how cultural norms that foster gender inequalities could be addressed in Ghana's cocoa supply chain. In attempting to understand how socio-cultural norms and practices may inhibit greater and better women's participation in the cocoa supply chain, the study foregrounds the opportunities and potentially transformative practices in promoting gender equality in Ghana's cocoa supply chain. Our findings suggest that, while there are initiatives that attempt to incorporate principles of gender equality in the cocoa supply chain at the District level (CHED managers, other cocoa purchasing companies), there is a long way to go in achieving greater and meaningful women's participation in the supply chain. Drawing on our findings, we argue that the best way to address gender inequalities within the supply chain is to, first and foremost, attend to the everyday challenges that women (either as cocoa farmers in their own right or spouses of male cocoa farmers) navigate in becoming efficient cocoa farmers. To do so is to critically invest in understanding the complex processes, roles, and cultural arrangements that shape women's journeys in becoming recognized cocoa farmers much like their male counterparts. Such an approach should reflect a process of change that begins with critically understanding the underlying causes of the problem (i.e., women limited and invisible participation in cocoa production) within women's immediate households and larger community. Such an approach anchors and foregrounds women's lived experiences and navigations around their meaningful contribution to cocoa production beyond the usual male gaze. Garnering such understanding problematizes the problem of the invisibility of the enormous contribution of women within the supply chain, while simultaneously building awareness and eliciting greater commitments to gender equity among various stakeholders and industrial actors involved in the cocoa supply chain. Drawing on the everyday struggles and subjectivities of women cocoa farmers vis-à-vis the experiences and struggles of male cocoa farmers in the selected communities, our findings point to the potentially progressive nature of such a farmer-centered approach in that it provides the possibility and cultural nuances capable of engendering sustainable, transformative, and inclusive change both at the household and community levels. This should be the cornerstone of any intervention/initiative seeking to address gender inequalities within the supply chain. It also provides an enabling environment for women cocoa farmers to thrive better in taking new roles which may ultimately contribute to women's empowerment.

The perception that cocoa is a masculine domain was deeply embedded in the articulations across group discussions and among most of our key informants. The view that women are unable to farm cocoa due to their physical weakness is dangerous as it forecloses the everyday contributions of women as cocoa farmers in their own right or spouses to male cocoa farmers. In the process of creating inclusive, gender-sensitive, and responsible supply chains, there is urgent need for industrial actors to deconstruct problematic notions of gender as they pertain to cocoa farming. Industrial actors and government departments who play key roles at each stage of the supply chain need to evaluate problematic assumptions, cultural norms and practices, and gender biases that underpin their everyday talks and practices. This is an important process in promoting lasting change in behavioral practices and gender norms within the household and larger community where cocoa is produced. Although this may seem to be a herculean task considering that most industrial actors we interacted with during the fieldwork continue to embody problematic notions of gender (e.g., women are physically weaker than men; cocoa farming is a male work etc.), this is an important investment because relevant stakeholders ought to demonstrate genuine commitment to social justice, inclusivity, and equity, especially at every stage of the supply chain. In attempting to create inclusive, equitable, and socially just cocoa supply chains, development actors must desist from perpetuating dominant assumptions that cocoa farming is a masculine enterprise. Our analysis indicates that women cocoa farmers or spouses of male cocoa farmers acting as unpaid family labor contrib-

ute significantly to cocoa production. It is crucially important that changes in cultural practices and gender norms which continue to disadvantage women should be pursued as jointly-owned by male and female cocoa farmers, community leaders/gatekeepers, and leading organizations involved at the various stages of cocoa supply chain. While some industrial actors and government departments appear to be interested in exploring different ways in responding to the needs, interests, and priorities of women cocoa farmers, it emerged that much of their initiatives privileged a commercial perspective. Gender is rarely a focus of their sustainability programs. As far as creating a sustainable, gender-sensitive, and inclusive supply chain, development actors need to go beyond living up to their moral and corporate social responsibility. There must be a conscious investment in ensuring that women are regarded as cocoa producers much like their male folks. In line with a gender-sensitive approach, the roles, contributions, and responsibilities that women play along the various stages of the cocoa supply chain as producers and unpaid family labor force ought to be taken seriously, particularly in the design and implementation of good agricultural practices.

In most decentralized government departments that we interviewed, our findings highlight that there is urgent need to conduct context specific assessments on the needs, priorities, and challenges of women cocoa farmers vis-à-vis the challenges and needs of men. This is an important exercise that is likely to contribute in informing the design and delivery of tailored interventions to cater for the different needs and priorities of male and female cocoa farmers. Such an assessment should aim to foreground the how specific challenges and needs among different categories of farmers have come to exist in the first place. By doing this, it is possible for development actors and industrial players within the cocoa supply chain to be able to unpack and address how inequalities within the family and community spheres continue to be the basis for the discrimination, invisibilization and non-recognition of the enormous roles that women play in cocoa production. In accounting for the vary needs and challenges of women cocoa farmers differently from those of men using feminist intersectionality, we are able to foreground these needs and challenges from a gender-sensitive and culturally nuanced perspective that accounts for complexities and diversities. Creating a sustainable and inclusive supply chain requires unpacking and problematizing how gender shapes all the stages of cocoa production. As gender intersects with other critical variables (e.g., class, ethnicity, marriage, migrancy, disability, culture, religion etc.) to shape the everyday experiences of women cocoa farmers vis-à-vis their male counterparts, interventions need to be designed and implemented at each stage of the supply chain in order to cater for the complex needs and interests of male and female cocoa farmers respectively. That is, from identifying the problem of women's limited ownership of land, to building the capacity of women to approach cocoa farming as an economic venture, creating the enabling environment to ensure that women reach their natural potentials, and to ensure that women benefit from the fruit of their labor in cocoa production. While we admit that the approach and process to engendering sustainable change is likely to vary depending on local customs, contexts, and geography, an important appeal of the process should aspire to address power dynamics and disrupt inequities within households and communities. This is going to be a long journey to travel, but certainly worth our energy in pursuing it over time. Socio-cultural, political, and economic factors work in tandem to determine what roles, responsibilities, and opportunities are available to men and women, boys and girls within a specific cultural context. In order to amplify the various roles and contributions of women within the cocoa sector broadly, there must be a basic understanding of how various roles, responsibilities, and opportunities are distributed between men and women at the household and community levels. This is important because cultural, political, and social arrangements and norms are deeply intertwined with gender to produce specific outcomes within communities and households. In view of this, it is logical that interventions and development projects appreciate and understand how sociocultural arrangements and power dynamics influence the needs, experiences, and challenges of a particular community and women cocoa farmers at large.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Terms of Reference to Conduct a Gender Research within the Cocoa Supply Chain

Introduction to Oxfam In Ghana

Oxfam is a rights-based global development organization with more than 70 years of experience in more than 90 countries worldwide. Oxfam's mission is to end the injustice of poverty and inequality through systemic change and the advancement of political, economic and social rights. Through policy engagement and advocacy, we aim to tackle the root causes of hunger and poverty, and to empower people to claim their rights. Oxfam in Ghana aims to reduce poverty and inequality by supporting influencing and advocacy around three interconnected pillars: agriculture, essential services, and extractive industry governance. Oxfam in Ghana's current work focuses on supporting civil society advocacy and research for better accountability and fair distribution of resources in the agriculture, essential services including health and education, and the extractive sectors.

Introduction to the Research

Globalization of supply chains of food and beverage (F&B) companies has drawn millions of women into paid employment across the developing world. These women are mostly small-scale farmers and plantation workers found at the base of the supply chains. And while the work of these women in the agricultural sector is fueling valuable exports and domestic growth; as well as producing critical commodities for F&B companies, their jobs are rarely lifting them and their families out of poverty. Women are often systematically denied their fair share of benefits. Both addressing the gender risks and harnessing opportunities presented in global supply chains require that the companies and governments uphold women's rights and foster economic opportunities for them in the supply chain and in their business models. Women are yet to benefit from these global requirements in the cocoa value chain.

The fortune of women can be enhanced through government's effort of addressing gender inequalities within the value chain with support from the private sector actors. In addition, investments by F&B companies can generate opportunities for women to climb up the economic ladder. How much of these lofty propositions are seeing the light of day?

In 2013, Oxfam initiated a groundbreaking campaign, Behind the Brands, to challenge 10 of the largest food and beverage companies in the world to improve their economic, social, and environmental performance. This initiative has drawn the support of almost a quarter million advocates and spurred well-known companies to make unprecedented commitments: for instance, Mars, Mondelez and Nestle committed to tackle gender inequality. Since then, Oxfam

has been engaging with companies to ensure that they follow through their commitments through the Behind the Brands Initiative.

Objective of the assignment.

On small-scale farms that produce cocoa, the division of labor between men and women – especially once a farm is in a company supply chain – involves women having to assume unpaid or casual labor as men exercise authority over women to reap the proceeds that company value chains may offer. Women are often found to do as much if not more work, than men without getting formal recognition or receiving an equal share of the training, profits or opportunity. Women with their own farms often face greater constraints than male farmers – as they seemingly tend to receive smaller and less productive land holdings, have less access to inputs or credit and thus earn less income.

The purpose of the research therefore is to identify and ascertain the differences between and among women and men in terms of their relative position, work, ownership of property, distribution of resources, opportunities, constraints and power within the Cocoa supply chain.

Specific objectives are:

- Identify differences between and among women and men, based on the unequal distribution of resources, opportunities, constraints and power within the Cocoa supply chain.
- Identify the different needs of women and men and how they are addressed at all stages of the policy cycle.
- Map the Cocoa supply chain and indicate stages where women are more involved and what benefits they derive.
- Identify social norms that foster gender inequality.
- Identify collaborations between COCOBOD and private sector organizations, other government agencies or institutions in addressing gender inequality at all levels of the supply chain.

Key questions for this research are:

- How are women being engaged within the Cocoa supply chain. i.e. what are the roles of women within the Cocoa supply chain.
- What are the different needs of women and men and how are they addressed at all the stages of chain? Are they backed by policy?
- How can the cocoa industry better value the contribution of women cocoa farmers? And how are they compensated for what they do?

- How is the government supporting training, providing access to finance, and establishing other pathways to women's economic empowerment as a way of finding solutions to social norms that hinder equality?
- Is COCOBOD liaising with private sector organizations, other ministries and departments at the local, district and national levels in addressing gender issues within the Cocoa supply chain?
- What opportunities exist for women's voices to be heard throughout the cocoa supply chain (e.g. through cocoa cooperatives, through direct engagement with CSR programs), and how effective are these entry points in addressing gender inequality?
- Are any industry actors routine practice of disaggregating data by sex?
- Are there examples of good practice to addressing women's empowerment in the cocoa sector building off Oxfam's report in 2015?
- How are women participating in the social, political and economic lives of their communities?

Methodology

The researcher is expected to use an inclusive and participatory approaches to ensure the stakeholders take active part in the research to ensure learning and accountability. While it is expected that the main source of information will be existing documentation, additional research to cover any information gap will be needed. This can be done through involving staff of the MMDAs in the cocoa sector and additional information gathering, remote interviews, focus group or validation group discussions, field trips to selected communities and interview with stakeholders by using questionnaires.

Appendix 2: FGD and Key Informant Interview Guide

Research questions (in ToR) broken down into specific questions for data collection	Primary target	Secondary target (Triangulation)
How are men and women being engaged within the Cocoa supply chain. i.e. what are the roles of men and women within the Cocoa supply chain? Why differences in roles?	Women and men cocoa farmers	Assembly members, Chiefs, Queen Mothers
1. What are the stages involved in cocoa production? (e.g Land acquisition, land preparation, farm maintenance, harvesting, post harvesting and others)		

2. What are the roles of women in cocoa production? Probe on the following stages;
 - a) Land acquisition (e.g inspection of land, negotiations, payments etc.)
 - b) land preparation (e. g clearing of land, felling of trees, burning, etc.)
 - c) Planting (e.g seedlings preparation, carrying of seedlings to farm, planting of seedlings etc.)
 - d) Farm maintenance (e.g weeding, pruning, mistletoe control etc.)
 - e) Harvesting (e.g plucking of pods, gathering of pods, breaking of pods etc.)
 - f) Post-harvesting (e.g carting of fermented beans to drying area, drying of beans, sorting of beans etc.)
 - g) Others

3. What are the roles of men in cocoa production? Probe on the following stages;
 - a) Land acquisition (e.g inspection of land, negotiations, payments etc.)
 - b) land preparation (e.g clearing of land, felling of trees, burning, etc.)
 - c) Planting (e.g seedlings preparation, carrying of seedlings, planting of seedlings etc.)
 - d) Farm maintenance (e.g weeding, pruning, mistletoe control etc.)
 - e) Harvesting (e.g plucking of pods, gathering of pods, breaking of pods etc.)
 - f) Post-harvesting (e.g carting of fermented beans to drying area, drying and sorting of beans etc.)
 - g) Others

4. Which of the stages of the cocoa supply chain (e.g land acquisition, land preparation...) do men play lead role?
5. Why do you think men play lead roles at these stages?
6. Which stages of the cocoa supply chain (e.g land acquisition, land preparation...) do women play lead role?
7. Why do you think women play lead roles at these stages?
8. Within your household, who takes decision regarding the activities to be done at each stage of the value chain (e.g land acquisition, land preparation...)? Why?
9. What can be done to ensure that women have more control at stages in the value chain which they previously have less control?

Refer to Appendix 1 in page 5 for mapping of time men and women spend in cocoa farm work (F), domestic work (D), other work (O) and resting (R) at various stages of cocoa production.

<p>What are the different needs of women and how are they addressed at all the stages of the value chain? Are they backed by policy?</p>	<p>Women cocoa farmers</p> <p>National level institutional actors (MoFA, COCOBOD, Ministry of Gender, Ministry of Finance, PBC)</p> <p>District level institutional actors (PBC, dept. of agric., DA, COCOBOD, Dept of Gender, Dept of Social Welfare, NGOs, Private Organizations)</p>	<p>Men, Assembly person, chief, queen mothers</p>
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<p>10. What challenges/problems do you face as a woman in cocoa production? [For each challenge probe whether it applies to all women or a segment]</p> <p>11. What can be done to improve cocoa production by women?</p> <p>12. How are the needs /problems of women addressed in policy document on the cocoa supply chain (e.g land acquisition, land preparation...)?</p> <p>13. Are they backed by policy?</p>		
<p>What are the different needs of men and how are they addressed at all the stages of the chain? Are they backed by policy?</p>	<p>Men cocoa farmers</p> <p>National level institutional actors (MoFA, COCOBOD, Ministry of Gender, Ministry of Finance, PBC)</p> <p>District level institutional actors (PBC, dept. of agric., DA, COCOBOD, Dept of Gender, Dept of Social Welfare, NGOs, Private Organizations)</p>	<p>Women cocoa farmers, Assembly persons, Chiefs, Queen mothers</p>
<p>14. What challenges/problems do men face in cocoa production? [For each challenge probe whether it applies to all men or a segment]</p> <p>15. What can be done to improve cocoa production by men?</p> <p>16. How are the needs /problems of men addressed in the cocoa supply chain?</p> <p>17. Are they backed by policy?</p>		
<p>How can the cocoa industry better value the contribution of women cocoa farmers? And how are they compensated for what they do?</p>	<p>Women cocoa farmers.</p> <p>National level institutional actors (MoFA, COCOBOD, Ministry of Gender, Ministry of Finance, PBC)</p> <p>District level institutional actors (PBC, dept. of agric., DA, COCOBOD, Dept of Gender, Dept of Social Welfare, NGOs, Private Organizations)</p>	<p>Men cocoa farmers, chiefs, Queen mothers, Assembly persons</p>
<p>18. As a woman cocoa farmer (or a spouse of a cocoa farmer), what kind of reward do you get from cocoa farming?</p> <p>19. How can the contribution of women cocoa farmers be better appreciated? [institutional questions]</p> <p>20. Do you think that women cocoa farmers are well compensated for their contributions in cocoa cultivation? If yes/no why? What about spouses of male cocoa farmers?</p> <p>21. How can women cocoa farmers or spouses of male cocoa famers be better compensated for their contribution in cocoa cultivation?</p>		

<p>How is the government supporting training, providing access to finance, and establishing other pathways to women's economic empowerment as a way of finding solutions to social norms that hinder equality?</p>	<p>National level institutional actors (MoFA, COCOBOD, Ministry of Gender, Ministry of Finance, PBC)</p> <p>District level institutional actors (PBC, dept. of agric., DA, COCOBOD, Dept of Gender, Dept of Social Welfare, NGOs, Private Organizations)</p>	<p>Women cocoa farmers, men cocoa farmers, chiefs, Queen mother, Assembly persons</p>
<p>22. are you guided by organizational policy on how to tackle gender inequality in your supply chains?</p> <p>23. What are some of the government interventions to support Cocoa farmers?</p> <p>24. What are some of the government interventions to support Cocoa farmers?</p> <p>25. Are women prioritized in the distribution and receiving of such supports (e.g., input, training, etc.)?</p> <p>26. If yes, how are women prioritized?</p> <p>27. What kind of support/trainings have private organizations given to cocoa farmers to help increase production? (e.g bonuses, fertilizer, weedicides, insecticides, slashers, free pruning, free spraying etc). Are they backed by policies?</p> <p>28. If women are not prioritized, how is your organization supporting to mainstream gender in cocoa production?</p> <p>29. Is your organization collaborating with other departments/agencies to mainstream gender in the cocoa supply chain?</p> <p>30. In what ways do you think that the needs/challenges of women could be attended to through institutional collaboration?</p> <p>31. How is your department working with local community gatekeepers to address social norms that promote inequalities?</p> <p>32. NB: Request for policy documents, if any.</p>		
<p>What opportunities exist for women's voices to be heard throughout the cocoa supply chain (e.g. through cocoa cooperatives, through direct engagement with CSR programs), and how effective are these entry points in addressing gender inequality?</p>	<p>Women cocoa farmers, men cocoa farmers, national level institutional actors (MoFA, COCOBOD, Ministry of Gender, Ministry of Finance, PBC) and district level institutional actors (PBC, dept. of agric., DA, COCOBOD, Dept of Gender, Dept of Social Welfare, NGOs, Private Organizations)</p>	<p>Chiefs, Queen mothers, Assembly persons</p>
<p>33. Assuming that you have problems, relating to your cocoa production, who do you contact for advice?</p> <p>34. Why would you contact such people?</p> <p>35. What are the channels through which women cocoa farmers present their is-</p>		

<p>sues/problems to authorities?</p> <p>36. What are the channels through which men cocoa farmers can air their views on their challenges?</p> <p>37. Do women have the opportunity to contribute to policies on mainstreaming gender by the gov't ?</p> <p>38. Example: Can you go to the DCE of your area to draw his/her attention to the challenges that you face as a cocoa farmer?</p> <p>39. Are there cocoa Farmer-based Organizations (FBOs) at the community, district, national or regional levels? If yes, what are they?</p> <p>40. What services are these organizations offering?</p> <p>41. How accessible are these services to you?</p> <p>42. What is the composition of men and women in leadership positions of these FBOs?</p> <p>43. Do you have the opportunity to contribute to their gender mainstreaming policies?</p> <p>44. Are these FBOs empowering women cocoa farmers? If yes, which NGOs and what do they do?</p> <p>45. Are women involved in decision making at the community level?</p>		
<p>Is any industry actors' routine practice of disaggregating data by sex?</p>	<p>National level institutional actors (MoFA, COCOBOD, Ministry of Gender, Ministry of Finance, PBC)</p> <p>District level institutional actors (PBC, dept. of agric., DA, COCOBOD, Dept of Gender, Dept of Social Welfare, NGOs, Private Organizations)</p>	
<p>1. What kind of data do you collect/report about cocoa farmers?</p> <p>2. Do you disaggregate the data by sex? If yes or no why?</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">a. Probe on support/trainings institution gives to cocoa farmers and find out if they capture data by gender [Follow up to questions 22 &23]. If they don't, probe why?</p> <p>[request for data]</p>		
<p>Are there examples of good practice to addressing women's empowerment in the cocoa sector building off Oxfam's report in 2015?</p>	<p>National level institutional actors (MoFA, COCOBOD, Ministry of Gender, Ministry of Finance, PBC)</p> <p>District level institutional actors (PBC, dept. of agric., DA, COCOBOD, Dept of Gender, Dept of Social Welfare, NGOs, Private Organizations)</p>	<p>Women, Men, Chiefs, Assembly persons, Queen mothers</p>
<p>3. From 2010 to date, are there NGOs/COCOBOD/PBC /private organizations that are supporting women cocoa farmers? If yes, what kind of support and from who?</p> <p>4. How are men involved in the governance structures of the cocoa supply chain?</p>		

<p>5. How are women involved in the governance structures of the cocoa supply chain? 6. How are the concerns of children incorporated in these governance structures if any?</p>		
How are women participating in the social, political and economic lives of their communities?	Women	Men, Chiefs, Queen mothers
<p>7. Membership of associations of women 8. Leadership positions held by women 9. Major and secondary economic activities of women (probe on other sources of income aside cocoa)</p>		
What are the differences between and among women and men, based on distribution of resources and power within the Cocoa supply chain? [Proposed by consultant]	Men and women cocoa farmers	Chiefs, Assemblypersons, Queen mothers
<p>10. Do you have access to land for cocoa production? If yes/no, why? 11. For the past year, what kind of support/trainings have you received as a cocoa farmer to help increase production? (e.g bonuses, fertilizer, weedicides, insecticides, slashers, free pruning, free spraying, trainings etc). From who? (e.g Cocoa extension division, DA, MoFA, NGO, Private organization, etc) . Probe on the nature of support in terms of cost e.g free, subsidized, paid full cost) 12. Are there differences in support between men and women cocoa farmers? If yes/no why? 13. Are there differences in the sizes of cocoa farms (in acres) between men and women; among men? And among women? What account for the differences? 14. How is income from the sales of cocoa distributed between female/male cocoa farmers and their spouses? 15. If income is not distributed, who takes decision regarding the use of income from sale of cocoa? 16. What is income used for? 17. How does the earnings from cocoa shape power relations between men and women, and among women themselves? 18. Do you hire people to support you on the farm? If/no, why? Who do you hire?</p>		
What are the roles and challenges of children (boys and girls) within the cocoa supply chain? [Proposed by consultant]	Children	Men cocoa farmers, women cocoa farmers, chief, Queen mother, assembly person
<p>19. What are the roles boys play within the cocoa supply chain? 20. What challenges do boys face in cocoa production? 21. What are the roles of girls within the cocoa supply chain? 22. What challenges do girls face in cocoa production? 23. Why differences in roles between boys and girls? 24. Why do you think the government should pay more attention to your role in the cocoa production process?</p>		
How do socio-cultural norms foster gender inequality within the Cocoa value chain? [Addressed above as a cross cutting question]		
Coping strategies of cocoa farmers (income, food and inputs)	Women and men cocoa farmers	Chiefs, Queen mothers
<p>54. How many harvesting seasons do you have in a year? Are there differences in yield between the seasons?</p>		

55. For the past 30 years, have you observed changes in seasons and yield of cocoa? If yes, what do you think caused these changes?
56. Are there months in which you have less income or food? If yes, which months?
57. Which gender/age group suffer the most in periods of food insecurity?
58. If periods in which you have less income/food, how do you cope with life?
59. Are these coping strategies different for men and women?
60. What forms of resilience do men deploy during off-season different from those of women?
61. Do you have challenges accessing inputs for your farm? (e.g fertilizer, weedicides, pesticides).
62. If yes, what are they? And how do you cope with these challenges?
63. Are there private organizations/NGOs/PBCs that offer alternative sources of livelihood during off-season period?

Appendix 3: Survey Instrument

Question	Response	Skip pattern/relevance
Section A: Background Information of Respondents and their Households		
1. District		
2. Community		
3. Name of household head		
4. Mobile number (optional)		
5. Are you an owner or a labourer of a cocoa farm?	1. Own farm 2. Labourer 3. Both	
6. What is the nature of ownership of the cocoa farm?	1. Individual 2. Couple 3. Family	
7. If individual, what is the gender of the owner	1. Male 2. Female	If Q2= 1
8. What is the size of the cocoa farm you own or is taking care of? (capture in acres)	.....
9. Gender of respondent	1. Male 2. Female	
10. Are you the head of your household?	1. Yes 2. No	
11. Age of respondent		
12. Marital status of respondent	1. Single 2. Cohabitation 3. Married 4. Widow/widower	
13. Highest educational attainment of	1. No formal education	

respondent	2. Nursery/Kindergarten 3. Primary 4. Middle School/JSS/JHS 5. SSS/SHS/O'Level/A'Level 6. Voc/technical school 7. Tertiary	
14. Religion of respondent	1. African Traditional Religion 2. Christianity 3. Islam 4. No religion	
15. Ethnicity of respondent	.....
16. Are you an indigene or a migrant?	1. Indigene 2. Migrant	
17. Is cocoa farming/management your main or secondary source of livelihood?	1. Main source of livelihood 2. Secondary source of livelihood	
18. Total number of cocoa bags harvested last year?	.....
19. Total income from cocoa last season	.....
20. How many years have you been involved into cocoa farming/management?	.....
21. Total number of persons in your household	.....
22. Total number of adult males in your household (>17 years)	.....
23. Total number of adult females in your household (> 17 years)	.....
24. Total number of boys in your household (< 18 years)	.....
25. Total number of girls in your household (< 18 years)	.....
26. Does any female member of your household belong to an association?	1. Yes 2. No	If Q23 \geq 1 and Q25 \geq 1
27. What kind of association?	1. Religious association 2. Financial association 3. FBO 4. Water and Sanitation Committee 5. Others	If Q26 = 1
28. Does any female member of your household hold leadership position in an association?	1. Yes 2. No	If Q26 = 1
29. Number of boys 6 years and above	.....	If Q24 \geq 1
30. Number of boys 6 years and above not in school	.....	If Q29 \geq 1
31. Number of girls 6 years and	.....	If Q25 \geq 1

above		
32. Number of girls 6 years and above not in school	.....	If Q31 \geq 1
Roles and challenges of Men and Women in the Cocoa Value Chain		
33a. How many men in your household do cocoa related work?	.....
33. Which of the following stages of the cocoa production process are men in your household involved in?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Land acquisition 2. land preparation 3. Planting 4. Farm maintenance 5. Harvesting 6. Post-harvesting 	If Q33a is not equal to 0
34. What kind of activities do men do during land acquisition ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Inspection of land 2. Negation of tenancy 3. Making of payments 4. Registration of land 5. Others 	If Q33 = 1
35. What kind of activities do men do during land preparation ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Land Clearing 2. Felling and Chopping of trees 3. Burning 4. Destumping 5. Pegs Cutting 6. Lining and Pegging 7. Others 	If Q33 = 2
36. What kind of activities do men do during planting ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preparation of Seedlings 2. Carrying of Seedlings 3. Planting of Seedlings 4. Sowing at Stake 5. Others 	If Q33 = 3
37. What kind of activities do men do during farm maintenance ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Weeding and thinning 2. Sanitation and Pruning 3. Mistletoe Control 4. Carrying Water for Spraying 5. Spraying/application of pesticides 6. Application of Fertilizer 7. Others 	If Q33 = 4
38. What kind of activities do men do during harvesting ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Plucking of Pods 2. Gathering of pods 3. Heaping of Pods 4. Pod Breaking 5. Scooping of Cocoa Beans 6. Fermentation 7. Others 	If Q33 = 5
39. What kind of activities do men do after-harvesting ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Carting of fermented beans to drying area 2. Drying and sorting of beans 3. Carting of dry beans for sale 	If Q33 = 6

	4. Others	
39a. How many women in your household do cocoa related work?	.....	If Q23 is not equal to 0
40. Which of the following stages of the cocoa production process are women your household involved in?	1. Land acquisition 2. land preparation 3. Planting 4. Farm maintenance 5. harvesting 6. Post-harvesting	If Q39a is not equal to 0
41. What kind of activities do women do during land acquisition ?	1. Inspection of land 2. Negations 3. Making of payments 4. Registration of land 5. Others	If Q40 = 1
42. What kind of activities do women do during land preparation ?	1. Land Clearing 2. Felling and Chopping of trees 3. Burning 4. Destumping 5. Pegs Cutting 6. Lining and Pegging 7. Others	If Q40 = 2
43. What kind of activities do women do during planting ?	1. Preparation of Seedlings 2. Carrying of Seedlings 3. Planting of Seedlings 4. Sowing at Stake 5. Others	If Q40 = 3
44. What kind of activities do women do during farm maintenance ?	1. Weeding and thinning 2. Sanitation and Pruning 3. Mistletoe Control 4. Carrying Water for Spraying 5. Spraying/application of pesticides 6. Applying of Fertilizer 7. Others	If Q40 = 4
45. What kind of activities do women do during harvesting ?	1. Plucking of Pods 2. Gathering 3. Heaping of Pods 4. Pod Breaking 5. Scooping of Cocoa Beans 6. Fermentation 7. Others	If Q40 = 5
46. What kind of activities do women do after-harvesting ?	1. Carting of fermented beans to drying area 2. Drying and sorting of beans 3. Carting of dry beans for sale 4. Others	If Q40 = 6
47. What challenges/problems do women encounter in cocoa farming?		If Q39a is not equal to 0
48. What challenges/problems do		If Q33a is not equal

men face in cocoa production?		to 0
49. In the past year, have you received any support from a government related agency as a cocoa farmer?	1. Yes 2. No	
50. What kind of support did you receive from the government related agencies as a cocoa farmer?	1. Increase in price of cocoa 2. Received bonuses 3. Received fertilizer 4. Received pesticides/insecticides 5. Received slashers/pruners 6. Training on cocoa production (e.g farm maintenance, fermentation, drying etc) 7. Others	If Q49=1
51. What was the nature of cost in terms of fertilizer support?	1. Subsidized 2. Supplied to farmers at full cost 3. Free	If Q50=3
53. What was the nature of cost in terms of pesticides/insecticide support?	1. Subsidized 2. Supplied to farmers at full cost 3. Free	If Q50=5
54. What was the nature of cost in terms of slashers/pruners support?	1. Subsidized 2. Supplied to farmers at full cost 3. Free	If Q50=6
55. What was the nature of cost in terms training	1. Subsidized 2. Paid full cost of training 3. Free	If Q50=7
56. In the past year, have you received any support from an NGO as a cocoa farmer?	1. Yes 2. No	
57. What kind of support did you receive from an NGO as a cocoa farmer?	1. Increase in price of cocoa 2. Received bonuses 3. Received fertilizer 4. Received pesticides/insecticides 5. Received slashers/pruners 6. Training on cocoa production (e.g farm maintenance, fermentation, drying etc) 7. Others	If Q56=1
58. What was the nature of cost in terms of fertilizer support?	1. Subsidized 2. Supplied to farmers at full cost 3. Free	If Q57=3

60. What was the nature of cost in terms of pesticides/insecticide support?	1. Subsidized 2. Supplied to farmers at full cost 3. Free	If Q57=5
61. What was the nature of cost in terms of slashers/pruners support?	1. Subsidized 2. Supplied to farmers at full cost 3. Free	If Q57=6
62. What was the nature of cost in terms of training	1. Subsidized 2. Paid full cost of training 3. Free	If Q57=7
63. In the past year, have you received any support from a private organization as a cocoa farmer?	1. Yes 2. No	
64. What kind of support did you receive from private organization as a cocoa farmer?	1. Price of cocoa higher than govt floor price 2. Received bonuses 3. Received fertilizer 4. Received pesticides/insecticides 5. Received slashers/pruners 6. Training on cocoa production (e.g farm maintenance, fermentation, drying etc) 7. Others	If Q63=1
65. What was the nature of cost in terms of fertilizer support?	1. Subsidized 2. Supplied to farmers at full cost 3. Free	If Q57=3
67. What was the nature of cost in terms of pesticides/insecticide support?	1. Subsidized 2. Supplied to farmers at full cost 3. Free	If Q57=5
68. What was the nature of cost in terms of slashers/pruners support?	1. Subsidized 2. Supplied to farmers at full cost 3. Free	If Q57=6
69. What was the nature of cost in terms training	1. Subsidized 2. Paid full cost of training 3. Free	If Q57=7
SECTION C; Roles and challenges of children in the cocoa supply chain		
70. Number of girls involved in cocoa related activities in your household?.....		If Q25 is not equal to 0
71. Number of boys involved in cocoa related activities in your household?		If Q24 is not equal to 0
72. At what age are children in your	.....	If Q70 not equal to 0

household introduced to basic cocoa farm work?		If Q71 not equal to 0
73. At what age does actual farm training of children begins in your household?	.....	If Q70 not equal to 0 If Q71 not equal to 0
74. Why are children involved in cocoa activities?	1. Occupational training 2. Help complete farm task 3. Form of punishment 4. Others	If Q70 not equal to 0 If Q71 not equal to 0
75. Which of the following stages of the cocoa production process are boys engaged in?	1. Land acquisition 2. Land preparation 3. Planting 4. Farming maintenance 5. Harvesting 6. Post-harvesting activities	If Q71 is not equal to 0
76. What kind of activities do boys do during land acquisition ?	1. Inspection of land 2. Negotiation of payment 3. Making of payments 4. Registration of land 5. Others	If Q50=1
77. What kind of activities do boys do during land preparation ?	1. Land Clearing 2. Felling and Chopping of trees 3. Burning 4. Destumping 5. Pegs Cutting 6. Lining and Pegging 7. Others	If Q50=2
78. What kind of activities do boys do during planting ?	1. Preparation of Seedlings 2. Carrying of Seedlings 3. Planting of Seedlings 4. Sowing at Stake 5. Others	If Q50=3
79. What kind of activities do boys do during farm maintenance ?	1. Weeding and thinning 2. Sanitation and Pruning 3. Mistletoe Control 4. Carrying Water for Spraying 5. Spraying/application of pesticides 6. Applying of Fertilizer 7. Others	If Q50=4
80. What kind of activities do boys do during harvesting ?	1. Plucking of Pods 2. Gathering 3. Heaping of Pods 4. Pod Breaking 5. Scooping of Cocoa Beans 6. Fermentation 7. Others	If Q50=5
81. What kind of activities do boys do after-harvesting ?	1. Carting of fermented beans to drying	If Q50=6

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. area 3. Drying and sorting of beans 4. Carting of dry beans for sale 5. Others 	
82. Which of the following stages of the cocoa production process are girls engaged in?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Land acquisition 2. Land preparation 3. Planting 4. Farming maintenance 5. Harvesting 6. Post-harvesting activities 	If Q70 is not equal to 0
83. What kind of activities do girls do during land acquisition ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Inspection of land 2. Negations 3. Making of payments 4. Registration of land 5. Others 	If Q82=1
84. What kind of activities do girls do during land preparation ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Land Clearing 2. Felling and Chopping of trees 3. Burning 4. Destumping 5. Pegs Cutting 6. Lining and Pegging 7. Others 	If Q82=2
85. What kind of activities do girls do during planting ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preparation of Seedlings 2. Carrying of Seedlings 3. Planting of Seedlings 4. Sowing at Stake 5. Others 	If Q82=3
86. What kind of activities do girls do during farm maintenance ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Weeding and thinning 2. Sanitation and Pruning 3. Mistletoe Control 4. Carrying Water for Spraying 5. Spraying/application of pesticides 6. Applying of Fertilizer 7. Others 	If Q82=4
87. What kind of activities do girls do during harvesting ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Plucking of Pods 2. Gathering 3. Heaping of Pods 4. Pod Breaking 5. Scooping of Cocoa Beans 6. Fermentation 7. Others 	If Q82=5
88. What kind of activities do girls do at post -harvesting stage ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Carting of fermented beans to drying area 2. area 3. Drying and sorting of beans 4. Carting of dry beans for sale 	If Q82=6

	5. Others	
89. What are the challenges/problems children face in the cocoa production process?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Neck, head, joint, body pains 2. Spinal deformities 3. Unable to study after school 4. Lateness to school 5. School absenteeism 6. Poor academic performance 7. School drop out 8. reptile bites 9. Injuries from cutlass, trees, thorns, toxic irritant plants, cocoa pods etc 10. Pesticide/insecticide poisoning 11. Defilement and rape 12. Others 	<p>If Q70 not equal to 0 If Q71 not equal to 0</p>

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