The Village Woman in Ghana

Jette Bukh
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Jette Bukh
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All photographs by Jette Bukh
(front page) "yake–yake"–cassava bread made at the market place

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Preface

This book is dedicated to the people of Tsito. It is based on a study carried out in the village Tsito, Southeast Ghana, in different periods from 1973 to 1978. The work in the village included an evaluation of a local agricultural development project as well as a general study of the socio-economic history of the village. In later parts of the study the emphasis was on changes in the division of labour and the role that women came to fulfil in subsistence production.

The organization of the fieldwork is described in some detail in the appendix. Part of the material for the book is taken from different rounds of surveys. To provide the reader with a key to the content of these surveys, they have been numbered and discussed one by one in the appendix.

The major points in the analysis were developed primarily through many and long discussions with friends from the village as well as with colleagues carrying out similar studies in other communities. The study would not have been possible, however, without the patience of the Tsito people and particularly the strong and continuous support of my two closest friends in Tsito, my research assistant and interpreter Seth Thysihn Ayesu, who with great efficiency assisted me throughout the whole study, and Yawa Ampeh, who organized practical matters and made it possible for me to understand the life of a Tsito woman in a very personal way.

The process of putting all the collected information into its final bookform would never have been completed without support of many friends, Jens Erik, Peter, my parents, my commune, staff from the Centre for Development Research that did the tedious task of typing and retyping the manuscript, and my colleagues that read through earlier versions of the manuscript and gave invaluable comments leading to important revisions.

It has been the intention of the book to put into writing what the people in Tsito have been telling me. While responsibility for the conclusions must remain mine alone, it is hoped that the presentation can be of some use to them in their struggle for a better future.

Jette Bukh
Copenhagen, October 1978
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

1 Introduction to the Study

"The women are working too hard. In the morning, first they cook, then they go with the refuse, then they clean, wash, make the children ready. Then they go to farm and work, carry back fire-wood and foodcrops—which is very heavy work. Then they go for water, then they pound ‘fufu’—all the time pregnant or with children on their back. And also the selling at the market, for hours.

Then the men just come back from the farm and take their bath and sit down. And even if one asks them to go for some water, they will refuse. Only very few men help their wives carrying firewood. But if a man doesn't have a wife, he has to do the things by himself, and then he says: 'Oh, the women, they know work'."

This statement was recorded in an interview with a male farmer at the beginning of the study in 1973. What will be presented here is the background to his statement, an analysis of data collected in a village Tsito in South East Ghana in 1973 and in 1976-77, to answer the question of why women are working so hard, and how the situation came about.

To understand the present situation it is necessary to go back in time and analyse the economic history and particularly the changes in the roles of both men and women in the public and domestic spheres of production. It is the argument of this study that the development of the market economy and the introduction of cocoa cultivation brought a new social division of labour that allocated to women a major role within subsistence activities, while the men were drawn more into the cash economy, first as cocoa producers and then later on, when the conditions for cocoa production changed, also as migrant labourers.

In this process of integration, described in chapter II, the lineage-based organization was transformed. The individual households came to have a more independent position within the lineage structure, and a new type of household that often relied heavily on female labour developed. The new type of household was instrumental in reinforcing the sexual division of labour that placed women in subsistence activities and men in the cash economy. As it will be explained in chapter III, women became almost exclusively responsible for the daily subsistence needs of most households.

The way in which women came to be tied down in the struggle for day to day survival has been and still is one of the strongest elements in their social and economic subordination. This is most clearly expressed in the fact
that women carry out subsistence activities fighting on two fronts, not only against the strenuous demands of their productive activities, but also against difficulties in their access to strategic resources.

This last aspect of women's problems is due to certain difficulties that are facing them only, namely a reinforcement of traditional patriarchal structures. These structures, which will be dealt with in chapter IV, operate mainly at a practical level through differences in access to essential resources such as land, labour, cash, education, and know-how, in relation to which men are privileged compared to women from their own social group. The structures also operate at an ideological level, through norms which support the notion that "women should be kept in their place". As a result, the quality of women's economic activities suffers, both their agricultural production, from low productivity and low nutritional value, and their trades from lack of capital, small investments, and equally, little surplus.

By combining small-scale farming with numerous activities within the flexible frame of the informal economic sector, as explained in chapter V, women, however, still manage to fulfil their role as providers of family subsistence.

Women do not passively accept this double subordination, but their means of defence are few and limited in scope. Their reactions manifest themselves mostly on an individual basis as personal protests, although there are signs of more organized actions. This will be dealt with in chapter VI.

2. Theoretical Framework

The study presented here is not a theoretical one, however, it is necessary to give a short presentation of the historical context and theoretical discussion within which it has been carried out.

Pre-colonial trade and the colonial reign created an international division of labour where the peasants of the West African countries came to function as producers of cash crops and providers of cheap labour "in exchange for" a few consumer goods. The de-colonization process led to the establishment of independent nations. However, instead of creating the necessary structures for a self-centered economic development, these new nations, the so-called peripheral states, became subcentres of accumulation and instruments of control for the continued integration into the capitalist world market. They consolidated the role of the peasantry as producer of raw materials and provider of cheap labour.

Throughout this period, the pre-capitalist societies have been penetrated by capitalist social relations. New consumer goods and production
technology were introduced and social relations became commercialized. Many peasants have been proletarianized and "survive" on wage labour and informal services in the cities. However, there is nothing to suggest that the peasant populations are decreasing or that the social dynamic in the peripheral societies, like Ghana, is able to force the peasants from the land and capitalize agriculture on a grand scale. Although some social relations of this peasantry have been transformed into relations that appear to be capitalist, others have maintained a transitional appearance, and the integrated functioning of the transformed totality is neither straight capitalist nor traditional pre-capitalist. While both private ownership and wage labour have come to play a role for the peasantry, subsistence household production is not being destroyed but only transformed.

Most development studies have focused either on how the requirements of the accumulation process in the centres have shaped the peripheral societies or on how the integration into the world market has blocked the development possibilities in the periphery. While these focuses are important by providing insight in some of the conditions and limits of development in the third world, it is also necessary to analyze the actual transformation processes in the peasant societies. This is so both because subsistence production provides the livelihood for most people in these societies and because the existence of the peasant societies is an essential condition for any future development.

In recent years, the concept "conservation-dissolution of traditional structures" has come to be widely used in discussions of development in the peripheral societies. This concept implies that "traditional" societies will be changed and preserved to the extent that it is functional for the capitalist accumulation in the centres and subcentres, e.g. by providing raw materials and by maintaining and reproducing the labour force. However, given the kind of pressures peasant societies are exposed to, their internal social dynamic may well impede wholesale integration into the market. Furthermore, the conservation or maintenance of traditional structures may be due less to any kind of capitalist strategy than to the inability of peripheral development to offer true alternatives to subsistence production.

The point of departure for the present study is the transformation process in a peasant society in Ghana, conditioned as it is by internal social relations and outside pressures and limitations. In the case dealt with, the social foundation has been a lineage-based land tenure system. The result of the transformation process has been a new social division of labour, new patterns of exploitation and oppression, new elements of class contradictions, and in particular an increased subordination of women. However, although the character of the social relations within the land
tenure system is transformed, the basic principle of common ownership is maintained, securing for all native households their ultimate means of survival, the land.

At best the theoretical discussion of the development process in third world countries deals with the dynamic of the interrelationship between the village economy and the national and international economy, and it operates with the household as the most disaggregated analytical unit. It rarely takes into account the sexual division of labour within the household or differences in access to resources according to sex which are central to the analysis presented here. Thus far, no comprehensive framework within which to analyze these questions has been developed. While this study does not attempt to develop such a theory nor to analyse the general conditions pertinent to the process of "conservation-dissolution of traditional structures", it is hoped that it can add new empirical dimensions important for an understanding of these theoretical issues.

The purpose of the analysis presented in this book is to understand both the present situation of the women and how it came about. In order to analyse both the historical processes and the present situation without losing the general view, it has been necessary to cut short on many details. The historical analyses try therefore to include only the main development processes necessary for an understanding of women's present situation. This excluded among other things a broad anthropological analysis of the traditional society as well as a presentation of Ghana's history in a general sense. The intention of the historical analysis has first and foremost been to throw light on the present situation of women by showing the relevant antecedent events.

When dealing with the present situation it has likewise been necessary to cut down on the number of quantitative details, e.g. about the production structure, and to concentrate on the qualitative analyses. To be able to perceive the totality of women's present situation many different aspects of their lives have been discussed but some of them only very briefly.
CHAPTER II

The History of the Ewe People

1. The Ewes

The Ewe-speaking people inhabiting the area, were traditionally organized in a semi-segmental tribal society, organizationally very different from their strong centralized neighbours, the Ashantis to the West and the Dahomeans to the East. The Ewes are supposed to have left the Northern part of Yoruba-land (Nigeria) about 500 years ago. They travelled to their present home in two movements, and stayed for about a hundred years in the middle of Togo-land near the town Notise.13

The area in which they settled stretches from the Volta river in the West to the river Mono in the East, from the coast in the South to about 150 kilometers inland, forming an almost regular squared area. There are today ca. 1.3 million Ewes, and about 75 % of them still live within the old Ewe land, today the Southern part of Volta Region in Ghana and Togo.5

The Ewe's political organization has been described by Barbara Ward as a "loose collection of independent sub-tribes", and the 120 independent political chief taincies had no common organization to defend their integrity against their militarily strong neighbours."The most that they ever attained in the way of concerted action seems to have been in the formation of alliances in time of war". In contrast to their Akan-speaking enemies, the Ewes had no standing army. The Ewes became the victims of numerous invasions and in consequence some of the sub-tribes made alliances with the neighbouring tribes during the 18th and 19th century. The Akwamus occupied the area for a hundred years from 1734–1833, and in 1868–71 the whole area was raided and plundered by the Ashanti armies. The sufferings

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2 Notse is now called Nouatya.
4 River Mono is the border between Togo and Benin today.
5 Pauvert 1960.
6 Barbara Ward 19-19.
8 Amenumey 1964, p. 190 ff.
Map 1. The Ewe in Ghana and Togo.

Togoland was after the 1st World War divided in two, the English administered Trans-Volta and the French administered Togo.

Source: Kuczynski 1939.
caused by repeated slave-raids stopped only with the final defeat of the Ashantis by the English in 1874.\footnote{B. Ward 1949, p. 13.}

But the peace lasted for only a few years, and in 1884 a new struggle started for the dominance of the Ewe area, the colonial tug-of-war, with the German arrival on the scene. After some years of quarrel between the two colonial powers, a border was agreed upon leaving only a few of the Ewe groups with the English\footnote{The areas of Anlo, Tongu and Peki/Awudome.} and the rest with the Germans." This was only the first of three arbitrarily drawn colonial divisions of the Ewe land, which was to split the Ewe people until the present time. The French and the English who took over the area as a mandated territory after the first world war, moved the border twice before they decided on its present position dividing the Ewe land in two almost equal halves."

Though the Ewe sub-tribes had never been one political unit, they perceived themselves as one nation with a common language, history and culture. The colonial division therefore naturally provoked protests from them, and in the 1940's a political movement was formed to fight for the creation of a unified Ewe nation.

A number of conferences were held by the movement, and finally the League of Nations established a committee to deal with the case." A referendum was held in 1956 in the English administered half, Trans-Volta, for the people to decide whether they would join an independent Ghana the following year. The final result was 61 % for and 39 % against, but the areas dominated by the Ewes in the South had an average of 58 % against, some as high as 72 % against (Ho District) and 66 % against (Kpandu District). The colonial governments did not consider the differences in the results and incorporated the whole of Trans-Volta into Ghana.\footnote{Amemuey 1964, p. 190 f.} Since then protests have continued in varying degrees demanding that the Ewe population become unified under the same government."

2. The Colonial Expansion

The English policy in the Gold Coast from about the turn of the century was completely concentrated around the development of cocoa production. The

\footnote{Amemuey 1969, p. 66-67.}
\footnote{B. Ward, 1949, p. 5.}
\footnote{Austin, 1970: 311–12.}
\footnote{When the Ghana government is in difficulties then rumours about the Ewe movement become very lively. Last in spring 1978.}
South of the Colony went through a structural transformation in a few decades, when cocoa, introduced in 1879, also became the country's most important export commodity, and in a period of twenty years expanded from an export of 80 lbs. in 1891 to 39,000 tons in 1911.\(^{16}\)

The early cocoa expansion in the Gold Coast is well documented elsewhere by Polly Hill and others. It is not necessary here to give more than a brief illustration of the kind of development that took place in the South of the Colony. Szereszewski describes the difference between the situation in 1891 and twenty years later in the following terms:

"It was an economy based on the most simple techniques of production, spanned by a network of narrow bush roads and practically fragmented, politically as well as economically. Large areas of the forest hinterland as well as the whole of the northern savanna, were outside any systematic economic contact with the coast. Modern patterns of activity were confined to the coastal fringe and the Tarkwa enclave, where a tiny gold mining industry had been struggling since the seventies. Twenty years later the Gold Coast was the biggest exporter of cocoa in the world. The mining industry exported over 280,000 ounces of gold. A railway network was in existence. Whole new sectors of activity appeared during the two decades, and by 1911 the structure of the economy was transformed. What is even more interesting, the transformations of this period largely determined the structure of the economy for the next fifty years, and it can be maintained that the pattern established in 1911 still largely persisted in 1960".\(^{17}\)

The economic dynamic in this development, when first started, was so strong that the English colonial state was able to skim off a surplus on timber, mining, and in particular through the monopoly on the resale of cocoa on the European market. The value accumulated through appropriation of natural resources and on the cocoa trade was sufficient both to develop the necessary infrastructure in the Colony and to accumulate large capital reserves in England.\(^{18}\) Direct taxation, therefore, never became a very important part of England's policy in the Gold Coast.

The colonial policy in the neighbouring French colonies was in great contrast to this, with hard direct taxation, forced cash cropping, and an extended forced labour system, both on road building and on the French plantations.\(^{19}\) The violent French policy indirectly supported the easy growth in the Gold Coast, because it caused waves of migrants to leave for the Gold Coast in search of wage labour. The migrants from the French areas thereby created one of the preconditions for the continued cocoa growing boom there, by providing a migrant labour force to work in the cocoa farms.

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\(^{16}\) Hill 1963, p. 117.
\(^{17}\) Szereszewski 1965, p. 1.
\(^{18}\) Fitch & Oppenheimer 1967.
\(^{19}\) Crowder 1968, p. 490.
The demographer Robert Kuczynski, who did a very detailed analysis of population movements in the Ewe area up till 1931, concludes also that the population increase in Trans-Volta\(^{20}\) between 1921–31\(^{21}\) was mainly caused by influx of peoples from French administered Togo.\(^{22}\) The same type of immigration was responsible for a 100% increase in the population of the Ho District between 1931-48," and for a 57% increase in Trans-Volta's population between 1948–60."

3. Trans-Volta, a Marginal Cocoa Growing Area

The same development that took place in the central Gold Coast, came later to more marginal areas like the Trans-Volta. Though cocoa was already introduced here by 1890," it was not before the 1920's that its cultivation became widespread in the area. The kind of cocoa production that developed here was also very different from the type that developed in the hands of the so-called "migrant cocoa farmers", who were responsible for the first big cocoa boom in the central Gold Coast. The latter's expansion of production was dependent upon buying up large tracts of land in neighbouring areas, to which they migrated in order to establish their cocoa farms.\(^{24}\) The type of cocoa production that developed in Trans-Volta was, at first, on a smaller scale, and the cocoa was directly incorporated into the local small-holder production.

There were several reasons why the cocoa was very easy to incorporate into existing production, why it soon came to replace most of the traditional trade with agricultural commodities like palm kernels and yam. Firstly the ecology of the forest area was perfect for cocoa, and the only investment necessary was the beans. Many of the local peasants had been South and had worked for some seasons on cocoa plantations, and they came back with the know-how plus the beans.

Secondly, it was very important that cocoa could be planted in the same field as the food crops and mixed in with the other plants, and for the first 3-4 years the small cocoa trees grew up together with all the usual food crops. Therefore from the start there was, as it were, no competition.

\(^{20}\) Trans-Volta is the name for the English administered part of the old German Togoland.

\(^{21}\) E.g. of 44% in Ho District.

\(^{22}\) Kuczynski 1939, p. 500 ff.

\(^{23}\) Friedlander 1962, p. 97.


\(^{25}\) Dickson 1969.

\(^{26}\) Hill 1963.
between the cocoa and the traditional crops for labour and land. It was only after the 4–5th year that the field with cocoa had to be maintained for its own sake, and only after its 7th year that it started yielding. From then on cocoa cultivation implied that food crops were pushed to more marginal land.

Thirdly, the harvest of cocoa was easy,” the marketing system was well developed, and the buyers were many and everywhere. The last, but very important reason why cocoa spread so fast, was the high economic incentive for cocoa growing. It gave a much higher revenue than any of the traditional commodities produced at that time, and it was widely talked about as the new gold.

The cocoa production in Trans-Volta was never very important for the Gold Coast, since only a small part of the Southern Trans-Volta and a frontier area in the far north of the region has enough rain to grow cocoa.

The Volta Region achieved its highest share of the national cocoa production in 1954, when it accounted for 11.2% of the acreages grown. Its relative importance nationally has decreased since then and in 1970 its share had fallen to 4.1%.

The Volta Region accounts for 11.6% of the national population and for 15.7% of the population in the regions where cocoa is cultivated. Cocoa cultivation gives part of the Region similarities with the Southern half of the country, while the migration pattern of the Region only has a parallel in the Northern Region. After the Northern Region, Volta Region has the highest net emigration. In 1960 the National Census showed that emigration was 3.29 times bigger than the immigration.

The introduction of cocoa into the Ewe Society had far reaching implications for the organization of its social and economic relations. The following will deal with the Ewe society in some detail.

The History of the Village Economy

1. Introduction to the Village

The village Tsito, in which the study took place, is situated in the southwestern part of the Volta Region. Its territory is only separated from the Volta lake by a range of low hills. The area is ecologically on the border between the richer forest area and the poorer savannah, yearly rainfall is about 40–50 inches. There are great variations between the eco-climate of

“"The harvest of cocoa is e g much easier than that of the coffee thnt was introduced about the same time


See appendix Table XVI for migration figures
Most of the houses in Tsito have corrugated iron roofs. The cocoa income and the migrants' earnings have often been used for house construction.

The hillsides and that of the plainland, and vegetation varies from heavy rainforest on some of the hillslopes to thinner forest on the plain, and new grassland which joins the natural savannah where cultivation has destroyed the big trees. There are two rainy seasons, the long one from March to July and a shorter one from September to November.

The local agricultural system is a bush-fallow system, and the farmers clear new plots in the bush every year, to be cultivated usually for 2–4 years, before the plots again will be left to be overgrown, with thick bushy vegetation. The fallow periods vary from 5–10 years depending upon the type of soil and the availability of land resources. In the forest land there are small plots permanently cultivated with cocoa trees. About half the land under cultivation is used for food crops, the other half is used for tree crops, mostly cocoa. On arable land the proportion of land under cultivation to fallow land is 1:2. The region is completely dominated by small-holder production, both in food crops and in cocoa cultivation.

The population density in this part of the Volta Region varies between 100–199 people per sq. mile. This is much higher than the national average (73 inh/sqm), but much lower than in southern regions where cocoa
originally expanded (299–299 inh/sqm.). Tsito itself has a population of over 4,000 according to the national census in 1970, and the population density on the land belonging to Tsito, including the village itself, is around 280 per sq. mile.

The economy of the village is primarily based on agriculture and 60% of males and females engage in farming but only half of them full time. 33% of the males have income from wage labour, but only 1/3 of these do not also engage in farming. Some of the wage earners are employed in the nearby regional town Ho. Most women engage in both farming and trading and they carry out the local marketing of the foodcrops.

The village is relatively self-sufficient in food crops, and there is not much division of labour between it and other villages in the area in terms of production. Most of the food supplies sold in the regularly held market in the village, originate from its own producers, and the manufactured products sold in the village come from the capital, Accra. Food crops sold in the local markets are mostly bought by local consumers. The volume of the sale of foodcrops out of the village directly from farms is not known.

The village is built as a compact unit, within which each of its eight clans have their own area. At the outskirts of the village, three different resettlements have been established by different religious groups from the village. There is also a "zongo" where all the migrants from the North live. The village consists of about 450 houses with about 800 households.

2. Political and Economic Organization

Tsito lies near the western border of the Ewe-speaking area, within the area that has always been administered by the English. The village lost part of its land when England and Germany decided on a border settlement which divided the land of the village into two parts, and left the one on the German side inaccessible. Subsequently it was quickly occupied by neighbouring villages.

Tsito is the most southern of six villages that form the Awudome Traditional Area. The area has only had its own paramount chief since 1958 because the English colonial administration maintained the area as a subchieftaincy under a neighbouring chieftaincy, Peki. The military alliance between Peki, Awudome and Anum had been formed on a temporary basis

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31 Birmingham 1967, p. 108, the figures are based on the National Census from 1960
32 See appendix for comments on the census figures.
33 Appendix Table VII shows the occupational structure of the village.
34 See the profile of the two local markers in appendix Table XI.
Map 3. The Northern Ewe of Ghana.

Source: Kludze 1973
to defend the area from the invading Ashanti armies before the English finally pacified the area in the 1880's. The Awudomeans never accepted the colonial introduction of Peki's paramount status, but regarded the Pekis as enemies because of permanent quarrels over the land demarcation. The Awudomeans belong to what has been classified as the Northern Ewe of Ghana.

The basic principles of the pre-colonial internal political structure of the Awudome chieftaincy have been formally maintained until present time, but have lost most of their direct influence in present day village affairs.

The unity of the chieftaincy is expressed in a common history of migration to the area and in the common defence against intruders. The founders of the six villages played different roles in these events, according to which the villages acquired different status in a ranking system. The six villages still choose a chief (Fiaga = great chief) for the whole area from the highest ranked village, Anyirawasi, and he represents the area in the regional house of chiefs in Ho. Each of the villages have their own chief (Fia), elected by their council of elders representing all the clans. In Tsito the chief was originally chosen from two different clans on shift, but now only one clan provides chief candidates. Each of Tsito's 8 clans (hlon) that originate back to the first 8 settlers have a clanhead elected by the elders in each clan.

According to oral tradition the division of each of the clans into 3 major patrilineal lineages took place in the first generation after the settlement. The clans divided their land in three and allocated a share to the offspring of each of the three legal wives of the clan founder. These major lineages were called tovis - father's son - after the way in which their male heads related to each other, having the same father but different mothers. These patrilineallineages were the organizational and economic unit of the society. They owned and controlled the land, and they elected their own head, who together with the elders of the lineage were responsible for distribution of the land among its members. The

The lineages seem to have been independent economic units that fully controlled the products they grew on the land. They served the community

14 The formal line of succession for the heads of the lineages goes through all the brothers in the same generation, from the eldest to the youngest, and then to all the sons of the eldest brother, also after age, then to the next eldest brother’s sons, etc. But it is possible to jump the formal line of seniority if a man of lower seniority is regarded as more suitable for the position. It is often the most influential man in the lineage, a position often attained through age and wealth, that will be chosen. It is the council of all the elder men in the lineage, that appoints the head. They are also able to destool him if he does not fulfill his obligations. The head has to consult the lineage council on important matters, e.g. he can only decide on selling lineage land with the consent of the council.
through participation in the defence of the village and in communal tasks to which they were called by the chief." The clan chiefs and the village chief had mostly representative functions and were mediators in conflicts. They were also regarded as the links to the ancestors. The women also elected a chief, the Queen Mother, who served as their representative in conflicts. She also had important ritual functions.

It is not possible on the basis of the information collected in the village to evaluate the degree of economic potential that might have been linked with the control of the political organization in pre-colonial time. The chiefs themselves were not the strongest men in the village, the most powerful was the group of elders that decided who should be the chief and who had in their hands the power to "destool" the chief again if he did not fulfil their expectations.34

The economy of the village was traditionally based on agriculture, hunting and fishing. There was no developed division of labour between the households. The artisans were also farmers, and the payment for their products took place by doing some work on their farms. Blacksmithing was an inherited skill in patriline, and the iron was originally mined locally. Work with metal, wood and weaving were male skills, while making and dyeing the thread for weaving and pottery was carried out by women.

According to old people's narratives there is supposed to have been a considerable surplus of food crops in pre-colonial times and often one year's harvest would not have been consumed by the time the next year's had matured. The general surplus of food crops and the existence of hunger crops like cassava, which was grown to be kept as reserve, also meant that families who had a deficit of food due to sickness or seasonal variation, could count on free crops from family or neighbours.

Whether all families sometimes had surplus of food crops is not known. Those which had sold the surplus of their subsistence crops that could keep for a long time', bought salt, iron tools, guns, shot, gunpowder, thread,

"The institution of “communal labour” still fulfils important functions today. It is only possible for the chief to call people to come and work if the work benefits the village. E.g., as building of schools, roads, latrines, cleaning public places, etc. A careful record is kept to secure that all do their share, and if somebody fails to show up without good reason, that person will be fined. If somebody refuses to pay then they can be arrested by the police. In former days a man who refused to pay would be stripped of his clothes on the spot, and the clothes sold to the nearest person for a sum of money equal to his debt.

34 The present village chief who was elected in 1955, was only 26 years old when he was appointed. He was chosen because he had been to secondary school and then to England to further his education, and he represented for the village people new values and ideas that they hoped could accelerate its future development.

35 E.g., yams, palm kernels, maize and cotton. Cotton was a crop that primarily was grown for own use, and most men are said to have been able to weave their own clothes.
European cloths, alcohol, tobacco and domestic slaves.

The very early trade in foodcrops thereby gave the local peasants access to two important resources for the defence against the slave raiders: weapons and slaves. The slaves are often said to have been children, who were stolen elsewhere by the Hausa people. They were bought by the villagers to supplement the family with extra hands in the farm work and often barren men or women would get children this way. The accumulation of surplus created "rich men" that were able to lend others "money" (cowrie shells were used before European silver coins were introduced). A man might come in need of money to pay the expenses for a funeral, e.g. the death of a woman in childbirth demanded a big funeral for pacification, and the man had to stop working for some time. Adultery or other social conflicts, or making destructive "juju" (black magic) against somebody, breaking taboos and swearing the Great Oath in annoyance might also result in fines to be paid for pacification. Finally, a man might borrow money to cover the cost of marriage.

The lending of money was linked to a system of pledging. The person who borrowed the money would have to pledge a person — often a young boy or girl or himself to go and work for the lender two days a week until the money had been paid back. If the creditor married or had sexual relations with a girl in pledge, then the repayment would be duly reduced.

An old man explained that at one time there were 4 rich men in his clan. At that time his clan consisted of eleven households ("fomes"), and the three major lineages in the clan, the tovis, were made up of 6, 3 and 2 fomes respectively. He also related that every clan in the village would have at least one or two rich men. His own father was a rich man and had 14 people in pledge. He accumulated a lot of money and was able many years later to lend him and his brother money enough to buy the village’s first vehicle. Asked how his father was able to save from the start he explained that they were 5 sons, and 5 daughters who all worked hard in the fields so that they were able to sell crops, and some of them also bought thread and made cloth to sell.

Spieth, a German missionary who worked in Ho around the turn of the century, reports on the selling of domestic slaves and quotes the local price for a slave.

*Although they were absorbed as members of the family, many people will still recall those who have a slave origin.

* Using his age to date the events indicates that he is talking about the years around 1900.

* Spieth 1906.
the economic growth in the Gold Coast Colony from the end of the century started to draw migrant labourers, then men from Tsito soon joined as temporary migrants. This new access to money may possibly have eroded the foundation of the pledging system. Instead, migrants from other areas later came to fill in the need for more labour in the village.

Wage labour did not, however, achieve real importance in this area until the 1920–30’s, when the expansion of cocoa production gave work to migrants. When cocoa was incorporated into the peasant production as described above, it very soon came to be the most important cash crop for the majority of the local peasants. The introduction of cocoa into the local agricultural system brought important changes both in the pattern of production and in the social division of labour, within the families as well as within the society in general.

The following sections will deal with the changes in the social organization of production, looking at the division of labour, the land tenure system, and the pattern of migration.

3. Changes in the Agricultural Production System

In the transformation of the agricultural production pattern, which took place with the introduction of cocoa, new food crops also came to play a more important role. Within the traditional agricultural system the most important crop was the yam. Yam is also the oldest crop in the area, and the local year cycle as well as the most important festivals, are all related to its growth cycle. A household would grow at least 200–500 yams and some more than 1000 in a season."

Yam was grown mixed with a number of other crops in the same field maize, cassava, "ocro", red pepper, beans, groundnuts, and cotton, and on the forest land also coco-yam and plantain. Spread in the bush, growing wild, was the important oil-palm from which oil and wine were extracted. A new place was cleared every year for the mixed farm, and after the crops had been harvested, which in the case of plantain could be after 3–4 years, the plot was left to grow into bush again. It was not used again until such time as a certain weed no longer reappeared.

Spieth quotes informants who tell that agriculture in the older days was carried out exclusively by men. Old people today say that before cocoa was introduced, men were "by far and large the food producers, while the women helped on the farm during weeding and harvesting periods". There

*Ibid*
is locally a strong opinion about the importance of male labour in food production in the earlier days and it seems certain that men were mainly responsible for yam cultivation.

Men were responsible for clearing the land and burning the straws, digging the hills for the yam, and, when mature, cutting the heads of the yam for replanting. Women seemed to have shared the work with the men in weeding, and in planting and harvesting the rest of the crop. If the family had people in pledge or slaves, then they did the clearing and digging of the yam mounds, and helped with the weeding.

When the farmers started to grow cocoa, much less emphasis was put on food crops. Firstly, the food farms were soon pushed away from the most fertile land, now being used for cocoa growing. Secondly, the men's time now became occupied in the cocoa farms for part of the year. Work in the cocoa farms coincided with e.g. the yam harvest, but the men also had in general less time to spend on the food farms. The responsibilities for food production thereby to a larger degree came to be left to the women. This new sexual division of labour in agriculture resulted in the yam slowly being replaced with other crops like maize and cassava, which were less labour intensive.

The new sexual division of labour in agriculture created a system under which the men controlled the cash crop production, while women took responsibility for the subsistence activities. Cocoa was grown by men, and the marketing of the beans was also completely in the hands of men, who sold them to the European trading houses. Food crops, on the other hand, were entirely the women's domain, in the sense that they were responsible for handling and selling them in the market. The cocoa brought money into the hands of the men twice a year. This money was earmarked for larger investments either in more cocoa, or in house building and children's education. The women's sale of food crops from the family farm did not yield cash that they could dispose of. This money was controlled by the family head, the man, and used directly for subsistence needs of the family. With the increased importance of money, women also wanted to get some of their own. They therefore started to establish separate farms in addition to the family farm, from which they could sell crops. Money earned in this way was at their own disposal and the cultivation of separate farms has since become a permanent pattern for most local women.

4. Changes in the Land Tenure System
The introduction of cocoa and the increasing importance of wage labour and commodity production had an important impact on the land tenure
system. Although only 5% of the land holdings even today are privately owned, and the rest therefore in principle are held under the traditional land tenure system, important changes have taken place as to how the land is now controlled and distributed within the local social system.

Although the rights to land, in principle, are still only rights to use it, and a piece of lineage land can never be sold by any individual member of the lineage, it is now practice that a farmer keeps on returning to the same pieces of land, and after him his sons will use it. The rule, that farmers when leaving the land after a period of cultivation leave it to be used by any other member of the tovi, has therefore to a certain degree become an illusion. Individual farmers now "claim" the rights of use to specific pieces of land, those they used previously. The development of the practice of "claim" has taken away the possibility for the tovi heads to redistribute the land within the tovis. If the tovi does not still have virgin land to give out, as only a few still do, then sons inherit their father's fallows. The concept of claim on land therefore has in practice much in common with individual property rights.

This development has in the course of time, eventually led to fractions of the original tovis breaking away and establishing themselves as independent lineages with their own lineage head and lineage land. In the study of the land tenure of 40 families, only 17 of the family heads referred to the head of one of the original tovis as their lineage head, while another 18 referred to heads of fractions of the original lineage, to a fome head, as the head of their lineage land. In a known case where a fome broke away and formed an independent lineage, it happened when the man had accumulated so much fallow land that it was sufficient for his successors. When his eldest son took over, he declared that the land now belonged to him and his brothers and that they should not recognize the tovi head's right to distribute this land any more. Another way of establishing independent farm land has been through buying. Bought land will for the buyer's sons be their fome land, and the buyer himself the head of the land.

Access to land can be acquired through other channels than one's own patrilineage. Still, getting land from the patrilineage, is by far the most common way to get access to land. The following table shows the proportion of farmers that use the different types of land. All lineages referred to in the table belong to one of the 8 clans of the village. No distinction is made between fome and tovi lineages.

Three factors have been very important for the process of increased privatization of the land relations. Firstly, with the introduction of cocoa, large tracts of the most fertile land came to be occupied on a permanent basis. Secondly, cocoa growing limited the land resources for food cropping, and the arrival of migrants increased the population density in the area,
Table 1. Type of land tenure used by male and female farmers. Number. 1973 and 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land type: ¹</th>
<th>Male farmers</th>
<th>Married female farmers living with spouse</th>
<th>Survey No. 2</th>
<th>Survey No. 2</th>
<th>Survey No. 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father’s patrilineage</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s patrilineage</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s mother’s patrilineage</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse’s patrilineage</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individually owned</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individually owned “Begged”</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individually owned Inherited</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share cropping</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(2 no information)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All farmers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ 21 of the men and 29 of the women use only one type of tenure, 12 men and 2 women use two types, 6 men and 1 woman use 3 types, and one man uses 4 different types of land at the same time

² “Begged” land is land borrowed from another lineage

**Source:** Surveys 2 and 8, 40 male farmers and 32 married female farmers (see also Bukh 1975, pp. 128–149 for details on male land tenure).

resulting in the land resources being threatened by exhaustion. Thirdly, the introduction later on of tractor ploughing demanded new investments in the land in the form of a thorough clearing and stumping.

All in all, it became much more important for a farmer to control the land he was using on a more permanent basis. It was necessary to secure that there was sufficient fallow land to let the land rest long enough before it was used again, and to be sure that there would be enough to distribute between the sons. It was also necessary that the investments in the land either in the form of trees or in complete clearing did not fall into the hands of others. Recognition of the rights to maintain control over a piece of land in which some investments had taken place, resulted in many farmers planting oil palm trees in a plot first used for food cropping. That was one of the ways in which in the earlier days it also became possible to maintain the rights to a piece of land.

Although claim on lineage land does not imply that the user has the right to sell it, it is possible if the land is planted with permanent crops like cocoa to sell or pledge the trees. It is also possible to rent land out or go into share-cropping arrangements with migrants—the so-called “strangers”– when only annual crops are being cultivated.
The changes in the land relations have supported an increasing inequality in the distribution of lineage land resources, particularly in regard to the limited amount of cocoa land which was taken by the first generation of cocoa farmers. The lineages, who all have many pieces of land scattered around the area, did not from the start control exactly equal amounts of good quality agricultural land either. Some land is fairly inaccessible, either far out on the plain, or high up in the mountains, some is unsuitable for mechanization, some is sandy, some waterlogged, etc. etc. Some lineages grew faster in size than others resulting in very scarce land resources compared to the number of members with rights to use them.

One of the signs of increasing pressure on land in general is the shortening of fallow-time. It is a general impression among the local farmers that the fallow-time is shorter now than in the earlier days. It is however very difficult to get precise information on previous length of fallows. Spieth (who worked in the nearby small town of Ho around the turn of the century) mentions that the peasants left the land for about 12 years before they used it again."This information, although of very unreliable nature, supports the general impression since fallow time for most farmers now varies between 5 and 10

\[^{41}\text{Ibid: 319 f.}\]
years. However, since there is no information on length of cultivation in earlier times, it is not possible to assess to what degree land utilization has been intensified. Female farmers and very young or very old male farmers today have the shortest falls."

The questions of land tenure and land use will be dealt with again in the subsequent chapters about women's position.

5. The History of Migrations

Migrations came to be an important element in the economy of the village by the turn of the century. It is possible to talk about four different waves of migrations from the village, all for different reasons, with the migrants playing very different roles for the local society in each wave. The first wave, some of the cases of which have already been discussed above, gave the young men an opportunity of acquiring money to start on their own in the village without having to depend on help from the old men. Many of these migrants also acquired new skills when working in construction on the building of roads, railways and harbours as well as on the first cocoa plantations. This type of migration was common from around the turn of the century, and many of the old migrants still regard this type of migration as very valuable, asserting that before you marry you must travel for some years and you must learn a skill to complement your agricultural activities back home. These early migrants brought the cocoa beans with them back to the village.

The second wave came as a consequence of the inflow of money from the local cocoa production that expanded rapidly from the 1920's. The cocoa money was invested in two ways: in house construction and in children's education. The first generation of educated young people acquired a new status in the local society, and new expectations arose as to how they should utilize their education. Education gave them access to the new types of jobs in the cities, jobs that brought money, prestige and influence.

People came to see migration as the logical response to education, and many of the first generation of educated migrants got jobs in the civil service, as administrators and teachers, as well as in the army and the police. These people were successful migrants, who were able to bring money back to the

\[ \text{The average length of fallow-time for male farmers calculated, and weighted according to number of acreages is 8.4, and the median length calculated according to number of holdings is 7 (Bukh 1975: 87–92).} \]

\[ \text{For analyses of length of fallow time for different categories of male farmers, see Bukh 1975: 87–92.} \]
Table 2. Migration from Tsito. Number. 1900–1964.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number leaving</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number returning</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage returning</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Kaufert 1977, p. 82

family in the village. Their migration was of a rather permanent character, since education in those days was an asset with which one could get relatively well paid permanent employment. Some of those who got positions within the bureaucracy, also used their influence to draw more schools and other institutions to their home village.

The big upswing in the number of migrants, the third wave, so to speak, began in the mid-50's. The reasons were still very much the same, but the upswing was also combined with the fact that this was the time when cocoa land resources got very scarce in the village. For the young men who were not educated but who wanted to become farmers, there were very limited alternatives to traditional food crop farming, for which there was still sufficient land resources. For many of them there were very limited possibilities of getting access to the needed cash supply the way their fathers did, through cocoa cultivation.

Patricia Kaufert, who has carried out a study of migrations from the village (in 1968), argues that the reason for the big upswing in outmigrations in the fifties was the relative poverty in terms of cash income. There were very few wage employment possibilities in the village apart from some seasonal day labour in agriculture and some work on house construction carried out by some of the local peasants to supplement their subsistence farming. She writes:

'The villagers insisted, that it was not absolute poverty, in the sense of not being able to grow sufficient food to eat, which drove men to migrate. It was relative poverty and was calculated in terms of cash incomes. Once money became an important element in village life, the standard of living which could be supported by subsistence farming alone became inadequate. Opportunities to earn money in Tsito were, and are few.'

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4 For details on the institutional development in the village, see Bukh 1978.
4 For a discussion of the monopolization of cocoa-land resources by the first generation of cocoa-farmers, see Bukh 1975, p. 96–97.
Kaufert 1977, p. 126.
Table 3. Producer prices of cocoa 1950/51–70/71. £/ton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop year</th>
<th>Current producer price £/ton</th>
<th>Price index 1963=100</th>
<th>Real producer price £/ton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950/51</td>
<td>130.7</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>186.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953/54</td>
<td>154.4</td>
<td>68.1</td>
<td>197.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956/57</td>
<td>149.2</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>202.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959/60</td>
<td>112.2</td>
<td>79.8</td>
<td>140.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962/63</td>
<td>100.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965/66</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>153.4</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968/69</td>
<td>130.7</td>
<td>170.2</td>
<td>76.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970/71</td>
<td>149.3</td>
<td>180.3 (est.)</td>
<td>82.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It can be seen from Table 2, taken from her study, that the migration rate started to accelerate from 1955, and that the share of migrants returning is substantially lower in the 50's and 60's than in the 30's and 40's.

None of the cocoa-money had been ploughed back into agriculture, and the food crops were grown with traditional low productive methods of farming. One of the main causes of this was the traditional land tenure system that both prevented any individual farmer from getting unchallenged rights to a piece of land as well as from getting larger pieces of land at the same place. Therefore there was little possibility of growing food crops on a scale within which improved methods of farming could be introduced. A group of local farmers that tried to overcome the problems by establishing a production cooperative was split in disagreements after only a few seasons. The cooperative farm was partly land rented from different families and large investments in clearing were lost to the members when the project failed.

Instead migrations continued, and accelerated again for the fourth time from the mid-sixties, because of a serious fall in the profitability of cocoa cultivation. When the world market prices of cocoa fell drastically, it was necessary for the government to decrease the price paid to the local cocoa producers too. The prices had reached their peak in 1956, and continued to fall from then on for a period of 10 years. Within this period the purchasing power of the cocoa earnings fell to less than a fourth of their previous value, as can be seen in Table 3.

With the fall in cocoa prices and therefore much less money in the hands of the local peasants, the level of economic activities also fell. There was from that time less construction of new buildings and expansion of farming
activities through use of wage labourers. General impoverishment has since then been a dominant feature of village life resulting in the continuation of outmigration. The study by Kaufert shows that in 1968, two-thirds of the males between 15 and 29 years of age and more than half of those aged 30 to 39 had migrated from the town.

It also shows that female migration was gaining increasing importance and at the time of the study almost as many women as men were leaving the village." The data show that one-third of the women in the age group 15–29 and one-quarter of those between 30 to 39 were away as migrants in 1968. The reasons for female migration were most often that they wanted to join a husband who had migrated earlier. At the time of the study about half the male migrants were married and between two-thirds and three-quarters had their wives with them.

At the time of the present study the rate of female migration seems to have decreased again. The reason for this change in the migrational pattern may be found in the recent years of economic crises, that have changed the conditions of the urban migrants, as a yearly inflation exceeding 100 % has drastically reduced the value of wages." It has become increasingly difficult for the male migrants to bring their families to town to live on their wages alone or to save money to send home to their families in the village. As a result, women are needed more than ever to grow subsistence crops in the rural areas for themselves, their children and the elderly. In some cases women may even directly subsidize the urban migrants by sending them food crops."

In the village the consequence of the migration history has been a complete change of the demographic structure, leaving the village with a big surplus of women, children and old people, as can be seen in Table 4.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National price index</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>1,764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local food index</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>1,027</td>
<td>2,782</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table XIII in the appendix shows prices of some of the most common consumer goods compared to the national minimum wage.

*The reasons for the extremity of the economic crisis in Ghana will not be dealt with here, but only its impact on the situation in the rural areas.*
Table 4. Sex ratios, women per 100 men, 1976/77.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Sex ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15–24</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–34</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45–61</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 15 and over</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 5, 148 households, 173 men, 247 women.

6. Perspectives in the Development of the Village Economy

In the traditional system social stratification and the accumulation of wealth were based on control over family labour, slaves and money-lending with the concomitant system of pledging individuals. The system was not based on control over land holdings or other means of production, since land was sufficient and belonged to the lineage. With the introduction of cocoa, the pattern of stratification and accumulation changed.

The first to plant cocoa in the village were the very first migrants who had seen cocoa production in the South. It was within the reach of most peasants at that time to incorporate in their production cocoa growing on a small scale since this could be done on lineage land and on the basis of the family's labour resources alone. However, they did not have equal opportunities for expanding production. For instance, only part of the land belonging to the village is suited for cocoa production, and this land is not equally distributed between the lineages. Thus, some people had to buy land elsewhere in order to expand. As the expansion of production often required investments and the hiring of labour, money came to play a predominant role in the pattern of accumulation. Varying success in production and investment came to influence social stratification.

The two most important changes in the new economic pattern were the creation of private property and the increasing utilization of non-household labour, as wage-labourers and tenants. While the land as such continued to belong to the lineages, cocoa trees belonged to the individual who had planted them. Cocoa trees could be pledged or sold. At the same time, traditional exchange of labour services or labour rotation systems between households were replaced with hired labour (tenants or wage-labour).
Although many of the cocoa plantations were originally developed with family labour, it is not uncommon that even small cocoa farmers try to get a tenant to work the plantation after it has started to yield. Tenants will usually live near the cocoa plantation and do all the work including the transport of the ready beans to the buying office in the village. He will be paid with a fixed share of the cocoa harvest and usually is also allocated a piece of land to use for his own subsistence crops. Today only 6% of the work on the food crop plots and less than 1% on the tree crop plots is carried out by family members from other households, whereas 13% and 55% respectively of the work on these plots is done by hired labour."

The almost complete replacement of lineage labour by hired labour was also related to the fact that younger males were now likely to take part in the migrations out of the village. They preferred to do work they were paid for, and if they worked for their own family they could not easily get money for it.

The first generation of cocoa growers monopolized most of the village land suited for cocoa trees. This has meant that later generations of peasants have had to make do with smaller cocoa holdings divided through inheritance. Over time, the new property and labour system has created:

1. a small group of big peasants, controlling sizable cocoa plots, who do not work outside their own household and hire labour to do most of the work on their plantations. They engage themselves in non-agricultural activities using their surplus from cocoa production as investment.

2. a large group of middle peasants having sufficient land for subsistence production, but only small cocoa holdings. Some of these peasants have to supplement their small cash income from cocoa cultivation with earnings from labour-migration or other non-agricultural activities.

3. a growing group of small peasants having no cocoa trees at all. Those originating from the village will, due to their lineage membership, be able to continue subsistence agriculture, but will have to get cash earnings through wage-labour. Migrants to the village—the so-called 'strangers'—will have to do work for the other peasants in order to get both cash and permission to use lineage land for subsistence agriculture.

This stratification pattern is quite apparent in Table 5, showing the distribution of cocoa land for male farmers.

In the course of time, some larger holdings would be divided because of economic mismanagement or through inheritance and some middle peasants would be able to acquire larger holdings. Other things being equal,

\* Survey no. 2.
Table 5. Cocoa distribution for male farmers, 1973, acres and per cent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All male farmers</th>
<th>Percentage of all cocoa grown</th>
<th>Acreage grown with cocoa</th>
<th>Mean acreage of cocoa per farmer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>449</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 1, 566 acres in the village, 210 acres elsewhere.

the stratification pattern—or emergent class structure—would remain the same in the sense that a small group of farmers due to their control over sizable cocoa holdings would be able to extract the labour of poorer peasants and thus maintain their own economic standing.

However, the situation is changing. Those who planted cocoa in the early, good cocoa years earned fortunes by local standards. Since then, the cocoa adventure has lost most of its glitter, for a number of reasons. The first, the drastic fall in the prices paid to the producers, has already been mentioned. In addition, the yield of the trees during the last 5–10 years has been badly affected by diseases, such as swollen shoot. The advanced age of most of the trees in combination with the low rate of replanting and bad maintenance in general because of the low producer prices is now felt in drastically decreasing yields. Furthermore, several consecutive seasons of drought is said to have killed half the trees on some of the local plantations. Finally, there are fewer labourers who are willing to work as tenants and do all the work for a share of the harvest, because of the very low producer price of cocoa, and because a law in 1969 (the Aliens Compliance Order) expelled all foreigners from the country. Many of the local cocoa tenants had been migrants and had then to leave the country.

All in all, the saying among the peasants that "a cocoa farm is like an armchair you can sit in when you grow old", is becoming less and less true. Since cocoa used to be the most important cash crop and since 40 % of the land under cultivation by middle peasants is used for cocoa, the decline in profitability of cocoa production has hit hard. The result is not only a weakening of the foundation of the big peasants, but also a general pauperization of the village. Other factors contribute to this pauperization.

The current economic crisis in the country has made it more difficult to find jobs in the urban areas. At the same time, the sky-rocketing consumer
The lack of manufactured soap has stimulated local production of soap.

prices (see note 49) have made it even more difficult to survive in the cities at the current wage level. Consequently, the limited flow of money from urban migrants to their families in the village is drying up. Thus, it has become more difficult for the peasants to supplement their cash earnings and to get the necessary money to establish their own household and production.

The present economic crisis in Ghana has also meant that another type of stratification is achieving increased importance within the agricultural sector at a national level. This is between, on the one side, the large majority of peasants, and on the other side, those who are able to invest in agriculture on a large scale. If they can get loans from the Agricultural Development Bank (at 7% interest), rent land and hire labour to grow maize or cassava they are able to earn fortunes because of the high prices of food crops. Nobody in the village falls into this class, and this type of investor is usually from the urban areas. Of the loans that the Agricultural Bank gave out in 1976, 85% were given to so-called "absentee farmers", i.e. professionals, top bureaucrats, and military people. The state supports in this way the
development of a capitalist sector within agriculture. In a longer time perspective, if all the support of the state goes this way, it will be possible to press down the prices of food crops and take away part of the basis for the survival of a large subsistence sector.

The introduction of cocoa established an accumulation and stratification pattern based on private ownership of cocoa trees and the increasing utilization of different forms of hired labour. One of the consequences of this has been the decreasing cooperation between households within the lineage and the consolidation of the household as the primary institution for the organization of production. Recent economic developments have contributed to a general pauperization and a reinforcement of subsistence production as the only alternative available to most peasants. Since the type of land that is not suited for cocoa or mechanized farming is relatively plentiful, it will always be possible for lineage members to find plots for subsistence farming.

The next chapter describes how these developments have influenced the household structure, particularly with respect to the position of women. Since recent processes tend to level the economic differences between households within the village, the following analysis will not stratify the households according to the size of their cocoa holdings.
CHAPTER III

Household Economy

Changes in the demographic structure and changes in the previous lineage and family organization created a new type of rural household responsible for the reproduction of the labour force for the market sector of the national economy. This chapter will discuss the changes that have taken place within the structure of the households at different levels, in their composition and in their social and economic organization.

1. The Household Structure

The definition of "household" is an economic one. The household unit is the unit around a common "cooking pot" and its members are all those who eat from that cooking pot. All members contribute in different ways to the pot, but the economy of the individual members is not necessarily common, in the sense that they keep their money in the same purse. In fact the members, including man and wife usually keep separate economies. A person will be a member of only one cooking pot, unless a man has several wives each with separate cooking pots, in which case he will then be a member of them all. Between 5–10 % of the men have more than one wife, but only very, very few of those have more than two.

The traditional household structure was based on male-headed units of extended families, consisting of one or several wives and their children and often extended with some unmarried or elderly relatives. After marriage the man and the wife usually established their own cooking pot and became an independent production and consumption unit. They only stayed on in his parents' compound until they finished building their own house.

An analysis of the present household structure\(^1\) shows that the changes have gone very far since then. Today, only 58 % of the households have a

\(^1\) The household data are from a survey of 148 households, 20 % of the total number of households in the village, which was carried out in the two parts, from April–May 1976 and from December 1976–January 1977. (Survey No. 5).
Table 6. *Mean number of members, by age and sex, in households in Tsito headed by male and females. 1976/77.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group:</th>
<th>Male-headed households</th>
<th>Female-headed households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male members</td>
<td>Female members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0–14</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15+</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All ages</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Male household head; the remaining 42% have a female head. The head is a woman only when no spouse or other close adult male relative permanently lives in the household.‘.

This state of affairs is one of the results of the migrational pattern described above, where more men than women have left the village to work elsewhere, resulting in many women being left behind to take care of the family. This is why so many households are female households and why 65% of the female households have no male member over the age of 15, and 82% have no male over the age of 25. Of the remaining 18%, two-thirds of the male members over 25 are sons in their late twenties or early thirties, while the last third is composed of elderly male relatives (see also Table VIII in appendix).

Female-headed households and male-headed households have on the average almost the same number of children. But while the male-headed households compared to the female-headed ones have one full adult male member more and almost an equal number of females, they have only half a child more. Composition of households is shown in Table 6.

There are other differences between male-headed households and female-headed households. Male-headed households more often consist only of a two-generation nuclear family, but the female-headed households twice as often as the male-headed ones also include grand-children. Very often these three generation female-headed households consist of

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2 If a woman lives with an adult brother, she is rather living in his household, than the other way around. See also Table X in appendix.
3 The term "female household" means households having a female head.
4 See in appendix Table IX.
daughters living with their children in their mother's household, or a mother taking care of her daughter's or son's children.

Looking more closely at the general social structure of all the households, it appears that only 3% of the members are non-relatives of the heads or their spouses. 77% are direct offsprings and another 4% are other blood-relatives of first degree; the remaining 16% are more distant relatives.'

The household structure has been influenced not only by the unequal sex and age distribution\(^4\) in the village: marriage practices have also changed, and the number of divorces has been increasing. It is therefore not uncommon to find men who live without a spouse – 21% of the male-headed households are without adult women over the age of 15 and more than half of these consist of single men living alone.

2. Marriage Practices and Divorces

Marriage was traditionally organized as an agreement between the two families involved. The arrangement was decided upon by the parents and it was not uncommon that the young couple knew each other only by sight. The two families decided together the size of the bride-price to be paid. The bride-price was traditionally a fixed sum of money (12 sh.), but when girls started having school education, the father could ask to be compensated for what he had invested in school fees. The amount that the parents of the girl would ask depended upon the character of the girl. If she was reliable they would ask a larger amount because there was little chance of her failing in her marriage responsibilities, thus giving the man reason to divorce her and requiring the bride-price to be paid back by her parents. If the parents did not trust the character of the girl, they would not ask a bride-price, but only the "drinks", which is the traditional way of recognizing an agreement between two partners.

If the girl had not yet reached the age of puberty, when the marriage decision was made, she was allowed to sleep in the room of her future husband to get to know him. After her first menstrual period, they were allowed to "play sex" together, but the girl was not to fall pregnant before the marriage. Old people maintain that it was very uncommon for a girl to become pregnant before marriage, possibly also because she most often would be married soon after puberty.

\(^4\) See also in appendix Table X
\(^5\) See Table VIII in appendix
The situation today is very different. The majority of the girls, 51% in the age group 18–25, are unmarried, but almost all of them bear their first child before the age of 25. Nor do parents have much to say in their children's choice of marriage partner or in the question of when they are to get married. The parents might attempt to force the father of the girl's first pregnancy to marry her and ask for a bride price of 24 C. But a young boy can most often get around it just by buying drinks to recognize his parenthood of the child—if he wants to recognize his child at all. Much more relaxed attitudes to sexual relations before marriage have also meant that there often can be more than one possible father, thus enabling the boy to repudiate paternity.

The household survey showed that almost half of both men and women over the age of 18 are not married at the moment. Only 36% of the unmarried women and half the unmarried men are under the age of 25. The fact that 41% of the women and 30% of the men who are more than 25 years of age and living in the village are not married, shows that it is not only a question of the higher marriage age, but also of a general erosion of traditional marriage practices as a result of the general processes of change.

The locality pattern at marriage usually follows the traditional rule that a married couple immediately establish their own cooking pot. There are also cases where husband and wife live separately but both in the village. This happens often in the event of the woman giving birth to a child, when she will move into her mother's house for some time.

Additional reasons for young couples to live separately are: accommodation problems in the husband's father's house before being able to get their own accommodation; the young husbands inability to maintain the wife well, and her parents insisting that they can do it better; or one of the parents simply opposing the marriage. However, the most common cause for a man and wife not to live together is still that more men than women migrate leaving spouse and children in the village. Of the women who are married but living separated from their husbands, three-quarters have husbands outside the village. Table 7 shows the marital status for different age and sex groups.

It is apparent that the number of divorces is very high. The figure 11% in the table only covers those who are divorced at the moment. The total number of divorces is much higher, and most men and women marry more than once. When the life stories were recorded of 31 women between the

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* The average age at first delivery is 18.6

* The accepted amount in 1976. when the national minimum wage per day was 2 C. 1 C. equivalent to 0.85 US 

* See Table XI in appendix.
Table 7. Marital status for men and women in different age groups in Tzito. Per cent 1976/77.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women Age groups</th>
<th>Married living together</th>
<th>Living without husband/wife</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Widow/er</th>
<th>Unmarried</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18–24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–44</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 +</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All women over 18</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men Age groups</th>
<th>Married living together</th>
<th>Living without husband/wife</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Widow/er</th>
<th>Unmarried</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18–24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–44</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 +</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All men over 18</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 5. 222 women, 140 men.

age of 29–70, all of whom have been or are married at the moment, it was found that 20 of the women have already had at least one divorce, and 7 of these have experienced more than one divorce.

3. The Position of Children

The family system is breaking up; traditionally the children belonged to the father's family. If a man and his wife lived separately, the children were to follow the man as soon as they "were able to wash themselves", i.e. around the age of six-seven. The same dissolution of norms and practices as was seen in relation to marriage customs, has occurred in the rules for children's relationships. When the parents do not live together, it is now usually the women who keep the children, even after they are seven years old. While 67% out of the female-headed households have children but no adult males over the age of 18, only 7% of the male-headed households have children but no adult women. Table 8 shows the distribution of children with single parents.

Previously children were considered an asset and thus claimed by their father; this is no longer the case. Raising children is today an economic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups</th>
<th>Single mother</th>
<th>Single father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0–4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5–9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10–14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 5, 363 children, see also Table XII in appendix. 139 children live in households with both their parents, and the remaining 67 live with relatives.

burden: they have to be fed, clothed, and educated, while their productive contribution, e.g. work on the farms, is restricted to Saturdays and school holidays. This is even more so for the men who migrate to the urban areas where food has to be bought.

In addition, on completing their education, most young people want to start out on their own, outside the agricultural sector if possible, rather than contribute to household production and work on the parents' farm. It is also becoming increasingly difficult to ensure that they pay something to the parents after they have left home or look after them well when they grow old. Children are therefore no longer the most important resource for a family in the acquisition of wealth and influence and in the provision of security for old age.

While women use the elder girls to help them in domestic work, and would have difficulties without them in coping with care for smaller children and tasks such as fetching water for the house, the large number of children that stay with their mothers still exerts a very hard pressure on women, and becomes instrumental in the pattern of their social subordination.

4. The Household Economy

It is not only the structure of the household that has undergone changes, but also the pattern of dividing the work and sharing the responsibilities within it. Previously men and women farmed together on the same plot of land,"

"All the women in survey no. 8 said that their parents had cultivated the food crops on a common household farm, and the women had no separate plots of their own.
Many women sell ready meals at the road side, here it is maize porridge, “pap”.

producing solely for the household's consumption, and division of labour was clearly defined in a system based on age and sex.

Within the colonial economy, new needs and demands undermined the traditional division of economic responsibilities within the family. The clear rules as to who was supposed to do what within the traditional subsistence activities were transformed with the introduction of money into the family economy, for it now posed the question of differential financial responsibilities. This often changed the relationship between husband and wife, because the division of economic responsibilities between men and women did not adapt itself to differences in their earning capacities.

Men got involved in cocoa growing and in different new crafts that brought them money. The women started to cultivate their own separate plots of land, producing crops to sell at the market. They, too, soon used both agriculture and other kinds of trades to earn the money they needed.

While some women originally started their commercial activities to buy themselves personal things like clothes and jewelry, it soon became necessary for most women to help provide the daily necessities and to support the financing of expenses such as children's school fees. When the household structure started to change, as described above, the women’s economic activities became indispensable for most families' survival.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of households where the type of expense was paid by:</th>
<th>Husband alone</th>
<th>Wife alone</th>
<th>both</th>
<th>Child alone</th>
<th>no inf.</th>
<th>not appl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily food</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's clothes</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's clothes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's clothes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-fee</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine1 hosp.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm tools</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen utens.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 8, 15 households.

Many women have come to be solely responsible for their children because it is very difficult to ensure that the father of the children contributes economically if he does not live in the household. At best he contributes sometimes to cover specific things like school-fees. But the responsibilities for daily necessities are all borne by women.

As was shown in Table 6, about 70% of the women over 18 live with their children unmarried or live separately from their husbands. They therefore have the sole responsibility for their children and grandchildren. Only one-fifth of the married women living separately from their spouse—that is 5% of all women—have their husbands living in the village. These women have some chance of receiving regular support for the household’s daily needs.

The remaining 65% of the women over 18 are solely responsible for their children’s daily nutrition and other requirements. Less than one-third of these can hope for support from their husbands, who live in another town. But because their husbands are shielded from the family’s daily social pressures, and because their wages may be low and living expenses high in the places where they work, the chances of support for the women are small.

In the cases where the husband and wife live together, the sharing of responsibilities differs from household to household, as seen in Table 9. It is clear that no man is the sole breadwinner for the family, and no women expect to be looked after economically, except for the few months after giving birth, when it often is the girl’s mother who steps in and helps the daughter.

11 See appendix Table XI.
Table 10. Number of women in Tsito by marital status using different land tenure. 1973 and ’57.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Married living with spouse</th>
<th>Total no. of women</th>
<th>Husband's family land</th>
<th>Father's family land</th>
<th>Mother's family land</th>
<th>&quot;begged&quot; land</th>
<th>No information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living without spouse:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as married</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as divorced</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as widowed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Women</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The women are using the land of their dead husbands.

1 Source: Survey nos. 2 and 8, 19 and 13 women. (Table 1 shows the figures divided among the two surveys.) Two women use 2 types of tenure and one uses 3 at the same time.

2 Source: Survey no. 8, 13 women. One woman uses 2 types of tenure at the same time.

Husband and wife usually have separate economies and there are relatively clear expectations as to who should pay what. But there seem to be quite wide limits to the question of how much of the responsibility for daily necessities can be pushed onto the woman, if the man, for some reason or another, is indisposed to take on his share. Because it is the women’s work to see that there is food in the cooking pot every day, and because the women feel themselves more closely related to the children and also more directly responsible, it is they who ultimately carry the burdens which many of them think ought to have been equally shared with their husbands. The most common expense for the family is the supplementation of the daily diet, e.g. salt, vegetables, oil, and food crops. Other expenses are clothes, tools, school-fees, drinks, medicine, etc. How 15 households, representing the 30% of households where both husband and wife live together, share the responsibilities for buying necessities, is shown in Table 10.

In all 15 households in the table both husband and wife are engaged in agriculture. In three of them the husbands have a regular money income in addition to their farming activities. One is a night-watchman, and two are successful herbalists. There are no marked differences between these three households and the other 12 as to how husband and wife share the responsibilities for the above mentioned expenses. The wives of the three men with regular money income from sources other than farming, also
have as many other economic activities as those whose husbands are only farmers. Indeed, the wife of a man with more money will tend to have more economic activities, because the husband might "lend" her some capital to invest in her trade.

Half the women who are married to farmers have separate farms of their own. What they harvest from those farms is their own property, and the money they can get from selling the crops is their own. They need some of this money to pay their share of the household expenses.

The time they spend on their own farm, competes with the time the husband wants them to spend on the common household farm. Money from the sale (by the women) of crops from the household farm is under the control of the husband, but a part of it will go to the cooking pot, and be regarded as a joint contribution. Disagreements about how the time should be allocated and about how the economic responsibilities should be shared, is the most common source of quarrels between husband and wife.

Women complain that a man is not looking well after his children, because he uses his money on palm-wine or on "bachelors consumption goods" as cigarettes, drinks, clothes, watch, bicycle, radio, etc. In reality very, very few men can buy expensive things such as bicycles or radios, because of the low wages and high commodity prices. But the younger men do often spend their money on clothes, and the innumerable palm-wine bars in the village are never empty, and usually the only woman there is the seller of the wine.

In conclusion, the household structure has gone through fundamental changes, as evidenced by marriage practices, the position of the children and the increased number of female-headed households. The underlying cause of these changes is the economic transformations discussed in chapter II. Whereas control over family labour originally played a significant role in the pattern of accumulation and social stratification, the new possibilities for migration and the introduction of cocoa have meant that it became both more difficult and less imperative to keep young family members in the village because the success of a cocoa grower depended more on the size of his holdings and capital to hire labour than on the size of his household. The result of this as well as of the necessity for many peasants to seek wage labour in the cities has been that men have had a decreasing interest in holding the family together. The new sexual division that resulted has – as shall be argued later– contributed to an increasing burden being placed on women as providers of family subsistence. The next chapter, which deals with women's difficulties in getting access to strategic resources, adds a further dimension for an understanding of the consequences of women's new position within the household.
Chapter IV

Women and Resources

The previous chapter showed that women have come to take over a major part of the responsibilities for the day to day needs of many rural households. The way in which they cope with this is determined by their position within the society in general, and by the fact that their starting point is very different from that of their male counterparts. Women are not only tied up with day to day responsibilities for children and domestic services, but are also restricted in their access to essential and strategic resources. Certain social structures prevent women from having access equal to that of men, e.g. to land, labour, money, education and extension services. These structures—termed as patriarchal, because they allocate men privileges—most often have their roots in the traditional society. They may present themselves in a new form, but often the changes that have taken place and the new social division of labour even strengthen their patriarchal nature. Patriarchal structures operate primarily at a practical level, through the organization of production and distribution of resources, but their main tenets are also supported ideologically by patriarchal values, which operate at a general level as well as in women's own minds.

1. Women's Access to Land

Within the traditional land tenure system, the patrilineal lineage ensured all members of the social group, including women, access to land. Everyone was allocated rights to use the land of the lineage by the male head who presided over the distribution. With the introduction of claims to the land, this redistributive system was undermined. In principle each family unit and its descendants have been limited to the use of the fallows of their own family head. This new form of tenure has in its character much in common with private ownership and the rights to use the land are directly inherited by the sons. The higher the degree of privatization of the relationship to the land, the more the rights of the women have been exposed as secondary. For

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1 This was analysed in Chapter II.
2 Those units are only a segment of the traditional land owning lineage
them the changes in the tenure system have had a very bad effect. Whereas previously, as members of the society, they had rights to common property, even though the social structure was patrilineal, while they now have to ask permission from individual men to use their fallow land. Only in lineages which still have land that has not been claimed, can new land be given out to its members, including the women.

As a result of the growing exhaustion of the land' competition for land resources has also been intensified. This is particularly felt by the women, because of their secondary rights to the land. When 28 women were asked if there was any difference in men's and women's access to land, 16 answered that it was more difficult for women than for men. As will be explained later on, women have their specific preferences regarding land. Because of their limited labour resources, they prefer to use land that can either be ploughed by tractor or hoed without clearing. Their specific needs limit their choice, and single women are worse off than their married sisters, who can choose land from both their husbands' and their fathers' lineage. Single women, on the other hand, have to make do with only the last possibility.

For all women there is yet another way out, that is to "beg" land from a more distant relative. But because of the intensified competition and the need to protect the land resources from further exhaustion, it is becoming more and more difficult for women to obtain land in this way. Having children with a man does not automatically give the women access to his land, and there is no practice of women becoming the custodians of their sons' future lineage land.

Both women and men have the possibility of either renting land, or of share-cropping with the owner. This is the usual way in which strangers, who have no native rights to land, gain access to it in this area. There are many different types of contracts in use with strangers, but it is still rare for local people to have to pay for using land.

As seen in the following table of the married women living with their husbands, 40 % use their husband's lineage land, 44 % their own (i.e. their father's), and 19 % go and "beg" for land. Table 10 also shows that divorce excludes a woman from using the former husband's land, despite the fact that she is often still looking after his children.

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"This will be dealt with in further detail in Chapter V.
8 did not know, and 4 denied this to be so (Survey No. 8).
See discussion in Bukh 1975, p. 13-15. The contracts either specify a fixed sum of money per year, or a division of the harvest when crops are mature, the owner getting between 1/2 and 113.
Some widows still use their dead husband's land, but it will usually by then have become part of their grown son's fallow land.

Whether women can get access to the type of land that they prefer, depends on the availability of land in general. If there is a land shortage, then women feel it most, because they are given their share after the men. As explained above, there are families who do not have sufficient resources, while others have a surplus. It can be said that the land tenure system restricts certain men and women in their access to the land, but that the women's difficulties are of two sorts: one, their rights within the traditional land tenure system are realized only through the men, and two, unlike the men, they cannot take any cultivable land without sometimes having to pay somebody to clear it for them.

It should have become clear that women's choice of land is influenced by several factors, the two most important of which are the male control of the land tenure system, and the restrictions imposed on women by their limited labour resources.

The complexity of the way in which women themselves perceive the problem can be seen from the way in which 23 women answered the following question: "is there any difference in fallow time between the land taken by male farmers and the land taken by female farmers?" 19 answered explicitly that the men take land that has rested longer.¹

The reasons given as to why the men's land has lain fallow for longer are many. Below are some examples taken from the interviews:

- the older the forest, the better the soil, the less the weeds, but also the harder to clear, and only the men can clear thick forest;
- the men use the forest land and the forest land needs longer fallows to regain its fertility than the grass land the women most often choose;
- the land that has had a long fallow-time is far away from the village and the women don't have time to walk so far;
- the men “own” the land and choose whatever piece they want;
- the forest land can be used for tree crops (e.g. cocoa); if the woman has children, then her own family will not allow her to use the lineage forest land, because if she plants tree crops then her children, who belong to their father's lineage and not hers, might claim her trees, and the land might in that way be lost to her father's lineage.

The last point mentioned illustrates the special problem that faces only the woman within a patrilineal society, namely that her children belong to a different lineage from her own—if the lineage does not enforce endogamy.

¹ One did not know, and 3 thought that there was no difference. Another 8 did not answer the question (Survey No. 8).
Some people mentioned that such practice existed in earlier days. This also implies that her children cannot inherit the usufructuary right to the land in which she has invested, unless she uses the land of her children's father. About one out of ten women make use of a husband's family land. Children will have formal right to their mother's investments in this land only if her husband also happens to be their father. Because of the high divorce rate, this is frequently not the case. In fact the problem facing women here, is exactly the same as that facing men within a matrilineal system.

Access to land can be a very serious problem for women. The control of the tenure system is a tool in the hands of the men in the face of competition with women for the economic resources. The men may prefer the women to work on the common plots, rather than have them work on their own

E.g. investment in a proper stumping, to make it suitable for ploughing.

This problem has been much discussed in relation to the central cocoa producing area of Ghana, which is populated by the matrilineal Akan speaking people. It has here supported a faster development towards privatized land relations, as well as weakened the matrilineal system.
plots, because the men decide upon the use of the surplus from the common plot, but have no say over the use of the yields from the women's own plots. One of the ways in which men can enforce the former is through their monopoly over family land.

2. Women and Labour

Traditional sex roles within domestic and public production and reproduction delegated certain areas to women. All that has to do with childcare, with the handling of what the family eats, with firewood and water, cleaning and washing, traditionally was and still is within women's domain. One of the main effects of the new social division of labour, was that women were made responsible for much more than just preparing and preserving the food-stuff: in many households they also produced or in other ways procured food for the family. The main feature in the development process has been the increasing work-load of women, resulting in a lack of time for labour—especially long intervals of concentrated time—which is one of the immediate barriers preventing women from improving living conditions for themselves and their children.

A woman's day is divided into shorter intervals as she is interrupted by cooking and often has to look after children simultaneously. The consequences of the character of women's time resources for the quality of their economic activities will be dealt with in the next chapter. In this chapter, the actual sexual division of labour within domestic work and in agriculture and trade will be discussed.

In domestic work, the sexual division is easily explained. Women do all work, except for repairing the house. Although it is socially acceptable for a man to do the cooking if he has no women in the house, he will invariably try hard to find a female relative to save him the trouble.

Girls help in all domestic tasks; boys can be asked to do most things, but usually only help if there are no girls around. Cooking, the most time consuming of the daily domestic tasks, except for childcaring which is around the clock, takes on average 1.6 adult hours per meal, children's labour input counts half, and each household cooks on an average 1.9 meals a day. Table 11 shows, by age and sex, time spent on cooking per day. The 40 households in the survey had altogether almost the same number of boys and girls.

Next to cooking, the most time consuming of the women’s domestic tasks is the processing and conservation of food-stuffs – processing the oilpalm nuts to oil, or the cassava to gari,9 shelling the maize, etc. etc.

9 Gari is a dry cassava product that can keep for a long time.
Table 11. *Number of hours spent in 40 households in 10 days on cooking, 1977.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household members by age and sex:</th>
<th>Age, 15 and less</th>
<th>Age, 16 and more</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of hours</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valued input</td>
<td>counting half</td>
<td>counting half</td>
<td>counting full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real input</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real input %</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 7, 40 households, 11 days, 794 meals

Water-fetching does not give many difficulties because the village has a piped water system—although inadequate. The supply is particularly insufficient in the dry season, when no rainwater supplement can be collected. Then long queues collect at the water stands. Young girls often take turns waiting for the water.

Firewood is collected in the bush, often from big branches that have been left to dry since an earlier season’s first clearing. Men sometimes bring wood home with them from the farm, but the women usually go twice a week to collect wood from distant plots.

As an illustration of what the day of a woman looks like, an example shall be taken from one of the interviews. The woman followed was 40 years old, and she lived with her father (80), two grown daughters (18 and 20) who had recently given birth, three sons between 12 and 18, and two daughters of 4 and 6. Her husband had died three years before, and after the permitted one year in his house, she had had to leave, and moved back to her old father’s house. She could only bring with her those things that had belonged to her personally, and felt that she had left many things, even those things that she had bought, behind. She had lost all the common plots, and now uses "begged" land.

May 11, 1976

a.m.

4 o’clock started cooking “pap”* for selling at the roadside, took about 30 min., swept the yard, washed the pots and the calabashes for the pap.

*Pap is made from corn-dough
5 o'clock heated water for bathing herself and the children, made herself and the smaller children ready to go to the roadside to sell

6 o'clock at the roadside with the smaller children and the pots with pap, and the coalpot. Sold pap, with sugar, and small portions of bread

9 o'clock left the roadside after selling almost all the pap, went to the market to buy fish

10 o'clock left the smaller children with the daughters, went to the farm to hoe a new plot, took 3 hours; collected firewood for 1 hour, used 1 hour each way to walk to and from the farm.

p.m.
4 o'clock returned to the house with heavy load of firewood, started cooking the evening meal
5 o'clock pounded the cassava to "fufu", ate the evening meal
6 o'clock cooked pap again and went with the smaller children to the roadside to sell it
9 o'clock left the roadside, took the evening bath, put the children to bed
10 o'clock went to bed.

As clearly indicated in this time schedule, women play an important role in the agricultural production. In agricultural work, the sexual division of labour is dependent on the household composition and the type of work process. It also depends on the type of crop cultivated in the sense that there are different patterns of division of labour in the food crop production and in the cultivation of cocoa and other perennials. Since these pure cash crops are usually controlled by men and the income used for non-subsistence consumption, the following discussion only deals with the sexual division of labour in the food crop production."

In order to outline the main tendencies in this division of labour, we shall distinguish between three types of food crop cultivation:

a. male-headed household's common food crop plots controlled by the male,

b. married women's separate food crop plots, and

c. female headed household's food crop plots.

In the following tables, no separate calculation of children's contribution has been made as it is relatively small. They participate in the agricultural

1] Around 50% of the work on cocoa plantations is done by tenants for a share of the harvest. In the other cases, women may help with the preparation of the seeds: cutting the pods, taking out seeds for fermentation, drying them in the sun, turning them around, and covering them in the evening. If the wife also helps to carry to town the harvest in big baskets, she will usually be paid by the husband. For further details on the division of labour in the males cocoa plots see Appendix Table IV.
Table 12. Type of labour input in the male-headed households' food crop plots in Tsito, 1973. Per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agricultural tasks:</th>
<th>Household labour</th>
<th>Hired labour</th>
<th>Exchange labour</th>
<th>Tractor station</th>
<th>No inf.</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clearing</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planting</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvest</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 2, 40 households, 268 plots, 88.4 acres.

work on Saturdays and during school holidays, and may do almost any kind of work. Their most important task is to carry crops home from the fields. The older they are, the more they contribute.

a. The common food crop plots in households where the man has farming as his main occupation.

The data used here are taken from a sample of 40 households (Survey no. 5). Since agriculture is the man's main occupation in these households, production has a maximum input of male labour. For 90% of the households in the survey, the size of the farm is less than 6 acres, and usually only between 2–4 acres. The results from Survey no. 5 are presented in Tables 12 and 13, showing the general division between household and non-household labour and the division of labour between husband and wife(s).

The interpretation of the column, 'Man and woman' is, of course, problematic since their respective share of the work in principle can vary from 99–1 to 1–99. However, it is clear that the women are most active in planting and harvesting. Furthermore, the women usually carry the crops home. Particularly in weeding, women's share of the work depends on what

11 10% of these households have no female household labour. Since the data in this particular survey were collected with the purpose of determining the division between household and hired labour, no emphasis was put on getting exact information on the sexual division of labour, as has been discussed in the appendix dealing with the content of the different surveys. The data do not give full credit to the labour input of wives on the common household fields. For instance, in several cases the household head stated as a general observation that his wife participated in the work on the common plots, but when he gave the specific information on labour input for each of the plots he did not mention his wife's contribution.

13 See appendix Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agricultural tasks</th>
<th>Percentage of acres in sample worked by household labour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total household labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clearing</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planting</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvest</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 2, 40 households, 268 plots, 88.4 acres.

* In one case the woman did it without the help of the man


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agricultural tasks</th>
<th>Percentage of acres in sample worked by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clearing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planting</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvest</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey nos. 2 and 8, 44 plots, 22.2 acres, 32 women. The absolute figures from Survey nos. 2 and 8 are found in Appendix Table XV.

other activities the husband is engaged in. The expected labour input from women on the common plots competes with the time they want to spend on their own economic activities and domestic work.

b. Married women’s separate food crop plots.

In male-headed households, more than 2/3 of the female members have their own separate food crop plots. The division of labour on these plots, often not larger than just over half an acre, is given in Table 14. The data are taken from two different surveys, the first in households where the man has agriculture as his main occupation, the second in a mixed group of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agricultural task</th>
<th>Women alone</th>
<th>Grown son</th>
<th>Hired labour</th>
<th>Tractor station</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clearing</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planting</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvest</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 8, 26 plots, 10.3 acres, 15 women.

households. In the first group of households, 65% of the wives had their own plots, and in the mixed group of households almost all had.

Although all these women have a husband, it is not very common that he clears the land for his wife. When he does give a hand, it is mostly in case his wife is sick, is away, or has just given birth. The women usually hire labour for clearing. If the land is suitable, they prefer ploughing by tractor to hired labour, because it is cheaper.

c. Female-headed households' food crop plots.
The division of labour on the fields of 15 female household heads is shown in Table 15.

Tables 14 and 15 make it clear that the bulk of the work on the women's separate food crop plots is done by the women themselves except for clearing, where more than 2/3 of the acreage is worked by hired labour or ploughed by tractor. Clearing is the only task that women seldom carry out themselves. It is traditionally a male job, and it is also a very intensive and time consuming task.

Comparing Tables 12–15 it becomes quite apparent that hired labour in general is most important in clearing. For all three kinds of food crop plots we find the same ranking of the relative importance of hired labour, non household labour being most important in clearing, followed by weeding, planting and harvesting.

In order to assess the importance of the male and female contribution to household labour in the total food crop production, the data on the division of labour have been summarized in Table 16. The estimation is based on the relative importance of the three different types of food crop plots. Male-headed households' common plots cover around 2/3 of the total area with food crops. The rest belongs to either married women or female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agricultural task:</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total household labour</th>
<th>Total non-household labour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clearing</td>
<td>More</td>
<td>Less</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planting</td>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvest</td>
<td>Less</td>
<td>More</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Division of labour figures calculated on the basis of information from 268 male plots and 70 female plots (see tables 12, 13, 14 and 15). – Total estimate calculated on the basis of total acreage grown with food crops by 499 male farmers (1189 acres) and 361 female farmers (317 acres) (See Appendix Table 1).  

Source: Survey no. 1, 2, 5 and 8

headed households. Because of the difficulties mentioned in connection with Table 13, it has not been attempted to assess their relative contribution more precisely than as, 'more', 'equal', or 'less'.

As can be seen in Table 16, clearing, to which men contribute most, is the activity with the highest share of non-household labour, while harvesting, to which women contribute most, only receives little support by non-household labour.

In non-agricultural work, the most important area within which women engage themselves is trade, mostly petty retail trade and trade with their own agricultural crops—fresh, processed, or made into ready meals. They sell from the house, outside the house, at the roadside, and in the market. When they go to the big local market to sell, they bring their children with them and also buy what they need for the following few days. Women who sell in the market spend on average 6 hours and 50 minutes there each market day. Among 150 sellers in the 5-days market only 3 are men. They deal in used European clothes, shoes, and meat. Usually the goat meat seller is a Muslim from the North of the country. All the rest of the commodity categories are in the hands of women. Women's non-agricultural economic activities will be dealt with in some detail in the next chapter.

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14 The small shops are usually in the hands of men.
15 Second hand European clothes are locally named "Dead white man's clothes".
16 See appendix Table V for list of commodities sold in the market.
In conclusion a woman only has command over her own labour and part of her children's. Sometimes, if she is married, her husband has the right to control part of her labour output. Her labour time is her scarcest resource, and long unbroken intervals of concentrated time are particularly hard to come by, both because of the children and because she has to engage in so many different activities.

Within many households it is difficult to arrange a division of labour between women, because there is only one adult woman. The average number of adult women in female-headed households is 1.8, and 1.6 in male-headed households. If there are more women, they can look after the children in shifts. For most women, small children are a problem when they can no longer be carried on the back, but are still too young to look after themselves, or be looked after by a sister. As soon as they are old enough to help in the house, e.g. with childcare—the girls in particular become very helpful. But when they start to school, and need school uniforms, books, and school-fees, it creates problems—the need for more money.

In general, the need for the women to leave the house many times during the day, is more pressing than the smaller children's demand for care. In such a situation, many women are forced to leave the small children in the hands of girls who are far too young for the responsibility. This unsatisfactory situation is the reason why women always try to plan as much of their work as possible in a way which allows them to include looking after the children. A good illustration of this problem is seen in the fact that women prefer to pay somebody to go and clear their land rather than do it themselves. One reason for this is, of course, that land-clearing is traditionally a male job; it may also be argued that it is hard physically. But traditional values break down in the face of necessity, and it is difficult to believe that women do not have the physical strength, considering their other working tasks, e.g. hoeing or collecting and carrying firewood. An important additional explanation is that it is very difficult to look after small children while cutting one's way through the middle of a grown bush or forest. The fire used for the clearing can also be dangerous. Therefore it is more convenient, for example, for the women to sit at the roadside and sell—with the children—and then use the profit to pay somebody to go and clear the land for them.

In carrying out this strategy, single women, at least, have particular problems. It is cheaper to have the land cleared by tractor ploughing than have it worked by hired labour. Comparing Tables 14 and 15, it is evident that married women more often make use of a tractor than do single women.

\textsuperscript{17} If it can be presupposed that they are not much of a problem on her back

63
women.\textsuperscript{14} The reason is not that the husbands paid for the tractor (or for the hired labour): 15 out of the 19 married women that used tractors (or hired labour) paid themselves, and the last 4 had only limited financial help from their husbands.

One possible explanation of the difference is that the possibility of tractor ploughing is very closely related to the type of land used. Only land that has been stumped can be ploughed by tractor. The married women have more chances of gaining access to this type of land because they can usually take land from both their father's and their husband's lineage. An additional explanation is that married women sometimes put their own food plots next to the common food plot, for which the man will arrange ploughing. Thereby, there is much more chance that the plough will reach their site, than if they themselves had to convince the tractor driver to come to plough only their little plot.

3. Women, Cash and Property

Because of the small scale of women's economic activities, and the close connection between these activities and the daily subsistence needs of the household, not much cash stays in their hands for long. For a start, they need initial capital, and loans from the local money lender are not possible: he takes 50\% interest per month and also prefers to give out money only to wage labourers, from whom he can rely on repayment on the next pay day.

The way women get initial capital is most often from their parents or a sibling. Sometimes the husband also gives her a sum at marriage for her to start on. If the husband later on invests in her trade, then she loses control over the use of the surplus, because what is earned is then supposed to go towards the payment of common expenses.

There are a few saving clubs, one example being evident among the market traders: 30 women buy daily shares of at least 0.20 C per day, and

\textsuperscript{14} It is necessary to qualify the figure for married women's use of tractor ploughing because it is based on surveys from two very different seasons. Access to a tractor in the season, when survey no. 8 was taken, was extremely difficult, and was the source of great concern to all farmers. Survey no. 2 from 1973 gives 41\% tractor-ploughed acres, and survey no. 8 from 1977 gives only 27\%. The latter is the figure to compare with the 13\% for single women, also derived from survey no. 8.
then in turn receive the whole sum in accordance with the size of their inputs. But this too is on a small scale, and few women have been able to accumulate much money, let alone invest in property.

The most common ways of accumulating property in the village have been by building and by investing in cocoa trees, the latter being the most common way, particularly before the profitability of cocoa fell. Buying land has been difficult in the village, and therefore limited as an investment possibility. Still today only 5% of the holdings are privately owned. But many of the better-off male farmers in the village have bought land property in other districts, e.g. in the northern part of the Volta Region, which was a frontier area for cocoa production in the 50's.

Since women cannot easily save money and buy property of their own, inheritance is usually their only way to obtain private land, house or cocoa trees, as it is possible for women to inherit something which is already somebody's private property. Of the 80 houses examined in the household survey, 14 were owned by women. 4 of them had built their own house, 6 had inherited the house from a male relative, 1 from a mother, and for 3 there was no information.

There are also examples in the surveys of women who have planted cocoa themselves, and of others who have inherited the trees. There is one case of a women who was keeping the cocoa trees of a dead husband until her sons were old enough to take over. However, it is not possible for women to plant cocoa on the land of their father's lineage because they would want the trees to be inherited by their children. As was mentioned earlier, children do not belong to their mother's father's lineage, and the lineage would not like to lose the land to them. When the trees die the land should go back to her father's lineage, but if a long time has passed, this might cause trouble between the families involved. If a man has planted his cocoa trees on privately-owned land, then it is much more common for his daughters to get a share upon the division of the land after his death than if he had planted them on the family land. To ensure the daughters a share it is, however, necessary that he himself gives it to them. It is not common that women inherit cocoa or other property from their husbands. Only 10% of the female farmers own cocoa trees, and they control only 4% of the total acreages with cocoa.

On divorcing, the woman usually gets nothing except her personal effects. Whether she is to pay back the bride-price depends upon whether it is he or she who initiated the divorce, and upon who takes the children.

When a woman dies, her kitchen utensils and personal effects will be inherited by her daughters. Her valuables, if any, will be jewellery and clothes. If she has no children, then her property will be claimed by her family.
Table 17. School enrolment by age and sex in Tisito. 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups:</th>
<th>Boys in school in each age group</th>
<th>Girls in school in each age group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7–9</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10–12</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13–15</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16–18</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19–21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 5, 160 boys, 166 girls

4. Women's Access to Education

The ideological context in which the so-called patriarchal structures operate most clearly is in relation to school education. The effects of the different expectations towards girls and boys are clear when the data for school attendance are analysed. Table 17 shows school attendance for boys and girls by age.

The data show very clearly that the girls already start to drop out of school at the age of 12–13. One of the reasons is that girls are expected to do much more work in the house, and therefore have less time for school work than boys have. Furthermore, the expectation that she will fall pregnant and that her education will therefore be a bad investment, is also part of the reason for not educating girls. (The median age for a girl's first delivery is 18.6). If a girl becomes pregnant while in school she has to leave school, and the money invested in her education until then is seen as wasted.

The boy who has made her pregnant will be asked to pay compensation to her father, and the amount of compensation may even be calculated to be equal to the money paid for her school education. In general, school education is no longer regarded as a safe investment. Only 23 % of the men and 26 % of the women who were asked about how they would use a big sum of money felt that their children's education would be their first choice."

Lack of education has often been mentioned as an important barrier to innovation, and it is therefore tempting to use women's poorer school education as an argument for their low productivity in agriculture or to explain the families' nutritional problems, etc. To realize that this is not the whole truth, it is only necessary to look at the syllabus of the school programme and to compare it with the needs of rural women. Because of

\[\text{See appendix Table XIV}\]
the burden of subsistence, rural women are tied to small-scale agriculture and subsistence trading. Formal school education does not offer much of relevance for those activities. As shown very clearly in the study of Kaufert\textsuperscript{16} the most overwhelming effect of school education in this area has been migration away from the area. The higher the school education, the higher the propensity to migrate.

School education can be said to give a less appropriate background for surviving in a predominantly subsistence economy, than the informal education of daughters by their mothers, which takes place in any household. By taking part in the household activities, the girls learn from an early age how to survive by means of all kinds of little trades. The boys who have more school education have much more difficulty in finding their place, because they do not want to go into farming unless they can obtain enough money to start large-scale farming, where the manager does not have to do the work himself in the fields. As somebody expressed it, when

\textsuperscript{16} Kaufert 1977.
you have been whipped by the stick in school, you are not supposed to go back and be whipped by the bush.

Nor is it the expectation of the parents that their educated sons and daughters should go back into subsistence agriculture. That is not the idea behind investing in education. The expectation is still that school education will secure the child a well-paid job. The ideology has clearly not adjusted to the fact that the opportunities for jobs outside the agricultural sector are extremely limited in the rural area. Many young men with middle-school education hang around waiting for something to show up, if they do not go to a relative in an urban area to look for a job. Many of those who go to the urban areas have to come back sooner or later because there are no jobs there either. So they half-heartedly take up some farming, either as day labourers or on a small farm of their own. This interim situation can last for years until they either get what they regard as a real job, that is, a job outside agriculture with a fixed salary, or they give up hope and settle down to become farmers like their fathers. It is frequently because of increasing pressure from their family and the mothers of their children that they are forced to take up their responsibilities.

School-educated women have much less chance of obtaining a job because of competition with the young men and because of their role in domestic activities, childbirth, and childcare. School education in its present form therefore becomes a luxury for the women when it begins to surpass the very basic needs in the English language, reading, writing and simple arithmetic. Even these very few skills can be difficult for the women to maintain, because they do not have much of a chance to use them. The knowledge therefore is very easily lost after some time. This is confirmed by the fact that even though the area has a relatively high school-attendance for girls, only few of even the younger women speak much English.

5. Women's Access to Extension Service"

Lack of school education indirectly becomes a problem for the women, because illiteracy can hinder access to the kind of information which is necessary for taking advantage of the few existing development possibilities. When considering alternative and improved methods of production, women face a much more serious problem than their lack of education,

31 The local attitudes to hybrid maize have slightly changed since 1973 when its introduction was evaluated (Bukh 1973). More people accept rating it now, but the women still do not grow it.
namely the very small risk margin they operate with. Even small experiments can jeopardize their chances of fulfilling their responsibility to obtain food for the household every day.

Constraints on women's participation in development projects are therefore closely related to their role as those responsible for household subsistence. Instead of being interpreted as a manifestation of "tradition" and illiteracy their reluctance to listen to what extension officers have to say should be seen as a "safe survival strategy". The way in which women have adjusted their production pattern to the new division of labour is the clearest proof of their well-developed ability to change.

The other reason why women (and male) farmers most often are very reluctant to follow the agricultural extension officers' advice, is that the ideas being introduced by the extension service are not appropriate to the needs of local subsistence farmers. To illustrate the point, two examples can be used: the introduction of hybrid maize and of chemical fertilizer. These have been the two most popular innovations promoted by the national extension service and supported by FAO.

Introducing hybrid maize to subsistence farmers met with a number of difficulties. Firstly, nobody wanted to grow it for their own consumption, because it tastes different from the local variant, and because it is harder and more difficult to prepare. Many women also claim that it contains less flour than the local type of maize. Hybrid maize is therefore to be regarded as a pure cash crop, unlike the traditional subsistence crops which are sold only when money is needed or when there is an excess.

Because hybrid maize is not eaten locally, "there are no local markets for it either. Only the state agency buys it, and it pays only half the price that the local type of maize fetches at the market place. The advantage of higher yields is thus balanced by the disadvantageous price. In addition to the local marketing problems there are also a number of technical problems in growing it, e.g. it is less resistant to drought and insects than the local variety, different storage methods have to be used and it does not give a good yield unless chemical fertilizers are used.

Using fertilizer raises other problems. Firstly it costs money and might even be difficult to obtain locally at the right time, or in the small quantities needed by women." Furthermore the application of fertilizers necessitates very careful weeding otherwise the weeds will consume the fertilizer. The labour input therefore has to be increased by an even greater amount than would be necessary just to apply the fertilizer to the plants.

Fertilizer is usually only sold in bags of 60 lbs.
Why only 1 out of all female farmers interviewed was growing hybrid maize is first and foremost because hybrid maize is considered to be a cash crop only. As long as women plan their production for the purpose of feeding the family, then the most suitable crops are those that can serve as both food and market commodities. All the technical difficulties seem to be secondary to this. Why only 2 out of 30 women farmers use fertilizer is primarily because of their lack of cash. However, many women also claim that the land is fertile, or that fertilizer spoils the taste of the crops and makes them rot sooner.

The women's reluctance to follow the suggestions of the extension service is often well-rooted in their own personal experience with the land and the crops. But there are also cases where their reluctance is a result of lack of knowledge. Unfortunately most of the ideas of the extension service are not properly tested under local conditions, and are not being suitably introduced with enough on-the-spot-demonstration and advice.

It is characteristic that until 1977 none of the women interviewed had ever been visited on their farms by an extension officer. The extension service has always concentrated on the so-called "progressive male-farmer"—the 10 % who have a large production—and primarily on their cocoa production. The Ghanian extension service also suffered until the beginning of the 1970's from European concepts of women's role in agricultural development. Agricultural development was seen in terms of large-scale mechanization of cash cropping, operated by male farmers. Women's participation in agriculture was seen as reminiscent of the traditional forms of production, and the role that was shaped for them within a future modernized agricultural system was primarily that of home-workers.

It was only with the developing food crisis that became apparent in Ghana around 1970, that women's role as the food producers slowly came to be recognized. The food crisis manifested itself in an increasing import of food and a rise in local food prices. It led the military government that took power in 1972, to start a national campaign for increased food production (Operation Feed Yourself). Hardly anything of the support that was channelled through the national extension service for the achievement of the aims of the OFY-Campaign. reached the majority of local farmers in any concrete form. Here, as before, only the little group of “progressive farmers”

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13 An agricultural development programme established in the area in 1970, was directed towards food crop production. Still most of its participants were men. e.g. only 5 out of 22 participants in a one-day school arranged by the project were women. (Survey no. 4). See also Bukh 1973.
piofited. But the recognition of women's role in supplying food for the rural families had another effect, namely the establishment of a new home extension branch under the Ministry of Agriculture, directed towards improving women's productive activities in rural areas. The Ministry of Agriculture's Home Extension Unit started out in 1971 on a small scale with a few districts. Since then it has slowly expanded its activities: by 1976 it had 18 district officers and 60–70 subdistrict officers. It places its main emphasis on food production and nutrition education, carried out by means of meetings with the women, visits to their farms, and demonstrations of the nutritional value of different types of crops, food preservation, storage and processing, dry season gardening and home management.

The problem of the new women's extension service is that it meets with all the structural problems which it cannot influence, such as the land tenure system, migrations, infrastructural underdevelopment etc.; there is no way in which it can solve any of these fundamental preconditions for real change in the women's situation. Women need tractor-help for saving them expensive clearing by hired labour, but the number of tractors for hiring is even decreasing. Women need land that is suitable for tractor ploughing, but their access to land is becoming increasingly difficult, etc. etc.

What the women's extension service tries to do is mainly to advise on how the women under their present difficult situation can utilize their resources with maximum advantage for the fulfilment of the family's subsistence needs. It is too early to say if this new extension service can achieve any success in its agricultural development work. However, its very first experience with the village was that the women only reluctantly came to meetings dealing with agricultural problems. What is probably more important for the future development is the additional role that the same female extension officers have come to play in a newly established women's association. This will be dealt with in chapter VI.

This chapter has dealt with women's difficulties in getting access to land, labour, capital, education, and extension service. The origin of these difficulties must be sought in the interaction between the colonial economy and the preexisting patriarchal structures. The introduction of cocoa and the migration pattern commercialized social relations and weakened the family. This did not imply that women came to cooperate and compete with men on an equal footing. Since children have become less of an asset and more

[4] As mentioned in Chapter II, most of the loans from the Agricultural Development Bank went to "absentee farmers" who are professionals, bureaucrats and "soldiers".
of a burden within the present economic structure, women have increasingly become alone in their responsibility for child-care and the upbringing of children. Consequently they have been forced to involve themselves more and more in subsistence production. As men still retained their privileged access to land and other resources, and to some extent also to women's labour, the result has been that women are placed in a very disadvantageous position to cope with the exigencies of social life.
CHAPTER V

Women's Strategy and the Result of the New Division of Labour

In previous chapters it was shown that women are forced increasingly to take responsibility for family subsistence despite their particular difficulties in gaining access to strategic and necessary resources. Besides subsistence agriculture, their only way to secure or supplement income is the informal sector's various small-scale activities. These will be described in the first part of this chapter. The last part will deal with the impact of women's disadvantageous position in the agricultural production.

1. Women's Different Trades

The most important alternatives to subsistence agriculture are petty trading of either processed or prepared food products and resale of commodities that are otherwise only available from shops in the nearest town. Many women sell from the house, at the roadside or at one of the local markets, and sometimes they sell the commodities in very small quantities, e.g. cigarettes, sweets, sugar-cubes, one at a time. The young children, particularly the girls, often help by sitting with a table at the roadside or by walking around from house to house with the commodities on their head. The village has two open markets, a small daily one, where about 40 women sell food crops, fish and processed food-stuffs, and a big one every 5th day where more than 150 sellers, mostly women, sell all kinds of goods.1 The remarkable situation for a village of Tsito's size, that local women participate in the selling of almost all kinds of commodities, is a clear indication of the importance trade plays in the strategy of Tsito women.2

The household survey showed that it is only 33 % of the women who live solely from farming and selling of their own farm products.) Farming is

1 A profile of the two markets is to be found in the appendix. Table VI.
2 See appendix Table VI.
3 Appendix Table VII shows occupation structure based on survey no. 5.
The most common vegetables sold at the local markets are okro, garden eggs, onions and tomatoes.

combined with petty retail trade by 15% of the women, with processing and selling of food by 7%, with wage labour by 3%, and with artisan work by 2%. All in all, 60% of the women over 15 are engaged in farming. Of the rest, 20% do not indicate any work of their own. Almost 3/4 of these are young girls between 15 and 18, who have just come out of school and do not yet have their own separate economy but help their mothers in both domestic and productive work. The others are mostly women with small babies up to 3-6 months old, who within this period have no work of their own. Of the remaining 20% of the women, 8% are petty traders, 3% wage labourers, and 9% under some form of education.

In the following pages, some examples of the different categories of trades will be given to show organization and profitability. When gross proceeds, here called 'net income', is calculated, labour cost is not taken into account; neither is the amount that the seller and her family consumes. Net income means the difference between buying and selling price of the commodities, without any consideration as to whether they go through any

See appendix Table VII.

Information on trade budget is from survey no. 8.
processing before being sold, and particularly in the case of ready meals, whether some "go down the throat" of the family.

It is in most cases very difficult to calculate the actual amount of time that women spend on the different activities. In buying the commodities, the trip to buy might be combined with other activities. When selling, sometimes the commodities are just left on a table outside the house, and on market days brought to the market where the woman spends some hours also buying her supply of necessities for the house. When the commodity is being processed, it is possible to assess the time used for processing, but still not for buying and selling.

A. Petty retail trade
This category covers retail trade of many kinds: agricultural products, fish, provisions, petty items, "akpeteshie" (local alcohol), palm wine, cigarettes, etc.

a.1. Agricultural products There is a very good market for selling food products to local consumers. 10 % of the households have no member farming, and most households are not self-sufficient in food crops throughout the year. Particularly in households where the man is not farming but has wage labour or is under education, as is the case for 31 % of the males, the woman may not be able to grow sufficient food for the family's daily needs. Families, who on a yearly basis grow enough food, may at times need to buy certain crops or to sell these same crops at other times.

The Tsito women buy and sell agricultural products in the local market, but not all the sellers of agricultural products in the market are from Tsito. Of 58 women who sold food crops in the 5-days market in 1973, 62 % were Tsito women. Only the selling of one type of food crops was not dominated by Tsito women, and that was the sale of grains where only 23 % of the sellers were from Tsito. The percentage of Tsito women among the sellers for other crops were: Staples 75 %, vegetables 56 %, nuts 100 % and fruits 100 %.

Not all the sellers, whether from Tsito or not, get the agricultural products they sell from their own farms. In the two markets only 32 % of the vegetable traders had the crops from their own farms. For other food crops 64 % came from their own farms.

6 73 % of the women who sold at the 5-days market spent between 5 and 8 hours there.
7 All data on the local market are from survey no. 3
8 95 % of the food crops sold at the local market are bought by local consumers. See appendix Table VI.
9 Grains include beans, maize, rice, and peas.
Not all the foodcrop sellers sold crops that had been grown in Tsito area. Only 26 % of the vegetable sellers and 74 % of sellers of other foodcrops sold products from the Tsito area. In this context it is necessary to remember the time of the market surveys, which were taken in the beginning of the dry season.¹⁹ Later in the dry season the element of import to the area of foodcrops will be higher, and in the rainy seasons it will probably be less.

Most food crop traders operate on a small scale; the average value of food crops per seller brought to the two markets on the days of the surveys amounted to: Staples, 2.66 and 3.33 $; Vegetables, 4.70 and 5.54 $; Grains, 0.0 and 3.22 $; Nuts, 0.99 and 1.86 $; Fruits, 0.45 and 1.09 $.

Examples: Wateryam bought from 60 miles away, cost 20 $, sold 30 $, net income 10 $, sold in 5 days. Vegetables bought 10 $, net income 4 $.

a.2. Fish trade. Fish is the most important protein ingredient in the local diet. The analysis of 790 meals consumed by 40 households showed that 85 % contained fish."The quantities are very often small, it can be one fish of the size of a finger, but no meal is complete without fish or meat, if only just to give taste to the soup. Only 3 % of the meals did not contain either." Most of the fish sellers at the daily market are from Tsito, and 65 % of the fish sellers at the 5-days market are also from Tsito. Of the 37 fish sellers who sold in the two markets, 14 had their supply from Tema/Accra (95 miles away), 10 from the coastal town Keta (119 miles away), 4 had bought the fish in Tsito, 5 in Frakadua (half way to Accra), 2 in Ho cold-store (18 miles), and the last 2 in other markets. In 1973 the value brought to the daily market per fish trader amounted on the average to 6.23 $, and in the 5-days market to 18.35 $.

Example: Fish bought 18–80 miles away, cost 60–80 $, net income negative to 80 $ depending on the market. The competition sets the price, and sometimes the woman has bought too much too dear, because the doesn't know the selling price when she buys. She sells at both markets, and her 9 year old daughter sells for her in the streets.

¹⁹ The dry season starts in December.
¹¹ The first amount is from the daily market and the second from the 5-days market. 1 $ = 0.87 US S.
¹² Survey no. 7.
¹³ The amount of money spent on fish and meat per person per meal varies between 0.05–0.40 $. With the price of meat and fish at the time of the survey this means that in 12 of the 40 households each person ate max. 5–10 gms. per day, in 23 households they ate max. 9–18 gms. in 33 households they ate max. 19–38 gms., and in only one household did they eat more than 40 gms.
a.3. Trade with non-eatables. This refers to kitchen utensils, provisions, clothes, cloths, petty items, local medicine, etc. These things are primarily sold in the 5-days market, except for provisions which in 1973 were sold most often by small shops at the road-side. In 1976–77 they were almost unobtainable and sold only from special shops designated by the government.

In 1973 in the 5-days market, 41% of the 68 sellers in the mentioned product lines were from Tsito. The highest percentage of Tsito women (82%) were in the sale of provisions. The lowest percentage were in cloth and clothes sales where they were only about a third of the sellers. About 2/3 of the manufactured goods are bought in Accra, the rest in other towns. At the 5-days market the sellers in the different product lines brought on average the following, in the value of the goods: Provisions 6.06¢; Kitchen utensils 22.00¢; Shoes 10.67¢; Petty personal things 19.20¢; Cloths 1028.00¢; Clothes 72.78¢.

Example: Handkerchiefs and pans, cost 300¢, net income is not known because it takes a long time to sell it and the money only comes in small portions.

a.4. Sale of “Akpeteshie” (local alcohol). A number of women in the village sell the locally distilled alcohol, akpeteshie, which is made either of the molasses from the sugar cane or from palm wine. It is sold in small bars and only women with a license issued by the police are allowed to sell it at controlled prices. The wholesalers are also under price control, but they charge for bringing it out to the seller.

Examples: 1 tin 80¢, net income 8–10¢, takes two weeks to sell; another seller, 10 tins 814¢, net income about 100¢, takes two weeks to sell.

a.5. Sale of palm wine. Palm wine is tapped from palm trees in the bush. Out of 40 farmers interviewed, who had farming as their main occupation, 12 were tapping palm wine. It is normal practice to uproot the palm trees when they are 10–12 years old. The trees will then be tapped for 25–30 days. It is not always the owner who does the tapping, he will sometimes tender the tapping to one of the other farmers on a contract basis. The women who have small palm wine bars, usually pay somebody to go to the bush in the morning to collect the wine. There are more sellers than tappers so there is some competition amongst the sellers, resulting in sellers paying the tapper in advance. The wine is tapped during the night and sold during the

"They were abolished in July 1977.

"The information on the value of clothes is not precise because the data collector estimated instead of asking."
day. Residue from the day's production will be used for distillation because it is too strong to drink the following day. The demand for palm wine is high, so it is not often that there is a surplus.

Example: A seller walks to the bush every morning and gets 9 ¢ worth of wine, net income 9 ¢.

6. Sale of cigarettes. Cigarettes are sold from several places. They are usually sold a few at a time because not many people can afford to buy a whole packet.

Example: The woman who has the highest sale of cigarettes buys 35 cartons a week from a trader who comes regularly. She pays 355.60 ¢ and gets a net income of 36.40 ¢. If she had more money, she would invest more and she could easily sell more, she says. She takes her capital from another business where she gets two weeks' credit of 800 ¢ worth of akpeteshie. The money she gets from selling the akpeteshie is invested in the cigarettes before she pays the akpeteshie wholesaler.

B. Processing and selling food
Though most households prepare 2 full meals a day, and though most people only eat twice a day, there is still a good market for selling ready-made

*Preparation of "kenkey" - maize balls.*
meals, so-called "roadside food". It takes a long time to prepare a full meal, usually between one and two hours. It is therefore time-saving to go and buy food at the roadside, instead of preparing the meal in the house. Men who do not have women in the house, will often choose this solution, and farmers who want to go very early to distant plots also buy at the roadside instead of waiting till the house wakes up. Since the women have very scarce time resources, and food preparation is their domain, it is a relief if there is money to buy prepared food once in a while.

b.l. "Kenkey". The kenkey balls are made from maize flour, which has been soaked, cooked, formed into balls, packed in the husk of maize cobs, and then boiled in water. It is often eaten with peppersauce and fish in the morning and by school children for lunch. It is a very common activity for women to make kenkey, and it is always made both for consumption and for sale. The largest part of the profit is therefore usually what the family eat. Out of 32 women interviewed 8 made kenkey between 1 and 5 times a week.

Example: The only woman of the 8 who did it on purely commercial basis lived alone and worked full-time to save money for her soon coming maternity period. She invested 20 Ȼ every second day and had a net income of 10 Ȼ. Other women invested e.g. 24 Ȼ a week with a net income of 4 Ȼ;
10 ¢ a week, net income 3 ¢; 10 ¢ every 2nd week, net income 3 ¢; 3 ¢ every 2nd day, net income 1 ¢; 20 ¢ every 5th day, net income 0 ¢. In all cases the family ate some of the balls.

b.2. “Pito”. Pito is the locally brewed beer, made on the basis of whole millet kernels, that can be bought at the Ho market. Only a few women make pito, supposedly because palm wine is much more popular, and palm trees are quite abundant in the area.

Example: One woman sells pito every day, and twice a week she buys 23 ¢ worth of millet, net income 20 ¢.

b.3. Other ready made food. There is a great variety of different eatables that women prepare to sell as ready meals, e.g. from maize they make porridge and stewed balls, from cassava boiled and fried balls. A number of women sell boiled rice with peppersauce and fish at the roadside every morning etc. etc. 

b.4. Processed agricultural food crops. Processing of the food crops from the family farm is the women's domain and has been part of the women's domestic tasks in all households. When women needed a cash income they exploited the new market for food commodities and bought crops to process for sale. Three examples shall be mentioned here, two types of palm oil and cassava flour "gari".

Red oil (Dzomi oil). Red oil is made from the flesh of the palm fruit. The fruit is boiled, pounded in a mortar and the fibers strained off with water. The red oil is skimmed off and boiled and becomes a very tasty and nutritious edible oil. With onions, ginger and pepper added as spices, the oil is called dzomi oil.

Examples: Bought 6 ¢ worth of palm fruit, net income 6 ¢; bought 6 ¢ worth of palm fruit and made both red oil and kernel oil, net income 7 ¢. The family consumed some of the oil.

Kernel oil. In the residue from the red oil processing are the nuts. After being dried in the sun, the shells are cracked and the kernels processed for making a clear cooking oil. This involves the process of roasting and milling, and since the kernels are very hard they have to be milled by a machine. A little water is added to the flour, and after stirring it is put on the fire and the oil

16 For details on the various types of local meals see Steckle 1972
From palm nuts two types of oil are being produced, the red oil and the kernel oil. Kernel oil is here going through the final processing.

skimmed off when boiling. The total process takes a long time: the nuts are hand cracked with a stone, waiting at the mill, and then kneading the oil out of the mixed dough.

Examples: Bought nuts for 12 ₦, net income 6–8 ₦; bought nuts for 9 ₦, net income 13.10 ₦. The family also consumed some.

Gari. When cassava is harvested it can only keep for a few weeks before it rots. In order to preserve the cassava, it is necessary to process it. The cassava is peeled, grated, put in a sack and compressed with big stones for 3–4 days to get the liquid out, then finally roasted in a clay pan until it is completely dry and looks like sawdust. In this form it can keep for a very long time. It is eaten mixed with lukewarm water.

Example: Bought cassava for 6 ₦, net income 2 ₦. The roasting alone took about 1 1/2 hours.

C. Selling own products, non-food
This category covers a number of different skills that women traditionally mastered, like pottery and soap making. With the introduction of European industrial commodities these activities lost their importance and, for example, there are only a few, mostly old women who make pottery today.
But the local production of soap” has had an upswing in recent years, because of the chronic scarcity of all types of industrially produced soap. The number of women selling locally produced soap has therefore been steadily increasing at the local markets.

c.1. Pottery. Beautiful regular round pots are made manually by building up the form of the pot with layers of clay snakes and smoothing the surface with a flat piece of wood. When they are burnt those made from local clay turn black, those made from clay from the north turn reddish brown. Different types are made for different purposes, some for cooking, some for grating vegetables, some for funerals, etc.

Examples: Made 20 pots a week and sold them for 6 č. Another woman makes braziers of clay, in one week cost 2 č, net income 8 č.

c.2. Grated tobacco. Tobacco is ground into a powder that is used as snuff.

Example: Bought 3 č worth tobacco, ground it and sold it in two weeks, net income 1 č.

c.3. Cocoa butter. Yellow fat can be extracted from the cocoa beans. It is used mostly as a pomade for the skin, but can also be used for cooking. It is believed to heal and stimulate the skin.

Example: When beans are available, buys for 12 č and when lucky with the extract will have 8 č in net income. Takes 3 days to sell.

Characteristic for all the examples of women's different trades are the small-scale on which they are being run. Only very small sums of money are involved and very little surplus is achieved.

There is also a close connection between most of these economic activities and the daily needs of the family. One good example is the kenkey-making, where some of the kenkey-makers do not expect any profit as such, but calculate that the business can just be kept alive while the family eats some of the balls. The "profit" is what the family eats, so to say. In all the examples, money is earned in small portions on a day to day basis, and the income is used to cover the daily expenses for food etc. Women lack capital to invest on a larger scale, and they get no chance to accumulate their little earnings for reinvestment. Their trades are subsistence trade which is integrated into the day to day process of keeping the family fed.

"The local soap is made from palm oil boiled with liquid caustic acid extracted from the ashes of semi-dried cocoa husks and plantain peels."
The organization of all the activities is the same, in the sense that the women use short time intervals in between all their other productive and domestic tasks to produce something that can bring money to the house. They also try to involve the children in the work.

Most women carry out more than one of the mentioned trades at the same time; a woman will often work on the farm, be involved in petty trade, process crops for house consumption and sale, and make road-side food or sweets or something else. The possibility of fitting the different activities together with the direct subsistence needs of the family therefore seems to be more important in the planning, than any calculation of profitability including total labour cost. Long intervals of concentrated time is women's scarcest resource. While looking after the smallest children, they can more easily dispose of short intervals and semi-concentrated time. Furthermore, activities in which children can participate from young age are most suitable for women's economic strategy.

These requirements as well as their difficulties in getting access to land, labour, and money for investment have also serious consequences for the agricultural production.

2. Women's Agricultural Production Pattern

Women's disadvantageous position affects both the type of land they choose and the type of crops they grow. The women's labour problems that were discussed in the previous chapters give rise to certain preferences in terms of the type of land most suitable for their situation. Women require land that is easy to clear, because they are often not able to clear overgrown land themselves, and therefore have to hire labour to do it. If possible they prefer land which can be ploughed by tractor, as this is a cheaper solution than hiring manual labour. They also need land that is not too far away from the village, because they have to harvest crops daily for consumption.

As a consequence of women's very specific needs, they are excluded from choosing the most fertile types of land—the grown forest land. Here the layer of humus is thickest, and it is usually well-shaded by large trees which keep the soil humid. Instead, women take land with shorter fallow periods, although they know that the longer it has been left to fallow, the more fertile and cultivable the soil, and the scarcer the appearance of weeds during cultivation. The most important means of assessing soil fertility is appearance or disappearance of a specific weed, a type of grass. When this weed starts to disturb significantly continuous cultivation, it is time to let the land rest. Before it completely disappears from the fallow again, the land is not ready for cultivation. They have other ways of judging whether the
nutrient value of the land has decreased unacceptably for further use at any given time. These elements are important in the system of bush fallow cultivation which has developed to its present form through the experience of generations of farmers, who relied on the soil regaining fertility through fallows.

Women therefore experience double problems when taking land that has had a relatively short fallow: the lower fertility of the soil and increased weed problems. When they choose which crops to grow, they have to take into consideration not only the land at their disposal, but also their available labour resources. They have to combine agricultural production with all their other domestic and economic activities. Therefore, they prefer crops that survive on limited soil nutrients, and that do not demand large inputs of labour.

A. Changes in the Starch Crop Pattern

The traditional crop pattern system was based on yam as the main starch crop. Yam was intercropped with vegetables, and maize was planted at random. The latter was not of much importance in the main season. On the forest land the coco-yam was in abundance, and came up by itself as soon as the land was cleared. Plantain was also planted on the forest land, but was not very important.

Around the turn of the century, cassava was known in the area as a little valued hunger crop. Only few people used it to mix with the yam for "fufu", a boiled and pounded starch dish that is eaten every day in most houses. It can either be made from pure yam, as in the older days, or cassava, mixed with either yam or plantain. Only when the other crops did not suffice for the whole year, did cassava play a role in the diet.

When the women took over the main responsibility for food crops in many households, they were not used to growing yam. Yam had traditionally been the men's crop, it demands a very high input of labour, particularly in the planting and harvesting seasons. Digging the yam mounds and planting the yam, covering the young plants from the sun, collecting the sticks on which the plant should climb, cutting the heads off later on for replanting, and the harvest itself, was a very hard and time consuming work. When males got involved in cocoa growing or left the area to find work in other places, the women were not able to continue the yam crop culture. They replaced yam with cassava as their main starch crop, and they did so for the following good reasons:

a. Cassava gives a higher output of starch per invested labour hour. Even though obviously higher in labour input than women's subsistence farming, calculations based on commercial growing of cassava show that the
labour-hour output is 8.9 kilos and 9.700 calories. For yam the labour-hour output is only 2.3 kilos and 2.025 calories.

b. The labour input in cassava growing can be spread over the whole year, and takes place in small contributions. Because of the two rainy seasons, it can be planted almost throughout the whole year; when mature after 12 months, it can be left in the soil up to two years, if the soil is not too wet, or the area not too exposed to forest animals like rats, grasscutters or ants. It can therefore be harvested whenever there is need or time to do so.

The weeding is important but not imperative for the growth of the roots. Even if overgrown, the weed will not kill the plant, but only stop its growth. As soon as the soil is cleared again, the plant will continue to grow. Harvesting and replanting can be done in the same labour process: the sticks are pulled up and the tubers taken, then pieces of the stock are put down into the soil again, and they soon develop new roots. Two or three subsequent crops can follow each other in this way, depending on the soil quality.

c. Cassava grows well on the grass land that the women prefer, and it can grow on less fertile land than yam.

d. If the cassava is planted with small spacing, then it provides complete
shade. This significantly reduces the weeds between plants, and therefore partly solves the above-mentioned problem of increased weeds on exhausted land.

These are the four main reasons why cassava is such a suitable crop for the women to grow with their particular land resources, their many other obligations and scarcity of time. However, cassava growing also has some very serious disadvantages:

A. Cassava is of much less nutritional value than yam, with only 9 grammes of protein per kilo, compared to 21 grammes in yam.

B. It is true that the labour required for cassava cultivation is much less than that required for yam, but once harvested it is a much more complicated process to preserve it. If not processed, it rots within a few weeks, while the yam can keep for up to a year if harvested unharmed. Cassava is preserved as "gari", that is: grated, pressed till dry, roasted so that it looks like (coarse)sawdust. In this form it can keep as long as necessary, and is prepared for eating, e.g. by adding lukewarm salted water. But this problem only arises if the cassava has for some reason to be harvested, e.g. if the land is water-logged, or exposed to animal attacks or thieves, or if need of money necessitates harvesting for selling.

The market for cassava, however, has in recent years been so good, that it has not even been necessary to harvest the crop before selling. It has easily been sold while still in the soil to buyers who then harvest their purchase as they need it.

C. Growing cassava on less fertile land obviously affects the size of the yield. What is saved on clearing labour is probably lost in the much lower productivity of the land.

D. If close spacing of the cassava is used to help conquer the weed problem, then within a short time, its shade makes intercropping impossible. Only maize, which is harvested after a period of 3–4 months, can be mixed with cassava in the initial planting period. In addition, the cassava soon depletes the soil nutrients, thus making it impossible to plant vegetables and legumes in between. Traditionally yam was intercropped with these very important supplementary plants, which contributed valuable elements to the diet. With the increased importance of cassava growing, some of these additional agricultural products have disappeared or have been neglected, thereby further decreasing the nutritional value of the locally produced diet.

\[\text{Ye}^\text{ly published research from Ghana has shown that cassava contains chemicals that produce cyanide in the human organism, gradually resulting in cyanide poisoning, which causes brain damage and disorders in the nervous system (Nartey 1978). Relying very much on cassava as the main starch crop may therefore in a longer time perspective also endanger people’s lives.}\]
B. The General Situation in Food Crop Production

The shift from yam to cassava as the main starch crop has been the most important change that has taken place within food crop production. The new sexual division of labour in agriculture with the change from predominantly male to predominantly female labour in food crop production not only caused the shift in main starch crop, but it also implied, in a global sense, that much less time is available for the cultivation of food crops. The shift from yam to cassava growing therefore represents a general trend in the changes of the local agricultural system. The registration of all farmers in the village showed that some cassava is cultivated on 99% of the women's separate farms and on 94% of the common household farms. The corresponding figures for yam growing, on the other hand, are 27% and 30% respectively.

When food cropping received less attention not only yam growing declined, but it seems that there has also been a general decrease in the cultivation of vegetables. Some of the reasons for this were indicated above as being a natural consequence of increased cassava growing, but the decline in vegetable production should also be seen as part of the general trend in agricultural development as a whole.

When asked what crops their parents had cultivated, each of a group of farmers (all over 45) mentioned vegetables; yet the survey of all farmers' present crop composition shows that only 28% now grow vegetables.

16 out of 18 farmers confirmed that their mothers had had no separate farms of their own, but worked together with the men cultivating food crops (vegetables included) on common household farms. When women began agricultural production on their own separate farms, they took over responsibility for most of the vegetable growing: whereas 43% of the female farmers now grow some vegetables of their own, only 17% of the common household farms still do.

That women have taken the main cultivation of vegetables onto their own farms means that vegetable growing has necessarily suffered, because of both the small-scale and the inferior quality of women's food crop farms. This has led to a general decrease in vegetable production.

However, the decline in the nutritional standard of the locally produced diet should not be seen solely as a consequence of the shift in starch crops.

13 Survey No. 1.
19 See also appendix Table II.
14 Survey No. 1.
22 The two sets of information are not directly comparable because the second refers to just one season while the other is a general statement.
and the new division of labour; it is also closely related to the general
improverishment of land resources.

The introduction of cocoa caused increased pressure on the land used for
food cropping; this process has been accelerated through devastation of the
soil resources by overcropping, and destruction of the protective trees for
charcoal burning.

All in all, the changes have meant a much lower nutritional value of the
crops grown, and in general a decrease in productivity in food crop
production. This development is well expressed by one of the older women
farmers in the village, in the following statement:

"In the earlier days, men and women tilled the soil together. The plots they farmed
were very small, because the soil was very fertile. It was forest and with a lot of humus.
There was almost no weed, and we only started to weed in June. The cassava was huge. 
Half a plant could fill a whole head pan, and the yam was sufficient for the whole year.
Then came the cocoa and took the good forest land, and strangers also got land and
started to grow maize, which needs sun, so they cut down trees. And the town grew
and people needed charcoal, so more trees were cut down.

And when we moved to the less fertile land, because of the cocoa, the crops were
much smaller and the weeding much more. In the earlier days, there was so much coco-yam and cassava, that it rotted in the farms, because people could not eat it all.
And everybody took crops from other farms, because there was plenty."

Women have felt the result of these changes in their increased work-load
and the next chapter will deal with the women's reaction to the present
situation.
CHAPTER VI

Protest and Organization

1. Women's Reactions against Oppression

Women are caught in the contradictions of institutions that both protect them and oppress them. Thus the household represents both the structure into which women can retreat from a broken marriage as well as the structure through which all responsibilities for family subsistence are pushed onto them; the land tenure system secures women a basis for subsistence production, but maintains them also in a secondary position in society. As has been explained in previous chapters, the origin of women's difficult position lies both in the external structures that are manifested through the policy of the state, and in internal factors that are specific for this society, having their origin in its traditional structures.

Women's possibility for fighting back is very limited. The reactions of women are therefore most often directed against the nearest representative of the oppressive system, usually the husband. He always represents more children, more work and more trouble, but might provide some emotional and economic support as well. When the first aspect of the relationship overshadows the second then the women will often seek divorce. As mentioned in chapter III, 2 out of 3 women have experienced a divorce, and one-third of these more than once.

When a conflict between husband and wife arises an attempt at conciliation is made through representatives from the two families involved, and a woman can ask the Queen Mother (who is the women's elected chief) to represent her in the case. In the 27 divorce cases that were recorded, 18 had been initiated by the women. 7 of these women stated explicitly that the reason was that the husband did not look after them and their children. The divorce was in only 6 cases undertaken on the initiative of the man.1 If the

1 Survey No. 8.
2 In another 2 cases the divorces were provoked by the family, in one case because the marriage was childless. There is no information on the last case.
family representatives find the claim of the women just. she will not need to pay back the bride price.

Another individual and immediate reaction against their position is some women's attempt to stop pregnancy. There are many provoked abortions, but because of the illegality of the operation only the "unlucky cases" resulting in the death of the girl become known.

Since abortions are illegal only the few who can pay large sums of money can get the operation done by qualified medical personnel. The majority of women are left in the hands of helpful friends who try to provoke the uterus with mechanical instruments or herbs, or to give an overdose of available medicine, e.g. pain relief tablets. Because of lack of knowledge, e.g. on hygienic precautions, these girls often experience terrible complications, and death is not uncommon.

The young school girls, particularly those who have succeeded in getting into secondary school, will desperately want an abortion. Although there is no general moral condemnation of the pregnant girl, the school system's traditional close links to the church societies imply that pregnant girls are kicked out of the school immediately. No exception is made in the not unusual case where one of the teachers is the father of the child.

Young women in their mid-twenties who have already had 3 or 4 children is another group that today react against further pregnancies. These women express their needs for suitable contraception, and they complain that none of the existing alternatives from the local family planning clinic are convenient. The most common method offered, the pill, is said by the local women to go badly along with hard physical work of the sort women are doing in the field. So does the I.U.D., which only a handful of women have accepted in any case. The local supply of mechanical contraceptives like foam and condoms are irregular, and more importantly far too expensive for most people. The most common contraceptive methods are therefore those not demanding anything but self control.

Education and marriage have been the only possible avenues for women who wanted to get away from the village. Through the 60's it became more and more common that women left the tillage as migrants. Some of them left to further their education, a few left to find work on their own, but most left to join their husband who had migrated. Around 1968, when Kaufert carried out a study of migrations, the number of women leaving was almost as great as the number of men. As it was explained in chapter II, this trend turned again with the deep economic crisis in the 70's that drastically

\[ See \text{chapter II anti Kaafert 1978} \]
changed the conditions for the urban wage labourers. Women have again been forced to remain in the rural areas.

Women do not find many outlets for their frustrations. A collective expression of their powerlessness can be seen in the flourishing life of 8–9 different religious sects in the village. But there are also more constructive collective attempts to tackle the problems, such as a number of economic saving clubs, and recently the creation of a woman's organization to solve the childcare problems.

2. The Need for Women to Organize

The collective organization of women has a long history in the area. Traditionally young women formed groups that helped their members to reach certain larger achievements. Schöber mentions as an example that a group of young girls could jointly decide to earn money for buying one of them a housemaid (slave). The Queen Mother institution that functions parallel with the male chiefs, was also built on the principles of communal organization. The Queen Mother is elected, usually for lifetime, and she has a council of elderly women as advisers and a linguist to speak for her—exactly as the male chief. It is within the power of the Queen Mother to call all the women to work on communal tasks, like repairs to the water and road system, school building, etc. Many communal tasks are carried out this way. The men are organized in a similar way, and both men and women are fined if they stay away from communal work without plausible reason. Fines will be used to buy drinks to those who did the work.

The first example in recent years of a successful project realized on the initiative of the women, was the building of a small health clinic with a maternity wing. This took place in 1956 shortly before independence. The Queen Mother, her linguist and a local female teacher are said to have been the driving forces behind the project. Kaufert points out that this example of successful female cooperation was closely related to women's position within the decision-making structure of the community.

Within the traditional political organization, the women could only speak through the Queen Mother in the council of male elders, and it was the males who kept decisions and initiative in their hands. Even if women were

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4 See chapter IV.
5 Schöber 1936.
6 See also chapter II
7 The analyses of the women's role in the clinic project is built on information from Kaufert 1974.
ready to go into action, they would usually be passive in situations where the males were in control. Kaufert says that in 1968, when her study took place, women were willing to let the men lead and organize, as long as there was neither the need nor the opportunity for themselves to act.

When the clinic project came up it was a project that was going to be of particular help to the women, and was a project that did not threaten male control. When the women saw that the project might not materialize unless they started to act, the preconditions were there for them to do something. The women got funds from the local authority council and some financial support from female migrants. The work was carried out as a communal labour project and as such the men also participated in the building of the clinic. However, it was clearly felt in the community that it was the women's project and its completion was due to the women.

Kaufert got the impression from the women then, that they preferred to participate in the same organization as the men, instead of forming separate groups. She says that the reason women in the case of the clinic took things into their own hands was that the men were divided by local political conflicts that prevented them from agreeing on a common project. It was only the women who were able to arrange a concerted action.

During the Nkrumah period (1957–66) the government gave support to the formation of local organizations, and a women's wing of the CPP was formed in Tsito. When Nkrumah fell in 1966, the CPP and all its local organizations were banned, and many of the local leaders were imprisoned although only for a short time. This created great bitterness among active people, and for ten years afterwards words like cooperation and organization have had a bad sound in most people’s ears.

This is now slowly changing, the present desperate needs have provided grounds for new organizational attempts. This time the initiative came from women working in the recently established women's extension service. They have helped in creating a women's organization, and in registering it under the National Council of Women.

In contrast to the previous experience described by Kaufert, this time there was no doubt that the women wanted their own organization. During one of the first public planning meetings, some men made suggestions to let a few men be members and organize things for the women. These suggestions were not met positively. The men were ignored and the attitude expressed between the women was that men should not be allowed to spoil things.

Women have gained more confidence in their own ability to deal with their problems, and more conscience about the importance of their present
role in society. At the formal opening of the women's association the Queen Mother mentioned in her speech the traditional saying: "From ancient time women have borne men, without women men are nowhere". But she gave the saying new content by continuing "You know too well that we, the women, shoulder the greater part of the problems in the community. I therefore appeal to you, women, that in unity lies strength—we must come together and decide how we can solve our problems".

At the first meetings of the new organization the women decided that they would try to raise money for the establishment of a day nursery. To get money for the project the women arranged a public auction of crops from their farms. It brought more than 1,000 C. They also established a collective cassava farm to bring more money for the project. The future work on the nursery buildings will be carried out as communal labour where the Queen Mother calls on all women to work.

Although it is clear that the establishment of a day nursery is not going to solve most of the fundamental problems women face, the initiative is still very important in at least two respects. Firstly, it is going to make life a little bit easier for some women. Secondly, one successful project can lead to other projects and in the long run to a further strengthening of the organization of women. It is only through organization that women can exercise any pressure to change the local and external causes of their problems. Organization is therefore a necessary precondition if women are going to do something about their own situation. However, only if the political situation in the country changes fundamentally will there be sufficient preconditions for generating real changes.
CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

"If you are a woman farmer or a trader or have got some employment, provided that you are a hard worker, life after being divorced is easier, because when you are married you will have to cook for the husband on top of all your work, and sometimes the husband will not even allow you to carry out your trades as you like."

The number of divorces are increasing in Tsito, and they are most often on the initiative of the women. The traditional family system, where the men controlled the movements of the women, and within which the women were also being protected and cared for, has broken down. Women have achieved more independence economically and personally. The men also listen more to the women now than they did in the earlier days. When important decisions are to be taken by the council of men, they now more often go to consult the women's representatives.

The structural transformation of society has created more freedom for women to decide things on their own, but meanwhile the demands on them to fulfil new responsibilities have limited their freedom of choice to be between bad or worse. Women are caught between their traditional responsibility for children and their lack of control over necessary economic resources, like land, labour, and money. Even though showing great ingenuity in finding strategies to cope with these exigencies, their disadvantageous position has badly affected their productivity of food crops, etc. Under the present conditions, the necessity to combine childcare, domestic work and other activities implies that their economic undertakings will remain small-scale and of low productivity. The strategy for day to day survival has come to set very narrow limits on what women can do.

The most significant events that led to the structural transformation of society were the introduction of cocoa and the development of a pattern of migration. In Tsito, migration provided the young men with the means of asserting their independence and of establishing themselves earlier. Money from migration labour was invested in cocoa production. The boom of the cocoa economy provided money for both a new consumption pattern and further migration. Thus, in the initial phase labour migration and cocoa production were mutually reinforcing.
This development served the colonial state by providing raw materials and cheap labour, but it also reflected internal tensions between young and old men in the traditional society and a dissatisfaction with the original standard of living. Despite the immediate advantages of cocoa production, the long term consequence of the process was dependency rather than development of agricultural and craftmanlike activities at the village level; the process implied specialization in cocoa cultivation and the abandonment of many traditional activities.

As long as producer prices for cocoa remained high this new integration was not an immediate problem. However, fluctuations on the world market, changes in government policies on cocoa taxation, or ecological crises revealed that the peasants had "traded" most of the control over their own situation for immediate benefits. This has resulted in a reinforcement of subsistence production under pauperized conditions because traditional techniques have been lost and social relations distorted. As described in chapter II, a new kind of accumulation and stratification based on control over cocoa holdings emerged through this process. Money, rather than
labour claims, became the medium of social interchange. Implicit in this development were a weakening of family relations and the traditional form of labour control, which placed an emphasis on building up large households. It has led to the emergence of a new type of small women-headed households, that have to cope with subsistence responsibilities under pauperized conditions. Within these households women have come to carry excessive burdens to fulfil the day to day subsistence requirements of the family in the village. They have had to do this while being restricted in their access to resources by the patriarchal structures through which the men used to control the society.

Women's reaction against these barriers that limit their ability to cope with the increasing difficulties has mostly been of an individual nature, but recently a group of the women showed that they are now ready to fight the situation collectively. The establishment of the local Women's Association and the achievements that it has reached within a very short time is the clearest proof of women's readiness and ability to fight.

But there are no sample solutions to their problems. When, for example, they grow cassava to feed the family, they are well aware that this is not sufficient nutritionwise; when they choose to cultivate the grassland they also know that the forest land is both less weedy and more fertile. In both cases education or advice that the women should rather grow more nutritious crops or choose the good land has no meaning. Women make the best out of a very difficult situation, where they have to balance all the needs of the family with their own limited capacity and options.

Within the last 4–5 years the situation in Ghana has gone from bad to worse and even worse. The country experiences an economic and social crisis of a dimension that has never been known before. There has been a general fall in the standard of living for the majority of the people. The urban salary workers and people in the rural areas, who rely on women's subsistence production and some income from migrants, have been hit very hard by this development.

There are signs of growing poverty. It is, for example, not uncommon to see immature cassava tubers being sold in the market, and although these might have been harvested because the land was waterlogged, the reason for premature harvest is usually that people need the money so badly that they cannot even wait until the correct harvest time. The increased pauperization and the social crisis in the society is also showing in the development of a new type of criminality that earlier was unthinkable, namely theft of food crops from the fields. Crops like yam, cassava, pineapple, and bananas simply disappear from the plots.

The growing crisis in the Ghanaian society cannot be solved by women
alone. A real change must come from broader social groups that can restructure the basic organization of society towards a more equal distribution of its material and social resources. If women are to benefit from possible changes in the future it is however a precondition that they prepare for demanding their rights. This can best happen through women's organizations of the kind that the women in Tsito have established, i.e. organizations that grow from the grassroots, being based on local initiative and controlled by the local women themselves.
Appendix

Surveys and Appendix Tables

The appendix presents the different surveys of the study one by one to give a basis for evaluating the types of data that have been used. The surveys numbered 1-4 are from the first field work which was carried out during 11 months in 1973, of which 8 months were spent in Tsito. They include a total registration of all farmers in the village, a detailed study of a random sample of 40 households headed by men with agriculture as their main occupation, a survey of two local markets, and an evaluation of an agricultural development programme.

The surveys numbered 5-8 are from the second field work which was carried out during two field trips in 1976-77. The household survey (no. 5) was started during a 6 weeks' visit in 1976 and completed during the second, longer field trip covering a period of about 4 months between November 1976 and April 1977. The surveys carried out during this visit include among other things information on division of labour and economic responsibilities, and on consumption in 40 selected households in 10 days. Very detailed interviewing was carried out with 32 women from these households, including their life stories, their economic activities, and their access to land and other strategic resources. Finally data on commodity prices in the local market and data from the locally kept registers were collected.

Survey no. 1

Includes all male and female farmers. The definition of farmer used includes only independent farmers, that is those who control the products of the plot they cultivate (or have cultivated—they do not necessarily have to carry out the work on the plot themselves). Women who only work on plots that men control will therefore not be counted as farmers. Only women who cultivate their own separate plots are by this definition farmers.

The number of acres referred to as being cultivated by the male farmers are in reality the household's plot that is usually worked by men and women
together. The acres referred to as worked by the female farmers are on the other hand usually worked by the women alone without help from the men in the household.

Survey no. 1 was taken in March–April 1973 (early part of the major season). The farmers were registered house by house (and not by household), the registration was carried out by 10 middle school leavers from the village.

The survey covered 450 houses with 927 farmers, 458 males and 369 females (9 males and 9 females gave no further information). The survey covered almost all houses because it was possible to use the Water & Sewerage Cooperation's recent numbering of all houses for identification. Only a few houses were untraceable, and only a few houses were discovered unnumbered.

A more detailed household survey in 1976/77 (survey no. 5) showed that the number of female farmers registered in this first survey was far too low. In the later household survey that covered 20% of the households (sampled by random) 144 women were farmers. If the percentage of women farmers was the same in 1973 as in 1976/77, then the registration of the women farmers reached only half of them. A possible reason for this is that the registration was done through contact with the male family heads, and they may have considered some of the female farms too small to be considered, since at the start of the study this problem had not been realized and the interviewers had not been instructed to this point.

Data from this survey forms the basis for appendix Tables I and II, and text Table 16.

Survey no. 2

On the basis of survey no. 1, 40 male farmers of those having farming as their main occupation were selected by random (9%). They were interviewed in details about all economic activities of the household, the organization of the agricultural production and the land tenure system, as well as on personal history. The interviewing took place during the major season May–August 1973.

The interviewing was done by the author with help of a permanent assistant, acting also as interpreter. All the households and one or more of the farm plots controlled by the male farmers were visited by the author.

The main emphasis in this study was on the men's role in agricultural production. The aim of the study was to clarify general agricultural problems, and since the major part of the agricultural production was under the control of men, they were made objects of the study. By choosing the
male farmers and their households as a point of departure in the survey, all the households that consisted of women farmers alone were left out in the detailed interviewing. Only the agricultural production of female farmers who lived in the households with male farmers were covered in this survey: in all 25 women, of whom 19 were wives of the household head.

Although the scope of this first study was different from the scope of this book, much of the information collected then has relevant background data for the study presented here on the women's role. For instance much of the general background data presented in chapter II came from this study.

In some cases information collected and processed then has been researched to see whether it could give additional information on the particular problems of interest here. That is the case, for example, with the data on division of labour in agriculture. Originally, in the 40 households of male farmers, the division of labour data were classified according to household labour versus non-household labour (subdivided into family, friends, hired, labour rotation and share cropping). Since the question had been asked for each plot: who did the clearing (planting, weeding, harvest) – then the answer most often indicated the type of person and also the sex. However, for the input of household labour the division by sex was not very clearly specified, because there are many tasks that both men and women participate in. Since the question of division of labour by sex was not central to the study, the men were never asked to specify further how the work was shared between the sex. The data on the division of labour between men and women in agriculture, taken from the 40 households of men with agriculture as their main occupation, are therefore not very clear on this point.

The data from this survey form the basis of appendix Table III and text Tables: 1, 10, 12, 13, 14 and 16. Text Tables 10, 14 and 16 include information from both this survey and survey no. 8. Tables showing the results from the two surveys side by side can be found later in this appendix under survey 8.

Survey no. 3

Survey no. 3 consists of two parts, 3a—the market that takes place every fifth day and 3b—the daily market. The surveys were carried out on two consecutive days in December 1973. Survey 3b, which presents information on the permanent market place, the small daily market, covered all sellers who came during the day. In all, there were 40 sellers in the market that day, selling mostly food crops, fish and processed food. All, except for one
meatseller who passed by, were women. All interviews were carried out by the author and an interpreter. Survey 3a covered 140 sellers at the big market place on the day of the 5-days market. The village is part of a market circle involving 3 other villages. Almost all sellers were included in the survey, but some were lost because it was difficult to keep up with the speed of sellers coming and going, or to catch all those who did not sit in one place, but walked around with the commodities on their head. The information was collected with the help of 4 assistants. Unfortunately, some of the data on the value of the commodities were only rough estimations.

Both surveys covered information on the seller and the commodities. In the appendix Tables V and VI the data from the two surveys are presented in a profile of the two markets. The information is also used in chapter V when dealing with women’s other trades.

The processing of the data was carried out by Olav Jull Sørensen, lecturer at School of Administration, University of Ghana, in 1976. (See also Jull Sørensen 1978).

Survey no. 4

The purpose of the general study of the rural production system in 1973 was to form a data basis for an evaluation of a local agricultural development programme. In addition to the questions about the development programme that were included in survey no. 2, a special survey was carried out with 22 farmers from the village who had participated in a one-day school arranged by the programme in November 1973. 17 of the participants were males and only 5 were females. Information from the evaluation survey has been used in chapter IV section 5 on women and the extension service.

Survey no. 5

Survey no. 5 was the first survey carried out after the return to the village in 1976, 2 1/2 years after the completion of the first field work, and after the data from this field work had been processed and presented in a thesis (Bukh 1975). The purpose of the second field work was to go into the women's role in the village economy, which had been dealt with only very briefly in the first study. The second field work took place in two periods, April–May 1976 and November 1976–April 1977, in all between 5–6 months in the village.
The household survey covered 20% of all households and the sample was taken at random. It contained information on household compositions, sex, age and relation to household heads and present occupations of its members.

It was carried out in two parts, the first half in April–May and the second half in November–January 1976–77. The first part was checked and updated during the second part.

The interviews were carried out with the help of one very qualified assistant, the same assistant who worked with the author since the start of the project in 1973 until its completion in 1977.

Survey no. 5 has provided information for the appendix Tables nos. VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, and XII. The analysis of the household structure in chapter III and the text Tables 4, 6, 7 and 8 are also based on the household survey. Also the text Table 17 on children’s school attendance is from this survey.

Survey no. 6

During the months of February, March and April 1977 prices of some of the essential food items were recorded. The samples were taken at the 5-days market. For comparison it should be mentioned that the national minimum wage in that same period was 2.00 C per day, while wages paid for farm labour in the village was 4–6.00 C per day depending on the tasks.

The variation of the prices of the food items is shown in appendix Table XIII.

Survey no. 7.

40 households were selected for an intensive study covering their activities during 10 days. The survey was carried out in two parts, the first 20 households were interviewed 29 December 1976–8 January 1977, and the other 20 from 10–19 February 1977. The daily interviewing was done by 5 assistants. All the household members were asked to give information on how they spent their time, all their economic transactions both in and out of the household, and on composition and sources of the diet. The purpose of this survey was to get information on division of labour and on division of economic responsibilities within the household, particularly who provided what for the cooking pot.

The households were selected among those who had shown a positive attitude towards the study. It was necessary to do this because the 10-day
survey involved a lot of time every day for all the members. Half of the households selected had a male head, the other half were households with a female head.

In connection with the 10-day survey, one longer interview was carried out with each household covering general aspects of the household's economy, e.g. sources of income and contribution to or from family members outside the household. Decision-making structure between husband and wife was also discussed.

Appendix Table XIV is from this additional interviewing and the 10-day survey forms the basis of part of chapter III on the economic division of labour and chapter IV, division of labour in the household, e.g. Table 11 on hours spent on cooking.

Survey no. 8

32 women in the households selected for survey no. 7 were chosen for further interviewing. They were interviewed in detail about their personal history, their economic activities, division of labour and how the economic responsibilities were shared in the household, their access to land and other resources, their agricultural production, and the agricultural system of their parents. The purpose of these interviews was to get information on women's particular problems, their difficulties in getting access to resources, the extent to which they were burdened down with family responsibilities, and the consequences of the increasing strain on the women for the living condition of the rural families.

The youngest of the 32 women interviewed was 29, the oldest 85. 6 of them were under 40 years of age, 7 were between 40 and 49, 6 between 50 and 59, and 7 more than 60 years of age. 19 of them were married, but 5 of them lived separated from their husbands. 7 had status as divorced and 6 were widows. 16 of the women were heads of their own households. 29 out of the 32 had farms of their own.

The interviews were carried out by the author during March and April 1977. The data from this survey provided the main framework for the chapters on women's position and the basis of the text Tables nos. 9, 10, 14, 15 and 16. Tables 10, 14 and 16 include data from other surveys.

Tables from Secondary Sources

Patricia Leyland Kaufert (1977) did a Ph.D. study on migrations out of the village. Two of her tables have been quoted, text Table 2, and appendix Table XVII.
M.J. Bateman (1973) did a paper on the changing price incentives in Ghana’s cocoa production for a seminar in Ghana 1973. Table 3 and is quoted from that.

Tables XVIII and XIX have been taken from the national population census. The figures on the adult population differ from the figures obtained from the household survey (and from Kaufert 1977). The difference might be caused by a different way of registering migrants. It looks as if some of the men who work and de facto stay in other places still have been registered as de jure living in the village by the National Census. Some of the figures on sex distribution among children and changes in age distribution among the men are also very odd in the National Census.

Table 1. Size of farms controlled by male and female farmers in Tso, 1973.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farm Size in Acres</th>
<th>Male Farmers</th>
<th>Female Farmers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.0 - 1.0</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0 - 1.9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0 - 2.9</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0 - 3.9</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0 - 4.9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0 - 7.9</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.0 - 11.9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.0 - 19.9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.0 -</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 1.

* Number of women is too low, according to later household survey the number of female farmers could be double this amount.
Table II. Crops grown on plots under the control of male farmers and on the female farmer’s separate plots in Tsito, 1973.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>1. Cultivation control led by male farmers</th>
<th>2. Cultivated by female farmers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Order of importance</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local maize</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coco-yam¹</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantain</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yam</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citrus</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil palm²</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avocado pears</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pineapple</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groundnuts</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid maize</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar-cane</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of farmers</td>
<td></td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source Survey no. 1.

1 Coco-yam is a root crop that is very common on the forest land. Grown once, it will shoot up when the land is being cleared after fallow time.

2 The figures for oil palm are far too low, because oil palm also grows wild in the bush and in the fallow land and these are not counted by the farmers themselves, when they mention their farms in use.
Table III. *Number of farms and acreages of cocoa plots planted by male farmers in Tsito, 1900–73.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Plots</th>
<th>Village’ Land</th>
<th>Land elsewhere</th>
<th>Total Acreages</th>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Land elsewhere</th>
<th>Village’ Land</th>
<th>Land elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>No. of plots</td>
<td>No. of plots</td>
<td>No. of plots</td>
<td>No. of plots</td>
<td>No. of plots</td>
<td>No. of plots</td>
<td>No. of plots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900–09</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910–19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920–29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930–39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940–49</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950–59</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960–69</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970–73</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Survey no. 2. 40 male farmers.

1 Village Land is land within the borders of Tsito-land.

2 Land elsewhere refers to land in other places, most often Tsito farmers acquired additional cocoa-land in the frontier areas in the North of the Volta Region, around Ahamansu and Kedjebi 100–130 miles North of Tsito.

3 Some of these farms do not survive their first years.

Table IV. *Sexual division of labour in the men’s cocoafarms. Percentage of acres cultivated in sample, Tsito, 1973.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Household labour</th>
<th>Hired labour</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men alone</td>
<td>Men &amp; women</td>
<td>No inf. on sex</td>
<td>Men alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvest</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Survey no 2, which includes 40 households with 30 cocoa farmers, all with farming as their main occupation. 162 acres.
Table V. *Commodity groups sold at the local markets in Tsito, 1973*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Commodity Groups</th>
<th>Items/Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Staples</td>
<td>Cassava, cocoyam, yam, plantain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>Tomatoes, onions, okro, pepper, garden eggs, cocoyam leaves (kontomire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Grains</td>
<td>Beans, maize, rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Nuts</td>
<td>Groundnuts, palm nuts, coconuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td>Oranges, grape fruits, lemons, limes, bananas, pawpaws, pine, apples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Processed food</td>
<td>Cassava dough, maize dough, garri, kokontey, oils, starch, dried cassava, shea butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Prepared food</td>
<td>Kenkey, fried fish, cooked corn, ogawu, pap, bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Smoked, dried and fresh fish, shallots, snails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>Goat, beef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Provisions</td>
<td>Salt, sugar, soap, milk, beverages, tinned fish, flour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Kitchen utensils</td>
<td>Spoons, knives, plates, pots, pans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Cloth</td>
<td>Mammy cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>Shirts, dresses, trousers, materials (excluding cloth), scarves, blouses, baby dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>Including slippers, sandals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Personal care</td>
<td>1. Bracelets, necklaces, ear-rings, beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Combs, sponges, powder, pomade, &quot;yomo&quot; sheabutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Petty Items'</td>
<td>Glasses, thread, blades, hair-pins, combs, powder, lavenda etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Toys, sweets, charcoal, tobacco, biscuits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Survey no. 3 and Jull Sørensen 1978.

1 This product line overlaps others, i.e. 11 and 15, but as details were not given, the line could not be broken down.
Table VI. Profile of the two Local Markets’ in Tsito, 1973.

The 5-Days Market
1. It has around 140 traders or 1 trader per each 20 inhabitants.
2. Almost all traders are women.
3. The average age of the traders is between 35-40.
4. Most traders have farming as their main occupation.
5. Most traders (61 %) come to the market from Tsito itself and nearby surroundings.
6. The Tsito traders deal in all product lines present at the market.
7. The traders travelled on average 4 miles to get to the market.
8. Most traders (75 %) arrived before 10 a.m.
9. The traders attended the market 6 hours and 50 minutes, on average.
10. 41 % of the traders sell only one item. 80 % of the traders sell only one product line. The traders sell on the average 1.3 product lines.
11. There is no demand related pattern in the assortments.
12. 39 % of the traders deal in local food crops, 16 % of the traders deal in processed food crops and prepared food.
   19 % of the traders deal in fish.
   15 % of the traders deal in cloth, clothes and shoes.
13. C 10,000 worth of goods were brought to the market.
14. 50 % of the traders have goods worth C 4.00 or less.
   67 % of the traders have goods worth C 10,000 or less.
15. 7 product lines out of 17 have an average value of goods of C 5 or less per trader;
   9 product lines have an average value of C1000 or less per trader; 15 product lines have an average value of C25.00 or less per trader.
16. Measured as the turnover per house, the excessive selling capacity is high.
17. 84 % of the traders come all the year round to the Tsito market.
18. 20 % of the traders sell also in the small daily market all the year round.
19. 59 % of the traders sell only in the Tsito Market.
   34 % of the traders sell in two or three markets.
20. 21 % of the traders sell also from their house.
21. 95 % of the customers are local consumers.
22. The traders would like to see better buildings and roofing in the market.
23. 87 % of the traders have only one source of supply.
24. Tsito and nearby surroundings are the main sources of supply of local food crops.
25. Accra is the main source of supply of manufactured goods.
26. Ho plays no role as source of supply.

The Daily Market
1. The market has around 40 traders.
2. Almost all traders are women.
3. The average age of the traders is between 35 and 40.
4. A little less than 50 % stated farming as their main occupation.
5. Almost all traders come from Tsito itself or nearby areas.
6. The traders arrive throughout the day, with 75 % arriving before 12.00 noon.
7. The traders attended the market for 5 hours and 25 minutes on the average.

* The processing of Survey No. 3 for these profiles have been done by Olav Jull Sørensen, University of Ghana, in 1978. For a more detailed description of the results see Jull Sørensen 1978.
8. 30% of the traders sell only one item.
   85% of the traders sell only one product line
   The traders sell on the average 1.5 product lines.
9. There is no demand related pattern in the assortments
10. 30% of the traders deal in staples.
    30% of the traders deal in fish.
    25% of the traders deal in processed food.
    20% of the traders deal in vegetables.
11. C211 worth of goods were brought to the market.
12. 50% of the traders have goods worth C2.00 or less.
    75% of the traders have goods worth C4.00 or less.
13. Measured as the turnover per hour, the excessive selling capacity is high.
14. 50% of the traders sell also in the 5-days market all year round.
15. 10% of the traders sell in other markets than the daily and the 5-days market.
16. 10% of the traders sell in other markets than the daily and the Tsito market.
17. 67% of the traders sell also from their house.
18. 95% of the customers are local consumers.
19. The traders would like to see better buildings and shades in the market.
20. 62% of the traders have only one source of supply.
21. Tsito and surroundings are less important as supplies of foodstuffs to the daily market
    compared to the 5-days market.

Source: Survey no. 3 and O.J. Sørensen 1978.
Table VII. Type of work by adults aged 15 and over, by sex. Tsito. 1976/77. Percent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation:</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Only farming and selling own crops</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail traders</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processing and selling food</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen' selling their own products</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage earners selling their labour</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentices, students</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioners, home workers, unemployed,</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total percentage</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of farmers</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 5, 173 men and 247 women

1 The category 'craftsmen' covers different kinds of artisans. Many of the men have learned a skill but not all of them use it regularly. In the household survey 23 per cent of the men mentioned a skill. But, except for one electrician, all of them were also farmers. Thirty-nine men out of 173 mentioned a skill: seven masons, two sawyers, two carpenters, one drumcarver, three blacksmiths, two painters, one electrician, four bricklayers, one ironpot-maker, five fitters/mechanics, six herbalists, two tailors, one weaver, one mattressmaker and one photographer. Out of 248 women, only seven mention a skill, that is three pottery-makers and four seamstresses.

2 No women are pensioners, but the category covers women who have no income of their own, e.g. women with small children and many young girls, between 15 and 18, who have left school and do the housework in their mother's household, or women who only help on the husbands' farm.
Table VIII. Composition by age and sex of members in Tsito households headed by males and females, respectively. Number. 1976/77.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Female-headed households</th>
<th>Male-headed households</th>
<th>All households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0–4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5–9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10–14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15–24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–44</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45–64</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 5, 86 male-headed and 62 female-headed households.

Table IX. Number of generations in Tsito households, headed by males and females respectively. Number. 1976/77.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of generations</th>
<th>Male-headed household</th>
<th>Female-headed household</th>
<th>All households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same generation</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two generations</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three generations</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four generations</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First and third generations</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 5, 148 households
Table X. Relationship to head in Tsito households, headed by males and females, respectively. Number. 1976/77.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to household head</th>
<th>Male-headed Male</th>
<th>Male-headed Female</th>
<th>Female-headed Male</th>
<th>Female-headed Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son and daughter</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandson and granddaughter</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father and mother</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother and sister</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nephew and niece</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-laws: brother, sister, son, daughter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relatives of head</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relatives of spouse</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonrelatives</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: Survey no. 5, 86 male-headed and 62 female-headed households.
* In these cases the husbands did not live in the house, but were members of the household in the sense that they participated in production and consumption.

Table XI. Married and living separated from spouse. Men and women respectively. Tsito. Number. 1976/77.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Spouse living in the village</th>
<th>Spouse living outside the village</th>
<th>No inf. on spouse's village residence</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18–24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Men

| 18–24 | -                            | -                                | 0                                     | 0     |
| 25–44 | 4                            | 2                                | 2                                     | 8     |
| > 45  | 1                            | 1                                | 1                                     | 3     |
| Total | 5                            | 3                                | 3                                     | 11    |

* Source: Survey no. 5, 51 women, 11 men
Table XII. Age and sex of children staying with relatives. Tsito. Number. 1976/77.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staying with</th>
<th>Boys in age groups</th>
<th>Girls in age groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>5-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother alone</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father alone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother &amp; father</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's parents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's other relatives</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's other relatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother or sister</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 5, 363 children.

Table XIII. Prices of certain commodities sold at the local market on selected days between February and April, 1977 in Tsito.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. smoked fish</td>
<td>5–10 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. yam</td>
<td>0.5–1.2 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. cassava</td>
<td>0.6 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. rice</td>
<td>2.8–5.6 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. dried beans</td>
<td>1.7–3.1 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. groundnuts</td>
<td>2.4–2.7 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. tomatoes</td>
<td>2.2–4.9 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. shallots</td>
<td>4.0–6.3 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. occro</td>
<td>2.4–3.4 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. gari</td>
<td>1.9–2.1 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 fingers of plantain</td>
<td>0.6–1.0 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. goatmeat</td>
<td>5.7 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 l. oil</td>
<td>2.1–3.2 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. wheat bread</td>
<td>19.0–41.7 ₩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. local produced soap</td>
<td>3.8 ₩</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 ₩ equivalent to 0.85 US$. 

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Table XIV. Preferences of utilization in case of sudden surplus (2,000 C), Tsito. 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First choice</th>
<th>Second choice</th>
<th>Both choices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>men</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Put up building or improve building</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invest in children's education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invest in agriculture</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invest in trade</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve health</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use it for subsistence, and/or children's upkeep</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey no. 7, 9 adult men and 19 adult women, were asked what they would do if they won 2,000 C in the National Lottery. 5 of the 9 men and 10 of the 19 women had also second choice.

Table XV. Division of labour on married women's separate foodcrop plots in Tsito. Acreages. 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labour by</th>
<th>Survey number</th>
<th>Clearing</th>
<th>Planting</th>
<th>Weeding</th>
<th>Harvest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man alone</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women alone</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man + woman</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hired labour</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tractor station</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No information</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of acres</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey No. 2: 19 women, 22 farmplots, 11.1 acres
Survey No. 8: 13 women, 22 farmplots, 11.1 acres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Ratio of immigartional and emigration flows</th>
<th>Net migration' (thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accra C.D.</td>
<td>+2.53</td>
<td>+ 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>−1.12</td>
<td>− 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western and Central</td>
<td>−1.01</td>
<td>− 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashanti</td>
<td>+1.89</td>
<td>+ 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brong-Ahafo</td>
<td>+4.48</td>
<td>+ 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volta</td>
<td>−3.29</td>
<td>− 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern and Upper</td>
<td>−5.88</td>
<td>−157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1 Ratio of biggest to smallest flow; immigration shown positive, emigration negative.
2 Immigration shown positive, emigration negative.

Table XVII. Frequency of migration from Tsito, by age and sex in 1968. Per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men born in the village</th>
<th>15–29</th>
<th>30–39</th>
<th>40–50</th>
<th>50 and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>never migrated</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migrated, but returned</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absent in 1968</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total – per cent</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total – number</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women born in the village</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>never migrated</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migrated, but returned</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absent in 1968</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total – per cent</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total – number</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table XVIII. *Population size in Tsito, 1931–1970.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1948</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>1,356</td>
<td>2,048</td>
<td>2,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>known</td>
<td>1,196</td>
<td>2,041</td>
<td>2,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,860</td>
<td>2,552</td>
<td>4,089</td>
<td>4,403</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National population census of Ghana.

Table XIX. *Population size, by sex and age in Tsito, 1960 and 1970. Number and percentage.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Below 1 year</td>
<td>1–4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Population Census of Ghana
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The difficult position of women in Ghanaian society lies both in structures that are manifested through the policy of the state, and in factors that are specific for this society, having their origin in its traditional structure. The relinquishment by the peasants of control over their immediate situation has led to the loss of traditional techniques and distortion of social relations. Money rather than labour claims has become the medium of social interchange.

A case study conducted in a village in Ghana is used to illustrate the position of women in a patriarchal society subjected to pressures from various directions. Changes in the traditional agriculture caused by the introduction of cocoa resulted in greater pressure on land used for food production. Together with overcropping and the destruction of forests by charcoal-burners, there has been a general impoverishment of land resources and a reduction of the nutritional value of the crops grown.

In 1972 the role of women as food producers began to be recognised and the role of female extension officers has become more important. The disadvantageous position of women in agriculture and in coping with the exigencies of social life is emphasised. The analysis shows how a new type of woman-headed household has emerged. In relation to the male-head the womanhead is always in an inferior situation since she has to cope with subsistence responsibilities at the same time as her access to resources is poorer.