

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**CUSTOMARY LAND TENURE PRACTICES AND THE LIVELIHOODS OF  
PEASANTS IN THE NANUMBA TRADITIONAL AREA**



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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN  
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## Declaration

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work towards the M. Phil. in Geography and Resource Development, and that, with the exception of information to which due acknowledgement has been made in the text; it contains neither material previously published by another person nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree of the University, to the best of my knowledge.

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## **Abstract**

It is mind bothering if few people inhabiting a vast area of a region should have issues with livelihoods due to access to land. Livelihoods of people in the three northern regions of Ghana depend largely on the availability and ease of access to land. On the other hand land in the Nanumba traditional area is under the allodial hold of the overlord and overseen by the sub and divisional chiefs. The indigenes within the royal families are entitled to usufruct rights in the communally held land. The customary practices of farmland allocation, determination of interests and rules of engagement in land deals possibly leave behind issues of discrimination, inequality and deprivation with livelihoods consequences.

This study adopted a case study design and mixed methods of data collection with questionnaire, FGDs and in-depth interviews as instruments of data collection. It gathered both qualitative and quantitative data on modes of land allocation, gendered issues in land allocation, access to farmland and livelihood outcomes, and the state of food security. Descriptive techniques like frequency and tabulations were adopted to analyse the data. It therefore observed that access to farmland was predominantly through free gifts and inheritance, with incidence of land sales around urbanizing areas like Bimbilla sub-traditional area. The inequality, discrimination and exclusions in gendered land access were socially constructed. It also observed low income earnings with widespread household food insecurity across the study sites. The study observed that peasants borrowed food stuff and also sold labour predominantly as mitigation measures. It therefore recommended participatory stakeholder interventions involving the chiefs, gender desk officers, local NGOs and the local government in formulating effective agrarian land reforms to enhance real access to farmland, especially by females in the area; while taking steps to diversify livelihoods of households in the traditional area.

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this work to my late mother, Yamboar Lucy Tanjon, for her efforts in my life, and for her steadfast spiritual backings. I thank God for her life and wish her befitting reception at the Lord's throne of mercy.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Chapter Overview

Socio-economic development in rural areas is rooted in the livelihoods of the peasant households. Peasant Household referred to labour oriented family of persons that engages largely in agrarian activities for a living. Livelihood has been defined as the embodiment of people's capabilities, assets, and activities they required and engaged in for a means of living (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Livelihood is therefore, composition of a household's opportunities, assets and capabilities that it requires in order to make a living. It also refers to a household's portfolio of assets, capabilities and activity options required to enable it secure a decent living.

Issues of livelihoods in rural areas are contingent on the availability of, and access to land. Land in the Nanumba traditional area is communally held with several land rights. The traditional authorities in other jurisdictions, who are mandated to hold and distribute land according to customarily laid down rules, were observed to have engaged in deals that inured to their benefits at the expense of the subjects (Yeboah and Shaw, 2013). These practices of land allocations within the traditional areas tend to pose livelihood challenges, with landless peasant households being worse affected. This study was intended to examine the land tenure practices by the customs of Nanumba traditional area and if their deals discriminate either by gender or nativity of the peasants. It was also to examine and explain any observed livelihood impact these practices may pose on households of peasants in the traditional area, as well as identify any policy implications emanating from the observed impacts.

## **1.1 Background to the Study**

Land and its resource endowment serve the livelihood needs of a majority of people worldwide (FAO, 1996). It remains a key source of survival to the poor and the marginalized in societies across the globe. It further constitutes an asset, a store of value, and upon which wealth of the ethnic groups is determined (Lastarria-Cornhiel and Frais, 1992; cited in Quansah, 2012). Dittoh, (2002) thinks that land plays significant roles in supporting livelihoods among rural households, except that chiefs are becoming perpetuators of access denials and restrictions to land interests and access. Land is therefore, an indispensable resource for survival for multitudes of people. However, this gift of nature has been under the control of a few privileged people in the societies across nations. In Africa there are uncertainties surrounding the nature of its management and distribution to those who really need it in each society. In most societies in the Sub-Saharan Africa, land is controlled by the states and royal classes of indigenes.

In Ghana and some other countries, chiefs and clan or family heads are in control of about 80% of the land (Kunbun-Naa Yiri II, 2006), while the state controls the rest. In northern Ghana, and especially, in the Dagbon traditional area, the chiefs, clan or family heads and private individuals play the leading roles in land management, control and distributions. Land Tenure refers to sets of rules and regulations incorporated into a society's customs to regulate how its members as well as strangers should be allocated with land rights within the society in the pursuit of their livelihoods. Customary Land Tenure Practices include the traditional authority's exercise of the obligatory roles (Article 36(8) of the 1992 republican constitution of Ghana) in determining ownership interests in land, allocating land to natives and strangers, regulating land use rights, and ensuring the perpetuation of land to unborn generations (Yeboah and Shaw,2013).

Customary land tenure system has maintained its control over land as communal property over centuries amidst several challenges of social, economic and political orientations (Kasanga et al, 1996: Woodman, 1996). According to Pomevor, (2014), communal heads like chiefs, family and clan heads in the communities assume allodial rights over communal lands while members of the communities hold usufruct rights. Usufruct is a form of right or interest in land held by a member of landowning family, or a stranger who has been granted such an interest, to make a living from the use of the land. Pomevor, (2014) described this right held by members of the communities as derived rights in land. In referring to judgment passed by Ollenu in law suits, he enumerated four modes of allodial land acquisition – by purchase, gift to the stool or skin, pioneer settlement and conquest.

Chiefs are empowered constitutionally to assume allodial interest holdings to lands in trust for their subjects. Yeboah and Shaw, (2013), in reference to Article 36(8) of the 1992 Ghanaian republican constitution, highlighted the constitutionally mandated roles bestowed on traditional authorities and declared that there had been a dilution per their observations. The article 36(8) recognized the social obligatory roles of traditional authorities in the service of their communities and the state in land ownership and possession for the utmost benefit of their subjects. These communal leaders formulate rules to govern the land under their customary tenure and to determine how land should be retained within the communities as heritage. These rules regulated how the junior members of the community relate with the land, but they vary from one tenure system to another, and also, across management systems.

Likewise, Yeboah and Shaw acknowledged that customary land tenure practices vary in space and tenure regime. Chiefs preside over land and allocate land to meet livelihood needs of the subjects, and also settle disputes and other issues relating to land allocations, ownership, use and

transfer. These practices of the traditional authorities are meant to ensure enhanced livelihoods and development at the rural and peri-urban communities. On the contrary, Yeboah and Shaw, (2013) noted that the traditional authorities rather benefit from land deals at the expense of the subjects.

Customary tenure rights held by members of the communities have undergone some changes over years. Initially, stools or skins held lands absolutely. Members only had usufruct rights of gathering resources of the land. Hardly was it possible for individual members of the communities to claim rights of permission over parcels of communal land (Pomevor, 2014). This gave all persons in the community equal rights of access to the resources of the communal lands (Agidi, 1976). Mabogunje (1980) noted that land under customary tenure in Africa; especially Nigeria served the communal needs of members of the communities and was not subject to being alienated through sale. According to Lentz, (2010), the traditions of the ethnic groups in the Sisala traditional area outlawed land sales for fear of alienating their ancestral links. According to Pomevor, (2014) usufruct rights held by indigenes was indefinite, and only reverted to the stool or skin upon abandonment. He observed that families and individuals could hold this rights and transfer to their lineages.

On the other hand, studies have observed changes in the land ownerships, distributions and disbursement within societies. These changes were observed to result from scarcity due to population explosion (Yeboah and Shaw, 2013). This phenomenon led to changes in the rights the community members had in the use of the skin or stool lands held in common (Agidi, 1976; cited in Pomevor, 2014). Pressures from commercial agriculture and urbanization brought about land markets and the consequent crowding out of small scale peasantry, especially around the suburbs of larger towns (Yeboah and Shaw, 2013; Pomevor, 2014). Likewise, extensive

participation in agriculture came with its attendant competitions for fertile land. Also, the growth in settlement again inflamed the evolution of land markets (Yaro, 2012: Senu, 2016). Therefore, population growth as noted is a key factor to increasing demand for land (Yeboah and Shaw, 2013) both for agricultural activities or for estate development. They held that population growth causes derived demand for housing, recreational fields, infrastructural development and rising drive for arable land for food production. Meanwhile, Dittoh, (2002) had noted this earlier on when he called for stronger policy measures to shape land management in line with the increasing population growth. Peasants are the worst affected by the consequences of these developments. This is because when land attracts high prices, landlords would not hesitate to evict peasants to make land available for commercial agricultural and estate development (Devendra & Chantalakhana, 2002).

Another changing trend that mounts stress to land availability and accessibility is the diversion of communal land to private interest holdings. This practice has likely impact of weaning off landless peasant households from decent livelihoods. The act threatens livelihoods of the landless members of the communities. In the midst of this scarcity, members of landowning families with usufruct interests in communal lands gradually turned such lands into family, clan and individual lands (Dittoh, 2002: Pomevor, 2014). Likewise, the phenomena also turned land previously held in allodial interest by families and clans into individual land holding interests (Pomevor, 2014). In effect, usufruct rights holders have entrenched their holds onto such lands to ensure tenure security.

However, there are noted schools of thought espousing two viewpoints that counter each other's position of land interest holdings (Chimhowu and Woodhouse, 2006). While one proposes individualization of land rights for the purpose of enhancing productivity and clarity in title

registration (World Bank, 1975; de Soto, 2000), the other thinks that promoting communal interests in land will guarantee the secondary rights of landless poor people (IIED, 1999; Toulmin and Quan, 2000; Toulmin et al, 2002; cited in Chimhowu and Woodhouse, 2006). These families or individuals can only pass on these lands to their lineages as heritage. Peasants that are not related to landowning families would have to depend on the goodwill of these families for farmlands. Dittoh (2002) also put forward that families held and gave land under their use to strangers even without consulting the chiefs while chiefs preside over uncultivated lands. Chiefs could only give out unoccupied land to settlers who request for land.

As noted above, settlers and other landless categories of peasants had to access land for livelihoods through these sets of interest holders in the community. Settlers, strangers and other landless people within the community would enjoy only secondary usufructory rights to land in the community through gifts, tenancy or if they can, purchase. These modes of access vary among traditions and between lineage systems, and falls short of ensuring peasants' tenure security.

The access of these peasants would be subject to the set of customary rules governing their relationships with the farmlands. According to Dittoh, (2002), families could give conditions attached to the benevolent gestures, mindful of the traditional or customary rules of the areas. This implies that customs and traditions construct rules and regulations to govern land deals within the traditional areas. He however ruled out any direct demands from the landowning families as compensations for giving land out to landless people in the northern regions of Ghana. However, Lentz, (2010) noted a demand by Tindamba in the Lambunssie district for Dagaba settlers to supply animals meant for pacification of the earth-gods on lands under their

usufruct interests. The payment of compensation is likely to constitute leakage from the peasants' meager capital.

However, share tenancy is a structured compensatory mode used by landlords in most southern communities to benefit from the use of their land. Share tenancy is a rental status depicting landlord-tenant relations under customary law, containing the contract between landlord and the tenant (Pomevor, 2014). The most widely used forms of shared tenancy are the Abusa (1/3) and Abunu (1/2). In the case of Abusa (1/3), the tenant bears the cost of production and so the landlord is entitled to only one-third of the profit accruing from the output. In the other case the landlord bears the cost while the tenant only manages the farm. In sharing the proceeds, they both part with one-half (1/2) of the profit (Pomevor, 2014). These tenancy agreements are a predominant practice in the southern Ghana, among the Akan ethnic communities (Appiah, 2012).

Landless peasants will only take whichever tenancy regime between the two, that the landlords decide to practice. Research shows that Abusa is the dominant practice in these communities (Agidi, 1976; Appiah, 2012). The studies observed that most landlords are not capable of prefinancing the contractual demands required under the Abunu share tenancy. Landlords rather preferred that peasant tenants take the risks involved in production. They therefore opt for the contractual agreement of Abusa. This pushes the peasants into taking the risks of farming, mindful of the share accruing to the landlords.

Gender could be a key factor in determining allocations of land rights in African societies. Socially constructed roles for men and women in a society in themselves constitute a violation of land rights of women (Tsikata and Yaro, 2014). Women only get access to land through their children, especially male children. In Sisala land, women who gave birth to many male children

assume greater access to land than those who give birth to females (Adolwine and Dudima, 2010). In patriarchal lineage system, customs and traditions determine land access, use and transfer. This creates unequal access to land by a majority of female members of a traditional area. The biases emanating from the customs do not only seek exclusion of females from land inheritance and land title holdings, but seek to define subordinating roles for women in families (Agbosu et al, 2007).

Unfortunately, women constitute the larger segment of world's population, as much as in all African countries. This lack of equity in land distribution creates livelihood challenges to women, youth and strangers in societies. These categories of the landless groups within the traditional areas, whose livelihoods are likely to suffer from the decisions of the customary authorities, are liable to suffering from hunger, poverty and deprivation.

In summary, land issues cannot be ignored in the fight against underdevelopment in rural Ghana. Deducing from the aforementioned impacts, these issues affect, in greater measures, the land holdings of the largely agrarian society and ultimately determine the levels of output and incomes of the people. The interrelationships among the customary tenure interest holders in land, the rules and regulations that the customs formulate to govern how people relate with land, including the lineage systems, as well as the interest bestowed in settlers and landless people and the usufruct rights held by indigenes must be looked at seriously if livelihoods must be attended to. Most especially, gender issues and poor people's secondary rights to community resources need to be catered for.

Studies show that when large sections of people are excluded from land access it creates negative conditions like poverty, dependence, conflicts and even migration. Despite the extensive

literature on land tenure systems or practices there is a gap in examining the impacts of the tenure practices on peasants with comparative analysis of the variations of the impacts on settlers and natives, as well as intra native gender variations. This study will examine the variations between peasants by nativity and intra-native gendered impacts of the customary practices to arrive at the level and extent of inequality and deprivations enshrined in the practices.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

This study seeks to examine the customary land tenure practices of the Nanumba traditional area and how the livelihoods of the settlers and other landless peasants are impacted on by the tenure practices. This traditional area has Bimbilla as the traditional capital and two key areas aligned to the two gates of the traditional area. The people of this area are predominantly farmers and rely on land to a larger extent for livelihoods. Land as a factor of production constitutes the bedrock of livelihoods in Nanumba traditional area. Three quarters (88.2%) of households in the district are into agriculture, while 97.7 percent of peasant households in the area are into crop farming (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). Yam, maize, groundnuts, cassava and beans production require good soil for bumper outputs. Nanumba traditional area is well noted for its contributions to food supply in Ghana.

Despite the high expectations that Ghana entrust in the traditional area to salvaging her from threats of food insecurity issues, lots of the farmers in this area operate on subsistence basis due to land tenure issues based on customs, litigations and conflicts. Land commoditization is emerging within the area and this has served to heighten issues of ownership and control to land. Even within family levels, there are issues of alienations and exclusions to land access. This appears more serious when females within land owning families are denied direct access to

landed assets of families. Settlers and females as well as males from landless families seem to suffer same fates of difficult access to farmlands.

It is fast becoming a history on how allodial holders of land acted in the interest of their subjects in the traditional area. Chiefs, tindamba, and heads of families serve as dominant actors in the customary land deals in the Nanumba traditional area. These customary authorities have controlled and managed land and its resources equitably in the past. Their tenure deals put the communal interests of the people first, and their adherence to cultural heritages of the community they represented made land inalienable (Kumbun-Naa Yiri II, 2006). This communal role by the traditional authorities in the area was also observed elsewhere in Nigeria and Ghana (Mabogunje, 1980; Lentz, 2010). The unused or unoccupied and unallocated lands were reallocated to growing or larger families, and strangers to help them adjust to their changing livelihood needs (Mabogunje, 1980). It will interest the study to ascertain if rural and small town communities of the study area uphold this custom.

There had been customarily laid down rules and regulations on how land is owned, allocated, used and transferred within subgroups in the traditional area. Land tenure practices in the traditional area cannot be said to be guided by uniform rules, and so different communities in the traditional area operate on different customary rules. For instance, while some communities within the traditional area include females' land interests, others thought that females had no place in land rights.

Likewise, some think that the interests females should hold must be subordinated to interests of male members of the families. This category of thinkers share property like houses and entrust those of females in the males as care takers. The silent questions could be on how widespread is the phenomenon? And whether females suffer adversely due to these dispositions by the

patriarchal society? This is likely the manifestation of the impacts of the socially constructed oral rules and regulations.

The emergence of land sales creates and strengthens exclusionist customs, though they vary across the traditional areas depending on the level at which the inequalities are perpetuated. For instance, areas that experienced the emerging urbanization have continued to indulge in land sales and partitioning of communally held lands into individual ownership. Land sales are emerging in the bigger towns within the traditional area, while influential members of the families wield interests of usufruct to their nuclear families. Consequently, family members are excluded base on gender due to the high monetary value placed on land pressured by high demand for building plots. However, settler peasants whose farmlands are demarcated for sale might be given some compensatory recognition in the process. Such farmers are given some plots free of charge, and also given opportunity to express demand for the rest of the parcels demarcated for sale. If such persons could afford they bought the rest of the farmland, else, it was sold out.

The conflict situation in the area makes individuals within the communities to also sell communal lands without consultations with the rest of the interest holders in the land. This phenomenon was is prevalent in most conflicting community (Dittoh, 2002). Some of these deals have led to prospective buyers losing their moneys. The developments have brought about lots of land litigations, inter and intra family and tribal conflicts, leading to seizure of portions of land under usufruct usage.

The devastating impact of this is that, while such lands are under contention, peasants are automatically evicted from their farmlands. The litigations on land hitherto used as farmlands

have limited the access of poor people to resources of the said land parcels. These issues have actually questioned the poor people's access to farmland, and pose as threats to improved productivity and livelihoods in the agrarian economy (Okojie & Shimeles, 2006). Any disregard for peasants' livelihoods is a recipe for widespread hunger, inequality and deprivations in communities of the northern Ghana (Yaro, 2012). The prevalence of these ills in Nanumba traditional area constitutes an affront to rural development as they impact on the livelihood sustenance of the peasants in the traditional area.

Settlers in the traditional area depend on secondary usufruct rights out of the benevolence of the individual and family or clan heads. However, realities of non-documentation of land deals in the area have left behind issues of trust among the settler communities and the land owners. This occurs largely among the second or third generations of the parties that contracted the land deals. Landowners preferred to keep their lands than to give out to persons they do not fully trust. However, the issues of trust seemed to be changing in favour of the peasants to the disadvantage of the landless natives. The current intra-ethnic conflicts seemed to scare landless peasants from requesting for farmlands from native landowners. This situation could be devastating to native peasants and settlers alike. The contention yet to be considered in another study is to determine the extent to which this waning trust affected peasantry in the traditional area.

Another key issue that gives basis to gendered discriminations in land allocation is the lineage system practiced by the traditional area. Right to inherit is vested in the male members of the families. Because females are given out in marriage, they are not considered permanent members of the family. As noted by Kuusaana et al, (2016), females have no permanent membership right to either the natal family or marital family. This limits their ability to inherit from either their natal or marital families. In terms of property transfer, customs does not support female interests

for fear of alienating family assets held in trust for the families. Any transfer of family asset to a female constitutes automatic grant of rights to an outside family.

Upon the death of male spouse, females are not allowed to take over the assets of their nuclear families. Female enjoy land rights through their children, especially male children. However, women function alongside their husbands in fending for the households. Juxtaposing the state of women on the socially constructed roles and the inequalities, then there could be lots of livelihoods issues, given the size of women in the traditional area.

Equally discriminating was the marriage institutions and the customs on property inheritance among spouses. The system of marriage among the Nanumbas required the woman to move permanently to the husband's family, and all her belongings are at the disposal of the spouse and her children. She registers her assets in the care of her husband as a show of complete submissiveness to the marital agreement. The husband will consult her before taking a major decision on such assets. But the assets of the husband remain the sole property of the husband and the woman has no control over them. The use of such assets does not require the approval of the woman. Women were therefore culturally prepared to play secondary subordinating functions in the traditional area.

In short, the rules and regulations governing land ownership, access, control and transfer in the Nanumba traditional area, coupled with how they are appropriated, form the basis for the exclusion of women and other landless groups in land deals. There is therefore a need for proper assessment and evaluation of the customary land tenure practices in the NTA, and how it impacts on the land holdings, levels of livelihood outputs and incomes of the peasants in the traditional area. It is therefore, of paramount necessity that a study be conducted in the traditional area to set

issues of intra- native gendered inequality, exclusion and deprivation of settlers and females on land deals in the traditional area straight.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

This study is, therefore, required to find responses to the following questions:

1. What is the mode of land distribution in the Nanumba traditional area?
2. Are there significant differences in the land rights of these vulnerable groups by nativity or gender?
3. To what extent do the customary tenure practices impacts on the vulnerable peasants' land holdings, livelihood activities and output, and income levels?
4. What are the policy implications of these impacts on food security in the traditional area?

### **1.4 Specific Objectives**

1. To determine and explain how land is allocated to persons for settlement or farming in the traditional area.
2. To describe any differences in the land rights of the vulnerable groups by gender or nativity?
3. To determine and explain if, and the extent to which customary practices influence vulnerable people's land holdings, livelihood choices, livelihood outcomes and income levels.
4. To examine the policy implications of the plights of peasants in the land deals on food security situation in the Nanumba traditional area

## **1.5 Significance of the Study**

It was the intent of the study to determine and explain the various ways in which the customary authorities interact with subjects in terms of land allocations, transfers, and use. It considered land tenure practices and how it affected the livelihood struggles of landless peasants as they desire to own land, decide on livelihood strategies, improve their outputs and acquire landed assets. The traditional area stood to benefit from the study as it constituted appraisal of its changing functions. This would inform further research as it constitutes a rich source of information to both development agencies and scholars. Lastly, it will inform policy on the fight against the ills of poverty, hunger and inequality of all forms in the Nanumba traditional area.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

This study is of paramount necessity for the Nanumba traditional area, despite some other studies in northern Ghana. In terms of coverage, this study looked at the customary land tenure practices in the Nanumba traditional area, and whether it affects the livelihoods of vulnerable people in the traditional area. Specifically, the study focused on how customary tenure practices influenced equitable land deals. It focused on land allocations within natives and if there were gendered exclusions and inequality in allocating farmland. Likewise, it explored land allocations between natives and settlers across study sites.

In furtherance, it examined the relationships between peasants and land they work on for their livelihoods. It sought to ascertain whether there was adequate allocation of farmland, and how it affected livelihoods of peasants in the traditional area. By this, the study compared farmland sizes of peasants across study sites and further compared the farmland sizes with income earnings of peasants across study sites. It also compared earnings of males and females to see if

there were significant variations. Also, it compared the incomes of peasants with their assets holding to also ascertain if there were links. Lastly the study examined the state of food security of the district, as well as the mitigation strategies peasants adopted.

Livelihood is a complex concept encompassing lots of issues that come together to define the life of an individual. This study examined the land holdings, livelihood activities and output, and the income levels of the targeted population and how these connect with customary practices of the traditional area.

In terms of space, the Nanumba traditional area stretches across the Nanumba North and South, both districts in the northern region, Ghana. The study is delimited to the Nanumba North district, and further to Bimbilla and two traditional towns, Bakpaba and Dokpam, in the district. The study area shall be referred to as Nanumba Traditional Area (NTA).

### **1.7 Limitations of the Study**

Challenges and research are comparable to a hymn and its chorus, and so it sometime looks odd when researchers complained of challenges. However, it becomes valid if the mention of challenges is to ensure that further studies appreciate the level of preparedness required.

Some of the issues that threatened this study included the outbreak of the conflict in Bimbilla just a week after the data collection exercise. The conflict broke out on the 11<sup>th</sup> of February, 2017 with devastating consequences. One of the areas – Allurani – where data collection took place was the centre of gun battle. The next area around the old market was only slightly better comparatively. In view of this, some of the data had to be excluded from analysis because the missing items from the area could not be supplied through mop up. For instance issues like

cropping systems, faming systems, reasons for ejections and others were left out, however, the study was not affected any much.

There were also issues of empty stools at key study sites and the resistance of females to volunteer information due to customs. For instance, the study could not get into contact with any traditional head in Dokpam because the skin was vacant. Also, the women in the traditional area could not be contacted due to customary related reasons. In the case of vacant skin, it relied on the household heads for the data and some of the questions had to be asked more skillfully in order not to introduce arguments on leadership of the area.

The study could not actually gather detail data on gender land access in the traditional area. There is the need for a further and detailed look at the issue. The results could have been analyzed in a more detailed manner, but for the inadequacy of analytical skills of the researcher.

### **1.8 Organization of the Study**

The study was structured into six chapters with each chapter dealing with a major theme that constituted the chapter. Chapter one looked at the background to the study, the problem statement, study questions and objectives that aroused from the pertinent questions. It again contained the delimitation or scope and limitations of the study. The second chapter looked at the conceptual and empirical evidences that gave the study its grounds and relevance. It also considered some other themes that were of relevance to the study. It ended up with the conceptual framework that sets the basis for the study.

Chapter three constituted the study area, the study design and other methodological concepts such as the population and sampling techniques. It continued with the instruments of data collection and sets the stage of how data were analyzed, focusing of relevant tools of analysis.

The chapters four and five looked at the results of findings from the research instruments, their analysis, presentations and discussions. Chapter four therefore looked at results presentation and findings, while chapter five discusses the findings. Finally, chapter six dealt solely with summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendation emanating from the key findings.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Overview**

This chapter looked at the works of other scholars in journal articles, books, reports, and on the internet sources that relate with the key concepts in this study. It considered how these findings provide basis for the study and how they serve to answer the questions raised in the study. It also considered the experiences of the world forming the empirical knowledge base that give further backing to the discussions in the study. Basically, it looked at the concept of livelihood, customary authority in Perspectives, land Ownership in Context, land Titles and Allocations, customary Land Tenure Practices in the regions of Northern Ghana, forms of land tenure, land Tenure Security in the Context of Gender, gender and Equity in Family Land Deals, access to land and livelihoods, issues of land markets and eviction of peasants, and the conceptual Framework.

#### **2.1 Livelihoods**

Livelihoods of a people have very strong bond with the environment within which they live and subsist. The Malthusian theory posits that peasants in least developed nations exhaust the resources of their environment because of the demands of the expanding populations, and this could have eminent impacts on the future of those resources. Even though this position was flawed, it constituted a standpoint that called for integrated approaches to tackling the impending threats. The notion one gets is that poverty, hunger and malnutrition could be reduced by improving upon the environment (Sunderlin et al, 2005). Environment has series of components

including the physical, social and the cultural aspects of it. The natural environment refers to land and its associated resources that serve the purpose of human survival worldwide.

Land as a major component of the natural environment is also beset with ownership challenges. The customary ownership of land poses problems as it undergoes changes from its known role as a social safety net for women, youth, migrant and settlers alike (Sunderlin et al, 2005). Some of the known changes include commoditization of customarily owned lands, rising prices of agricultural land (Yaro, 2012), declining trends of share cropping in areas known for such practices and increased use of land sales as the main modes of land deals. These practices of the customs entail livelihood implications with time. These bring in their wake, rising tenure insecurity and crowd out women, youth, migrant and settlers, as well as other low-income individuals from farming opportunities (Carter and May, 1999). The only opportunity for these peasants to make living meaningful rests with their access to land and its associated resources.

Issues of making livelihoods sustainable call for more attention on the various factors and processes which either constrain or enhance poor people's ability to make a living in an economically, ecologically, and socially sustainable manner (Krantz, 2001). Carter and May, (1999) noted that the prevalence of limited assets and constrains to effective usage of such assets make poverty a reality. Approaches to sustainable livelihoods therefore seek to address the linkages between poverty, the environment and other structures, thereby resolving the shortfalls that have characterised poverty analyses (Sporton 1998).

The concept of sustainable livelihoods evolved under the auspices of Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development and was later on expanded by the United Nation conference on environment and development in 1992, where they advocated for the achievement of sustainable

livelihoods as a broad goal for poverty eradication (Krantz, 2001). As stated earlier, it was deemed to play a pivotal role by aiding planned policies to achieve development in rural economies while managing resources sustainably and reducing poverty at the same time. It therefore concerns with the rural economies where majority of the dwellers are in peasantry productions (Krantz, 2001).

The fear of the unknown future and what it brings to bear on livelihoods prompted calls for livelihood sustainability (Chambers and Conway, 1991). This fear is much more frustrating, thinking for developing countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa where rural poverty is on the ascendency. According to Conway and Chambers (1991) the future of rural poor is bleak with ‘no one to turn to’. Livelihood as seen by chambers and Conway, (1998) is a means to earning a living. Studies hold that the poor can increase their incomes by increasing their productivity (Lele, 1975) through mainly agricultural activities. Previous interventions rooted their efforts through agriculture by providing inputs and subsidies aside training of farmers. These efforts failed to meet the desired outcomes because land and human related challenges were not targeted and resolved. The cultural practices of societies, together with land issues need to be factored in when planning interventions.

Chambers and Conway (1998) gave a tentative explanation of sustainable livelihood, which the Danish Department for International Development (DFID) adopted and modified as follows;

*“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.”* (DFID, 2000)

Livelihood sustainability revolves around people, their life and threats to their lives as they hope for the unknown future. The DFID framework for sustainable livelihoods highlighted the assets, vulnerabilities, structures and institutions, livelihoods strategies and outcomes of peasants in an attempt to develop a guide for all development agencies that seek to empower rural development. It therefore forms the basis for this study because it emphasizes people as a focal entity.

## **2.2 Customary Authority in Perspectives**

Customary lands are lands owned by stools, skins, clans and families and tindamba in Ghana. Customary lands covers around 80% of all lands in Ghana (Kumbun-Naa yili II, 2006), largely rural lands and some urban lands. According to Kumbun-Naa yili II, (2006) traditional leaders are life line drivers of customs and could play complementary roles in the government's desire for good governance and poverty reduction among the people. Yeboah and Shaw, (2013) acknowledged this viewpoint as they quoted Article 36(8) of the 1992 constitution of Ghana. As allodial title holders or custodians of stool and skin lands, they are capable of ensuring real access to land, security of tenure and wise use of land resources. These constitute the mandatory practices expected of customary authorities by law (Yeboah and Shaw, 2013).

The roles of customary authorities are much more decentralized compared to the state influence in land deals. By its structure, it has the tendency to serve as safety-net (Thoms, 2008) for the food insecure households. Customary authorities serve to uplift the quality of life and livelihood status of rural households by offering secondary rights to landless peasant households to farm, graze farm animals, gather firewood, crops and fruits that grow in the wild (Thoms, 2008). Traditional leaders are therefore, life-line drivers of customs, and could play complementary roles in the government's desire for good governance and poverty reduction among the people (Kumbun-Naa Yiri II, 2006: Scoones, 2009). As allodial title holders or custodians of stool and

skin lands, they are capable of ensuring real access to land, security of tenure and wise use of land resources (Kumbun-Naa Yiri II, 2006).

However, the roles expected of the traditional authorities vary across regions and traditional areas. In most jurisdictions land allocation is specified under the customs and traditions of the areas. The traditions and the customs of these areas prescribe such dispositions (Yaro, 2012), which do not actually serve to mitigate the inequalities among subjects in their allocation of land rights in families. As noted earlier, Yeboah and Shaw, (2013) pointed out how traditional authorities in Kumasi and its environs as well as Tamale and Savelugu actually appropriate land in their allodial tenure to their benefit at the expense of the subjects. This disposition of chiefs creates equity challenges in land distribution and affects landless peasants in societies. Due to the arbitrariness of the way traditional authorities exercise and apply customary laws regarding the use of customary lands, influential members of the landowning families join in to divert communal lands to themselves.

Adhikari et al (2004) examined this issue of equity on communally held forest resources in Nepal and concluded that poorer people rather had limited access to such community assets. It is therefore in evidence that traditional heads are capable of mitigating livelihood challenges of subjects. However, they are largely responsible for land resource denials and diversions, per their core roles in land allocations, control, inheritance and land use as custodians.

### **2.3 Customary Land Tenure Practices in the Northern Regions**

In northern Ghana, customary tenure lands are vested in the skins, clans and families and Tindamba. Land allocation in the three northern regions is primarily by inheritance (ISSER, 2003: Kuusaana et al, 2010), followed by free gift and outright purchases. Due to patriachal

nature of lineage system, males assume dominance in land transfer or inheritance. In Upper West Region for instance, 41 percent of land is controlled by the family, 35 percent by individuals and 23 percent by tindamba (Kuusaana et al, 2010). Even though land is vested in the chiefs and tindamba, families constituted largest interest holders of land, with tindamba representing the least. In northern Ghana, land allocation is through patrilineal inheritance (ISSER, 2003). However, there are noted drifts of land ownership from the communal modes as held by chiefs towards individualized modes such as family and individuals across Ghana.

The Global Land Tool Network at UN-Habitat defines land tenure as “the relationship, whether legally or customarily defined, among people, as individuals or groups, with respect to land” (UN-Habitat, 2010c). Payne et al preferred an earlier explanation of land tenure given by the UN-Habitat report (2008) which defined it as “the way land is held or owned by individuals and groups, or the set of relationships legally or customarily defined amongst people with respect to land”. They therefore perceived land tenure as a social relation comprising of interwoven sets of rules governing the use of land and how land is owned. This befits the expectations of this study as it makes clear the role of customs and state in establishing policies to guide how members relate with land in terms of acquisition, ownership, use, control and transfer within the communities (Payne and Durand-Lasserve, 2012). It again brought out the two main interests recognized in land ownership – customary and statutory. According to Payne and Durand-Lasserve, (2012), tenure refers to processes of land holding, while property rights deals with those who exercise authority over the uses to which land can be put.

#### **2.4.0 Customary Land Tenure Rights and Interests**

Customary land tenure system is widely recognized to be the largest tenure sector of land holding in Africa (Devendra & Chantalakhana, 2002). Statutory tenure is assumed to be foreign

and unknown to the continent from inception of land holding system. According to this viewpoint, statutory system of land holding first entered the cities of Africa through colonialism and spread to remote areas through urban sprawl into adjoining peri-urban centres (Payne and Durand-Lasserve, 2012). Some earlier studies have described the statutory land tenure system as centralized and remote to locals (Kumbun-Naa Yili, 2006) Rights of individuals to land under customary land tenure system is determined by customary authorities at the community levels.

The ministry of food and agriculture has categorized these rights into use, control, and transfer rights. Studies show that the flexibility in the customary mode of land management is the source of its weakness (Devendra & Chantalakhana, 2002). Other studies have noted that the rights of individuals that guarantee access to land takes the form of use right, control and transfer rights (Ostrom and Hess, 2007).

#### ***2.4.1 Usufruct Rights or Interest in Customary Land***

The dominant interest in land recognized under the customary tenure is usufruct interest in land. Pomevor, (2014) interchangeably used usufruct title for a type of land ownership bestowed on subordinate member of a family, clan or community by the customs. The use rights only permit the peasant to benefit financially or otherwise from extracting the resources of land. Peasants with use rights are normally settlers or junior members of landowning families (Devendra, & Chantalakhana, 2002). In most communities in Ghana, women or female members of the landowning families and settlers can only have use rights to land through secondary ownership.

Peasants with use rights to land are normally settlers or junior members of landowning families. Other studies noted that these settlers and junior members of the community acknowledge the allodial ownership of land by traditional authority under which they pay allegiance (Pomevor, 2014). Some other studies refer to it as determinate estate or title by (Ollenu et al 1985) since its

conferment to the subordinate members of the customs of the community does not in any way affect the interest the community holds in the land (Pomevor, 2014). As held by Ollenu, (1962) and Woodman, (1996), indigenes of the traditional area could use any land not occupied within the community, with the permission of the head of the clan or family, in the case of family or clan land. These rights of access which indigenes and other people have do not alienate the allodial interest the skin or stool holds to the land.

The settlers and native peasants who rely on secondary rights to land face the risk of falling into circles of food insecurity, malnutrition and the perpetual poverty brackets. Poor people have been described by Beuchelt, and Virchow (2012), as the marginalized groups of people constituting women, youth, landless peasants and migrant workers. Likewise, poor peasants consist of a category of people whose chances of survival are likely to be affected by the actions or inactions of customary authorities in the society.

Poverty in this case refers to lack or inadequacy in the access to land, and the lack of inadequacy in the capacity to manage available resources in the community. Landed resources constitute a safety net for the livelihoods sustenance of these groups of people in a society. There is a link between the survival of these people and the nature of rules and regulations set up by customs and traditions with regards to land deals (Devendra & Chantalakhana, 2002). The ways the rules are applied determine the nature of exclusions these people will suffer from.

The control rights are on the other hand is limited to the allodial title holders or senior members of the families. By way of order, use rights holders of land obtain their rights from those with control rights. The third rights – transfer rights – empower the holder to alienate the land and its resources. These are done through land sales, mortgaging or allocations to others (Ostrom and

Hess, 2007). Someone with transfer rights has the authority to change ownership of the land completely from the original ownership by transferring both use rights and control rights to the third party.

### **2.5.0 Land Tenure Security in the Context of Gender**

Land tenure security in most cases refers to a guarantee a farmer has to use land continually without interference from other persons (Bugri, 2008: cited in Kuusaana et al 2010). This conception best describes the tenure security of usufruct users like women and settlers mostly. In most traditional areas the peasants who are not from the landowning families require renewals of their requests for land (Kuusaana et al, 2010). Creating firm and honest relationships as well as being appreciative to the landowners' gestures cement the tenancy and guarantee the use right. Payne and Durand-Lasserve, (2012) described tenure security as;

*“a perception, a subjective appreciation of a tenure status in a given time and place, by both people concerned, observers, decision makers and experts. It depends also on policy and political factors that may evolve rapidly overtime”.*

Payne and Durand-Lasserve, (2012) sounded emphatic in alluding that land users suffer from insecure tenure due to a noted conspiracy among issues such as “high price of land, inappropriate regulatory frameworks, bureaucratic inertia and political exploitations”. To a larger extent, poor people also suffer from the pressure of demand for land amidst inadequate policy provisions in urban settings (World Bank, 2004). These incidences manifest pronouncedly during land commoditization, prevalence of land speculation and increased land prices due to pressures from investors and developers, and when no alternative relocation within the town. The eminent and often times compulsory relocations move the affected people to remote locations (Payne and

Durand-Lasserve, 2012). Likewise, the settler peasant risk being evicted from their farmlands anytime expansions in estate development gets closer.

Studies have identified communal or public land as one main pool of land for the poor's current and future needs of land. But the poor encounters access challenges to this resource, especially in urban centres due to centralized nature of decisions on access, inefficient use of urban space and poor land governance that set the basis for corruption and nepotism (Payne and Durand-Lasserve, 2012). The emphasis of Habitat agenda views the role of central government as an enabler and not active participant in land allocations (Payne and Durand-Lasserve, 2012). It did not, however, rule out the need for government's interventions in protecting the interest of the poor in land needs. However, the customary tenure ownership tends to have much poor-friendly policies due to its decentralized nature (IIED, 1999: Toulmin and Quan, 2000: Toulmin et al, 2002; Chimhowu and Woodhouse, 2006: Kumbun-Naa Yiri II, 2006).

Despite this posture, the customary practices tend to limit the rights of the female members of the communities by its guiding rules and regulations (Agbosu et al, 2007). Guidelines on land ownership and transfer are always the manifestations of the customs and traditions of societies (Migot-Adholla et al, 1994).

The tenure systems differ according to lineage areas and location (Pomevor, 2014: citing Kasanga and Kotey, 2001; Agbosu et al, 2007). Agbosu and others have noted that indigenous individuals have inherent rights to land held in common. Some other internal arrangements they found to be common across tribes were the recognition of a community's control rights over the land, and the conviction held by all individuals on usufruct rights holds, that the ownership of the soil is vested in the communal heads (Agbosu et al, 2007; cited in Pomevor, 2014).

### ***2.5.1 Lineage Systems and Gender Land Interests***

The lineage systems of the customs of each community seem to underpin gendered land alienation. Two lineage systems have been identified, as patrilineal and matrilineal systems of inheritance practiced in Ghana (Pomevor, 2014). These systems of lineage influence land interest access within communities (Owusu et al, 2008). The lands within the communities that have not been occupied were put under the control of skin or stool.

However, all allocated lands either come under the control of maternal lineage in matrilineal system or in paternal lineage in the case of patrilineal system (Agbosu et al, 2007). A critical and empirical look at the customary practices on land inheritance shows that there is no intent to alienate some categories of family members from access to and control over stool or skin lands or family lands (Agbosu et al, 2007). The purported discrimination by gender on land deals is attributable to the customary criteria for determining rightful heirs in the lineages (Owusu et al, 2008).

#### **Matrilineal Lineage System**

While matrilineal system practices of southern Ghana vest land in the stool, the patrilineal lineage system vest land in families (Pomevor, 2014). Owusu and others posit that the society construct its modes of succession in the allodial tenure of customary lands based on who constitutes the lineage of the system of inheritance in either a patrilineal or matrilineal traditions. In the case of matrilineal system of inheritance as widely practiced in the southern Ghana, females are given much better access to and control over customary lands than their male counterparts (Agbosu et al, 2007). The reverse is practiced in the largely patrilineal northern customary tenure system. The underpinning verdict is that the customs in both systems have no intent to discriminate against family members, by whether one is male or female. Studies also

suggest marital residence and marital responsibilities as factors that sort to deny females their entitlements to lineage lands (Owusu et al, 2008). Others think that customs in the form of marriage systems, bride price or wealth, and lineage are the most determining factors of women's alienation to land (Rugadya et al, 2004).

### **Patrilineal Lineage System**

However, the predominantly patrilineal lineage system of the northern Ghana vest allodial interest in land in skins as in Northern Region and tindamba or earth priests as in the Upper East and Upper West Regions of Ghana (Kasanga et al, 1996) (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001). In northern Ghana land is communally owned and controlled by the chiefs on behalf of the people. These traditional authorities make and uphold customs and traditions that govern land allocations and use in the communities. Traditionally, women's rights to land are recognized through their male counterparts (Kameri-Mbote, 2005-9). Studies have described women's use right as restricted and with inadequate tenure security (Kuusaana et al, 2010). Studies show that women's inability to perform some of the major customary roles of pacifying earth gods and leading some other key ritual performances as expected of leaders of clans and families constitute the bases of their exclusion from land ownership (Kuusaana et al, 2010).

In some societies as in most parts of northern Ghana, willingness to marry from the ex-husband's family determine women's access to land for farming. While in other communities outside Dagbon women had to remarry from the ex-husband's family in order to maintain her access to family land (Kuusaana et al, 2010), communities in Dagbon forbid such practice of remarriage but recognize women's access to family land through their children.

The customary structures of this nature tend to exhibit series of inequalities among the landowning families (Pomevor, 2014). For instance, Tonah (2008) noted that customs in the

Kasina-Nankana traditional area does not recognize female land interest, not even the usufruct interest. This observation was also made among the Kusasis in the Upper East Region due to lineage system of the customs. Some studies also opined that women do not actually have firm identity with either the natal or matrimonial homes, and so lack any opportunity to own and control land from these families (Niessen, 1985). Public opinion in the upper West region also has it that married women are assets and aids to their spouses and so cannot own land because asset could not own itself (Kuusaana et al, 2010). These actions impact on women's ability to fend for their needs. Some women had to migrate elsewhere distant in search for life supporting wealth. Others are forced into prostitution and other forms of social vices.

In most societies, female household heads suffer more incidences of evictions than male household heads due to gender inequality in access to land, economic opportunities and decision making bodies (Durand-Lasserve 2005). Female always depend of natal family relations, male spouses and sons for their access to land, even in the midst of protective laws on non-discriminations in property rights in buying, inheritance, leasing and land allocations (Payne and Durand-Lasserve, 2012). According to UN-Habitat (2008), female household heads constitute the proportion of population with low income earnings in urban centres, despite low risk levels the pose on issues of non-performing loans.

### ***2.5.2 Gender and Equity in Family Land Deals***

There is a noted likely rise in married women's involvement in household decision making on limited issues. It is also noted that households that allow women to participate in deciding on expenditures tend to spend to the benefit of women and children (Ion, 2015; Poudel, 2015). These phenomena of women's participation in decision making are noted to be on the increase in

Nepal and Zambia (Ion, 2015; Fund, 2015). Do customs ensure equity in decision making on deals of family lands?

In some African countries especially in Uganda, traditional practices and norms on divorce, inheritance and property rights form the basis for discrimination against women on land deals (Rugadya et al, 2004) cited in (Owusu et al, 2008). Social disapproval of women property owning discourages women from striving to accumulate landed assets in Uganda (Owusu et al, 2008). Women lack access to and control over farm proceeds, though they constitute a substantial proportion of the labour force on household farms (Rugadya et al, 2004). Above all, the legislative authorities determining the basis of access communal lands are male family heads of the communities (Kotey & Tsikata, 1998). How do societal constructions contribute in alienating women from land rights? What are the likely impacts of this alienation on women's rights to assets accumulation (land and housing), income and health?

## **2.6 Access to Farmland and Peasant Livelihoods**

Land is both a platform and direct factor for livelihoods. Land is required for both settlement and for agrarian purposes. The opportunity cost of land used for settlement could ultimately include the parcels of farmland forgone. In other words the development of settlement had the tendency of crowding out peasant businesses (Kasanga et al, 1996). This scenario has medium and long term food insecurity consequences (Aryeetey et al, 2007). Any form of alienating land from usufruct users constitutes an affront on peasants' livelihoods. Expansions in rural settlement patterns require alternative livelihood avenues for the usufruct right users, but this seemed unattended to (Pomevor, 2014). Rural settlement expansions have claimed several farmlands with affected farmers only being compensated with building plots (Field Data, 2016).

Each member within the customary area access and owns land primarily by being a member of the landowning community. This literature emphasizes that a member must be related to the land by birth or any form of adoption in order to claim ownership to land. Women and settlers lack access to land and its resources from which they depend largely for survival (Sunderlin et al, 2005). While some studies show inclusiveness in access to land by all members of the community (Pottier, 2005), similar ones reveal that women only had secondary rights to land through their spouses and male children (Kameri-Mbote, 2005). A similar study in the Wa Municipality revealed gender disparity of 68% and 38% in access to land and ownership of land for male and females respectively (Kuusaana et al, 2010).

A study by ISSER, noted a wider disparity in inheritance of family land by gender (64% for males as against 14% for females). The disparity, according to the studies, was largely due to the patrilineal system of inheritance practiced in the area. Women's land ownership through this same mode of access has several limiting obstacles ranging from traditional roles attached to land holding, patriacal nature of inheritance and marital customs (Kuusaana et al, 2010).

Other studies even noted some forms of gender discriminations within the financial institutions when it comes to women and credit facility (FAO , 2005): cited in Owusu et al, 2007). These findings indicate how milder it has been in the past compared to the current situation of women's plight as revealed by Yaro, (2012), USAID, (2013) and Tsikata and Yaro, (2014).

Earlier studies attributed worsening exclusions of women to resources they have secondary right to situations of dwindling supply of such resources or rising values attached to the resources (Agarwal, 1989). It means that when resources are in abundance or do not have much value associated with their use, male members of the community do not exercise their domineering controls at the expense of their female spouses (Adiaba, 2006). These studies reveal much clearer

forms of discriminations due to the changes of the times. The assets have become more valuable and much sensitive due to increasing demand for it as a commodity. Investors prefer to hold their cash in the form of landed assets due to returns such options have as a store of value (Barrett et al, 2004). Ownership becomes clearer due to the returns accruing from land, hence the relegation of partners – women – from ownership responsibility (Agarwal, 1989).

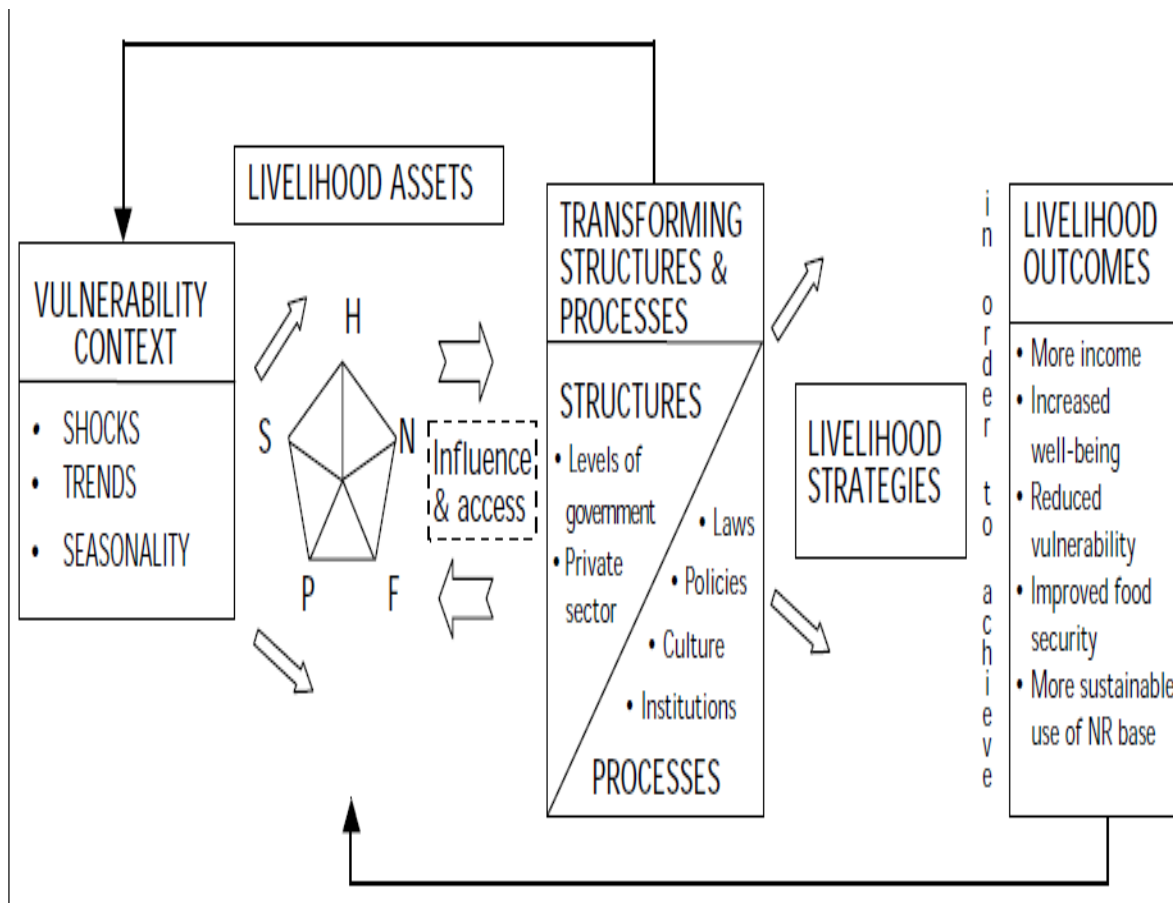
However, denying women access to land frustrates their strife for wealth creation denies them ability to provide their basic livelihood needs and excludes their quotas to community development (Kameri-Mbote, 2005). Women's access to land lacks tenure security because their use right depends on the willingness of the male relatives to spare land parcels for them (Bugri, 2008). In the light of this growing challenge, women find it difficult to initiate projects to better their lots because they do not have direct access to resources of the community. Women's access to land would improve their livelihoods and add extensively to the growth of their contributions to national development.

Access to land serves as one of the main determinants of women's choice of crops they grow (Prasad, 1998). According to Kuusaana et al, (2010), women hardly grow longer term maturing crops due to the high risk of losses therein. Women play largely complementary roles in the economies of rural households in northern Ghana (Levin, et al 1999). Households in northern Ghana are largely agrarian and land dependent (Yaro, 2012: Tsikata and Yaro, 2014). Men engage in farming while women gather off-farm resources like sheanut, dawadawa, baobab leaves, wild vegetables and hardwood for home use and also for sale to supplement farm products (Yaro, 2012).

Actual livelihoods of these vulnerable people therefore, primarily dependent on the availability of, access to and control over land (Schoneveld et al. 2011), and their ability to expand output from the land (Sunderlin et al, 2005). But, access to land for females goes beyond the decisions of landowners and rest largely on the social constructions of the traditional areas of the rural economies (Yaro, 2012: Tsikata and Yaro, 2014). Access to land, Water, forest, and other minerals that form inseparable constituents of land depend on the customs and traditions that govern the land (Devendra & Chantalakhana, 2002). While the socially constructed roles make women's contributions to production highly infinitesimal, it constitutes the basis for denying women access to land right in families. As women's responsibilities in the family continue to grow, especially during conflict situations, the society continue to push females to the rear in both asset allocation and decision making (Sunderlin et al, 2005).

### **2.7.0 Conceptual Framework**

The study adopted and modified the DFID framework for sustainable livelihoods to suit its variables of interests. The framework is the most appropriate instrument for assessing the impacts of land tenure system on the vulnerable groups in a society (Carney, 1998). A framework refers to an analytical device that is employed to enhance the understanding of livelihoods and poverty of, especially, vulnerable groups in a society (DFID, 2000). The Danish Department for International Development (DFID) developed the framework to support poverty eradication projects among people living under extreme poverty. The rationale for the framework is to empower these people by enhancing the poor people's livelihoods.



**Key**  
 H = Human Capital    S = Social Capital  
 N = Natural Capital    P = Physical Capital  
 F = Financial Capital

**Figure 1: DFID’s Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**

Source: (Ashley & Carney 1999)

**2.7.1 The Elements of the Framework**

This framework stands tall among several others like UNDP’s, Oxfam’s and CARE’s as it emphasizes holistic and integrated approaches to fighting poverty among the rural poor. It considers five thematic spheres that underpin a livelihood of an individual. These include the vulnerabilities, assets, structures and processes, livelihood strategies and outcomes. These factors function individually and in consequents of one another in determining the livelihoods of the

individuals in a society. It considers shocks, trends and seasonality as sub themes under vulnerability whose occurrences pose threats to an individual's attempt to build resilience in life. It suggested empowerment through external interventions as ways of mitigating the impacts or obtaining foreknowledge of the shocks, trends and seasonal events so as to prepare in advance.

On the livelihood assets, the framework considers them in bulks of five, Vis natural, human, financial, physical and social capitals. They are the main factors of effective production in any economy. The level of accessibility of these factors to all categories of the membership of a society is very vital for the livelihood sustenance of the people. The framework posits that an individual's access to some of the assets, say land, is a necessary condition for further accumulation of other assets, say finance in the form of savings, and human capital as in education and capacity building. Studies show that households with extensive access to productive assets are predisposed to several livelihood choices and therefore, are better off than households with limited access. However, the worst state a household can be is to be without access to any of the assets (Devendra & Chantalakhana, 2002).

These vital assets are controlled by the structures and processes established in the society. The processes according to the framework refer to the policies, rules and regulations that a society puts in place to guide its operations. The structures are seen as the bodies that are charged with the responsibility of making and enforcing decisions of the society. The functions of these structures are guided by the processes. The framework holds that the structures and processes are capable of enhancing or obstructing the vulnerable people's access to the assets of the society. The type of livelihood strategy these people adopt is partly influenced by the conditions put in place by the functions of these structures and processes. The framework advises approaches that target reshaping the society's structures and processes in a participatory manner if their current

actions do not favour diversified livelihood activities of the vulnerable people. It holds that more diversified livelihood strategies allow for improved livelihood outcomes, even in the midst of vulnerabilities like rainfall pattern variability and disease infestation. Ultimately, improved livelihood outcomes boost food security, increased incomes and savings, asset accumulation and improved wellbeing.

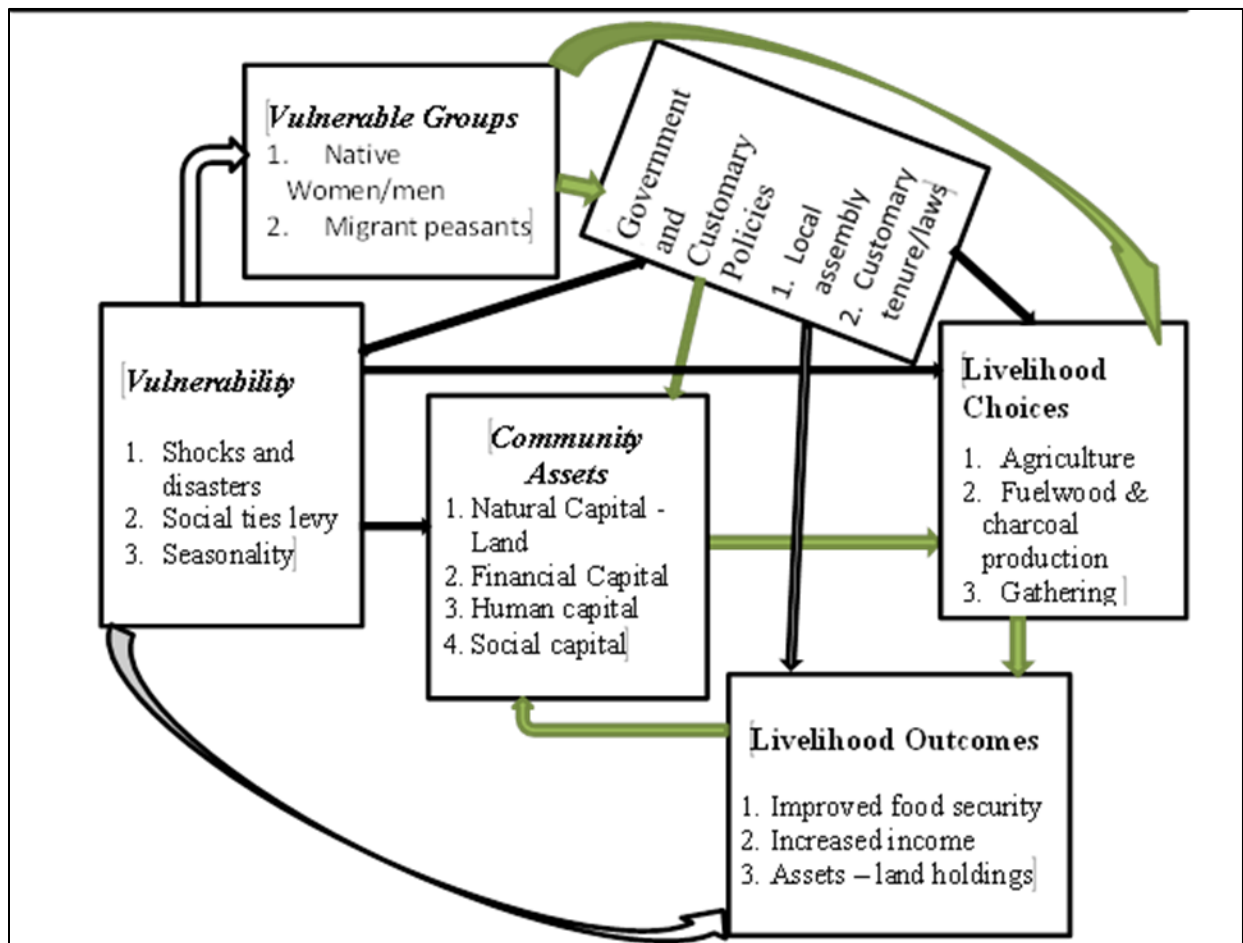
However, the inability of households to improve upon their livelihoods increases the levels of their vulnerabilities leading to prevalence of poverty, malnutrition and disease among households (Carter & May, 1999). Illiteracy rates increase because human capital improvement dwindles. Likewise over reliance of households on landed community assets results in deterioration of the asset and low returns, and causes livelihoods to stagnate. The framework therefore admonishes diversification of livelihoods through proper analysis of varied community assets.

### ***2.7.2 The Linkages among the Elements***

A livelihood is an embodiment of the assets, capabilities and activities required by an individual or household for a means of living (DFID, 1999). The framework is very appropriate for assessing the works of public institutions and their likely impact on people's asset status. The vulnerable people's access to capital assets, credit facility, and social capital like network of social relations are indicators to their livelihood status. The narrative shows that some of the resources can influence the availability of others. For instance, social relations serve as safety net in times of shocks and disaster, and so relieve the level of vulnerability of a household, thereby building the household's resilience.

For this study, natural, financial, human and social capitals have been highlighted for their relevance to the study. The influences of physical capital shall be deactivated or held constant

because the study is focusing on customary tenure practices and how they impacts on livelihoods in a society. Peasants require real access to available and accessible land, credit, human and social assets to ensure more significant household livelihoods. These essential elements of rural livelihoods like land, social relations and credit or income sources are not easily accessed by the poor and strangers in society.



**Figure 2: DFID Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Livelihood Studies (1999); Modified by the Study**

The vulnerabilities with regards to this modified framework include the shocks and disasters in the form of sickness, death, or any casualty of family members of peasants. It also includes conventional levies in support of family ties in the form of outdoorings, wedding and funeral in

the traditional area. These are leakages on household resources that are recurrent in trends. Lastly, the vulnerabilities of the traditional area captured in the framework involve the climatic conditions and how it limits outputs or working periods. The rainfall patterns are erratic and can cause crop failure. Also, the single maxima rainfall pattern leads to only short season of farming activities. The vulnerabilities affect all variables in the framework, most especially, the livelihood outcomes of the peasants.

This modified livelihood framework also takes note of the other influences like those of institutions and processes on the vulnerable people's access to assets of the community. Customs of each traditional area has structures in the form of clan and family heads, chiefs and tindamba who make and implement decisions regarding access to these resources. The processes like customary laws, policies and norms in the traditional areas serve as guiding principles to the decisions and actions of the customary authorities. There are variations in how customary practices in the traditional areas influence the availability and accessibility of these assets to less privileged women, men and strangers in society (Yaro, 2012). The actions or inactions of the local government agencies at the district, municipal and metropolitan assemblies on land reforms or the absence of it can enhance or exacerbate the plights of these poor peasants in the society. Two issues that call for proactive work are whether there is a link between customary tenure practices and local government policies that together impact on livelihood strategies of peasants. This study targeted peasants who are natives (men and women) and settlers. They largely depend on the assets of the community (land resources) for their livelihoods. They equally need a secure financial support to supplement or complement the accessible productive resources in order to build resilience on food and income supplies as well as improve upon their wealth accumulation.

There is the need for information on their social relations, land holdings, main livelihood activities and output, income levels and support systems available to them (LEAP).

The modified framework shows that the vulnerable peasants would require a favourable customary policy in order to gain access to community assets in the case of Nanumba traditional area. This access could enable their livelihood strategies leading to favourable outcomes by way of increase food products, improved incomes and wealth accumulation through savings. This state then increases their resilience against the vulnerabilities of the area. However, some of the peasants who are natives might not require customary favours, since they preside over family lands. Meanwhile, they are prone to the vulnerabilities of the area.

Conversely, the customary policies of the area are capable of alienating peasants from community assets. This could be the worst state peasants can ever be, given the impacts of the prevalent vulnerabilities. This study was intended to examine these linkages as against the livelihoods of the peasants in the Nanumba traditional area.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Overview**

This chapter looks at the study area with regards to its agricultural potential vis-à-vis its economic and social opportunities and challenges. It also considers the entirety of the methodologies adopted by the study to arrive at the data as well as processes of analysis, interpretations and display of the findings. Though it adopts a mixed method of data collection, it is largely a qualitative study.

#### ***3.0.1 Geographical Location***

Nanumba North district is located in the South-Eastern part of the Northern Region. It has a total land size of 2,260.8 sq./km, stretching latitudinally from 8.5° N to 9.25° N and spreads along longitudes 0.57° E to 0.5°E (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The district shares boundaries with East Gonja to the west, Yendi Municipality to the north, and Zabzugu District to the East. Kpandai district to the west and Nanumba South District to the east constituted the southern boundaries to Nanumba north district.

#### ***3.0.2 Socio-Economic Data of the Area***

It is predominantly an extended household type of locality. The district has a total population of 141,584, with 69,997 males and 71,587 females. The estimated population density stands at 71 persons per square kilometer (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). Comparing by locality, the district has 40,000 urban dwellers and 101,584 rural dwellers (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The majority of the households comprise of household head with spouse, biological or adopted, and the spouse's parents and siblings (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

About 51.7 percent of the total population falls outside the working age group, excluding the unemployed category of the labour force. This presents a very high dependency ratio of about 107 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). It implies that every 100 workers were feeding 107 people within the district. Males are best known to engage in farming activities while women only assist in the auxiliary farming practices like sowing, harvesting, thrusting and winnowing. They sometimes assist in carting the food to house where the distances are manageable.

As pointed out earlier in the literature, women in the traditional area are largely into sales of agricultural products unlike their counterparts in other traditional areas in the northern Ghana who engage in active farm businesses (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). Some of the major towns beside Bimbilla in the district include Taali, Dokpam, Chamba, Sabonjida, to the West; and to the North, Makayili, Lepusi, Binchera-Tanga, Lanja and Bakpaba. The district capital is dominated by Nanumba who are predominantly Muslims.

The district has relatively a youthful population with rural dwellers constituting over three times those living in urban centres. With regard to the working population, close to 52 percent (35,606) of them (68,449) are females. This number (46,953) largely dwells in the rural economies (see table 1).

### ***3.0.3 Climate and Vegetation***

The District is located within the tropical climatic zone, along the transitional belt between the northern and southern vegetation. The weather in the district is characterized by high temperatures throughout the year. Temperatures range from 29° C to 41°C (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). Annual rainfall amounts averaged 1268 mm with most of it lasting for six months– April to September (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014) yearly. This situation has been dwindling yearly, leading to serious consequences on the vegetation growth and also crop yield.

**Table 1: Population of Nanumba North District by Sex and Locality**

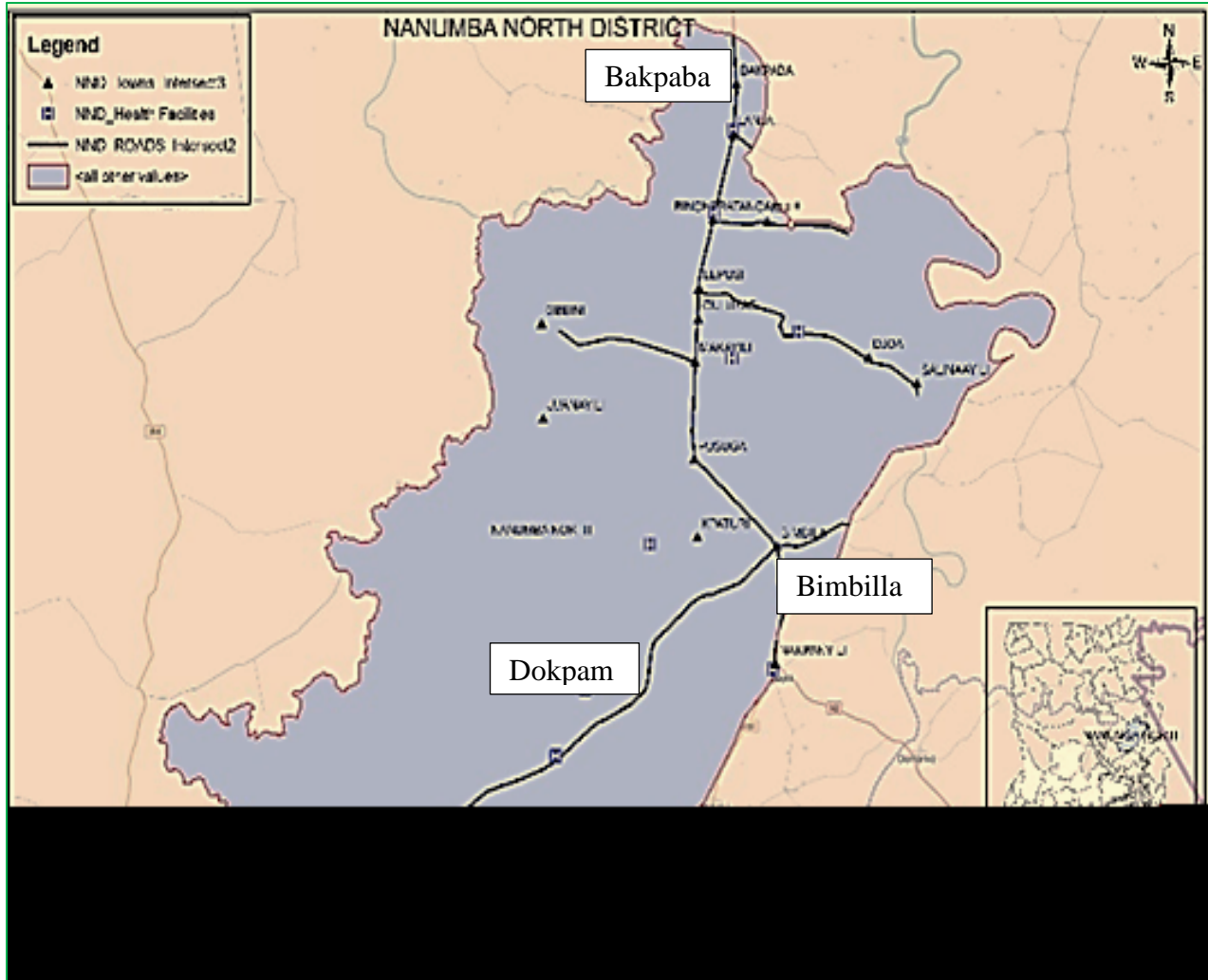
Age groups	Sex			Ratio	Locality	
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Urban	Rural
All Ages	141,584	69,997	71,587	97.8	40,000	101,584
0-14	67,452	34,348	33,104	103.8	16,501	50,951
15-64	68,449	32,843	35,606	92.2	21,496	46,953
65+	5,683	2,806	2,877	97.5	2,003	3,680
<b>Age-dep. Ratio</b>	<b>106.9</b>	<b>113.1</b>	<b>101.1</b>		<b>86.1</b>	<b>116.4</b>

Source: GSS, 2014, Modified by the Study

### 3.0.4 Study Sites

With reference to figure 2 above, the study selected three areas within the traditional area for data collection. These areas were purposively selected because they represent the traditional headships for the two gates.

Bimbilla is the seat of the overlord of the traditional area. The paramontcy is located in Bimbilla and the rest of the traditional area is administered by the directives of the overlord. It therefore serves as traditional home of the Nanumba ethnic group. Bimbilla also doubles as the district capital of the Nanumba North District. The traditional area of Nanumba ethnic group covers Nanumba North and South Districts.



**Figure 3: Map of Nanumba North District (GSS, 2014) Adopted**

The ascendants to the throne at Bimbilla are from the two gates – Gbogma-Yili and Bangdi-Yili. Each of these gates has a line of rotation in ascending order to the apex skin in each gate. Progression along the skins in the lineage is by observing the ancestral lineage of each occupant of the seats that seemed to be of the same rank. Someone (son) whose immediate parent was a chief is catered for first before a grandson of a chief. Also, if it was observed that the lineage of a chief of a lower skin has been neglected for long, such an occupant could be made to ascend to the higher seat ahead of the senior skins. The purpose was to avoid extinting such a lineage from

occupation of the paramountcy at Bimbilla. Conflicts results when these laid down procedures are not followed in a more transparent manner.

Bimbilla has a household population of three thousand nine hundred and fifteen (3,915) households, with three thousand three hundred and eighty five houses. the report of the Ghana statistical serve on the 2010 population and housing census (2014) contained a total population for the study site as thirty one thousand, four hundred (31,400), with a dominant female population of sixteen thoudand, and seventy-five (16,075).

Bakpaba is a high skin for the Gbogma-Yili (Gbogma – Lions; Yili - village or settlement) gate. Bakpaba is about 18 km north of Bimbilla, towards Yendi, with a population of two thousand eight hundred and eighty-three (2,883) people. It has a total household population of three hundred and eighty (280). Female population is about 51.4 percent of the total population of the community (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). Bakpaba was selected because the apex skin at Nakpa was yet empty. This area is predominantly a peasant community. Bakpaba is predominantly integrated with Konkomba settler ethnic group, however, there were other minority ethnic groups.

Dopkam is among the seats of the highest skin in the gate of Bangdi-Yili (Bang – Wrist-ring/bangle) family. located about 17 km along Salaga road from Bimbilla. It has a total population of one thousand six hundred and ninety-one (1,691) with male population of 52.6 percent (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014)). According to Ghana statistic service report, (2014), the household population is about one hundred and eighty-eight, with two hundred and eighty-nine (188) houdes. Dokpam seat is yet empty and awaiting a substentive occupant. This community is well integrated with settlers for centuries. The major settler communities are the Konkomba, Basare and some smaller ethnic compositions.

The characteristics of the study areas include being the holders and perpetuators of Nanumba traditions, that includes land tenure practices, customs and traditions and symbols of identity to the rulership of the traditional area. Land owning decisions are formulated and implemented by headships of these sub-traditional areas. Also, they would have also contributed to the prevailing inequalities, deprivations or alienations in land allocations. These communities therefore serve as information hubs to the data needs of the study.

### **3.1 Research Design**

This study adopted a case study design. Case study is a type of design used in research to do detailed and focused examination of a single phenomenon within a specified coverage (Rubin, & Babbie, 2007). There are variations in the ways scholars perceive qualitative studies that employ case study designs. Due to that, different interpretations have been given to what case study actually entails. Some defined case study as an in-depth study of a social phenomenon within a limited scope (Study, 1979). According to Abbey, & Eckstein, (2002), a case study is a technical issue on which researchers concentrate on some aspects of it to report and interpret the observations. For Yin, (2003), it is an empirical study on contemporary issue within its real-life context. These scholars viewed case studies in a single theme context, while emphasizing the narrowness of scope but with intensity or in-depth of findings (Wynsberghe and Khan,, 2007). A 'Case' as a concept originates from Latin vocabulary 'casus', which means 'event', 'situation' or 'condition'. By implication, it deals with a cross-section of issues and lacks full coverage of the phenomena in space. Consequently, outcomes from case studies, therefore, cannot be generalized on the entirety of the population. However, it allows the researcher to formulate very interesting conclusions on the cases studied and on the selected areas.

In contrast, surveys are best known for aggregated data collection from several respondents that seek to infer outcomes on the entirety of the population under study. Surveys are therefore noted for their extensive coverage and large sample sizes. In comparison with qualitative studies or largely qualitative case studies, case studies focus on in-depth studies of phenomena by employing intensive approaches with relatively smaller samples (Study, 1979), while compromising on the scope and generalization.

Some of the short falls of case studies emanates from its limited capacity to generalize its outcomes due to issues of representativeness of the entire population. As the case study adopts an intensive approach it is capable of providing the study with tentative ideas about the social issues studied and the knowledge gathered on those issues. Invariably, a case study provide avenues for answering complex research questions by adopting thorough and intensive approaches using limited sample sizes.

This study adopted a blend of qualitative and quantitative approaches to describe and interpret the customary land tenure practices in the Nanumba traditional area and its influences on peasants' livelihoods. The essence of this combination was to compensate for the inadequacies of each technique, and also for the fact that a mixture of descriptive or attribute and numerical data will serve to triangulate findings emerging from each method. It collected data using multiple sources and techniques of data collection. The techniques include questionnaire, interview and focused group discussions (FGDs). The use of case study enabled the collection of data with different instruments to enhance analysis and interpretation of phenomena from the worldview of respondents.

### 3.2. Population of Study

The population of reference for the study was the Nanumba traditional area, but the focal area was the Nanumba north district, Bimbilla. This study gathered data from the Nanumba traditional area, specifically Bimbilla and two of its suburb communities (see table 2). Findings from this study and the consequent interpretations shall be inferred on the traditional area. These study areas were Bimbilla, Bakpaba and Dokpam. They constitute the target population for the study. In specifics, the study considers the peasant households within the traditional area.

### 3.3 Sampling Size

Scholars have proposed measures of ensuring that researchers adopt representative sample sizes to avoid the issues of biases or errors in study outcomes. Issues of this nature reduce the confidence of readers in research works. As submitted earlier, a case study that adopts a mixed method of data could use sample size relatively lower than that prescribed by Krejcie & Morgan, (1979) and Yamane, (1967). Yamane proposed a formula for determining sample size as  $n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$ , where n is the sample size, N is the households in the study communities, and e is the level of precision. Going by the formula by Yamane, the sample size of 400 ( $n = \frac{4483}{1 + 4483(0.05)^2} = 399.9 = 400$ ) would have been used for this study. In variance to this, Krejcie and Morgan, (1979) suggested a sample size of 351 households from a population of 4500 households from a predetermined table, all with 5% margin of error and 95% confidence level.

The researcher sees no substantial difference in using a little smaller sample size, since it adopts a case study design. This study therefore opted for sample size of 250 households. Among the reasons for this option includes the sensitivity of the information required – land ownership. Given the prevalence of conflicts within the traditional area, it was not sure many peasants would like to delve so much deep into issues of landownership and traditional practices of the area. The

study feared there would be challenges with the willingness of peasants to divorce information on such issues.

There were also some portions of the study sites like Dokpam, which the research could not easily get responses on issues of leadership due to the chieftaincy crises among the major chieftaincy gates. The study selected 250 respondents from all the three study sites to constitute the sample size. After categorizing the study area into strata, the study used proportionate representative technique to determine the size of participants per stratum. It was guided by the number of households in each of the study sites (see table 2).

**Table 2 Demographic Characteristics of the Study Sites**

Strata	Population			Housing		Sample From Strata
	Total	Male	Female	Houses	Households	Proportion of 250
<b>Bimbilla</b>	31,400	15,325	16,075	3,385	<b>3,915</b>	<b>218</b>
<b>Bakpaba</b>	2,883	1,402	1,481	321	<b>380</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Dokpam</b>	1,691	890	801	289	<b>188</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>35,974</b>	<b>17,617</b>	<b>18,357</b>	<b>3,995</b>	<b>4,483</b>	<b>Sample size = 250</b>

Source: GSS 2014 PHC – Modified by the Study

### 3.4.0 Sample Selection techniques

The study employed a mixed sample design to cater for the varied interests of design. It therefore selected myriad of techniques in deciding for the study sites, the sample units and in selecting respondents within the units for the instruments used in collecting the data. The essence was to ensure that the study area was covered, and the participants selected represent the population adequately.

#### 3.4.1 Stratified Sampling

Stratified sampling is a technique of organizing sample frame into sub-groupings that are internally homogeneous and externally heterogeneous to ensure sample selection is “spread”

properly across important population sub-groups. Research admonishes the use of stage-wise selection of samples on the views that it specifically indicates the actual study sites and the selected households. The study thus, zoned the study sites into three sub-traditional areas (strata), and selected participants from each stratum to constitute the sample size for the study. The strata included Bimbilla, Dokpam and Bakpaba sub-traditional areas.

There were two gates (Bangdi-Yili and Gbogma-Yili), with several stools ranging from lowest to the highest in each of the gates and the paramount seat at Bimbilla. The strata included Bimbilla, the traditional area controlled by Gbogma-Yili gate and those under the control by the Bangdi-Yili gate. These constituted the sub-groups within the study area. The study later focused on households within these areas as basic units.

Stratified technique was deemed appropriate because the study covers a wider geographical area, which had to be divided into strata as sub-groups with sub-populations. It was also used because the characteristics of these sub-traditional areas were distinct and non-overlapping. For instance, each gate has a distinctively structured line of lower skins to go through in rotation. The royal gates were Bangdi-Yili and Gbogma-Yili. The highest seat in the line of Bangdi-Yili gate is Dokpam stool, while Bakpaba is the third highest to Nakpa, for the Gbogma-Yili gate. The research chose Bakpaba instead of Nakpa because it has a seating chief. Both Dokpam and Nakpa seats were yet empty. Bimbilla, by its traditional role, constitutes the convergent seat for the two gates in the management of the Nanumba traditional area.

By zoning the study area into strata, it reduces the error of estimation since the number of households sampled from each stratum (study site) was determined in proportion with the size of household population. Also, it reduces the level of cost when dealing with sample selection and

data collection. Lastly, it helps to choose households to reflect each population, while noting variations in the household population of each stratum.

### ***3.4.2 Purposive Sampling***

After grouping the study sites, purposive sample selection was used to select three communities within the three strata. The researcher deliberately selected the highest seats in the lineage of each gate as the focal community for the study. It therefore selected Dokpam and Bakpaba in addition to Bimbilla to constitute the three communities, where it then decided on the participants for the interview and focus group discussions as well as the actual respondents to the questionnaire.

Purposive technique of selecting participants is mostly used in case study researches. It is also known as deliberate sample selection. Here, the researcher deliberately selects particular units of the population to constitute a sample to represent the entire population under study. According to Jawale, (2012), theoretical saturation forms the basis for determining sample sizes in purposive sampling. He explained theoretical saturation as an act of data collection which continues until a point where no new data is comes forth for the research questions.

### ***3.4.3 Selecting Respondents***

The study adopted the procedure of household sampling by the Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI) developed in the late 1970s to help select the specific households in each of the three communities to constitute respondents to the questionnaire instruments. It is mostly useful when the study finds it difficult to use either simple random or systematic random sampling techniques (UN-Habitat, 2012). The communities in question have not been planned and so the layout of the towns does not follow any particular order. Even service poles are in people's houses. The researcher therefore located the centre of each town and chose at random

houses along major routes at regular intervals until he gets to the outskirts of the community. The chosen houses were numbered from either side of the route. This exercise was repeated until the entire community was exhausted. The labeling of the houses was guided by the number of households expected from each community. This shows the format that used for the selection of households in the communities for administration of the questionnaire.

Even though this procedure was least recommended among the probability sampling techniques of sample selecting, it became most convenient since it offers a comparatively more representative sample that is less biased than the non-probability sampling techniques. One source of bias is that the selection of the subsequent households depended on the selection of the previous households. Also, in choosing households by proximity there was a tendency of choosing households more closer to one another, and with similar characteristics. These were avoided to a larger extent by giving spaces between lanes used for the selection.

### **3.5.0 Data Collection Instruments**

The research used instruments like questionnaire, focus group intervention and personal in-depth interview to gather the opinions and viewpoints of participants. The focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews were used to gather solely qualitative data, while questionnaire was used to gather both numeric and non-numeric data. Secondary sources of data included reviews of related literature from scholarly articles, books, journals, internet sources and any archival documentation.

#### ***3.5.1 Interview***

In-depth interview is one of the strategies for gathering data. Interview involves the use of verbal or oral stimulus to solicit responses from participants on issues. It is very useful for collecting descriptive or attributes data because it affords the participants opportunity to describe the world

of issues from their perspectives (Wynsberghe and Khan, 2017). This method is best used widely in most developing countries. It is appropriate for collecting data among predominantly illiterate communities (UN-Habitat, 2010c: Wynsberghe and Khan, 2017). It uses questions to solicit data through one-on-one interaction between interviewer and an interviewee.

Its main advantage is when it offers interviewer the opportunity to persuade respondents to volunteer answers to questions in line with study interests. It is also efficient in gathering numeric data that hitherto would not have been possible with questionnaire (UN-Habitat, 2010c: Wynsberghe and Khan, 2017). The use of this instrument afforded the interviewer the opportunity to probe further on unsatisfactory responses from participants. It ensured that the interviewees' responses reflected their experiences, and realities of issues on the ground.

However, according to a study by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, the used of personal interviews has tendency of introducing biases due to different interpretations given by respondents on the same questions (Wynsberghe and Khan, 2017). The study always referred to the interview manual to avoid its occurrences. Also, there is likelihood of interviewers suggesting answers during questioning, or the interviewer's mood and dispositions influencing the attitudes of the respondents. The issues were considered at the training level, to hint the interviewers. There were limited biases with regards to the above listed issues with the use of the instrument.

Respondents were settler household heads and traditional heads of the area. The interviews were conducted to gather qualitative data on household demographics. It was used to pool the viewpoints of participants on how peasants accessed the farmlands they used, the modes of

access and rights the peasants had to land they used for farming activities. This allowed for the assessment of the level of equity in land allocations in the district.

More detailed questions were designed to guide in the interview process. Respondents answered questions on if there were significant challenges in land acquisition and whether the difficulties varied from person to person based on gender or nativity of the peasant. On the third objective, interviewees were given the chance to narrate from their experiences how the customary tenure practices in the traditional area influenced their ability to acquire land, their choice of livelihood activity, the output of their livelihood activities and how the households generated their incomes. Participants were also allowed to share their views as to whether the customary authority plays a role in entrenching or ameliorating poverty, hunger and inequality in their jurisdictions. Interviews continued in every study site until no new information was emerging from further interviews. In all, five in-depth individual interviews were conducted.

### ***3.5.2 Questionnaire***

Questionnaire is an instrument for data collection comprising set of questions of varying forms which are organized in a single document for the respondent to express his or her opinion on each of them at a more convenient time. Researchers have defined questionnaire as a tool for expressing the information needs of researchers and a basis for data procession planning (UN-Habitat, 2005; Wynsberghe and Khan, 2017). This viewpoint stresses the influence of questionnaire on the design of data analysis plan. Some emphasized on the openness or closeness of the questionnaire instruments (UN-Habitat, 2005), while other studies described it as structured or unstructured (Cobbinah et al, 2015). It could be structured where there are predetermined responses for the respondent to choose, or semi-structured in which both predetermined and open questions are contained on the document. Respondents could express

themselves with regards to the issues raised on the questionnaire. This enables systematic use of descriptive and numeric data to measure people's opinions on issues.

The study opted for the use of semi-structured questionnaire format because it required both qualitative opinions and perceptions of peasants on customary practices of the area, as well as some quantitative data with regards to farm size and outputs, income earned and personal land holdings of peasants. The questionnaire consists of both open and closed-ended questions. The open-ended questions allowed the respondents to give their own answers to the questions (Wynsberghe and Khan, 2017). These were used to measure the perceptions and opinions of peasants on the customary tenure practices and how it affects the lives of peasants.

Likewise, the closed-ended questions restricted the respondents to issues that the study intended them to express opinions on. Closed-ended questions helped to yield more uniform information and were easy to process. The study used the two sets of techniques of question design to avoid overlooking the sensitive and relevant information required for the study. Studies posit that closed-ended questions are best suited for complex issues regarding attitudes and perceptions.

Questionnaire document could be given out electronically by mail or in hard copy. This study delivered the questionnaire documents personally to respondents in hard copy. A total of two hundred and fifty (250) copies of the documents were issued to respondents in all the study sites. The retrieval rate was 94%, implying that 235 questionnaires were responded to by the participants.

On the quantitative data of respondents, questions bothered largely on the land holdings (size), number of livelihood activities, level of output in each enterprise, and the levels of incomes generated by each household annually. Other questions considered size of plot of land as

personal asset and acreage of land for farming. This was used to measure the level of accessibility in terms of land allocation to the vulnerable groups in the traditional area. It also gathered data on other sources of income available to peasants such as LEAP assistance and whether peasants had social relations who sometimes give support in times of need. These data on their social relations, land holdings, main livelihood activities and output, income levels and support systems available to them (LEAP) assisted in measuring relationships and determining the extent of correlations between or among variables of study.

Participants were asked to express their views on possible shocks, trends and seasonal issues that threaten their attempts to build their level of resilience. This bothered on food security issues and how they maneuvered to sustain themselves through those periods. The study then determines the extent of equity in land deals, or impacts the absence of it can have on the livelihoods of the peasants in the Nanumba traditional area. The questionnaire was actually designed to provide a wide variety of data for the study. These were largely qualitative as the technique appeared to be the most convenient tool for gathering data.

### ***3.5.3 Focus Group Discussions FGDs***

Focus group discussion is another qualitative data collection strategy where specific persons with perceived expertise on some key issues of interest were grouped to deliberate on such issues. As the definition highlighted, the participants were selected deliberately, based on their knowledge and experiences on the issues under consideration. It also needed women only to constitute one of such groupings because if they were mixed with men, they might not express their opinions and viewpoints freely. The choice of the mode of selection was guided by the interest of the research to derive specific responses in line with the study objectives.

The focus group discussions were organized as follow-ups on the feedback from the use of interviews and questionnaire. The groups were also made to share their opinions on whether the actions and inactions of customary authority as they deal with land needs of peasants had any impact on poverty eradication, and reduction of hunger and inequality of all forms. Key informants ranging between 5 and 7 persons were selected across the study sites and used for the focused group discussions. Three focus group discussions were organized in all three study sites, one in each study site. Two groups of men and one group of women were organized in all.

#### ***3.5.4 Secondary Data***

The literature was reviewed on major themes of interest to the study. It dwelt largely on key variables on the framework and those mentioned in the narratives to establish relationships among them. It also explored the land deals of customary authorities, land allocations, gendered issues in land allocation, essence of landed assets like land and its resources in ensuring improved livelihoods of landless peasants, land deals in the society, and whether there were links with the peasants' ability to own land, make livelihood choices, and improve output and incomes. The study also reviewed literature on other thematic variables mentioned in the narratives, as well as the key issues expressed under the research questions.

#### **3.6 Research Assistants**

The study selected and trained five research assistants as facilitators and interpreters. The research did the recordings, both audio and in writing, and probed further on unsatisfactory responses. The duration of each interview and discussions depended on the amount of new responses that continued to emerge, and whether or not there was need for clarifications. It used three months to pick data and did the follow ups for supplementary data after going through it.

The conflict situation in February 11, 2017 disrupted the mop-up processes in Bimbilla township causing it to prolong.

### **3.7.0 Analytical Framework**

This section of the study gives vivid but brief explanations of the processes leading to data analysis, compilation of results and discussions of key emerging issues. The major activities here concerned data procession and techniques or tools of analysis. The study used questionnaire, FGDs and key individual interviews to gather both qualitative and quantitative data in relation to the study questions or objectives. Initially the questionnaire instrument contained missing items and unnecessary entries. The missing items related with unanswered questions on the questionnaire documents presented to the respondents. The unnecessary entries refer to options the respondents were not to respond to, but which they did. Also, some items were not responded to appropriately. These anomalies were attended to during the procession exercises.

#### ***3.7.1 Data Procession and Analysis***

The processing included editing, coding of the data and reclassifying some of the codes with redundant responses to make it easy for analysis. The guides for FGDs and interviews, and the questionnaire items were edited of irregularities and inconsistencies, as well as ambiguities in the questions and responses before actual data collection in the field. This became necessary after testing the items on the field. Central editing continued up till the running of analysis as soon as data was compiled from the field.

The study examined the raw data to detect errors and omissions and to correct them when possible. The editor did this with the objectives of the study in mind to avoid contradicting the study. The researcher went back to the field to resolve some peculiar omissions on the questionnaire items. The study also resorted to standardized market prices of yam and maize to

help estimate the expected earnings of the peasants (estimated annual incomes), since they quoted the farm outputs in bags of maize and tubers of yam.

As at this time, two of the study sections in the Bimbilla township could not be revisited due to the erupted conflict situation on the 11<sup>th</sup> of February, 2017. The areas in question were burnt during the conflict in the area and so it was not advisable for the research to table such topic like landownership. A majority of them had also left their homes as at the time of the mop up. The study therefore relied on the research assistants from the two adjoining communities for the missing data.

The research adopted the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software to analyze the data from the questionnaire. The responses from the interviews and the focus group discussions were transcribed and used to interpret the opinions and viewpoints of the participants. Some vital viewpoints were also quoted to support earlier findings with the questionnaire. Specifically, the study analyzed the data using descriptive statistics. Analytical tools under this technique included frequency and cross tabulations. The research used frequency distribution tables to organize questionnaire items that measured the opinions of peasants on key issues relating to each of the four study objectives. The frequency distribution tables enabled the study obtain fairer understanding on those issues and also informed the choice of much higher analytical tools for the study.

Cross tabulations were also used to examine some key background issues on peasants that formed basis for the subsequent analysis of the data. These included the study site and the designation of peasant respondents, the sex and nativity of peasant respondents, age distribution and marital status of respondents. It also considered the marital and residential status of

respondents, and the household sizes of peasants and whether they engage in extra income generation activity. Likewise, the cross tabulations were used to examine the relationships between and among variables of interests, and to analyse the data across study sites. The study used tables, charts and maps to display findings, and to assist analysis.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION**

#### **4.0 Overview**

The study was purposed to examine land allocations in the Nanumba traditional area and how equitable it had been from the perspectives of peasants. It sought to identify and explain if the allocations posed some biases in terms of gender or nativity of peasants, and to determine and explain if there were livelihood issues emanating from the land deals. Lastly, it sought to identify policy issues of inequalities, hunger and poverty situations in the traditional area. The study examined the backgrounds of respondents focusing on the key variables of interest to the study. This preceded the discussions of the chapter to provide basis for certain discussions later in the study.

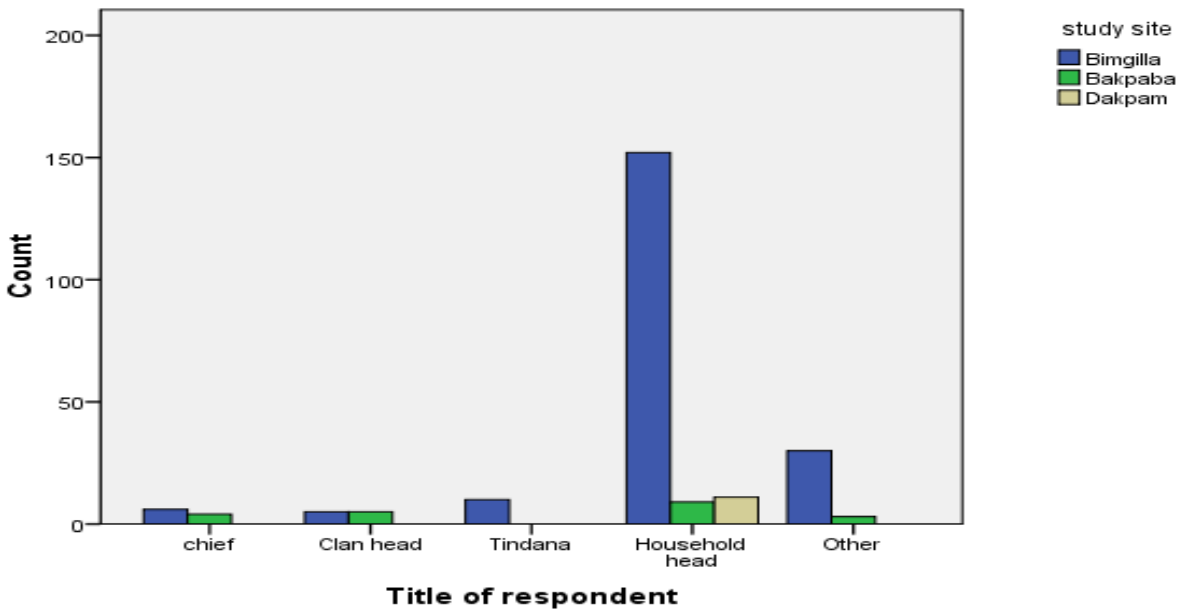
The analysis was largely descriptive, basing emerging arguments on issues on the opinions and viewpoints of respondents as they were displayed on tables of frequencies and percentages, and figures. The study adopted statistical analytical techniques like descriptive statistics, using tools like frequencies and cross tabulations to establish and discuss the relationships among variables of quantitative nature as well as a blend of qualitative and quantitative variables.

The study looked at some demographic data of respondents as obtained from the questionnaire instrument. The essence of this data was to give the study a clearer understanding of the background of the respondents in terms of study sites and designation, mode of access and ownership of land, mode of Access to Farmlands by locality (study sites) and, demand for compensation by locality, ownership of farmland by Locality of respondent, mode of access to land by gender, household size and residential status, and several other parameters. It was also to

look at the relationships that existed among the parameters and how these relationships helped to explain the livelihood status of the respondents. These were also to assist in further discussions along the study.

#### 4.0.1 Study Site and Designation of Respondent

The study captured largely household heads and representatives as respondents to the questionnaire. Most of the respondents were from Bimbilla sub-traditional area (see figure 4). The figure 4 also shows that traditional leaders like clan heads, tindamba and chiefs participated in the study. Some other representatives of the households were allowed to present the views of the households.



**Figure 4: Bar Chart of Title of Respondent by Locality**

The study could not get access to any of the traditional leaders in Dokpam because the seat was vacant and per the advice from a concerned native, it was not advisable the study ventures into matters relating to leadership of the community. Household heads then emerged the most available respondents.

#### 4.0.2 Sex and Origin of Respondent by Locality

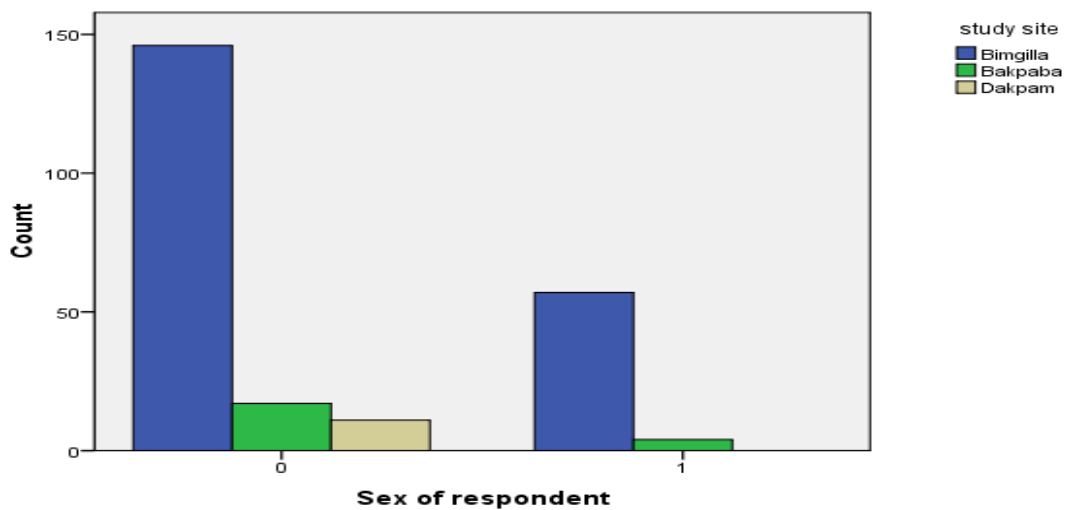
The study targeted 250 respondents in all as respondents to the questionnaire items. The table 3 showed that the respondents were made of natives and settlers in all the study sites (Localities).

**Table 3: Sex and Origin of Respondent by Locality**

<b>Origin of Respondent * Sex of respondent * Study Site Crosstabulation</b>						
Study Site				Sex of respondent		Total
				Male	Female	
<b>Bimbilla</b>	Origin of Respondent	Native	Count	101	22	123
				69.2%	38.6%	60.6%
	Settler	Count	45	35	80	
			30.8%	61.4%	39.4%	
	<b>Total</b>		Count	146	57	203
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
<b>Bakpaba</b>	Origin of Respondent	Native	Count	9	3	12
				52.9%	75.0%	57.1%
	Settler	Count	8	1	9	
			47.1%	25.0%	42.9%	
	<b>Total</b>		Count	17	4	21
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
<b>Dokpam</b>	Origin of Respondent	Native	Count	6		6
				54.5%		54.5%
	Settler	Count	5		5	
			45.5%		45.5%	
	<b>Total</b>		Count	11		11
			100.0%		100.0%	

The sample also comprised of both sexes from Bimbilla and Bakpaba. However, Dokpam traditional area was made of male respondents alone. Specifically, the sample included 60.6 percent (123) natives from Bimbilla, 57.1 percent (12) from Bakpaba and 54.5 percent (6) from Dokpam. Likewise, the composition of settlers includes 39.4 percent (80) from Bimbilla, 42.9 percent (9) from Bakpaba and 45.5 percent (5) from Dokpam study sites. A question arises with adequate representation of settler/native involvement? With the exception of Bimbilla sub-traditional area, settler representation of the sample was adequate.

The gender representation in the entire study area stood as 146 males from Bimbilla, 17 from Bakpaba and 11 from Dokpam study sites (see table 3). Table 3 also showed a total of 61 female peasant respondents on the study. Within Bimbilla sub-traditional area, settlers dominated the female representation in the study. Female Settlers on the sample were 61.4 percent, while female native were 38.6 percent. However, natives in Bakpaba sub-traditional area constituted 75 percent of the female representation.



**Figure 5: Bar Chart of Sex and Locality of Respondents**

The target peasants were both from within and without the traditional area. In assessing the representation of the peasant from the sub-traditional area by nativity, the figure 5 showed a fairer representation across all the study sites. However, the Dokpam sub-traditional area did not have a female peasant as respondent.

#### **4.0.3 Age Distribution and Marital Status of Respondent by Locality**

The study also looked at the ages of respondents as against their marital statuses. This was to help in understanding the stages at which individuals in the area assume responsibilities of household care. The results from table 4 show that the study captured largely (57.4%) a youthful

household head category. Out of this number, 75.5 percent were married, while 15.5 percent were single and 9 percent were divorced.

Likewise, the respondents who were married dominated in the age categories. However, the number of participants reduces with the rise in ages. Unlike Bimbilla and Bakpaba, Dokpam had close to 73 percent of peasant respondent within the ages 41 and 60 years. Likewise, there was no divorced or unmarried person (see table 4).

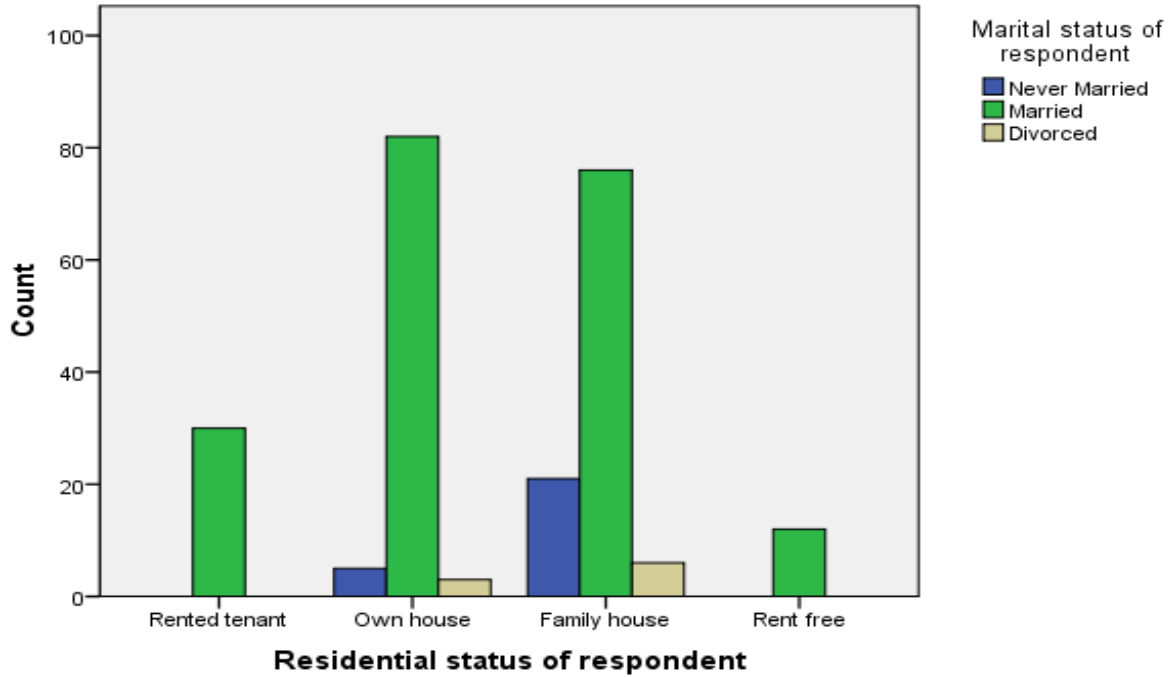
**Table 4: Age Distribution and Marital Status of Respondent by Locality**

<b>Marital Status and Age of Respondent by Locality</b>							
<b>Study Site</b>				<b>Age of Respondent</b>			<b>Total</b>
				<b>25 -40</b>	<b>41 - 60</b>	<b>60 Plus</b>	
<b>Bimbilla</b>	Marital status of respondent	Never	Count	21	0	0	21
		Married		17.2%	.0%	.0%	10.3%
		Married	Count	94	64	17	175
				77.0%	100.0%	100.0%	86.2%
		Divorced	Count	7	0	0	7
			5.7%	.0%	.0%	3.4%	
	<b>Total</b>		Count	122	64	17	203
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
<b>Bakpaba</b>	Marital status of respondent	Never	Count	5	0	0	5
		Married		50.0%	.0%	.0%	23.8%
		Married	Count	5	2	7	14
				50.0%	50.0%	100.0%	66.7%
		Divorced	Count	0	2	0	2
			.0%	50.0%	.0%	9.5%	
	<b>Total</b>		Count	10	4	7	21
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
<b>Dokpam</b>	Marital status of respondent	Married	Count	3	8		11
				100.0%	100.0%		100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	3	8		11
				100.0%	100.0%		100.0%

#### **4.0.4 Marital and Residential Status of Respondent**

The study again examined the link between the respondents' marital status as against their residential status. The essence was to understand how respondents housed their households, and if their struggles to accommodating their households could impact on their livelihoods. The

results showed that majority of the peasants lived in their own housing apartment, while a greater number of the remaining peasant reside in houses owned by their natal relations.



**Figure 6: Bar Chart of Marital and Residential Status of Respondent**

It was also worth noting that all those respondents who never married were within the youthful age categories, and resided in houses owned by family relations. Likewise, a majority of the divorced persons resided in houses owned by family members (see figure 6).

**4.0.5 Household Size and Residential Status of Respondent by Localities**

The study looked at the size of households of peasants from one locality to another. Table 5 displays the results. The findings from table 5 point to the fact that the family sizes of respondents may have greater bearing on the housing needs of households, and the ability of household heads to ensure food security from peasantry businesses.

Table 5 shows that rural dweller were fully accommodated in their own apartments, compared to town dwellers. The dominant household range is 6 to 10 membership, and they were housed in

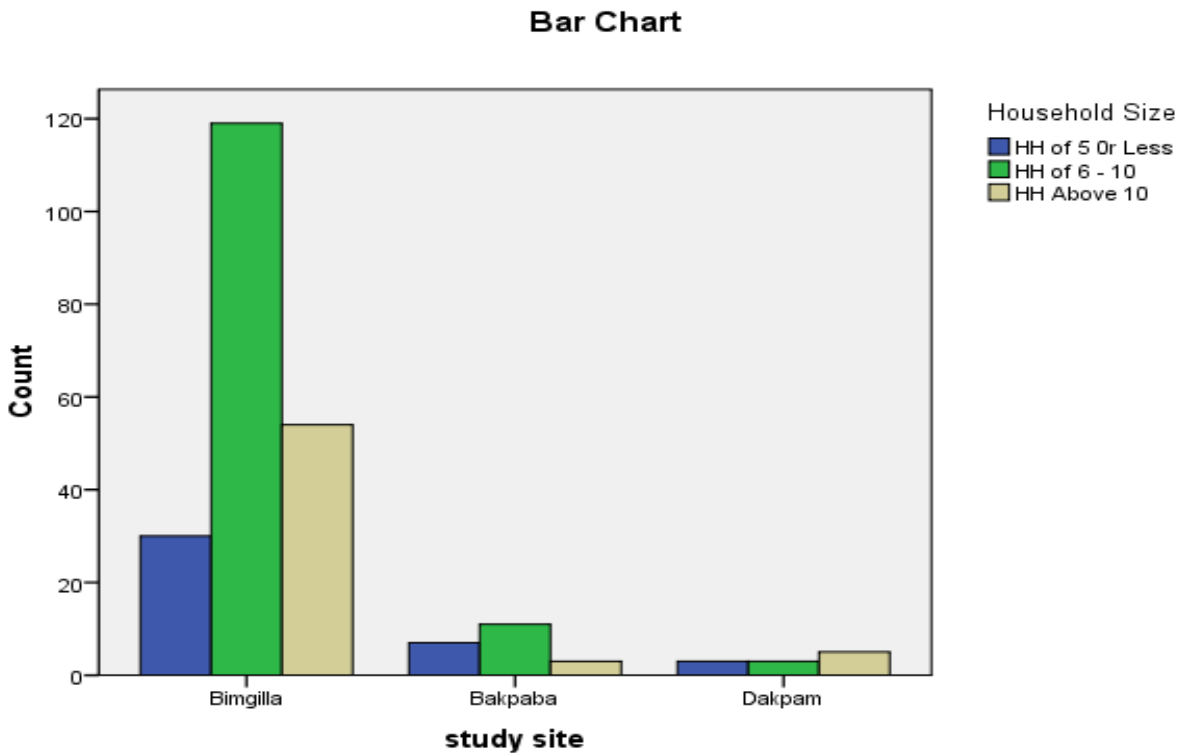
either rented apartment or in family houses (see table 5). For instance, 93.3 percent of peasants who house their households in rented apartment had household sizes of between 6 and 10 membership.

**Table 5: Household Size and Residential Status by Locality**

Study Site	Household (HH) Size		Residential Status of Respondent				Total
			Rented tenant	Own house	Family house	Rent free	
<b>Bimbilla</b>	HH of 5 Or Less	Count	2 6.7%	12 17.4%	12 13.0%	4 33.3%	30 14.8%
	HH of 6 – 10	Count	28 93.3%	32 46.4%	51 55.4%	8 66.7%	119 58.6%
	HH Above 10	Count	0 .0%	25 36.2%	29 31.5%	0 .0%	54 26.6%
	<b>Total</b>	Count	30 100.0%	69 100.0%	92 100.0%	12 100.0%	203 100.0%
<b>Bakpaba</b>	HH of 5 Or Less	Count		2 20.0%	5 45.5%		7 33.3%
	HH of 6 – 10	Count		6 60.0%	5 45.5%		11 52.4%
	HH Above 10	Count		2 20.0%	1 9.1%		3 14.3%
	<b>Total</b>	Count		10 100.0%	11 100.0%		21 100.0%
<b>Dokpam</b>	HH of 5 Or Less	Count		3 27.3%			3 27.3%
	HH of 6 – 10	Count		3 27.3%			3 27.3%
	HH Above 10	Count		5 45.5%			5 45.5%
	<b>Total</b>	Count		11 100.0%			11 100.0%

This same household size category formed the majority (55.4%) of those residing in family houses (see table 5). Even though, the majority of the peasants had large household sizes they reside in their own residence. Rural peasants were capable of housing their household members, so rent payment would not constitute a leakage on their peasantry business capital.

Dokpam sub-traditional area recorded predominantly higher household sizes of more than ten (10) members of the households. However, the peasant households claimed they were capable of housing their members (see figure 7).



**Figure 7: Bar Chart of Household Size of Respondent and Study Site**

The results from figure 6 show that Bimbilla and Bakpaba sub-traditional areas have dominant household sizes ranging between 6 and 10 membership.

#### **4.1.0 Objective One: Land Allocation in the Nanumba Traditional Area**

The study intended to measure the level of equity in land distribution in the NTA. The variables of measure were the respondents' ownership to farmland, how it was access, whether the peasants who accessed their farmlands by inheritance could lease portions of the land to a third party, if those who begged for land paid compensations for using farmlands, and the level of relationship between the peasant respondents and the original landowners,

The research obtained information from respondents on the modes of land allocation to enable the study to measure and explain the level of accessibility to land in the area. This could also aid in the determination of equity in land distribution in the traditional area.

#### ***4.1.1 Mode of Access to Land***

The research needed to understand the mode of land allocation in the area from the perspective of the participant. The essence of this move as stated above was to help describe the level of access to land by the peasants in the traditional area.

The results on table 6 showed that the peasants have varied concerns on the way land is allocated in the traditional area. The mode of land allocation in the area was largely through inheritance within lineages as well as free gifts to landless people who desire land purposely for farming. Per the results of the analysis a majority (54.5%) of the peasants claimed ownership of their respective farmlands in their response to the questionnaire items.

On how the peasants accessed their farmlands, only 42.1 percent of them indicated inheritance as the mode of access. About 57 (133) percent of the peasants were freely given the farmland, out of which only 24 peasants claimed they were charged to pay compensation on the parcels of farmlands given them. The table 6 also shows that even those who inherited their farmlands were not capable of leasing a portion of their farmland to a third party. Interestingly, land deals were barely recorded (95.7%) in the traditional area (see table 6). The claim by settlers to have inherited land or owned land is reflective of inheriting secondary usufructory interests held by their parents.

**Table 6: Opinions on Land Allocation and Land Deals**

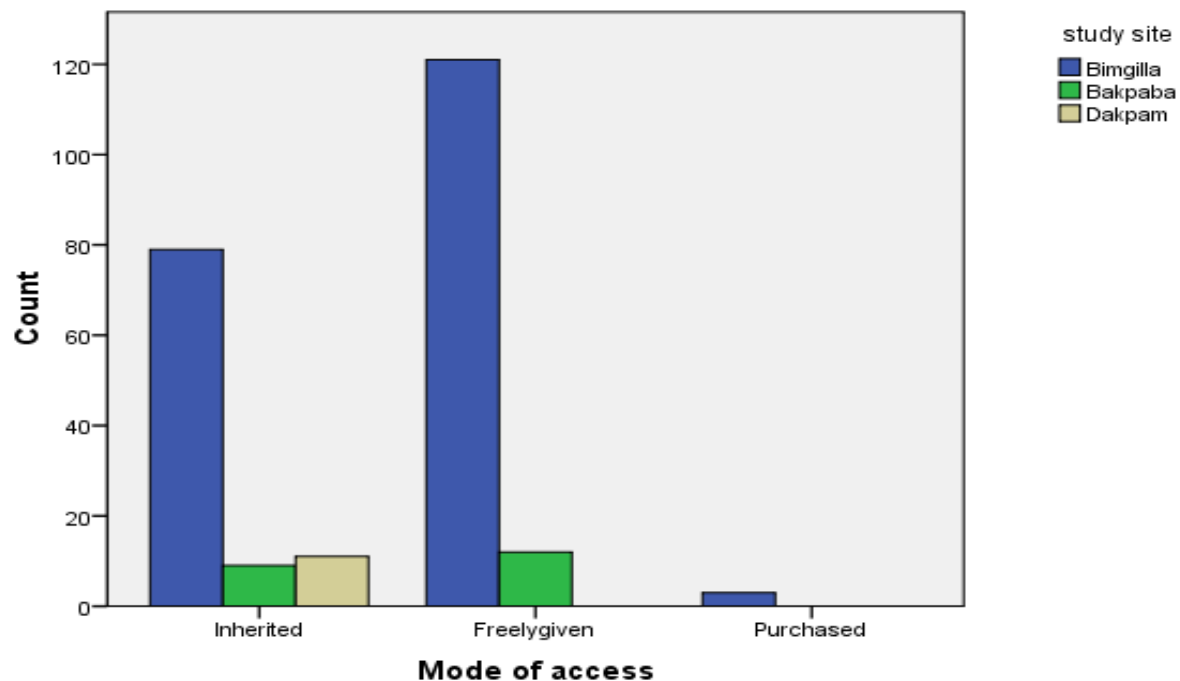
Real access to land	Responses				Total Respondents
	Yes	%	No	%	
Ownership of Farmland	128	54.5	107	45.5	235
Mode of access					232
	Inherited	99	42.1		
	Freely given	133	56.6		
If inherited, can your lease out?	87	37	15	6.4	102
Any compensation, if freely given	24	9.8	109	46	133
Recording of land deals	8	3.4	225	95.7	233

Contrary to the claims of ownership and inheritance, farmlands in the traditional area were not sold out or shared to individuals in families as inheritance because the tradition of the people forbids it (field data, 2016). They held those farmlands in Nanumba traditional area currently belong to clans and families, and were collectively under the allodial ownership of the chiefs. As the main source of their unity and livelihood, the lands could not be alienated from the people through sales, but only be allocated to family members and usufruct users who needed to use it.

This predominant position land holding did not rule out minor prevalence of land sales and compartmentalization into private holdings. An interview with key individual in the traditional area in charge of culture and traditions at the District Assembly confirmed the above assertion when it revealed some modifications in the customs of the area that led to land being held by clans and families. According to the narrations, it was not until when chiefs begun to apportion parcels of land for exclusive use by their clans and nuclear families that land in the area shifted from communal interests to include clan and family head titles (field data, 2016).

#### ***4.1.2 Locality and Mode of Access to Farmlands***

The study explored land allocation in the traditional area by looking at how native men and women, as well as settlers obtain farmlands to pursue their livelihood options.



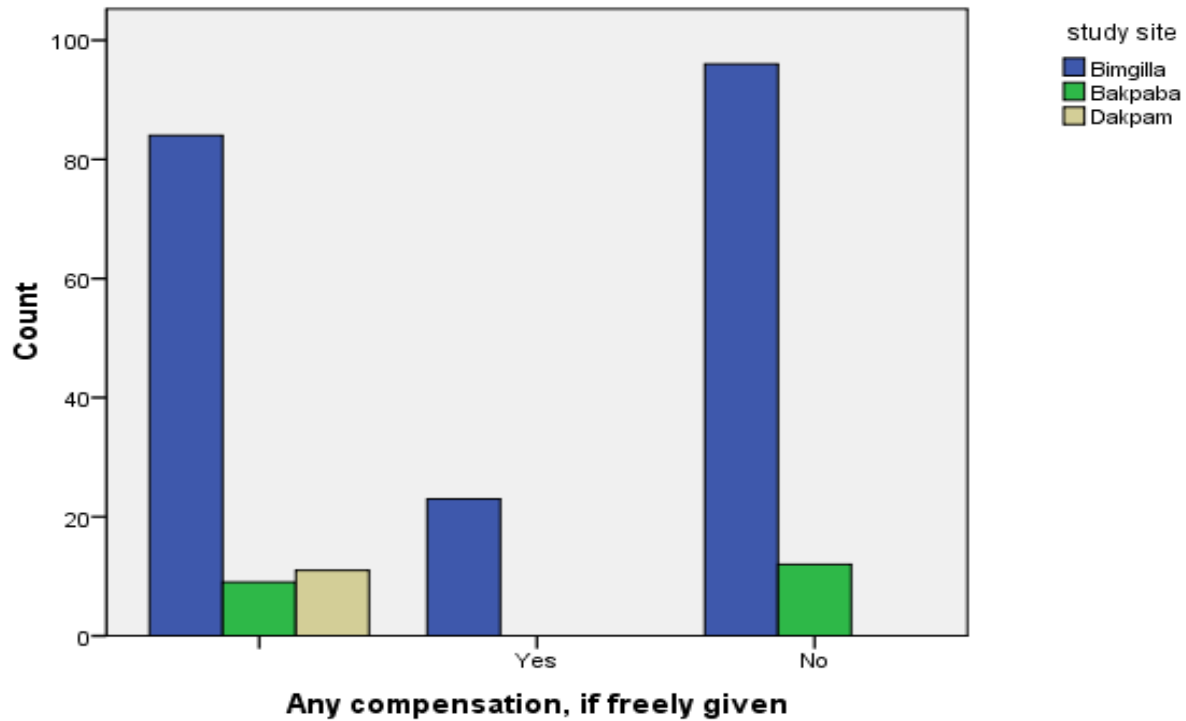
**Figure 8: Bar Chart of Locality and Mode of Access to Farmlands**

From figure 8, settlers' major access to land largely depended on the willingness of landowners to give land. Peasants within the Dokpam sub-traditional area have the opportunity to inherit land, despite ones' status as native or settler. However, the situation varied in the sub-traditional areas of Bimbilla and Bakpaba. It was also worth noting that land sales were observed only in Bimbilla sub-traditional area. Information shows that the sub-traditional areas of Bakpaba and Dokpam did not experience issues of land purchases. Prevalence of land sales varied with size of town, while settler integration has relevance in less developed rural areas comparatively.

#### ***4.1.3 Demand for Compensation by Locality***

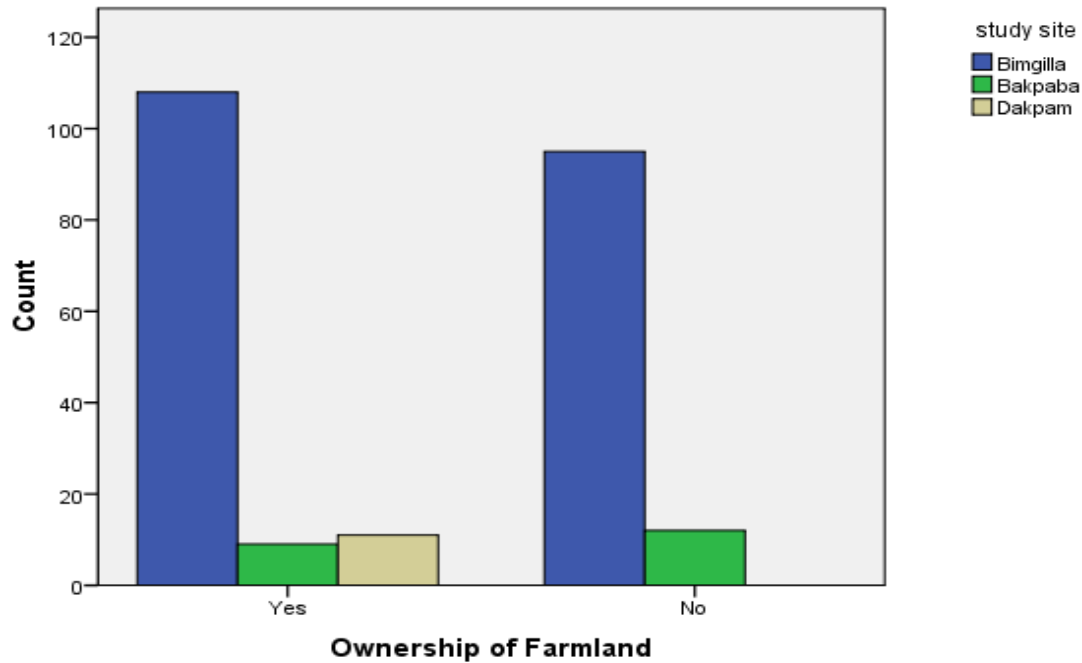
The study gathered the opinions of peasants who accessed their land through free gift on the issues of compensations as conditions for the use of the farmlands. Depending on the mode of compensations attached to land use, access to land could be hampered. From the results on figure

9, Bimbilla sub-traditional area was shown to have registered incidences of demand for compensation by the landlords. Was it a structured practice? The remaining areas had not experienced such practice.



**Figure 9: Bar Chart of Demand for Compensation by Locality**

The interest of the study was also to examine the kinds of land interests expressed among the claims of peasants in the three localities. Figure 9 displays these findings on the views of respondents.



**Figure 10: Bar Chart of Ownership (interests) in Farmland by Locality of Respondent**

Figure 10 shows that all peasant respondents within the Dokpam sub-traditional area had some claim of their farmlands and could pass on to their lineages. However, native and settler peasants in the remaining two traditional areas had no form of ownership claims to their farmlands.

#### ***4.1.4 Mode of Access and claim of Ownership of farmland by Locality***

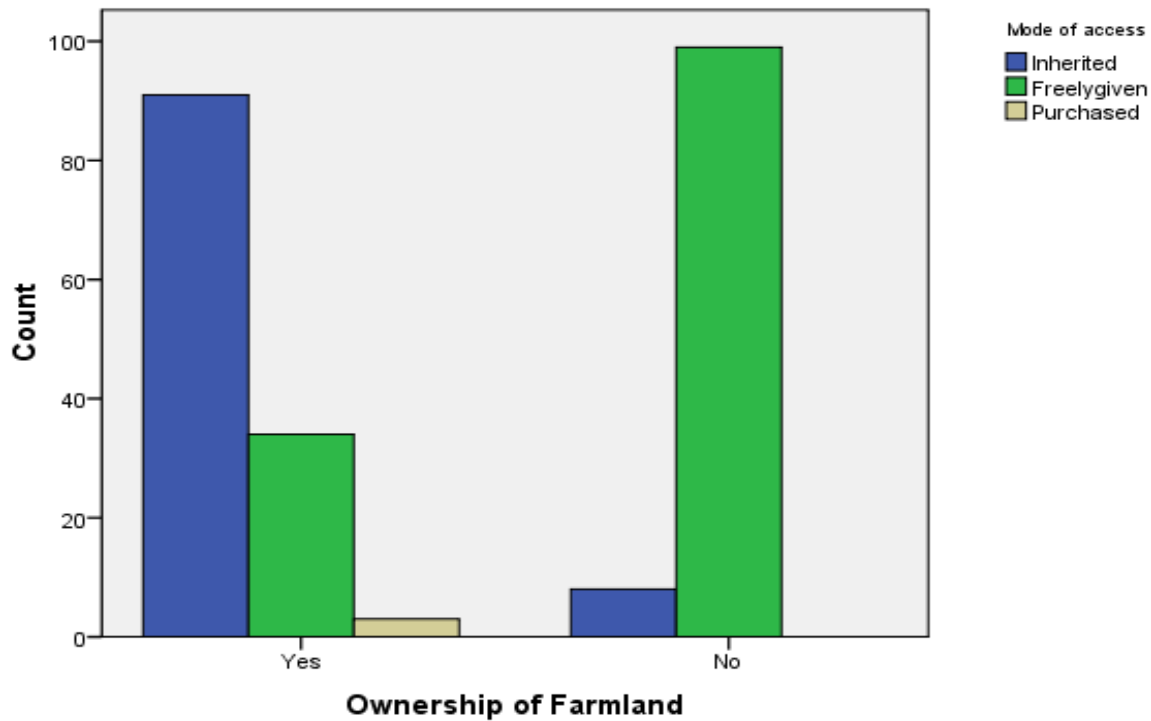
Issues of land ownership claimed by both settlers and native seemed to lack clarity in terms of type of real interests. To pursue this issue further the study tabulated the mode of access and ownership claim to ascertain the level of ownership. The results on table 7 showed that not all those who inherited their farmlands could claim ownership to the farmland. It further shows that 28 percent of peasants from Bimbilla who were freely given their farmlands could claim ownership of such lands. Is it natives alone who have rights to inherit land, or settlers too could inherit farmland?

**Table 7: Mode of Access and Ownership by Locality**

Study Site	Mode of access and Ownership of Farmland by Locality					
			Ownership of Farmland		Total	
			Yes	No		
<b>Bimbilla</b>	Mode of access	Inherited	Count	71	8	79
				65.7%	8.4%	38.9%
		Freely given	Count	34	87	121
				31.5%	91.6%	59.6%
		Purchased	Count	3	0	3
				2.8%	.0%	1.5%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	108	95	203
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
<b>Bakpaba</b>	Mode of access	Inherited	Count	9	0	9
				100.0%	.0%	42.9%
		Freely given	Count	0	12	12
				.0%	100.0%	57.1%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	9	12	21
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
<b>Dokpam</b>	Mode of access	Inherited	Count	11		11
				100.0%		100.0%
		<b>Total</b>		Count	11	
				100.0%		100.0%

It must be made clear that not all who inherited their farmlands were natives. Likewise, those respondents who claimed they were freely given their farmlands included natives. Results from the interviews showed that settlers who maintained perfect relationship with their landlords had the opportunity of maintaining their use rights to lands given them, and even, passing on their usufruct rights to their descendants. A specific question was posed as to whether settlers who maintain good standing with their landlords have opportunity of holding such parcels of land as long as they can. In response he said,

*“It will not necessarily be declared to you a settler to own the land. The landlord will not disturb you, so far as you comport yourself by respecting the tenure agreement and also do not interfere in their internal affairs” (field data, 2017).*



**Figure 11: Bar Chart of Mode of Access and Ownership of Land**

From figure 11, a majority of those who inherited their farmlands could claim ownership to such farmlands, while a huge majority of peasants who were freely given their farmlands could not lay any claim of inheritance. Settlers, as have been noted already, could only inherit the usufruct interest the traditional authority granted to the parents.

During the interview sessions with a representative of the traditional authority of one of the gates, he indicated,

*“Landowners in this area will claim lands given to usufruct users if they must expand their farms, or cater for the request of a member of the landholding family (Field data, 2017).”*

This statement bothers significantly on the tenure security of usufruct right users of land in the traditional area. It is probable that settlers’ land sizes may continue to dwindle due to some of

these acts by landowners. It also proves the point that landowners can confiscate farmlands of strangers and give it to family members.

#### 4.2.0 Objective Two: Gender or Nativity of Peasants as Factors of Land Access

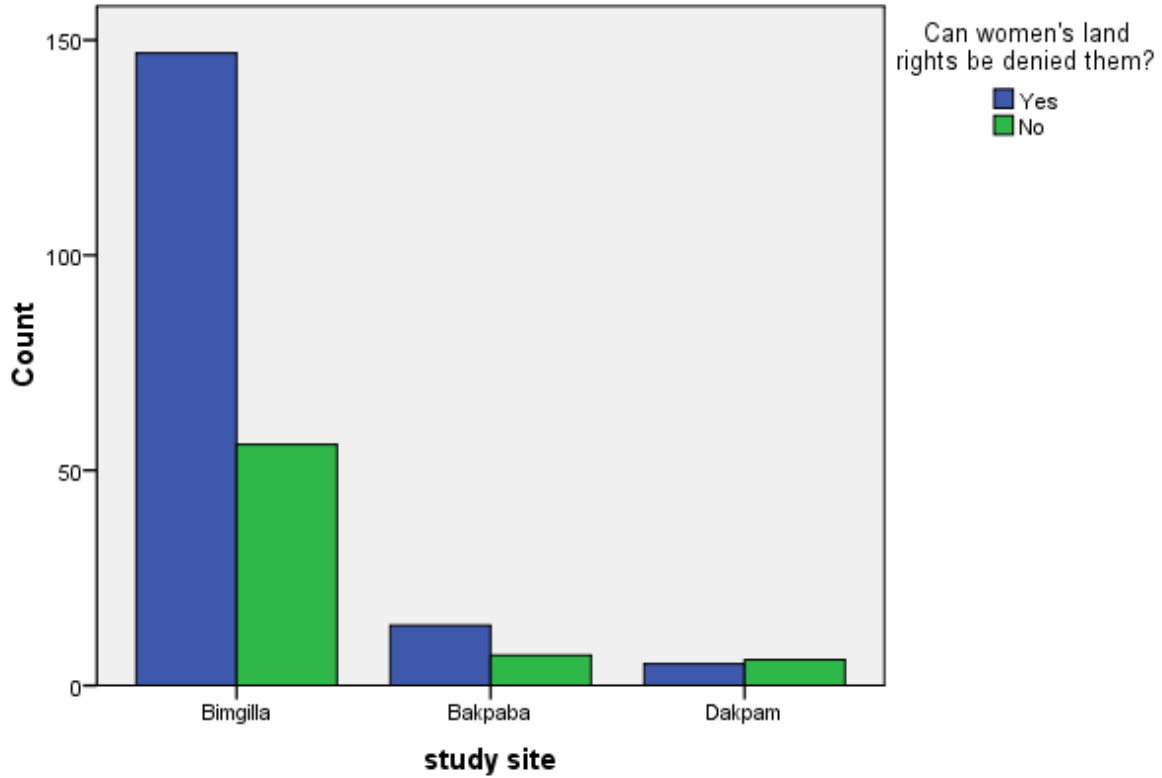
The study was also purported to examine land allocations in the Nanumba traditional area in the context of nativity or origin and gender of the peasant respondents. It sought to ascertain if being a settler or female has any influence on a peasant’s request for farmland. The interview and focus group discussions highlighted strongly that both settlers and natives were capable of accessing land in the traditional area. The study explored these tasks by comparing results from each sub-traditional to another and later examined the issues as they pertain in the study area.

**Table 8: Opinions of Peasants on Land Allocations**

Questionnaire Item	OPINIONS				TOTAL	
	True	%	False	%	Not Sure	%
Access to land is based on relations	148	63	50	21.3	37	15.7
Access does not depend on gender	117	49.8	105	44.7	13	5.5
Natives have greater access than settlers	196	83.4	27	11.5	12	6.1
Land owners prefer investors to settlers	159	67.7	49	20.9	27	11.5
Natives have better tenure security	201	85.5	14	6	20	8.5
Customs allow land transfer to females	76	32.3	114	48.6	45	19.1
Women’s land rights could be denied	166	70.6	69	29.4		
Customs does not permit women to inherit land	97	41.3	100	42.6	38	16.2
Customs discriminate against women	122	51.9	113	48.1		

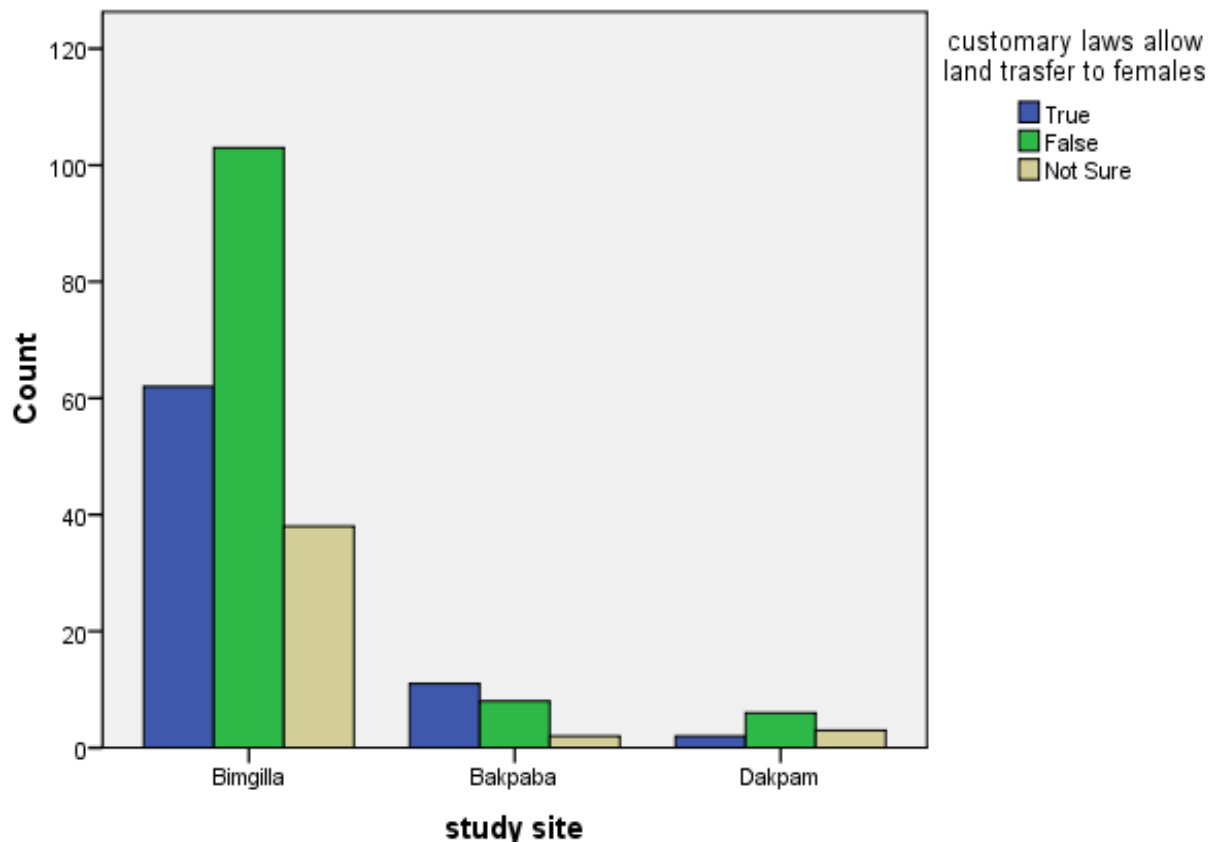
The study explored the opinions of the peasants on issues relating to land allocations in the traditional area, and whether gender or nativity of the peasant affects access to farmland. From the table 8, peasants who were related to landowners were more likely get farmland than those who were not. It further shows that among natives, gender was not a barrier to access to land. However, the opinions on this issue were divided (49.8% “for” and 44.7% “against”). Why the dichotomy? Respondents (85.5%) also held the views that natives had greater tenure security to farmlands than settlers. However, the customs of the area does not allow land transfer to females

(48.6%), or permit women to inherit farmlands of spouses (97%), an issue that got respondents split (41% and 43%, see table 7).



**Figure 12: Bar Chart of Nature of Women Land Rights by Locality**

Communal system of landownership acknowledges the welfare of women than individualized system of landownership (Toulmin and Quan, 2000). Dokpam sub-traditional area differed in opinions on women's land rights than the other areas. (Niessen, 1985).



**Figure 13: Bar Chart of Land Transfer to Women by Locality**

As to whether the customs of the study area would allow transfer of family land to women, figure 13 shows that the majority of peasant households in Bimbilla and Dokpam had opinions in the contrary. However, a slight majority of peasant households in Bakpaba sub-traditional area held the views that female members of the household could be give parcels of family lands to control. What does the interview say? Could they be allowed to alienate such parcels of land, or will it to their children? On the issue of inheritance of land, which surfaced as the main mode of access to land among natives, the response varied across sub-traditional areas.

#### ***4.2.1 Gender and Access to Land by Localities***

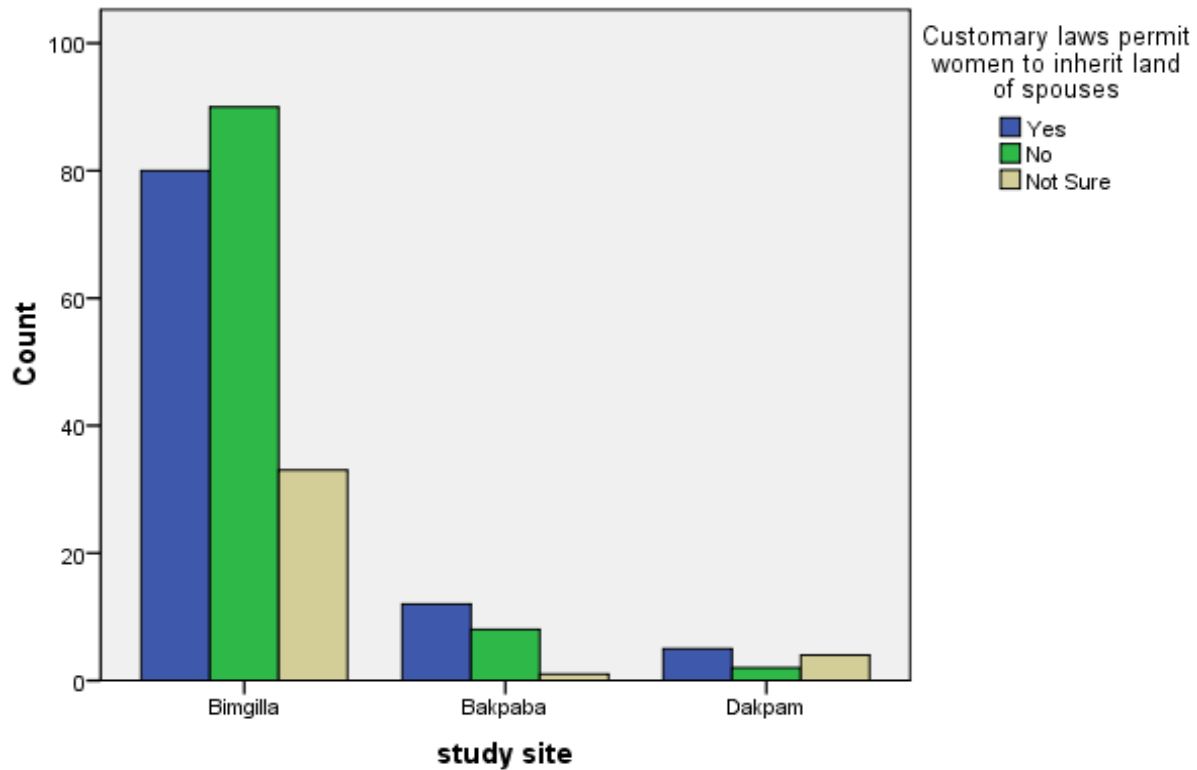
In exploring the gender access to farmland across the study area, the study compared the scenarios of the individual study sites. Table 9 showed that both females and males had some form of access to land. Both sexes could inherit land, especially in Bimbilla (male – 68, female –

11). Despite the inclusion, 28 percent female representation in the sub-traditional area was highly inadequate. However, all the females in Bakpaba could only access their farmlands through free gifts from land owners.

**Table 9: Gender and Mode of Access to Farmland by Locality**

Sex and Mode of Access to Farmland by Locality						
Study Site				Sex of Respondent		Total
				Male	Female	
<b>Bimbilla</b>	Mode of access	Inherited	Count	68	11	79
				46.6%	19.3%	38.9%
		Freely given	Count	78	43	121
				53.4%	75.4%	59.6%
		Purchased	Count	0	3	3
				.0%	5.3%	1.5%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	146	57	203
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
<b>Bakpaba</b>	Mode of access	Inherited	Count	9	0	9
				52.9%	.0%	42.9%
		Freely given	Count	8	4	12
				47.1%	100.0%	57.1%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	17	4	21
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
<b>Dokpam</b>	Mode of access	Inherited	Count	11		11
				100.0%		100.0%
		<b>Total</b>		Count	11	
				100.0%		100.0%

The results on figure 13 show that women's right to inherit land as members of the family in the traditional area varied by locality. In Bimbilla sub-traditional area, the dominant opinions on the issue show that women could not inherit family land. However, the peasants in the two other localities thought otherwise.



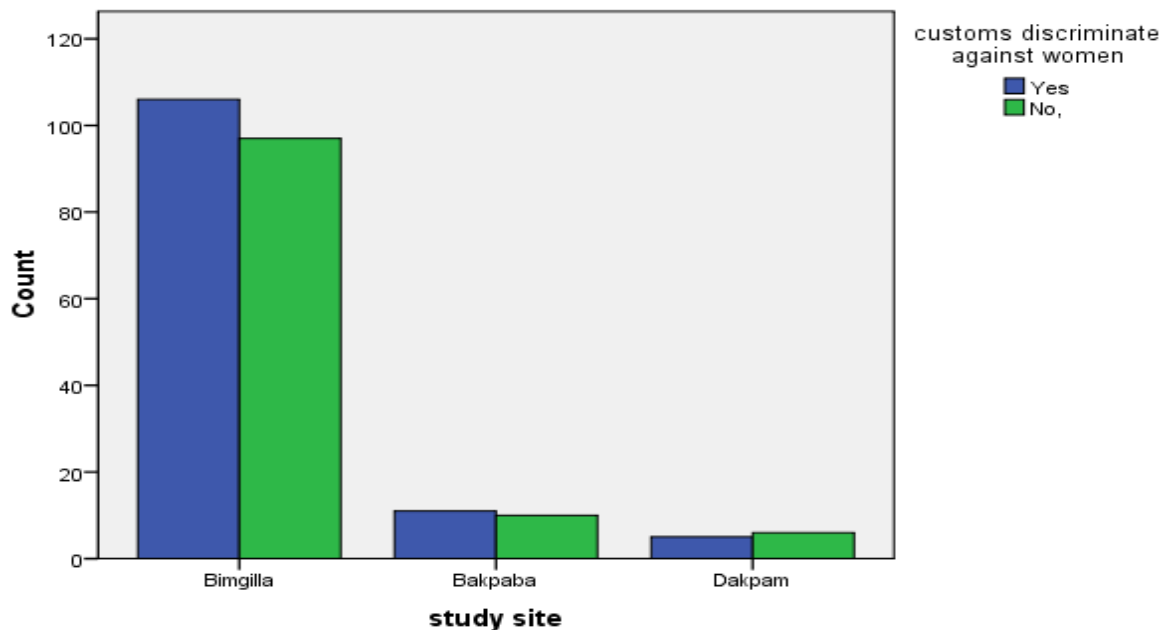
**Figure 14: Bar Chart of Women's Land Inheritance by Localities**

What really was the explanation to these variations in viewpoint on such major customary construct? Does the issue of land value influence the position of the viewpoints? Or, the right to inherit was with a difference in the two other areas?

The study again examined the issues of discrimination against females on matters of land allocation in the entire traditional area. Figure 15 displays the opinions the peasant households.

The peasants were not decisive on the issues of whether the customs of the traditional area discriminated against females in land allocation, except those from Bimbilla sub-traditional area.

Figure 15 shows no clear cut differences in opinions by peasant households from Bakpaba and Dokpam. While a slight majority in Bakpaba acknowledged the incidence of discriminatory tendencies in the customs, those from Dokpam pooled a slight majority that denies the existence of discrimination in the customs of the area.

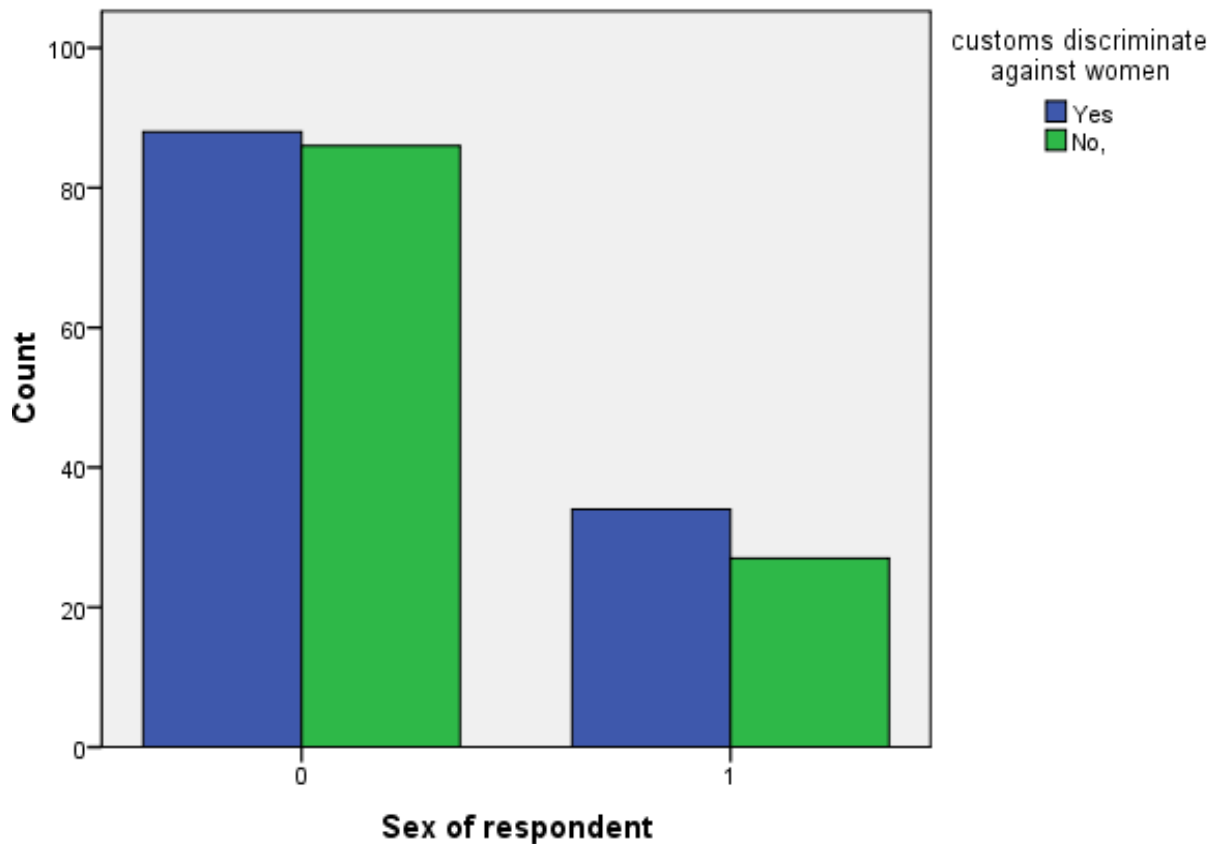


**Figure 15: Bar Chart of Customs and Women in Land Allocation by Localities**

However, the peasant households from Bimbilla largely held the opinions that the customs do not give females equal access to family land as it does to males. Does the adherence to customs explain these dispositions of peasants? Or the exposure to issues of human rights information informs the dispositions of the peasants in the urban centre?

**4.2.3 Gendered Views on Customary Land Allocations**

The study further examined the opinions of both male and female peasant respondents on the gender issue in customary practices. Figure 16 shows the opinions of females and males on whether customs discriminated against women in land family allocation.



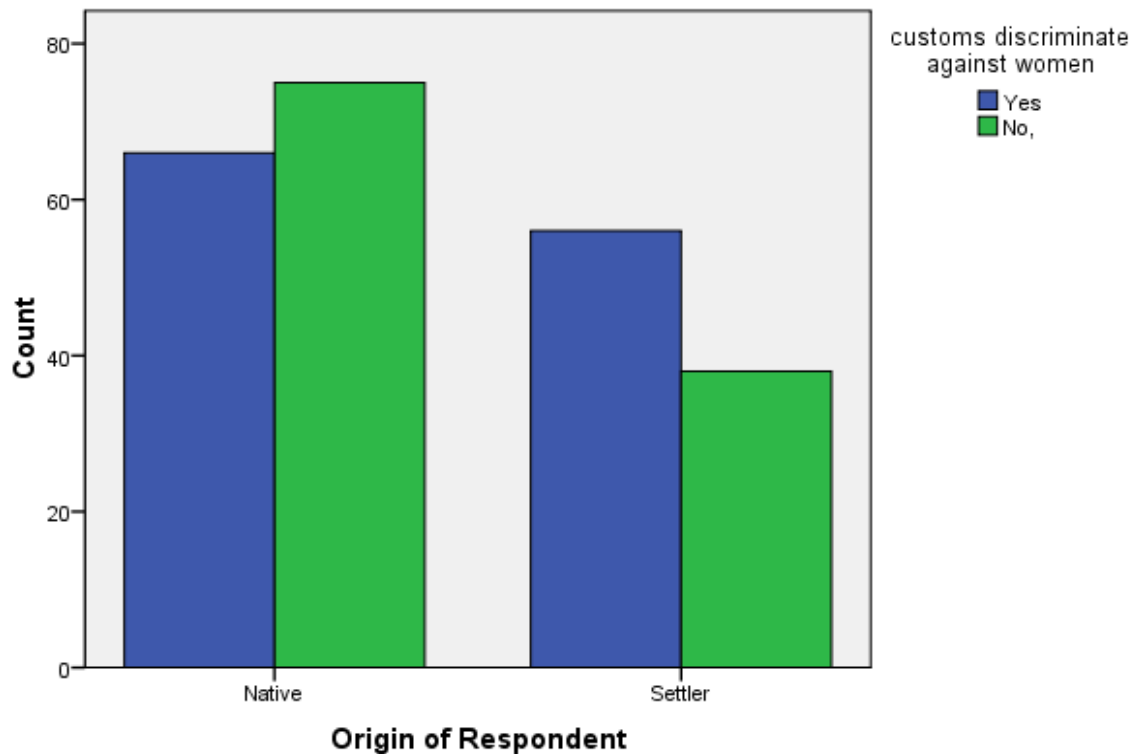
**Figure 16: Bar Chart of Gendered Views on Customs and Women’s Access to Land**

The results from figure 16 showed that there was no significant difference in the opinions and viewpoints of males on the issue. However, a very slight majority of the female peasants thought that the customs of the traditional area did not ensure equitable access to family land for male and female children. Does the level of attachment to customs influence this outcome?

***4.2.4 Views of Natives and Settlers on Whether Custom Discriminate against Women***

Similarly, when the study explored the opinions of peasant households among settlers and natives, the result was a mix-up. While the majority of the natives could not see tendencies of discriminations in the dealings of the customs of the traditional area, the settler peasants were of contrary opinions. The majority of the settler peasants thought that the customs of the traditional area had given male members of the traditional area dominant access to family lands (see figure

17). What informed these divergent dispositions? Maybe the settlers were never asked to see a female member of the family for land – men gave land out



**Figure 17: Bar Chart of Views of Natives/Settlers on whether Custom Discriminate against Women**

**4.2.5 Sex of Respondents and Mode of Access by Locality**

The study intended to examine and explain if there were differences in how peasants got their farmland allocations, if gender of the peasant facilitated or inhibited the chances of the peasants.

Table 10 displays the results of the findings.

From table 10, the results showed a much wider variations in gendered land access in the Bimbilla and Bakpaba sub-traditional areas. However, the Dokpam sub-traditional area did not have female respondent, making it difficult for the study to comment on the issue in the study site. What explains the issue of no female peasant respondent?

**Table 10: Sex of Respondent and Mode of Access by Locality**

Sex and Mode of Access of Respondent * Study Site		Study Site	Mode of Access			Total
			Inherited	Freely given	Purchased	
<b>Bimbilla</b>	Sex of respondent	Male	68	78	0	146
			46.6%	53.4%	.0%	100.0%
		Female	11	43	3	57
			19.3%	75.4%	5.3%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		79	121	3	203
			38.9%	59.6%	1.5%	100.0%
<b>Bakpaba</b>	Sex of respondent	Male	9	8		17
			52.9%	47.1%		100.0%
		Female	0	4		4
			.0%	100.0%		100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		9	12		21
			42.9%	57.1%		100.0%
<b>Dokpam</b>	Sex of respondent	Male	11			11
			100.0%			100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		11			11
			100.0%			100.0%

**4.2.6 Origin of Respondent and Mode of Land Access by Locality**

The study also explored the mode of access to land by either native or settler respondents across localities. This was to examine the nature of access settlers have in their bid to improve upon their livelihoods. Table 11 shows the results of the findings from the peasant respondents. The issue of whether settlers inherited farmland and therefore could claim ownership was examined by the study. Table 11 revealed that about 29 percent of the 94 settler peasants inherited their farmlands from the parents. Likewise, out of the 99 peasants who claimed they inherited their farmland, only 72 of them were natives.

**Table 11: Origin of Respondent and Mode of Land Access by Locality**

<b>Origin and Mode of access of Respondent by Locality</b>						
<b>Study Site</b>			<b>Mode of Access</b>			<b>Total</b>
			<b>Inherited</b>	<b>Freely given</b>	<b>Purchased</b>	
<b>Bimbilla</b>	Origin of Respondent	Native	60	63	0	123
			48.8%	51.2%	.0%	100.0%
		Settler	19	58	3	80
			23.8%	72.5%	3.8%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		79	121	3	203
			38.9%	59.6%	1.5%	100.0%
<b>Bakpaba</b>	Origin of Respondent	Native	6	6		12
			50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
		Settler	3	6		9
			33.3%	66.7%		100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		9	12		21
			42.9%	57.1%		100.0%
<b>Dokpam</b>	Origin of Respondent	Native	6			6
			100.0%			100.0%
		Settler	5			5
			100.0%			100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		11			11
			100.0%			100.0%

From table 11, most settler peasants obtained their farmlands through free gifts by the landowners. This manifested in the cases of Bimbilla (72.5%) and Bakpaba (66.7) sub-traditional areas. However, the settler peasants (100%) from the Dokpam sub-traditional area had the opportunity to inherit their farmlands. Comparatively, few settler peasants from Bimbilla (23.8%) and Bakpaba (33.3%) could inherit their farmlands. Can the level of integration settlers have explain these variations in access to land?

Though the interviews and FGDs alluded to some incidences of land sales, they were not able to confirm a fixed price for a piece of land in the traditional area. The respondents said the prices varied and depended on who was making the request, and how related the person was with the landowners. As for the smaller traditional areas like Dokpam and Bakpaba, land sales were yet

strange to them (field data, 2017). A 41 year old peasant in one of this traditional towns remarked;

*“Land belongs to families and no stranger is allowed to own any portion of it. If settlers own our land we cannot banish such persons if they are found to exhibit anti-social characters. We rather give the land free to the settlers” (Field Data, 2017).*

The customary position at the rural settlement varied divergently from what pertained in semi-urban areas where population growth drives settlement expansions.

#### **4.3.0 Objective Three: Land Tenure Practices and Livelihoods of Peasants**

It examined customary land tenure practices in the Nanumba traditional area and how it impacts on the livelihoods of peasants in the traditional area. It considered peasants’ farmland sizes, income earnings and personal land holdings as variables that underpin the livelihood activities and outcomes of peasants. It explains the linkages among these variable from the perspectives of the peasant respondents (Myers, 1997: citing Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994).

The analysis was largely a description of issues as tabled in the instruments from the viewpoints of respondents. It adopted descriptive statistical tools like frequency and cross tabulations. Tables of frequencies and simple percentages were used to display the results. It also used figures and graphs or charts to display pictorial data for further analysis.

##### ***4.3.1 Origin of Respondent and Farmland Size by Study Sites/Locality***

The study explored the farmland sizes of native and settler respondents based on the study sites. The rationale was to compare the farmland sizes of both natives and settlers from the various study sites. Table 12 contains the results or the outcome of the exploration. Table 12 shows that 65 percent of the native from Bimbilla claimed farmland sizes ranging from 1 acre to 4 acres. Likewise, 35 percent of native peasants could boast of farmland sizes ranging from 5 acres or

more. However, 81 percent of the settler peasants had farmland sizes ranges between 1 and 4 acres. Meanwhile, both natives and settler peasants had fair share of farmland in the two other communities.

**Table 12: Origin of Respondent and Farmland Size by Locality**

<b>Origin of Respondent * Farmland Size * Study</b>			<b>Farmland Size</b>		<b>Total</b>
<b>Study Site</b>			<b>1 - 4 Acres</b>	<b>5 Acres Plus</b>	
<b>Bimbilla</b>	Origin of Respondent	Native	80	43	123
			65.0%	35.0%	100.0%
		Settler	65	15	80
			81.2%	18.8%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		145	58	203
			71.4%	28.6%	100.0%
<b>Bakpaba</b>	Origin of Respondent	Native	6	6	12
			50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		Settler	4	5	9
			44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		10	11	21
			47.6%	52.4%	100.0%
<b>Dokpam</b>	Origin of Respondent	Native	4	2	6
			66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
		Settler	4	1	5
			80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		8	3	11
			72.7%	27.3%	100.0%

Table 12 also gives indications that settler peasant respondents had some farmland sizes to pursue their livelihood prospects. Both natives and settlers across the sub-traditional areas had predominantly 4 acres of farmland or less to do crop farming (see table 12). The analysis showed that settlers had fair share of farmlands as native, so there was no significant difference between settlers' access to farmland and those of natives.

### 4.3.2 Gender and Farmland Size by Locality

The study also compared the gendered access to farmland across the localities under study. Similarly, the examination of farmland sizes by gender across the study sites shows that both sexes had farmland sizes ranging between 1 and 4 acres across the localities (see table 13).

**Table 13: Sex of Respondent and Farmland Size by Locality**

Study Site	Sex and Farmland Size of Respondent by Locality		Farmland Size		Total
			1 - 4 Acres	5 Acres Plus	
<b>Bimbilla</b>	Sex of respondent	Male	94	52	146
			64.4%	35.6%	100.0%
		Female	51	6	57
			89.5%	10.5%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		145	58	203
			71.4%	28.6%	100.0%
<b>Bakpaba</b>	Sex of respondent	Male	6	11	17
			35.3%	64.7%	100.0%
		Female	4	0	4
			100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		10	11	21
			47.6%	52.4%	100.0%
<b>Dokpam</b>	Sex of respondent	Male	8	3	11
			72.7%	27.3%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		8	3	11
			72.7%	27.3%	100.0%

From table 13, only 10.5 percent of female peasant respondents out the 57 from Bimbilla sub-traditional area claimed having 5 acres of farmland or more to do crop farming, compared to Bakpaba sub-traditional area where all female peasant could boast of between 1 and 4 acres of farmland.

Table 13 reveals that places that had some level of settler integration, like Bimbilla and Bakpaba sub-traditional areas, had female involvement in land related livelihoods. As noted earlier, native females barely engage in farming activities. In Dokpam sub-traditional area, no female responded to the instruments. Likewise, very few females had farmland sizes above five acres of

land. Juxtaposing this with the population structure of the traditional area, how does this influence the output of these peasants?

#### ***4.3.3 Origin of Respondent and Estimated Annual Income from Farming by Locality***

In pursuing the relationships between the size of land and income generated from farmland, the study examined the estimated incomes of the peasants using tabulations. Studies showed that households' ability to diversify their income earning is a necessary condition to building resilience against external threats and shocks. The size of farmland enables households to engage in more than one crop production. It also allows for extensive farming of yam, a cash crop, most preferable in the area. This crop requires vast farmland size to allow for rotation yearly or biannually.

Table 14 shows how income from farms relates with farmland size. Results from table 42 shows that peasants generally earn incomes far below GHS 2,800.00. For instance, 71.9 percent of the peasants in Bimbilla sub-traditional area earned incomes up to GHS 2,700.00 or less, with only 28.1 percent of them earning estimated income up to GHS 2,800.00 or more (see table 14).

**Table 14: Origin of Respondent and Estimated Annual income from Farming by Locality**

<b>Origin of Respondent and Estimated Annual Income from Farming by Locality</b>						
<b>Study Site</b>				<b>Estimated Annual Income from Farming</b>		<b>Total</b>
				<b>&lt;=2700</b>	<b>&gt;=2800</b>	
				<b>Bimbilla</b>	Origin of Respondent	
		Settler	Count	59 73.8%	21 26.2%	80 100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	146 71.9%	57 28.1%	203 100.0%
<b>Bakpaba</b>	Origin of Respondent	Native	Count	9 75.0%	3 25.0%	12 100.0%
		Settler	Count	6 66.7%	3 33.3%	9 100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	15 71.4%	6 28.6%	21 100.0%
<b>Dokpam</b>	Origin of Respondent	Native	Count	5 83.3%	1 16.7%	6 100.0%
		Settler	Count	2 40.0%	3 60.0%	5 100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	7 63.6%	4 36.4%	11 100.0%

This percentage figures were not different from those peasants from Bakpaba (see table 14). Likewise, 63.6 percent of the peasants in Dokpam sub-traditional area earn incomes up to GHS 2,700.00 or below. However, in Dokpam, settlers (60%) were seen to earn higher incomes than natives (16.7%) within the higher income categories (see table 14). Settler peasants in Bakpaba also constituted the majority peasants who earned higher incomes. In general, the low income earners constituted the majority of all respondents to the questionnaire. Comparatively, settlers earned better than natives in terms of farm outputs.

#### ***4.3.4 Size of Personal Land Assets among Income Groupings of Peasants by Locality***

The study further explored the impact that the income level of a peasant could have on the ability of the peasant to secure landed assets. It aimed at understanding the land tenure practices in the

Nanumba traditional area in the context of its influence on landless people's ability to farm, increase income and secure assets for themselves.

Though, land is held in common by allodial titles and is inalienable in the traditional area, land sales around the urbanizing towns are in operations. Peasants facing evictions sometimes had opportunities to express their interests in the land parcels.

**Table 15: Size of Personal Land Asset among Income Groupings Peasants by Locality**

<b>Personal Land Assets and Estimated Annual Income from Farming by Locality</b>						
<b>Estimated Annual Income from Farming</b>			<b>Study Site</b>			<b>Total</b>
			<b>Bimbilla</b>	<b>Bakpaba</b>	<b>Dokpam</b>	
<b>&lt;=2700</b>	Personal land assets	No Land	64	8	0	72
			88.9%	11.1%	.0%	100.0%
		1 - 4 Acres	54	4	3	61
			88.5%	6.6%	4.9%	100.0%
		5 - 10 Acres	20	2	4	26
			76.9%	7.7%	15.4%	100.0%
	More than 10 Acres	8	1	0	9	
		88.9%	11.1%	.0%	100.0%	
	<b>Total</b>		146	15	7	168
			86.9%	8.9%	4.2%	100.0%
<b>&gt;=2800</b>	Personal land assets	No Land	20	3	2	25
			80.0%	12.0%	8.0%	100.0%
		1 - 4 Acres	19	2	0	21
			90.5%	9.5%	.0%	100.0%
		5 - 10 Acres	9	0	2	11
			81.8%	.0%	18.2%	100.0%
	More than 10 Acres	9	1	0	10	
		90.0%	10.0%	.0%	100.0%	
	<b>Total</b>		57	6	4	67
			85.1%	9.0%	6.0%	100.0%

It therefore looked at the various income levels as against the size of landed assets of peasants by the study sites. Table 15 displays the results of the findings. In general, 41.3 percent (97) of peasants within the income groupings could not lay claim to any landed assets to their households. The study observed that up 74.2 percent of them (72) were peasants who earn incomes up to GHS 2,700.00 or below the annual minimum wage level as specified. However,

the remaining peasants whose incomes were higher failed to lay claim to any landed assets. The interview results showed that some of the peasants in this category were settlers who had just spent less than four years in the area.

The table 15 also revealed that about 71.5 (168) percent of the peasants earn within the lower income ranges, out of which 36.4 percent (61) laid claim to 4 acres or less as personal asset, compared to 31.3 percent (21) of the 67 peasants who earned up to GHS 2, 800.00 as annual income. Examining those peasants who claimed they possess landed assets above 10 acres, the ratios were 5.4 percent as against 14.9 percent for lower and higher income earning peasants respectively.

Observations point to the conclusions that incomes earned by peasants had influence on the asset holdings of peasants. It shows that peasants who earned higher incomes from their farms were likely to afford more assets than those who are not.

The study further examined the issues of asset accumulation among peasants across the study sites. For the 146 peasants in Bimbilla sub-traditional area who earned lower incomes, 43.8 percent (64) could not lay claim to land as personal assets. However, only 5.5 percent (8) of the peasants from this could boast of 10 acres of land or more. In comparing these outcomes to those with higher incomes, about 35 percent of them did not have assets as against 33.3 and 15.8 percent of the peasants who could lay claim to assets up to 4 or 10 acres respectively.

The peasants from Bakpaba were worse off, as 53.3 percent of the peasants within lower income groups failed to lay claim to any landed assets, while only 26.7 and 13.3 percent of the peasants would claim assets up to 4 or 10 acres respectively. Similarly, about 50 percent of those in the

higher income categories still failed to lay claim to landed assets, while 33.3 percent of the remaining claimed they have up to 4 acres of landed assets to their households.

Among the low income earner peasants in Dokpam, all 7 of them could lay claim to parcels of land as personal asset. Rather those within the higher income earners had challenges with asset holdings. About 50 percent of them (2) could not lay claim to landed assets. The remaining 2 persons had land parcels ranging between 5 and 10 acres. Earlier on, it was deduced that settlers earned more than natives in Dokpam and Bakpaba sub-traditional areas. Likewise, sale of land was not known in these areas. This shows that those who are claiming landed assets were largely natives of the traditional area.

Emerging concerns: Why couldn't people who inherited land claim land as assets? The situation here seemed bad, but could the impressions of communal land tenure interest holdings be the cause for them not claiming ownerships to land under their holdings?

**Table 16 Mode of Access and Estimated Income by Locality**

Mode of access and Estimated Annual Income From Farming by Locality							
Estimated Annual Income from Farming				study Site			Total
				Bimbilla	Bakpaba	Dokpam	
<=2700	Mode of access	Inherited	Count	51	6	7	64
				79.7%	9.4%	10.9%	100.0%
		Freely given	Count	92	9	0	101
	Purchased	Count	3	0	0	3	
				100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	146	15	7	168
				86.9%	8.9%	4.2%	100.0%
>=2800	Mode of access	Inherited	Count	28	3	4	35
				80.0%	8.6%	11.4%	100.0%
		Freely given	Count	29	3	0	32
					90.6%	9.4%	.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	57	6	4	67
				85.1%	9.0%	6.0%	100.0%

The study also intended to examine the mode of access to land and income earned by peasants across the traditional area. Table 16 displays the information from the respondents. From the results in table 16, the peasants within lower income (GHS 2,700.00) grouping were dominated by the peasants who had the farmlands through free gift. However, the result is different with those earning above lower income levels.

#### **4.4. Policy Implications: Prevalence of Households Food Security**

This requires the examination of several variables before coming to conclusions on the ability of the traditional area to provide food needs of the peasants across the farming seasons. The study therefore looked at how peasants managed farm products, whether households ran shortage of food, nature of the food shortage in the neighbourhoods of participants, and how they managed the shortages.

##### ***4.4.1 Prevalence of Food Sales in Response to Household Financial Needs***

The study went ahead to examine the prevalence of food shortages among peasants. Table 17 displays the results by study sites. The results showed that 95.3 percent of the peasants from Bimbilla sub-traditional area who claimed their farm output could feed their households all year round agreed to the proposition that most peasants had to sell their food crops in order to support the income needs of their households. Only 4 percent disagreed with the proposition. In the sub-study areas of Bakpaba and Dokpam, there were 100 percent confirmations.

**Table 17: Prevalence of Food Sales among Peasants by Localities**

Whether Households' farm Output able to Feed it				Most Households Sell Farm Products to Provide HH Needs			Total
				True	False	Not Sure	
<b>Yes</b>	Study Site	Bimbilla	Count	143	6	1	150
				95.3%	4.0%	.7%	100.0%
		Bakpaba	Count	11	0	0	11
			100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
		Dokpam	Count	6	0	0	6
				100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	160	6	1	167
				95.8%	3.6%	.6%	100.0%
<b>No</b>	Study Site	Bimbilla	Count	51	2		53
				96.2%	3.8%		100.0%
		Bakpaba	Count	9	1		10
			90.0%	10.0%		100.0%	
			Dokpam	Count	5	0	
				100.0%	.0%		100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	65	3		68
				95.6%	4.4%		100.0%

On the other hand, peasants who said their farm outputs could not feed their households till next harvest were unanimous in confirming the prevalence of sales of farm outputs.

#### **4.4.2 Prevalence of Food Shortages in Households of Peasants by Locality**

To explore the prevalence of food shortage among peasant household in the study area, opinions of peasant were sought on such situations. Table 18 displays the outcome of the analysis. Table 18 shows that peasants who claimed they could feed their households all year round from the produce of their farms consented to prevalence of seasonal food shortages in their households. Out of 150 peasants from Bimbilla, 64.7 percent claimed they experience food shortages from time to time in their households. However, 36.4 percent and 33.3 percent were the responses from Bakpaba and Dokpam respectively.

**Table 18: Prevalence of Food Shortages in Households of Peasants by Locality**

Whether Household Farm Output Able to Feed It				Whether Household Experience Food Shortage in a Year		Total
				Yes	No	
<b>Yes</b>	Study Site	Bimbilla	Count	97	53	150
				64.7%	35.3%	100.0%
		Bakpaba	Count	4	7	11
				36.4%	63.6%	100.0%
		Dokpam	Count	2	4	6
				33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	103	64	167
				61.7%	38.3%	100.0%
<b>No</b>	Study Site	Bimbilla	Count	37	16	53
				69.8%	30.2%	100.0%
		Bakpaba	Count	10	0	10
				100.0%	.0%	100.0%
		Dokpam	Count	5	0	5
				100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	52	16	68
				76.5%	23.5%	100.0%

On the other hand, 69.8 percent of peasant who said their farm outputs could not sustain the food needs of their households confirmed that they experiencing food shortages in their households.

There was full confirmation in the cases of Dokpam and Bakpaba (see table 18).

#### ***4.4.3 Nature of Food Shortage in Neighbourhoods of Respondents***

The study went further to verify if the neighbourhoods of peasants also experienced food shortages. Table 19 shows the results of the analysis. From the findings on table 19, there was unanimous confirmation of the widespread prevalence of food shortage in the study area by both peasants who experienced or did not experience food shortages.

**Table 19: Nature of Food Shortage in neighbourhoods of respondents by Study Area**

<b>Most Households Sell Farm Products to Provide Household needs</b>			<b>Incidence of Food Shortages in Respondent's Neighbours</b>		<b>Total</b>
			<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	
<b>True</b>	Whether HH ever experienced food shortage in a year	Yes	133 88.1%	18 11.9%	151 100.0%
		No	69 93.2%	5 6.8%	74 100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		202 89.8%	23 10.2%	225 100.0%
<b>False</b>	Whether HH ever experienced food shortage in a year	Yes	3 75.0%	1 25.0%	4 100.0%
		No	5 100.0%	0 .0%	5 100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		8 88.9%	1 11.1%	9 100.0%
<b>Not Sure</b>	Whether HH ever experienced food shortage in a year	No	1 100.0%		1 100.0%
		<b>Total</b>			1 100.0%

Those peasants (225) who sold their food stuff to supplement other needs of the households confirmed (89.7%) that their neighbourhoods experienced food shortages. Likewise, 88.1 percent of these peasants consented to having experienced cases of food shortages in their households. The study needed to ascertain the mitigation measures these peasants adopt in situations of shortages.

#### ***4.4.4 Mitigation strategies by Peasants during Food Shortages***

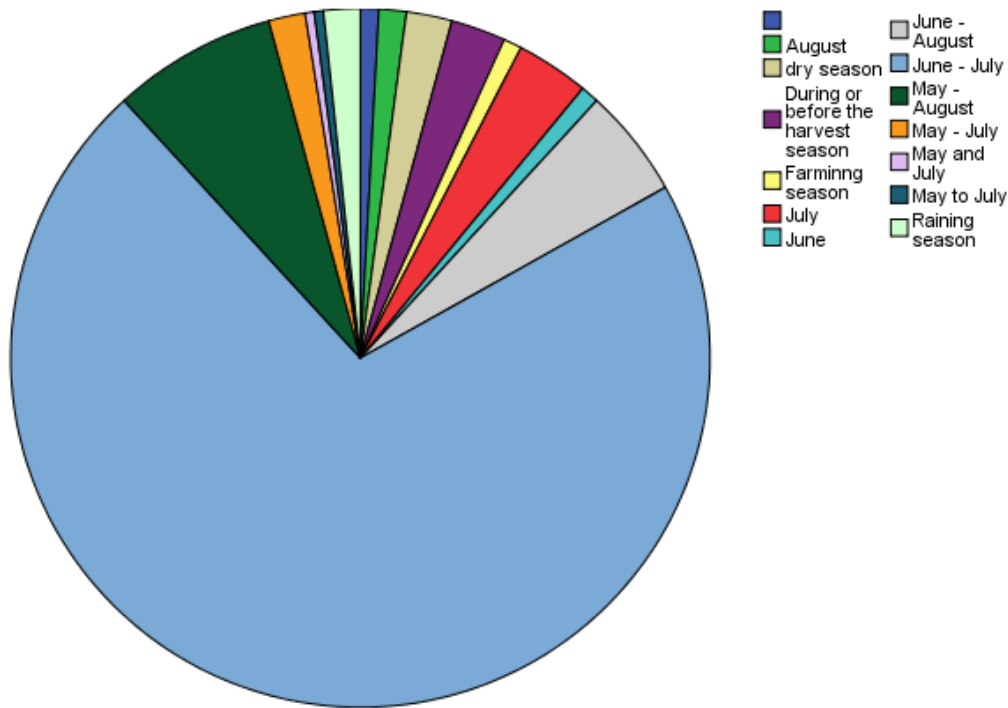
The study explored the mitigation measures peasants always adopted during the period of shortages. The most prominent mitigation strategies peasants adopted included borrowing food stuff from other peasants, seeking help from extended family members and friends, and sale of labour or farm animals to buy food (see table 20).

**Table 20: Mitigation of Peasants during Food Shortages**

<b>Incidence of Food Shortage in a Year and Mitigation Measures Adopted by Locality</b>				<b>Incidence of Food Shortage in a Year</b>		<b>Total</b>
<b>Study Site</b>				<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	
<b>Bimbilla</b>	Mitigation measures adopted against food shortages	Borrow food	Count	21 46.7%	24 53.3%	45 100.0%
		Help from family and friends	Count	35 68.6%	16 31.4%	51 100.0%
		Sell labour/Animals	Count	62 76.5%	19 23.5%	81 100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	134 66.0%	69 34.0%	203 100.0%
<b>Bakpaba</b>	Mitigation measures adopted against food shortages	Borrow food	Count	8 72.7%	3 27.3%	11 100.0%
		Help from family and friends	Count	2 100.0%	0 .0%	2 100.0%
		Sell labour/Animals	Count	4 66.7%	2 33.3%	6 100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	14 66.7%	7 33.3%	21 100.0%
<b>Dokpam</b>	Mitigation measures adopted against food shortages	Borrow food	Count	4 80.0%	1 20.0%	5 100.0%
		Help from family and friends	Count	0 .0%	3 100.0%	3 100.0%
		Sell labour/Animals	Count	3 100.0%	0 .0%	3 100.0%
	<b>Total</b>		Count	7 63.6%	4 36.4%	11 100.0%

The intervention of family and friend (68.6%) as mitigation measure is only largely peculiar to peasant households from Bimbilla alone (see table 20). Borrowing food stuff and sale of labour and animals were the most prevalent measure peasants adopted across the study sites. However, the results from table 20 showed sale of labour by peasants was the most adopted strategy for survival during food shortages.

**Period of year of food shortages**



**Figure 18: Pie Chart of Periods of food Shortages**

The months ranging from June to July had been memorable to peasant households due to the experiences of food shortages associated with the period (see figure 17). A majority of the peasants (52.7%) were of the view that their situations may improve if improved farm inputs were supplied to them. Likewise, others (35) suggested irrigation facility as a measure that can keep them busy after the main farming season.

**Table 21: Dominant Suggestions of Peasants on Building Resilience of Peasants**

Suggestions	Frequency	Percent
Control animals	5	2.1
Credit and inputs	24	10.1
Empower women in animal rearing	10	4.2
<b>Irrigation Facilities</b>	35	14.8
Storage fertility	26	11.0
Support with farm inputs	125	52.7
Others	10	5.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>100.0</b>

They thought it could provide them with alternative income sources to avoid the situation where peasants would be compelled to sell the meager farm produce to meet their household income needs. It was evident from the perspective of peasants that if they could diversify their income earning sources, it could lessen their ordeal of having to deplete their food banks.

#### ***4.4.5 Whether Activities of Herdsmen Disturb Farmers***

There are some other practices or decisions of the customary authority that bother on the ability of the peasants to increase output from the farm activities. Table 23 contains some of the opinions of the peasant respondents on the impacts of the herdsmen on their farming endeavors.

**Table 22: Whether Activities of Herdsmen Disturb Farmers**

<b>Herdsmen and farmers</b>		<b>Study Site</b>			<b>Total</b>
		<b>Bimbilla</b>	<b>Bakpaba</b>	<b>Dokpam</b>	
<b>Yes</b>	Count	160	12	10	182
		87.9%	6.6%	5.5%	100.0%
<b>No</b>	Count	43	9	1	53
		81.1%	17.0%	1.9%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>	Count	203	21	11	235
		85.7%	8.9%	4.6%	100.0%

From table 23, 182 peasants across the study sites confirmed that herdsmen devastate their farmlands and cause them to lose their investments on the farming businesses. However, there were some who thought the herdsmen had no impact of their endeavors as peasants. Could it be the case that some of the peasants had relations with cattle owners? Most of the kraals in the traditional area were largely owned by royals and influential persons (field Data, 2016).

#### ***4.4.6 Land Sales and Peasant Works***

One other challenge was explored to understand the impact of customary decisions on the plight of peasants in the traditional area. Table 24 below shows the results of the views of peasant respondents on the issue of land sales.

**Table 23: Land Sales and Peasantry by Study Site**

<b>Whether Land Sale is a Problem</b>		<b>Bimbilla</b>	<b>Bakpaba</b>	<b>Dokpam</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>True</b>	Count	143	20	9	172
		83.1%	11.6%	5.2%	100.0%
<b>False</b>	Count	60	1	2	63
		95.2%	1.6%	3.2%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>	Count	203	21	11	235
		85.7%	8.9%	4.6%	100.0%

There were overwhelming confirmations of the evictions of peasants from their farmlands in favour of settlement expansion. For instance, 143 (83.1%), 20 and 9 peasants from Bimbilla, Bakpaba and Dokpam testified respectively to the issue. However, only 60 (29.6%) peasants from Bimbilla sub-traditional area refuted the prevalence of the issue of evictions of peasants on the farmlands. It was clear that external shocks include evictions, menace of cattle, etc aside the recurrent one like outdoorings, funerals and marriage ceremonies serve as leakages to livelihoods of peasants. These occasions require monetary and material contributions, which drain the meager financial assets of peasants.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

#### 5.0 Overview

The study had targeted two hundred and fifty participants for the study. The success rate was 94 percent, with two hundred and thirty-five (235) participants taking part in the study. Aside this number, twenty-one (21) participants were used for the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. They were two groups (5 and 6 membership) of male participants and one group (7 members) of female participants used for the focus group discussions. The study separated females from males because preliminary investigations showed that female participants would not express their views if they were mixed with males in same discussions. Five other key informants were used for the in-depth interview.

#### 5.0.1 *Sex and Origin of Respondents by Locality*

The study was also very particular of the gender and nativity of peasants as variables of measure. The representation of this category of respondents on the sample was deemed paramount to the outcomes of the study. There were varying differences in the representations of women and settlers in the three study sites per the figures obtained. The representation of settlers in the sample was 40 percent (94), out of which 38 percent were females (see table 3). On the other hand, natives constituted 141 on the sampled respondents. However, native female representation on the native peasant participants in the sample was only 18 percent. By gender, the study captured 26 percent of female peasants out of the 235 peasants who responded to the questionnaire instruments.

The variations in the settler and native female representation on the study posed a need for clarifications. The non-natives female peasants were more willing to take part in the study than the natives. Could it be fear on the part of native females, while non-natives were more willing due to anonymity of their personalities? From the in-depth interview, a 48 year female participant hinted that women require permission from their husbands or family members before they could grant interviews with strangers, especially on family matters.

*“If you own yourself, then you can go ahead to give any information out to strangers, after all, nobody would be bothered” (field data, 2017).*

Another person participant in FGDs remarked;

*“Within the traditional area women require the permission of their husbands or heads of families before they could grant audience to a stranger” (Field work, 2017).*

Females in the traditional family come second to the male spouses and therefore require their permission before relating with males from outside their families. Women on the other hand, value their allegiance to their husbands and would not mind willing the control of their personal property to their husbands. This could have influenced the unwillingness of most women to volunteer information for the study.

Another reason why there was low patronage comes from the subject matter of the study. Women in the traditional area do not concern themselves on land issues or customary issues that seem to expose their household issues to the outside world. For fear of divulging sensitive information in line with the demands of the questions, they opted out of the study. As the participant was quoted above, women do not own themselves and so could not talk on certain matters of the household. This was corroborated by the opinions of men in the upper West Region, indicated that women were regarded as assets to their spouses (Kuusaana et al, 2010).

Studies have indeed showed that decision to take part in a (medical) study is influenced by anxiety, expected benefits, projected impending risks and the assurance the study gives on the safety of participation (Rothman, 2017).

The representation of settlers was very adequate in the Dokpam and Bakpaba sub-traditional areas, unlike in Bimbilla area where the representation of settlers was only satisfactory. Some initially thought the study was a project that could stage some interventions by way of aid. On the whole there was fair representation of settlers compared to females.

### ***5.0.2 Age and Marital Statue of Respondents and Locality***

The study captured largely a young or youthful household head category in the sample of respondents to the questionnaire. Table 4 showed a reduction in the number of participants with increasing ages. The population structure of Nanumba north district, per Ghana Statistical Service, (2014) report, indicated a structure with broad base and a narrow conical peak. The report shows a population structure with about 51.7 percent of people within ages 0 – 14 and 65+, while only 48.3 constitute people aged 15 and 64 years (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The district is therefore, made up of a predominantly youthful population.

The marital status of the participants was not solely targeted, but the age at which participants assumed household responsibility. The study captured a minority of divorced respondents dominated in the age categories of 40 years or lower. The implications of this phenomenon bothered on single parenthood against the prevailing large household sizes of the district. The ability of these household categories to fend for the household members will largely depend on the livelihood outcomes of the peasant households. In the cases of these peasants the size of farm output was very relevant in determining the sustenance of the households. There were other

participants who were not married, but had assumed household responsibilities. Their ordeals could not have been different from those of the divorced household heads.

### ***5.0.3 Respondents' Marital, Household size and Residential Status***

All respondents, except 15 percent, were married and faced the responsibility of fending for the housing needs of their households. The study showed that majority of the respondents had household sizes within the range of 6 to 10 membership. However, studies showed that majority of the people with large household sizes in the study area lived in three bedroom apartments (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The housing needs of the households were likely to be factored in the budget to be funded from farm businesses of peasants, causing leakages in the households' ability to maintain food security.

The populous household sizes of peasants might experience future housing, and feeding issues if steps are not taken to empower the earnings and assets or wealth creation capacity of peasants. Likewise, renting of residential facility to accommodate household members was found to be associated with urban centres. For instance, in Bimbilla sub-traditional area this dominant household size category was largely housed either in family residence or in rented apartments. These phenomenon points to future land related challenges since these people will require larger farmland sizes to support the food needs of their households.

But, studies have refuted similar projected threats like in the cases of Reverend Thomas Malthus in the past, citing the adoption of technology (Conway-Gomez et al, 2010). All other things equal, the peasant activities of the households might not be able to sustain the food requirement of the households with time if peasants are not able to create wealth from the current activities.

Comparing the situations in Bimbilla with other study sites, all household size categories in Dokpam resided in their own residences. Even though, the majority of the peasants had large

household sizes they reside in their own apartments. The study revealed that rural peasants were capable of housing their household members. This further shows that rent payment did not constitute leakages on their peasantry business capital.

All the respondents had some large membership of household sizes. This presupposes that even those respondents who were single had either children of their own or were caring for their extended family members. Extended family system was a dominant family practice in the Nanumba traditional area. This observation corroborated perfectly with the findings of the Ghana statistical services captured in the report (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014)). There were houses in which persons in the houses were supposed to be more than two households, but they related and functioned as single households. A twenty-eight year old household head in the FGDs stated thus;

*“I live in a family house with three of my younger brothers and their wives and children, together with our mother” (Field Data, 2017).*

There were many of such compounds in the study sites with single household arrangements. According to Hausatu, a 51 year old woman in the FGDs, women in polygamous families cook food in turns in such households, where women are more than one. She went further to explain that the elderly women were spared by the daughters-in-law in the cooking roles. The view of the respondent only confirms the culture of polygamous or complex households in the traditional area in terms of feeding arrangements.

However, Dokpam sub-traditional area had its largest household composition within the upper household membership ranges of 11 and 21 members. Size of Dokpam household population showcased the dominance of extended family practices, a custom that the rural areas still upheld.

Likewise, all the peasant respondents resided in their own housing apartment. The settlers equally did not have challenges with the accommodation as it pertained with natives in the Bimbilla sub-traditional area. Residential challenges therefore grow with urbanization (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

### **5.1.0 Objective One: The Nature of Land Allocation in the Nanumba Traditional Area**

The study intended to examine the customary land tenure practices as holders of communal land interests preside over land deals in response to the needs of members of the indigenous members and those of settlers in peasantry. It therefore focuses on land tenure practices of the area in terms of interest on land and mode of allocation by gender and by nativity or origin of peasants. It compared these modes by study sites or locality of peasants and intra native gendered allocations.

#### ***5.1.1 Land Tenure Practices in Nanumba Traditional Area***

Customary land tenure practices of the NTA are not so much different from those of other traditional areas in the northern Ghana as spelt out in the literature. The paramount chief at Bimbilla assumes the allodial title hold of all lands in Nanumba traditional area, while the sub-chiefs and divisional chiefs assume customary freehold titles of land under their jurisdictions. They therefore managed land on behalf of the overlord at the paramountcy. The indigenes however claim usufructory titles to the land in the traditional area. Settlers and migrants as well as other persons not related to landowning families fall under the usufruct right users of land, but with secondary interests. These customary land tenure titles are also practiced by the traditions of the southern Ghana (Kumbun-Naa Yili II, 2006).

The study showed that land in the traditional area was under the control of the chiefs, clan and family heads. However, 68.8 percent of the participants held the view that chiefs were in control

of the land in Nanumba traditional area. This viewpoint was corroborated by a narration by a 60 year old Mohammed. According to him, land in Nanumba traditional area had from time immemorial been under the control of chiefs. Chiefs controlled land under their jurisdictions and passed on to their successors upon their deaths. He described acts of families and clans claiming allodial titles as exhibitions of greed, and blamed it on the current crises in the Nanumba land.

*“Clan heads owning land is an act of greed, and is diversionary” (Field Data, 2016).*

Studies have also confirmed chiefs as real allodial title holders of land in the traditional area. A study by Maasole states:

*“in Nanumba, the Alhassan Committee upheld that the allodial title to land is vested in the Bimbilla Na. Strangers could be granted land subject to duties prescribed by custom”. (Maasole, 2012)*

Likewise, a chief traces his authority and power from the lineage to land and the size of land under his control (Kunbun-Naa Yili II, 2006: Yahaya, A. B., 2016). Likewise, a study by Maasole, (2012) quoted Parker (1924) and Ollenu (1962) to lay emphasis on how certain ethnic groups (Konkomba) found it unthinkable granting land to strangers due to the value they attach to land, and held land in highest esteem.

However, there were different viewpoints raised as to who exercises real control and manages land in the traditional area. While these viewpoints agreed with the former on chiefs being allodial interest holders of land, they disagreed on the grounds of who actually owns land and should really disburse land directly. In an in-depth one-on-one interview with one of the royals in the traditional area, he stated that chiefs lacked direct touch with lands under their jurisdictions. Per the traditions of the chiefdom, chiefs rotated along lines in succession from the least stool to

the highest stool in each of the gates (Bangdi-Yili or Gbogma-Yili) before ascending to the paramountcy at Bimbilla.

The argument of this participant was that, chiefs rotated from one stool to another in different communities and so, were not necessarily indigenes of such communities. On that note chiefs had no direct link with the land and could not claim ownership of such lands. According to him he could not imagine such a chief appropriating land directly in those communities. He was not bothered about the chiefs holding customary freehold titles on behalf of the communities.

*“Chiefs only preside over land. They do not directly own it. As a royal in the settlement, I can give land under my control to my friend and not necessarily consult the chief. But I can inform them because anything can happen” (Field Data, 2017).*

This viewpoint echoed in the responses gathered from the questionnaire instruments. The study solicited views of the participants on mode of access to their farmlands. The essence of this was to determine how land was allocated within land owning families, and also to settlers who needed land for livelihood endeavors. These outcomes confirmed the earlier observation by Dittoh (2002) that families could hold and give land under their use to strangers even without consulting the chiefs, while chiefs preside over uncultivated lands.

### ***5.1.2 Mode of Land Allocation in the Nanumba Traditional Area***

Mode of access to land was largely through free gift for settlers and inheritance for natives. However, the study showed that settlers could inherit farmlands under the usufruct usage of their parents, likewise landless natives. Also, most of the native relied on landowners for farmland, just like settlers would. These issues were highlighted further in the subsequent discussions.

A greater percentage of peasant respondents (42.1%) claimed ownership of their farmlands while 56.6 percent could only get access to farmland through the benevolence of the landowners. In the

FGDs, participants claimed friends led them to landowners to negotiate for farmlands for them. Only a few of the settlers contacted chiefs for their farmlands. Even with such moves, the chiefs contacted individuals who had land to spare. In reality, individual landowners granted land to landless people. Chiefs were made aware of the deals for safety reasons. A 48 year old peasant alluded to the phenomenon that the size of the land determines whether an individual could decide on its deals or the chiefs.

According to a study by the Food and Agriculture Organization, chiefs gave land to investors for commercial agriculture and estate development at the expense of peasant activities (Devendra & Chantalakhana, 2002)). Likewise, chiefs had the authority to alienate communal land in their allodial ownership in consultation with the elders (Kumbun-Naa Yili II, 2006). Likewise, Yeboah and Shaw, (2013) acknowledged these obligatory roles of chiefs; however, they submitted that most of such practices of chiefs do not always benefit the indigenes.

Emerging issues that seemed to bridge this gap of who appropriate land directly bothered with the size factor. Decisions on large parcels of land would ultimately require the authorization of the overlord since the chiefs managed land under their jurisdictions on behalf of the overlord, who in turns holds allodial title on behalf of his subjects. Chiefs therefore played oversight supervisory roles on land deals under their jurisdictions on behalf of the overlord at the paramountcy. Family and clan heads engaged in direct distribution or allocations of land for household livelihood pursuits.

In response to a question whether family land are shared to member as inheritance, a 43 year old peasant in a FGD in Dokpam said;

*“Land is not shared among family members, family head assumes control. Any member of the family who wants to farm will only see the elderly son, who in turn allocates some portions of the family land for him to farm. If anyone needs more land he has to consult some other persons who has land and can spare” (Field Data, 2017).*

As noted in other studies, the guidelines on land ownership and transfer were always the manifestations of the customs and traditions of societies (Magot-Adholla et al, 1994). Customs of the Nanumba traditional area did not encourage land sales. The claim of land ownership by peasants did not actually include rights to transfer. Land in the traditional area was communally owned and transfer of ownership was within clans and families, with most elderly male members assuming control. Individuals in the clans and families only had usufructory rights, with some level of control over farmland under their usage. Family and clan heads oversaw and regulated land distribution among members. This viewpoint was unanimously upheld by a 32 year old peasant participant in a FGD in Dokpam:

*“Individuals of the family maintain their lands and continue to farm on those lands. The first born male is made to preside over the entire family, including the family land. No person in the family can sell any portion of the family land for any reason. He can only give out to a settler for farming” (Field Data, 2017).*

Farmlands in the traditional area were not sold out or shared to individuals in families as inheritance because the tradition of the people forbids it (field data, 2016). They held that farmlands in Nanumba traditional area currently belonged to clans and families, but were collectively under the allodial ownership of the chiefs. As the main source of their unity and livelihood, the lands could not be alienated from the people through sales, but could only be allocated to family members and usufruct users who needed it for use.

### ***5.1.3 Mode of Allocation and Ownership of Farmland by Locality***

The study compared the modes peasants used to access their farmlands across the three study sites, Bimbilla, Bakpaba and Dokpam. Unlike the findings of studies in Wa by Kuusaana and others, which identified patrilineal inheritance of land as the dominant mode (97.1%) of land acquisition, while land purchase constituted second dominant mode (Kuusaana et al, 2010), free gift is the most prevalent mode of land access among the peasants who participated in this study. However, in the Bimbilla sub-traditional area, land purchases were noted as a mode used by some peasants to acquire land. Further probes in the interviews and discussions revealed that such purchases pertained to the plots for settlement and not farmlands.

Across the study sites, the study realized that land purchase was only sited in Bimbilla sub-traditional area. A study by Dittoh (2002) observed land sales only in urban centres in the northern region of Ghana. While some 1.8% of the peasants claimed they purchased land, a majority of the peasants (59.6%) claimed they access their farmlands through free gifts. On the other hand, Dokpam and Bakpaba areas did not record incidence of land sales. While peasants in Bakpaba mentioned free gifts (57.1%) and inheritance (42.9%) as prevalent modes of access to farmlands, Dokpam sub-traditional area had all the peasant respondents (100%) claiming inheritance to farmlands as the only mode (see table 7). As noted earlier, peasants' claim of ownership to their farmlands could only show the level of security they had to the farmlands under their usufruct usage.

On the other hand, settlers' access and claim of ownership to farmland have raised issues of size of community and the strength of customary practices. The study observed that smaller communities adhered to customs of the traditional area better than grown communities. The passions with which peasants from the various sites reacted with issues of land sales,

compensations on land leases and records of land deals gave the impression that peasants in the smaller communities like Dokpam and Bakpaba had much stronger ties with customs than their counterparts in larger communities like Bimbilla.

On the issue of ownership of the farmlands under cultivation, the study observed that both those who inherited or were freely given the farmlands could claim ownerships to such farmlands. Comparatively, while only 31.5 percent of peasants in Bimbilla who freely had their farmlands could claim ownership to such farmlands, all the peasants (100%) in Dokpam who were freely given their farmlands claimed ownership to their farmlands.

On the other hand, this group of people dominated the Bakpaba community and landowners did not give them free will over their farmlands. Even though they were given the farmlands free, they were not allowed to transfer the usufruct rights in the farmlands directly to their relations without prior consultation with landowners. However, Konkombas constitute the largest settler groups in Dokpam sub-traditional area. Could it be that the study did not capture many of them, or the ownership of land as claimed by these peasants in Dokpam area was in context, with lesser effect on actual rights of ownership?

In summary, land in Nanumba traditional area is vested in the chiefs with allodial and customary freehold titles, while indigenes and settlers alike enjoy usufructory rights. The dominant modes of peasants' access to farmlands were free gift (56.6%) and inheritance (42.1%). The study revealed that peasants who inherited their farmlands and those who were freely given could claim some form of ownership to the farmlands. However, the kind of ownership described here reflects the level of security of tenure such settlers had on the usufruct interests. In other words, the ownership claim reveals the prevalence of tenure security that those peasants had. Likewise,

about 82 percent of the peasants who were freely given their farmlands claimed they did not pay any compensation to the landowners. This is in contrast to the structured tenant arrangements of Abusa and Abunu as practiced in the Akan traditional areas of southern Ghana (Agbosu et al, 2007; Appiah, 2012; Pomevor, 2014; Yeboah, 2015).

Settler integration was also found to vary across the traditional area from one study site to another. Rural communities were found to show much greater integration of settlers into the indigenous community than the urban communities. All peasants had open access to farmland land and so access to land was seen to be generally relative. The challenge was with the size of farmland available to settlers. Natives differ from settlers in terms of size of farmland.

### **5.2.0 Objective 2: Gender and Nativity in Land Allocation in Nanumba Traditional Area**

The task here was to examine the modes of land access by peasants based on their statuses as natives or settlers; or gender. It sought to further examine the variations in the access by study sites (localities) to ascertain the level of variations in tenure practices across the traditional area.

#### ***5.2.1 Origin and Mode of Access by Locality***

As stated earlier, the study was also purported to examine land allocations in the Nanumba traditional area in the context of nativity or origin and gender of the peasant respondents. The study intended to identify if being a settler or female could serve as a drive to a peasant's access to farmland. The interview and focus group discussions hinted strongly that both settlers and natives were capable of accessing land in the traditional area. The study also intended to identify and explain the prevalence of gender issues in the process of farmland allocation among the indigenes.

### ***5.2.2 The Prevalence of Gender or Settler Issues in Land Allocation***

The study first explored the viewpoints of respondents on whether land allocation in the traditional area depended on peasants' sex or origin as native or settler. General views gathered from the participants showed that a peasant's relationship with landowners had a stronger relationship with the level of success in land acquisition. 63 percent of the peasant respondents attested to this fact. Further analysis showed that natives had relatively larger farmland sizes than the settler peasants. As noted earlier, majority of natives inherited their farmlands compared to settlers.

However, in examining the chances of natives by gender on family land allocation, the customs was found to segregate in favour of males. A majority of the peasants (48.6%) objected to the assertion that customs allow land transfer to females in the landowning families. Likewise, 70.6 percent of the peasants held the view that women were not entitled to land rights in the families. These views were upheld in all the interviews and FGDs sessions. The tradition of the area does not recognize woman as a full member of the natal family (Kuusaana et al, 2010). In most customs of the north when a birth of a female is to be distinguished from that of a male, a question is asked whether "bush or home", implying female or male respectively.

The study would like to unravel how societal constructions contribute in alienating women from land access. Or can the right to inherit be with a difference in the two other areas? The rights of women to land are recognized through their male counterparts (Kameri-Mbote, 2005-9). Women's land use right as is said to be restricted and with inadequate tenure security (Kuusaana et al, 2010). Studies also show that women's inability to perform some of the major customary roles of pacifying earth gods and leading some other key ritual performances in clans and families constitute the bases of their exclusion from land ownership (Kuusaana et al, 2010).

In some societies as in most parts of northern Ghana, willingness to marry from the ex-husband's family determine women's access to land for farming. Unlike the communities outside Dagbon traditional areas, where women had to remarry from the ex-husband's family in order to maintain her access to family land (Kuusaana et al, 2010), communities in Dagbon forbid such practice of remarriage but recognize women's access to family land through their children.

Some studies also opined that women do not actually have firm identity with the natal or matrimonial homes, and so lack any opportunity to own and control land from these families (Niessen, 1985). Public opinion in the upper West region also has it that married women are assets and aids to their spouses and so cannot own land because asset could not own itself (Kuusaana et al, 2010). These actions impact on women's ability to fend for their needs. Some women had to migrate elsewhere distant in search for life supporting wealth. Others are forced into prostitution and other forms of social vices.

Observations from the presentations at the FGDs and the interviews revealed the passions with which the respondents espoused the supremacy of the cultural arrangements that underpin their lines of arguments on this matter. Indications were that there were serious issues with sidelining of women in terms of land control and allocations. Women's interests came after those of men in land allocations or land controls in families. The perpetrators and the victims were convergent in rationalizing the existence of the cultural underpinnings of these phenomena in defense of the cultural norms. For instance, a peasant remarked

*"Yes, for us, women cannot be entrusted with family property, no matter her age".*

Another (woman) explained that they only rely on what the man says because we are aids.

*“If a man can, he can gather as many women as he wants into his home, is it not their wish?”*

*(“A yi mal yiiko, a ni tooi vaai ba ning a dundong-ni, ei banin-bola”)*

The indigenes were so much attached to the customs of the traditional area, and will not hesitate to compromise their rights as humans in defense of the customs. The study observed that this adherence to customs was much stronger at the rural communities than urbanizing localities like Bimbilla.

### ***5.2.3 Gender and Access to Land by Locality***

The results showed that women’s right to inherit land as members of the family in the traditional area varied by locality. In Bimbilla, female representation was 28 percent (57) of the total participants from Bimbilla. Females’ opportunity to inherit farmland was found to be with some challenges. Of the 57 peasant representation on the sample, only 19.3 (11) percent of the female peasants claimed they inherited their farmlands. This figure, though inadequate, was far better than the 4 female (19%) representations in Bakpaba. However, there was no female representation on the sampled respondents in Dokpam area (see table 10).

The study targeted household heads as respondents and all the households selected did not have female as head. In Bimbilla sub-traditional area, the dominant opinions on the issue show that women could not actually inherit family land. Similarly, the peasant households in the two other localities held the views that women’s access to their farmlands could not be described as inheriting the land because land is not allocated to individuals as their share of inheritance. In the traditional area, if a man passes on the land reverts back to the family, unless the spouse has grown up children who intend to farm. Other studies elsewhere in the Upper regions of Ghana and Uganda confirmed the challenges females go through in securing land

#### ***5.2.4 Views of Natives and Settlers on the Perceived Discriminations***

The study observed issues of inequality inherent in the traditional area. Males in the traditional area did not see females as full members of the families in the communities. It was the customs of the traditional area that female members of the families must rely on their male siblings, while female spouses depend on their male spouses for all issues relating to the management of the family. The study tried to examine and compare the views of natives, settlers and females on the perceived inequality. The results showed natives rationalizing in defense of the customary constructions that laid down the guiding rules. However, settlers were eloquent in confirming the prevalence of gender inequalities in land deals in the traditional area.

A slight majority of the females confirmed the prevalence of inequalities in land allocation in the families. This slight differences noted in the opinions of females could be from the views of female settlers, since female settlers were dominant in the female representation on the study. It seemed the attitudes and behaviours as well as mindsets which perpetuate these inequalities were structured into the culture and traditions of the traditional area.

Implying, the actors like the chiefs, family heads, clan heads and other right users of land were not acting out of their own wills. For instance, Alpha Nuhu, a 56 year old participant, on a female child's eligibility to inherit land as her share of inheritance, responded thus;

*“No. the women have no hands on land issues. They can make request to use the land but are not eligible to inherit land” (Field Data, 2017).*

This viewpoint was upheld in both the FGDs and interview sessions across the traditional area. However, participants recognized the right of females in the families and thought that male members of the families were by customs supposed to ensure their safety and livelihoods.

The findings of this study have been corroborated by earlier findings in literature. Agbosu and others observed that customary constructions, which guide the functioning of communities, must explain the perceived inequalities in land access between males and females in the communities (Agbosu et al, 2007). Their study points out that the society's bid to ensure that land remains with families specifies the modes of land allocations. Owusu, et al (2008) also alluded to this position when they laid the issue of the perceived discrimination in land allocations at the doors of customary systems of inheritance.

Similarly, Ragadya et al, (2004) earlier on posited that the systems of marriage and the processes of bride price practiced in Uganda authenticated women's land alienation. The outcomes of these analyses were supported by the interview responses. In one of the interviews conducted, a non-native peasant admitted that women were not actually taken seriously when it comes to farmland allocations. In responding to a question whether gender matters in land allocation, he said,

*“Yes, you may be surprise that they may give it to a man. They just do not consider woman as farmers”.*

### ***5.2.5 Origin of Peasants and Land Access in the Traditional Area***

The study examined land allocation in the light of peasants' nativity. It sought to tease out any nuances with regards to land allocations, as to whether the peasant's access to land could be denied because he or she was not a native. It also looked at the modes of access the settler peasants had to their farmlands.

The results (table 11) showed that settler peasants had barely any significant difficulty in accessing farmlands in the traditional area. The study showed settler peasants in all the study sites having the opportunity of inheriting farmlands from their relations. Those who claimed they lacked the rights to inherit farmlands were also given their farmlands freely without any

compensation to the land owners. From the analysis, settlers in Bakpaba and Dokpam sub-traditional areas had no challenges with access to farmlands. Whereas 23.8 percent of settler in Bimbilla claimed to have inherited their farmlands, 33.3 percent were claiming rights of inheritance to their farmlands in Bakpaba. Meanwhile, all the peasants in Dokpam traditional area could claim to have inherited their farmlands. However, those in Bimbilla claimed they faced difficulties in land access compared to their counterparts in the other area.

A specific question was posed as to whether settlers who maintain good standing with their landlords have opportunity of holding such parcels of land as long as they could. In response a key informant said;

*“It will not necessarily be declared to you a settler to own the land. The landlord will not disturb you, so far as you comport yourself by respecting the tenure agreement and also do not interfere in their internal affairs” (field data, 2017).*

Settlers could claim ownership to under their usufruct rights or interests. The customs of the traditional area allowed land allocation to whoever needs land for survival, even for settlement. Most peasants claimed they only begged for plots of land to guild and were not charged any compensation. According to the interviews with key informants, land was given to strangers who intended to settle because they need communities to expand and grow. From the quote above, settler who were found to be industrious and beneficial to the community by way of their expertise were given recognition to the status of an indigene. Such persons continue to hold onto farmlands under their usage and could transfer such rights to their generations.

Results from the FGDs and the in-depth interviews have corroborated with these findings. In response to a question whether settlers could own farmlands and pass same to their generations as inheritance, a settler peasant's response was;

*“With trust from the land owners, a settler can hand over the gifted land to his children” (Field Data, 2017).*

Studies have acknowledged that peasants with use rights were normally settlers or junior members of landowning families (Devendra & Chantalakhana, 2002)). Likewise, settlers in Nanumba traditional area could claim usufructory rights to land, and even, some rights of transfer to their relations. The study posed a question on whether landowners could assist a settler to secure farmland to feed his or her household, if they do not have one. Mr. John, a settler had this to say;

*“It depends on the relationship with the landowners. They are not greedy. They may assist you to get another plot elsewhere” (Field Data, 2017).*

### ***5.2.6 Settler Land Access Challenges in the Traditional Area***

However, there were limitations to what settlers could do with such farmlands. Aside growing food crops to feed their households, they were not allowed to grow long maturing crops (Yaro, 2012). Settlers must at all times seek the approval of landowners before growing tree crops in the traditional area. The landowners see any attempt by settler peasants to grow trees as a sign of future land ownership dispute. In the Lambunssie traditional area of the Upper West Region, the Sissalas evicted Dagaba settler peasants due to suspicions that they are claiming ownership of the lands (Lentz, 2010). Likewise, as noted earlier, the customs of the traditional area forbid land alienation in all its forms. For instance, a 41 year old peasant in one of these traditional towns remarked, in response to settlers owning land in the traditional area;

*“Land belongs to families and no stranger is allowed to own any portion of it. If settlers own our land we cannot banish such persons if they are found to exhibit anti-social characters. We rather give the land free to the settlers”.*

This is one of the reasons why the customs gave land to strangers instead of selling to them. The traditional area was noted for its hospitality to settlers for they believe that strangers cause communities to grow. But, they value their customs beyond being hospitable. The study also realized that there were instances where settlers attempted claiming farmlands under their usufruct usage. In a focus group discussion, a participant acknowledged in affirmation, thus;

*“Yes. There were two instances where settlers planted trees and the owner claimed back his land. The settler wanted to claim the land with time. In another instance, the settler succeeded in claiming the land because he did a cashew plantation” (Field Data, 2017).*

### **5.3.0 Objective 3: Land Tenure Practices and Livelihoods of Peasants**

The decisions chiefs, clan and family heads in the Nanumba traditional area take with regards to land ownership; control, use and transfer affect the livelihoods of peasants in the area. The import of this objective was to determine and explain these impacts in relation to peasants’ ability to access farmlands, increase incomes and accumulate landed assets for themselves. It looked at the farmland sizes of peasants against the mode of access they had to the farmlands, the ability of the peasants to ensure increased outputs from farms, increase incomes thereof, and to secure landed assets.

#### ***5.3.1 Farmland Sizes of Peasants by Locality***

The study showed a modal farmland size used by a peasant as 2 acres. Despite the prevalence of fair access to farmlands by all peasants, natives were observed to have better access to farmlands than settlers. The study showed that 77.7 percent of the settlers had access to a maximum of 4

acres of farmland for their farming businesses, compared to 63.8 percent of the natives. This had the tendency of limiting the livelihood choices of the peasants, given the modal farmland size observed among the peasants' farm sizes. As noted by Barrett et al, (2004), assets availability is a key factor to rural households' ability to diversify livelihoods. This affects the decisions of the peasants in deciding on what crop to grow, or type of animal to rear. For instance, the production of yams requires either rotation or shifting of farms to allow fallow periods. Even though all peasants suffer from these impacts, settlers dominated, as it was observed that settler could be evicted to allow landowner expand his farm. In effect, about 78 percent of the settlers could not make choices due to scarcity of farmland.

The study further observed some slight variations in the impacts across localities (study sites). In Bimbilla sub-traditional area peasants were all affected, however, there were slight variations in the levels of impacts with regards to number of peasants involved. While 35 percent of natives could lay claim to 5 or more acres of farmland sizes, only 18.8 percent of settlers were observed. This situation was better in the Bakpaba sub-traditional area. While 50 percent of natives had 5 or more acres of farmlands, settler peasants claiming similar farmland sizes were in the majority (55.6%). The Dokpam sub-traditional area observed a marginal difference in farmland sizes between settlers (33.3%) and natives (52.4%).

The variations in the level of access peasants had to farmlands could be explained by availability of farmlands in the traditional area. According to the report of Ghana statistical service, rural areas in the Nanumba north district have more farmlands than the urban centres (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014)). In effect, peasants in the Bakpaba sub-traditional area had relatively better access to farmlands and stood greater chances of practicing fallow systems as is the norm in farming areas.

### ***5.3.2 Gender of Peasants and Farmland Sizes***

The study examined the farmland sizes of peasants in relation to whether a peasant is male or female. From literature, females have equally greater responsibilities as the males in terms of household upkeep. Also, the background information of the peasants showed that females were household heads, and recorded large household sizes. The total of peasants who could farm up to 4 acres of farmland was 163, constituting 69.4 percent of the peasants under the study. The study observed that 66.4 percent of this number was male peasants. However, among a total of 72 peasants who claimed they had farmlands of sizes 5 or more acres, only 4.0 percent were females (see table 10). As corroborated by opinions of the participants of both in-depth interview and FGDs, the customary land tenure practices in the study area do not regard women on land deals (Field Data, 1917). This scenario was observed in other places in Ghana like the Upper East and West regions of Ghana (Agbosu et al, 2007; Owusu et al, 2008), and even in Uganda (Rugadya et al, 2004).

Again, relating this observation to the modal farmland size observed, females were not better off in terms of livelihood struggles. It was further observed that no female in the Bakpaba and Dokpam sub-traditional area recorded farmland size in that range. Within the lower range of farmland sizes about 90 percent of the females were found, despite the enormity of their responsibility. This phenomenon puts the burden of women in a perpetual fix, with no or limited alternatives for their livelihoods.

### ***5.3.3 Origin of Peasants and Output from Farm by Locality***

The study also examined the outputs peasants derived from their engagement in the farming businesses in the traditional area. Livelihood of a peasant includes among other things, the output of a livelihood strategy adopted by the peasant. Generally, the study observed low output across

peasants and localities under study. It observed that 71.5 percent of the peasant earned income of GHS 2700.00 or lower. This seemed to reflect the size of farmlands the majority of the peasants used for the farming businesses. Natives dominated in this category of income earners with 51.8 percent, while settlers constituted 35 percent. The difference was likely to be explained by the differences in the representations on the sample. The study observed that peasants from Bimbilla sub-traditional area constituted 86.9 percent of the low income earners.

On the other hand, the study did not observed any significant difference in incomes earned by settlers and natives in the Bakpaba sub-traditional area. However, Dokpam sub-traditional area a majority of settlers were observed within that high income category. Juxtaposing the household sizes of a majority of the peasants observed to 6 and 10 members and the level of farm output recorded point to a prevalence of lack in a majority of the households of the peasants. Asset accumulation comes when savings occur in a society. What is the nature of asset formation among peasants in the light of low outputs from farms?

#### ***5.3.4 Sizes of Personal Land Assets of Peasants by Locality***

The study further examined the land asset holdings of peasants in respect with their farm earnings. The essence was to ascertain if the willingness or otherwise of landowners to release land to peasants impacted on the asset holdings of peasants. It was observed that 41.3 percent (97) of the peasants had no claim to any land asset at all. Further checks showed that 74.2 percent of those peasants earned incomes of GHS 2700.00 or lower.

By study sites, all peasants in Dokpam with incomes of GHS 2700.00 had claims to land assets. However, those peasants who earned higher than GHS 2800.00 rather had challenges with asset holdings. The study observed that 50 percent of this income earning category could not claim

any land asset as having acquired. Meanwhile, the findings showed that all these peasants from Dokpam sub-traditional area inherited their farmlands.

The study revealed that a majority of high income earners in Bakpaba and Dokpam sub-traditional areas were settlers. This presupposes that this category of peasants would have challenges purchasing land since land sale was not practiced in the areas. This was different in the Bimbilla sub-traditional area, as sale of land was an emerging issue and farmer evictions (70.4%) were gaining momentum due to urbanization issues.

The UN human development index reports showed that increased income from livelihood strategies of households is capable of enhancing the asset holdings of households (UNDP, 1990; cited in Desai, 1991). The study showed that peasants whose farmlands were 5 acres or more dominated in the higher income categories of the peasants income classifications. These groups of peasants had much claims to wielding larger acreage of personal land assets. Farmland size therefore had significant linkages with higher incomes earned from farm outputs as well as asset holdings.

### ***5.3.5 Mode of Access and Income of Peasants by Locality***

The study went further to examine the mode of access peasants had as against the income levels of peasants. This was done to help identify if those who inherited their farmlands had any better chances of earning more from the farm businesses due to size and fertility of farmlands than those who were freely given the farmlands. Preliminary findings showed that 76.9 percent (101) of peasants who were freely given their farmlands (133) earned GHS 2700.00 annually from the farming businesses, as against 64.6 percent (64) of peasants who inherited their farmlands (99). In effect the low income earning peasants were dominated by those who could not inherit farmlands.

However, peasants who inherited their farmlands were observed to be in the majority of peasants earning more than GHS 2800.00 annually. They constituted 35 percent, while peasants who could not inherit farmland were only 15 percent. The observations propel a tentative conclusion that peasants with rights to inherit farmlands stood greater chances of earning more than those who could not. A contribution by Lele (1975) to reasons why interventions on rural developments failed to effect real change in the livelihoods of rural peasants acknowledged the impacts of farmland size on income earnings of peasants. She therefore suggested that rural development projects should inculcate land tenure issues on their policy plans to ensure peasants had adequate farmland sizes to work on. The study showed that land access is key to success of agricultural projects aimed at livelihoods enhancement.

Further analysis showed that those whose farm output was GHS 2,800.00 or over were composed of 35.4 percent of those who had free gifts of their farmlands and 24 percent of those who inherited their farmlands. Still, in examining within income levels, out of the 168 peasants with low income, those who inherited their farmlands were 38 percent, while those with free gifts of farmlands constituted 60 percent. This shows that mode of land access has some form of relations with level of income earned, since the farmland size was slightly influenced by the mode of access. For instance peasants who had better relations with land owners had relatively larger farmland sizes, and in consequence, earned higher outputs from their farms.

Comparing the earnings of the same categories of peasants, those who inherited their farmlands (52%) had dominated in the high income categories, while those who were given farmlands were only 47.8 percent in the high income category. The mode of access to farmland influenced the size of farmlands peasants could farm on. This might have explained the variations in the income levels of peasants.

## **5.4 Objective Four: Issues of Household Food Security in the Nanumba Traditional Area and Policy Issues**

The study earlier on observed that peasants had very large household sizes as against smaller farmland sizes. It also observed that peasants had to meet the education and health needs of the household members, aside the housing and nutritional needs of their households. It therefore intended to examine the capacity of peasants' farm outputs to sustain their households food needs till next season. This may impact on policy with regards to food security drive at the Nanumba traditional economy.

### ***5.4.1 Peasants' Farm Output Levels and Household Food Requirement***

On the question of whether peasants' farm output could feed the households till next season, 71 percent (167) of the peasants responded in affirmation. However, 95.7 percent of these peasants confirmed that they sold food stuff to supplement the income needs of the households. Aside school fees, they had to meet the clothing needs of the households especially children during festivals. Others cited hospital bills as some of the challenges that compel them to sell the food stuff. Likewise, the spirit of oneness that informs the extended family system of the area serves to compel peasants, just as other members of the community, into assisting one another in weddings, outdoorings, funerals and so on. These occasions require fervent monetary contributions from others as forms of support. According to the interview results, the prevalence of the occasions is the main drain of the finances of households (field data, 2016).

Generally, 68.1 percent of the peasants confirmed the sale of farm products, which further reduces their resilience to food insecurity. By study sites, all peasants from Bakpaba and Dokpam sub-traditional areas engaged in the sales of food stuff for their income needs. Bimbilla sub-traditional area recorded 95.3 percent of peasants who claimed their farm output could

sustain the annual food requirement of their household also confirming the incidence of the acts. The study observed that live of peasants in urban centres is opened to diversified livelihood strategies especially in the off-farm sectors (Barrett et al, 2004). Those in Bimbilla could be opened to such opportunities.

#### ***5.4.2 Nature of Household Food Insecurity among Peasants***

Earlier analysis showed that 71.1 percent of the peasants could sustain the food requirement of their households from the produce of the farms. However, 61.7 percent (103) of this number of peasants had challenges feeding their households successfully throughout the seasons. About 66 percent of the total number of peasants confirmed ever experiencing shortages of food in the households. The outcome is confirming the earlier observation on the large household size nature of peasants and the expected stress on the nutrition of such households.

In exploring the prevalence of this menace by localities, there was a general occurrence observed across the localities. The levels of prevalence in the sub-traditional areas were not different from the general observations made. 66 percent of the peasants from Bakpaba and Bimbilla sub areas confirmed their experience of food shortages in their households. About 63 percent confirmation was observed in the Dokpam sub-traditional area.

The issues of food shortage in the traditional area seemed to contradict the facts that this area is a major food basket for the economy of Ghana. It is best known for its food crop production, especially yam. The Ghana statistical service report showed that a majority of the households in the traditional area engaged in food crop production (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014)). This incidence of food insecurity could be partly due to the sales of food crops. In the report of the Ghana statistical service, it recommended for the ministry of trade and industry to liaise with the district assembly to link farmers to industries to make the farming industry attractive. It therefore

highlighted the facts that peasants did not get actual value for their products and so had to sell so much of it in order to meet the income levels required.

#### ***5.4.3 Prevalence of Food Shortage in Households of Peasants' Neighbourhoods***

The study also examined the nature of food shortage among households within the neighbourhoods of peasants in the traditional area. The study showed that 155 (66%) of the peasants experienced food shortages in the households. 87.7 percent of this number of peasants confirmed of the prevalence of food shortage among the households of their neighbourhoods. Generally, the views of a majority of the peasants (89.8%) affirmed that their neighbours also had food security challenges. The widespread nature of the menace calls for further examinations as to the timing of the incidence and possible mitigation strategies the peasants normally adopted to ameliorate the impacts of the shortages.

#### ***5.4.4 Timing of the Food Shortages and Mitigation Measure Peasants Adopted***

It was discovered that most peasants experienced the shortages in the months of June and July. This period of the farming season is when food crops like maize and cassava begin to form, provided they were planted with early rains in mid-April or early to mid-May. Most farms require second weeding at that period of the season. Some of the dominant measures adopted included sale of human labour at the expense of doing the second weeding on their own farms. Others borrowed food stuff to sustain the households, while some others relied on the extended family relations to solicit for food for their households. Despite the small farmland sizes, peasants could have maintained some level of resilience to threats of food shortages if they worked continuously on their farms to keep their farms clean of weeds.

#### ***5.4.5 The Role of Women during Food Shortages***

The women in the households played several roles in complement to the struggles of the male heads. Women served as aids to all major farming activity throughout the seasons. They helped to plant or sow, weed, harvest, transport and store the products. These were some of the main reasons why women do not have to make their own farms. The customs of the area recognized women in peasantry, but, in the production of minor crops like okra, pepper, beans and groundnut or soybeans. Likewise, females were not given large farmland sizes or fertile lands that could support yam or maize production. The study observed that women harvested resources from the wild to support the household in times of famine. These resources included dawadawa fruits, shea nuts, hardwood, some green leaves used as ingredients for soup, and many others. The proceeds also supported women's basic needs requirement, since they did not control the household farm produce.

However, access to these varieties of resources was not open for all. Just like farmlands, trees that seemed to grow in the wild were also owned by the landowners. Landless peasants faced challenges accessing them. According to the study, some landowners do not care so much as they gave the land to usufruct users. These users assume automatic access to the resources within the farmland. However, some do not accept settlers picking shea nuts or harvesting dawadawa fruits in their farms without permission. From the interviews and FGDs, settlers lamented the way landowners deny them access to such resources.

In response to a question of landowners allowing settlers or tenants to pick resources (shea nut/dawadawa or any economic tree) on the farms;

One peasant responded:

*“If the wives of the landowner have other areas elsewhere to harvest from, but if not they share with your wife” (Field Data, 2017).*

Another peasant:

*“Yes, sometimes the landlords allow us if we show them respect” (Field Data, 2017).*

But majority complained;

*“It all depends on the positions adopted by our landlords’ wives. They do not allow us access to such resources, sometimes they are just jealous. Other landladies share the shea trees with you, especially when their husbands no longer farm” (Field Data, 2017).*

The study intended to offer suggestions on the way forward to salvaging the menace of food insecurity among the peasants. It therefore sought the views of peasants on the best ways they thought their plights could be catered for. In exploring their participation in the FGDs and interviews by way of viewpoints, there were varied modes of solutions suggested by the peasants. The most recurring modes included requests for government and development partners to supply credit facility, ensure capacity building for women in animal rearing, and many others. The study observed that a majority of the peasants (52.7%) suggested that peasants be supported with farm inputs by the government and stakeholders. Likewise, 14.8 percent of the peasants thought that irrigation facility could help engage them during their off seasons (dry season). This seemed a re-echo of the suggestion given in the report of the Ghana Statistical Service (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014) on 2010 Population and Housing Census.

#### **5.4.6 Policy Implications of Customary Decisions in the Area.**

Some of the policy implications observed by the study includes:

- Women's access to productive assets wanes inversely with growing roles (Sunderlin et al, 2005). Female natives had only secondary rights or interests in family land, and had to access land for farming through their maternal or paternal brothers. Meanwhile they constituted about 51 percent of the entire population of the traditional area.
- The females in the area were convinced that males must dominate them as customs demand, while the males had no problem with the outcomes of the customary practices. This posed challenges to access to land and livelihoods of females as it signified inequalities which creates poverty real in the area (Carter & May, 1999).
- There is the need for political will to streamline land registration in the traditional area. This may be done in line with the customary practices of the traditional area. This will improve upon land access, which impacts largely on peasants' farm outputs and consequently on incomes and asset holdings of households.
- There was widespread prevalence of household food insecurity in the traditional area. This was made worse by the customary practices of contributing to funerals, weddings, outdoorings and disaster reliefs of relations in the traditional area.
- There were clear signals that households need irrigation projects and other assistance to help diversify their livelihoods. Peasants in turn requested for inputs supply, capacity building on animal care and irrigation for dry season gardening, etc.
- Households were found to be large, while farmlands were very small. Family planning issues must be addressed to control the explosions in growths of household membership.

- Households sell their farm outputs in pursuance of household financial needs. Low food prices could have caused the households to sell more of the food products in order to meet the amount of money required. Increased food prices give value for products, and coupled with extended leap programme, households could maintain food security.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.0 Overview**

Livelihoods of rural economies hinge on availability of, and accessibility to land since rural areas are largely agrarian in occupations. Issues of land and its access to peasants need serious and concerted policy outlines through local level participation, championed by customary authorities. It is very difficult to determine the ideal access to land in societies with communal land ownership. The issues of conflicts, litigations and diversions which lead to discrimination, inequality and deprivation among peasant households cannot be tackled through top-down policies as witnessed these days. Likewise, livelihoods of peasants are not independent of landowners' willingness to give or not to give land, especially when land parcels are in communal ownership.

#### **6.1 Summary of the Study**

The conception that informed this study drew a linkage between people's livelihood struggles and access to community resources. The traditional authority in the Nanumba traditional area constituted the sole body which controlled land and decided on the mode of its access. Divisional chiefs were observed to exercise oversight control over land as customary freehold title holders, while the paramount chief in Bimbilla assumed the allodial title holder. However, clan and family heads were observed to deal directly with the peasants' farmland needs. Both natives and settlers were holder of usufruct right titles or interests on land because land in the traditional area was communally held. Unlike the tenancy deals of the southern ethnic traditions that practiced sharecropping in the forms of Abusa (1/3) and Abunu (1/2) as noted earlier (Yeboah, E. and

Shaw P. D., 2013; Pomevor, 2014), customs of the NTA gave land free to whoever needed it for farming, and even for settlement (Field Data, 2017).

The study adopted a case study design and relied on both qualitative and quantitative data through a mixed method of data collection. It used questionnaire, in-depth interview and FGDs as instruments to gather the data. Two hundred and thirty-five (235) peasant households were used as respondents to the questionnaire. There were three FGDs and five individual in-depth interviews conducted across the study sites. The study adopted descriptive statistical techniques of data analysis, and relied heavily on frequency and cross tabulations as tools for the analysis of the data. Findings were displayed using frequency tables, cross tabulation tables, graphs and charts to display the relationships among variables. The discussions and interviews were transcribed and used mostly as quotes in the discussions of findings.

Access to farmland for both natives and settlers was dominated by free gifts modes. Also, natives and settlers were observed to claim inheritance to their farmlands. This showed that access to land was opened to both natives and settlers alike. Likewise, compensation was not a known practice in land deals between peasants and landowners, a practice that is divergent to the Abusa or Abunu of the ethnic groups in Akan traditional areas (Appiah, 2012; Pomevor, 2014). The study rather noted some variations in the level of access in favour of natives in terms of farmland sizes, but thought it was normal. Access to land was therefore described as relative.

The study also observed remarkable variations in the level of access females had to land, compared to their male counterparts in the families within the traditional area. Both males and females acknowledged and accepted these variations as masterminded by the customs and traditions of the traditional area. The inequalities were the dictates of the traditions and both males and females saw nothing ill about it. The study therefore concludes that the peasants'

allegiance to the customs and traditions constituted a major factor for the perpetuation of the inequalities (Rugadya et al, 2004: Owusu et al, 2007: and Agbosu et al, 2008 and Yaro, (2012).

The study observed some significant impacts the peasants' access to land had on their livelihoods. It was observed that the peasants' ability to increase their earnings from farming activities lies in the kind of crop they produce. The availability and size of farmland as well as the quality of farmland dictated to some extent, the choice peasants made on the kind of crops to grow. There was therefore, a link between peasants' desire to increase incomes and the farmland sizes of peasants. Real access to land could trigger increased incomes of peasants, all things equal.

Likewise, if peasants succeeded in increasing their earnings from farm activities, they stood better chances of securing land parcels for their households as wealth and store of value. It was observed that 41.2 percent of the peasants had no personal land at all. However the study noted that 74.2 percent of these peasants without personal land holdings earned incomes below incomes GHS 2800.00 annually. The study further observed positive links between peasants' mode of access to land and farmland size; and the size of farmland and annual incomes earned by peasants. As posited by UN human development index reports (1990), increased household earnings are a necessary condition for households' ability to expand asset holdings.

Finally, the study observed a prevalence of household food insecurity across the study area, mostly within the months of June and July each year. The mitigation measures were observed to include peasants abandoning their farms to work on other people's farmlands to secure food for their household survival. Women were also observed to play very key roles in gathering forest resources like dawadawa, shea nuts, shrubs and hardwood for medicinal and charcoal burning

purposes. However, the peasants had challenges in accessing these landed resources from the society.

## 6.2 Conclusions

- Largely, peasants obtained farmlands from friends, clan heads and family heads. The predominant mode of access to land in the traditional area was free gifts, followed by inheritance. Those who inherited land or were freely given could claim ownership to such farmlands. However, land was communally owned and inalienable in the Nanumba traditional area. The study concludes that the inability of customs of the traditional area to regularize the modes of land allocations and to keep records on the land deals in the area breeds conflicting land interest challenges.
- The study also observed that settlers and females had challenges accessing large sizes of farmlands for peasantry works. However, females were worse affected as they were discriminated in terms of land allocations within families. The study concludes that there were gendered inequality and deprivations in land allocation in the study area. It further concludes that the level of settlers and natives' access to farmlands had no significant difference.
- Farmland sizes were observed to correspond positively with higher outputs leading in most case to peasants claiming some improvement in asset holdings. Peasants who were observed to have large farmland sizes had claims to higher returns from their farms. Higher incomes from livelihood strategies were also noted to enhance asset holdings of households. The research concludes, therefore, that farmland sizes have strong relation with enhanced asset holdings of peasants.

- More so, most peasants had large household sizes, but depended on smaller farmland sizes. They also sold their annual products from farms to meet income needs of their families. These compelled them to experience intermittent annual food shortages which were also widespread among their neighbourhoods. The study concludes that there was a prevalence of household food insecurity in the traditional area caused largely by farmland access challenges.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

The study recommends the following:

- Land registration should be considered by the office of the skin lands, the traditional authority and the district planning unit. The demarcation of clan, family and skin lands, will aid proper record keeping on all land deals in the traditional area. This will reduce issues of mistrust and improve land allocations in the area.
- There is the need for stronger and purposeful collaboration and coordination among the gender desk office at the district assembly, the community based organizations and the traditional authority to initiate measures that improve upon female land rights or interests in the district, since females must contribute their quota to the development of the district. Also, the traditional area should unify customarily constructed regulations and rules governing landownership, control and allocations to serve the farmland needs of landless peasants in the area.
- The government of Ghana, through the local governance system should make conscious policies to enhance farmland holdings of peasants. Similar agrarian land reforms have been pursued in other countries like Egypt (Margold, 1957) to assist peasants own

farmlands. This will improve upon land access, which impacts largely on peasants' farm outputs and consequently on incomes and asset holdings of households.

- Lastly, the government of Ghana, through the district assembly, should device urgent and inclusive policies to end real food insecurity in the agrarian economy (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).
  - The local authority in collaboration with development partners could provide Irrigation facilities, improved seeds and animal breed to help peasant diversify their livelihoods. For instance, some women in Punyoro, a community in the Kasina Nankana district of the Upper East Region were assisted by Canadian project “Feed the child” in animal husbandry. A similar project of loaning animals to females could be emulated in the district, aside irrigation projects, to help fight household poverty and malnutrition.
  - There is also the need for the Ghana health service to intensify its education campaign on family planning and birth control measures in the traditional area to help keep the growths of households in check. Large family sizes also put stress on the stock of household resources, leading to shortages of food within households.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Questionnaire for Peasant Respondents

This questionnaire seeks to examine the customary land tenure practices in the Nanumba traditional area and to determine if and how these practices impact on the livelihoods of peasants in the traditional area. It considers how the actions and inactions of the customary authority in the control, allocation, and regulation of the use of community assets, especially land asset, influence the ability of women, men and settler peasants to own land, decide on livelihood strategy, to improve output and incomes. Your identity shall remain confidential, I assure you. Please answer this questionnaire as sincerely as it may apply to you. Thank you for contributing to knowledge, and also reshaping humanity.

#### A. Demographic Data

- a. Study site .....Bimbilla<sup>0</sup> [ ], Bakpaba<sup>1</sup> [ ], Dokpam<sup>2</sup> [ ]
- b. Designation ...chief<sup>0</sup> [ ], Clan head<sup>1</sup> [ ], Tindana<sup>2</sup> [ ], Household head<sup>3</sup> [ ], Other<sup>4</sup>[ ].
- c. Age .....[ ] years.
- d. Gender\*..... Male<sup>0</sup> [ ], Female<sup>1</sup> [ ]
- e. Educational level\* ...Non-formal<sup>0</sup> [ ], JHS/Middle level<sup>1</sup> [ ], SHS/Tech<sup>2</sup> [ ], Tertiary<sup>3</sup> [ ]
- f. Nativity\* .....Native<sup>0</sup> [ ], Settler/Stranger<sup>1</sup> [ ] {Native means a Nanumba}

- g. Marital status .....Never Married<sup>0</sup> [    ], Married<sup>1</sup> [    ], Divorced<sup>2</sup> [    ], Widowed<sup>3</sup> [    ] other<sup>4</sup>, specify  
 .....
- h. Residential status .....RentedTenant<sup>0</sup> [    ], Own house<sup>1</sup> [    ] **Family** house<sup>2</sup> [    ], Rent free<sup>3</sup>, [    ], percher/Squatters<sup>4</sup> [    ]
- i. Terms of tenancy ..... Limited period<sup>0</sup> [    ], Unlimited<sup>1</sup> [    ]
- a. If limited, state number of years [    ],
- b. If rented, give estimate rent per year [GHS .....]
- j. Do you engage in other works apart from farming? Yes<sup>0</sup> [    ], No<sup>1</sup> [    ]
- k. If Yes, Specify work, ..... Civil/public sector<sup>0</sup>, [    ], Sales in agri-products<sup>1</sup> [    ], Other<sup>2</sup>, specify .....
- l. Estimate monthly extra earnings (**GHS**) from other works . 0 – 50<sup>0</sup> [    ], 51 – 100<sup>1</sup> [    ] 100<sup>+</sup> - 150<sup>2</sup> [    ], 150<sup>+</sup> - 200<sup>3</sup> [    ], 200<sup>+</sup><sup>4</sup>[  
 ]
- m. How many people feed from your kitchen regularly .....[    ], (HH size vs size of land)
- n. How many of them cannot fend for themselves .....[    ]
- o. How many are ..... in school [    ], in apprenticeship [    ], Others, **specify** .....
- p. Are you being supported by any agency/project/society or individual eg LEAP? Yes<sup>0</sup> [    ], No<sup>1</sup> [    ]
- q. If yes, state amount ..... [HGS .....]

**TABLE 1: QUESTIONNAIRE**

S/N	ITEMS	REPOSSES
	<b>Q1: Whether there is real access to land by all peasants in the traditional area</b>	
1	What is the size of your farmland for the past five years?	.....
2	Do you own the land you are currently farming on?	Yes <sup>0</sup>   No <sup>1</sup>
3	How did you get access to the land?	• Inherited <sup>0</sup>   • Freelygiven <sup>1</sup>   • Purchased <sup>2</sup>
4	If inherited, can you release it out to a third party temporary?	Yes <sup>0</sup>   No <sup>1</sup>
5	If freely given, are there any terms of engagement (any payment of compensation)?	Yes <sup>0</sup>   No <sup>1</sup>
6	What is the nature of your relationship with the land owner?	Family <sup>0</sup>   Tribal <sup>1</sup>   Not Related <sup>2</sup>
7	How do you rate the land in terms of fertility for farming?	Very fertile <sup>0</sup>   Fertile <sup>1</sup>   Moderate <sup>2</sup>   Poor <sup>3</sup>
8	Do you have any document covering the deal with (original) land owner?	Yes <sup>0</sup>   No <sup>1</sup>
9	If compensation was given, specify	In Kind Crop/animal/labour   No. or Duration .....
		If Cash .....
10	Do you think it is good a document covers the agreement with your landlord?	Yes <sup>0</sup>   No <sup>1</sup>
11	What is the size of land you can lay claim as your property?	.....plots/acres
12	Main crops you grow on the land	Cereals <sup>0</sup>   Tubers <sup>1</sup>
13	How long have you been using the land for farming?	.....years/months
14	Are there occasions where your land was taken from you by the landlord?	Yes <sup>0</sup>   No <sup>1</sup>
15	If Yes, explain .....	
16	Do you make any attempts to improve the fertility of land?	Yes <sup>0</sup>   No <sup>1</sup>
17	Is it possible you can borrow resources to invest on the land to improve its fertility?	Yes <sup>0</sup>   No <sup>1</sup>
18	What will motivate you to do that?	To prevent degradation   If I am sure of my tenure
	<b>Q2: whether access to land is influenced by gender or nativity of individuals</b>	
19	Do land owners sell land in this traditional area?	Yes ...   No <sup>1</sup>
20	State one challenge to acquiring land in the traditional area.	
21	To get land you must relate to a family, household, clan of land owner	True <sup>0</sup>   False   Not sure
22	The females and males natives have equal chances to getting land	
23	Natives stand greater chance of accessing land than settlers	
24	Land owners will prefer releasing land to investors than giving it to settlers	
25	The natives have more secured tenure to land than non-natives	
26	Is there a situation where a woman can lose a parcel of land she uses?	Yes <sup>0</sup>   No <sup>1</sup>
27	Give an example of such situations?	1

28	Give two channels for addressing women's land problems				
29	Women must be part of those who sit to resolve such cases?	Yes <sup>0</sup>	Not necessarily <sup>1</sup>	No <sup>2</sup>	
30	Under what condition can a settler lose right to a land he/she uses?				
31	Give one channels for addressing settlers' land problems				
<b>Q3: Whether customary tenure practices impede vulnerable people's livelihoods</b>					
32	What is likely to motivate the decision of a landowner to give land to a foreign business person (an investor)?	Financial <sup>0</sup>		Developmental <sup>1</sup>	
	<b>Item</b>	True <sup>0</sup>	False <sup>1</sup>	Not sure <sup>2</sup>	
33	Access to land affect wellbeing of poor people				
34	Money is very key in helping a household to increase farm output				
35	I have friends who help me when my household is in need of food				
36	Traditional laws of this area forbid transfer of land to female daughters				
37	Traditional laws of this area does not allow settler to own land*				
38	Traditional laws of this area allow women to inherit land of husbands**				
39	Traditional laws of this area restrict how women join groups***				
40	<b>Explain</b> <sup>37</sup> .....				
41	<sup>38</sup> .....				
42	<sup>39</sup> .....				
43	Land in this community is directly own by	Chief <sup>0</sup>	Clan/familyhead <sup>1</sup>	Individuals <sup>2</sup>	
44	Does it take a long process to secure land for farming?			Yes <sup>0</sup>	No <sup>1</sup>
45	Ever tried to acquire land for farming?			Yes <sup>0</sup>	No
46	Were you successful?			Yes <sup>0</sup>	No <sup>1</sup>
47	How long can it take one to look for a farmland?			Years/Months....	
48	Why?				
49	Which of these crops do you grow on large scale	Cereals <sup>0</sup>		Tubers <sup>1</sup>	
50	Given enough fertile land which crop would like to grow?	Cereals <sup>0</sup>		Tubers <sup>1</sup>	
51	Which is your main reason for farming?	Feed my family <sup>0</sup>		Raise income <sup>1</sup>	
52	What cropping systems do you practice	Crop rotation <sup>0</sup>		Mixed cropping <sup>1</sup>	Mono-cropping <sup>2</sup>
53	Why do you prefer this practice to others?	No Land <sup>0</sup>	Finance <sup>1</sup>	Weather variability <sup>2</sup>	Other <sup>3</sup> -state

54	What farming system do you use?	allow land to fallow a year or 2	Use same land always <sup>1</sup>	move to far areas to allow land fallow for 3 <sup>+</sup> yrs <sup>2</sup>			
55	Do you like this farming system that you practice?			Yes <sup>0</sup> ... No <sup>1</sup> .....			
56	Which of this farming system would prefer, given enough land?	No1 <sup>0</sup> .....	No. 2 <sup>1</sup>	No.3 <sup>2</sup>			
57	Explain						
58	Estimate the number of bags of cereals or tubers of yam you get per year	Tubers.....					
59		Cereals.....					
60	How many domestic animals do you have currently?	Goats <sup>0</sup>	Sheep <sup>1</sup>	Fowls <sup>2</sup>			
61	Estimated income derived from your farm work per season? (verify with market prices)		Animals <sup>0</sup>	Crops <sup>1</sup>			
<b>Q. 4 the implications of customary tenure practices on Ghana's policy pursuits</b>							
61	Land owners are to assist settlers and widows/divorced women in need of farm lands	Strongest agree <sup>0</sup>	Agree <sup>1</sup>	Neutral <sup>2</sup>	Disagree <sup>3</sup>	Strongly disagree <sup>4</sup>	
62	Most farmers in this area sell their produce to buy household needs				True <sup>0</sup>	False <sup>1</sup>	Not sure <sup>2</sup>
63	Is your farm able to feed your household throughout the year?					Yes <sup>0</sup>	No <sup>1</sup>
64	Have you ever experience food shortage in a year?					Yes <sup>0</sup>	No <sup>1</sup>
65	Do some people experience food shortage in a year?					Yes <sup>0</sup>	No <sup>1</sup>
66	Which period of the year can this happen?						
67	How do you/they survive those periods of the shortage						
68	What should be done to help or prevent the situation of food shortages in this area?						
69	Sale of land is a problem for farmers in this traditional area?					True <sup>0</sup>	False <sup>1</sup>
70	Settlers do get fertile farmlands to farm and feed their households					True <sup>0</sup>	False <sup>1</sup>

- **What can land owners do to reduce poverty among people in this community? ...**  
.....
- **Do the traditional laws on land transfer discriminate against married women in this area? Yes<sup>0</sup> ..... No<sup>1</sup>.....**
- **What can traditional leaders do to help reduce this incidence?**
- .....

## **Appendix B: Interview Protocols**

### **Introduction**

- Good morning/afternoon, my name is ..... and I am an M. Phil student from the university of Ghana.
- I am conducting a research on **customary land tenure practices and livelihoods of peasants in Nanumba Traditional Area** as a requirement for the award of the degree.

### **Explanation of Research**

- This interview is designed to identify, determine and explain the various ways in which the actions and inactions of customary authorities (landowners) in the Nanumba traditional area affect the interests of landless peasants, such as, their ability to own land, decide on livelihood strategies, and improve their outputs and incomes.
- I hope that any information you provide will be beneficial to the course of this research, and also to scholarly works in general.
- It will also serve as a form of appraisal of the changing functions of traditional authorities in the area.
- And lastly, inform Ghana's policy on the fight against the ills of poverty, hunger and inequality of all forms in the Nanumba district.

### **Confidentiality**

- You can decide not to talk on any issue tabled in this interview/discussion, if you are not comfortable.
- You can also discontinue with the interview/discussion or cancel it and I will respect your decisions.

- In anyway, all that you provide as information in this interview/discussion will be confidential.
- It will be used exclusively for this study and your anonymity is assured.
- If the study quotes any portion of responses in this interview/discussion your identity will be protected. By the way, several people are involved in this study, and names or specific locations of responses will not be used.
- This interview will be recorded and transcribed later to aid analysis. **Again**, your anonymity is guaranteed because it will only be made available to my supervisors and if possible the panels that will assess my work at presentations.

### **Consent**

- You are to sign a consent form that contains all that I have explained to you to serve as a contract enforcing the issues of confidentiality.
- You will keep a copy as proof, in case you feel the contract of confidentiality has not been kept.
- Do you have any question to ask?

### **Ground Rules**

- In this interview/discussion there are no correct or wrong answers.
- Feel free to say anything you think of, both positive and negative things.
- You are the most experienced persons to talk on these issues.

**Appendix C: Interview Guide: For key Traditional Leaders: family heads; and other stakeholders):**

**Demographic Data (see Questionnaire**

**A. CUSTOMARY LAND DEALS**

1. Elsewhere chiefs hold land in any community in trust for their subjects. In this community, who owns and exercise control over land?
2. Is there any higher authority elsewhere that must be consulted before a major land deal could be finalized?
3. How is land transferred between persons within the clan/family in this traditional area?
4. What criteria are used for allocation of land to members of a clan or family?
5. In this community, Can a female child of a landowning family inherit land as her share of inheritance?
6. When can a woman's request for a farmland not be granted?
7. What are the terms of use for customary land by settlers/strangers?
8. Is it possible a settler/stranger can be given a more fertile land for farming?
9. Can a settler own a land given to him/her after using it for a long time?
10. Are there occasions where settler/stranger tried to claim land leased to them on good will in the past?
11. How were those situations handled or resolved?
12. Does the customs of this traditional area recognize sale of land?
13. Is it a practice in this area to demand compensation before or after leasing land? What form?

## **B. Customary tenure and poor people's rights**

5. Does a couple in the Nanumba traditional area have equal right to extended family land?
6. Are there restrictions on sale, lease, or inheritance on land held by households?
7. Which of these rights does a woman have on land? (a) use right, (b) right to exercise control over land and (c) inheritance of the household's portion of the family land.
8. Under what circumstances does a woman lose her right to family land?
9. Which asset is a woman not permitted to acquire and own in this traditional area?
10. Are there restricted lands preserved and protected by the traditional area?
11. Who controls the use of these community resources by the members of the traditional area?
12. How can one secure and own land in this community?
13. How do strangers or settlers get access to farmlands, plot for building houses?
14. Can settlers own the land and pass it to their generations as inheritance?
15. Under what conditions are settlers denied access to the community resources, eg dawadawa, shea nuts or firewood as sources of extra income?
16. Are there arrangements in place to meet the land needs of growing families in the traditional area?
17. Is it difficult acquiring land for personal settlement?
  - a. If yes, Does it matter whether you are a native of not?
  - b. If yes, Does it matter if a woman or a man?
18. What does the traditional authority do to reduce poverty and hunger in this area?
19. What is your view about the conflict situation in the traditional area and level of human development?

### **C. Customary view of a woman**

1. Is the family patrilocal or matrilocal?
2. Is **polygamy** a common practice in this community?
3. What is the **limit** of women to a husband?
4. What are the main roles of women and men in terms of **childcare** in a household, as customs demands?
5. Who owns children in a family?
6. Do women have a say in deciding on number of children to a couple?
7. Who decides on the use of family assets?
8. Do children matter in the allocation of family assets among women?
9. Does the sex of a child matter in property allocation in a family?
10. Which property of the spouse can a woman inherit in this community?
11. Are there any attempts to ensure gender equity in property allocation in the family?

## **Appendix D: Guide for FGDs for Men and Women**

### **A. Customary tenure and poor people's rights – Farmers**

1. Does a couple in the Nanumba traditional area have equal right to extended family land?
2. Are there restrictions on sale, lease, or inheritance on land held by households?
3. Which of these rights does a woman have on land? (a) use right, (b) right to exercise control over land and (c) inheritance of the household's portion of the family land.
4. Under what circumstances does a woman lose her right to family land?
5. Which asset is a woman not permitted to acquire and own in this traditional area?
6. Are there restricted lands preserved and protected by the traditional area?
7. Who controls the use of these community resources by the members of the traditional area?
8. How can one secure and own land in this community?
9. How do strangers or settlers get access to farmlands, plot for building houses?
10. Can settlers own the land and pass it to their generations as inheritance?
11. Under what conditions are settlers denied access to the community resources, eg dawadawa, shea nuts or firewood as sources of extra income?
12. Are there arrangements in place to meet the land needs of growing families in the traditional area?
13. Is it difficult acquiring land for personal settlement?
14. If yes, Does it matter whether you are a native of not?
15. If yes, Does it matter if a woman or a man?
16. What does the traditional authority do to reduce poverty and hunger in this area?

17. What is your view about the conflict situation in the traditional area and level of human development?

**B. Customary view of a woman – WOMEN**

1. Is the family patrilocal or matrilocal?
2. Is **polygamy** a common practice in this community?
3. What is the **limit** of women to a husband?
4. What are the main roles of women and men in terms of **childcare** in a household, as customs demands?
5. Who owns children in a family?
6. Do women have a say in deciding on number of children to a couple?
7. Who decides on the use of family assets?
8. Do children matter in the allocation of family assets among women?
9. Does the sex of a child matter in property allocation in a family?
10. Which property of the spouse can a woman inherit in this community?
11. Are there any attempts to ensure gender equity in property allocation in the family?