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IMPROVING TENURE SECURITY TO SUPPORT SUSTAINABLE COCOA – FINAL REPORT & LESSONS LEARNED

TENURE AND GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE (TGCC) PROGRAM



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Cover Photo: Mature cocoa pods in Asankrangwa, Ghana

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TENURE AND GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE (TGCC)
PROGRAM

MARCH 2018

DISCLAIMER

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AGL	AgroEcom Ghana Ltd
Cocobod	Ghana Cocoa Board
ECOM	Ecom Agroindustrial Corp
GCFRP	Ghana Cocoa Forest REDD+ Program
GESI	Gender Equality and Socially Inclusion
LBC	Licensed Buying Company
TFA	Tropical Forest Alliance
TGCC	Tenure and Global Climate Change
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Worldwide, forests are being lost at an alarming rate, driven by the expansion of internationally traded commodities. In response, companies are making efforts to reduce and eliminate deforestation from their supply chains. In 2016, Hershey's and Ecom Agroindustrial Corp (ECOM) began collaborating with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)-funded Tenure and Global Climate Change (TGCC) Program that helped leverage private sector funding¹ to address land and tree tenure constraints that inhibit cocoa productivity and contribute to deforestation around smallholder cocoa farming in Ghana. This work resulted in an assessment and recommendations for a future pilot, captured in the report *Land and Natural Resource Governance and Tenure for Enabling Sustainable Cocoa Cultivation in Ghana*. Over the 11-month period from February to December 2017, USAID implemented a pilot in Nyame Nnae, a cocoa farming community in the Asankrangwa district of Ghana with implementing partners Tetra Tech and Winrock International. The pilot had four specific objectives:

1. Increase tenure security of smallholder cocoa farmers through clarifying and documenting the rights of landholders and tenants that discourage removing old cocoa trees under stranger tenancy (abunu) contracts.
2. Promote the increase in carbon stocks in cocoa farms over the long term by explaining new Forestry Commission policy on tree tenure and documenting tenants' and landlords' beneficial interests in shade trees.
3. Replant old, unproductive cocoa farms to increase productivity over the next five to 10 years. This requires developing a financing model to replant old cocoa farms and provide extension services to farmers.
4. Develop lessons and recommendations for the Government of Ghana, Ghana's Cocoa Forest REDD+ Program, the World Cocoa Foundation, Tropical Forest Alliance (TFA) 2020 partners, and others working on related topics with smallholder farmers that will allow the pilot to be replicated and scaled up over time.

IMPACTS - LAND TENURE

The pilot focused on improving tenure in Nyame Nnae community in the Western Region. Nyame Nnae was chosen to carry out a tenure intervention based on community interest and factors like a high proportion of non-indigene farmers and a clear land constraint. There are three main customary interests in land in Nyame Nnae: customary freehold (9 percent), asidɛ (migrant farmer freehold – 45 percent), and abunu (46 percent). The project captured and documented land and tree rights as practiced; it did not try to convert these customary rights into statutory rights. The project engaged legal consultants to draft three customary land rights templates based on these prevailing customary

Pilot Results

- 190 farms mapped and tenure rights documented (37 percent women)
- 71 farms rehabilitated
- Three model tenure templates developed for mapped farms
- Community level dispute resolution training
- Agroforestry and tenure training for ECOM extension agents
- Development of a financial model for cocoa rehabilitation
- 1:1 leveraging of private sector resources

¹ Roughly \$1 dollar was matched by Hershey's and ECOM for every dollar provided by USAID.

norms. A local organization, Landmapp, was subcontracted to complete mapping of community boundaries and individual cocoa farms and store electronic records. ECOM's extension agents were trained in tenure principles and provided with training materials and simple, laminated fact sheets to help them resolve land disputes, monitor and assess tenure in their field work, and augment their suite of future trainings. In total, the boundaries of Nyame Nnae community were mapped and 190 farms were surveyed and tenure rights documented, with 37 percent held by women.

During the life of the intervention, the importance of clarifying landowner and tenant relationships through customary contracts emerged as equally important in documenting tenure terms as having a mapped document for the landowner. Clear dispute resolution structures were found to exist within the Asankrangwa stool, though community members were not always well informed about their rights. The team provided training on dispute resolution to community elders, emphasizing disputes and negotiations relating to cocoa farm rehabilitation and negotiated abunu arrangements. At the end of the project, 92 percent of those who received documentation thought it was worthwhile. Community members added that the process provided additional security and information on farm size, and will help reduce conflict. The primary factors that informed farmers' participation in the project included interests in documentation of land to secure and protect their future investments and to aid in accessing financing options; a desire to know more about site planning; and, interest in farm management more broadly.

IMPACTS – TREE TENURE

Current law vests rights to naturally occurring trees with the state, which expropriates all rights over timber exploitation and vests them in the government. Despite this legal framework, it became clear that the community views tenure over trees and forest products through the lens of customary land rights, even if this differs from statutory law. The community does, however, distinguish customary rights over trees from timber trees, for which control is vested in the Forestry Commission by formal law. The community views timber trees² as being owned by the government.

The interplay between government policy, timber extraction, and planting trees laying claim to land ownership creates perverse outcomes: planted trees are pulled up by customary land holders; land disputes emerge between tree planters and customary land holders; and, there are disincentives to plant commercial trees. While these conflicts were not directly observed within Nyame Nnae, the Forestry Commission is aware of challenges with the current law and policy. New policy approaches are being considered and tested. Upon analysis, many aspects of the tree registration system proposed by the Forestry Commission were still in flux and do not go far enough, as the system maintains the distinction between planted and naturally occurring trees. This distinction causes confusion and scope for abuse, as failure to register planted shade trees may result in *de facto* treatment as naturally occurring and therefore subject to state expropriation. The administrative costs of registering trees are also steep. The team decided not to test the draft tree tenure registration documentation because of reservations about the proposed policy changes, their long-term efficacy, and the potential to create confusion.

IMPACTS – FINANCIAL MODEL FOR FARM REHABILITATION

Farm level rehabilitation was carried out on a total of 50 ha spread over 71 self-selected farms and was financed by private sector partner ECOM. Ten of these farms were within Nyame Nnae community

² Timber trees in this document loosely refers to a variety of timber species extracted by loggers for commercial purposes. These differ from fruit trees, orchards and other productive trees planted by farmers for self-use or for commercial harvesting. However, this distinction can be blurred in practice and cutting of timber species by logging companies can also damage cocoa and other planted trees when cut and felled.

(four women and six men) and 61 (12 women and 49 men) were spread across multiple different cocoa communities where ECOM operates. To help ECOM implement agroforestry practices in farm rehabilitation, 20 ECOM extension agents participated in TGCC's training of trainers agroforestry course.

To better understand how to finance rehabilitation, ECOM and TGCC developed a financial model for cocoa farm rehabilitation. Under the model ECOM rehabilitates and manages all farm activities over three years while the farmer learns farm rehabilitation and management techniques and diversifies their income with cash crops. This approach differs from using model farms, which have had mixed success. In this model a farmer provides three acres of old cocoa trees to be cleared and has additional cocoa farms elsewhere, which will continue producing cocoa. Two of the three acres are replanted with cocoa, shade trees (if needed), maize, and plantains, and the third acre is planted with maize and plantains only. Plantain and maize is then planted with two crops of maize and one of plantain harvested per year. The models show that ECOM's rehabilitation and management costs are repaid over three years, and a profit share or royalty payment³ paid to the farmer provides enough cash for the farmers to continue activities once ECOM no longer provides support.

OTHER LESSONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The pilot overall, as measured by beneficiary satisfaction, was highly successful. Both men and women farmers, landlords and tenants, and leaders of Asankrangwa stool voiced their appreciation and satisfaction with accomplishments. The following list of final lessons and recommendations were drawn from the pilot:

1. *Build understanding of the relevance of land tenure and identify feasible interventions for private sector interests.* Partners need to be provided with targeted and actionable information to participate.
2. *Time is required to fully apply learning and adaptive management principles.* While lessons were learned in the pilot, they could not always be integrated into practice due to short timeframes.
3. *Document rights in advance of land disputes, where possible.* Clarifying tenure can help to avoid disputes more easily than resolving disputes.
4. *For effective land rights documentation, focus on process, engagement and documenting the status "on the ground."* Rather than forcing customary rights to be converted to statutory leaseholds, use formal legal contracts to document the existing customary rights of farmers.
5. *Formalizing land rights in Ghana requires more than simply documentation.* Engagement of the National House of Chiefs was important to codify land rights in traditional areas and discuss the relationship between indigene and stranger farmers.
6. *Food security and nutrition is an issue for cocoa farmers.* Rehabilitation efforts must consider food security needs, particularly during the years before cocoa trees start producing.
7. The Nyame Nnae pilot site is only one of multiple theories of change linking property rights to deforestation in Ghana. This pilot lessens the threat on a nearby gazetted forest and increases

³ The Government of Ghana owns all natural timber and minerals, grants concessions for their exploitation, and receives all payments made. Royalties are payments or transfers of a portion of these revenues by central government to the Traditional Authority, Stool and District Assembly from whose lands the timber or mineral was exploited. These payments are channeled through the Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands (OASL) based on formula.

incentives to reduce deforestation of remnant and secondary forests within the community that now set in motion can be monitored in future years. Options for reducing deforestation at a larger landscape lever were identified and scaling up will need to demonstrate avoided deforestation impact.

8. *Not all smallholder farmers are equal; other rehabilitation pilots being tested are geared toward the privileged.* The ECOM financial model can be sustainable, but will be difficult to scale up and reach poorer farmers without multiple plots or stranger farmers with insecure tenure.
9. *While documenting land rights was a success, tree rights documentation still needs to be considered.* For farmers to fully benefit from their land rights, they need to have rights to all resources on their property.
10. *The project successfully demonstrated that a public-private partnership linking tenure documentation, alternative dispute resolution, community engagement, and financial modelling with cocoa rehabilitation was feasible.* Cocoa companies welcome the addition of new services to their portfolio.
11. *Scalability remains a challenge.* Wrapping the cost of documentation into cocoa farm rehabilitation should be explored in any future work.
12. *The government's acceptance of formalization pilots is still a question.* A wholesale mind shift that recognizes the need to build shade back into cocoa systems and improve productivity of cocoa on less land is starting to occur, but requires additional political will.
13. *Spend time on gender dynamics and social inclusion.* Interventions must be designed so that community members better understand how women and different status groups engage within the community.
14. *A public-private model can be considered to help bear the costs of public goods.* Private sector firms are offering services to their suppliers, and welcome the ability to work with public institutions and public policy.
15. *After all is said and done, consent of traditional authorities is the central ingredient for success.* Traditional leaders need to be full partners in the process of documenting rights and should not just use the system to extract fees.

The generalized approach of using land administration, broadening access to finance, and assisting farmers with cocoa rehabilitation is broadly relevant to other geographies and commodities with adequate nuancing and tailoring to the context and constraints faced. There is a wealth of diverse land administration tools and approaches to draw upon, depending on the nature of tenure insecurity and financial constraints faced by small farmers. The approach is also broadly relevant for reducing deforestation although time is needed to determine the full impacts achieved. The GIS survey data collected by the pilot is broadly applicable to monitoring deforestation in the future with scaling, but further work would be required to determine how avoided deforestation impact could be measured and predicted.

Within this context, the setting has been established for ongoing efforts by the private and public sectors to develop a strategy for lowering cost and designing innovations that improve the livelihoods of Ghana's cocoa farmers, promote sustainable cocoa cultivation that reduce deforestation pressures, improve the profitability of the chocolate industry, and provide consumers worldwide with high quality chocolate sourced from Ghana.

I.0 INTRODUCTION

Beginning in 2016, Hershey's and AgroEcom Ghana Ltd (AGL) – a subsidiary of Ecom Agroindustrial Corp (ECOM) and cocoa supplier to Hershey's – began work with the United States Agency for International Development's (USAID) Tenure and Global Climate Change (TGCC) Program to gain a better understanding of how to address the complex challenge of deforestation around smallholder cocoa farming in Ghana. This work included several phases from October 2016 to December 2017: a) an assessment to identify and evaluate land and tree tenure constraints to cocoa productivity and forest conservation; b) the design of a pilot to address these constraints; and, c) pilot implementation. Activities included assessments, training, community engagement, alternative dispute resolution (ADR), community mapping, field level mapping and rights documentation of individual cocoa farms, and development of a financial model, all to facilitate cocoa rehabilitation. This report summarizes the approach taken, methodology used, and key findings and outcomes of each of these elements.

Section I reviews background, context, project objectives, and details of the public-private partnership between USAID, ECOM, and Hershey's. Pilot community selection and the results of household surveys and focus group discussions are the focus of Section 2. Section 3 examines the approach to gender sensitization and ADR. The approach to community mapping and land and tree rights documentation, validation, and delivery of land documents are the focus of Section 4. Section 5 discusses the approach developed to address financial constraints that will be used by ECOM to conduct cocoa rehabilitation moving forward. A final section reports on farmers' reactions to the pilot gleaned from a close-out survey, along with lessons learned and recommendations.

I.1 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Worldwide, forests are being lost at an alarming rate, driven by the expansion of internationally traded commodities. In response, companies are taking efforts to reduce and eliminate deforestation from their supply chains, catalyzing the creation of the Tropical Forest Alliance (TFA) 2020, a global initiative aimed at reducing commodity induced deforestation. A similar initiative focused on cocoa in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire – the Cocoa and Forests Initiative – was launched by the World Cocoa Foundation, the Sustainable Trade Initiative, and the International Sustainability Unit of the Prince's Charities in 2017. In Ghana, cocoa produced by smallholders has been the leading agricultural product driving deforestation for many years. Cocoa is a critically important commodity because it provides significant economic benefits that include jobs, improved livelihoods and social welfare, expanded tax base, family and corporate income, and foreign exchange earnings growth. But cocoa production has been on the decline due to land and tree tenure insecurity, an elderly cocoa farming population, over-aged cocoa trees, high costs of cocoa tree removal, high incidence of pest and diseases, and poor farm management practices.

In 2016, Ghana's Cocoa Board (Cocobod) announced plans to more than double cocoa output to 1.6 million tons by 2026. Ghana's Intended Nationally Determined Contribution to the Paris Agreement on Climate Change specifically includes a 45 percent reduction of greenhouse gas emissions from the cocoa landscape. These two objectives require a new approach to sustainable cocoa production that controls forest cutting, builds back secondary growth forests on fallowed cocoa lands, and increases cocoa productivity. Expansion of shaded cocoa systems would help Ghana achieve its greenhouse emission and cocoa production targets, improve the livelihood and resiliency of Ghana's cocoa farmers, and increase the sustainability of the global cocoa value chain, thereby benefitting global producers and consumers.

In 2016, Hershey's and ECOM began collaborating with TGCC on how to address land and tree tenure constraints that inhibit cocoa productivity and contribute to deforestation around smallholder cocoa farming in Ghana. This work resulted in an assessment and recommendations for a future pilot, captured in the report *Land and Natural Resource Governance and Tenure for Enabling Sustainable Cocoa Cultivation in Ghana*. Over the 11-month period from February to December 2017, TGCC implemented a pilot in Nyame Nnae, a cocoa farming community in the Asankrangwa district of Ghana, to clarify and document rights to land and trees, and to develop a financial model for cocoa rehabilitation that encourages tree planting on existing cocoa farms thereby reducing pressure on the forest fringe.

1.2 ASSESSMENT REPORT FINDINGS

The assessment report identified several challenges that confront Ghana's cocoa sector in addressing the productivity-deforestation linkage, in particular, focusing on the role of land and natural resource governance and tenure. Historic government-held rights to shade trees combined with a desire to promote sun-grown cocoa incentivized the removal of shade trees from the cocoa landscape, which produced short-term yield gains at the expense of biodiversity, carbon stocks, and long-term productivity. In addition, large areas of the cocoa landscape are now comprised of old age trees with low yield that need replanting.

High costs of tree removal combined with insecure tenure among smallholders can create barriers to replanting. While the Lands Commission is interested in promoting commercial leases for commercial agriculture, the prevalence of a customary land regime is entrenched within smallholder cocoa production. This has prevented large-scale capital investments that could overcome high replanting costs. Customary tenure arrangements have also historically created incentives to carve out newly planted cocoa farms from secondary and old growth forests, thereby encouraging producers to expand their area rather than intensify production. Due to technical and financial constraints of customary institutions, landscape-scale governance and land use planning within rural cocoa areas rarely happens. Replacing the customary system with a statutory regime is neither realistic nor advisable. Solutions need to work through both systems.

Presently, smallholder farms are stuck in an inefficient deadlock between lack of access to finance and seedlings, knowledge of good agroforestry practices, and contestations around ambiguous land and tree tenure that encourage farmers to keep unproductive cocoa farms in use. They also indirectly lead to the clearing of new land areas for cocoa due to low productivity on existing farms. Unblocking this deadlock would help create a conducive atmosphere for farmers, landowners, and customary and statutory authorities to mediate and negotiate standard terms for existing customary tenure arrangements and provide support to improve productivity over the long term as well as reduce deforestation. There is an urgent need for tenure and cocoa sector reform that:

- Improves coordination between customary and statutory structures;
- Reduces conflict between landlords and tenants;
- Clarifies and documents rights in different contractual arrangements to strengthen tenure security;
- Transfers rights over timber trees to landowning groups;
- Channels payments from revenue-sharing schemes to cocoa farmers; and,
- Assists smallholders with cocoa rehabilitation to increase land use value.

The assessment report recommended carrying out the following interlinked set of interventions to encourage replanting old cocoa farms while reducing land use pressures on the forest fringe:

- A. *Strengthen Land Governance.* Establish mechanisms to resolve tenure disputes. Enforce land, tree, and farm rehabilitation agreements. Establish tenure-responsive land-use planning to address both problems of accountability and transparency and promote farm rehabilitation.
- B. *Clarify Rights to Land and Trees.* Educate farmers and landlords on benefits of clarifying rights. Document land and tree tenure to help address problems of tenure security in land and trees that undermine incentives to invest in current cocoa farms and maintain shade trees.
- C. *Invest in Cocoa Farm Rehabilitation.* Engage cocoa buyers, Ghana's Cocobod, and the chocolate industry to create financing plans for tree removal, inputs, and extension services to help overcome the high costs of cocoa farm rehabilitation facing resource-poor farmers. Some small farmers do not want to replant, and others will continue to move to frontier areas because that is what they have always done. But, for many other farmers in the cocoa sector, combining the commitment and wherewithal of cocoa companies, government support agencies, and even the timber industry in partnership with donor funding would help promote entrepreneurship (particularly among youth), increase cocoa productivity, establish valuable tree species, and improve environmental sustainability.

To achieve results of increasing tenure security, productivity, and forest carbon all three components need to be addressed. However, because the TGCC intervention spanned only an 11-month period from February to December 2017, there was insufficient time and resources to carry out a comprehensive pilot that includes all the recommended interventions. Following extensive discussions between USAID, TGCC, Hershey's, and ECOM, the team decided to implement a reduced set of activities achievable in the implementation timeframe that piloted ways to improve tenure security and productivity while reducing deforestation in the cocoa sector of Ghana.

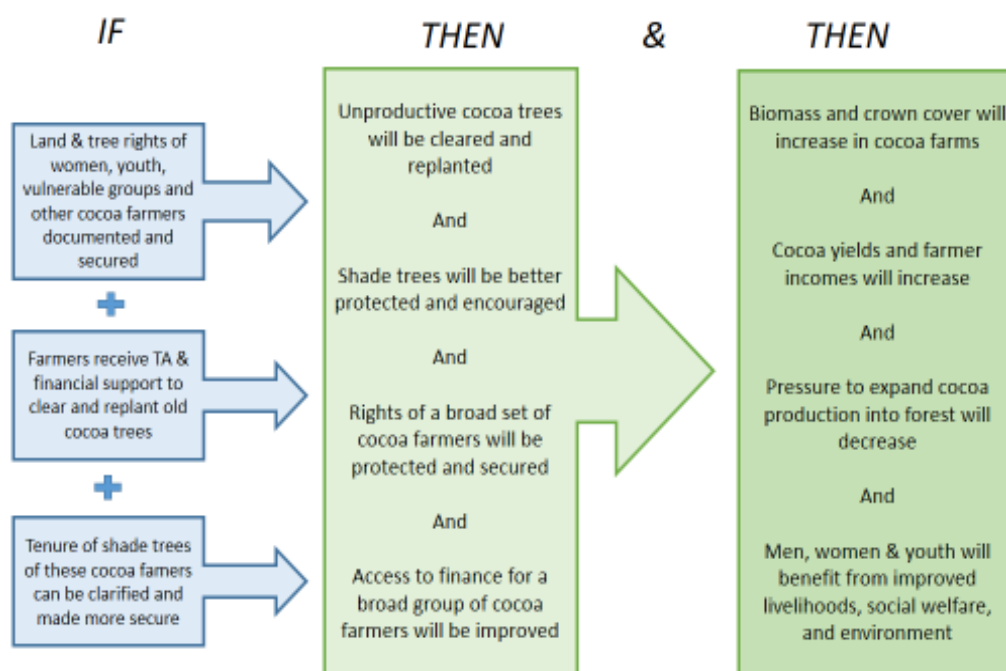
1.3 PILOT GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

The overall goal of the pilot was to collaborate with Hershey's and ECOM to better understand and test the components of a model for public-private collaboration to help smallholder cocoa farmers in Ghana increase tenure security, replant old cocoa farms, and increase yields and productivity, that would over time reduce deforestation and degradation. The learning objectives contained in this overall goal are premised upon the following theory of change:

IF land tenure of women, youth, vulnerable, and other smallholder cocoa farmers can be clarified and made more secure, and IF tenure of shade trees of these cocoa farmers can be clarified and made more secure, and IF cocoa farmers receive technical and financial support to replant old, unproductive cocoa farms, THEN unproductive cocoa trees will be cleared and replanted, shade trees will be better protected and encouraged within cocoa farms, rights and access to finance of a broad group of cocoa farmers will be improved and THEN over time this will result in increased biomass and crown cover in cocoa farms, increases in cocoa yields and farmer incomes, improved livelihood and environments of men, women, and young cocoa farmers, and reduce pressure to expand cocoa production into forest areas to increase yield and income.

Achieving the final objective of reducing pressure on forests would require additional work on land use planning, regulations, and enforcement, which was unfortunately beyond the scope of the current pilot.

FIGURE 1: THEORY OF CHANGE



The overall goal contained four specific objectives:

1. Increase tenure security of smallholder cocoa farmers through clarifying and documenting the rights of landholders and tenants that discourage removing old cocoa trees under stranger tenancy (abunu and abusa) contracts.⁴ Refer to section 2 and table 4 for definitions of these tenure arrangements.
2. Promote the increase in carbon stocks in cocoa farms over the long term by explaining new Forestry Commission policy on tree tenure and documenting tenants' and landlords' beneficial interests in shade trees.
3. Replant old, unproductive cocoa farms to increase productivity over the next 5-10 years. This requires developing a financing model to replant old cocoa farms and provide extension services to farmers.
4. Develop lessons and recommendations for the Government of Ghana, Ghana's Cocoa Forest REDD+ Program, the World Cocoa Foundation, TFA 2020 partners, and others working on related topics with smallholder farmers that will allow the pilot to be replicated and scaled up over time.

I.4 MANAGEMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR PARTNERSHIP

USAID's TGCC program provided dedicated staff for field extension and periodic national and international consultants on models for financing, documentation of tenure arrangements, development

⁴ Stranger tenancy arrangements are those in which the cocoa farmer is not a member of the customary community. Rather the farmer develops varying arrangements with the customary landowner specifying what percentage of the crop they receive (abunu or abusa) and the nature of their property rights in the land. These arrangements are undocumented and frequently ambiguous to the parties involved, made more so over successive generations.

of training on cocoa farm replanting, and agroforestry best practices. The team did not have a dedicated office in Ghana, but carried out activities in close coordination with ECOM and with additional support from Hershey's. ECOM provided office space, use of vehicles, and staff support for organizing meetings and conducting surveys and farm demarcations. ECOM also led the replanting of old cocoa farms and participated in the co-development of a micro-finance model. TGCC subcontracted a local survey firm to produce the community map and farm boundary maps of farmers receiving support to document their tenure rights. A summary of activities and their implementation timeline to reach the above objectives can be found in Annex I.

I.5 PRODUCTS

Products produced over the course of the project include:

TABLE I: PROJECT PRODUCTS

Antwi, A., Roth, M., & O'Sullivan, R. (2017). *Fact sheet: Land and tree tenure*. Washington, DC: USAID Tenure and Global Climate Change Program.

Antwi, Y., Roth, M., & O'Sullivan, R. (2018). *Tree tenure and benefit sharing policy reform in cocoa growing areas in Ghana*. Washington, DC: USAID Tenure and Global Climate Change Program.

Antwi, A., Roth, M., O'Sullivan, R., Dogbe, R., & Feglo, E. (2017). *Training of trainers manual on land and tree tenure*. Washington, DC: USAID Tenure and Global Climate Change Program.

Feglo, E., Antwi, A., & Dogbe, R. (2017). *Focus group discussions and household survey in Nyame Nnae community, Ghana*. Washington, DC: USAID Tenure and Global Climate Change Program.

O'Sullivan, R., & Norfolk, J. (2017). *Improving tenure security to support sustainable cocoa - Implementation plan*. Washington, DC: USAID Tenure and Global Climate Change Program.

Ramirez, P., & O'Sullivan, R. (2017). *A financial model for cocoa farm rehabilitation and income diversification*. Washington, DC: USAID Tenure and Global Climate Change Program.

Roth, M., Antwi, Y., & O'Sullivan, R. (2017). *Land and natural resource governance and tenure for enabling sustainable cocoa cultivation in Ghana*. Washington, DC: USAID Tenure and Global Climate Change Program.

2.0 SITE SELECTION AND HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY TENURE ASSESSMENT

This section explains the methodology used to identify the pilot community and program beneficiaries followed by a review of data collection instruments used to solicit information on pilot themes. Findings from focus group discussions and a baseline household survey are then presented, alongside information from community engagement meetings that inform the pilot interventions.

2.1 PILOT CHARACTERISTICS

The pilot comprised two groups of cocoa farmers:

- Group 1 consisted of a single community where TGCC led work to increase security of land and tree tenure and engage beneficiaries in ADR, mapping, and land documentation activities.
- Group 2 consisted of a set of 10 self-selected farmers within the Group 1 community (four women and six men) and 61 self-selected farmers (12 women and 49 men) spread across multiple different cocoa communities where ECOM piloted replanting of about 50 ha of cocoa and provided farmers with financial assistance to cover cocoa rehabilitation.

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF FARMERS BETWEEN GROUP 1 AND GROUP 2

	Group 1 *	Group 2	Total
Pilot community	180*	10**	190
Outside the pilot communities	0	61***	61

* = Benefitted from tenure security interventions only.

** = Benefitted from tenure security interventions and assistance with cocoa rehabilitation.

*** = Benefitted from assistance with cocoa rehabilitation only.

Groups 1 and 2 represent two different development approaches to cocoa rehabilitation. Group 1 emphasizes community and the role of social relationships and traditional institutions to validate and enforce land and tree rights creating incentives for tree and land investment without external support. Group 2 consists of “leader” farmers that already have tenure security and targets financing and cocoa interventions at the farmer rather than community level (ECOM’s business model for farmer selection). While Group 2 embeds an entrepreneurial approach to cocoa development and rehabilitation and could reach a significant fraction of cocoa farmers, it is not targeted at resolving tenure constraints, linking cocoa rehabilitation to forest conservation, or addressing underlying industry-wide challenges to sustainability. Group 1 is a new way for licensed buying companies to interact with cocoa farmers and gives stronger attention to community rather than farmer development consistent with actions endorsed by Cocoa Action.

2.2 COMMUNITY SELECTION

ECOM assisted in community site selection and recommended four communities: Nyame Nnae, and Nkrankrom in Asankrangwa District of Western Region, and Atobiase and Fawomanyo in Dunkwa District of Central Region, based on the following criteria:

1. Frontier community abutting a forest reserve;⁵
2. Presence of stranger/tenant farmers with prospect of harboring a variety of land tenure arrangements, particularly abunu relationships;
3. Presence of old and unproductive farms that require rehabilitation; and
4. ECOM purchases from farmers in the community.

TABLE 3: INITIAL POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITIES

Community	Total Population	# of Households	# of ECOM Farmers
Nyame Nnae	783	147	47
Nkrankrom	254	40	25
Atobiase	400	90	37
Fawomanyo	520	103	33

Source: ECOM

Site selection began in March 2017 with visits to each of the communities to undertake initial tenure assessments. ECOM team members received an initial training on land and tree tenure basics, and concepts underpinning tenure reform, and financial and technical elements of cocoa rehabilitation. Based on visits to all four communities, Nyame Nnae was chosen as the site for the pilot work. It is a relatively large community, and contains a mixture of land tenure arrangements. The community includes a high percentage of stranger farmers, some of whom appeared genuinely nervous about the prospect of losing their rights to land if they were to cut the cocoa trees on the farms they work. They also expressed a broad enthusiasm for the intervention's potential to address issues through community-wide negotiations with landowners and the Asankrangwa Hene. Additionally, Nyame Nnae is located near the Boura Forest Reserve.

FIGURE 2: NYAME NNAE CLUSTER OF SATELLITE COMMUNITIES

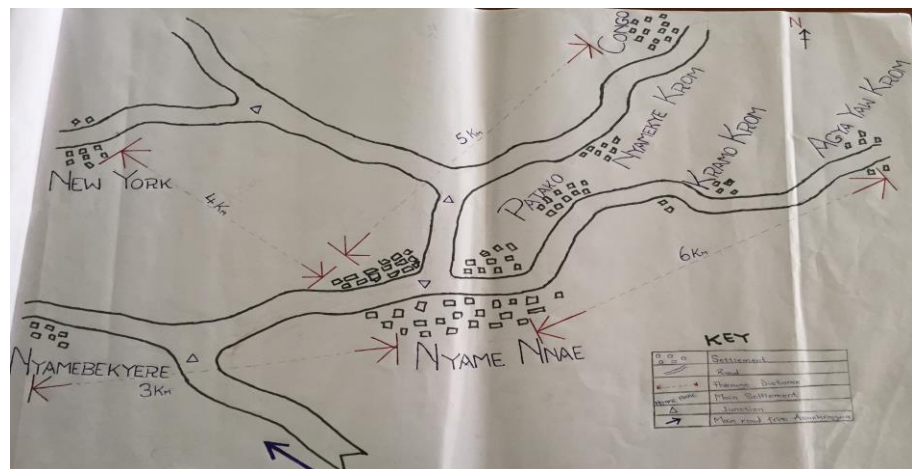


⁵ Forest clearing for cocoa takes place in both gazetted (to varying degrees) and non-gazetted remnant forests. Nyame Nnae sits next to a gazette forest reserve, with satellite data showing a history of deforestation around the community. The location next to a forest reserve enabled an evaluation of natural resource governance within and on the fringe of the gazetted forest. The latter was subsequently found to be respected by the community but this wasn't known a priori. Ideally, the pilot would be replicated in other settings (near secondary or remnant non-gazetted forests, near gazette forests with ineffective enforcement) in the future to test pilot hypotheses and assess impact. Unfortunately, resources allowed only one pilot site to be selected that met both project and ECOM selection criteria.

Nyame Nnae is comprised of eight settlements and seven satellite settlements within an average radius of six kilometers, as shown in figures 2 and 3. The settlements identified for the household survey were: Nyame Nnae (main pilot community); Congo; New York; NyamekyeKrom; Patako; Kramokrom; Agya Yaw Krom; and, Nyamebekyere (satellite communities that form part of Nyame Nnae). The seven

latter settlements and the Boura Forest Reserve serve as the boundaries to the Nyame Nnae pilot area.⁶

FIGURE 3: NYAME NNAE SKETCH MAP



2.3 COMMUNITY AND HOUSEHOLD SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Following site selection, TGCC conducted focus group discussions and a baseline household survey. Throughout project implementation TGCC also held a range of additional community meetings to refine the technical approach.⁷

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS (FGD)

A structured open-ended survey was used to gather insights from key focal groups within the community that included three groups: i) chiefs, elders, and landlords/indigene farmers; ii) tenant/stranger farmers; and, iii) women. Relatively low initial turnout was primarily due to the layout of settlements, as meetings held in Nyame Nnae posed logistical challenges for many farmers in the satellite settlements. These problems were addressed in subsequent community meetings and for the administration of the household survey, for which the team and enumerators visited farmers in satellite settlements. Women also experienced low turn-out due to household chores that made it difficult for them to take time off. Thereafter, smaller community engagement meetings were conducted in satellite communities to supplement main meetings held at Nyame Nnae center. Upon completion of all interviews, all three groups assembled at one large meeting where enumerators presented results to ensure that the notes accurately reflected the group's views, and asked participants to suggest any additions or amendments.

HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

The farm questionnaire, targeted at farmers with cocoa farms, collected information across nine categories: consent; background information and household identification; household profile; farm characteristics; tenure characteristics; decision-making; access to finance; dispute resolution; and

⁶ The satellite settlements all fall on Nyame Nnae land and pay their tributes (afahyeto) to Nyame Nnae's Chief. They are comprised of a few homesteads and farms that are a far walk (roughly within 6km) from the main Nyame Nnae settlement making it difficult to operate the farms if one resided in the main settlement.

⁷ The survey and focus group questionnaires were prepared with the help of Heather Huntington, Cloudburst Group who leads the impact evaluations under USAID's Evaluation, Research, and Communication (ERC) project.

reasons for wanting to participate in the pilot. A total of 181 households (out of 193 targeted households, substantially more than initially anticipated) were surveyed. The survey covered both men and women who were either Wassa⁸ indigenes or immigrants living in Nyame Nnae. The survey was administered to the head of household, or principal decision-maker. When the head of household was absent, the spouse represented the head.

Data was collected by the Survey Unit of ECOM using Android tables. This posed advantages, in that the data could be collected relatively quickly by people who knew the area; however, they also had to receive rapid training on nuanced tenure-related questions. The questionnaire was grouped into two sections, the farmer questionnaire and the farm questionnaire, with the farm questionnaire asking detailed information about individual plots of land. Surveys also had to be administered between 12:00 pm and 6:00 pm after farmers returned from their fields. Further complicating time constraints, women farmers were particularly busy and thus difficult to reach. This posed logistical challenges; for example, one women farmer had to be interviewed over three consecutive days to complete the survey.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT MEETINGS

Community engagement meetings occurred throughout the process and allowed for the implementation team to refine their understanding of key areas of engagement, for example related to gender dimensions, conflict resolution, and tree tenure.

2.4 FINDINGS FROM FOCUS GROUPS, HOUSEHOLD SURVEYS, AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT MEETINGS

The interventions carried out under the pilot sought to increase the ability of farming households to participate in cocoa farm rehabilitation. Based on the initial tenure assessment in October 2016, migrant/stranger farmers are the majority of farmers in some communities, but they often lack the right to rehabilitate the farms they work on. Thus, there was a need to understand the community, the prevalent tenure regimes (and status of different stakeholder groups), and dynamics of cocoa farm production to develop appropriate agreements.

COMMUNITY AND FARM CONTEXT

The baseline household survey was administered to 181 respondents (49 women and 132 men) in Nyame Nnae settlement. Median household size was six, with five dependents. The average age was 43.6 years with a range from 19 to 96 and a reasonably even distribution around the mean. Of the 181 primary respondents, five were divorced, 155 married, two were separated, 14 were single or never married, and 11 were widows or widowers. About 70 percent of the group reported having some education, with 38 percent having completed primary school, 24 percent junior high school, and nine percent secondary school.

Regarding provenance, 87 percent of respondents were migrants to the community and only 13 percent were natives. Migrants arrived between 1958 and 2017 with dates widely distributed. The two most popular ethnic groups were Ashanti and Northerner, with the remainder reporting other, mostly Sefwi, Wassa, and Brong.⁹ This abundance of migrants, who are presumed to have fewer land rights, reflects a potential point of tension in the future. However, as noted below, it is perhaps more relevant to

⁸ All members of the Asankrangwa belong to the Wassa tribe of the Akan people of Ghana. A Wassa indigene is considered to be a member of the Wassa tribe.

⁹ Sefwi and Wassa are in the Western Region, and Brong is in Brong Ahafo Region to the north of Ashanti Region of Ghana.

understand the percentages of migrants who access land under a tenant arrangement versus those who have long-term ownership through *asidee* (see table 4 below for elaboration).

PREVALENT TENURE REGIMES

Access to land for cocoa farming is gained in the Nyame Nnae community through agreements and contracts that create three core interests in land: i) usufruct or customary freehold; ii) *asidee*; and, iii) *abunu*. The history, contents, rights and obligations of these interests in land are detailed below.

TABLE 4: HISTORY OF USUFRUCT OR CUSTOMARY FREEHOLD, ASIDEE, AND ABUNU

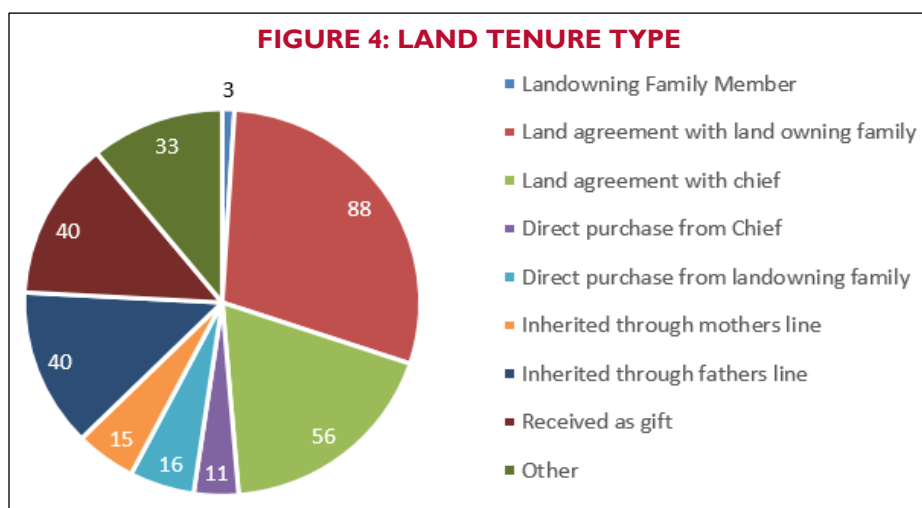
Attribute	Elaboration
Usufruct / Customary Freehold Held by Indigenes	
History	Refers to land held by subjects of a stool/skin or members of a family. It is the highest form of ownership or interest a subject or member of a family or stool/skin can hold. The usufruct in Nyame Nnae are of Wassa descent who have either their mother or father coming from Asankrangwa or neighboring towns within the Wassa catchment area. A usufruct however must seek consent from his or her family head (<i>abusupanin</i>) before entering the desired land.
Rights	Usufruct has perpetual rights – can give out <i>abunu</i> and sell, mortgage, and/or bequeath the land without the consent of the allodial.
Stranger Landowner (Asidee)	
History	A variant of usufruct that was established when strangers who migrated to the community acquired tracts of land directly from the allodial roughly 50 to 60 years ago when land was in abundance. Land was acquired through forms of purchase from the allodial. Consideration for purchase at that time was either cash or service rendered in kind. Alcoholic drinks were offered to seal the land transaction.
Rights	Stranger landowner has perpetual rights: they can sell but only with consent of the allodial at a fee (reported to be one-third of the sale price); grant <i>abunu</i> ; and, bequeath the land.
Obligations	The <i>asidee</i> must make a yearly payment, referred to as <i>afahyetoo</i> , which is set on an annual basis by the allodial. The fee is a flat rate and does not vary with size of land holding. It is subject to taboos and any traditional prohibitions regarding land use that is mandated by the allodial.
Abunu	
History	Refers to land rights gained through a land agreement whereby a stranger or migrant or (in rare occasions) an indigene, acquires land for farming purposes only. In Nyame Nnae, the landlord provides uncultivated land to the farmer to grow agreed upon cash crops (generally cocoa), which are shared between the parties at a specified time.
Stages	The <i>abunu</i> arrangement undergoes four main stages: 1) stranger farmer identifies suitable land for farming; 2) stranger farmer approaches a landowner, agrees on terms and pays a token for the use of land (currently GH¢ 200 per acre) in the presence of witnesses from both parties; 3) the farmer then goes into occupation and starts cultivating the land (before a farm is shared, the farmer keeps all food crops without sharing with the landowner); and, 4) the farm is shared equally (split in two) after a period of time (often five to seven years) in the presence of witnesses. After sharing, the farmer gains <i>abunu</i> land rights over their part of the farm. At this stage, the oral agreement may be written with a site plan and then signed at the Asankrangwa palace.
Rights	Can rehabilitate farm (cut and replant cocoa) with consent of landowner, can sell with consent of landowner, and can bequeath. Good management ensures continued partnership.
Obligations	The <i>abunu</i> land rights holder is to make a yearly payment to the allodial, referred to as <i>afahyetoo</i> . This is a flat fee that applies to all applicable land rights holders independent of the extent of land holdings. The level of <i>afahyetoo</i> is determined and varied on an annual basis solely by the allodial. It is subject to taboos and any traditional prohibitions regarding land use that is mandated by the allodial.

Abusa is an additional approach to accessing land through a sharecropping arrangement where a caretaker is paid with cocoa beans; it does not create an interest in the land.

Of the farms surveyed, 28 percent of farms were owned through a land agreement with a landowning family (abunu, abusa, other) with 18 percent of farms reporting a land agreement with the chief. Fifteen percent inherited their plot through their mother's line, five percent through their father's line, and 13 percent received the farm as a gift primarily from their father-in-law, husband, wife, or other family member; one individual had received farms as a gift from a chief. Five percent of farms were obtained through direct purchase. Given that 87 percent of the farmers interviewed were migrants, but only 28 percent access land through abunu or abusa, it can be assumed that many of the migrant farmers have full, secure tenure and transferable rights through asidε arrangements.

Status of Documentation: Of the 306 farms, only 25 percent reported having documentation, although most of the documents consisted of farm plans, written deed of transfers, leases, and abunu tenancy agreements¹⁰. These

documents were held by the landowner at his/her home, or at the chief's palace, with a few held at the courts or lands commission. The longest held land was from 1953, but most of the land was documented after 2000, suggesting an evolution toward documentation. Overwhelmingly the documentation was granted by chiefs. Only half of these individuals



could show the documents, mostly because it was held with another family member or at a house elsewhere. According to elders, documentation helps everyone to understand land agreements made and prevents litigation. All but two farmers in the womens' focus group already had documentation for their arrangements, including a site plan prepared by a surveyor in Asankrangwa that was signed by both parties and sent to the palace to be stamped, with copies disbursed to the landlord, the farmer, and the original to the stool office. If there are additional changes, they draw up new documents. Despite this documentation, the focus group participants reported that most abusa transactions are oral and not documented.

FARM MANAGEMENT AND LAND RIGHTS

¹⁰ See section 4.4 for elaboration of two types of tenure documents issue by the Asankkrangwa stool which while present were limited in number within Nyame Nnae.

Current Status of Cocoa: A total of 306 cocoa plots/farms were affiliated with the 181 respondents in Nyame Nnae. Farmers reported an average farm size of five acres, a median of 3.2 acres, and a range of less than one acre to 115 acres. Of these plots, the vast majority (293) had cocoa planted on them. The average age of cocoa trees reported was 13 years, with a median of 11 years. Of the 306 farms, 260 (85 percent) also had shade trees, with a mean age of 12 years and median age of nine years. One hundred and ninety-six (64%) farms reported not growing other crops besides cocoa. For the remaining farms, popular crops included plantain, cassava, maize, and yam. These findings suggest that Nyame Nnae's cocoa production is not in as poor a condition as much of the rest of the country, as farms of an average age of 13 years will still be at peak production for some time in the future. Additionally, most farmers in the area practice shade cocoa, though the density of this coverage is not clear.

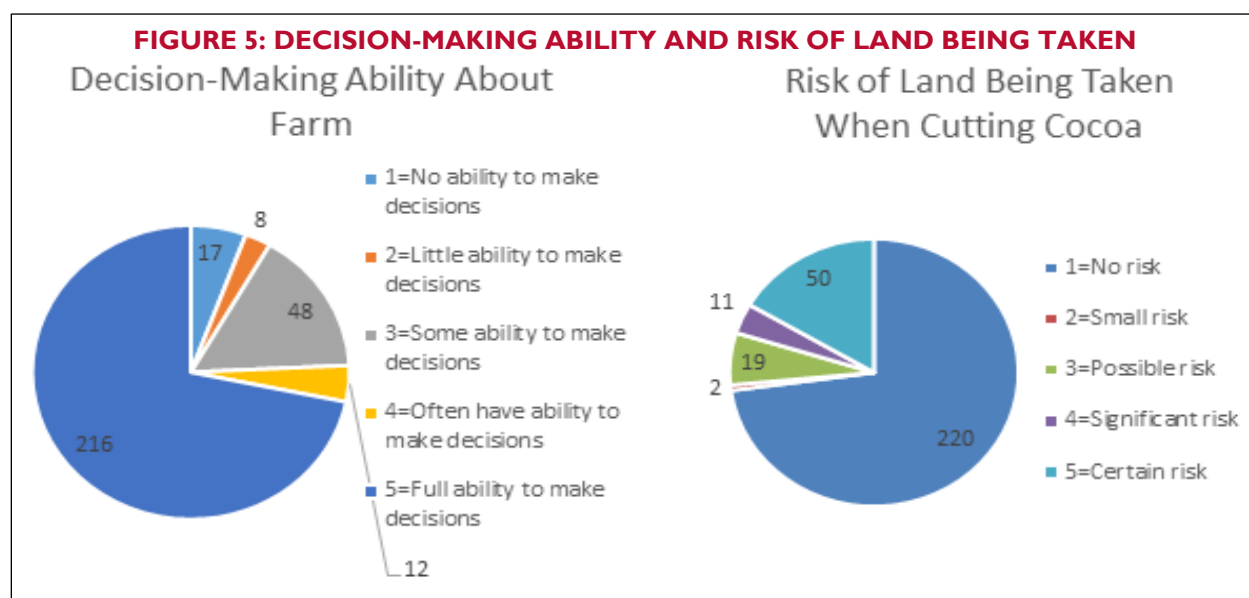
TABLE 5: ABILITY TO MAKE DECISIONS

Ability to	Yes	No
Sell the land if wanted	201	96
Lease the land if wanted	210	94
Give the land to others	214	85
Bequeath the land to heirs	214	86

Cocoa Rehabilitation and Management Decisions: Of the 78 farms with documentation, on 86 percent of these farms, the farmers reported that documentation changes how they manage their land with regards to increased investment, better access to credit, and replanting or rehabilitating trees. This suggests that farmers perceive an advantage to documentation.

At the same time, on two-thirds of farms, (even those without documentation) farmers felt that they already had full ability to make decisions, with only six percent of farm plots reporting no ability to make decisions. On ~16 percent of plots the landlord was the primary decision-maker.

Regarding management control over cocoa trees, on 71 percent of plots, the farmer had full ability to make decisions, and 24 percent had no to some ability. Of that 24 percent, permission was needed from landlords or family heads (and a limited number from the chief). On 71 percent of plots there was no risk of land being taken if cocoa trees were cut, but 20 percent of plots faced significant or certain risk that someone would take the land. TGCC perceived these 20 percent of vulnerable farmers as being important targets for tenure strengthening activities and building their capacity to participate in farm rehabilitation.



Regarding replanting cocoa trees, 66 percent of fields had never been replanted while 32 percent had. Of this 32 percent, a mean average of 821 and a median of 500 cocoa trees were replanted with success as most of the seedlings survived. Most of the cocoa rehabilitation was financed by bank loans, though a significant portion was also self-financed. Those who wanted to replant but had not yet done so said it was mostly due to financial challenges. Farmers who were not interested in replanting reported that it was mostly because their cocoa trees were still young and productive, with financial issues a lesser hurdle. Overwhelmingly they reported that they replant when the farm is unproductive or when cocoa trees are old and dying. These dynamics again suggest that Nyame Nnae's cocoa farms are relatively young and productive and are not facing the same declining yield constraints found elsewhere.

Decision-Making on Cocoa Trees: There was some ambiguity on whether farmers have the right to cut cocoa trees on their farms. The right to cut cocoa trees when they are diseased is clear for all farmers. According to elders, decision-making is dependent on the arrangement between the landowner and tenant farmer, though any cutting of trees before maturity requires consultation. Under abunu, indigene landowners may demand consent, but stranger farmers do not always agree that the indigene landowner's consent is required, leading to potential conflict and a need for dispute resolution. In focus group discussions, stranger farmers reported that farmers can cut and replant trees on "their" farm if they have alternative income sources to survive on until their farm is productive, suggesting that in some cases abunu farmers may have rights that approach full ownership. Farmers with full rights to replace cocoa trees cited a lack of inputs and labor to cultivate the cleared land as the main constraint to rehabilitating farms, as well as the fear of loss of income and livelihood until the trees reach productive age (five years). These farmers would be suitable candidates for ECOM's rehabilitation model, as it helps farmers through the first years of establishment.

Relating to accessing forested land for agricultural use, on 93 percent of plots farmers reported no ability to make decisions about unplanted forest land for additional cocoa or shade tree planting. This suggests that the protected forest reserve is among the only remaining locations for potential cocoa expansion and points to emerging land constraints in the community.

Cocoa Financing: Farmers were primarily interested in participating in the pilot to gain financial support and access to inputs, to learn how to rehabilitate and/or expand their cocoa farms, and to clarify land rights.

According to elders, finance can be obtained through banks but most people cannot meet the conditions because they lack adequate collateral. Licensed buying companies (LBCs) of cocoa help but require selling produce through them. Some farmers are able to save money from farm operations, while others borrow funds from friends and relatives. Stranger farmers should have access to free government cocoa seedlings, fertilizer, and pesticides, but those inputs are not sufficient. They can also obtain credit from Amenfiman Rural Bank and Fiaseman Rural Bank, both in Asankrangwa, for inputs and labor, and some have access to inputs through ECOM. They can also informally obtain credit from cocoa purchasing clerks and repay them during the harvest period. Women generally have limited access to formal finance, and only access it through individuals who are "well-to-do" in their community. No financial institution will give women loans, and those individuals who do give loans charge high interest rates that risk creating loan default. Loans from licensed buying cocoa companies are the most frequent source of finance in the area (89 respondents), followed by banks (70), borrowing from friends/family (37),

TABLE 6: KEY FACTORS FOR SUCCESS IN COCOA FARMING

(Number reporting the factor as very or crucially important)

Factor	Count
Tree disease	297
Access to finance	292
Labor	291
Fertilizer and inputs	290
Soil fertility	277
Poor weather	272
Age	271
Clear land rights	262
Documentation	235
Aging farmers	214

savings from farm sales (nine), and moneylenders (eight). Reflecting these trends, 63 reported that they had received loans from LBCs in the past year, 39 had borrowed from a bank, 16 had borrowed from friends or family, and 13 had utilized savings from farm sales. Interestingly, of the individuals surveyed, 105 reported that they had adequate access to finance to make investments on their farms, while 75 did not.

Rights to Trees: Rights to natural trees and shade trees, and the rights to expand into forests for agriculture differ and reflect an intersection between statutory law and customary practice. Ghana's timber policy expropriates all rights over timber exploitation derived from rights over land and vests them in government. It then heavily regulates logging and captures revenue from logging concessions, but otherwise does not invest in or bear the cost of tree management. The policy also creates a confusing timber tree categorization to determine who or what entity is entitled to revenue transfers (benefit sharing) from government by differentiating between: i) trees planted by a farmer or landowner ("planted trees") and (ii) trees determined to grow naturally (not planted) on a landowner's farm or on lands left to fallow – "naturally growing trees."

Despite this framework, it became clear that the community views tenure over trees and forest products through the lens of customary land rights, even if this differs from statutory law. Customary rights or agreements in land determine rights over trees on farms and over forest products. Customary rules then stipulate communal rights held by the community as whole that entitle legal community members to enter onto another person's land to extract or exploit forest products. The community distinguishes customary rights over trees from timber trees on which formal law vests control in the Forestry Commission. In this case their view is that timber trees are owned by government.

Regarding shade trees on cocoa farms, farmers reported various organizations (Cocobod and LBCs) as planting shade trees in their farms. Seventy-five percent of respondents said they had full control over these trees (including rights to plant, harvest, or replace) and eight percent stated they had little or no control. Of those who stated full control, 26 percent still referred to either needing to consult with either their family, landlord, or chief – with less than 0.5 percent (i.e. one) respondent stating a need to consult with the government regarding shade trees. Additional insights on tree tenure, particularly as it relates to commercial exploitation of timber, were gained by the pilot through review of governmental policy on exploitation of timber and benefit sharing arrangements. A briefing paper is published separately from this report. See Section 4.8 below for additional discussion on tree tenure.

DISPUTE RESOLUTION

Prevalence and Types of Land Conflicts: Common land disputes in Nyame Nnae include: double sale of land; common boundary disputes; non-payment of tributes; and, disagreement over terms and understanding of abunu and abusa tenancy practices. Common conflicts resulting from abunu and abusa include "to cut or not to cut old and unproductive cocoa trees" or drawing the line for sharing abunu farms. The lack of documentation on farms can also create disputes of inheritance, gifts or sale of a farm on the death of the farm owner or farmer.

Despite this generalization of common conflicts, of the farms surveyed, 92 percent had never had a land dispute. A limited number of those cases of disputes clarified that the dispute had been with a landlord (seven), a family member (four), a neighbor (three), or a chief (two). Seven of the disputes were about boundaries, five were about inheritance, and one was about ownership. Only twenty seven percent of respondents noted that documentation would be helpful in resolving land disputes (though it is not clear that the respondents were aware of the type of documentation that would be produced). In the case of disputes, a clear majority said the chief should get involved while a more limited number said it is the landlord's or landowner's responsibility.

Indeed, according to elders, land conflicts are not common. There are not any land conflicts currently, but they may arise between tenants and landlords if the former does not manage the farm properly, or between owners and the Land Commissions if owners refuse to pay acreage fees. One farmer experienced a land conflict with his family over inherited land because of lack of documentation. Women also reported no land conflicts at present, noting that boundaries of farms are marked by flowers, a traditional method for preventing boundary disputes and trespassing.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON PILOT SITE

Nyame Nnae presented a viable location to carry out a tenure intervention based on community interest and factors like a high proportion of non-indigene farmers, and a clear land constraint. Indeed, it may have been particularly important to carry out this work in a time where cocoa productivity is still high and there are relatively few land conflicts, as farmers may be willing to negotiate mutually beneficial agreements with landlords at this stage. Indicators of low land availability and high stranger farmer presence suggest that issues will emerge in the coming decades and it will be important to measure how robust these interventions are at reducing future conflicts.

3.0 DISPUTE RESOLUTION AND GENDER SENSITIZATION

Demarcating farm boundaries and documenting farmer rights can unearth disputes within a community. At the same time, processes designed to register rights can unintentionally end up excluding portions of society, whether women, non-indigene farmers, or youth. Methodologies are required to identify and adapt to these risks, and trainings are necessary for communities and implementing staff to understand best practices in inclusivity and conflict resolution. Given the aim of the TGCC intervention to clarify existing oral agreements, a dispute resolution mechanism that supports resolution of these disputes between landlord and tenant (e.g., over terms of a customary arrangement) and among farmers (e.g. over farm boundaries) was required. TGCC largely relied on existing customary processes to resolve disputes, though the project design incorporated additional training and awareness raising on best practices and techniques for gender equality and social inclusion (GESI) in dispute resolution.

3.1 ALTERNATIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION

TGCC held meetings in Nyame Nnae to understand the current context of land disputes and to support an inclusive ADR process. Under this component, the team:

- Conducted consultative meetings on dispute resolution mechanisms;
- Provided training in alternative dispute resolution for ECOM staff;
- Documented dispute resolution mechanisms; and,
- Established an ADR team to resolve tenure disputes and disagreements during pilot implementation.

An ADR training was subsequently held for members of the Nyame Dispute Resolution Committee and adults in responsible customary positions to:

- a) Support and strengthen the already existing system for land dispute resolution;
- b) Sensitize land users on the application of ADR mechanisms;
- c) Appreciate negotiation, mediation, good communication and conciliation in resolving disputes;
- d) Improve community confidence in using ADR; and,
- e) Validate the integrity of the ADR mechanism.



Secretary to Asankrangwa Stool explaining a Deed of Gift Land document
PHOTO: WINROCK INTERNATIONAL

KEY OUTCOMES

The management team used the dispute resolution process laid out by Asankrangwa stool, as it was well-established, understood, and respected within the community.

Local Governance Structure and Process: Nyame Nnae has a well-structured committee in place for resolving disputes, comprised of representatives of both indigenes and non-indigenes. Members are nominated by the chief and presented to the elders for approval. Membership is dependent on contribution to the community's development and integrity of the nominee. During a dispute resolution deliberation, the Chief of Nyame Nnae sits in state with the Gyasihene (Deputy), Akiafohene (Chief Farmer) (who also acts as the spokesperson), the Queen Mother, and male and female leaders representing the Akwapim, Asanti, Brong, Busanga, Dagati, Ewe, Fanti, Frafra, Guruma, Krobo, Kusase, Lobi, and Moshie tribes.¹¹ Youth are represented by an elder because they lack experience in dealing with cases before the palace for resolution. Youth, however, feel comfortable with leadership and the community overall voiced confidence in the dispute resolution committee and the process of conflict resolution used.

Best Practices for Conflict Resolution Identified

- Both parties must voluntarily submit to resolve the dispute before the ADR Committee;
- Each pays an approved sitting fee;
- Both parties and their witnesses must agree to swear under oath;
- Processes and procedures must be fair to all parties involved in the dispute; and,
- The Dispute Resolution Committee would not sit on criminal cases like armed robbery, assault, battery, murder, defilement, or rape.

Nyame Nnae community's dispute resolution mechanism is led by the chief or palace depending on the case. Certain taboo cases such as fighting, domestic violence, and sexual acts are beyond resolution at the family head and are directed to the chief's palace and can travel to the Asankrangwa Palace. Cases of double sale of land and land boundary and tenancy disputes could be withdrawn and handled at home or outside the palace by a structured tribal heads system, relatives and relations. Cases could however end up at Nyame Nnae Palace for resolution if a party feels unsatisfied at the lower level. Cases which fail at Nyame Nnae may end up at the Asankrangwa Palace, the allodial landowner, or lodged at the court for redress. The last two are rare since most cases are resolved at Nyame Nnae or withdrawn and settled at home.

Within this generalized framework, the complaint may be lodged with a reputable elder or a tribal leader who invites the two parties for an amicable resolution of the case. If there is need to invite witnesses, they help resolve the dispute. However, if the complaint is lodged at the palace, it is received by the palace spokesperson. A sitting fee of GH¢ 70 is charged from each party. The two parties are invited for a public hearing except in exceptional cases (e.g., marriage cases), which are usually heard in private. The community can observe the proceedings but those in attendance are not allowed to ask questions or interrupt the proceedings.

When sitting commences, the defendant is asked if s/he is willing to speak in public. If the answer is no, it is an admission of guilt. The defendant must then refund the sitting fee of the complainant in addition to paying a fine to be determined dependent on the gravity of the case. If the answer is yes, the panel of elders requests witnesses.

¹¹ Stranger farmers in the pilot site came from all these places. In general, farmers from Akwapim, Asanti, and Brong in Nyame Nnae were heirs of stranger farmers who came earlier and are now mostly deceased. They tend to have inherited Asante rights. Stranger farmers from Frafra, Guruma, Kusase, Lobi, and Moshie (all tribal people from the northern belt of Ghana) tend to be young migrants who moved to Nyame Nnae relatively recently and possess Abunu rights.

After hearing both sides of the case, the panel goes into chambers and a verdict is announced. The party found guilty is fined. Standard fines for fighting, domestic violence, and sexual acts may involve four rams, two to four bottles of schnapps, and an amount of GH¢ 400 payable to the Asankrangwa Palace. In the incidence of adultery, an additional fine of GH¢ 500 may be added for the husband of the woman. Currently, there is no outstanding land conflict before the palace in Nyame Nnae.

Land Rules: Nyame Nnae has a broad range of commonly understood land rules under the Asankrangwa stool that were discussed, agreed upon and broadly disseminated during the project activities.

Asankrangwa Stool Summary of Land Rules

During the TGCC trainings, the palace educated participants on terms and conditions of land ownership that underpin land tenure and dispute resolution with the stool's jurisdiction:

- a) The Chieftaincy Act, 1971 (Act 370) established the chieftaincy Institution and gave Nananom¹² power to arbitrate in Section 24. Arbitration in the Traditional area strictly conforms to the Chieftaincy Act and adheres to best practice in Arbitration which requires: i) voluntary submission; ii) parties accept to arbitrate before elders; iii) voluntarily pay fees; iv) provide witnesses; and v) parties make statements under oath and are cross examined.
- b) The Asankrangwa traditional area arbitrates on land disputes, breaching of taboos and marriages cases. The Asankrangwa palace has appealed to the Nyame Nnae Palace not to arbitrate on non-traditional (criminal) cases.
- c) After arbitrating on taboo cases, offenders provide four sheep, four bottles of schnapps, and GH¢ 800 to reverse the curses.
- d) All lands within Asankrangwa catchment area are stool lands only. The allodial interest lies solely in the stool and all families have only usufruct rights to the use of lands within the area.
- e) Families can grant abunu and land for farming to feed from their usufruct rights.
- f) Migrants can acquire land directly from the allodial holder, commonly referred to as asidee. In practice, it appears to be a perpetual ownership, but the rights are over the trees and not the land. Any transfer of interest in land within the Asankrangwa traditional area is a Deed of Conveyance, which transfers rights over property on the land (building or farm), but not ownership of land.
- g) A holder of asidee can grant abunu, but only with consent of the allodial holder.
- h) Land is not sold; monies involved in the transaction are referred to as "drink money."
- i) If an indigene out of bankruptcy transfers land, it is not a total grant. Money passing in the transaction is called "Consideration Fee" and may be in the form of farm produce from the transferee.
- j) All land transactions must follow traditional practices of the traditional area. All documents need verification for authorization by the traditional authorities and the court.
- k) An heir to land is expected to give drinks to the Odikro (chief)¹³ of the community in which he or she resides to introduce the new owner to authorities.
- l) Appreciations are awarded as a Deed of Gift by the allodial and the beneficiary has perpetual ownership.
- m) It is wrong for individuals to grant land for Galamsey (mining). Individuals have rights over crops and not the land, especially land with minerals.
- n) There are several main reasons for strained relationships between landowners and tenants. First, landowners have the first choice when abunu farms are shared and often choose the better side leaving the less productive side to the farmers. Some landowners however give the option to the farmer to divide the farm before sharing. Second, some farmers do not support landowners in times of need. Third, some farmers

¹² Twi expression used for the chieftom class to include all categories of chiefs in the traditional hierarchy.

¹³ Odikro is a lower level chief for small settlements in the chieftaincy hierarchy. The Nyame Nnae Odikro does not have record keeping capacity; any records that exist are kept at the Asankrangwa (stool) level.

after dividing the farm, deny their landowners access through their farms and spiritually attack their landowners crossing through the farmer's farm.

- o) Clause 9 of the Asankrangwa Stool Abunu Tenancy agreement states *“That if the LESSEE’S cocoa farm is destroyed by any means this agreement is nullified and the land remains the property of the LESSOR and that if the LESSEE wished to replant, he or she should negotiate with the LESSOR for a fresh agreement to be entered into before the commencement of any farming activity on the land, but the LESSOR reserved the right to either accept or reject any such request.”* Rejection can only be occasioned by a bad relationship. This means the relationship between the landowner and abunu farmer is critical. If the relationship is cordial, landowners usually ignore consent before replanting.¹⁴
- p) The Palace is considering a letter to be issued from the Wassa Amenfi Traditional Authority to grant 50-year farm lease to migrant farmers. This has been ignored until now. But if cocoa on the land dies before the 50 years, land will revert to the landowners as has been the condition in abunu. However, if the cocoa is well maintained, it can last more than 50 years.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the clear structures within the Asankrangwa ADR mechanisms, community members were not always well informed about their rights. The stool helped educate the community and advocate for change throughout the TGCC timeframe. Key areas that required more outreach to build on the TGCC work include:

1. Migrant farmers should be urged to secure documentation to their cocoa farms. Abusa agreements should be brought to the palace to verify dates, ownership, witnesses, plans, exact location and land size.
2. Intestate Succession Law, 1985 (PNDCL 111) protects women's rights. Women are advised to document their lands especially deeds of gifts in the event of losing their spouses.
3. “To cut and rehabilitate or not to cut” is cultural and depends on the relationship between the landowner and farmer. However, it is time for reconciliation between landowners and tenant farmers so that landowners will be motivated to clarify relationships through documentation.
4. Asankrangwa Palace will investigate the sources of land acquisition (abunu, abusa, deed of gift, conveyance or inheritance) before signing the pilot land agreements.
5. A farm plan is to be signed by the Chief of Asankrangwa (now a Regent), two elders of the stool, and the Odikro (chief) of the Nyame Nnae community.
6. Migrant farmers should follow traditional directives on land tenure to minimize conflicts.
7. Requirements for women to include men in land acquisition and dispute resolution are meant to protect women.
8. Women and their husbands are compensated when women are falsely and publicly disgraced, disrespected, or disdained.

¹⁴ The Asankrangwa Stool provides two types of standard documentation for farmers who can afford it: (1) Abunu Tenancy Agreement between a lessor and lessee, and (2) a Deed of Conveyance between a vendor and vendee. These templates and others were reviewed for purpose of developing the three land rights templates used for recording rights in Annex 3. Neither document was presented as proof of ownership by project beneficiaries when adjudicating land claims; they are geared to wealthier farmers who can afford them, and in the case of conveyances tend to be infrequent.

9. Conditions for signing pilot land agreements will require farmers to show: i) a previous authentic abunu agreement paper or card; ii) an old site plan; iii) any document on sale of land from anyone; iv) deed of gift, conveyance, or inheritance; and, v) proof of payment of afahyetoo.¹⁵

3.2 GENDER AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

In view of the nature of Ghana's customary land system and experiences of gender gaps playing out in many aspects of customary land administration, the program mainstreamed GESI considerations into project design and implementation. Specific objectives included to:

- Analyze gender and social inclusion issues in community land governance;
- Provide guidelines and approaches to integrating GESI; and,
- Strengthen the capacity of the project team using outcome of the analysis and guidelines to mainstream GESI.



Consultations with representatives of the Queen Mother of Nyame Nnae (left) and women leaders of ethnic groups

PHOTO: WINROCK INTERNATIONAL

This occurred through a series of consultations and assessment of pilot interventions. As with many other traditional areas in Ghana, the institutional arrangements for customary land governance in Nyame Nnae are dominated by men. Chiefs are the main decision-making authority on land. They determine the allocation of land parcels and the rights therein. Queen mothers and other female leaders are recognized as important actors in community governance, but not so much in decision-making on land matters. The pilot's GESI engagement included community-wide meetings organized for women and vulnerable groups to garner their views, as well as an exclusive

meeting with the Queen Mother of Nyame Nnae and the Guruma Women's Leader.

The meeting with women leaders confirmed all the issues discussed during the validation of land tenure arrangements in the pilot community relating to dispute resolution, land acquisition, relationship to land, divorce, and hindrances to farming and inheritance.

¹⁵ These are conditions currently stipulated by the Asankrangwa which are not fully endorsed by the TGCC project. The Asankrangwa foresees ongoing pilots documenting rights in land that benefit the community, but the conditions impose steep hurdles that negatively impact poorer farmers ability to gain consent and signatures of any land agreements reached, and further help it maintain control over land allocations.

STATUS OF WOMEN AND VULNERABLE POPULATIONS

Social Organizations and Inclusion: Community governance is built upon a dynamic hierarchy of authority. Power resides in the Chief (Odikro) who sits in council with a Gyasihene as his deputy, a chief farmer who acts as the linguist or spokesperson, other indigenous and migrant leaders, and the populace, who are usually observers. Activities revolve around an established social institution of the same traditional leaders, religious leaders, indigenous and migrant male and female leaders, local government personnel, cocoa purchasing officers, subjects of Wassaland, and migrants who are usually the ones affected by decisions of the council of elders. Community meetings observed were well-organized and attended, representative of all groupings, and devoid of public intimidation. The community holds in high esteem traditional values and participation of all ethnic groups on the dispute resolution committee, and consultations appear fair and equitable. However, the arrangements, history, and cultural evolution in the community are still rudimentary, remain in the form of oral narration, and are not documented.

Women's Empowerment: The group did not appear to have any major problem with acquiring land for farming. Single women were free to scout for land themselves or announce their search to solicit the assistance of community members to identify lands for them to cultivate. They can negotiate with landowners for acquisition on their own or go through agents. In contrast, married women must discuss their acquisition intention with their husbands. Women expressed confidence in the processes of adjudication of cases and opportunities available in the community. Women can engage in any enterprise provided they have the capacity to do so.

The major problem facing women was the inability to carve out new forest for their farms and to transport their produce to marketing centers, which required physical labor. Only one woman in the community was identified as acquiring abunu rights herself, and she was known within the community to “work like a man.” In addition, financial capacity to hire labor or buy inputs acted as a major constraint. The women benefited from lands gifted to them by their parents and husbands, but were unable to access finance on their own. They offered a drink or a ram (male sheep) publicly as evidence of the transaction and their appreciation. If a husband offered to pay for the gift, he could not dispossess the woman of the land in the event of a divorce. After a divorce, the elders usually evaluate the woman's contribution to the farm and ensure she is adequately compensated. Inheritance depends on the cultural practice of the widow, her relationship with the husband's family and her own self advocacy. The widow may stay in the husband's house until she remarries or decides to leave. In some instances, the widows are denied stay and share of the husband's estate when there is a strained relationship between her and in-laws.

The women lauded the project as an opportunity to empower them with security of tenure to their farms, use site plans for facilities to expand their farms, prevent litigation, and provide evidence of ownership. The women also agreed that rehabilitation of farms was dependent on the relationship between the farmer and landowner.

Status of Migrant Farmers: Nyame Nnae is inhabited by both indigenes and settler farmers comprising about 13 ethnic groupings including Kusase, Frafra, Moshie, Dagati, Lobi, Busanga, Guruma, Ashanti, and Brong, among others. Each of these tribes has some form of association that have been established to seek and protect the welfare of their members. These associations are not formalized; rather they are loosely formed and useful for mobilizing and engaging residents in the pilot area. In most cases with migrant farmers, male settlers initiated the move from their place of origin to Nyame Nnae. They acquired and developed the land and later brought their wives to join them. This situation has created a gender dynamic where the husbands are the recognized farmers, while the (normally younger) wives are seen as accompaniers. Given that a household may be comprised of multiple settler families, there is a need for thoughtful investigation on involvement of family members in land acquisition and field activities

before documenting rights. The age disparity between older male farmers and younger wives is translating into widowed women taking over cocoa farming over time.

Youth and Farming: Some youth are still interested in cocoa farming, but others are not because the work is tedious, cocoa is not as profitable as it once was, and accessing land is difficult. However, for those who do have land, cocoa is a good source of income. According to women, youth are interested as there are really few other options for them despite high levels of education. One challenge is that there is not adequate land, nor funds for new farmers to start a new farm; thus, many youth travel to towns to work as taxi drivers or shop attendants. According to elders, youth are not interested in cocoa farming and are more interested in education. The community has started the Nyame Nnae Youth in Cocoa Production program to maintain youth interest in cocoa as a livelihood.

GESI GUIDELINES

Based on the work plan, analysis of project documents, and results of the community engagement, guidelines were prepared to mainstream GESI into project activities (see example Annex 2).

Community sensitization and door-to-door mobilization enabled inclusion of vulnerable groups like elderly women, single women, widows, nursing mothers, migrant farmers, and youth to be represented at meetings and participate in the mapping. A total of 190 farmers consented to the mapping and documenting of their cocoa farms, including 120 males (63.2 percent) and 70 females (36.8 percent). All farms were surveyed and mapped, and their holders provided with dossiers. A total of 65 youth between the ages of 19 and 40 consented to document their farms as well. Attendance at the ADR consultation meeting recorded a total of 65 participants, consisting of 49 men and 16 women.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Even though the pilot phase was able to account for the participation of some female farmers, there was limited time to unravel details about gender dynamics at the household level and target the intervention accordingly. An important consideration for future projects is to identify and target spouses, female-headed households, and female migrants.

In view of the limited time, the project team was not able to collect data at intervals on impacts on women and vulnerable populations. Nevertheless, the team received full cooperation from traditional leaders and farmers on the importance of gender and social inclusion in interventions. There was no resistance to the participation and inclusion of the rights of women and migrants in the documentation process, probably due to how the pilot community is socially organized and the assistance it receives from other agencies. It would be helpful in future activities to dedicate time to community sensitization on GESI so that community members and the project team look beyond the obvious to better understand how women and different status groups engage within the community. Careful attention to survey methodologies to engage women is also important.

Achieving gender equality and social inclusion is a process. Irrespective of the positive results that may have been achieved at the initial phase, further actions and continued engagement are required to ensure that the positive results are sustained and institutionalized in the community. Thus, even though the pilot phase has ended, it will be helpful to incorporate ongoing monitoring in the future.

4.0 COMMUNITY MAPPING AND RIGHTS DOCUMENTATION

In Ghana, TGCC subcontracted a local survey firm, Landmapp, to provide farm mapping and electronic tenure document storage services for farmers. During the life of the intervention, the importance of clarifying landowner and tenant relationships through customary contracts emerged as equally important to mapping in strengthening security of tenure. Finally, though the intervention initially aimed to integrate tree rights documentation into the intervention, this proved not to be a viable approach. This section discusses the approach and methodology used to map farm boundaries and document tenure relationships to the land.

4.1 MAPPING METHODOLOGY

TGCC's local survey partner seeks to bring low-cost land documentation technologies and processes to rural areas of Ghana to help unlock financing. They used trained para surveyors and a packaged process to obtain information about root of title and the history of land rights held by the landowner or landholder (tenant, sharecropper, occupant, or rightful possessor). A field survey was conducted and used to develop land rights documentation. Each land rights holder was surveyed and boundaries clearly delineated in the presence of adjoining or boundary neighbors as appropriate.

The general land tenure documentation product produced by Landmapp is signed by the appropriate signatories and includes: 1) certified or approved site plan signed by a licensed surveyor or regional surveyor; 2) indenture and oath of proof (terms set by/negotiated with Traditional Council of the area); and, 3) profile document with detailed information about the parcel, applicant, witness, and land tenure literacy declaration. The documentation process included the following steps:

1. Client interview: Information on landholder, parcel acquisition, and witnesses is collected.
2. Parcel survey: Parcel locations are collected by field staff, landholder, and witnesses.
3. Post-processing and verification: Landholder interview data and surveying locations data are uploaded onto a local and web server system and verified by office staff and licensed surveyor.
4. Data review: Data is reviewed and re-collected where necessary.
5. Document preparation and printing: Verified documents, indenture, and surveys are printed and distributed.

The approach attempts to balance the practical need for fit-for-purpose technology and clear processes, with the requirements of Ghana's land and survey legislation. Considerations include the following.

Mapping accuracy:

Handheld GPS receivers are fast and easy to use, but accuracy is limited, especially if the satellite signal is blocked by vegetation. The approach used provided higher accuracy and provides the option to register the parcel in the National Deed Registry.¹⁶ It uses differential Global Navigation Satellite System, which corrects data measurements from a second receiver (base station). Historically, conventional differential setups are expensive and often complicated to operate. However, the team used a low-cost alternative (Emlid ReachRS).



The Chief of Nyame Nnae sketching the boundary of the pilot area at a public forum
PHOTO: WINROCK INTERNATIONAL

Integrated mobile workflow: The data collection process uses tablets and a custom-designed application to allow a workflow with validation rules to minimize data collection errors and avoid data loss.

Sensitization: In addition to technology and tested processes, all communities were visited several times to inform and educate opinion leaders, farmer organizers, and potential applicants on all aspects of the process and products.

Field validation: Each cocoa farm documented required witnesses to verify ownership and boundary mapping. Neutral opinion leaders¹⁷ in the village were asked to serve as a witness in cases where boundary neighbors were not available at the time of mapping. Interviews and mapping took place only if the landholder or farmer had proof of identity.

Legal review of land document templates: All legal templates and any changes to them were reviewed by legal counsel in Ghana.

4.2 MAPPING OF COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES AND FARMS

TGCC undertook the work on sensitization and identified farmers who voluntarily agreed to participate in mapping and documenting their cocoa farms. TGCC educated the community on the mapping and documentation activities, roles and responsibilities of those concerned in the mapping, and scheduling

¹⁶ Strictly speaking, the farm plans produced do not meet all requirements of the Deed Registry; for example, precision in surveying plans that are exorbitant from the point of view of smallholder farmers, or installing physical monuments to mark boundaries. One of the aims of the pilot was to demonstrate that modern survey techniques that lessen costs yet achieve the purpose of providing sufficient tenure security could be used.

¹⁷ For example, a pastor, head teacher, or someone with relatively higher education whose opinion is widely respected.

and mobilizing communities. Two field teams, each consisting of three mappers and three interviewers, were mobilized.

The Chief of Nyame Nnae produced a sketch (see Figure 3) which delineated the boundary of the pilot area. The outline of the boundary was marked and subsequently walked by the Boura forest stretching from Sresu through papa Yawkrom Patako, Congo to Nkwantanu on the west and north and the rivers Nkyeyia and Kwesi Etrie to the east and south.

Seven boundary farmers were identified by the Chief to assist in delineating the boundaries along with community leaders. There were no boundary disputes throughout the entire mapping exercise so there was no need for the proposed sub-ADR team to assist in boundary dispute resolution.

Overall 190 farms were mapped of which 120 (63 percent) were owned by men and 70 (37 percent) by women. Community sensitization and door-to-door mobilization enabled the inclusion of vulnerable groups, including elderly women, single women, widows, nursing mothers, migrants, and youths, to attend meetings and participate in the mapping.



Individual cocoa farm mapping at Nyame Nnae
PHOTO: WINROCK INTERNATIONAL

4.3 DOCUMENTATION OF RIGHTS TO LAND

A number of community education and engagement meetings were undertaken to clarify and determine land rights, which were incorporated with farms mapped to produce farm folios for the beneficiaries. The approach commenced with an investigation and review of existing evidence of written material developed within the community to document land and tree rights agreements. This investigation was broadened to include documentation of rights by neighboring traditional areas, as well as relevant government agencies. A series of intensive community engagement and education meetings then

followed to ascertain the true nature of land relations and inform development of land and tree rights agreements between landlords and migrant farmers.

4.4 REVIEW OF EXISTING DOCUMENTATION

There were no examples of documentation templates that contained explicit terms setting out rights over trees or forest products. The investigation conducted in Asankrangwa Palace revealed two land documentation templates issued by the allodial relating to (i) direct purchase of land in the form of deed of conveyance, and (ii) abunu tenancy agreement. There were no existing written templates to cover the rights over land of indigene landowners (customary freeholders) or migrant landowners (asideɛ holders).

The abunu tenancy agreement provided by the Asankrangwa stool only covers the initial stage of the agreement that entitles the stranger farmer to work uncultivated land into a cocoa farm. It has no validity once the farm is shared (i.e., it does not cover rights gained after the farm is shared and the stranger farmer gains ownership of his/her portion after year five), nor does it capture the true nature of the Abunu transaction as practiced. Regarding the deed of conveyance documentation, the rapid assessment survey and subsequent series of community engagement meetings revealed that in Nyame Nnae, direct purchase of land via deed of conveyance was not a common practice. The field team did not encounter any cocoa farmer whose claim to the land was through a deed of conveyance. TGCC therefore developed new templates to capture the prevailing interests held by indigene landowners (customary freeholders) or migrant landowners (asideɛ holders).

The team also looked beyond the Asankrangwa stool and investigated examples from a neighboring traditional area, Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area. Land agreement documentation found there was in the form of a statutory lease for 50 years and did not correspond to any of the land rights agreements practiced in Nyame Nnae. The team also engaged the Lands Commission, the government agency responsible for documentation and registration of land rights in Ghana, and found that the agency has documentation templates for commercial statutory leases designed for companies seeking large lands for commercial farming operations. No examples of templates that reflect customary land rights agreements as practiced in Nyame Nnae were available. The team thus elected to document the land arrangements as actually practiced in the community, develop three new tenure templates for the different prevailing tenure arrangements (see Annex 3), and utilize Landmapp's data systems to record and house the documents electronically.

4.5 DOCUMENTATION TEMPLATES

Meetings were held between the project team and legal consultants to develop the templates for documenting rights based on information gleaned from community engagement. The first draft contained serious limitations. For example, it attempted to transform abunu into 50-year leases to fit with Lands Commission templates; the legal consultant also felt that the Constitution of Ghana bars the creation of freehold interests in stool lands and that asideɛ is a freehold because it grants perpetual interest in land. After further reviews with legal experts, a final revision was found to be acceptable and consistent in meeting constitutional and other legal provisions.

Three land rights templates were developed for: (i) customary freehold; (ii) asideɛ; and (iii) abunu and are attached as Annex 3. Each template is comprised of two parts: the first sets out the contents of the interest as understood by the community and confirmed by the allodial, which the Asankrangwa stool must sign and grant its consent, while the second establishes the contract that passes the relevant interest in land (rights and obligations as confirmed by the allodial in the first part) from one party to another. Both the party transferring the right and the party receiving sign the contract.

4.6 DOCUMENT SIGNING AND VALIDATION

Three sub-activities brought closure to the documentation process: (i) signing of farm documents by farmers; (ii) signing of farm documents by traditional authorities (Nyame Nnae Odikro and allodial); and, (iii) a close-out Durbar (described in Section 6.0).

Farm documents were sent to the field to acquire the signatures of farmers, landlords, witnesses and the traditional authorities. Signing of farm documents by farmers required assistance in handling mediation, negotiation and resolving six disputes (five settled) between farmers and landowners who refused to sign documents (see Table 7). In a few instances, trips had to be made to neighboring communities to meet with landowners. In total, the project executed and distributed 16 customary freehold farm documents; 87 asidex contracts; and, 87 abunu contracts.

TABLE 7: DISPUTES ARISING AT SIGNING OF DOCUMENTATION

Issue	Comment
Refused to sign land document because of strained relationship between landholder and tenant	Resolved with difficulty through mediation
Landowner afraid of losing family land by signing the documentation	Resolved through education on documentation
Landowner afraid of losing family land by signing the documentation	Resolved through education on documentation
Landowner afraid of losing family land by signing the documentation	Resolved through education on documentation
Farmer did not receive consent of landowner	Resolved with difficulty through mediation and negotiated agreement to periodically provide produce as a goodwill measure
Landowner afraid of losing family land by signing the documentation	Resolved with difficulty
Landowner afraid children will be landless by signing the documentation	Not resolved, landowner wanted time to consult with children, but ran out of project time

All signed documentation, except for one, was handed over to the Odikro of Nyame Nnae, Nana Agyekum, to sign and authorize documents before forwarding them to the allodial for endorsement. The second part of the signing occurred at the Asankrangwa Palace after an elaborate negotiation of a signing fee for all the documents. The Allodial agreed to a signing fee of GH¢ 5,000 while the Chief of Nyame Nnae was given GH¢ 3,000, for a total fee of GH¢ 8,000.¹⁸ The signing ceremony at the palace was done under the supervision of TGCC. Ten documents were symbolically handed over at the Grand Durbar event. A separate meeting was held with elders of Asankrangwa stool and Nyame Nnae to present the community maps for verification.

At the end of the signing exercise, a total of 20 farm documents were not signed by farmers because they were out of town during the period that the activities took place. However, these documents have been handed over to the Odikro of Nyame Nnae to supervise signing when the respective farmers

¹⁸ We did not anticipate this charge and it raises ethical questions about the motives of traditional authorities in supporting the pilot. It further raises questions about the affordability and sustainability of the land documentation process for small and poor cocoa farmers who lack the means to pay. Efforts to scale up similar activities in the future might require traditional authorities to forego a portion of this payment to demonstrate commitment, but at risk of them not being willing to provide consent or sign final lease documents.

follow up. Second copies of the signed documents were scanned and will later be returned to the Asankrangwa stool for record-keeping.¹⁹

4.7 TREE TENURE IN SHADED COCOA SYSTEMS

The interplay between government policy, timber extraction, and planting trees laying claim to land ownership creates perverse outcomes; for example, planted trees being pulled up by customary land holders; land disputes emerging between tree planters and customary land holders; and the presence of disincentives to plant commercial trees. For trees categorized as naturally occurring, landowners and farmers are not given any revenues directly when trees are harvested. This creates two major disincentives:

- **Farmers have no control over management of timber species in the cocoa landscape.** The policy undercuts farmer interest to plant or leave trees for optimal shade, muddies management control over when to harvest trees, prevents benefit sharing in their harvest, and introduces risks that tree felling by logging companies ruins their cocoa without compensation.
- **Current policy destroys incentives to plant or nurture timber trees on fallow lands.** Customary freehold or usufruct landowners almost always leave portions of family lands idle to revert to bush to regain fertility. It is these lands that constitute secondary forest cover in Ghana. However, the categorization of timber trees planted or naturally growing treats trees as communally owned and channels revenues to the allodial, thus perverting private incentives to plant and maintain trees or police them from illegal loggers.

The Forestry Commission is aware of challenges with the current law and policy. New policy approaches are being considered and tested. The government of Ghana is designing policies to give ownership and use rights to farmers. For trees planted outside forest reserves, the draft revisions state that:

- a) A farmer has the right to negotiate benefit-sharing arrangements from trees that he/she plants/nurtures with the landowner;
- b) The farmer has the right to dispose and gain economic benefit of trees that s/he plants and nurtures; and
- c) A decentralized land title registration will allow farmers to demarcate and register their lands and trees in the community/district to prove title.

TGCC had initially proposed to pilot approaches to document tree tenure to strengthen the rights of farmers to shade trees growing on their farms. However, upon further analysis many aspects of the tree registration system proposed by the Forestry Commission were still in flux. The team decided not to test the draft tree tenure registration documentation because of reservations about the proposed policy changes, their long-term efficacy, and the potential to create confusion. The proposed reform does not go far enough and maintains the distinction between planted and naturally occurring trees. This

¹⁹ Although the Asankrangwa stool does not have a customary land secretariat, and the project team did not gain evidence of any systematic record keeping, the stool's secretary (engaged throughout the project's life) gave assurances that his office has the capacity to keep copies of the documents generated by the project. Indeed, examples of land documentation by the Asankrangwa stool, elaborated on in section 4.4, was obtained from the secretary's office.

distinction between planted and natural trees causes confusion and opportunity for abuse. The proposed changes do not correct this and may exacerbate the problem further, as failure to register planted shade trees may result in *de facto* treatment as naturally occurring and therefore subject to state expropriation. The administrative costs of registering trees are also steep. Unlike land which is fixed in place for perpetuity, trees incur periodic planting and cutting which require frequent updating of records which complicate monitoring aspects of tree registration. The system of tree registration currently proposed is confounded by problems of infeasibility and unsustainability. It is infeasible in the sense of generating vast piles of tree registration documentation that have little likelihood of validating ownership because the system is inaccessible. It is unsustainable given the resources required to monitor, administrate and enforce the system that would likely make it prohibitively costly to implement. A better solution is to transfer rights to naturally occurring and planted trees to customary landowners. Further analysis of tree tenure is found within the *Note on Tree Tenure and Benefit Sharing Policy in Cocoa Growing Areas of Ghana*.

5.0 FARM REHABILITATION: IMPACT ON COCOA PRODUCTIVITY AND DEFORESTATION

There are several challenges in Ghana's cocoa sector related to the link between productivity, deforestation, and land tenure. Historic government-held rights to shade trees combined with a desire to boost cocoa yields incentivized the removal of shade trees and promotion of sun-grown cocoa. This resulted in short-term productivity increases, along with large losses in biodiversity and carbon stocks and an increase in forest degradation and deforestation. After short-term productivity boosts, yields in sun cocoa decline. Elsewhere, shaded cocoa farms have not been replanted and old cocoa trees have declining yields. As a result, up to 40 percent of cocoa farms in Ghana have low productivity and need to be replanted.

However, farmers and communities lack the financial and labor resources to replant old trees with new hybrid varieties and many farmers have insecure tenure that prevent or discourage replanting of old farms. Farmers have low incomes, food security and nutrition challenges, and limited access to credit to borrow money to invest in their farms. They need information and training on best practices to rehabilitate old cocoa farms, and may need help to improve tenure security. The first two to three years of a cocoa farm are critical to developing strong and productive cocoa trees. Implementing the best agronomic practices during this period reduces longer-term risk to the farmer by helping ensure that the trees will become productive assets that generate cash flow and increase farmer livelihoods and food security. Farmers also require knowledge and tools that assist with key land use decisions, such as whether to invest in cocoa and/or other competing crops (food crops, rubber, and palm oil).

A total of 10 farmers from Group 1 (who benefitted from ADR, mapping, and documentation work) and 61 from Group 2 voluntarily signed up for ECOM's technical and financing assistance for cocoa rehabilitation (see section 2.1 for Group 1 and 2 characteristics).²⁰ This section covers two aspects of this work: providing training of trainers on agroforestry management and land tenure for ECOM staff, and developing a financial model to assist farmers with cocoa rehabilitation. ECOM's work on rehabilitating cocoa farms is scheduled to continue in 2018 after the pilot has been completed, based on

²⁰ In total, 71 farmers self-selected themselves for ECOM's cocoa rehabilitation work. Of these, only 10 benefitted from the mapping and documentation services provided under the pilot. We surmise that the 61 farmers in Group 2 were Customary Freeholders or Stranger Landowners (Asidee) (see Table 4) who already hold secure tenure to their cocoa farms, but this can't be determined for sure as these fell outside the Group 1 sample (and survey respondents) which were the focus of the pilot.

application of the financial model. The section concludes with anticipated long-term impacts on cocoa productivity and deforestation that will require monitoring and evaluation beyond the life of the project.

5.1 ECOM AGROFORESTRY AND LAND TENURE TRAININGS

Given the set price of cocoa, buyers cannot compete with one another based on price. Instead they build loyalty and compete based on services that they offer to farmers. ECOM staff provide a range of services to rural farmers, which have historically been focused on agronomic advice on best practices for increasing cocoa yields and credit for inputs. Increasingly, however, buyers are recognizing the importance of building understanding of broader farmer livelihood support. In this context, TGCC developed and supported training of ECOM extension staff in both land and tree tenure law and practices, as well as in agroforestry best practices. TGCC led a series of training of trainers workshops for 20 ECOM staff in improved agroforestry and intercropping practices in shaded cocoa cultivation. This is particularly useful as shaded cocoa cultivation is demonstrating advantages in terms of longevity of production and resilience to extreme weather over sun cocoa, which had been promoted nationally in recent decades. Topics addressed in these sessions focused on best practices in establishing shade cocoa and agroforestry systems. These included:

- Cocoa agroforestry and its benefits;
- Preferred density of shade trees (67 shade trees/ha instead of the 18 to 20 shade trees/ha recommended by Cocobod);
- Planting material and nursery practices for shade cocoa;
- Shade requirements for cocoa and decision-making on which shade trees to plant based on good attributes;
- Suitable food crops for diversification on replanted cocoa farm during years 1 – 3 (plantain, cassava, maize, cowpea, cocoyam, and groundnut); and,
- Pruning of shade and cocoa trees.

This approach to establishing shade trees for shade cocoa is consistent with the financial model developed with ECOM, described below.

In addition to the agroforestry and shade cocoa trainings, TGCC supported awareness of land and tree tenure issues with ECOM, with staff producing briefs and extension materials for agents to offer consistent advice to farmers as they encourage the planting of shade trees. A training of trainers course on land and tree tenure rights was offered to 25 ECOM field staff at Asankrangwa to prepare the team for land and tree rights documentation. Participants were provided with a laminated fact sheet that introduced them to the customary and statutory land tenure systems, prevailing principles on tree tenure and benefit sharing, and common measures to resolve land conflicts in Nyame Nnae. These fact sheets helped to extend and deepen knowledge and were also intended to serve as an extension agent's guide that could readily be accessed during field documentation. This subsequently supported community awareness raising on land and tree tenure as many farmers were unaware of recent Forest Commission changes on tree tenure. Legal education reference materials were developed to improve both extension agent and, subsequently, farmer understanding on tree tenure, documentation, and mechanisms for resolving disputes and enforcing agreements with a special focus on rights of women and vulnerable groups.

5.2 COCOA REHABILITATION FINANCIAL MODEL

FARM REHABILITATION MODEL

TGCC worked with ECOM to develop an innovative approach to rural development where ECOM and farmers sit side-by-side to discuss and carry out farm rehabilitation and management. In the model, ECOM rehabilitates and manages all farm activities for three years while the farmer learns farm rehabilitation and management techniques and diversifies their income with cash crops. This approach differs from using model farms, which have had mixed success, where farmers see a model plot during traditional training exercises. In the proposed approach, ECOM carries out the farm rehabilitation and each farmer has their own model plot that they have a vested interest in seeing thrive.

In the model a farmer provides three acres of old cocoa trees to be cleared and has additional cocoa farms elsewhere, which will continue producing cocoa (see text box for complete selection criteria). Existing shade trees will be retained but may need to be cleared if not suitable for the farm. Two of the three acres are replanted with cocoa, shade trees (if needed), maize, and plantains, and the third acre is planted with maize and plantains only. The 2:1 ratio is important due to different cost and income on each of the parcels. The land cleared and replanted with cash crops only does not have the additional upfront cost of replanting cocoa or shade trees.

Plantain and maize is planted on all cleared land with two crops of maize and one of plantain harvested per year. Plantain is considered an annual crop and harvested with the stems completely cut off, which requires replanting in subsequent years. These two crops were selected based on the



Aerial view of cocoa farm being rehabilitated in rows
PHOTO: ECOM

selling the maize and plantains. ECOM invests in the farm activities throughout the year (planting, transportation, labor, inputs, and supporting logistics) with its own staff, though the farmer may also be hired to save costs.

Farm Selection Criteria

1. Farmers selected should have gone through at least one year of ECOM training.
2. Site slope should not be above 3 percent.
3. Farmers should be prepared to cut cocoa for complete rehabilitation and be willing to pay off investment with proceeds from the farm.
4. Site cannot be mangrove, swampy, or water-logged.
5. Farmers with multiple farms shall be considered as an added advantage.
6. Farms should be over 25 years old with a focus on highly unproductive farms (i.e. farms producing below 200 kg/ha).
7. The plot/site should not be in the middle of a forest and should be at least 30m away from any natural reserves.
8. The farmer has the right to cut and replant cocoa farm.

recommendations of local agronomy experts and because many farmers are already familiar with both crops. Maize can be intercropped for three years and plantain for four years, after which time the cocoa trees are too fully grown to allow intercropping. Other crops could be considered to help further diversify income and improve food security. ECOM's revised model manages all activities, including harvesting and

FINANCIAL RETURN

ECOM's rehabilitation and management costs are repaid over three years, and a profit share or royalty payment paid to the farmer provides enough cash for the farmer to continue activities once ECOM no longer provides support. The cost and revenue assumptions used in the model show a positive net present value of USD\$659 (GH¢ 2,880), internal rate of return for ECOM of 71 percent, and a payback period of 2.1 years. To be conservative, historic low prices for maize and plantain were used. After year one the farmer's income from the land being rehabilitated should increase. ECOM selected farmers to participate in the initial pilot with a total of 118 acres cleared for "rehabilitation" and 59 acres of "extra area" cleared for cash crops but not immediately replanted with cocoa. Based on evidence from TGCC support, the financing approach will be revised in 2018 and is expected to be more viable for the farmer and for ECOM, increasing income and reducing risks.

TABLE 8: CURRENT VS. FUTURE FARMER INCOME UNDER A BASELINE SCENARIO ASSUMING NO LABOR OR INPUT COSTS)

Baseline Scenario	Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr 3	Yr 4	Yr 5
Average Farmer revenue per 3 acre area without the project. Plots produce 1.7 cocoa bags/acre	GHC 2,423	GHC 2,423	GHC 2,423	GHC 2,423	GHC 2,423
Average Farmer Profit per 3 acre area with the project	GHC 1,296	GHC 3,743	GHC 5,256	GHC 11,222	GHC 12,418
Difference (+ Project is better)	(GHC 1,127)	GHC 1,321	GHC 2,834	GHC 8,800	GHC 9,996

RISKS

Despite the improvements in the financial model with USAID assistance, the new model is not without risks and challenges to implement and scale up. Implementing the type of system proposed requires careful coordination of activities by ECOM. Procuring the cocoa seedlings is critical because they comprise 25 percent of the planting costs and the right genetic stock drives future cocoa yield. ECOM can control repayment to a degree by selling the maize and plantains itself, but there is still a risk of crops being lost to theft,



Replanted cocoa farm planted in rows with shade plantains
PHOTO: ECOM

disease, or weather. A 10 percent yield reduction significantly impacts repayment, and the model is also very sensitive to increases in input prices and decreases in maize and plantain prices beyond historical lows. Extreme weather or other *force majeure* events create additional implementation risks that become more relevant for scaling up. The geographic area and timeline for rolling out large-scale rehabilitation will increase exposure to these risks.

TGCC's support helped ECOM realize that they were only reaching a subset of farmers, and that farmers with abunu tenure were not participating due to fear of losing their farm if they cut and replanted old cocoa trees without the consent of the landowner. TGCC does not expect that ECOM will document tenure rights as carried out under the project, but ECOM extension agents

could support clarification of abunu contracts going forward at limited cost, which may allow more inclusive participation of stranger farmers.

Implementation risks will grow if the pilot is scaled up, though some risk mitigation options such as loan guarantees exist. Other approaches such as crop insurance need to be further explored. Farmer selection criteria will also need revision to reach a larger number of farmers, coupled with technical assistance to address tenure barriers to ensure broad farmer participation. In addition to addressing rights to rehabilitate an old farm, by improving tenure security, documenting traditional rights and mapping cocoa farms will help solve disputes and incentivize investment into existing farms. This will also need to be coupled with community-level land use planning to ensure increased yields do not result in increased deforestation. Further options for food crop diversification can also be explored but may create logistical issues if ECOM needs to monetize multiple food crops.

ECOM is currently testing the model, moving from paper to practice to better understand these risks and how to mitigate them. The pilot built the foundations for a scalable model that if successful should be sustainable and provide better livelihoods, food security, and a diversified income to Ghana's smallholder cocoa farmers.

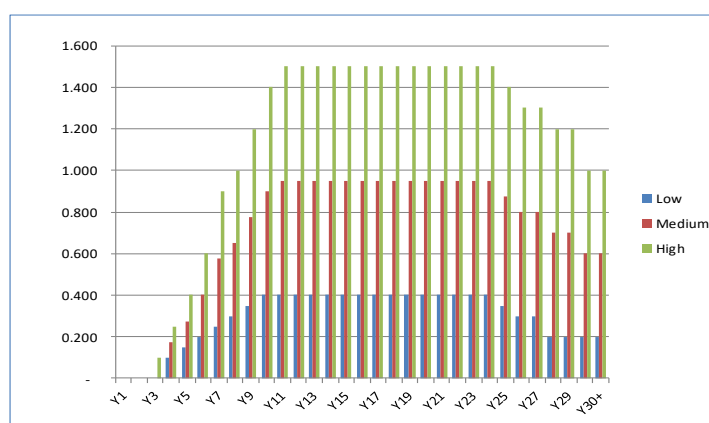
5.3 IMPACT ON COCOA PRODUCTIVITY AND DEFORESTATION

Ghana is presently wrestling with two competing objectives. The first is to increase cocoa production to increase output and export earnings, which historically have been at the cost of natural forest. The second is to maintain Ghana's last vestiges of forest, avoiding biodiversity loss and environmental degradation, reducing greenhouse gas emissions, and participating in international efforts to reduce deforestation and degradation. Underlying this is a complex and largely undocumented customary tenure regime that has historically incentivized clearing native forest for cocoa production, and currently acts as a barrier to reinvesting in unproductive farms. Meeting both objectives will require a new cocoa production paradigm that addresses tenure and other constraints to better manage the agricultural resource base and promote new investment in trees and agroforestry systems.

IMPACT ON PRODUCTIVITY

Since 2010, cocoa's average productivity in Ghana has worsened due to tenure insecurity, an elderly cocoa farming population, over-aged cocoa trees (estimated at 23 percent of total cocoa-growing area), high costs of cocoa tree removal, high incidence of pest and diseases (estimated at 25 percent of total area), and poor maintenance contributing to low yields. The theoretical yield curves in figure 6 show the yield loss associated with cocoa trees that are beyond their prime, as well as the loss associated with poor husbandry practices. For trees in their prime and under intensive management, a yield of nearly 1800 kg is possible. But for those farms with trees that are old and operated with poor crop husbandry practices, yields fall to 200 kg or less after 30 years of age. With this decline is a significant loss in cocoa productivity as well as in the incomes and livelihoods of poor cocoa farmers unable to replant their cocoa farms and invest the necessary resources to achieve optimal yields.

Figure 6: Theoretical Yield (kg) Profile of Cocoa in Ghana



Three yield scenarios based on quality of management. Age profile: Years 1-3, immature; Years 4-7, mature young; Years 8-24, mature; and Years 25-30+, old. Source: Ecom Ghana Ltd.

Because newly planted cocoa seedlings do not begin producing until the first 5-7 years of life, we will not know the outcome of present cocoa rehabilitation for several years. However, for those farmers investing in ECOM's cocoa rehabilitation program today, there is promise:

- Negotiating written abunu agreements between migrant farmers and indigene landowners provides the necessary incentives and enabling conditions for cocoa rehabilitation;
- The maize and plantains grown in initial years increase household food security as well as market surplus;
- ECOM's technical assistance with managing the investment in cocoa rehabilitation in the initial three years provides an incubation period for farmers to learn new husbandry practices and provide optimal farm management;
- As the cocoa trees begin producing, technical assistance by ECOM, Cocobod, or other licensed buying companies provides further support with inputs and buying and marketing the cocoa.
- Licensed buying companies compete on the basis of services provided; helping provide farmers financial services and assistance with cocoa replanting helps to provide ECOM with a competitive edge that encourages adoption by other companies.

While ideal outcomes, the approach favors cocoa farms which already have tenure security (customary freeholders and stranger landlords), have multiple farms or farm size to free up land for rehabilitation, and are less risk-averse to absorb losses or market swings (e.g., farms with higher incomes or wealth, off-farm employment, or youth). Because the approach also requires a licensed buying company to bear the investment costs out of retained earnings or to borrow investment capital, any expansion of newly planted cocoa will naturally be limited by the pool of financial resources mobilized and the production and marketing risks the company can absorb.

To the extent that chocolate buying companies and the Government of Ghana want to expand benefits to smaller and poorer cocoa farmers as well, new approaches will be required that involve the provision of both public and private goods and services. This pilot helped to shed light on the public goods and services needed, including providing farmers with ADR, mapping, surveying, and documenting services systematically rather than sporadically within a given geographic area as well as technical assistance with financial capital, improved husbandry practices, and provision of trees and farm inputs until such point that markets develop to provide these services. This pilot thus provided insights into the way forward to enabling more inclusive participation in cocoa rehabilitation, but moving from experimentation to scaling yet requires more work with elaborating, testing and scaling provision of private and public goods and services delivery.


IMPACT ON DEFORESTATION

Addressing deforestation is a more difficult challenge because it requires a new paradigm of cocoa cultivation based on intensification, building shade trees back into cocoa cultivation systems and conserving natural and secondary forests through regulatory action and governance mechanisms that are in a more nascent stage of reform and experimentation.

The Ghana Cocoa Forest REDD+ Program (GCFRP) is Ghana's approach to reducing deforestation and increasing yield in the cocoa-growing region. GCFRP will leverage private sector investment in cocoa and government funding, and combine this with payments from emission reductions from the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility to help deliver results. It will be jointly coordinated by the National REDD+ Secretariat at the Forestry Commission and the Cocobod, in partnership with a broad set of private sector, public sector, civil society, traditional authority, and community stakeholders. GCFRP is being developed to reduce deforestation and forest degradation in the high forest zone through five pillars that comprehensively address key barriers to forest conservation and sustainable cocoa production. These five pillars are: i) institutional coordination and measurement, reporting, and verification; ii) landscape planning within hotspot interventional areas; iii) increasing yields via climate-smart cocoa; iv) risk management and finance; and, v) legislative and policy reform – including tree tenure (Government of Ghana, 2016).

Ghana's government faces an enormous challenge in balancing demands for higher cocoa production with plans to minimize deforestation, environmental degradation, and biodiversity loss. Strategies aimed at preventing or reducing deforestation could play out differently in different contexts (Table 9). For example, increasing tenure security and facilitating cocoa rehabilitation (intensification) may fail to reduce deforestation if land scarcity, continued population growth, poverty, and lax enforcement encourage encroachment. Or, it may reduce deforestation in zones where land use pressure is less extreme. There are multiple pathways that could reduce deforestation in Ghana, with greater or lesser relevance depending on context or location. Strategies aimed at afforestation and promoting agroforestry indirectly offset lands lost through deforestation; other strategies help to control deforestation directly.

Table 9: Strategies to Curb Deforestation

	Strategy	Constraint	Impact on Deforestation
	Maintain 30 to 40 percent forest canopy through planting of shade species, conservation & controlled cutting	Forest canopy cover is less than the 15 percent minimum requirement to be categorized as forest ²¹	Builds back forests on cocoa farms via agroforestry to offset natural forest loss elsewhere
	Increase landowner incentives to practice bush fallow thereby increasing secondary forests	Landholders suffer from logging offtake that prevents restoration of forest cover for shaded cocoa	Helps to expand secondary growth forests off-reserve helping to offset deforestation elsewhere
	Promote land and tree tenure security and provide financial and extension support to rehabilitate cocoa	Over-aged cocoa farms are not rehabilitated because tenants risk losing their farms once the trees are cut down driving cocoa expansion	Incentivizes rehabilitation of existing cocoa farm land, reducing expansion into natural forests. Requires government and community mechanisms to curb encroachment
	Increasing jobs and incomes outside primary cocoa cultivation to reduce human pressure on land	Increasing land scarcity drives encroachment into gazetted forests regardless of cocoa intensification strategies due to population growth, poverty, and lack of alternative employment	Increase skills and employment opportunities that enable shifting labor out of primary cocoa cultivation and into value added, non-farm wage employment to reduce land use pressure

Given a ceiling on cocoa supply, intensification would reduce pressure on primary and secondary forests regardless of the size of forests left which is small and shrinking. But if Cocobod continues to increase cocoa production targets beyond limits that enable sustainable cocoa cultivation and forest conservation, and there is not better policing or incentives to protect natural and secondary forests, further deforestation would be dampened but not deterred. Beyond strategies aimed at increasing tenure security and rehabilitating cocoa, other policy mechanisms will be required to effectively curb deforestation: land use planning to support and validate land use governance; public advocacy; a comprehensive strategy on optimal forest and cocoa production; increasing community livelihoods from sustainable forest management; and supporting non-farm employment opportunities as a profitable alternative to resource extraction, among others. Regardless, increases in tenure security will play an extremely important role in these strategies.

The deforestation dynamic is complex and causality is tricky. For example, land, labor, or capital scarcity (not the pilot) could be the main factors arresting deforestation. But these arguments also overly generalize the importance of the pilot in the context of Ghana's diverse cocoa landscape (Table 9). Because of context and externalities, there are multiple theories of change at play in cocoa growing areas, and tenure security and cocoa rehabilitation are only a subset of the policy and intervention tools that will need to be employed on a case-by-case basis in reducing deforestation.

What impact did or will the pilot have on deforestation? Only time will tell and the indicators of success will not be known for years – deforestation of remnant forests within Nyame Nnae slowed or arrested,

²¹ In line with requirements under the Clean Development Mechanism and REDD+ readiness efforts, Ghana has defined its open forests as being a minimum of one ha, having at least 15 percent canopy cover, and containing trees that are at least five meters tall (Government of Ghana, 2016). Ghana excludes agricultural plantations regardless of height and canopy cover from its forest definition, yet shaded cocoa is included under forest in Ghana. The shade trees in the cocoa agroforest would constitute a forest if they offer enough canopy cover and are taller than five meters in height. However, in eight of ten districts studied by Acheampong et al. (2014), crown cover did not qualify as forests because measurements fell below the 15 percent minimum threshold.

secondary forests resulting from fallow by cocoa farmers expanded and better managed, and the neighboring gazetted forest protected with support of the community. Nevertheless, the pilot:

- Helped to better understand the role of shaded timber species and secondary forests stemming from fallow that enable forests and forest canopy to rebuild;
- Determined that effective community based natural resource management can arrest deforestation and lessen threats of encroachment in the gazetted forest adjacent to Nyame Nnae;²²
- Community sensitization expanded farmer awareness of the importance of shade forests in cocoa systems;
- With cocoa rehabilitation, participating farmers achieve optimal shade and forest cover; and,
- Through intensification and community sensitization, the pilot will theoretically reduce pressure on remaining remnant forests in Nyame Nnae while enabling expansion of secondary forests through fallow (via expanding land mapping and documentation to these areas).

These impacts, while currently nascent, offer an opportunity to revisit Nyame Nnae in future years to monitor and evaluate long-term impacts. Time will tell whether the above impacts materialize, and whether they expand beyond Nyame Nnae through diffusion by traditional authorities and participating cocoa farmers.

²² While the local gazette forest seems to be respected, pressure on other forests outside the pilot was not tested. Satellite images show historic deforestation in and around Nyame Nnae but minimal historic incursion into the neighboring forest reserve. The community seems to respect the gazette forest, but the pilot location could not test other communities' practices clearing gazetted, secondary or other unprotected forest. Despite a stated lack of pressure to encroach into the gazette forest reserve around the community, land use planning is still needed when scaling up to mitigate any incentives to ensure that cocoa production within a landscape is deforestation free.

6.0 LESSONS LEARNED AND RECOMMENDATIONS

TGCC's intervention with ECOM, Hershey's, and rural cocoa communities played an important role in opening dialogue on tenure constraints associated with the Government of Ghana and the cocoa industry meeting their goals of reducing deforestation from the cocoa supply chain, while increasing productivity.

A number of discreet activities were undertaken in the final weeks of the project, including a close out survey to capture farmer perceptions about the interventions, a final community meeting (Grand Durbar) to symbolically hand out land documents and formally close field activities, and a final project workshop to share pilot findings, present pilots by other Ghanaian partners, and distill learning. This section summarizes these activities, reports on knowledge sharing and outreach, and concludes with lessons learned and recommendations during the course of the project from assessment to intervention.

6.1 CLOSE-OUT SURVEY

A final survey was carried out with 162 farmers when their land documents were signed. Of these, only 68 could be identified as having been surveyed in the initial baseline. Only household heads were interviewed in the initial baseline, but these may or may not have volunteered their farms for the pilot's mapping and documentation as the process was voluntary. However, the end survey was administered to farmers that volunteered their farms for mapping and documentation. Households and farmers have multiple farm plots with different tenure arrangements. Within certain households, more than one person volunteered their farms to be mapped in their individual names. This demand for mapping and documentation by individual family members was quite positive, but nonetheless difficult to anticipate at the initial baseline stage because of the voluntary aspect and heightened interest by household members stemming from community sensitization that came later in the project.²³

Pilot Results

- 190 farms mapped and tenure rights documented (37 percent women)
- 71 farms rehabilitated
- Three model tenure templates developed for mapped farms
- Community level dispute resolution training
- Agroforestry and tenure training for ECOM extension agents
- Development of a financial model for cocoa rehabilitation

When asked if the process of documenting land rights was worthwhile, 92 percent said yes. Additional comments included that the process provided additional security, information on farm size, and helps reduce conflict. The primary factors that informed farmers' participation in the project included themes on documenting land to secure and protect their future investments, documentation to aid in accessing financing options, desire to know more about site planning, and interest in farm management more broadly.

²³ With hindsight, the household survey should have been administered later in the process following the community sensitization and once mapping work had begun, but this would have resulted in only a few months remaining before the pilot's end.

When asked what lessons farmers learned from the project about land and tree rights for cocoa farming, common themes included an overall improved understanding of the importance of documentation, how documentation can be useful in conflict resolution, securing rights for future generations, improving access to finance, as well as technical knowledge on increasing yields and shade trees. Regarding the financial model, many farmers (66 percent) had no response or were not sure whether they could afford to participate (understandably so as most were not included in the ECOM Group 2 cocoa rehabilitation scheme). The remaining individuals said it was either affordable (18 percent), or too expensive (five percent). Overall 47 individuals, or 29 percent, had a positive impression of financing options for rehabilitation of cocoa farms (“affordable,” “good,” and “helpful” were some of the words used in this group). When farmers asked if they would be prepared to be included in the project’s financial model to rehabilitate other farms, there was a fairly even split of those interested (51 percent) and not interested (49 percent). This suggests a need for more outreach and communication on the rehabilitation model with stakeholders.

In terms of lessons learned regarding cocoa farm mapping, many farmers (68%) reported that they now have an accurate understanding of land size that they did not previously. Other comments included that they learned their farm size was different than they thought, that it helped identify boundary owners, and strengthened the relationship with their landlord.

Farmers had a variety of ideas on suggested changes to the project if it was repeated. Common themes included 33 percent of farmers saying they would like to see financial assistance included. Similarly, other farmers said that they would appreciate additional inputs such as fertilizer and spraying machines. Other common requests were the provision of shade or cocoa seedlings, and assistance with weeding on rehabilitated farms. Overall, 33 percent reported no desired changes to the program.

6.2 GRAND DURBAR

A final close-out Grand Durbar event was held at Nyame Nnae community to showcase the project to a wider audience, issue farm level documentation to select farmers, and provide an opportunity for the community to express their views. The day was marked with series of short statements by the Asankrangwa stool, TGCC, Hershey’s, ECOM, and the Nyame Nnae Chief. There was media and video coverage (see Annex 5), distribution of signed land documents to farmers, and a skit to educate landowners and farmers on the importance of land documentation. Interviews were later held with members of the public interested in the project and future documentation work.



Women dance in appreciation of the project during a musical interlude during the Grand Durbar

PHOTO: RENA SINGER/CLOUDBURST

ECOM presented on the expansion of the farm rehabilitation program using the model developed within the USAID-supported pilot. The revised program will be titled Farm Management Service, and is scheduled to commence in January 2018. It will target multiple farms in any one community. A total of 30 acres is needed to initiate the program in any given community. Enlistment has begun and farmers were invited to participate.

The Asankrangwa stool presented on experiences represented by Mana Adu Buahen I, Gyasehehe of the Asankrangwa Divisional Stool. He underscored the pilot's success, and noted that now that the pilot is completed, it should be scaled-up to benefit other communities under the stool. He appealed to beneficiaries to use the documents to improve their welfare; if landowners and farmers have improved land relations, litigation will decline, there will be peace in the community, and land use will be maximized, all helping to the community to achieve harmony. He praised the Farm Management Service program that will minimize the stress of taking loans from the banks.

6.3 FINAL PROJECT WORKSHOP

USAID, with partners Hershey's and ECOM, sponsored the Improving Tenure Security to Support Sustainable Cocoa: Current Lessons and Looking Forward Workshop to review, share, and discuss results and findings from the pilot; compare findings to other similar pilots; and, discuss next steps and future plans. The meeting included government, traditional leaders, development partners, and private sector actors. It provided a roundtable platform for open and constructive dialogue between key stakeholders that was summarized in a final workshop report.

6.4 KNOWLEDGE AND SHARING

During the course of project implementation, the project undertook a number of important knowledge sharing and outreach activities including brown bags, webinars, blogs, and workshops (see Annex 4). Lessons were shared broadly with key national stakeholders, who are likely to integrate TGCC lessons into their activities.

6.5 LESSONS LEARNED

The pilot overall as measured by beneficiary satisfaction was highly successful. Both men and women farmers, landlords and tenants, and leaders of Asankrangwa stool voiced their appreciation and satisfaction with what the pilot accomplished.

Much was accomplished in a short period of time. The initial assessment report identifying issues and framing the pilot was researched in the period October to December 2016 and finalized in February 2017. Field work occurred over a short time with the completion of a long list of tasks including; choosing the pilot community; undertaking baselines; carrying out community sensitization; developing tenure templates and the cocoa financing model; providing community and extension worker trainings; mapping community and farmer interests; and, completing tenure documentation for 190 cocoa farmers in Nyame Nnae community. By the end of December 2017, all work had been completed roughly on schedule; land documentation portfolios had been handed out to project beneficiaries; and, a Grand Durbar was held to bring community closure. The only element originally planned by not executed was piloting tree registration. This was omitted for reasons discussed in Section 4.8 above. The work was carried out with a relatively small amount of funding and hard effort by numerous organizations. It generated the following lessons for future action.

LESSONS

1. ***Build understanding of relevance of land tenure with private sector interests and identify feasible interventions.*** Private sector partners from the cocoa industry expressed gratitude for

the activities, noting that they had understood that land rights were an issue for the cocoa industry, but that they were seen as the purview of the national government. The partners were not previously aware of actions they could take to clarify rights, or how they could integrate a tenure lens into their existing extension services. In this case, TGCC started with partners on a level and at a scale where the partners could engage and ultimately leverage about a dollar of funding from Hershey's and ECOM for every dollar committed by USAID.

2. ***Time is required to fully apply learning and adaptive management principles.*** The speed of the pilot was not entirely conducive to learning or adaptive management. Because the pilot was carried out in the final year of TGCC, there was little leeway for delays, experimentation, or reflection. Beginning with field implementation, activity timelines were carried out at a sprint. While there were no pitfalls encountered or hasty decisions made, adaptive learning requires time and feedback loops to modify implementation. Thanks to the many partners who participated, the pilot was a success, but requires additional time and effort to adapt the model.
3. ***Document rights in advance of land disputes, where possible.*** Part of the project's success stemmed from a lack of disputes which are normally a thorny problem in land adjudication and registration. There were no significant disputes between parties of land transactions. A few landowners needed persuasion before they would sign off on land documents, but after clarifications to address misunderstandings, all but one farmer appended their signatures to documents. Furthermore, no latent disputes were encountered between landholders and the allodial title. Meanwhile, a similar pilot (Sefwi) in a neighboring traditional area reported protracted disputes between stranger farmers and allodial title holders. One might too easily attribute the difference to the substantial time spent on community engagement. While this is certainly true, other factors were at play as well: few disputes were evident prior to the pilot, and Nyame Nnae's existing ADR system was well understood and respected. While it is impossible to conclude that the pilot implemented in the same way elsewhere would achieve similar success, the issues of land constraints and a high proportion of migrants in Nyame Nnae suggests that conflicts may emerge in the future.
4. ***For effective land rights documentation, focus on process, engagement, and documenting the status on the ground.*** Two features of the approach contributed to positive outcomes. First, the project carefully adhered to the principle of capturing land rights and documenting them as they are practiced in the community. Second, the team spent extensive amounts of time on community engagement and education at varying levels – community, chiefs and elders, indigene landowners, stranger farmers, and women – to explain constitutional provisions that recognize and legalize customary land rights, institutions, and practices in Ghana. It was made clear at the outset, at all levels of engagement, that the aim of the pilot was to document the community's customary land relations and practices that underpin cocoa farming, whether or not those practices are considered registrable by the Lands Commission. This provided the understanding, trust and confidence needed on the part of community members to reach agreement. All too often in Ghana, land rights documentation approaches start with the administrative practices of the Lands Commission and attempt to comply with its leasehold framework that change the landlord tenant dynamics – often in favor of the landlord. Disputes are then triggered if these preconceived notions deviate from the community's reality. Understanding the community's land rights relations, documenting them as they are practiced, validating them by expert legal opinion, and then documenting are key takeaways which helped make the pilot a success.
5. ***Formalizing land rights in Ghana requires more than simply documentation.*** Engagement of the National House of Chiefs was important to codify land rights in traditional areas. Farmers need to be educated to see cocoa production as a business with great potential for their family

and children. More work is needed to investigate what really must be done to scale up documentation, including properly investigating public-private partnerships on service delivery and cost.

6. **Food security and nutrition is an issue for cocoa farmers.** The pilot did not focus on food security or attempt to quantify risks. However, during the course of field activities, seasonal food security risks and nutrition deficiencies of poorer cocoa farmers were identified. Seasonal fluctuations were linked to fluctuations in cocoa income and ability to buy food, and insufficient diversification of other food crops to provide alternative sources of income and food. This can be mitigated through cocoa farm rehabilitation efforts that focus on diversifying crops alongside rehabilitation and yield increases of cocoa farms. This is the model being pursued by ECOM. More effort is needed to understand the scope and acuteness of the food security risks and nutrition dynamics of cocoa farmers.
7. **Not all smallholder farmers are equal: existing rehabilitation pilots being tested are geared toward the privileged.** Landowning groups have sufficient tenure security to replant cocoa. Finance could be extended to these well-off farmers without land documentation. The TGCC model identified a large subgroup of vulnerable farmers, who were not able to participate in existing rehabilitation pilots. Without consideration of who is able to participate in such schemes, well-meaning cocoa companies may inadvertently increase inequality and sow social tensions into communities through financing mechanisms. The current models that are being piloted elsewhere are hybrids dependent on donor funding, and are not particularly sustainable. There is a need for a financially viable and sustainable model that can be scaled up and replicated and can effectively target vulnerable populations. The ECOM financial model is more sustainable, but is not suitable or appropriate to all small-scale cocoa farmers. It remains difficult to scale up and reach poorer farmers without multiple plots or farmers with insecure tenure. Scaling up and further pilots will require other financial options if other smallholders (those without large or multiple cocoa farms) are not to be left behind.
8. **As much as documenting land rights was a success, tree rights documentation still needs to be considered.** Because the tree registration system by the Forestry Commission was still in flux, the team had reservations about the proposed policy changes and their long-term efficacy. The administrative costs of registering trees are steep. Unlike land which is fixed in place for perpetuity, trees incur frequent planting and cutting which require ongoing updating of records which complicates tree registration. In addition, there is risk of two overlapping and competing rights administration systems – one for land and one for trees – that are governed by different agencies. The system of tree registration as now proposed is confounded by problems of infeasibility and unsustainability. An alternative approach would be to divest rights to both naturally occurring and planted trees to landowners, and connect tree rights to the land documentation. This would allow the creation of one unified, low cost rights administration system tied to one parcel map, thereby avoiding coherency and easing rights delivery.
9. **The project successfully demonstrated that a public-private partnership linking tenure documentation, ADR, community engagement, and financial modelling with cocoa rehabilitation was feasible.** Upon completion, farmers were happy that the process protected rights of both indigene landholders and migrant farmers, including men, women, and youth. Traditional authorities from Asankrangwa district appealed for expanded participation of farmers to create peace in the community and for partners to replicate and scale up cocoa rehabilitation efforts. They further offered their leadership to advocate and support future projects with traditional authorities in other areas. ECOM was able to advance its approach to cocoa rehabilitation, while Hershey's supply is strengthened by buying cocoa beans from farmers

with higher productivity. Both ECOM and Hershey's can now use cocoa rehabilitation as a service to attract new farmers while farmers benefit from improved incomes and livelihoods.

- 10. Scalability remains a challenge.** Pilot outcomes on deforestation, cocoa productivity, environmental quality, and farmer livelihoods will not be known for years until trees and cocoa systems mature. The costs involved in providing 190 farmers with documentation were high, making future replication difficult. Landmapp's systems for mapping and documenting rights achieved their purpose but are still dependent on ability to pay a cost that is beyond the means of most smallholder cocoa farmers. In particular, costs related to signing fees to the traditional authorities as well as costs of reaching farmers who may not be present at the time of distribution and signing of documents poses substantial barriers to scalability. Wrapping the cost of documentation into cocoa farm rehabilitation should be explored in any future work.
- 11. The government's acceptance of formalization pilots is still a question.** The Forestry Commission was an active participant throughout the life of the pilot. However, the complex set of government institutions comprising Ghana's value chain were not active participants, partially a function of the pilot's small size and temporary nature in Ghana. A wholesale mind shift that recognizes the need to build shade back into cocoa systems and improve productivity of cocoa on less land is starting to occur, but how this will be achieved in practice needs to be better articulated. Sustainability requires bringing government on board in a way that can internalize pilot findings and build upon their success through policy. There is potential to do so through: (i) policy engagement and advocacy of the land bill; (ii) improved overall documentation and registration of existing land tenure practices; and, (iii) development of new services and products for the cocoa industry. This newly enabled environment raises important questions about how to incubate new services – education, real estate service providers, public notaries, non-governmental organizations in engaged ADR, input services, and agro dealers, among others – that support the cocoa value chain.
- 12. Spend time on gender dynamics.** Even though the pilot phase was able to account for the participation of some female farmers, there was limited time to unravel details about gender dynamics at the household level. This is important if future projects are to account for spouses, female-headed households, and female migrants. It would be helpful in future activities to dedicate time to community sensitization on GESI so that community members and the project team look beyond the obvious to better understand how women and different status groups engage within the community. Careful attention to survey methodologies to engage women is also important.
- 13. Empowering women in cocoa cultivation still remains a big question mark.** The project achieved noteworthy success in engaging women throughout the pilot, facilitating their inclusion and documenting their cocoa farms. Women were appreciative of the extent to which their concerns were taken into account. But this success belies the concerns of women beyond Nyame Nnae. Surprisingly little was said in the final project workshop about gender and the rights and empowerment of women in the cocoa system. It is well-known that women allocate expenditures differently than men and tilt spending toward education and care and nutrition of children within the household. How then are women and youth affected by the cocoa innovations summarized above, and how should interventions be designed to broaden their access to resources, improve their productivity, empower them in decision making, and increase their value-added earnings in cocoa rehabilitation? While the TGCC pilot adapted interventions to focus on gender and social inclusion, the outcomes of these engagements are not entirely clear.

14. Who will bear the costs of public goods? A sustainable cocoa system requires delivery of private goods and services (that the private sector can supply), and public goods and services which are the domain of government (research, extension, infrastructure). Currently both private and public goods and services are being poorly supplied, which leads private companies to focus on public goods and services that local and national government should supply. Land rights documentation requires a strong central authority to clarify and protect those rights. The private sector does not have the expertise and resources to cover the costs of documentation that enable cocoa rehabilitation. For indigene farmers already secure in their tenure, this may not be a concern as their tenure is secured by personal connections to the allodial. But, smaller tenant and migrant farmers risk being left behind without public interventions to enable their participation and secure their inclusion. There is thus need for a private-public sector model that addresses both private and public sector constraints in tandem if cocoa rehabilitation is to be sustainable.

15. After all is said and done, consent of traditional authorities is the necessary ingredient for success. The presence of a lease document does not assure or guarantee rights of one landholder versus another (e.g., between a migrant and indigene farmer). Rather, key decisions about land must be based on consent between landowner, leaseholder, and traditional chiefs. Land documentation is still important for clarifying rights and terms and conditions of all farmers within the community, subject to consent of traditional authorities. The political will of traditional authorities across Ghana will be necessary to further normalize land documentation and strengthen landowner/tenant agreements to promote landscape rehabilitation.

6.6 FINAL THOUGHTS ON SCALING

The generalized approach of using land administration approaches, broadening access to finance, and assisting farmers with cocoa rehabilitation is broadly relevant to other geographies and commodities with adequate nuancing and tailoring to context and constraints faced. There is a wealth of diverse land administration tools and approaches to draw upon depending on the nature of tenure insecurity and financial constraints faced by small farmers. For example, the tenure reforms introduced seem broadly applicable to smallholder cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire where forest encroachment is a serious problem, and the finance model is more easily replicable. Application to other commodities such as palm oil, while perhaps relevant, also introduce new constraints that diverge from the Ghana context; e.g. palm oil is less dependent on shade cover and agro-forestry management, and in some areas (Malaysia) is commercially focused.

The approach is also broadly relevant for reducing deforestation although time is needed to determine the full impacts achieved. Deforestation around the community can be tracked over time, and this rate could be compared to other similar communities that did not receive technical assistance, but it may be hard to draw any causal connections to the pilot (ideally a reference community should have been identified from the start). The GIS survey data collected by the pilot is broadly applicable to monitoring deforestation in the future with scaling, but further work would be required to determine how avoided deforestation impact could be measured and predicted.

Within this context, the setting has been set for ongoing efforts by the private and public sectors to develop a strategy for lowering cost and designing innovations that improve the livelihoods of Ghana's cocoa farmers, promote sustainable cocoa cultivation that reduce deforestation pressures, improve the profitability of the chocolate industry and provide consumers worldwide with high quality chocolate sourced from Ghana.

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ANNEX I: ACTIVITY AND SUB-ACTIVITE TIMELINE

Sub-Activity	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J
Activity 1: Finalize Site Selection and Initial Community Assessment												
1. Identify pilot site		X										
2. Finalize data collection instruments				X								
3. Develop information brief				X								
4. Complete rapid assessment/initial survey for replanting and tenure security beneficiaries (Group 1 and Group 2; see below)				X	X							
5. Demarcate and validate farms							X	X				
Activity 2: Legal Engagement and Dispute Resolution												
6. Training curricula on land and tree tenure					X	X			X			
7. Training of Trainers course for ECOM									X			
8. Community meetings and education on land and tree tenure						X	X	X				
9. Consultation meetings on dispute resolution mechanisms						X	X					
10. Identify dispute resolution mechanism						X	X					
11. Develop and train ADR team								X				
Activity 3: Clarify and Document Rights to Land and Trees												
12. Document review and develop list of norms				X					X			
13. Develop community map												
14. Consultation to agree on terms								X	X	X		
15. Draft templates										X		
16. Community meeting to verify terms and map										X		
17. Finalize documentation										X	X	
18. Signing ceremony											X	
Activity 4: Develop Financial Model to Invest in Cocoa Farm Rehabilitation												
19. Develop manual & Training of Trainers on agroforestry					X	X			X			
20. Financial analysis and development of draft models				X	X	X						
21. Community meetings and finalize financial model					X		X					
22. Replant cocoa farms				X	X	X						
Activity 5: Capture Learning, Results and Outreach												
23. Final report and survey completed									X	X	X	X
24. Close-out workshop in Accra											X	
25. Key findings presented at Innovation Forum meeting in London										X		
26. Briefing note on tree tenure											X	X

27. Blogs		X										X
28. Support Land Links webinar										X		

ANNEX 2: GUIDELINES FOR MAINSTREAMING GESI

Planned Activities	GESI Consideration per Activity	Implementation Steps
<p>Consultations, courtesy calls, project briefing & formal introduction of the pilot project to the Asankrangwa Palace (allodial title holder) and the Wassa Amenfi West District Assembly to seek the stool's support and 'buy-in' to the project. (Also, get confirmation and information on the role of the paramountcy in land transactions. Discuss their role in the project, especially in terms of lodging documents on land)</p> <p>(From our discussions, other chiefs at the lower level in the hierarchy have already been engaged so this activity is only focused on the paramountcy level. However, the principles discussed apply at all levels.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Messaging: Messages about the project that will be delivered to the Traditional Authority and other stakeholders should demonstrate commitment to integrating GESI in the project. This should also reflect in the analysis of the problems and justification which gave birth to the project. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Re-work the problem analysis, project objective/goal and activities ▪ Make a conscious effort to involve the Queen Mothers in the consultations. Have separate meetings with them. At the community level, seek to identify female leadership and work through them to mobilize the women ▪ Have all team members understand the revised messaging so as to adopt their language to it ▪ Report on the consultations should highlight observations and reactions to messages on GESI integration
<p>Identify existing rules and norms on landholding arrangements in Nyame Nnae</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Inclusive consultations: This activity will involve consultations with the local people as well as the customary land authorities. To understand the gender and social inclusion dynamics and the rules that apply to them, ensure that both male and female farmers as well as migrants are involved. (the principle of 'not about me without me' applies here) ▪ Approach the identification in a structured manner: The acquisition, the nature of rights, rules governing occupation and use and the dispute resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Include GESI groups in selecting those that will be consulted ▪ Have separate meetings with the identified vulnerable groups ▪ Give equal attention to all the nuanced relationships in land holdings
<p>Introduce and identify norms, customs and arrangements regarding tree tenure in the</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Build a gendered understanding of tree tenure: Tree tenure has a direct link with land 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Review of government policy on tree tenure

community and educate on government policies on tree tenure and benefit sharing	tenure. To be able to facilitate a gendered tree tenure discussion, it is important to first understand the government policy and establish opportunities in the policy that can provide basis for GESI integration. Based on that and the outcome of the analysis on the norms, customs and arrangements, develop messages that responds to an enhance tree tenure from a GESI perspective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Conduct assessment involving all categories of farmers and interest groups ▪ Develop messages that incorporate the interest of marginalized groups ▪ Deliver messages to all categories of interest groups
Identify existing alternative dispute resolution mechanisms (ADR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Assessment of the accessibility of ADR mechanisms: The structure, composition, proceedings, enforcement of decisions are key elements of ADR that may reflect its potential to benefit all or exclude some. As part of identifying existing ADR mechanisms, it will be helpful to examine it from these angles as well to be able to establish the GESI considerations and provide prompters on ways to enhance the existing mechanisms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Re-define the purpose for the identification of the existing system ▪ Develop assessment tools that will elicit responses on the effects of the existing mechanism on vulnerable groups ▪ In addition to the overall assessment of the existing mechanism, also focus analysis on the effect of the existing mechanism on vulnerable groups
Engage to enhance, if necessary, existing alternative dispute resolution mechanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sensitization, education, consultations and dialogue on enhanced ADR: Based on the findings from the assessment, facilitate engagements with stakeholders for an enhanced ADR mechanism. These engagements will be in forms. The messages, the participation and the design should all reflect GESI considerations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Develop gendered messages ▪ Facilitate an inclusive engagement process ▪ The design of the enhanced mechanism should reflect the needs and interest of all
Identify and generate list of farmers and farms earmarked for demarcation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Identification and engagement with all actors involved with each farm: Once the list is confirmed, the final group needs to be sensitized, ascertain the involvement of other members of their households on the farm and define engagement strategy with both farmer and other actors on the farm 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ From the point where the list is confirmed and engagements are held with the farmers, the team will need to mainstream GESI in all discussions. This can feature in: a) the initial engagements to know more about each farmer and their farm and; b) the process of identification of the farms

ANNEX 3: LAND RIGHTS TEMPLATES

ASANKRANGWA TRADITIONAL AREA

WESTERN REGION, GHANA

CONFIRMATION OF STANDARD FORM OF CUSTOMARY FREEHOLD INTEREST OF SUBJECTS IN THE ASANKRANGWA TRADITIONAL AREA

I, Divisional Chief of Asankrangwa in the Wassa Amenfi Traditional Area in the Amenfi West District in the Western Region of the Republic of Ghana with the concurrence of the principal elders of the Asankrangwa stool as the custodians of the tradition, customs and culture of the Asankrangwa Traditional Area in the Amenfi West District in the Western Region of the Republic of Ghana and in recognition of our customary Law right afforded us in the 1992 Constitution,

CONFIRM as follows:

1. The Allodial title in a vacant communal land in Asankrangwa Traditional Area is held by the Asankrangwa Stool (hereinafter referred to as the “Allodial”).
2. A Customary Freehold Interest in the Asankrangwa Traditional Area in the Amenfi West District in the Western Region of the Republic of Ghana is an interest in land at custom that can be held by a subject of the stool only.
3. It is acquired in a vacant communal land when a subject of the stool (hereinafter referred to as the “Holder”) exercises his/her inherent right to develop such vacant communal land.
4. It is the highest type of interest a subject or individual member of a family or stool can hold in the Nyame Nnae Community of the Asankrangwa Traditional Area.
5. The Holders in Nyame Nnae are of Wassa descent who have either parent coming from Asankrangwa or neighboring towns within the Wassa catchment area.
6. The Holder requires prior approval from his /her family head (Abusuapanin) before entering a desired vacant communal land (the “Land”).

The incidents of the Customary Freehold in the Nyame Nnae community of the Asankrangwa Traditional Area are as follows:

RIGHTS OF THE HOLDER

1. The Holder has perpetual usufruct rights in the Land.
2. The Holder’s interest prevails all other interests in the Land
3. The Holder may pass off his or her interest in the land either in his or her lifetime or by testamentary disposition to a descendent subject without the prior approval of the Allodial.
4. The Holder may alienate his or her interest in the land in his or her lifetime to a non-subject with the prior approval of the Allodial.
5. The Holder may create *Abunu* rights in the land.
6. The Holder is entitled to use the land to secure any charges in his or her favour.

7. All non-timber forest products shall vest in the holder subject to compliance with the customary usages in Asankrangwa.

DUTIES OF THE HOLDER

1. The Holder is subject to all customary taboos and traditional prohibitions regarding land use that the Allodial prescribes.
2. All naturally occurring timber trees found on the Property of the holder shall vest in accordance with Ghanaian laws, with the flexibility to adapt to changes in law, policy and regulations as they change over time.

DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

1. Any disputes are settled by consensus with all parties to the dispute present.
2. Where consensus is not possible, disputes are settled by customary Arbitration in the palace of Nananom.

SIGNED AND SEALED

By _____ (name of Chief)

in the presence of:



(Signature)

1. _____
(Name of Elder)



(Signature)

2. _____
(Name of Elder)



(Signature)

3. _____
(Name of Elder)



(Signature)

ATTESTATION OF CUSTOMARY FREEHOLD INTEREST

The undersigned parties ATTEST as follows:

Whereas the Allodial title in _____ acre land (particularly described in the Schedule) situated at Nyame Nnae community (hereinafter called the “Land”) is held by the Asankrangwa Stool (hereinafter called “the Allodial”);

Whereas the Allodial has a duty under customary law to administer the Land for and on-behalf of Asankrangwa stool in accordance with customary law and usage;

Whereas _____ (name of holder) is a subject of the Asankrangwa stool and a resident of Nyame Nnae community (hereinafter referred to as the “Holder”) and has an inherent right under customary law to occupy and use free of charge any vacant virgin communal land of the Allodial;

Whereas the Land was a vacant virgin communal land;

Whereas the Holder required the Land for personal use;

Whereas the Holder obtained the consent from his or her family head (Abusuapanyin) to occupy the Land;

Whereas the Holder went unto the Land and occupied it for his/her personal use;

AND the Holder performing all the customary requirements commonly known and expected for Customary Freehold Interest in the Nyame Nnae community as narrated in the CONFIRMATION OF STANDARD FORM OF CUSTOMARY FREEHOLD INTEREST OF SUBJECTS IN THE ASANKRANGWA TRADITIONAL AREA by _____ (name of chief) of the Asankrangwa Stool and attached hereto;

The Allodial therefore ATTESTS that _____ (Name of holder) of _____ (address) acquired *Customary Freehold Interest* in the Land with all the rights and duties enumerated in the attached CONFIRMATION OF STANDARD FORM OF CUSTOMARY FREEHOLD INTEREST OF SUBJECTS IN THE ASANKRANGWA TRADITIONAL AREA.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunder set their hands and seals this _____ day of _____ 2017.

SCHEDULE

All that piece or parcel of land situate at (Location/Community) in the Traditional Area in the District in the Region of the Republic Ghana as detailed in the site plan attached to this document as well as the geographical description in the Schedule to this agreement.

1. _____

(Name of Allodial)

(Signature)

2. _____
(Name of Witness)

(Signature)

3. _____
(Name of Holder)

(Signature)

4. _____
(Name of Witness)

(Signature)

JURAT

I _____ (Particulars of the person explaining) hereby declare that on the ____ day of _____ (month, year), I read and explained the contents of document to the signatories herein, who are illiterate, in the _____ language, and they seemed perfectly to understand and approve of the contents before executing it.

(Signature of declarant)

ASANKRANGWA TRADITIONAL AREA

WESTERN REGION, GHANA

CONFIRMATION OF STANDARD FORM OF CUSTOMARY TENANCY (ASIDEE) IN THE ASANKRANGWA TRADITIONAL AREA

I, Divisional Chief of Asankrangwa in the Wassa Amenfi Traditional Area in the Amenfi West District in the Western Region of the Republic of Ghana with the concurrence of the principal elders of the of Asankrangwa stool as the custodians of the tradition, customs and culture of the Asankrangwa Traditional Area in the Amenfi West District in the Western Region of the Republic of Ghana and in recognition of our customary Law right afforded us in the 1992 Constitution,

CONFIRM as follows:

1. Asidee is an interest in land at custom in the Asankrangwa Traditional Area where migrants to the Area acquire/acquired tracts of land (hereinafter referred to as the “Land”) directly from the Asankrangwa stool (hereinafter referred to as the “Allodial”) after performing all the requirements in custom.
2. The interest was acquired through the migrant performing the necessary obligations to the Allodial.
3. The Allodial creates Asidee and it is legitimate and recognized under our customs in Asankrangwa.
4. The right to the land is lost where the holder refuses to pay the annual *Afahyetoo* payments to the Allodial.
5. That no successors, heirs, and/or other representatives of both parties shall have the right to terminate this agreement when all conditions agreed upon have been fulfilled, even in the absence of the original parties.

RIGHTS OF THE HOLDER OF ASIDEE

1. The Holder has perpetual rights in the allocated land.
2. The Holder may alienate his/her interest in the land with the prior approval of the Allodial.
3. The Holder may create abunu rights in the land with the prior approval of the Allodial.
4. The Holder may establish a charge over the land with the prior approval of the Allodial.
5. The Holder may demise the land to his/her successors.
6. In return for the Holder paying the annual *Afahyetoo* and having performed the requirements for the grant, the Allodial allows the Holder to peaceably hold and enjoy the Land.
7. The Allodial refrains from impeding the Holder from exercising his or her Asidee rights over the Land.
8. All non-timber forest products shall vest in the farmer or landowner subject to compliance with the customary usages in the Asankrangwa.

DUTIES / OBLIGATIONS OF THE HOLDER

1. The Holder is to make a yearly payment to the Allodial referred to as “Afahyetoo”.
2. The amount of the Afahyetoo is to be determined by the Allodial and may be varied on an annual basis solely by the Allodial.
3. The Holder is required to contribute to any other levies sanctioned by the Stool/Allodial for community developmental purposes.
4. The refusal of the Holder to pay contributions sanctioned by the Stool/Allodial may be a basis to restrain the Holder from enjoying the land until payment is made.
5. The Holder is subject to all customary taboos and traditional prohibitions regarding land use that the allodial prescribes.
6. The Holder shall administer all commercial timber trees found on the Property in accordance with Ghanaian tree tenure laws, with the flexibility to adapt to changes in law, policy and regulations as they change over time
7. *The Holder cannot exclude community members from exercising commonly held customary land rights over the Land.*
8. All naturally occurring timber trees found on the Property of the holder/farmer shall vest in accordance with Ghanaian laws, with the flexibility to adapt to changes in law, policy and regulations as they change over time

DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

1. Under the Asidex system, disputes are settled by consensus with all parties to the dispute present.
2. Where consensus is not possible, disputes are settled by customary Arbitration in the palace of Nananom.

SIGNED AND SEALED

By _____ (name of Chief)

in the presence of:

} _____
(Signature)

4. _____
(Name of Elder)

} _____
(Signature)

5. _____
(Name of Elder)

} _____
(Signature)

6. _____
(Name of Elder)

} _____
(Signature)

ATTESTATION OF ASIDE€ RIGHTS

The undersigned parties ATTEST as follows:

WHEREAS the allodial title in _____ acre land (particularly described in the Schedule) situated at Nyame Nnae community (hereinafter called the “Land”) is held by the Asankrangwa Stool (hereinafter called “the Allodial”);

WHEREAS _____ (name of Migrant) of _____ (address) (hereinafter referred to as the “Holder”) migrated to the Nyame Nnae community of the Asankrangwa Traditional Area and required the Land for personal use.

WHEREAS THE HOLDER’S CONSIDERATION FOR PURCHASE FOR THE LAND WAS EITHER CASH OR SERVICE RENDERED IN KIND TO THE ALLODIAL.

WHEREAS the Holder *offered* **ALCOHOLIC DRINKS (SCHNAPPS) TO SEAL THE LAND TRANSACTION.**

WHEREAS the Holder performed all the customary requirements commonly known and expected for an *Aside€* grant in the Nyame Nnae community as narrated in the CONFIRMATION OF STANDARD FORM OF CUSTOMARY TENANCY (ASIDE€) IN THE ASANKRANGWA TRADITIONAL AREA by _____ (name of chief) of the Asankrangwa Stool and attached hereto;

The Allodial therefore ATTESTS that _____ (Name of holder) of _____ ACQUIRED *Aside€* interest in the Land with all the rights and duties enumerated in the attached CONFIRMATION OF STANDARD FORM OF CUSTOMARY TENANCY (ASIDE€) IN THE ASANKRANGWA TRADITIONAL AREA.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunder set their hands and seals this _____ day of _____ 2017.

SCHEDULE

All that piece or parcel of land situate at (Location/Community) in the Traditional Area in the District in the Region of the Republic Ghana as detailed in the site plan attached to this document as well as the geographical description in the Schedule to this agreement.

5. _____
(Name of Allodial)

(Signature)

6. _____
(Name of Witness)

(Signature)

7. _____
(Name of Holder) (Signature)

8. _____
(Name of Witness) (Signature)

JURAT

I _____ (Particulars of the person explaining) hereby declare that on the ____ day of _____ (month, year), I read and explained the contents of document to the signatories herein, who are illiterate, in the _____ language, and they seemed perfectly to understand and approve of the contents before executing it.

(Signature of declarant)

ASANKRANGWA TRADITIONAL AREA

WESTERN REGION

CONFIRMATION OF STANDARD FORM OF CUSTOMARY TENANCY (ABUNU)

I, Divisional Chief of Asankrangwa in the Wassa Amenfi Traditional Area in the Amenfi West District in the Western Region of the Republic of Ghana with the concurrence of the principal elders of the Asankrangwa stool as the custodians of the tradition, customs and culture of the Asankrangwa Traditional Area in the Amenfi West District in the Western Region of the Republic of Ghana and in recognition of our customary law right afforded us in the 1992 Constitution,

CONFIRM as follows:

1. Abunu Land Rights in Nyame Nnae is an interest in land at custom acquired through an oral land agreement whereby a stranger, a migrant or an indigene (hereinafter referred to as the “Farmer”) acquires land from a customary freehold or Asidee title holder (hereinafter referred to as “Landowner”) for farming purposes only.
2. The Landowner is to provide a vacant or uncultivated land to the Farmer to grow agreed cash crops, which are to be shared between the parties at a given agreed time.
3. Land given for an Abunu Agreement in the Nyame Nnae community is often for cocoa farming.
4. The stages for its creation are:
 - a. The Farmer identifies a suitable land for farming
 - b. The Farmer then approaches the Landowner, agrees on terms and pays a token for the use of land for farming in the presence of witnesses from both parties.
 - c. The Farmer then goes into occupation and cultivates the land.
 - d. The Farmer is entitled to harvest and keep all the farm harvest before the farm is shared.
 - e. The farm is then shared equally (split in two) after a period of time as determined by the parties in the presence of witnesses.
 - f. Until farm is shared, any cocoa that is produced is shared in three equal parts as follows: one third is for the Landowner, one third is for the Farmer, and one third is sold by a designated party (usually the farmer) and the proceeds of the sale are used to maintain the farm before the farm is split.
5. The Asankrangwa stool (hereinafter referred to as the “Allodial”) reserve the right to determine the annual Afahyetoo rate based on prevailing economic situation of the area, but such right should be exercised in a justifiable and equitable manner.

After the farm sharing the Farmer gains Abunu land rights over his/her part of the farm. The incidents are as follows:

- That all commercial timber trees, nurtured or planted on the said land shall be administered in accordance with existing Ghanaian tree tenure regime with the flexibility to adopt to changes in policy and regulations.
- That communal right over the said land are not hindered to the extent that it will not irreversibly affect the quality of the land.
- That no successors, heirs, and/or other representatives of both parties shall have the right to terminate this agreement when all conditions agreed upon have been fulfilled, even in the absence of the original parties.

RIGHTS OF THE LANDOWNER:

1. The Landowner has the right of first choice when the is divided based on agreed method acceptable to both parties
2. The Landowner reserve the right to terminate the agreement if He/She establishes that the Farmer is paying more attention to the food crops than the cash crop.

RIGHTS OF THE FARMER:

1. The Abunu land rights created are usufruct
2. The Farmer can rehabilitate the farm with the consent of the Landowner, which shall not be unreasonably withheld.
3. The Farmer can sell his/her acquired portion of the farm with the consent of the Landowner.
4. The Farmer can demise his/her acquired portion of the farm to his/her successors.
5. For the duration of the Abunu relationship, all non-timber forest products shall vest in the farmer subject to compliance with the customary usages in the Asankrangwa

DUTIES/OBLIGATION OF THE FARMER:

1. The Farmer shall be responsible for the cost of growing the cash crop.
2. The Farmer is to make a yearly payment to the Allodial referred to as “Afahyetoo”.
3. The Farmer is subject to all taboos and traditional prohibitions regarding land use that the allodial prescribe.
4. The Farmer is to contribute to any other levies sanctioned by the Stool/Allodial for community developmental purposes.
5. All naturally occurring timber trees found on the Property of the holder/farmer shall vest in accordance with Ghanaian laws, with the flexibility to adapt to changes in law, policy and regulations as they change over time

DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

3. All disputes arising out of the Abunu relationship are to be settled by consensus with all parties to the dispute present.
4. Where consensus is not possible, disputes are to be settled by customary Arbitration in the palace of Nananom.

SIGNED AND SEALED

By _____ (name of Chief)

in the presence of:

7. _____
(Name of Elder)

} _____
(Signature)

8. _____
(Name of Elder)

} _____
(Signature)

9. _____
(Name of Elder)

} _____
(Signature)

ATTESTATION OF ABUNU LAND RIGHTS

The undersigned parties ATTEST as follows:

WHEREAS _____ (name of landowner) of _____ (address) (hereinafter referred to as “Landowner”) is the beneficial owner of _____ acre land situated in Nyame Nnae community (hereinafter referred to as “the Land”) and particularly described in the Schedule;

WHEREAS _____ (name of farmer) of _____ (address) (hereinafter referred to as the “Farmer”) identified the Land as a suitable land for farming;

WHEREAS the Landowner gave the Land to the Farmer to cultivate a _____ (type of cash crop) farm;

WHEREAS the Farmer cultivated the Land into _____ farm of _____ acres (hereinafter called the “Farm”);

WHEREAS the Farm was shared into EQUAL HALVES after _____ years of cultivation;

AND the farmer having performed all the customary requirements commonly known and expected from an Abunu farmer in the Nyame Nnae community as narrated in the CONFIRMATION OF STANDARD FORM OF CUSTOMARY TENANCY (ABUNU) by _____ (name of chief) of the Asankrangwa Stool and attached hereto;

The Landowner hereby ATTESTS that _____ (Name of farmer) of _____ ACQUIRED Abunu Land Rights over his/her portion of the Farm with all the rights and duties enumerated in the attached CONFIRMATION OF STANDARD FORM OF CUSTOMARY TENANCY (ABUNU).

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunder set their hands and seals this _____ day of _____ 2017.

SCHEDULE

All that piece or parcel of land situate at (Location/Community) in the Traditional Area in the District in the Region of the Republic Ghana as detailed in the site plan attached to this document as well as the geographical description in the Schedule to this agreement.

9. _____
(Name of Landowner)

(Signature)

10. _____
(Name of Witness)

(Signature)

11. _____
(Name of Farmer)

(Signature)

12. _____
(Name of Witness)

(Signature)

JURAT

I _____ (Particulars of the person explaining) hereby declare that on the ____ day of _____ (month, year), I read and explained the contents of document to the signatories herein, who is illiterate, in the _____ language, and they seemed perfectly to understand and approve of the contents before executing it.

(Signature of declarant)

ANNEX 4: KNOWLEDGE SHARING ACTIVITIES

Type	Date	Title	Authors / Presenters	Venue
Power Point Presentation	March 20, 2017	Land and Natural Resource Governance and Tenure for Enabling Sustainable Cocoa Cultivation in Ghana	Michael Roth and Robert O'Sullivan	USAID Responsible Investment Brown Bag
Power Point Presentation	July 20, 2017	Land and Natural Resource Governance and Tenure for Enabling Sustainable Cocoa Cultivation in Ghana	Yaw Adarkwah Antwi	Cocobod/WCF Workshop, Holiday Inn, Accra
Power Point Presentation	August 23, 2017	Land and Natural Resource Governance and Tenure for Enabling Sustainable Cocoa Cultivation in Ghana	Yaw Adarkwah Antwi	Hershey's Strategy Workshop, Impact Hub, Accra
Webinar	November 2, 2017	The Business Case for Land Rights	Ghana Panelists: Olga Gormalova (ECOM) and Jeff King (Hershey's)	USAID webinar
Panel discussion	November 15, 2017	Panel title: "Cocoa: the newest global deforestation threat on the horizon?"	Robert O'Sullivan	Innovation Forum: How business can tackle deforestation; The newest methodologies, technologies and industry examples for implementing zero deforestation policies, Amnesty International UK, Human Rights Action Centre, London, England
Power Point Presentation	November 30, 2017	Land and Natural Resource Governance and Tenure for Enabling Sustainable Cocoa Cultivation in Ghana	Yaw Adarkwah Antwi	WCF Private Sector Intervention Workshop, Labadi Beach Hotel, Accra
Blog	February 2018	Improving Tenure Security to Support Sustainable Cocoa	Yaw Adarkwah Antwi	USAID Blog for public circulation
Infographic	February 2018	Property Rights Matter for Sustainable Cocoa Cultivation	Michael Roth	USAID Infographic for public circulation
Power Point Presentation	March 6, 2018	Improving Tenure Security to Support Sustainable	Robert O'Sullivan	Tropical Forest Alliance 2020 Brown Bag, USAID

		Cocoa		Washington DC
Power Point Presentation	March 8, 2018	Improving Tenure Security to Support Sustainable Cocoa	Robert O'Sullivan	USAID Africa Bureau Brown Bag, USAID Washington DC
Panel Presentation	March 12, 2018	Improving Tenure Security to Support Sustainable Cocoa	Robert O'Sullivan	Presentation for Panel on Documenting Land Resource Rights for Economic Growth, Wilson Center, Washington DC
Field Trip	May 12-14, 2018	Field Trip to Asankrangwa district to explore Winrock, Hershey, and Ecom Partnership on Land Tenure Security for Sustainable Cocoa	René Dogbe	Field trip before the TFA 2020 annual forum

ANNEX 5: MEDIA COVERAGE OF GRAND DURBAR

Date	Nature	Author	Source
December 21, 2017	Radio	Royal FM (Asankrangwa)	Local broadcast (News Item)
December 22, 2017	Online	Erica A. Addo, Ghana News Agency (Tarkwa)	http://www.ghananewsagency.org/economics/ecom-ghana-introduces-new-programme-to-improve-old-cocoa-farms-126750
December 23, 2017	Online	Justina Paaga, Ghana News Agency (Takoradi)	www.ghananewsagency.org or http://www.ghananewsagency.org/social/three-organizations-lead-farmers-to-document-their-farmlands-126805
January 2, 2018	Radio	Onua FM (92.7) (Accra)	Broadcast in Accra (News Item)
January 2, 2018	Radio	Atinka FM (104.1) (Accra)	Broadcast in Accra (News Item)
December 30, 2017	Online	Wise Zah, Information Service (Enchi)	www.ghanadistricts.com or http://www.ghanadistricts.com/Home/Reader/7d286f4-88a0-476f-a9
December 31, 2017			www.ghanaewsarena.com
January 02, 2018			www.michshowzz.com , or https://www.michshowzz.com/2018/01/winrock-international-improves-tenure-security-to-support-182-cocoa-farmers-in-amenfi-west/
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	Print (Daily Graphic)		

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