

A GREEN REVOLUTION FOR RWANDA: The end of small-scale peasantry?



**By
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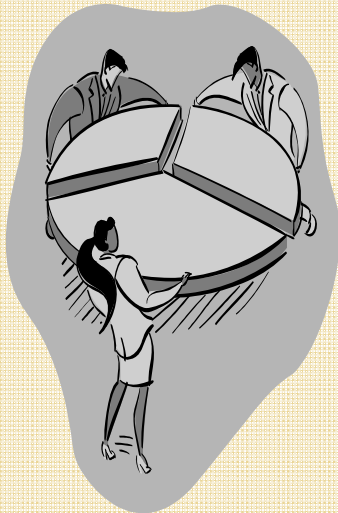
The Rwandan renaissance

- Great **growth** figures
 - 7,4% between 1997 and 2006 (11,2% in 2008)
- Well appreciated poverty reduction **policies**
- Great performance in terms of governance ...
technocratic governance
 - Among 40% best in terms of control of corruption
 - Government effectiveness increased since 2005
 - Doing business 2010: World's top reformer
- Progress in **social sectors**
 - Net enrolment from 73,7% to 85,9% (2001-2005)
 - Child mortality and maternal mortality went down
+ fight against malaria
- Macro-economic stability



But ...

- Poverty went down 60,3 -> 56,9%
- But poverty went up 4,8 -> 5,4 million
- Inequality went up gini 0,47 -> 0,51
- In rural areas gini 0,37 -> 0,44
- Pro-poor character of economic growth is highly problematic



A green revolution for Sub-Saharan Africa: World Development Report 2008

“Using agriculture as the basis for economic growth in the agriculture-based countries requires a **productivity revolution in smallholder farmers** ... combined with more effective support to the millions coping as subsistence farmers” (WDR 2008)

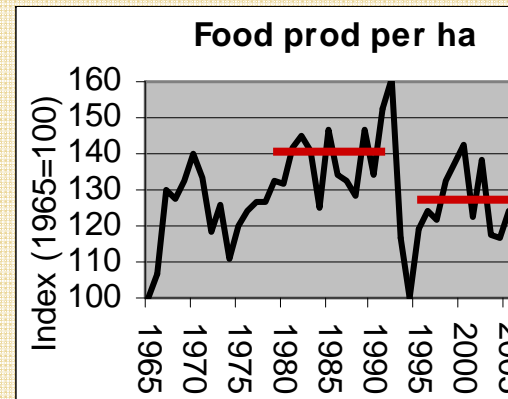
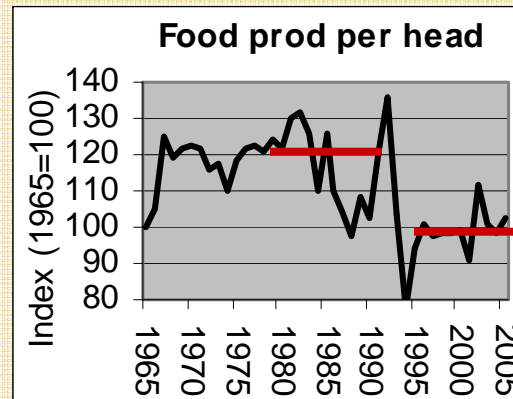
-> revolution will have to be different from the Asian version

BUT...

1. How do this in a context of **extreme land scarcity** dominated by subsistence production?
2. Which impact has the **wider political economy** structure and the resulting political bargaining process upon the incentives of policy makers to invest in smallholder farming?

Extreme land scarcity

- > 85% of the population = agriculture dependent
- Stringent competition for land (per household 0,71 ha)
- Implications for food production and land productivity



- Land inequality has hugely increased
- BUT ALSO: inverse relationship between farm size and productivity

The political economy of Rwanda

- **Identity of political elite** differs profoundly from the majority of the rural people (in terms of ethnicity, in terms of living environment, in terms of origin)
- No belief in a **peasant-based development model**

	Ethnicity				RPF / Non-RPF		
	Tutsi ex ref	Tutsi non ref	Hutu	n.a.	RPF	Non-RPF	N.A.
1998	14	8	18		20	15	5
1999	18	9	19		26	17	3
2000	12	9	11		19	11	2
2001	15	7	12		21	11	2
2002	18	3	14		21	10	4
2003	16	3	15		23	10	1
2004	15	1	17	3	23	9	4
2005	15	3	15	3	23	8	5
2008	10	3	11		17	5	7
2009	13	4	11		22	6	

Towards a green revolution?

Reengineering rural society

1. OVERALL GOALS OF RURAL POLICIES

- Transformation of agricultural sector in professionalised motor for economic growth
- Land consolidation, larger farms
- Agriculture-dependent population from 85 -> 50%

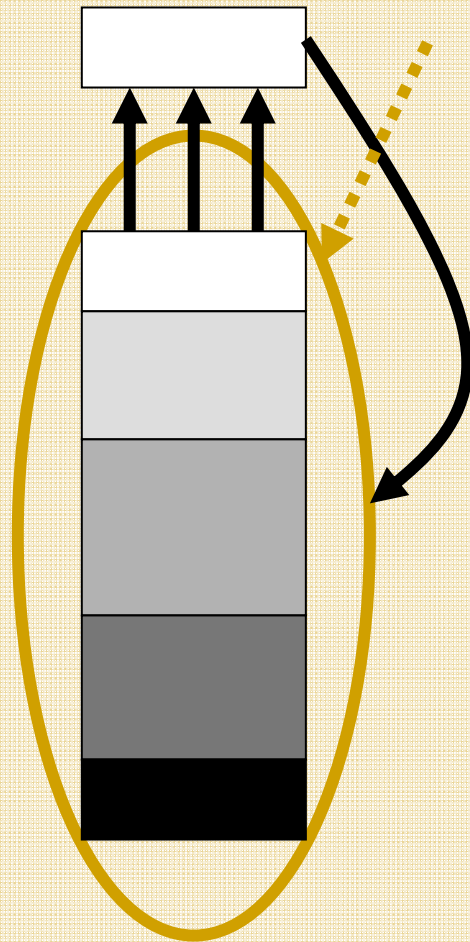
2. WAYS TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS

- Enforcing the adoption of 'modern' production techniques such as monocropping and regional specialisation
 - + pushing people out of agriculture towards ...
- Artificial upgrade of rural life
- Transform Rwanda into target-driven society

Agricultural growth & a trickle down effect ?

TARGET "PROBLEMATIC" GROUP

"The" rural population in Rwanda

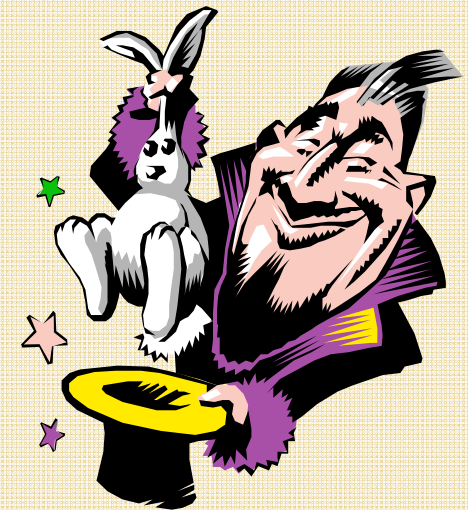


BUT RURAL POLICIES

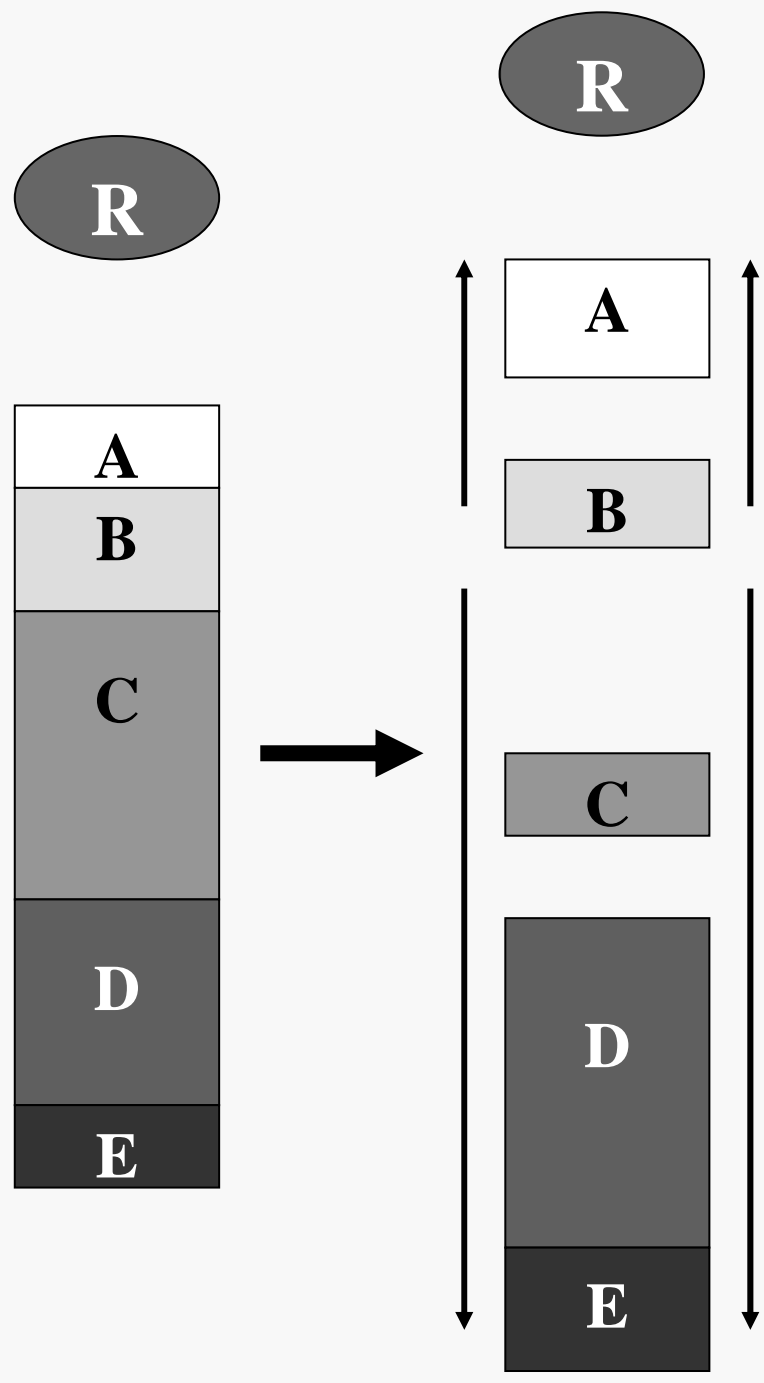
Only reach "privileged" part of the target group

TRICKLE DOWN through increased D for farm and off-farm goods and services?

NOT NECESSARILY



+
WELL-BEING
-



R: Umukire - Professional farmers
 Rich in terms of revenue, land, animals, monetary revenue (coming from paid employment as civil servants or in trades), savings at official banks, their prosperity often pushes them to migrate to urban centres

A: Umukungu
 Rich in terms of food security, large farms, rich soils, some animals, enough food, employ others on own farms, at times get access to paid employment (higher-skilled jobs), have savings

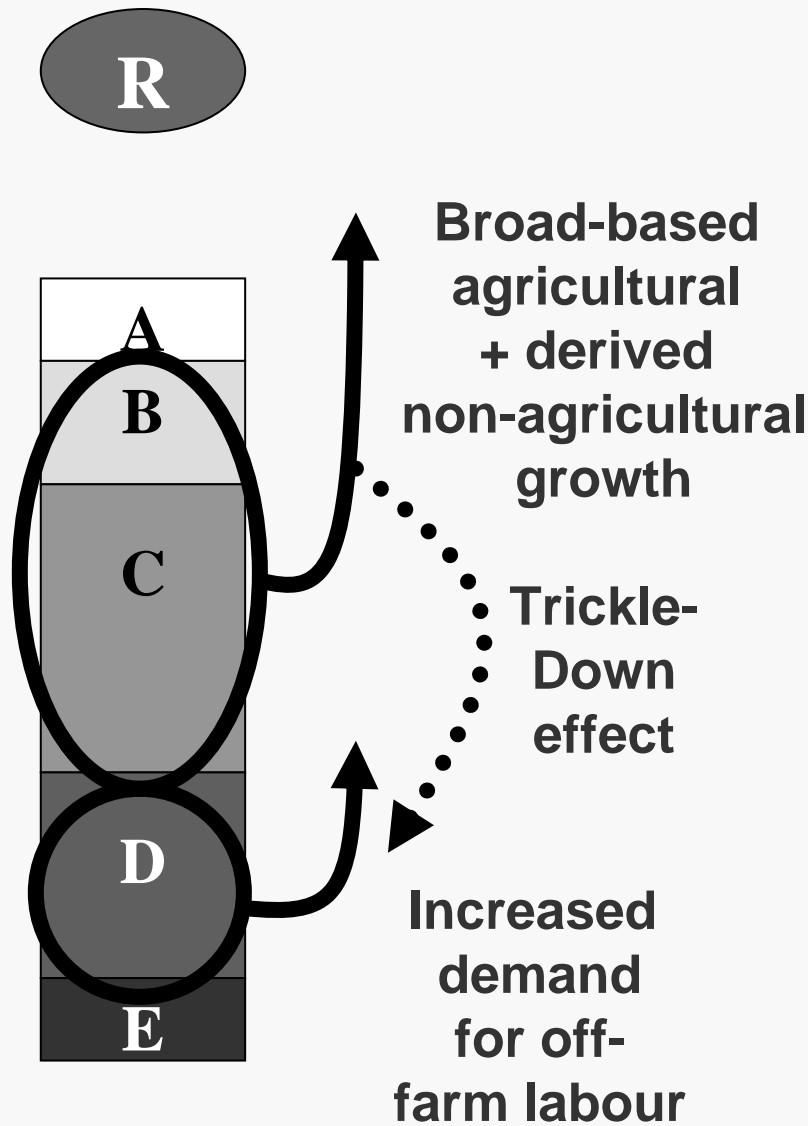
B: Umukene wifashije
 Poor with a bit more land, few animals, besides subsistence production they have a small income to satisfy other needs, (e.g. school fees)

C: Umukene
 Poor, land to produce food for their family but no surplus for the market, often work for others, have no savings

D: Umukene nyakujuya / umutindi
 Very poor, live from working on other peoples' lands, very little land with low harvests, no animals, no access to health care or schooling

E: Umutindi nyakujuya
 Destitute, beg for their livelihood, no land, no animals, not very capable in terms of labour, ignorant, not respected, discriminated.

+
WELL-BEING
-



Pro-poor policies

R: Umukire - Professional farmers doing OK

A: Umukungu doing OK

B & C: Umukene wifashije & Umukene: transformation into an entrepreneurial class

-> Enhance market-oriented agricultural production by improving bargaining position in price negotiations and by reducing risks related to market-oriented production => Enhance potential of collective action mechanisms
-> Explore potential for off-farm small-scale entrepreneurship => Need for risk-insurance mechanisms, access to credit at lowest level

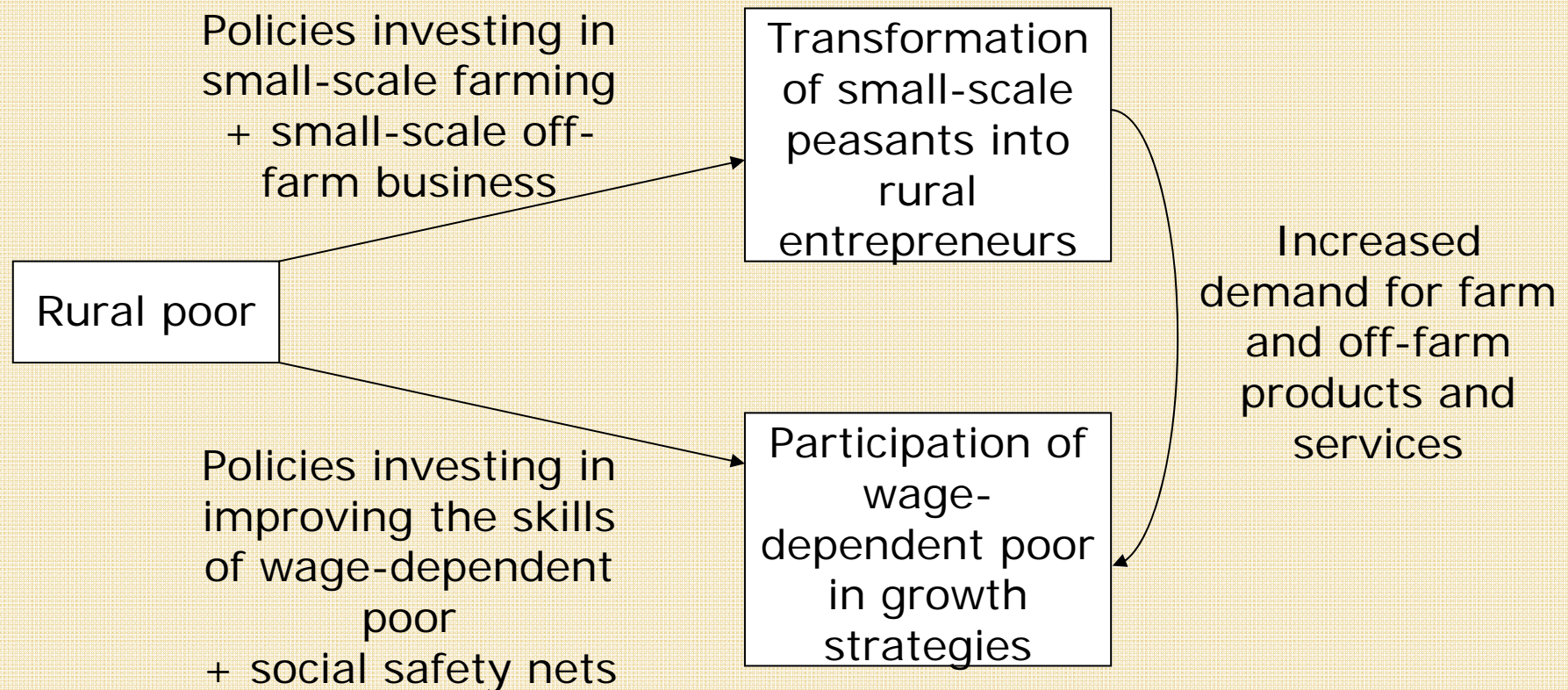
D: Umukene nyakujuja / umutindi: transformation into skilled off-farm labour

-> Improve access to off-farm employment opportunities => invest in labour intensive works & trickle-down effect of broad-based agr. growth
-> improve bargaining position in wage negotiations => investing in training & education
-> safety nets and social protection programmes

E: Umutindi nyakujuja

Charity – safety nets

Following a path with two tracks



Towards a political economy perspective

- **Small-scale farming is the reality**, development should start with them
 - > Need to acknowledge their knowledge and potential
 - > Need for mechanisms that make policy implementers **accountable**
- > **The way power and wealth is distributed is not very conducive for true pro-poor rural change**
- Physical, ethnic and mental **gap between elite and peasants**
- **Authoritarian** governance structure
- > **Important responsibility for the donor community**



Murakoze cyane