

Effects of agriculture intensification on gender relations in Rwanda: Perspectives of women farmers involved in the Land Use Consolidation programme

Fortunee Bayisenge

Protestant Institute of Arts and Social Sciences, Rwanda

Abstract

Over the last decade, international development agencies have highlighted agricultural intensification as a strategy to boost economic growth and reduce poverty in sub-Saharan Africa. Rwanda has adopted the Crops Intensification Programme (CIP) since 2007. The implementation of this program involved the initiation of other programs and strategies, including the Land Use Consolidation (LUC) programme as its main pillar. The CIP-LUC programme aims to transform small-scale and subsistence farming into large-scale and market-oriented agriculture, to enhance productivity and improve the wellbeing of those involved in agriculture, who are mostly poor. Drawing from the experience of women farmers involved in farmer's cooperatives in the Huye and Gisagara Districts of southern Rwanda, this paper aims to understand the effects of agricultural intensification on gender relations and women's daily lives. Using interviews and focus group discussions, the present findings demonstrate that the change from subsistence farming to capitalist agricultural production affected gender relations, as farm households are required to intensify labour and capital. Consequently, women's labour is proletarianised, as it is considered as 'free family labour'. Moreover, it is worth noting that the interaction of gender, class, and government interventionism underpins women's subordination and exploitation under this capitalist agrarian model.

Keywords: agriculture intensification, gender relations, women farmers, land use consolidation



1. Introduction

Over the last decade, agricultural intensification has been regarded as an alternative strategy for agriculture transformation and poverty reduction in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank 2007, FAO 2011). The assumption underlying this change is that ‘transforming subsistence smallholdings into large scale commercial farming would be a strategy to increase yields, to ensure food security, and to increase income for a highly increasing population in Africa’ (World Bank 2007). Accordingly, the post-genocide Rwandan Government implemented agricultural intensification policies, known as ‘green revolution policies’ (Cioffo *et al.* 2016), aiming to transform smallholding-subsistence farming into large-scale and market agriculture (GoR 2009; 2011). These policies are implemented under the umbrella of the Crops Intensification Program (CIP). To achieve effective implementation of CIP, the government had to adopt the Land Use Consolidation (LUC) programme, as a policy strategy to accelerate the transformation of smallholding farming into large-scale capitalist agricultural production (Musahara *et al.* 2014).

The Land Use Consolidation programme has been implemented since 2008, as a main pillar of the CIP. Throughout this paper, CIP-LUC is used as an abbreviation to refer to the agricultural intensification programme implemented by the Government of Rwanda. The Organic Land Law No. 08/2005 of 14 July 2005, revised in 2013, defines land consolidation as ‘a procedure of putting together individual small plots of land in order to make them more productive and reduce the adverse effects of fragmentation’ (GoR 2005, Cioffo *et al.* 2016). The assumption behind the CIP-LUC programme is that joining individual small plots of land together to farm as a single unit would enhance economies of scale in the acquisition of inputs (improved seeds, chemical fertilisers, pesticides, and other required technologies), processing, and marketing, and would improve access to extension services (GoR 2008, Mbonigaba and Dusengemungu 2013). The implementation of CIP-LUC in Rwanda has been criticised for its use of a top-down approach, whereby farmers are regarded as passive recipients of the policy process (Ansoms 2007, Huggins 2013). At the national level, the Ministry of Agriculture develops a technical plan for the implementation of the policy through its main agency, the Rwanda Agriculture Board (RAB), and the main stakeholder, the Ministry of Local Government. At the local government level, the responsibility rests with district- and cell-level local administrative authorities, who are in charge of ensuring and enforcing the mobilisation of farmers to have them join cooperatives and grow the selected priority crops in a consolidated fashion. Based on the agro-ecological potential and the land area available, target figures are agreed upon and captured in the performance contracts of the respective districts to enhance consistent achievements by farmers’ cooperatives (Huggins 2013, Mbonigaba and Dusengemungu 2013).

Since its implementation, official assessments have affirmed this programme’s success with regard to increase in yields of selected crops and land consolidation, as well as its impact on poverty (Kathiresan

2012, Mbonigaba and Dusengemungu 2013, Musahara *et al.* 2014, Ndushabandi 2017). However, despite consistent efforts by the government in promoting women's status and in achieving gender equality across all sectors, gender inequality persists in the agriculture sector. Women constitute the majority of those involved in agriculture; they carry out almost the entire work in farming activities and receive less from the agricultural output (GoR 2010, Kathiresan 2011). According to the Rwanda Integrated Household Living Condition Survey (EICV 4) conducted in 2013–2014, as compared to 41% of men, more than 70% of women are engaged in farming activities, and agriculture is their main source of income. Furthermore, 85% of female-headed households work in farming, while only 61% of male-headed households were involved in farming in 2013–14 (NISR 2015). In addition to the time spent on domestic work, women work longer hours in agriculture than do men, and they are more likely than men to be dependent on income from their farm. Furthermore, women are primarily responsible for producing food for the household, and for domestic work and caring for children and elderly relatives (GoR 2010, 2013). Several factors have been regarded as the root causes of gender imbalances in Rwandan agriculture, including women's low access and control over productive resources such as land and related property, agricultural inputs, and agricultural market and credit; low educational status; and high illiteracy rates (GoR 2010, Randell and McCloskey 2014, NISR 2015).

Studies on the post genocide Rwandan agrarian change have assessed its effectiveness in relation to productivity, food security, and poverty reduction (Ansoms 2008; 2011, Mbonigaba and Dusengemungu 2013, Huggins 2014, Musahara *et al.* 2014, Bizoza and Havugimana 2016, Cioffo *et al.* 2016, Dawson *et al.* 2016, Ansoms *et al.* 2017, Ndushabandi 2017), but they have not examined its social effects. Despite the important role of women in agriculture and in the daily livelihoods of rural households, evidence shows that their living conditions are poor as compared to their male counterparts. For instance, more than 90% of those who derive their livelihoods from agriculture in Rwanda are poor, and 70% of them are women (Twesigye-Bakwatsa 2010, NISR 2015). The poverty incidence report published in the EICV4 quoted above demonstrates that, in 2013–14, 44% of female-headed households were poor as compared to 37% of male-headed households (GoR 2015).

In the new Rwandan Constitution of 2003 and its 2017 amendment, women have been guaranteed 30% of all seats in political institutions. Following strong feminist pressure, as expressed in the Beijing 'Platform for Action' of 1995, the post-genocide government adopted this policy with the assumption that women's political representation will address gender inequalities at all levels. As a result, Rwanda now has the highest number of women in Parliament in the world (GoR 2013, World Economic Forum 2014). However, as the idea behind women's representation is that elected women will influence policy change considering women's interests, the potentiality of such a system in the context of historically embedded practices of patriarchy in Rwanda is critical.

In this context, this paper aims to contribute to the existing literature on agrarian reform in post

genocide Rwanda and fill in the research gap on gender and agriculture. To this end, the study drew from the perspectives of women farmers involved in the CIP-LUC programme to understand its effects on gender relations and on women's daily lives. To achieve this objective, the following questions guided the research process:

- ✓ What changes have occurred in the farming system following the implementation of intensification programs?
- ✓ How have these changes influenced intra-household gender relations and women's daily lives?

2. Delineating structure and agency to understand the effects of agriculture intensification programmes on gender relations

As noted above, agricultural intensification involves the process of transforming traditional farming into market-oriented or capitalist agricultural production (Kusz 2014). By doing this, it assumes a fundamental transformation of the modes of production in agriculture and the relationship between different actors of the agrarian economy, such as the state, market, and the community (De Janvry 1981). In countries where agriculture is less developed, modernising or intensifying agriculture has been regarded as a strategy for boosting the economy and development. This was observed in some countries in Asia and Latin-America in the 1960–90s, where the implementation of green revolution policies generated unprecedented growth. Therefore, African countries have been advised to follow the same measures to achieve development (Dawson *et al.* 2016). The strategy is known as an ensemble of different techniques designed to increase yields per hectare, to increase cropping intensity per unit of land or other inputs, and to change land use from low-value crops or commodities to those that receive higher market prices (Pretty *et al.* 2011). However, as argued by Shivji (2009), this process of capitalising agriculture requires the state to engage in neoliberal policies, with a high risk of facilitating dispossession of different groups of small-scale farmers and causing capitalist accumulation. Herein, the intensification of monoculture agriculture for export has been known to be the basis of such conditions, yet it is the most recommended and supported model of agricultural development in sub-Saharan Africa (Shivji 2009:172). In order to understand the effects of LUC-CIP on gender relations and women farmers in Rwanda, one needs to analyse the structural factors underpinning this agrarian change and to identify how they shape or are shaped by the social relations of gender. Indeed, the concepts of structure and agency are essential analytical tools that would explain these issues.

Anthony Giddens defined the concept of structures as a set of 'rules and resources', one presupposing the other. For him, structures involve 'both the medium and the outcome of the practices which constitute social systems' (Giddens 1979:27). Drawing from this definition, Sewell (1992) argued that

agency is a constituent of structure, which means that structures shape people's practices, which in turn constitute or reproduce structures. In this sense, human agency and structure presuppose each other. While discussing the process of women's empowerment, Kabeer (1999) stated that structures influence individual resources, agency, outcome, or achievements. Similarly, Amartya Sen underlined this interconnection between agency and structure while discussing women's agency and social change. He argued that agency can play an important role 'in removing the iniquities that depress the well-being of women' (Sen 1999:191). For Sen, women's well-being is strongly influenced by different aspects or variables such as their ability to earn an independent income, their economic role outside the family, literacy and education, property rights, and participation in decisions within and outside the family (Sen 1999). Petesch *et al.* (2005:4) discussed the concepts of agency and structure as follows: 'structure evolves the broader institutional, social and political context of formal and informal rules and norms within which actors pursue their interests; while agency is the capacity of actors to take purposeful action, a function of both individual and collective assets and capabilities'. These authors argue that, for an effective investment in poor people's development, there is a need to remove formal and informal institutional barriers that prevent the poor from taking effective action and which limit their choice. In other words, it implies the need for changes in social and political structures that perpetuate unequal power relations (ibid.6).

As noted earlier, poor women and men farmers in Rwanda have limited abilities and opportunities to act and follow their own interests (Randell and McCloskey 2014). This inequality of agency plays a role in perpetuating inequality in development outcomes. Within the context of inequality, they need not only access and control of assets and capabilities to negotiate with other actors in agriculture, but also the removal of structured barriers that hinder them from enjoying open opportunities, including those caused by the agrarian change. To understand this, the present paper draws from the above discussion and uses the conceptual framework of agency and structure, as summarised below:

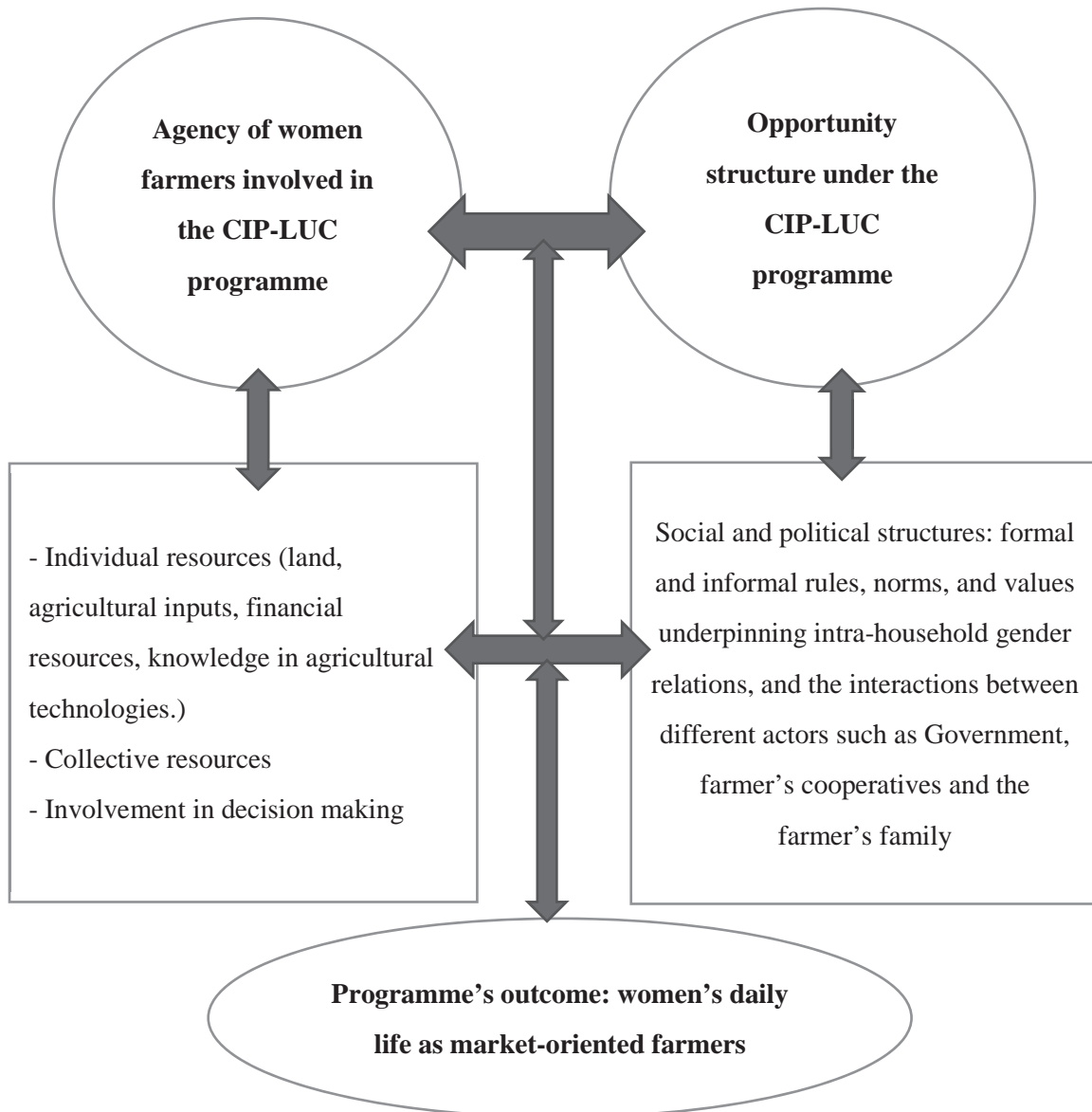


Figure 1. Conceptual framework

3. Methods used for collecting and analysing data

3.1. Selecting respondents

The study drew from the lived experience of women farmers involved in CIP-LUC programme in the Gisagara and Huye Districts of the Southern Province in Rwanda. The study used a qualitative approach characterised by an emerging and flexible ethnographic research design. To obtain relevant and complete information, multiple yet complementing data collection techniques were used, including interviews, observation, and data extraction from documentation.

It was deemed appropriate to interview members of maize cooperatives, as maize is one of the selected crops under the CIP-LUC, and since the implementation of the latter, it is no longer regarded as a food crop but rather as a cash crop. The study purposively selected two cooperatives, one in each District, to enable comparisons between rural and urban areas. Specifically, the KOABIDU (Koperative

y'Abahinzi b'Ibgori muri Duwani), which means literally 'Cooperative of farmers of maize in Duwani marshland' in Kibirizi Sector, Gisagara District, and KOAGIMPA (Koperative y'Abahinzi mu Gishanga cya Mpazi, or Cooperative of farmers of maize in the Mpazi marshland) in Tumba Sector, Huye District were selected.

Although categories of respondents were selected purposively, individual women participants in interviews and focus groups were selected randomly. Here, it is worth noting that, as women farmers are not a homogeneous group, it was necessary for the study to consider the differences among them, and therefore, to use several criteria to select individual participants. These included age, level of education, marital status, productive activity that is the main source of income, geographical location, and size of land holding under the CIP- LUC programme. Moreover, the study interviewed few men to avoid monolithic view especially regarding intra-household gender relation.

3.2. Data collection techniques

As mentioned above, the study used qualitative approaches to gather all research materials. For this regard, the following techniques were used to collect primary and secondary data:

- **Focus group discussions:** As the study aimed to draw from women's experiences and perspectives, this technique was initially used to enable them to share their views. However, after organising two focus groups, the researcher realised that participants could not speak easily. As the topic was quite sensitive, a group could be influenced by one dominant view. To deal with this issue, individual interviews were conducted instead of focus groups. Twelve women farmers participated in two focus groups.
- **Interviews:** This technique was used to offer individual women farmers the opportunity to express their views freely (different from focus groups). Since this study was exploratory, sixteen interviews were conducted, with seven female and five male farmers, two leaders of cooperatives, and two district officials in charge of agriculture. In total, 28 individuals participated in this study.
- **Field observation:** The study used field observation whereby the researcher attended two meetings of farmers' cooperatives organised by the government. During these meetings, the researcher managed to take note of different issues regarding the relationship between the cooperative or farmers, the government, and agro-dealers, especially regarding decision making on the use of land and the market.
- **Documentation:** This technique was used to complement the primary data with secondary data. This involved reviewing the existing literature, reports, policy documents, and other relevant materials on agriculture modernisation and gender in the context of land use consolidation.

3.3. Data analysis methods

The study used thematic and intersectionality approaches to analyse empirical data after organising them into manageable and understandable patterns following each category of respondents as well as research questions. As a feminist method, intersectionality is used to critically analyse the multiplicity of exclusions and inequalities that operate in any given context (Yuivil-Davis 2007, Davis 2008). It was used to identify different identities among women farmers involved in the CIP, and to analyse how these identities shaped and or were shaped by the effects of agrarian change on gender relations.

4. Understanding the effects of agriculture intensification programs on gender relations and women farmers

This section presents and discusses the research findings as reflected mainly by the perspectives of women farmers involved in the CIP-LUC programme in the Gisagara and Huye Districts of the Southern Province of Rwanda. Aligning with research objectives and questions, the findings have been presented with respect to the following themes: who are the female farmers involved in the LUC programme (social and economic characteristics), agricultural change caused by the implementation of the LUC programme, effect of this change on intra-household gender relations and women's daily lives.

4.1. Gender and class as determinants of the effects of CIP-LUC programme on gender relations

Although all the female participants had joined the CIP-LUC programme, they had different social and economic backgrounds. These differences could shape or reduce women's capabilities to be active agents in the LUC programme. Therefore, analysing such differences was a starting point for this paper to understand the effects of the CIP-LUC programme on gender relations and women farmers in particular. To develop a clear picture of the social and economic situation of women farmers involved in the CIP-LUC programme, six aspects were explored, including level of education, age, social status, economic activity or main source of income, and the size of land holding under the CIP- LUC programme. With regard to age, majority of the participants were middle-aged, that is, between 35 and 50 years old. Youth represented a small number; 7 out of the 25 participants were aged below 35 years, which shows that the category of youth is less interested by the agriculture. According to the Rwandan Government, a youth is anyone who is aged between 18 and 35 years. Further, 4 out of the 25 participants were of advanced age, that is between 50–60 years. Regarding social status, the study was interested in marital status (married or living as a couple, single, or widowed). Majority of the participants were married (18 out of the 25 participants), 7 were widowed, and nobody was single. With regard to education, only one woman had attended secondary school and one had completed university education. Seven did not go to school, and majority had completed primary schooling. Although all participants were farmers and were involved in the LUC programme, 11 out of the 25 participants were wage

labourers engaged in farming activities. Finally, these farmers possessed between two and seven parcels of land, that is, between 0.20 hectare and 0.75 hectare in marshlands where the LUC programme has mostly been implemented.

The data presented above demonstrates that women farmers live in different conditions, which determine their capability to actively cope, benefit, or resist from the agricultural change. In other words, the nature of the effects of agricultural change on women farmers is, to some extent, conditioned by their living conditions. As illustrated by participants in a focus group discussion, for example, if an old woman is also a widower who did not attend school and has a small plot of land, it will be very difficult for her to get an off-farm job or to find an alternative means for surviving during the six-month period before harvesting:

‘...as you can see, us who are getting old, it is very difficult to survive during the period when we are waiting for maize to grow; others can move from here to the city to find jobs or do small business, but for us it is not possible! Even if I can manage to get there, no one can give me that job. They prefer young people or men who are strong’ (focus group discussion, January 2019).

Furthermore, for young mothers with small children, the programme increased their work burden as they had several responsibilities related to reproductive work, such as taking care of small children. Since they are required to follow a specific time frame for farming activities, they sometimes need to take their babies to the farm and hold them on their backs while engaging in cultivation.

As noted above, female farmers are not a homogeneous group; they belong to different classes as a result of their socioeconomic conditions. Hence, agricultural intensification programs affect them differently. While those in poor conditions struggled to cope with this agricultural change, others with a different status viewed the CIP-LUC programme as a good opportunity for development. One woman illustrated this as follows:

‘Although every change brings challenges, my experience with the LUC programme is good. I didn’t know that maize can generate money..., I cultivate everything and when I get a problem, I take a loan from local saving and credit cooperative... I have five plots under the LUC programme and another land on the hillside...the programme has been an economic opportunity for me’ (interview, February 2020).

4.2. Scoping the change in the farming system owing to the implementation of the CIP-LUC programme

First, it was important to investigate the type of agricultural change caused by the implementation of the CIP-LUC programme. As described by the participants, the introduction of the CIP-LUC programme led to several changes within agricultural production since it aimed to transform traditional small-scale subsistence farming to large-scale commercial agriculture. This change was therefore related to the farming system and decision making in the programme. With regard to the farming system, farmers are required to consolidate the use of land, that is, join individual small plots and farm them as a single unit. This did not change the size of individual farms, and at the end, one would produce crops on his/her own land. Moreover, all farmers in the same location have to plant one crop for each agricultural season, as selected and instructed by government authorities. They also have to use modern techniques such as planting on lines and following instructions regarding the use of fertilisers and improved seeds, whereby they have to mix chemical fertilisers with organic manure. Instructions about the quality, quantity, and price of these fertilisers and modern seeds, and how to use them are provided to farmers by government officials in charge of agriculture, at the beginning of every farming season.

As pointed out by women farmers who participated in this study, such a change in the farming system requires the intensification of labour for farmers to fit into the farming time frame, and this placed substantial demands on their means of production:

‘Before the LUC programme, farming was not too demanding; we used to cultivate many crops together, using organic manure without measuring the quantity, then harvesting and taking the crops home. However, now, we have to join cooperatives, we need both organic and chemical fertilisers. We need intensive labour to catch up with the farming season. Briefly, we need many things’ (focus group discussion, January 2020).

Evidently, the new farming model requires smallholder farmers to invest capital, human resources, and skills in agricultural production systems to cope with this change. However, if farmers do not have such means to pay for the additional labour and the required seeds and fertilisers, women need to bear the burden as they have to achieve the same in addition to household work. In addition, under the CIP-LUC programme, farmers work on performance contracts: at the beginning of the farming season, the cooperative signs the contract on behalf of farmers, which specifies the quantity of crops they will produce or supply to the market, and this quantity is distributed among individual farmers respectively to the land holding. Nevertheless, if a farmer cannot afford the required inputs, he/she is at a risk of not achieving the expected quantity, and consequently, he/she is penalised by the cooperative, including the loss of membership. Effectively, the farming family is obliged to work hard to avoid such a situation.

For doing so, men (here understood as husbands) have to either supplement farm labour themselves or by hiring additional labour to ensure progress and success. Here, it is worth noting that, if a farming family is headed by a female, old, and widowed individual, she would have to struggle more to farm the given plot under the CIP-LUC programme.

Another important change regarding the farming system reported by the participants is the shift from farming for consumption to that for contributing to the market:

‘...the difference between farming under the CIP-LUC programme and the way we used to farm is that after harvesting we have to take the production to the cooperative from where business companies buy it. It is not allowed to take the harvest home’ (interview, January 2020).

In fact, as per the Rwandan tradition, women have been regarded as responsible for providing food within the household, and by this, they could decide or choose about what, how, and when to eat. With the new production system, however, it looks like they lose control of this, yet they are required to retain this role as they are in charge of household work, which includes cooking and feeding children. Consequently, this situation may reinforce the oppression of women in case of married couples, since men or ‘husbands’ are the head of the household and they have total control of the money or the income derived from agricultural production. Women suffer from oppression of both the government and men (their husband).

Moreover, under the CIP-LUC programme, farmers have in general lost their power to make decisions or control their land and agricultural production. As illustrated by the participants in this research, through cooperatives, government officials inform farmers about the crops they are required to grow in each agricultural season (for example, they can grow maize in Season A, beans in Season B, and vegetables in Season C, and so on). They also inform them about when to start farming activities and when to harvest. Regarding production, in collaboration with the executive committee of the cooperative, the government sets the price of maize for each agricultural season and selects a business company that will buy the produce from every cooperative. Such procedures or regulations undermine the farmer’s power in decision making about the use of their land and agricultural production, and limit their property rights. As noted by Razavi (2003) and Tsikata (2015), this change in the agricultural system shapes gender relations with the possibility of making them more contentious, especially because the gender interests of men and women are different, and the programme cannot respond to them equally.

Hence, capitalisation of small-scale agriculture shapes the social relation of gender because farmers are required to intensify their labour and capital to cope with the new system. Further, in most cases, women bear the burden of these intensifications as men have to migrate to find off-farm jobs to substitute

the household's economic means or prefer to do activities other than farming.

4.3. Proletarianisation of women's labour under the CIP-LUC programme

As noted above, shifting from traditional subsistence farming to agricultural intensification involved important changes in farming activities, whereby farmers have to plant on line, and use both organic and chemical fertilisers and improved seeds within a limited time frame. Such changes require farm households to reorganise the gender division of labour, and the latter is determined by the social and economic conditions of each farming household. In this study, we identified three possible variations in this regard. First, in some households, both men and women, and possibly children, participate equitably in farming activities (here, children must be grown up and not attending school). In other cases, the family is capable of hiring wage labourers to supplement the family labour. The last category is where the family is not capable of hiring labour, and men (the husband) have to find an off-farm job, leaving the women to take care of farming activities alone. Evidently, in all these cases, women are the main labour for farming activities, as they mostly have to be close to their home to accomplish their household responsibilities. Consequently, if the farming family is poor, women farmers endure substantial burden/suffering as compared to males since they have to deal with household work (including reproductive) and farming responsibilities.

During the interview, one woman expressed this as follows:

‘...the farming period is very tough, I feel I can run away because it requires so many activities, I can't talk much about it!!! As women, we are so much more tired than men because besides the land activities we still have household activities like cooking for children, while my husband takes a break after farming, walks around, and comes back late in the evening...’ (interview, January 2020).

This quote demonstrates the extent to which women have to sacrifice in terms of labour for the farming family to survive under the pressure of this capitalist agricultural system. Nevertheless, as pointed out by different scholars, this labour relationship between women and men in capitalist agriculture, and its effects on women's daily lives has been overlooked by different actors in the development process (Razavi 2003, Tsikata 2015). Although under this model men have exhibited substantial interest in agricultural production, especially because it is more cash oriented, the system reinforces the control of women's labour by men. Hence, this social relationship of agricultural production becomes an opportunity for capitalist accumulation. In other words, this free and intensified labour by women is exploited under the label of ‘unpaid family labour’ (Beneria and Sen 1981).

5. Conclusion

The findings of this study allude to a Rwandan proverb '*imbutu z'umugisha zisoromwa kugiti cy'umuruho*', which literally means that 'the fruits of blessing are gathered from the tree of sorrow'. This 'sorrow' pertains to the effects of the CIP-LUC programme on gender relations and women farmers in the Gisagara and Huye Districts of Rwanda. As discussed above, the agricultural intensification programme has engendered several changes both in the farming system and in the decision making or property rights of farmers. Such changes have affected intra-household gender relations and women farmers in particular. In fact, the programme has changed the nature of farming activities and the rhythm or time frame for engaging in such activities. Indeed, to cope with this change, farmers are required to intensify their labour. Although some farming families can hire additional labour, and in some others, men get involved in farming activities, in any case, women remain the principal source of labour. Further, their contribution is considered as 'free family labour'. In addition, the programme requires farmers to use chemical fertilisers, improved seeds, and higher amounts of organic manure per unit of production (here understood as parcel). This requirement has revealed the need for additional knowledge about the use of this technology, as well as substantial capital to fund these changes. Although the government provides subsidies for these inputs, farmers expressed challenges in accessing them. Furthermore, the present study showed that farmers are not involved in the decision making regarding the selection of the crop to grow, where and when to cultivate or harvest it, and at which market and price to sell their products. This government interventionism not only undermines the agency of farmers but also affects their social roles. In this regard, women have traditionally been regarded as responsible for food provision in the family (she has to decide what to eat, and therefore, what to cultivate, in which land, and so on, especially for food crops), and men have to decide about the management of the production.

As highlighted in this paper, the intersection between gender and class of farmers determines the effects of the new agrarian model on female farmers. Although the programme has influenced gender roles and intra-household gender relations, households with low means are the most affected by these changes. This paper demonstrates how the transformation of the traditional subsistence farming system into capitalist agricultural production engenders the proletarianisation of poor women's labour.

References

- Ansoms, A. 2007. 'Striving for growth bypassing the poor? A critical review of Rwanda's rural sector policies'. *Discussion Paper/2007.02*. Antwerp: Institute of Development Policy and Management, University of Antwerp.
- Ansoms, A. 2008. 'A green revolution for Rwanda? The political economy of poverty and agrarian change.' *Discussion Paper No. 6*. Antwerp: Institute of Development Policy and Management,

University of Antwerp.

- Ansoms, A. 2011. 'Large-scale land deals and local livelihoods in Rwanda: The "bitter fruit" of a new agrarian model'. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 56(3): 1–23.
- Ansoms, A., E. Marijnen, G. Cioffo, and J. Murison 2017. 'Statistics versus livelihoods: Questioning Rwanda's pathway out of poverty'. *Review of African Political Economy* 44(151): 47–65. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2016.1214119.
- Beneria, L. and G. Sen 1981. 'Accumulation, reproduction, and women's role in economic development: Boserup revisited'. *Development and the Sexual Division of Labor* 7(2): 279–298.
- Bizoza, A.R. and J.M. Havugimana 2016. 'Land use consolidation in Rwanda: A case study of Nyanza district, Southern Province'. *International Journal of Sustainable Land Use and Urban Planning* 1(1): 64–75.
- Cioffo, G.D., A. Ansoms, and J. Murison 2016. 'Modernising agriculture through a 'new' Green Revolution: The limits of the crop intensification programme in Rwanda'. *Review of African Political Economy* 43(148): 277–293.
- Davis, K. 2008. 'Intersectionality as a buzzword: A sociology of science perspectives on what makes a feminist theory successful'. *Feminist Theory* 9(1): 67–85. doi: 10.1177/1464700108086364.
- Dawson, N., A. Martin, and T. Skor 2016. 'Green revolution in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications of imposed innovation for the wellbeing of rural smallholders'. *World Development* 78: 204–218. doi: org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2015.10.008.
- De Janvry, A. 1981. 'The role of land reform in economic development: Policies and politics'. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 63(2): 384–392.
- FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) 2011. *Women in Agriculture: Closing the Gender Gap*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- Giddens, A. 1979. *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- GoR (Government of Rwanda) 2005. *The Organic Law 8/2005 of 14 July, Determining the Use and Management of Land in Rwanda*. Kigali: Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda.
- 2007. 'Crop Intensification Programme'. Kigali: Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources.
- 2008. *Ministerial Decree Appointing the Conditions on Agricultural Land Use Consolidation in Rwanda*. Kigali: Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources.
- 2009. *Strategic Plan for Transformation of Agriculture in Rwanda. (Phase II)*. Kigali: Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources.
- 2010. *Agriculture Gender Strategy*. Kigali: Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources.
- 2013. *Parliament Election, Final Report*. Kigali: National Electoral Commission of Rwanda.
- 2013. *Strategic Plan for the Transformation of Agriculture in Rwanda (PSTA)*. Kigali: Ministry

- of Agriculture and Animal Resources.
- Huggins, C. 2013. 'Consolidating land, consolidating control: State-facilitated "agricultural investment" through the "Green Revolution" in Rwanda'. *Land Deal Politics Initiative Working Paper* 16.
- 2014. 'Curbs on land rights in Rwanda: The "Bundle of Rights" in context'. A Technical Report. <<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/275521892> / Accessed on 20 January 2019>.
- Kathiresan, A. 2012. *Farm Land Use Consolidation in Rwanda, Assessment from the Perspective of Agriculture Sector*. Kigali: Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources.
- Kusz, D. 2014. *Modernisation of Agriculture versus Sustainable Agriculture*. Rzeszów: Rzeszów University of Technology.
- Kabeer, N. 1999. 'Resources, agency, achievement: Reflection on the measurement of women's empowerment'. *Development and Change* 30(3): 435–464.
- Mbonigaba, M. and L. Dusengemungu 2013. *Land Use Consolidation. A Home-Grown Solution for Food Security in Rwanda*. Kigali: Rwanda Agricultural Board (RAB).
- Musahara, H., B. Nyamurinda, and T. Niyonzima 2014. 'Land use consolidation and poverty reduction in Rwanda'. A paper presented at the World Bank Conference on Land and Poverty, Washington D.C., 24–27 March.
- Ndushabandi, E. 2017. *Crop Intensification Program (CIP) Satisfaction Survey-2017*. Kigali: Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace.
- NISR (National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda) 2015. *Rwanda Integrated Household Living Condition Survey 2013/2014 - Thematic Report- Agriculture*. Kigali: NISR.
- Pretty, J., C. Toulmin, and S. Williams 2011. 'Sustainable intensification in African agriculture'. *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability* 9(1): 5–24. doi: 10.3763/ijas.2010.0583.
- Petes, P., C. Smulovitz, and M. Walton 2005. 'Evaluating empowerment: A framework with a case from Latin America'. In *Measuring Empowerment: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*. Ed. D. Narayan, Washington D.C.: The World Bank, pp. 39–67.
- Randell, S. and M. McCloskey 2014. 'Sustainable rural development in Rwanda: The importance of a focus on women in agricultural extension'. *International Journal of Agricultural Extension*: 107–119. <<https://esciencepress.net/journals/index.php/IJAE/article/view/662> / Accessed on 10 May 2020>.
- Razavi, S. 2003. 'Introduction: Agrarian change, gender and land rights'. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3(1-2): 2–32.
- Sen, A. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shivji, I.G. 2009. *Accumulation in African Periphery: A Theoretical Framework*. Dar es Salaam: Nkuku na Nyota Publisher.
- Sewell, W.H. 1992. 'A theory of structure: Duality, agency, and transformation'. *American Journal of*

Sociology 98(1): 1–29.

Tsikata, D. 2015. 'The social relations of agrarian change'. *IIED working paper*. London: IIED.
<<http://pubs.iied.org/17278IIED/> Accessed on 17 June 2019>.

Twesigye-Bakwatsa, C. 2010. *Baseline Analysis of the Gender Dimensions in the Provision of Agricultural Services in Rwanda*. Kigali: Gender Monitoring Office and UNIFEM (UN Development Fund for Women).

World Bank 2007. *World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

<<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/5990> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO / Accessed on 16 September 2020>.

World Economic Forum 2014. *The Global Gender Gap and Its Implication*. Geneva.
<<https://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2014/> / Accessed on 16 September 2020>.

Yuvil-Davis, N. 2007. 'Intersectionality, citizenship and contemporary politics of belonging'. *Journal of Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 10(4): 561-574.
doi.org/10.1080/13698230701660220.