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**AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT MODELS
IN MOZAMBIQUE**

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RESUMO:

As políticas agrárias implementadas pelo governo moçambicano com vista ao desenvolvimento rural seguiram uma tripla estratégia nas primeiras décadas do século XXI. Por um lado, promoveram-se investimentos de larga escala associados ao agronegócio internacional. Por outro, foram implementadas soluções assentes na contratualização de culturas de rendimento, com reduzida abrangência espacial. Por último, promoveram-se políticas que procuram transformar o pequeno produtor em produtor comercial, através de incentivos à produção. O objectivo deste trabalho é o de analisar estes três modelos, identificando, relativamente a cada um, os seus impactos nas vertentes económica, social e ambiental do desenvolvimento do meio rural, salientando os pontos fortes e as lacunas que lhes podem ser reconhecidas nestes domínios. Para a análise e confronto destes três modelos, foi seleccionado um conjunto de critérios que permitem caracterizar qualitativamente cada modelo. Tratando-se de um método de análise realizado numa base qualitativa, os resultados são determinados pela percepção construída a partir da literatura consultada. Da análise constatou-se que estes três modelos possuem lógicas de produção diferenciadas entre si. Em Moçambique, caso se pretenda resolver o problema da pobreza, desnutrição e insegurança alimentar, as políticas públicas têm de ser directamente direccionadas para o segmento dos pequenos produtores, mas, mesmo ao se optar por modelos para este segmento, existe a necessidade de se ter em atenção as suas implicações, especificamente, no aumento de desigualdades sociais.

Palavras-chaves: Modelos de desenvolvimento da agricultura, políticas públicas e agrárias, pequeno produtor familiar.

ABSTRACT:

Agrarian policies for rural development implemented by the Mozambican government in the first decades of the 21st century followed a triple strategy. On the one hand, large-scale investments associated with international agribusiness were promoted. On the other hand, there are policies to promote national agribusiness, based on the contractualization of cash-crops, with reduced spatial scope. And finally, the policies that seek to transform the small producer into a commercial producer, through incentives in production.

The aim of this work is to analyse these three models by identifying their economic, social and environmental impacts on the economic, social and environmental aspects of rural development, highlighting the strengths and shortcomings that can be recognised in these areas. For the analysis and comparison of these three models, a set of criteria was selected to qualitatively characterize each model. Being a method of analysis performed on a qualitative basis, the results are determined by the perception constructed from the literature consulted. From the analysis it was found that these three models have production logics differentiated from each other. In Mozambique if the problem of poverty, malnutrition and food insecurity is intended, public policies must be directly directed to the small-size segment, but when choosing models for this segment, there is a need to take into consideration their implications, specifically, in increasing social inequalities.

Keywords: Agrarian development models, public and agrarian policies, small family producer.

INDEX

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. BRIEF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	3
2.1. Concepts.....	3
2.2. Rural development and agricultural development models	3
2.3. Agrarian Policies in Mozambique.....	9
3. METHODOLOGY.....	10
4. ANALYSIS OF THE THREE MODELS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE.	11
4.1. Large-scale investment model.....	11
4.2. Contract farming models	16
4.3. Support model for the emergence of Small Commercial Farmers	20
5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS.....	24
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES	29

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT MODELS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Yara Nova and Rui Rosário ¹

1. INTRODUCTION

A public policy² is never born in isolation, as it results from a commitment between a diversity of economic, social and political interests, supported by often conflicting visions of development. In Mozambique, the beginning of the 21st century was marked by the co-existence of various policy models aimed at agriculture and the rural environment. Each of them shapes the experience of the rural environment in a particular way, with a strong impact on some aspects and little effect on others. Thus, there is interest in confronting these different paradigms, trying to identify the contribution that each one makes to the development of agriculture and the rural environment, identifying the contradictions that may exist between them and highlighting the characteristics that each one has.

As in most Sub-Saharan African countries, in Mozambique, agriculture is considered the basis for national development (Article 103 of the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique). However, the predominant models of agrarian policies and economic development have undergone frequent changes, within a context of high institutional instability, scarcity of resources and heavy dependence on external public and private financiers. This dependence necessarily leads to the intervention of political options and strategies that do not originate in the national debate about the path to follow for the development of agriculture and the rural environment, nor on the political options that could result from it. The international political agenda eventually shapes, to a large extent, the options taken. This panorama has resulted in the application, over these two decades, of contradictory development models, influenced by different strategies, which form the basis of successive plans for the development of the sector. Sometimes these policies have a limited geographical scope. Reality shows that the structural transformation of the sector has almost always fallen far short of the stated objectives.

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² The definition proposed below, which encompasses the main elements on which there is consensus in the literature (cf. specifically Thoenig 1985, p. 7; Lagroye, 1997, p. 454; Mény and Thoenig, 1989, pp. 131-132 in Knoepfel et al, 2011 : p. 24), is as follows : A public policy *is defined as a series of intentionally coherent decisions or activities taken or carried out by different public - and sometimes - private stakeholders, whose resources, institutional links and interests vary, in order to solve in a targeted way a problem that is politically defined as collective in nature. This set of decisions and activities gives rise to formalised actions of a more or less restrictive nature, which are often aimed at modifying the behaviour of the social groups presumed to be at the origin of or able to solve the collective problem in concern (target groups) in the interests of the social groups suffering the negative effects of the problem in concern (final beneficiaries).*

In Mozambique, during this period, three main models of agricultural development coexisted, with different ways of acting, operating logics and objectives (Mosca, 2011; Dadá *et al.* 2019). A first model was based on the concession of large tracts of land to foreign capital, usually associated with national capital, for the development of intensive production systems, in some cases of monoculture. Large areas were created to produce agricultural crops for industrial transformation (e.g., sugar cane) or exotic fast-growing forest species such as eucalyptus. A second model, very widespread in some regions of the country and for some agricultural crops, was based on granting exclusive rights to commercialize a particular product to a particular national or foreign company, which promotes the production of a particular agro-industrial crop (e.g., tobacco or cotton) under contract farming arrangements with family producers. This model is normally practiced in small and medium-sized farms and has a limited geographical and sectoral coverage. Therefore, it produces effects focused on the improvement of the standard of living of the population. Finally, through a third policy model, the Government seeks to transform the small and medium producer into an agricultural entrepreneur. The central idea resides in the attempt to integrate a group of selected producers into national value chains, through direct support for mechanisation and the introduction of technological innovations, so that they may upgrade their farms and, thereby, promote the introduction of technologies in small producers in the surrounding areas. It is on this last policy strategy that the SUSTENTA Programme is based. After two years of experience in some districts of Nampula and Zambézia provinces, in 2020 this programme was extended to the whole national territory (Ministério da Terra, Ambiente e Desenvolvimento Rural, 2018).

Alongside these policies, launched with a view to structure and shape the country's agricultural fabric, the operation of the market is an inevitable reality that covers most of the production, sometimes with the intervention of specific policies. There are also cases of promoting the introduction of "new crops" among small producers in specific, very limited areas. This is the case, for example, with the introduction of coffee cultivation in the buffer zones of Gorongosa and Chimanimani Parks, both in the central part of the country

This text is a development of the theoretical part of the dissertation "*O papel dos pequenos produtores nas opções de políticas agrárias em Moçambique*" presented by the author, in 2021, to obtain a Master's degree from the Lisbon School of Economics and Management³ - in which the form technology is introduced, based on the small commercial farmer model, in soya production in Gurué district, Zambézia province, is analysed. The present paper focuses on the three models of agricultural development mentioned above, with the objective to analyse each one of them. Based on information collected in a bibliographical survey, we sought to identify the processes that promote, in economic, social and environmental terms, the development of the rural environment, highlighting their strong points and the gaps that can be recognized in these areas. The essential idea of this work is to contribute to the understanding of how political action is taken in agriculture and how it has been contributing to the development of the sector

³ The dissertation is published in the repository of the University of Lisbon, at: <https://www.repository.utl.pt/handle/10400.5/22698>

2. BRIEF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Concepts

Throughout the text, references are made to some of the concepts discussed which are important to specify, namely the following:

- **Rural Development versus Agrarian Development** - although there are different approaches and/or definitions, in the text, the term "rural development" was considered as the set of actions or forms of intervention carried out by the government and other stakeholders to achieve an improvement in socio-economic and political aspects in the rural environment, as well as in aspects linked to distribution and equity (Harriss, 1982). Agricultural development is often seen as synonymous with rural development. However, the two terms are different, but intrinsically related, because much of the population, in Mozambique in particular, is in rural areas (65.54%, according to the 2017 census) and has agriculture as the main source of income (TIA, 1996/97, 2002/03 and 2008/09). Thus, the achievement of rural development, would entail agricultural development (Udemezue and Osegbue (2018).
- **Model of agricultural development** - in the text this term is understood as a scheme or a guiding reference framework that allows creating conditions for the achievement of agrarian potential (productivity, quantity and quality of production and increased incomes), considering the equitable well-being, economically favourable and environmentally sustainable (Krishan, 1992; Laiglesia, 2006).
- **Agrarian policies** - are understood as the set of actions or measures conducted by the public sector, implemented through plans, strategies and/or programs, with the objective of achieving structural transformation of the agricultural sector, aiming at food security, economic and sustainable development, and poverty reduction⁴.

2.2. Rural development and agricultural development models

In economics, there is no consensus on the existence of a theory of Rural Development. The reluctance stems from the fact that Rural Development theory has been based on individualised empirical models, often relying on qualitative aspects, namely the introduction of issues from the sphere of social equity, such as those of gender, developed by Hirschman and Schumpeter in the development debate (Ward and Hite, 1998; Niederle and Radomsky, 2016).

The term Rural Development has undergone several attempts at definition and can be summarised as "a development aimed at improving the quality of life of the rural population" (Ollawa, 1977; Takeuchi, 2000; Shagali and Ibrahim, 2020).

The relevance of this theme, especially in Africa, results from the levels of extreme poverty, in often dramatic proportions, that occur in rural areas. Thus, since their origin, Rural Development policies in Africa are materialised through the implementation of projects supported and financed by different types of external entities (private partners, governments and their development agencies or multilateral agencies) in strict, well identified and often geographically delimited domains.

⁴ This definition was based on the Mozambique Agrarian Policy of 1995, set out in Resolution No. 11/95 of 31 October.

To achieve the intended results within the framework of a given rural development project, a set of surrounding conditions must be verified simultaneously, whether at the institutional, infrastructure and market levels, or even in areas such as health and education. The investments that are necessary in this vast set of areas have not accompanied those made by rural development projects (Baah-Dwomoh and Kwame, 2016), leaving development without the essential elements that make it up. One of the main difficulties pointed out by the African Development Bank (2000) is the weak or non-existent basic infrastructure that leads to considerable delays in project implementation and concludes that the most successfully implemented projects in Africa are located precisely in the countries with the strongest institutions.

In general, the following reasons are pointed out for the failure of rural development programmes: (1) unfavourable political and macroeconomic environments, namely distorted macroeconomic and public policies, and the existence of political-military conflicts; (2) the non-effective participation of beneficiaries in the design and implementation of projects; (3) the difficulty of funding agencies to adapt projects to the cultural reality of the beneficiaries; and, finally, (4) the poor adaptability of technological packages to the reality of the potential direct beneficiaries of these projects (Baah-Dwomoh and Kwame, 2016).

The type and forms of linking agriculture to other sectors of economic activity, the existence, or not, of positive externalities to guarantee food security for rural populations, and the reduction of poverty levels, have led to rural development projects being strongly anchored in the development of agriculture, in which the introduction of technological innovations has a central role (Baah-Dwomoh and Kwame, 2016; Takeuchi, 2000).

It should be noted that this sector faces strong constraints, arising from the low productivity levels of traditional farming systems, as a result of low use of agricultural inputs and mechanisation, relying invariably on traditional labour-intensive technologies (Mwangi and Kariuki, 2015). Low literacy levels present significant constraints to the processes of introducing technological innovations. In addition to these structural characteristics, producers are faced with difficulties in accessing markets and credit (Uaiene *et al.*, 2009).

It is therefore crucial to integrate an organised, well-structured set of aspects in the design of policies aimed at the development of agriculture and the rural environment, so that a coherent model can be created that ensures a balance between the various aspects that are essential for development, including access to land, preservation of the environment, combating poverty and safeguarding food security and nutrition, promotion of agricultural services, the existence of infrastructure and the performance of institutions, within a favourable framework of appropriate public and macroeconomic policies.

Accepting these premises, the capacity of a given public policy oriented towards the development of agriculture and the rural environment should be assessed according to various aspects, since its greater or lesser success lies in the balance established between them. For each of these aspects, in order to assess a public policy for this sector, the following aspects should be considered:

- **Land and environment** - The models should incorporate environmental safeguards in order to minimize negative impacts on the environment, mainly in aspects related to soil degradation (erosion, loss of fertility), contamination (pollution by waste) in soil and water, and the promotion of conditions to counter the predatory extraction of natural resources and the reduction of biodiversity (flora, fauna and soil micro-organisms). The promotion of conservation farming practices, as sustainable agricultural techniques, is a fundamental element that should be given great attention⁵. The effective safeguarding of mechanisms for the correct and fair management of land conflicts, namely the guarantee of access to land in a sustainable manner constitutes another important element to be considered in an assessment of this type⁶;
- **Poverty and food security** - the choice for inclusive and broad-based models of agrarian development can produce positive effects on poverty and food security of rural communities. Taking into consideration that the majority of the poor population resides in rural areas and that these poor are, in large part, small agricultural producers, it is desirable that the models implemented provide opportunities for increasing the availability of food and the level of their monetary income and that, consequently, they provide an improvement in the quality of life and the safeguarding of food security⁷;
- **Agricultural services** - The improvement of services provided to producers, namely capacity building, agricultural credit and support to technological development are important to create conditions for a better performance of the sector⁸. The link between agricultural research and rural extension structures is essential to identify the most appropriate technologies for different types of producers so that the challenges posed by low productivity

⁵ Authors, such as Hobbs et al. (2008), Kassam et al. (2009) and Joshi (2011), refer to and point out the advantages of using conservation agriculture methods and more sustainable production management practices as the solution for increasing productivity and reducing negative impacts on the environment, and highlight their benefits at what they designate as the nano-level (linked to the improvement of soil properties), micro-level (saving inputs, reducing the cost of production and increasing agricultural income), up to the macro-level (reducing poverty, improving food security, and global warming issues), in a context of population growth, increasing demand for food, climate change and rising production costs..

⁶ With the growing demand for fertile land for the production of food and cash crops, many African, Asian and Latin American countries have experienced pressure on land transfer processes, often resulting in conflicts. In the specific case of Mozambique, land conflicts mainly result from the lack of consideration of customary land use rights in the act of land concessions, when there is a need for resettlements, and in the act of arrival of new investments, when promises made by the investing company in community consultation are not fulfilled, a situation that causes frustration and dissatisfaction among the community, claims and demonstrations (Mandamule, 2015; Mandamule, 2016; Mosca and Bruna, 2015; Dadá and Nova, 2018; Nhampossa, 2020).

⁷ Regarding the growing inflow of capital into agriculture, essentially agribusiness, based on export/income crops, the possible disputes over land occupation and its influence on farmers' production logics are questioned, that is, land use for food production (with influence on food security) and the production of cash crops.

⁸ Concerning the issue of services to agriculture, several authors address this issue, for example: Uaiene (2012); Mucavele and Artur (2021); Mosca (2011); Fagilde (2018); Nova and Mosca (2022b); Zavale et al., (2020).

and climate change can be adequately addressed, and to ensure multiplier effects on local economies;

- **Public and macroeconomic policies** - In general, public policies should favour agriculture and the rural environment, while at the same time alleviating the country's economic dependence. Moving from an economic system based on extraction to a system supplying raw materials that feeds national industry is a far-reaching challenge in which the rural environment may find conditions for economic and social progression. Monetary policies should promote balanced exchange rates⁹ and trade and price policies should safeguard agricultural income levels. Budgetary policy should safeguard budgetary allocations necessary for the continued provision of services to the sector¹⁰. Education and health policies are key factors for improving the living conditions of rural populations. Given population growth, agricultural activity must evolve to accommodate the growing demand for food and therefore cannot stagnate, and at the same time it must mitigate the strong dependence on climatic conditions each year to which traditional systems are exposed;
- **Infrastructure**¹¹ - The quality of rural infrastructure is an essential condition for boosting local economies, facilitating access to commercial networks in the rural environment for the flow of production, making it possible to reduce transport costs, extend the life of equipment and reduce losses in the transport of perishable produce. The infrastructure for product storage can generate favourable conditions for the organisation of production, through product concentration and the capacity to negotiate with other stakeholders in the value chains;
- **Institutions/State Apparatus**¹² - Institutions play a crucial role in the success of development models and policy coherence. The plans and strategies adopted for agricultural transformation are often characterised by being excessively broad and ambitious, thus losing focus on the critical aspects that need to be overcome. If the capacity to adopt regulatory and supervisory policies is weak, with reduced efficiency of the administrative system and susceptible to corruption, the result is almost always policy failure. The transparency of the actions of institutions and the promotion of accountability practices and evaluation of the results of these policies can create favourable conditions for their success, as well as a

⁹ The study by Abbas (2015), which sought to examine the relationship between macroeconomic variables and agricultural production in Mozambique, considered the following variables: exchange rate, inflation, GDP, GDP per capita, export of goods, foreign aid, interest rates, total public expenditure and public expenditure on agriculture, money supply, cultivated area, fertiliser consumption and labour force in agriculture. This author found that macroeconomic variables have a significant effect on agricultural production, concluding that the macroeconomic environment in Mozambique has not been favourable to agriculture.

¹⁰ The budget for agriculture continues to be lower than recommended in the Maputo Declaration, averaging about 4% between 2001 and 2021 of the total government budget (Nova and Mosca, 2022a; Aiuba and Mosca, 2018).

¹¹ Subjects addressed by: Macuiana (2017) on the capacity of storage infrastructure in Mozambique; Dadá (2018) talks about the problems of rural roads; and Ibraimo and Feijó (2018) in which they present the relationship between transport services and their high costs due to the condition of access roads.

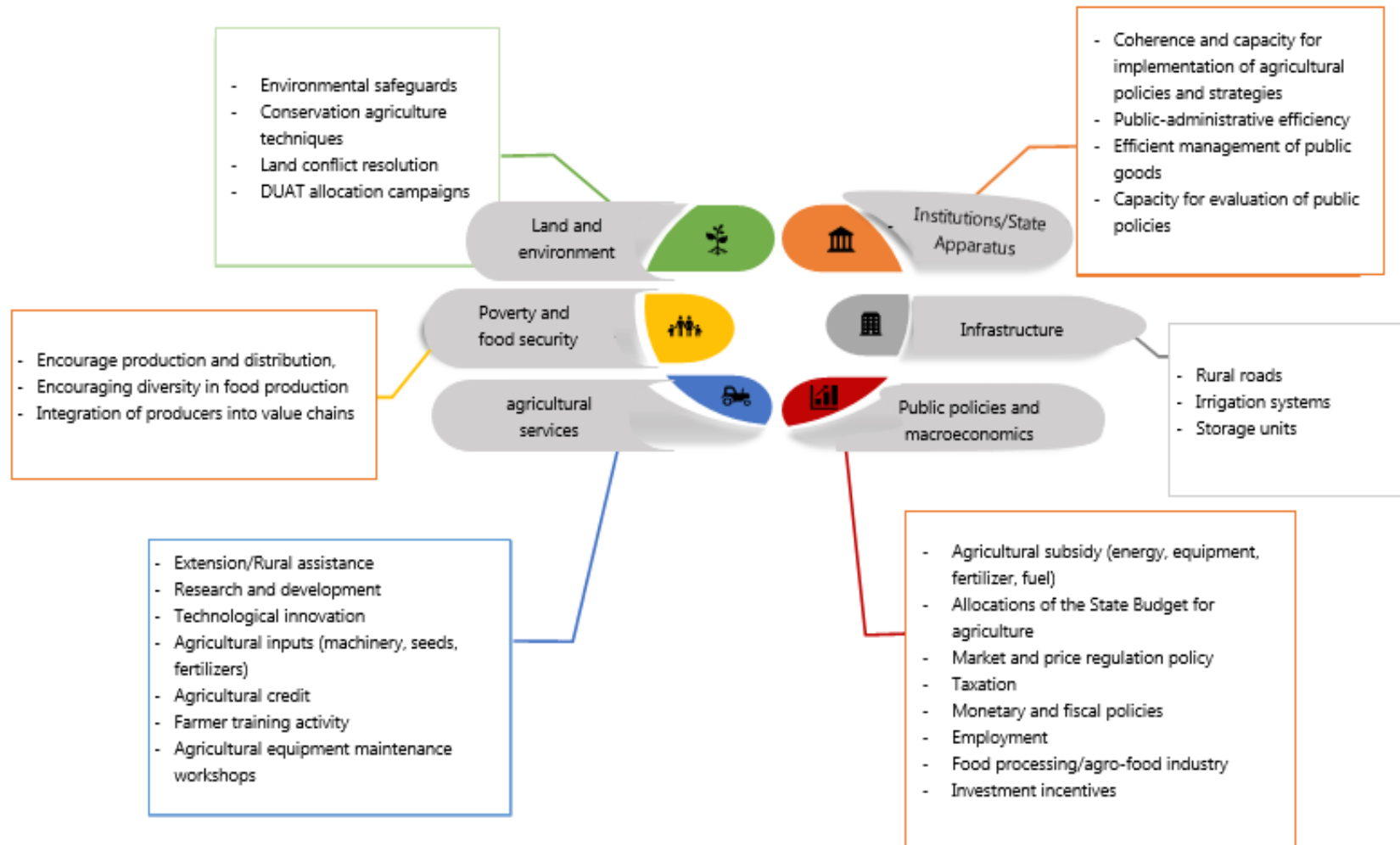
¹² Mosca (2011), in his book *Políticas agrárias de (em) Moçambique (1975-2009)*, discusses aspects concerning the State apparatus, agriculture and public institutions since the pre- and post-independence era, specifically, the changes in the management and the Ministry of Agriculture, the issue of institutional instability and presents criticisms related to the decentralisation and deconcentration of the State and its influence on the performance of its functions.

stronger coordination between public, private and NGO investments in supporting agricultural development. In general, the commitment of public agents in the provision of quality services constitutes a favourable background for the implementation of policies, without which the action will be dispersed, incoherent and unable to meet the objectives outlined.

Essentially, this set of success conditions for this type of policies can be seen in Figure 1.

In summary, for the success of a given agrarian policy orientation to find conditions, it is necessary to ensure favourable conditions at various levels, which require continuity and political persistence, and the capacity of policy makers to introduce corrections to the models when and where reality demonstrates, through evaluations, that it is necessary.

Figure 1.
Determinants of a successful agrarian policy model



Source: Prepared by the authors, based on the literature review.

2.3. Agrarian Policies in Mozambique

In Mozambique, the success of initiatives to promote the development of agriculture has always been limited. The gap between the real needs of the population and the vision of those implementing the projects, the unsustainability of the options taken, the practical difficulties of implementation and their short timeframe have led to results that fall far short of what was desired. Examples of this are the attempts to introduce rural credit (within the framework of the so-called "7 Milhões"¹³) and the machine parks' project, implemented through the establishment of Agricultural Services Provision Centres. If, in the first case, that policy was temporary and with unclear outlines, in the second, the real needs of the producers were not verified regarding the type and power of the equipment¹⁴, the economic, demographic and territorial characteristics of the districts where the equipment was made available were not taken into consideration, and the capacity to provide technical assistance for the repair and maintenance of the equipment acquired was not created.

Alongside this type of specific action, Mozambique implemented different policy guidelines, each seeking to meet objectives that often stemmed from contradictory views about the priorities to be addressed. On the one hand, through the promotion of agribusiness, supported by the *Centro de Promoção da Agricultura* (CEPAGRI), the *Plano Integrado de Comercialização Agrária* (PICA) and the *Plano Nacional de Investimento para o Sector Agrário* (PNISA), the development of the entrepreneurial segment of the agricultural sector was sought. The case of ProSAVANA constitutes an outstanding programme of this type of option. On the other hand, several policy instruments have targeted small producers, such as the Strategic Plan for the Development of the Agricultural Sector (PEDSA) and the *Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta* (the successive PARPAs). In recent years, there have been changes in perspective following the emergence of alternative visions, namely the one that was implemented through the Small Commercial Farmer Model through the SUSTENTA programme, extended to the national territory.

These different options on how to promote the development of agriculture and the rural environment are based on two types of vision: on the one hand, the will to accelerate the growth of production and productivity, recognising the difficulty that the Small Family Farming segment has in being competitive in the market as a result of the difficulty in adopting agricultural technologies. And, on the other hand, the need to obtain quick effects on the economy (on exports and improvement of the agricultural trade balance) through large-scale investments in agriculture. Policies focusing on small-scale agriculture have almost invariably resulted in failure, disappointing the expectations of the rural population with regard to improving their living conditions. Despite the efforts undertaken, poverty continues to be the main problem for the majority of the population living in rural Mozambique¹⁵. The most widespread model for promoting the commercial aspect of family farming,

¹³ *Orçamento de Investimento de Iniciativa Local* (OIIL), a programme commonly known as '7 milhões', was a credit fund provided to different districts to develop projects related to food production and income generation, with an impact on local populations.

¹⁴ A discussion of the projects implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture, in the framework of agricultural development, can be found in: Sande, 2011; Orre and Forquilha (2012); Dadá *et al.*, 2019;

¹⁵ According to the latest poverty assessment report in Mozambique - Household Budgetary Survey, HBS, 2014/15 - despite an improving trend in the value of the poverty indicator, by about 11% (from 51.7% - HBS 2008/09 to 46.1%), the poverty level still remains high, Ministry of Economy and Finance (2016).

which has worked in a lasting way, is based on the contract farming regime (out-growers). The sustainability of this solution depends on the durability of the companies, national or foreign, that promote a particular crop. Although this model already existed in colonial times, it was strengthened in the 1990s after the process of market liberalisation and privatisation. Many authors consider the application of this type of model in industrial crops, such as tobacco, cotton and, to a certain extent, sugar cane, to be successful cases (Mosca, 2005). However, there have been some failures, such as in the case of oilseed crops for the production of biodiesel¹⁶.

3. METHODOLOGY

The present text is a development of the theoretical part of the dissertation "*O papel dos pequenos produtores nas opções de políticas agrárias em Moçambique*" presented by the author, in 2021, to obtain a Master's degree from the Lisbon School of Economics and Management - in which it is analysed the way of introducing technology, based on the Small commercial Farmer model, in soya production in Gurué district, Zambézia province. Thus, the text was based on the use of a qualitative approach, dedicated to deepening and understanding the object under analysis - the models of agricultural development. In terms of procedures, the work was based on bibliographical research focused on the Mozambican and Southern African reality, based on a survey of theoretical references and empirical studies published (Gerhardt and Silveira, 2009). This method was used with the objective of analysing the various positions in relation to the "models of agricultural development in Mozambique".

For the analysis and confrontation of these models, a set of criteria was selected which allow each of them to be characterised qualitatively, making it possible, consequently, to identify their inherent strengths and limitations. These criteria cover various areas that, in *general terms*, include relevant elements in the economic, social and environmental spheres that are required for political action. As this is a method of analysis carried out on a qualitative basis, the results presented in the discussion and conclusions are determined by the perception built on the literature consulted.

The criteria that support this analysis are the following:

A - General characteristics - most evident characteristics of each model, identifying aspects relating to:

- Production regime: intensive, semi-intensive, extensive;
- Capital: origin of the holders of the invested capital;
- Production objectives: predominant destination of production;
- Main beneficiaries: identification of the main target agents;
- Type of product: type of crops predominantly produced in each model;

¹⁶ On this subject, refer for example to: Artur (2015); Achten *et al.* (2007); Schut *et al.* (2010) and Slingerland and Schut (2014).

B - Impacts - in this criterion we sought to identify the impacts generated at different levels, specifically:

- Impacts on technology dissemination: technological progress induced at the local level;
- Environmental impacts: erosion, soil and water contamination and biodiversity;
- Social impacts: multiplication of effects at the social level;
- Global economic impacts: multiplication of effects on the national economy;
- Local economic impacts: multiplication of effects on the local economy;
- Impacts on poverty reduction: contribution to improving the living conditions of the population;
- Impacts on food security: contribution to safeguard nutritional conditions;
- Social involvement and integration: level of social inclusion of producers in the local economy;
- Conflicts: level of social disruption generated by agricultural activity;

C-Political involvement - analysis of political-administrative intervention and positioning, as well as the time taken to obtain production results in each model:

- Governance: type of political-administrative intervention and need for coherence between public policies;
- Time to achieve results: period to achieve the main objectives of the model.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE THREE MODELS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE

4.1. Large-scale investment model

After independence and during the period of civil war that followed it, the Mozambican economy went into sharp decline. In an attempt to recover the country's economy, in 1987 the government adopted the Economic Rehabilitation Programme (ERP), promoted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The ERP involved privatisation of state-owned enterprises, currency depreciation and market deregulation. At the time, for these institutions, agriculture and food self-sufficiency were not considered a priority, as advocated in their 1986 World Development Report (Mosca, 2014). Since then, the Mozambican government has adopted a neoliberal ideology, based on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) for the development of all economic sectors, including agriculture (UNAC and Grain, 2015, Mosca, 2011, Di Matteo and Schoneveld, 2016).

However, given the high levels of poverty¹⁷ and malnutrition, which affects more than half the population,¹⁸ mainly in rural areas, the Mozambican government recognises the importance of the agricultural sector in combating rural poverty and food insecurity by attracting private investment,

¹⁷ According to the latest poverty assessment report in Mozambique (Household Budgetary Survey, HBS, 2014/15), despite an improving trend in the value of the poverty indicator by about 11% (reduction from 51.7% to 46.1%, according to the previous report - HBS 2008/09), the poverty level still remains high, Ministry of Economy and Finance (2016).

¹⁸ According to the Demographic and Health Survey, about 54.1% of the population suffers from malnutrition problems (INE, 2013).

assuming that this would increase small producers' access to agricultural technologies, production factors and markets, while also generating alternative employment (Di Matteo and Schoneveld, 2016).

The international food crisis in 2008 provoked a growing international interest in Africa's fertile land to produce agricultural products for export. In 2012, Mozambique became the third largest FDI destination in Africa (UNAC and Grain, 2015). Since then, hundreds of agreements have been signed covering millions of hectares, which were policy based on the *Centro de Promoção da Agricultura* (CEPAGRI) programme¹⁹. The penetration of FDI resulted in increasing pressure on small producers. Investors, with government support and associated with national capital, have accessed land and water resources used by small and medium producers, converting areas dedicated to food and cash crop production by family farming into large-scale agroforestry systems, based on intensive production systems, sometimes monoculture, managed according to transnational corporate logics (UNAC and Grain, 2015).

The expansion of agribusiness²⁰ in Mozambique has expressed itself in speeches in disguise as "aid" and "cooperation", as was the case of Japan, which used *Official Development Assistance* (ODA) as a strategy to facilitate "offshore" agricultural investment, strengthened after the 2008 global food crisis, justified by the interest in contributing to the increase in global food production in the era of population "boom" (Okada, 2015).

This type of investment is seen as a way to quickly bridge the current investment gap in rural areas and stimulate rural development. However, according to some authors (Deininger and Xia, 2016, Herrmann, 2017), evidence of poverty alleviation and rural development driven by these investments is scarce, although some empirical studies have presented contrary results, when these investments are analysed against policy regulations, partnerships between community investors and in terms of economic growth (Herrmann, 2017, Cotula, 2011, Baumert *et al.*, 2019).

However, most of the texts consulted have pointed out the negative effects of these large-scale investments, namely the forced relocation of families, environmental degradation and reduced tangible contributions to rural development (Kaag and Zoomers, 2014, Di Matteo and Schoneveld, 2016). Greater risks to human health and biodiversity in the surrounding areas are also pointed out, due to the intense use of pesticides, namely by their aerial application, with disregard for basic safety standards (Paulino, 2014, Okada, 2015).

¹⁹ CEPAGRI is an institution subordinated to the Ministry of Agriculture, created in 2006, with the objective of promoting agribusiness opportunities, attracting and monitoring investments in the commercial agricultural and agro-industrial sector.

²⁰ The concept of "agribusiness", originally developed by researchers John Davis and Ray Goldberg in 1957, was used to designate the model of development of commercial agriculture, based on technological progress and the application of principles of economics in the management of enterprises, especially large farms, which generate multiplier effects on industry and services upstream and downstream of production and on the economy in general.

The reports presented in various studies on the involuntary resettlement of peasants, especially in Africa, indicate that the vast majority of producers lack the rights to secure land use. They also point out that the negative effects of resettlement are rarely subject to adequate compensation to support resettlement and rehabilitation of the new areas of residence and production. From an environmental point of view, the conversion of land to intensive farming systems generally produces negative impacts, namely the deforestation of large areas, soil and groundwater pollution, loss of biodiversity and soil erosion. These impacts are considered very severe in African countries as a result of the lack of capacity and political will to impose social and environmental safeguards (Di Matteo and Schoneveld, 2016, Kaag and Zoomers, 2014, Paulino, 2014, Okada, 2015).

The current Land Law²¹ in Mozambique includes a number of safeguards to prevent land concessions that may undermine local livelihoods, requiring formal local consultations. These constitute, in the legislator's view, legal mechanisms that allow communities affected by a given development to decide whether or not to support a particular concession. However, in practice, this process has been ineffective, given the lack of rigour in the agreements signed and the absence of follow-up and verification. The time given to communities to analyse the proposals is often very short, and they are subject to strong political pressure and manipulation.

The agreements established between the investment promoters and the communities are almost invariably based on trade-offs that include the construction of schools, health centres, water supply, extension of the electricity networks and the preparation of alternative agricultural areas, which are rarely fulfilled (Norfolk and Hanlon, 2012, Glovar and Jones, 2018).

It should be noted that, in these cases, the interest of the communities focuses on basic living conditions that the State is responsible for ensuring. The negotiation of these conditions is carried out between an entity with strong negotiating power and rural communities with no experience in this type of negotiation. Administration facilitators operate in between, more interested in complying with superior instructions than in defending the legitimate interests of the communities that this administration has never been able to guarantee. The management of these large companies is not usually specialised in social or rural extension policies for the surrounding communities. Sometimes they hire the services of companies or NGOs to promote a certain social aspect, which operate for a limited period. In other words, in order to alleviate the conflict over the issues pointed out above, companies adopt social responsibility components as a way of contributing to the reduction of local poverty. Such initiatives are incipient and of limited social reach and serve, after all, to build a favourable public image of the enterprises (Bruna, 2017, Baumert et al., 2019, Siteo and Lisbon, 2020).

The race for large portions of land (usually tens of thousands of hectares of high-quality land for agricultural production and good location) is referred to as *land-grabbing*. This process has given rise to a large body of literature in which it is shown that most of these investments do not realise the desired positive effects on rural economies (Hanlon and Smart, 2013, Di Matteo and Schoneveld, 2016, Baumert *et al.*, 2019, Dadá and Nova, 2018, Deininger and Xia, 2016, Bleyer, 2016, Aabø and Kring, 2012).

²¹ Law 19/97, approved in October 1997.

In Mozambique, the most emblematic programme of this type of policy was ProSAVANA, launched in 2009 through a trilateral public-private partnership between Japan, Brazil and Mozambique, launched in the framework of South-South Cooperation. Through this programme, geographically centred on the Nacala Corridor, it was intended to transform 14.5 million hectares of land into strongly export-oriented agricultural operations (Okada, 2015). Initial estimates indicated that the project would cover about 500,000 people living in the programme's area of influence (UNAC and Grain, 2015). However, the realisation of this policy was blocked due to the strong opposition of local farmers' movements and the coordinated action of civil society in the three countries (Funada-Classsen, 2019, Baumert *et al.*, 2019).

The fundamental idea of ProSAVANA was to incorporate Mozambican agriculture into global value chains by supporting smallholder farmers through the creation of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and *out-grower* schemes, i.e., by transforming subsistence farmers into commercial farmers. However, several authors note that, in practice, the beneficiaries of these investments would be foreign investors, elements of the national elite and politically well-positioned local government officials in the process (Chichava *et al.*, 2013, Okada, 2015).

Indeed, large investments have the potential for economic growth. They can provide important contributions to the supply of domestic industry and balance of payments. However, they are usually concentrated in primary products, whose transformation and value addition are usually concentrated abroad (Castel-Branco, 2002). This author also highlights the weak integration of local small and medium enterprises in the supply of raw materials and the few new rural employment opportunities.

Countries such as Mozambique, which have a fragile institutional environment, lack infrastructure, possess an abundance of resources, underuse of land and low levels of productivity, provide propitious conditions for aggressive intervention in the agricultural sector, (Japan International Cooperation Agency - JICA, 2010; Suárez and Borrás, 2010, do Rosário, 2012, Okada, 2015).

Thus, in the Mozambican context, large-scale investments in the agricultural sector are considered to be investments in large extensions of land or with a high volume of investment, and in some cases when they also produce under international corporate logics (Bruna, 2016). In these companies, the main production objective is to obtain profit by supplying, on a large scale, national or international value chains. The most evident feature of this model is the intensive use of capital and advanced technologies. This model focuses mostly on the production of cash-crops (sugar cane, macadamia nuts, soya, maize, citrus fruits, bananas, among others) and on forest plantations of fast-growing exotic species (Mosca and Nova, 2019).

The study by Deininger and Xia (2016) on the impacts of large investments on agriculture in Mozambique reports short-term positive effects for neighbouring smallholder farmers within a radius of up to 50 km, in terms of adoption of new farming practices and access to inputs. However, a large body of literature makes reference to the environmental dangers of capital-intensive agriculture and consequent substitution of labour for capital, causing depopulation and population migration. The integration of local producers is low, as is the impact on local production chains.

The mode of implementation of this policy is diverse, mainly with regard to the relationships that are established between investors and communities (Mandamule and Bruna, 2017; Bruna, 2019).

The intervention of the State in this model is quite reduced being limited to procedures related to the regulations of the concessions of large portions of land and attribution of DUAT, application of the Labour Law, granting of tax benefits (tax exemptions and customs duties), facilitating the entry of capital and repatriation of profits.

In summary, Table 1 presents a systematisation of these characteristics based on the criteria used.

Table 1. Characteristics of the large-scale investment model

Criteria	Large-scale investment model (International agribusiness)
A - General characteristics	
Production regime	Large-scale intensive production, sometimes of monoculture, maintaining labour relations from the colonial era
Capital	International capital associated with national capital.
Main production goals	Supplying national and international value chains.
Principal beneficiaries	Foreign and domestic investors
Type of goods produced	Cash-crops and fast-growing forest species
B - Impacts	
Technology dissemination	Non-disseminated capital-intensive technology
Environmental and biodiversity impacts	Environmental degradation and pollution over large areas; reduced environmental safeguards.
Social impacts	Involuntary resettlement of peasants and displacement of families; health risks for farmers due to the intensified use of agro-chemicals; poor compliance with the agreements established between communities and companies; proletarianization of peasants
Global economic impacts	Increase in exports or import substitution; strong insertion in national and international value chains; supply of raw materials for the external market; homogeneous and superior quality products; increase in productivity (land, capital and labour)
Local economic impacts	Poor results in local economies, mainly due to the level of employment (mainly seasonal)
Impacts on poverty reduction	Low tangible contribution to poverty reduction; high levels of seasonal employment; very low level of wages
Impacts on food security	No appreciable effects

Criteria	Large-scale investment model (International agribusiness)
Social engagement and integration	Reduced employment opportunities (promotion of seasonal employment); little or no integration of local value chains; little technology transfer to the family sector
Conflicts	Strong conflict between communities and investment promoters;
C - Political involvement	
Governance	Weak demand for state intervention beyond the regulation of the special land concession regime
Time to get results	Very fast

Source: Prepared by the authors.

4.2. Contract farming models

Due to the effects of large-scale models on the social and environmental sphere, alternative models or policies for agriculture have been recommended, based on forms of commercial organisation, which involve "hybrid" forms of interaction between small producers and commercial companies (Glover, S. and Jones, 2018, Wach, 2012).

The contract farming model is quite diverse, varying according to its typology: land rights, the size of the project, the type of contract, the agreements therein, number of additional services provided to the smallholder farmer, among others (Hobden and Sands, 2017)²².

Among various forms of contract farming, in Mozambique three forms predominate in the central and northern regions of the country: i) assisted production contract (for example, soya production in the district of Gurué); ii) supervised production contracts (inserted in global value chains); and iii) turn-key contract, in which crops are transferred to farmers for a fixed time (the case of banana production) Mosca and Bruna, 2015.

²² For Hobden and Sands (2017), there are five distinct typologies of this model, which vary based mainly on the nature of the relationship between producers (out-grower) and companies. Namely: (1) informal - in which contracts can be annual or seasonal, there are no specifications or requirements in terms of quantity and no additional agricultural services; (2) intermediary - made on the basis of the existence of an intermediary who acquires the raw production and markets it to companies; (3) multi-party - carried out through contracts and direct relationship between commercial buyers, NGOs or suppliers and farmers. In this type of contract the farmer has a high degree of interaction between the institutional partner who provide input, extension services, and/or credit, but only limited interaction when it comes to commercial buyer or processor; (4) centralised - when there is a large company that provides extension services and buys produce, and buys all the output from the farmer, usually subject to strict quality requirements; and, (5) nucleus-ownership - where large companies that own their own production and control the entire production chain, enter into output supply contracts with farmers located on smaller parcels of land surrounding the company's production.

In this model, the government grants certain companies' concessions as exclusive buyers of a certain product, in a delimited geographical area, for a certain period. It thus constitutes a monopsonist regime for a given product in a given region. In turn, the concessionary companies provide technical support and working capital (inputs) on credit to the sub-contracted producers, who undertake to sell their entire production to these companies, deducting the costs of the inputs previously supplied from the sale price (Niño, 2016, Hanlon and Smart, 2013).

When it comes to food crops, such as, for example, maize, rice or cassava, there is a high level of abandonment of the contract by producers. This fact results from the prevalence of side-selling of production by small contracted producers. Consequently, the companies find it difficult to recover all the investments and credits/advances made. For this reason, contract farming is typically focused on cash crops (cash-crops and some food-crops) where the risk of side-selling and self-consumption is lower. In specific cases, as in the case of soya production, numerous traders have entered the sector generating an inflationary effect on producer prices, generating a high level of contract breaks arising from side-selling (Di Matteo and Schoneveld, 2016, Joala *et al.*, 2016). On the contracting companies' side, the price level (usually low) and marketing processes (such as, for example, the cassava weighing process of the company DADTCO)²³ discourage producers from fulfilling contracts.

Sometimes, associative organisations are involved in this model, generating economies of scale resulting from the concentration of production and, consequently, promoting a reduction in transaction costs²⁴. The intervention of these entities facilitates the distribution of production factors, coordination of harvesting, dissemination of technical knowledge and reduction of the risk of side-selling through collective contractual responsibility (Di Matteo and Schoneveld, 2016).

However, the policy of transforming small producers into commercial producers, mainly based on contracting for commodities production, has a limited scope, both in terms of number of producers and spatial coverage, keeping the majority of small producers excluded (Mosca, 2019). Furthermore, several studies point to adverse effects of the out-grower regime when small producers are incorporated into global value chains, as they have a vulnerable position in the process to the extent that, in practice, they are subordinated to powerful corporate actors working in a monopsonistic logic, becoming indirectly subject to the price volatility that characterises international markets for this type of product (De Schutter, 2011, Da Via, 2011, Watts, 1992, Okada, 2015)²⁵.

²³ For the commercialisation of cassava, it must go through a weighing process, where the cassava is peeled and placed in a press to remove the water, significantly decreasing the weight. This process, in the opinion of producers, is disadvantageous as it has reflections on the final price of cassava (Ibraimo, 2018).

²⁴ This is the case of sugarcane production in Nhamatanda, in Sofala province, where this crop is produced and marketed under a contract system between local producer associations and Açucareira de Mafambisse (Dadá *et al.* 2019).

²⁵ Mosca and Bruna (2015, p. 5) point out some advantages and disadvantages of this model: *The increase in income of the producing families, the possibility of technological imitation, the use of inputs and other aspects, are pointed out as advantages of this production model. It also has risks, such as: environmental effects caused by monoculture due, for example, to the intensive use of chemicals, deforestation as a result of the expansion of the areas worked on, soil exhaustion, and others. The asymmetric relationship in monopsony markets puts small producers at a disadvantage, and in the long term this could mean a fall in real producer prices. Fluctuations in international prices, when there are no stabilising mechanisms or they are not set in motion quickly, end up affecting, above all, the primary producer with the system of setting prices based on the guaranteed margins in*

In the case of Mozambique, much of the production in this mode is concentrated in areas inherited from the colonial system that produced in medium and large monoculture systems. The typical crops produced under this model are cotton, sugar cane and tobacco.

Due to the way this model works, namely by integrating some outsourced producers, this model has the potential to generate positive effects on the rural economy (Sánchez and Gutiérrez, 2017). The advantages resulting from the generation of employment opportunities, increased production and productivity arising from production quality control and production efficiency, access to credit, guaranteed sale of production/money income for the producer, technical assistance and introduction of technological innovations, and reduction of transaction costs, and reduction of land conflicts are recognised to this model.

However, because this model is limited, both in the number of crops produced and in the spatial coverage and number of producers, it generates some negative externalities, namely the emergence of social differentiation²⁶, causing an increase in migration by groups that do not have the opportunity to integrate into these markets. In addition, they are recognised as environmental risks and reduced environmental safeguards due to the widespread use of agrochemicals.

In issues linked to food security, this model may have an influence on the organisation of small producers' production, especially in the conflict between the allocation of the available means of production (land and labour) to food production or to contract crops that generate monetary income.

the economic agents of the upstream stages of the value chains. The risks associated with unsecured agrarian credit may lead to processes of exclusion and selection of the least productive and efficient, and eventually lead to the emergence of the landless.

²⁶ However, in the process of contracting producers, selection is often made on the basis of criteria such as accumulated experience, the possession of some specific assets (land, irrigation systems, machinery and equipment).

In summary, Table 2 presents a systematisation of these characteristics based on the criteria used.

Table 2. Characteristics of the contract farming model

Criteria	Contract farming model
A - General characteristics	
Production system	Medium-scale cash cropping, semi-intensive, under contractual arrangements with monopsonist concessions; model inspired by the colonial organisation of agro-industrial crop production
Capital	International capital associated with national capital
Main production goals	Supply of raw materials to international value chains
Main beneficiaries	Concessionary companies and limited number of small and medium-sized contract producers; strong seasonal employment opportunities.
Type of goods produced	<i>Cash-crops</i>
B - Impacts	
Technology dissemination	Semi-intensive; geographically limited in scope
Environmental and biodiversity impacts	Localised environmental degradation; and questionable in terms of environmental safeguards.
Social impacts	Emergence of a small group of commercial farmers; farmers' health risks from intensified use of agrochemicals
Economic impacts	Increased exports; sharing of production risks (mainly climate and pest related) between concessionaires and out-growers; Small productivity increases (land, capital and labour) spread over limited areas, emergence of local indirect investments (banking and services)
Local economic impacts	Strong impact on local economies
Impacts on poverty reduction	Positive impacts on rural areas, with effects on increasing social inequalities
Food security	Positive impact limited in scope
Social engagement and integration	Transfer and dissemination for local use of new technologies and processes to obtain higher productivity; reduction of rural unemployment.
Conflicts	Tensions resulting from the disqualification of the product and consequent reduction in price; traditional land conflicts (intra-family, interfamily and inter-community)
C - Political involvement	
Governance	Farming regulation under contract
Time to get results	Average speed depending on the strategy and capacity of the concessionaries

Source: Prepared by the authors.

4.3. Support model for the emergence of Small Commercial Farmers

As of 2011, there has been a change in the discourse regarding the rural development model, reflected in the Strategic Plan for Development of the Agricultural Sector (PEDSA) 2011-2020. Among various priorities, this plan focuses on small and medium producers, seeking to promote increased productivity, access to markets, sustainable use of resources and food security. PEDSA was characterised by a move away from the liberal policies that prevailed in previous decades (*The Oakland Institute*, 2011, Norfolk and Hanlon, 2012, Mosca, 2014, Di Matteo and Schoneveld, 2016).

More recently, policies to support the emergence of small and medium-sized family producers have been strengthened, with a view to bridging poverty levels in rural areas and enabling the integration of the small producer into markets. The most paradigmatic case is surely the Small Commercial Farmer (PAC) model, developed in Mozambique in the period 2012-2018 by TECHNOSERVE (TNS) in Alta Zambézia, with financial support from the Netherlands. The strategy was based on the integration of producers into the soya value chain, through direct support in mechanisation, introduction of technological innovations and access to formal financing.

The 31 PACs selected in this project were farmers who had the capacity to adopt and mobilise improved agricultural techniques and technologies²⁷, increasing their own production and subsequently, by diffusion (through knowledge transfer and demonstration plots), influencing the surrounding community. In theory, PAC provide multi-services and assistance to Small Family Farmers (PAF) and play a role in aggregating production (TNS, 2018, TNS, 2019). A total of 3,531 PAFs were benefited at the end of the programme. The soya crop was selected for specific reasons, namely (1) it is a profitable and high-value crop; (2) it constitutes a product with a high domestic demand; (3) it is used for two main products, soya flour and oil which the country imports (TNS, 2019).

The expansion of the poultry market has been the main driver of soya production growth in Mozambique. More than 60% of production is channelled to the poultry sector, especially for companies such as Frango King, Abillo Antunes, Higest, Mr. Chicken and Novos Horizontes, thus there is a competitive domestic market with a remarkable size (Di Matteo and Schoneveld, 2016).

Hanlon and Smart (2013) consider the soya production model as a success case, questioning, however, whether it can be replicated in other provinces and other crops, since the success is justified by specific reasons, namely: (1) targeting a single crop; (2) existence of a lucrative market; (3) adapting the crop to various levels of mechanisation and therefore adapts to PACs, with dimensions ranging from 4 and 20 hectares; (4) the expansion of the crop was based on the continued support of different organisations in the provision of technological packages, advice on production and marketing; and, (5) entry of the private sector with crop approaches by contract after proven profitability.

²⁷ These PAC were further selected for their farming history, behavioural characteristics indicating entrepreneurial ability, access to viable land, capital to invest and their expressed desire to invest in this new economic model (TNS, 2019).

The SUSTENTA Programme is a programme along these lines, seeking to generate an integrated agricultural development dynamic that will contribute to improving the quality of life in rural areas, ensuring food security and the sustainable use of natural resources.

SUSTENTA was approved in June 2016 and started its implementation in February 2017 in some districts of Nampula and Zambézia. In August 2019, the Government proceeded to launch the National Family Farming Policy/SUSTENTA and gradually promoted its extension to other provinces. The result of this process is that the application of this national programme is differentiated in space and time, with some regions where it has been in force for about four years, others where its application is recent, and still others where it has no expression. Even in the provinces and districts where it has been in place for several campaigns, in practice the programme does not cover all the territories and producers. This process gives rise to a geographical, temporal and social segmentation in the implementation of the Programme.

The conception of SUSTENTA is based on the selection of a certain number of *Pequenos Agricultores Comerciais Emergentes* (PACE), with farms of an average size of up to 50 hectares, to whom various types of support are granted, these assuming the commitment to extend the promotion of technical progress and the insertion in the Small Farmers (PA) market of its area of influence. The majority of these farmers work on plots of between 0.5 and 2 hectares. The objective is that each PACE intervenes with about 200 PA

Regarding the possibility of replicating the PAC model in other crops, Hanlon and Smart (2013) show reservations, namely because this model requires a focus on a single crop, with a guaranteed market, making production profitable in the eyes of small producers, and the provision of a technological package and technical assistance on an ongoing basis. In this process it sought to promote a cultural change in the farmer, involving the ability to plan, save and reinvest.

Baumert et al. (2019) consider that small-scale agricultural models generate higher yields without compromising food security, create greater employment opportunities, implement greater dynamics in local value chains and multiplier effects on the local economy. In other words, the introduction of agricultural models adapted to the local context leads to poverty reduction objectives (Dawson et al., 2016, Norfolk and Hanlon, 2012).

However, despite improvements in poverty conditions, social inequalities increase with the expansion of this type of action, especially in households with high illiteracy levels and working very small areas (Hazell et al., 2010, Imai and Gaiha, 2016, Baumert et al., 2019).

Mosca (2014) notes that although these models generate significant increases in production, he warns of the risks of environmental effects caused by intensification due, for example, to the intensive use of chemicals, deforestation as a result of the expansion of worked areas and soil depletion.

The Small Commercial Farmer (PAC) model is the alternative model with a focus on small producers that arises in response to the difficulty of small producers entering large production and marketing chains, asymmetry of information and weak organisation of small producers. PACs act as

intermediaries, having, simultaneously, the objective of linking small producers to medium/large production chains, and of maximising production in order to increase their incomes.

This model has been quite widespread in sub-Saharan Africa, as in the case of Kenya, where commercial farmers' holdings account for about 20% of agricultural land, in Ghana, where this percentage is 39%, and in Tanzania and Zambia with a percentage of over 50% (Scoones et al., 2018). This segment of family production is mostly dedicated to food production (cereals, vegetables and legumes) and also to the production of cash-crops (soya, sesame, pigeon pea, among others), with a level of technology that tends to be increasing and semi-intensive.

For many authors, the models that focus on small and medium producers generate greater effects at the level of the rural economy, by increasing the income of producers as a result of improved productivity levels, with positive impacts on food security and the empowerment of women.

However, the path to obtaining the results of this model is long. The process of transforming a smallholder farmer into a commercial farmer is a lengthy one and requires substantial support from those involved in the production chain and from the State. In the latter case, this includes extension services, the creation of infrastructure, improved functioning and efficiency of administration services, as well as policy predictability and coherence.

Both in this and the other models, impacts on the environment will be present, with deforestation for the opening of new production fields being one of the most serious. It is estimated that currently in Mozambique itinerant agriculture is responsible for 65% of deforestation (Aquino et al., 2018). As this model becomes more intensive, the effects on the environment become more evident.

In summary, Table 3 presents a systematisation of these characteristics based on the criteria used.

Table 3. Characteristics of the Small Commercial Farmer model

Criteria	Models focused on small and medium producers
A - General characteristics	
Production regime	Small and medium-scale cash crop cultivation, extensive or semi-intensive, coexisting with food crop production
Capital	External funding for development programmes and national capital for the producers involved
Main production objectives	Supply of the domestic market (value chains with dominance of national capital) and, secondarily, export
Main beneficiaries	Small and medium family producers; seasonal employment opportunities
Type of goods produced	Food crops and cash crops
B - Impacts	
Technology dissemination	Increasing level of semi-intensive technology
Environmental and biodiversity impacts	Localized environmental degradation; Increased environmental safeguards through diffusion of conservation agriculture techniques
Social impacts	Gradual integration of part of the family sector into national value chains; health risks for farmers due to intensified use of agro-chemicals
Global economic impacts	Supplying local and national markets; reducing imports of specific goods; heterogeneous product, with reduced quality; small productivity increases (land, capital and labour) disseminated
Local economic impacts	Supplying local and regional food markets
Impacts on poverty reduction	Benefits in terms of income, employment opportunities, dynamics in local value chains and multiplier effects on local economy; positive effects on poverty reduction
Food security	Wide-ranging positive impacts
Social engagement and integration	Inclusive model, involving a high number of producers and greater socio-economic dynamics; provides safeguards and rights of local producers (land, resources and environment in general)

Criteria	Models focused on small and medium producers
Conflicts	Traditional land conflicts (intra-family, interfamily and inter-community).
C - Political involvement	
Governance	Requirement for State functions directly linked to agriculture (regulation of agro-food markets and sectors, rural extension, others)
Time to obtain results	Process necessarily gradual and very lengthy

Source: Prepared by the authors.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

To support the discussion on the elements systematised in the previous chapters, the perception of the contribution of each model to the development of agriculture, the improvement of living conditions in rural areas and to the economy (impacts and political involvement) was characterised, in a simplified manner, as follows:

Strong positive effects:	+ +
Weak positive effects:	+
Neutral effect	=
Weak negative effects:	-
Strong negative effects	- -

Through this process it is possible to obtain a clear idea of the aspects in which a particular policy guideline is stronger and those in which it falls short of what is desirable for the development of agriculture and the rural environment in the country. This systematisation is presented in Table 4.

Based on these elements, there is a clear gap between policies to promote new large-scale investments and the other two policy models, which directly involve already existing productive structures. This gap results, essentially, from the valuation of the social and environmental impacts obtained in each of the models.

Table 4. Most prominent impacts of the analysed models

Criteria	Large-scale agriculture	Contract farming	Small commercial farmer
Impacts:			
Technology dissemination	-	++	++
Environmental and biodiversity impacts	--	-	-
Social impacts	--	+	++
Global economic impacts	++	+	+
Local economic impacts	+	++	++
Impacts on poverty reduction	--	+	++
Food security	--	++	++
Social engagement and integration	--	+	++
Conflicts	--	-	=
Political involvement			
Governance	-	+	++
Time to obtain results	++	+	-

Source: Prepared by the authors.

To some extent, the benefits of the options for large-scale agricultural models are concentrated in the contribution they make to the country's economy and in the speed with which greater production volumes can be obtained. Even so, with regard to the first aspect, the importance of these units for the production of raw material for domestic industry should be distinguished from the production of raw material for raw export. The example of the first case is the production of soya and maize to supply the industry for the production of compound feed used in the production of chicken meat. In this case, the large areas of cultivation of soya and maize replace imports of these two (main) feed components, feeding, in national territory, the value chain in which production is integrated. The other reality stems from the production of raw materials for raw export, where the added value is achieved outside the borders, benefiting the national economy on a small scale.

In relation to the speed with which the results of this model can be obtained, it should be taken into account that this results from various factors. Firstly, it results from the capacity that the promoters have to mobilise the large amounts of capital necessary for the development of the enterprise. Reality shows that the areas cultivated, although already significant a few years after the start-up phase of the development, are, years later, smaller than the areas allocated in the concessions and expressed in the initial versions of the projects. This means that, even at the global economic level where this model is more reasonable, there are often difficulties in progressing with the implementation of the projects initially outlined. Secondly, in addition to the need to raise appreciable amounts of capital, these difficulties stem from the atmosphere of conflict with communities in the surrounding areas

that persists over the years. This atmosphere of conflict erodes the medium- and long-term expectations of installed businesses. In fact, the conflict, which almost always persists from the start of the investment, is not tackled by developers through real social impacts that are positively recognised by the communities, despite the social responsibility components that some of these companies adopt. Finally, in the third place, the progression of investments may require political-administrative conditions that the Government has difficulty in promoting, namely in the areas of infrastructures and taxation, namely at the level of customs.

It is consensual that this type of model has reduced effects on local economies: some permanent employment, not very expressive, and, on a larger scale, seasonal employment. The most negative points of this model are the result of its lack of capacity to generate positive and significant multiplying effects on the local or regional economy and society.

The need for coordination with other areas of public policy is, in this case, punctual, given that in this model autonomous "technological development niches" are promoted, disconnected from the surrounding "sea of social exclusion". There are even cases of these enterprises being surrounded by kilometres of barbed wire fences and electric fences. That exclusion allows these enterprises to benefit from extremely low wage levels for the execution of non-mechanised tasks. In the logic of this type of model, the peasant tends to become a rural proletariat, working periodically in these enterprises, receiving monetary compensation that, although very small, is essential to the survival of families.

Strategies centred on existing productive structures, namely on small and medium-sized producers, are those that, from the outset, generate wider benefits by introducing multiplier effects into the local and regional economy. These models weave the economic links that are developed by the promoted activity and the income that is generated in this way. These strategies therefore contribute more consistently to rural development.

However, there are important differences between the two models analysed. In the case of models based on monopsonistic regimes, based on the exclusive marketing of a given product by a given company in a given extended area. The company promotes technological progress among contracted producers and, therefore, the effects of the model are directed exclusively to them. The others do not benefit from this support. In other crops, and for producers not covered by this type of link, the predominant regime is the market regime, unless in these areas there is another type of policy that intersects with it.

In favourable circumstances, this model expands, and contracts otherwise. Thus, this model cannot be seen as a way to promote development consistently over time, as it depends on the insertion of a given company in an international value chain.

In other words, socially, the scope of this solution has clear, well-defined limits. Its contribution to rural development is therefore limited. Conditions are also created for the increase in social differentiation that this type of model somehow promotes. As in the case of large-scale agriculture, in this solution the concessionaire sometimes makes occasional investments with a positive social impact, such as the installation of water or energy supply points in communities where there is a high concentration of contracted producers. In addition, these benefits have a low social impact.

The model of contract farming has been efficient from the point of view of increased production and productivity, introducing some dynamics of local markets and increasing the income of integrated producers. This model can be seen as an alternative to overcome the reduced access to agrarian credit, as it combines the financing of inputs and technical assistance to producers with the production of a certain product, overcoming the obstacles of the traditional solution that the State has difficulty in promoting. However, the success of this model is very much conditioned by the type of agricultural crop promoted and the international market conjuncture to which it is intended. The relationship between concessionaires and producers may, in unfavourable international circumstances, be greatly affected as a result of the reduction in market prices. To some extent, producers assume a considerable part of the market risks of the operation and, normally, all of the risks arising from the way the agricultural campaign takes place, due to the absence of campaign insurance schemes. In the case of a season with very unfavourable weather conditions or the spread of pests or diseases which the plant protection products applied have not been effective in combating, the producer faces, at the end of the season, a reduction in income because of the reduction in the selling price resulting from the downgrading of the product as a result of its poor quality. When these conditions arise, conflicts often arise which require the mediation of the local administration and producers' organisations.

In the case of models based on the emergence of commercial producers, there is no focus on a particular product as in the previous cases. In this case, the range of productions is determined by the market and the producers' perception of the opportunities offered by the market. In cases where favourable price and market conditions persist, the production in concern tends to expand. In this model there are no administrative or commercial constraints on production. Thus, the range of crops is broad and conditioned by the specific conditions of each agro-ecological zone.

However, there are two limitations to this model. A first one results from the fact that the available support is given to a limited number of emerging commercial producers in a given region. On the one hand, in practice, the geographical scope of this model is limited, being restricted to localities to which, due to unknown political criteria, such support has been channelled. Secondly, the direct beneficiaries of this support are selected on the basis of a set of criteria which, in principle, ensure and guarantee success in multiplying the beneficial effects of this policy. This selection process is not always transparent, nor is it always properly scrutinised to ensure that the best application of available funds was made. If it is not, the limited capacity of the model in terms of social coverage is reduced, constituting a process that generates inequalities.

A second limitation that is recognized to this model results from the fact that it is based on the relationship that must be established between the producer who receives support - the PACE - and those whose agricultural activity should be promoted - the PA. This relationship, in order to be effective, is extremely demanding for the PACE that, somehow, must act as extensionists in the process of diffusion of technologies in the fields of the PAs and in promoting their integration in the market. However, the basis of the relationship between them is still commercial, which is somewhat contradictory to that characteristic. The selection of the PACE derives, in principle, from the fact that they are recognised as leading commercial farmers, i.e., as entrepreneurs. A good entrepreneur rarely meets the conditions necessary to be a good extensionist.

Somehow, through this policy model, it is expected that a network of small local "out-grower" relationships will be established between PACE and the PAs in its area of influence. If this type of relationship is not established, the process of equipment dissemination in certain areas creates conditions for a market for machine services to emerge there. This can be a positive element for the adoption of more developed cultural practices that can contribute to productivity improvements for producers in the area. In these cases, however, the issues of access to inputs by small producers remain unresolved. The intervention of an effective rural extension structure is therefore essential to the success of this model.

Despite these limitations, this type of model has very positive characteristics in terms of promoting favourable conditions for development. In favourable market conjunctures, the relationships that are established through this process can assume a strong local dynamism. Furthermore, this solution has a flexibility and adaptability that is favourable to the persistence of the model over time.

However, such a process requires a long period of time to produce visible results. This is perhaps the greatest limitation acknowledged for this type of model. In addition, during this period, there is a need for coherent and consistent policy frameworks for this process and the maintenance of favourable market conditions. This need makes this model very demanding from the political and institutional point of view.

It may be questioned whether there is a possibility of these strategies working in the same space, in balance. The simultaneous application of these models in a given space is contradictory, given that, in a framework of strong population growth, small-scale agriculture requires the possibility of increasing the cultivated area that the allocation of large concessions somehow makes unfeasible.

In the case of Mozambique, where extreme poverty and its conditioning factors continue to assume dramatic proportions in rural areas, it is clear that, if the problem of poverty, malnutrition and food insecurity is to be solved, public policies must be directed towards the segment of small producers.

However, it must be understood that, even when opting for models of support for small and medium-sized agriculture, these producers have differentiated production logics, which emphasises the need to develop studies that seek to analyse the medium/long-term prospects of family farmers. It is important to generate in-depth knowledge about this segment so that specific policies can be created. The implications of this model in terms of a possible increase in social inequalities must also be taken into account.

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LISTA DOS TÍTULOS PUBLICADOS PELO OMR DA SÉRIE OBSERVADOR RURAL			
Nº	Título	Autor(es)	Ano
128	Variações do extractivismo em Moçambique: um mundo inteligente ao clima e a emergência do extractivismo verde	Natacha Bruna	Agosto de 2022
127	Caracterização das condições socioeconómicas dos deslocados internos no Norte de Moçambique ao longo do ano de 2021	João Feijó, Jerry Maquenzi, Daniela Salite e Joshua Kirshner	Agosto de 2022
126	Dinâmicas de inovação tecnológica dos pequenos produtores agrícolas em Moçambique - o caso da produção de soja no Gurué, Alta Zambézia	Rui Rosário, Yara Nova e Naldo Horta	Julho de 2022
125	Terra da abundância, terra da miséria. Usurpação sinérgica de recursos em Massingir	Natacha Bruna	Junho de 2022
124	Dinâmicas na produção agrícola no vale do Limpopo: o caso do arroz	Nelson Capaina	Maios de 2022
123	Efeitos das mudanças climáticas nos sistemas de produção em Moçambique: Implicações para a segurança alimentar	Máriam Abbas	Abril de 2022
122	Evolução dos Preços dos Bens Alimentares (2021)	Yara Nova e Jonas Mbiza	Março de 2022
121	Ingredientes para uma revolta de jovens - Pobreza, sociedade de consumo e expectativas frustradas	João Feijó, Jerry Maquenzi e Aleia Rachide Agy	Fevereiro de 2022
120	Caminhos para a segurança alimentar em moçambique: Uma abordagem de sistemas de produção	Máriam Abbas	Janeiro de 2022
119	A configuração da estrutura económica de Manica e Sofala e processos de resistência à colonização	Janete Cravino	Julho de 2021
118	Caracterização socioeconómica da zona centro de Moçambique. Enfoque no corredor da Beira	João Mosca	Julho de 2021
117	Cobertura Florestal em Moçambique	Mélica Chandamela	Julho de 2021
116	Processos administrativos e práticas na titulação da terra em Moçambique: O caso dos municípios de Maputo e Matola	Nelson Capaina	Junho de 2021
115	Mudanças nos padrões tradicionais de exploração da terra e do trabalho: O caso da açucareira de Xinavane	Joana Manuel Matusse Joaquim, João Mosca, Ana Sampaio	Junho de 2021
114	O papel das mulheres no conflito em Cabo delgado: entendendo ciclos viciosos da violência	João Feijó	Maios de 2021
113	Pobreza e desigualdades em Moçambique: um estudo de caso em seis distritos	Jerry Maquenzi	Maios de 2021
112	Os determinantes do desmatamento em moçambique: uma abordagem econométrica para o período de 2000-2016	Ibraimo Hassane Mussagy, João Mosca, Mélica Chandamela e Natasha Ribeiro	Maios de 2021
111	Des(continuidades) políticas e económicas de longa duração do sector familiar (camponeses) em moçambique	João Mosca	Abril de 2021
110	Política Monetária do Banco de Moçambique: Qual É O Gato Escondido?	João Mosca	Abril de 2021
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LISTA DOS TÍTULOS PUBLICADOS PELO OMR DA SÉRIE OBSERVADOR RURAL			
Nº	Título	Autor(es)	Ano
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LISTA DOS TÍTULOS PUBLICADOS PELO OMR DA SÉRIE OBSERVADOR RURAL			
Nº	Título	Autor(es)	Ano
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LISTA DOS TÍTULOS PUBLICADOS PELO OMR DA SÉRIE OBSERVADOR RURAL			
Nº	Título	Autor(es)	Ano
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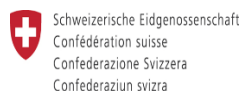


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- Create an updated bibliographic database, in digitized form;
- Establish relationships with national and international research institutions for the exchange of information and partnerships in specific research work on agrarian and rural development issues in Mozambique;
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