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## ***Potential and Limits to Diffusing Brazil's Zero Hunger Strategy in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Mozambique***

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### **Abstract**

The Zero Hunger Strategy is one of Brazil's most internationally recognized experiences and is not only regarded as a relevant model in the fight against hunger and poverty, but also as a tool to promote family farming. Both international and domestic forces have led to the intent of sharing instruments of this framework, especially the Food Acquisition Programme (PAA) and School Feeding Programme (PNAE), with Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). This article aims to discuss the potential and challenges of sharing public policy instruments for family farming between Brazil and SSA countries, with a particular focus on Mozambique. Analyzing with data collected firsthand, the article aims to address questions on the concrete impacts of Brazil's cooperation initiatives in SSA.

# Introduction

Brazil's recent international effort relies on the narrative that partners from the emerging world are well placed to propose development solutions formulated upon their own experiences (ABC/MRE 2013; Costa Leite et al. 2013). The country's engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) follows this reasoning, specifically related to initiatives in the agricultural and rural sectors. Brazil's development trajectory, which has led to a reduction in poverty and inequality levels, was particularly recognized during the international food crisis of 2007-08. Brazil built a food security system - based upon state intervention, credit and other policies aiming to strengthen internal markets - which was particularly appealing during the implementation of the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP). The global recognition endowed Brazil with diplomatic, technological and policy credentials to become a prominent actor for policy dialogue and cooperation on agriculture and food security (Pierri 2013).

The Zero Hunger strategy is one of the country's most internationally recognized experiences, and both international and domestic forces have led to the intent of exporting this framework to SSA countries. Relying on this framework, Brazil's government argues for a new paradigm on food assistance which articulates emergency measures with the promotion of social productive protection (MRE 2006). Inspired by Brazil's experience with the Food Acquisition Programme (PAA), Africa's PAA initiative (PAA Africa) became the main channel for this cooperation (Costa Leite et al. 2013). The Programme is a joint initiative by the Brazilian government, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Food Programme (WFP) "to promote food and nutrition security and income generation for farmers and vulnerable communities in African countries"<sup>1</sup>. However, Brazil's agrarian development trajectories are different in many aspects from Africa's, hence appropriate technologies and policies should be identified (Pierri 2013).

Mozambique is Brazil's main partner in development cooperation, particularly considering rural sector and social protection. With data collected firsthand in Mozambique and Brazil<sup>2</sup> as well as direct participation in the implementation of PAA Africa at FAO Mozambique<sup>3</sup>, the paper aims to analyze and address questions on the concrete impacts of Brazil's cooperation initiatives for family farming in SSA with a particular focus on Mozambique. It discusses the potentials and challenges of sharing public policy instruments for the rural sector. It is argued that short term localized development projects favor a technical view of policy transfer and face political and institutional constraints, but that there is significant potential to share some Brazilian experiences in promoting family farming sector with Mozambique.

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<sup>1</sup> PAA Africa Website: <http://paa-africa.org/2013/07/paa-africa-on-a-glance-infographic/>. Access Jan 2015

<sup>2</sup> Totaling 250 semi-direct interviews with a wide range of actors (policymakers, diplomats, government staff, private sector representatives, civil society organisations representatives and peasants) between 2013 and 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Six months work within FAO Country Office in Maputo in 2014.

## 2. The Social Trajectory of the Zero Hunger Strategy in Brazil:

### *a. Building the Family Farming Policy Framework*

The Zero Hunger Strategy combined a series of short and long term programmes with the common goal of eradicating hunger in Brazil. A flagship effort of the Lula da Silva administration (2003-2010), such initiatives were consolidated and made a priority by the federal government. The Zero Hunger framework combined the goal of promoting food security<sup>4</sup> with the broader concerns of inclusive economic and social development, ensuring the right to food to all citizens and emphasizing the intersectorality of existing and recently-created initiatives. These initiatives involved over 30 mutually reinforcing sets of action intended to address three fundamental challenges to food security in Brazil and managed by the Ministry for Social Development (MDS) : i) insufficient demand; ii) inconsistency between food prices and low purchasing power of the majority of the population; and iii) exclusion of the poorest segments from the market (Silva et al. 2011).

Policy reforms evolved over time, resulting in the dominance of four major components. First, conditional cash transfers under the Family Grant Programme (*Bolsa Família*) provided grants paid each month by a cash withdrawal card in the name of a woman of the beneficiary family and managed through locally updated unified register. Second, public sector food procurement through the Food Acquisition Programme (PAA) provided most of the food requirements of state institutions and emergency programmes from small-scale farmers. Third, the existing School Feeding Programme (PNAE) was expanded to cover all pre-school and school children, being required to acquire 30% of the value of purchases from local family farmers. And forth, direct support for small-scale farming through farm credit and technical services were greatly expanded under the framework of Programme for the Strengthening of Family Agriculture (PRONAF). Other aspects such as territorial development and civil society participation and monitoring were mainly addressed through the Territories of Citizenship Programme, and National Food and Nutrition Security Council (CONSEA).

Most of these initiatives became increasingly appealing in international development scene, inclusive *Bolsa Família* programme. However, as described by Costa Leite, the promoters of cash transfers initiatives have backed up in their international enterprises particularly after Rousseff election in 2010. This led to a demobilization of cooperation in this field with African countries and a strengthening of the programme domestically. Such engagement had been mainly reactive and not grounded in a clear strategy (Costa Leite et al. 2013). Hence, PAA Africa and School Feeding remained the main initiatives combining agricultural policies and social protection in Africa. For this reason, the two programmes are the main objects of this article. The important issues of market access and price guarantee for smallholder farmers were addressed with the creation of the PAA Programme. The succession of Dilma Rousseff as President in 2010 witnessed a continuation of social protection policies under the umbrella programme, Brazil without Misery (*Brasil sem Miséria*), launched in 2011.

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<sup>4</sup> According to the Brazilian Food and Nutritional Security Law, the concept is defined by the fulfilment of the right of all to access regular and permanent quality food in sufficient quantity without compromising access to other essentially needs, based on health, promoting food practices that respect cultural diversity and that are socially, economically and environmentally sustainable (n° 11.346/2006, Art. 3).

Family farming<sup>5</sup> in Brazil accounts for 85% of all farms, supplies 70% of the food consumed, yet occupies just 24% of the total area of rural establishments<sup>6</sup>. There are, however, significant variations in the characteristics of family farmers across the different agro-climatic zones and regions of Brazil (Sabourin 2007). Agricultural policies in the country have traditionally relied on instruments such as subsidized credit, working capital credit and guaranteed minimum prices regardless of the size of farm and capacity of the farmer. However, these instruments required an initial level of capital, borrowing capacity and higher levels of collective organization which were only feasible for medium-sized and large producers, contributing to concentrated pockets of rural income (Peraci & Bittencourt 2011; Veras et al. 2013). The democratization process in the 1980s favored a higher articulation among social movements linked to smallholder farmers, intensifying their claim for policy instruments that should also be extended and adapted to the needs of smallholder farmers. The establishment of the Programme for the Strengthening of Family Agriculture (PRONAF) in 1995 provided credit for smallholders, and the creation of the Ministry for Agrarian Development (MDA) in 1999 signified a public commitment to family farming.

The PAA Programme, established in 2003 (Law 10.696/ 2003, Art. 19), contributed to the formation of strategic stocks and to supply the institutional market with food purchased from family farmers. The programme focuses on two basic conditions for food security: food availability and food access, by jointly supporting food production and food access through agricultural market options. Its main innovations included the setting of prices of reference, compatible with those practiced in regional markets, and the purchase of products without a tender process (which usually focused only on prices). The tender legislation would make it almost impossible for smallholder farmers to participate in fair competition with larger producers and companies in a public procurement (Veras et al. 2013). The initiative characterizes family farmers according to a classification system institutionalized through the Declaration of Aptitude to PRONAF - *Declaração de Aptidão ao PRONAF* (DAP). This is the government's registry of all family producers and it can be easily obtained throughout the country.

The PAA is implemented with funds from the Ministries of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS) and Agrarian Development (MDA) and its guidelines are set by a Managing Group within the Executive Branch (Law 11,524/2007). The approach of connecting large, predictable sources of demand for agricultural products to smallholder farmers has been named as "structured demand". The creation of structured demand through public institutional markets is expected to ensure a stable market and price benchmark for smallholder production. This demand offers greater assurance in production planning, farmer organization and adequate remuneration by selling a surplus to the market (Veras et al. 2013). It also contributes to build capacity of family farming in diversifying production, processing products and administrating the commercialization process.

There is an information gap regarding research on the concrete results achieved by these national programmes and their impacts on people's lives. Nevertheless, the PAA demonstrated the creation of a state-driven structured demand for small farms and, in 10 years, it has purchased more than 3 million tons of food from over 200,000 family farmers, and its initial budget has grown over 600%

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<sup>5</sup> The National Family Farming Act (Law 11.326) defined some specific criteria: the rural establishment does not exceed four fiscal modules (defined in each municipality); the labour used in the agricultural activities is predominantly family-based; the family's income predominantly stem from activities related to farming; and the establishment is directly managed by the family. The DAP registry allows for registration of families represented by a signatory head of household (classified into different groups) and associations of farmers.

<sup>6</sup> Brazilian institute of statistics (IBGE), 2009.

(Veras et al. 2013). In the Institutional Purchase modality, some states have created their own acquisition initiatives, taking into account regional characteristics. The National School Feeding Programme (PNAE) has specific regulations and defines that within financial resources granted by the National Fund for Education Development (FNDE), at least 30% must be used to purchase food produced by family farmers (Law 11.947 / 2009). The PNAE Programme itself dates back to the 1940s, but its recent innovations have created an institutional link between school feeding and family farmers. Acquisitions are also exempt of tender process and both PAA and PNAE include informal groups of producers, allowing for effective participation of a great number of most vulnerable farmers.

### *b. Policy Novelties and Remaining Difficulties*

PAA and PNAE act as comprehensive productive social protection interventions and they have contributed to shift procurement objectives away from only price of food towards being more concerned with the quality of food, its cultural acceptability, its availability and the seasonality of production at the local level. The drawing up of PNAE law and incorporation of family farmers as suppliers was shaped by PAA guidelines. There is a recognition of the role of social mobilization in the rural development trajectory in Brazil, particularly in the construction of the Brazilian System for Food and Nutritional Security as well as the Zero Hunger Strategy (Costa Leite et. al 2013; Pierri 2013; Silva et al. 2011b). Hence, social mobilization has played a central role in the creation and consolidation of the family farming framework in the country and their recognition as an actor in national development. Both PAA and PNAE have benefited from intensive participation by the society through the establishment of mechanisms such as the Councils of food and nutrition security at the national, state and municipal levels (CONSEAs) and other groups to monitor and discuss the programmes (as the Advisory Group, res No. 49/2012 / CGPAA) (Silva et al. 2011)<sup>7</sup>. The experience of the National Council for Sustainable Rural Development (CONDRAF), a body coordinated by the MDA, has also contributed to the basis of a participatory process of conferences starting at the municipal level.

Some positive results have been achieved in promoting family agriculture in the country, through the reduction of excessive price fluctuations, the incentives to diversify production, increase farmers' incomes and strengthening farmers associations. The increased food supply was stimulated while encouraging farmers to increase production and productivity. This result was achieved primarily by facilitating access to credit, generation of market opportunity and risk reduction. Commercial alternatives and market capabilities were largely improved, including farmers' productive and organizational processes as well as regularization of several farmers associations (Chmielewska & Souza 2010). In parallel, PNAE increased the consumption of fresh and varied foods. Strong political interest and effective institutional coordination were considered the main factors for the implementation of both programmes (Silva et al. 2011). Otherwise, the linkages between school feeding programmes and family farming production are yet to be deepened in Brazil (Nehring & McKay 2013). Over the past three years, since the law of school meal has been passed, more than two thirds of the implementing agencies in the richer southern region have complied with the minimum requirement. However, less than half the agencies from other regions have met the target

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<sup>7</sup> The CONSEA has been defined as a consultative body within the Presidency of Republic, mostly composed of representatives of the civil society, but it also took on the responsibility of leading the implementation of certain programmes such as Prodea (Food Distribution Program).

(Veras et al. 2013). In 2014, judicial processes began against the programme's implementation, although accusations of administrative improbity have not been confirmed.

Despite reasonable success, PAA still faces challenges regarding the incorporation of the most vulnerable producers (Takagi 2011; Nehring & McKay 2013; Veras et al. 2013). Numerous stakeholders involved in the planning, implementation, and monitoring of the programme require a high level of organization and commitment. Undergoing changes on targeting and coverage to ensure they include relevant indicators such as land type and use, labor dependency and composition also prove to be barriers to comprehensive success. Additionally, a number of factors affect timely payments delivery – ranging from budget allocations and timely transfer of funds to the design of payment systems. The organization capacity of the farmers is another fundamental component of the procurement process, and cooperatives and associations are not always well developed among poor and dispersed families. Often, this challenge has been addressed through the facilitating support of local NGOs and associations (Nehring & McKay 2013). The MDA itself has identified limits such as disinformation among producers about the different possibilities of acquisition as well as significant fragilities in terms of management, quality control and capacity in the demand side. Furthermore, both producers and the consumers are on many occasions faced with limited and costly transportation, distant from main roads. The programme does not explicitly provide resources for this component, although the municipality or the association often provides transportation at its own cost (Nehring & McKay 2013).

### *c. International Diffusion Effort*

A consistent effort was made to publicize Brazil's Zero Hunger Strategy internationally. A department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Itamaraty) called General-Coordination of International Action against Hunger (CGFOME) was created in 2004 as the international interface of the Zero Hunger Strategy. It aimed at coordinating Brazil's foreign policy in the fields of food and nutritional security, rural development and humanitarian cooperation, which reflected the governmental priority given to this agenda. Ministries such as MDA and MDS mainly interacted with CGFOME in terms of engagement in south south cooperation. It is worth noting that other actors in the global governance of food security such as civil society organizations and international organizations contributed to the global recognition of the Strategy, praising Brazil's approach to fighting hunger and poverty. (Fraundorfer 2013) described the role of organizations such as ActionAid's HungerFree campaign and Oxfam's Grow campaign, both inspired by the results of Brazil's strategy.

The Brazilian government has also launched two institutions which have contributed to the global diffusion of its experience. The research institutions International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG), in collaboration with UNDP and the public Institute for Economic Applied Research (IPEA), made other countries and organizations aware of the results of various programmes and contributed to legitimizing Brazil's model based on serious research. In addition, the WFP Centre of Excellence against Hunger, established in Brasilia in 2011 with initial funding from the Brazilian government, represents the latest phase of cooperation between WFP and Brazil. Chaired by the former Director of the National Fund for Education Development, it aims at promoting international learning about school feeding and had a relevant role in diffusing knowledge of the Brazil's PNAE and the PAA. Together with FAO, WFP and other traditional donor institutions the Centre has directly engaged governments from developing countries with technical cooperation in this field.

Social protection emerged in the late 1990s and gained political importance towards the end of the 2000s, broadening the concept of “social safety nets”, and it was seen as a component for evolving social welfare and social security systems in low-income countries. The IMF and the World Bank have advocated for the promotion of social protection systems as a tool for poverty reduction, and many governments are now including the concept within their national strategies (Lister et al. 2011). The New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) identified the potential links between school feeding and agriculture promotion in the evolution of its Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP), research and advocacy has been promoted by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Partnership for Child Development (PCD). This sowed the seeds for home-grown school feeding activities. The WFP Strategic Plan adopted in 2008 was pivotal, promoting a shift from “food aid” to “food assistance”.

The aforementioned International Organizations have also directly contributed to the international recognition of Brazil’s Strategy. The global IBSA Trust Fund and the FAO-Brazil Trust Fund to eradicate hunger in Latin America and the Caribbean concentrated resources aimed at engaging in technical cooperation efforts based on the rationale of Zero Hunger Strategy through specific short and long-term projects in the developing world. The World Bank and other development agencies have consistently relied on the Brazilian experience as a “success story”, and it gained UN recognition when Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon launched the UN Zero Hunger Challenge campaign during the Rio+20 Summit in 2012. The process of identification and transformation of Brazilian policies into exportable practices was discussed using the concept of “standardization”, which highlights the role of transfer agents such as those presented above. Public policies disembedded from their original environment and framed as instruments of South-South lesson-learning have been subsequently legitimized by international actors and organizations (Milhorance de Castro, 2014).

Additionally, in May 2010 the Brazilian Government committed to fund, in collaboration with the FAO and the WFP, a pilot local food procurement programme: the PAA Africa (Purchase from Africans for Africa). The Programme is implemented in five countries (Ethiopia, Malawi, Mozambique, Niger and Senegal) and seeks to share PAA Brazil’s experiences in promoting food security and nutrition and income generation for farmers and vulnerable communities. This does not mean simply “copying” Brazil’s model, but sharing experiences that could potentially be adapted to different countries, as will be discussed through the example of PAA and PNAE in Mozambique. PAA Africa in Mozambique seeks to align with the social programmes of the national government on local purchases such as the National School Feeding Programme (PRONAE), approved by the Ministers’ Council in 2013 and formulated with the support of Brazil’s National Fund for Education Development.

### 3. PAA and PNAE Landing in Mozambique: Common Challenges to be addressed?

#### *a. Low Agricultural Productivity and Market Access Constraints*

The implementation of PAA Africa in Mozambique has been justified by a number of factors. Agriculture is the primary source of income and the basis of food security and nutrition for most of the country's population. However, information from the Strategic Plan for the Agricultural



Development (PEDSA) (MINAG 2010) highlights that the agricultural sector contributes to only 16% of total exports, and the country remains a net importer of food products. About 70% of the country's population lives in rural areas where rain-fed agriculture dependent on manual cultivation techniques with low use of inputs is predominant. Available information indicates a reduction in the current low levels of agricultural productivity (measured in terms of per capita calorie production per hectare), showing a downward trend between the 1990 and 2000 (Mosca 2010; Cunguara et al. 2013).

Several factors contribute to this trend, including the uneven distribution of rainfall, low access to agricultural services including improved technologies, extension and financial services, low access to mechanization, the fragile infrastructure of roads, and low investment in agriculture relative to non-agricultural sector (Cunguara & Moder 2011). Inputs are often imported or difficult to access due to high costs. Low levels of productivity and low quality standards are also hampered by deficiency in terms of storage and irrigation infrastructure. Rates of post-harvest losses are extremely high and the bargaining power of intermediary retailers tends to exert downward pressure on the price paid to producers.

Mozambique has a long history of price control and direct public participation in the markets as a buyer and seller of key agricultural commodities, a context that has currently changed. In the early 1990s the government was active in the market of key food staples thanks to institutions such as AGRICOM and later the Cereals Institute of Mozambique (ICM). By 1996, ICM was no longer active in any sales or purchases (Donovan & Tostão 2010) and in 2012 the Mozambique Stock Exchange was established. Market friendly policies combined with investments in collective goods to increase farm productivity and reduce marketing costs were viewed during the 1990s as sufficient to overcome barriers to specialization and trade by smallholders (Mather et al. 2013). Levels of investments in public goods such as national agricultural research and extension systems were inadequate (Mather et al. 2013). The relationship between extension, research and training in Mozambique are not conducive to technology transfer. The extension has a foundation in "agrarian" character, hindering interdisciplinary approaches (Mosca 2010).

The access of smallholder farmers to agricultural markets is low and generally asymmetric, especially in the northern provinces of the country (Cunguara et al. 2013; Benfica & Mather 2013). The majority of rural smallholders are subsistence-oriented and the poorest 40% of smallholders sell very little of their crop production (Benfica & Mather 2013). Maize is the major food crop, grown by 80% of the farmers and serving as an income source particularly in periods of cash shortages. When maize prices are low, farmers may retain more for consumption, but when prices are remunerative, farmers sell the majority of their production and retain cassava as the main consumption staple (Donovan & Tostão 2010).

The urbanization process, which is concentrated among the south and central regions, has contributed to the expansion in domestic demand for maize. Mozambique is currently a net importer of this product, however due to a limited north-south market integration, formal and informal exports to Zimbabwe and Malawi have been growing from the production areas in the North of the country (Tschirley et al. 2013). In the main production regions almost all maize and beans are produced by smallholders and the produce is mainly acquired by small intermediaries at low prices in the months after harvesting (between May and July) due to the need for cash and limited presence

of buyers (Cunguara et al. 2013). They usually buy maize in bulk at farm-gate or at a concentration post on the roads and payment is provided up-front. The small traders, many of them working as agents of large traders, take responsibility for the quality and weight control and define the allowed price, which are often non-remunerative.

Rural market towns are substantially less important in Mozambique than in the region's other countries. Information flow under such circumstances, even with the use of cell phones, is likely to be more fragmented (Tschirley et al. 2013). The difficulty of access to the formal market is related to a set of factors: i) low quantity and quality of production; ii) fragility of farmers associations and poor information on markets and prices; iii) poor post-harvest handling, lack of adequate storage infrastructures and insufficient enforcement of quality standards; iv) high transportation costs and limited roads access; v) high costs and low coverage of basic services (electricity, water and telephone); vi) low access to credit for marketing and high interest rates (and extreme cash shortages for producers at time of harvesting); vii) high market concentration among buyers (low competition); and viii) weak development of agro-processing industries (WFP 2008; Cunguara et al. 2013).

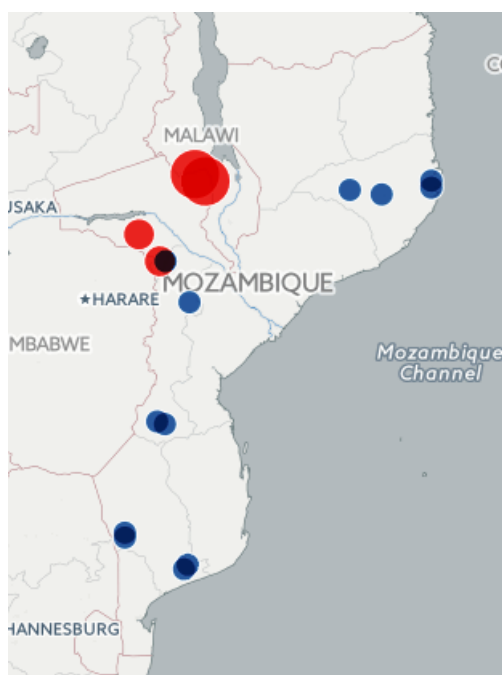
The presence of private agricultural firms, especially in the northern Nampula Province, has ensured market access, income generation and access to inputs for some groups of farmers. However, cash crops often have no market at the local level to allow for sales of surplus, and the nature of contracts and the performance of the regionalization of monopolistic firms can reduce the bargaining power and pricing by producer. Traditional cash crops (cotton, sugar cane and tobacco) have been practiced since the colonial period and show greater organization and regulation. Some food crops such as cashew nuts and fruit and vegetable products are market-oriented. A number of emerging crops such as sesame seeds, paprika, *jatropha* and castor have been market-oriented (MINAG 2010).

The Purchasing for Progress initiative (P4P) by WFP has represented an important market for smallholders in Mozambique in the past five years. It is a pilot programme that uses farmer organizations to help connect smallholders to markets. P4P has purchased maize, beans and limited quantities of rice since 2008 through three procurement modalities: i) limited tenders for small and medium traders; ii) direct contracting with selected small farmer organizations; iii) forward contracting with selected small farmer organizations. However, researchers cautioned that poorly managed local procurement can cause undesirable outcomes such as food price increases and instability and creating dependence on WFP as a buyer (WFP 2012).

The price impacts of those purchases has not yet been tracked and constitutes a source of pressure on existing supplies in Mozambique (Donovan & Tostão 2010). However, (Garg et al. 2013) have recently suggested that local procurement food aid programmes are not significantly correlated to increase in price levels and volatility results across most countries and commodities. WFP is the most rigorous buyer of quality processed maize in Mozambique and it has introduced procedures for testing maize grain at the farm gate. Several traders have abandoned the idea of selling to WFP and the inadequate physical infrastructure often hinders small traders to meet WFP tenders. Moreover, most of these smaller traders are severely cash constrained and cannot afford to suffer usual WFP's structural delays of payments (Tschirley et al. 2013).

### *b. PAA Africa and PRONAE: Developing a School Feeding Approach*

During PAA Mozambique's first phase (18 months from 2012 to 2013) activities were implemented in the Districts of Angónia, Changara and Cahora Bassa in the province of Tete (Figure 1). The selection of these zones was mainly due to the ongoing school feeding programme supported by WFP in the region and the presence of P4P. PAA Africa has been embedded in the P4P structure. The presence of other initiatives such as the Value Chains Programme, implemented jointly by FAO and WFP in Angónia, and the rural extension approach "Farm Field School" also proved favorable to the zone's selection.



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**Figure 1: Localization of PAA Africa (red) and PRONAE (blue), by number of initiatives (authors' elaboration)**

In addition, an assessment was undertaken by a Brazilian consultant in 2012 which considered aspects such as: i) the existence of yield potential of corn, beans and vegetables; ii) minimal organizational capacity of Farmer organizations; iii) market access and logistics; iv) the facility for food preparation and handling at schools. In terms of concrete results, the pilot initiative has supported in its first phase 20 small Farmer organizations (clubs) and two umbrella organizations in Angónia. In Changara and Cahora Bassa, four Farmer organizations have been strengthened for the production of vegetables. Hence, a total of 600 farmers and 24 Farmer organizations could benefit from distribution of agricultural inputs (seeds and fertilizers) and technical assistance; building of 100 family barns; and acquisition of 60 tons of maize bought from Farmer organizations.

Many of PAA results are shared with those of P4P, however Mozambique's P4P programme seeks to address this situation by strengthening the capacity of larger Farmer organizations (second and third-tier organizations that have substantial capacity to aggregate) and small and medium traders to compete with larger buyers for smallholders' crops. PAA Africa's focus is on small Farmer

organizations (clubs), increasing the challenges of execution. Only 6.5% of Mozambique's smallholder farmers belong to Farmer organizations. Even in the districts with higher rates, most organizations have limited capacity to add value or to market commodities (WFP 2012).

Both programmes have focused on food procurement for school meals in the region, which has been identified as a strategy to deal not only with the challenges related to agricultural development, but also to promote food and nutrition security. Data from the Demographic and Health Survey 2011 indicates that about 43% of children below the age of five suffer from chronic malnutrition. The main causes for such high rates of malnutrition include inadequate intake (poor diet diversification and low frequency of consumption) and poor access to health, sanitation and drinking water services (PAMRDC 2010; MINED 2013). The country has 6.8 million children in primary schools. The enrolment rate, which in primary school is 95%, drops to 13% in grades 6 and 7. Less than 50% of the children in Mozambique complete primary education, and the lowest rates are among districts with greater food insecurity (MINED 2013).

PRONAE was implemented in Mozambique after school feeding was included in the Education Strategic Plan (2012-2016), largely inspired by Brazil's PNAE. A total of 12 primary schools have been selected to implement the pilot initiatives of decentralized local food purchase according to geographic distribution throughout food insecurity provinces: Gaza (in the South), Manica, Tete (Centre) and Nampula (North). It constitutes a national public policy, implemented by the Mozambican Ministry of Education (MINED) with support from WFP and the National Fund for Education Development (through the Brazilian Cooperation Agency – ABC).

Traditionally, the procurement of food for school feeding initiatives came from foreign food aid, often resulting in distortions to local markets and providing disincentives to local producers. The WFP's P4P intended to reverse this trend and the rationale behind its 'home grown school feeding' programme, based on locally-produced food, is that they can provide a regular market opportunity and a reliable source of income for smallholders. There is a demand shift which is more predictable for producers and decreases their risk. But despite theoretical justification, there are several limits to the implementation of the home-grown school feeding model. Locally produced food needs to be received, stored and cooked all of which requires a school-, district- or nation-wide infrastructure and logistical support system. Potentially, there could be divergence between demand and supply of food needed and the farmers need to supply the food consistently throughout the school year, despite seasonality in local food production (Lawson 2012).

On the other hand, PAA Africa aims at consolidating policy dialogue on local food purchase, but it remains a pilot agency-implemented initiative. Its structure of coordination and management is concentrated at the national offices of FAO and WFP, but it intends to benefit from the collaboration of all strategic partners (implementing agencies, Brazilian partners, public institutions and different sectors of the Mozambican civil society) through a Maputo-based technical group aligned to a provincial technical group to build a national strategy of institutional markets. Despite PAA's potential to boost other institutional markets, it was decided that the Mozambican initiative would focus on the already ongoing school feeding programme. An alarming factor is the cost of P4P's interventions which is unsustainable for the local government. A possible programme expansion should be carefully designed around intended outcomes and take the local economy into account.

The implementation of the programme is the key to its results: the timing of school feeding matters, as do ration size, reliability and regularity of feeding (Gordon et al. 2012).

### *c. Learning from the Pilot Initiative*

PAA Africa, while a pilot initiative, aims to contribute to the consolidation of a National Strategy for Institutional Markets. The main challenges identified during the first phase of PAA Mozambique include: i) support and legalization of Farmer organizations, including attribution of fiscal register and opening a bank account; ii) quality control and conservation of food products (maize and vegetables); iii) adaptation of public procurement rules to local contexts and procurement decentralization to schools; and iv) multi-sectorial dialogue and integration with Mozambican public policies and with PRONAE, which is complementary to PAA. However, PRONAE is implemented by the Mozambican Ministry of Education with support from ABC and the National Fund for Education Development while PAA is implemented by FAO and WFP with support from CGFOME in Brazil. Both Itamaraty agencies, ABC and CGFOME, show difficulties in integrating their activities. Besides, there is a view within the Mozambican Ministry of Education that, as public policy, PRONAE should benefit from PAA support in implementing their activities and not the contrary.

Public procurement in Mozambique was regulated by Decree No. 15/2010. The Act applies to all organs and institutions of the State and systematizes the main issues related to public procurement in the country, providing three different legal frameworks: i) general system or tender; ii) special system applied to the procurement arising from international agreements or projects funded by the agency and multilateral cooperation organizations; and iii) exceptional system which includes the direct adjustment applicable, among others, to goods and services estimated under 87,500 MNZ (about 2,800 USD). However, like in Brazil, PAA programme officers argue for the need to alter Mozambican public procurement legislation, which does not allow the participation of smallholder farmers vis-à-vis medium and large producers and local or regional merchants.

As already stated, the P4P model in Mozambique is very costly, becoming almost unsustainable to the local administration to continue its implementation. Productive zones in Tete are localized and remote from the more food insecure districts (around 400 kms). Besides, maize distributed by WFP is fortified in Beira, Sofala (800 km from Angonia) and delivered in Changara and Cahora Bassa (600 km from Beira). This implies high logistical costs to deliver food to schools. PAA Africa has been built upon the P4P experience in Mozambique and although the context of high food insecurity in Changara and Cahora Bassa Districts justifies their choice as the target zones, the programme could easily become economically unsustainable if the model is not altered in a potential expansion. Other aspects such as agricultural potential and the existence or the capacity of existing Farmer organizations should also be considered. PAA Africa, contrary to P4P, relies on the capacity building of and procurement from small Farmer organizations (clubs) which demands higher investment in terms of human and financial resources. These are scarce within PAA Africa.

Farmers are expected to access markets other than PAA Africa and P4P and build links with public- and private- buyers if they are to consolidate the gains made through their participation in the two pilots. Furthermore, as already discussed throughout the paper, national governments are expected to integrate “PAA Africa-like” activities into national programmes and other institutional or social protection programmes, similar to established efforts in Brazil. But the Mozambican case has also shown that the simple establishment of a national school feeding programme (PRONAE) has not

been enough to farmer organizationster the concept in the country. There are multiple factors, relationships and potential strategies to consider. PRONAE's future is still uncertain, particularly if international funds to the programme stop to flow. The programme is essentially a pilot and it has been built under the idea of gradual implementation. Nevertheless, the governmental interest in its continuation, especially considering the agricultural promotion dimension, is questionable. Nevertheless, without improved access to techniques, post-harvest handling and inputs, and without a comprehensive strategy of promotion of family farming sector in the country, improved access to markets alone will not be sufficient to significantly increase food crop sales (Benfica & Mather 2013).

#### 4. Political and Institutional Limits to Experience Sharing: the Way Forward

International circulation of policy instruments and reference frames have been addressed by several authors, often being identified with "policy transfer studies". These studies, mostly proposed as a heuristic framework, explore the contemporary phenomena of diffusion, transposition and convergence of public policies ( Dolowitz & Marsh 1996; Bernstein & Cashore 2000; Evans & Davies 2002; Delpuech 2008; ); as well as the inter/transnational production of national paradigms and instruments (Risse-Kappen 1995; Finnemore & Sikkink 1998; Keck & Sikkink 1998; Massardier & Sabourin 2013a). Experience sharing is often the origin of the process of widening the formulation of public policies beyond national borders, both through inter-governmental dynamics and transnational epistemic communities (Howlett et al. 2012).

Political scientists argue for an overlapping of levels of public action and international processes in the formulation of national public policies (Massardier 2003; Massardier & Sabourin 2013b). Massardier underlines that public policy analysis no longer constitutes the exclusive monopoly of a fortified State and that contemporary public policies are aimed at multiple audiences. Moreover, these transformations have been accompanied by a change of the very character of these policies. Risse-Kappen also suggests the overlapping of these processes and seeks to understand internationalization through the "socialization of international norms in domestic practices." This author has shown the role of "domestic structures" (Risse-Kappen 1995) and international institutions in mediating the influence of transnational actors coalitions in domestic public policies. An aspect that arises from this approach in our case study is the analysis of the policy process, which was once exclusively national, stretched across national boundaries.

PAA Africa seeks to share the Brazilian experience in promoting family farming through the internalization or the institutionalization of its policy instruments in SSA countries. In Mozambique, it seeks to promote dialogue on public policy formulation and to strengthen the institutional capacity of the government in expanding the initiatives of local purchases. It proposes adjustments of the legal framework for procurement from Farmer organizations, and cross-cutting strategies to promote food and nutrition security. As noted earlier, school feeding does not represent the only potential institutional market in Mozambique. However, it corresponds to an initiative already underway through PRONAE. Many limits in the interchange of Brazil's rural development experience with African countries have been highlighted on political and academic debate, challenging the technical view of sharing a whole political framework. Some of these aspects are discussed below.

### *a. Adapting Intersectoriality*

Brazil's experience of PAA has been largely built on coordination among different sectors, particularly Agriculture, Education and Health. Several projects supported by Brazil in Mozambique address school feeding: PRONAE, PAA and a programme funded by USAID intended to support PRONAE implementation. The More Food Programme, also inspired by a Brazilian public policy, is currently intended to be associated to PAA in the promotion of family farming in Tete province. These programmes are *a priori* complementary, particularly in Tete, where both initiatives are being implemented. However, this complementarity was not observed on the field. In countries where PAA Africa has been implemented, defining the leader institution while involving other sectors constitutes a major issue. Training of school staff, building of cooking facilities and establishment of tender processes have been some of the accomplishments of PRONAE's first phase (2013-2014). However, the programme lacked linkages to the agricultural sector: low agricultural production in food insecure districts, information about tender processes which does not reach local peasants or the inability of informal and illiterate smallholder farmers to participate in the tender processes. This means that the food will be bought from traders operating close to schools who do not necessarily buy products from local farmers.

PAA Africa is more focused on the agricultural side: support to increase productivity and reinforcement of Farmer organizations. The process of legalization of Farmer organizations has faced bureaucratic problems and the fiscal register (NUIT), required for opening a bank account can only be obtained at the provincial level. Some of the constraints identified in the intervention zone of PAA Africa refer to access to technical assistance, access to inputs (seeds and fertilizers) and means of work and transportation, as well as storage facilities. The issue of fertilizers is particularly important in Angónia where its indiscriminate use is associated with preference for hybrid maize seeds, bringing about a drastic increase in production costs. Furthermore, some districts face major challenges concerning hydric deficit which hinder the stabilization of production levels. The diversification and scaling up of production has been one of the aspects planned by the programme, which could benefit in its second phase from the support of Embrapa.

However, when it comes to the implementation of a national public policy, these will be major limits. The same issue is raised regarding the formalization of Farmer organizations, which can be handled by project officers when the initiative is implemented in small scale, but not when the possibility of upscaling is considered. Some potential solutions are the realization of documentation brigades in the target districts, which has been previously done by the Ministry of Finance in other regions for the cotton commercialization campaign, or even the inclusion of informal groups in the list of potential sellers such as in Brazil. Price setting of food products is also a matter of sectorial integration, so as to not produce market distortions or remunerate farmers inadequately, as discussed in the previous section.

Furthermore, the purchase process has thus far been managed by District authorities instead of the schools, which could present some limits to the scale-up. A massive amount of contracts to be managed and the long distances to be covered by suppliers to the beneficiary schools would require decentralized food purchasing arrangements. The schools, themselves, are not prepared to manage the purchasing procedures and quality control processes. The low involvement of volunteers in cooking the meals and building the storage and cooking facilities has deferred the launch of the programme in many localities, especially in those which have previously benefited from assistance

projects such as “Food for Work”. This being said, quality control standards should be adapted to local capacities instead of directly applying WFP international standards which include laboratorial evaluation of the provided products.

This possibility is not well accepted in Mozambique; however it has been already implemented in PAA Africa and other school feeding programmes in Malawi. The Malawian local authorities and schools have chosen to adapt quality rules so the school staff and parents groups are capable of managing food purchase themselves. In the Brazilian example, products “in natura” of vegetable origin and without any kind of processing do not need sanitary assessment, responding only to acceptability tests. Besides, the menus of school meals first elaborated by Brazilian consultants were not easily accepted by students and school staff. In Malawi, for instance, menu elaboration has been submitted to community discussion and validation. Therefore, the consideration of local contexts is critical to the consolidation of a national strategy for local purchases.

The cultural and edaphoclimatic heterogeneity observed in Mozambique requires a territorial approach to development. The valorization of local skills and capabilities, a spatial vision of the proper distribution of households and infrastructure, as well as marketing flows are complementary aspects to be considered in the definition of decentralized modes of procurement. The promotion and connection with rural markets (fairs) which are not well developed in Mozambique could also provide simpler more adapted solutions to improve smallholders’ lives. As already stated, despite theoretical justification, both design and implementation matter for the continuity of the pilot. And short-term collaboration initiatives shall not be sufficient to share such complex policy instruments and frameworks that will require political commitment and institutional changes.

### *b. Placing Family Farming at the Center of Policy Formulation*

The Mozambican purchase legislation does not favor the acquisition of food products from smallholder farmers. The mechanism of tender makes the purchasing process slow and bureaucratic, and the “direct adjustment” mechanism is not applicable most of the time. The tender process based solely on the criterion of the lowest price hinders competition among small and medium/large producers. Farmer organizations rarely own means of transport, which increases the final cost of marketing. Finally, information about tender processes is not disseminated appropriately despite use of community radio. This has been clearly observed in the case of PRONAE implementation in the District of Ribáuè, Nampula, where well-structured Farmer organizations located 4km far from the buyer school did not participate in the tender process: (i) because they did not receive information about this possibility and (ii) because they did not fulfill criteria such as fiscal register and transportation facilities. In this district, purchase processes were completed by taking into account only local intermediary traders who bought their products in the provincial capital, Nampula, and not from local producers.

When the problem was brought to the attention of the national authorities, the response was that local smallholders would be able to compete with intermediary retailers and bigger farmers when all norms and quality standards had been acquired. However, bringing all smallholder farmers in Mozambique to the formal sector and assuring the increase in productivity and quality standards prior to the launch of the tender process is probably unfeasible. Instead of formulating policy



instruments based on building conditions for farmers in vulnerable situations to get access to assets that can help them improve their livelihoods, placing smallholder farmers in the center of rural public policies, most Mozambican policies and strategies place them as subject of assistentialist social welfare policies that are expected to “evolve” and become “capable” farmers before being included in major agricultural public policies.

To tackle this issue, many possible solutions have already been identified based on the results of a study of the PAA Africa and by analyzing at some of the initiatives in Brazil. For instance: i) regulation of fractioning the “direct adjustment” mechanism to purchases above 87,500 MNZ; ii) legal establishment of a minimum percentage of purchased products from local Farmer organizations; iii) adapting tender norms to the country context in order to include local farmers and definition of reference prices. These proposals are under discussion within the PAA’s technical group, which is also intended to serve as a platform for debate in the formulation of a national strategy of institutional markets. However, all these normative adjustments - mainly supported by international organizations and actors from Mozambican civil society - are sometimes considered “unnecessary” by most public authorities who believe that smallholders will be able to compete when they are “ready” to do it. Given the inspiration taken from Brazil’s PAA Programme, it is worth noting here that the inclusion of informal groups of farmers in Brazil contributed to the gradual inclusion of these farmers in the formal sector.

The commitment of public funds is an important demonstration of priority given to the initiative, and broadly, to the frame of reference behind this initiative. In Malawi, an intersectorial department has been created with the mandate of defining and implementing a home grown school feeding strategy. PAA Africa is the only initiative which clearly counts on international funds but is also included in the public budget. The country has shown interest at both the local and national levels to advance the concept. In Mozambique, several meetings of the technical group have confirmed the need to raise the subject of the institutional markets to a higher political level in the ministries, attesting to the current low level priority. The idea of creating a consultative political group including ministries’ directors has been identified by the technical group as a means of providing greater importance to the programmes and the possibility of producing institutional changes considered relevant to the sustainability of the programme and effective inclusion of smallholder farmers.

Agricultural and food security strategies depend on strong institutionalization processes and hinges on the fiscal capacity to pursue a trajectory that requires financial sustainability (Pierri 2013). Likewise, social protection programmes are perceived as costly and as demanding a complex delivery structure. Mozambique is highly dependent on external aid and resources raised through international cooperation are usually reserved to finance the execution of specific development projects, limited in scale and spatial coverage. Nevertheless, there is a shift away from project aid towards direct budget support in Mozambique, which is now the most important source of aid money for the country (Manning & Malbrough 2012). The government has substantially increased the budget for social protection (from around \$13 million in 2008 to \$57 million under the 2013 budget, or 0.4 percent of GDP) (IMF 2013). These policies have been highlighted in the country’s Poverty Reduction Strategy (PARPA) and a legal and institutional framework has been gradually established.

Furthermore, the ownership in public policy depends on the degree of conflict of interests and on the process of implementation, and not only of decision-making. Perceptions of the concept differ among social actors according to each one's agenda and interests; on social, economic and political contexts; and on the history of interactions between those social agents (Castel-Branco 2011). For instance, the practice of ownership renunciation is recurrent in Mozambique, making it possible to attribute the responsibility of failure or the high social and financial costs of reforms to donors. PRONAE was initially funded by Brazil and WFP; however the programme is expected to find its own financial sustainability afterwards. This is probably seen by the Mozambican government as a limit to upscaling and its sustainability so it has been losing some of its interest within public institutions. Albeit the initial agreement towards the establishment of PAA Africa in Mozambique, the programme's frame of reference may collide with governmental commitment to the promotion of a large scale commercial agriculture.

The government adopted in 2007 the Green Revolution Strategy, source of inspiration of Mozambican agricultural development Plan (PEDSA). The strategy is being operationalized in 5-years and annual plans (2010-2014; 2015-2019) and it aims to increase agricultural growth by an average of at least 7% per year. The sources of growth being productivity (ton/ha) combined with an increase in the area under cultivation, with a view to doubling yields and a 25% increase in the area cultivated for basic food production by 2019. It is expected to create space for a more active private sector in both production and service provision, with focus on the large-scale use of animal traction, adoption of technical packages, promotion of mechanization, use of water and electricity for production, processing and marketing. Public investments for areas with high agricultural potential are given priority (MINAG 2010).

### *c. Assuring Social Participation*

A final aspect to be addressed in Brazil's experience sharing of rural development is social participation. In Brazil, rural policies are founded on the long lasting struggle against poverty and inequalities which also reflects the long-standing engagement of social movements. This led to attempts to farmer organizationster sustainable forms of family farming that produce not only for the domestic food market but also for exports. It is largely accepted that the Brazilian System for Food and Nutritional Security has been mainly built with citizen participation and the establishment of social accountability mechanisms (Silva et al. 2011; Costa Leite et al. 2013; Pierri 2013; Interviews June 2013). Social movements and civil society organizations<sup>8</sup> have deeply influenced the elaboration of social security legislation and the Zero Hunger Strategy, as well as the creation of MDA. Therefore, social mobilization has played a central role in the creation and consolidation of the family farming framework in the country. Hence, civil society organization in Brazil and in Mozambique have consistently pledged for more direct participation in the PAA Africa and, broadly, in Brazil's development cooperation policy with SSA.

Brazil's foreign policy approach to civil society promotion is not grounded in political conditionality for development cooperation. The CSO's external promotion has also been deeply criticized in the Academia. For instance, a recently launched study (Beichert et al. 2014) insists that an externally supported civil society may lack constituency and horizontal ties to other groups and society, have a

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<sup>8</sup> The civil society organizations comprised in this paper are: humanitarian institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trade unions, social movements, independent research institutes and advocacy groups.

limited influence on elites and decision-makers, and lead 'the business of aid'. Hence, donor strategies based on different conceptions of civil society's democracy functions may also require specific types of civil society actors as their 'counterparts' which may demarcate externally funded and non-funded civic actors. In addition, the participation of local leaders in legitimizing actions sometimes contrary to the interests of community have been observed through the experience of some committees in the Brazilian rural regions (Sayago 2008). However, the permeability of the institutions in charge of PAA Africa in Brazil to civil society's claims contributed to the overtone of this programme to the establishment of stronger social participation mechanisms. Such priority has been defined at the headquarters' level, responding to a concrete demand formulated by Mozambican organizations such as the Peasants Union (UNAC). In this context, civil society organizations' representatives have been invited to participate in the meetings of the PAA technical group.

Social participation may be useful in improving the quality of life of poor populations, but its promotion on its own does not assure it. In this context, understanding historical processes and power relations is essential in the promotion of social participation and control. The civil society in Mozambique was born from independence ideals and from the preparation of some of the leaders who later became rulers of the country (Francisco 2010). However, more than 40% of the organizations were funded after the 1992 Peace Accords and the first multi-party general elections in 1994 (INE 2006). Until the liberal reforms were introduced by the 1990 Constitution, Mozambique's formal civil society was limited to so-called "democratic mass organizations" associated to the ruling FRELIMO party. The local power system based on traditional leaders (*régulos*) was marginalized under the justification of FRELIMO's combat against the remnants of "traditional-feudal" society and relative autonomy of rural communities in relation to the State constituted an obstacle to the national project (Brito 2010; Francisco 2010).

The agriculture sector is among the most important in Mozambique regarding the role of civil society organizations (Homerin 2005), however the distribution of civil society organizations through the territory remains uneven, reflecting regional differences which are historically constructed. The Nampula province, for instance, has historically benefited from foreign support to civil society organizations while the civil society history in Tete is different, as this is the province where the state has maintained a strong presence since the colonial period<sup>9</sup>. Another relevant point is the lasting concentration of most of these organizations in the towns and cities, despite representativeness of the rural population in the country.

Therefore, promoting social participation within the institutional markets framework will not produce the expected results throughout the whole country, so formal or bureaucratic solution of social participation should not be imposed or generalized. A continuous and dynamic process of construction of this participation is more likely to be followed and promoted if the demand or the conditions for it are also present in the local level. The very reinforcement of the capacities of local organizations and their integration in the PAA Africa's implementation may play an important role in approximating the programme's to local contexts. Furthermore, national civil society organizations

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<sup>9</sup> The province is part of a regional context historically strategic for the country, surrounded by English-speaking countries (Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe) and location of strategic resources such as the Cahora Bassa dam and the underground mineral reserves, especially coal. Moreover, this is a province where the two sprawled major armed conflicts in the history of Mozambique.

may contribute to transform current political vision in Mozambique concerning the place of family farming in public policies.

## Conclusion

Brazil's Zero Hunger Strategy has been internationally renowned and regarded as a relevant model in the global fight against hunger and poverty as well as a tool in promoting the family farming sector. This article has showed some of the concrete effects of the experience sharing between Brazil and Mozambique in this field. It relies on the idea that public policy analysis no longer constitutes the exclusive monopoly of a fortified State and that the analysis of the policy processes stretched across national boundaries. It also relies on the assumption that "ownership" of a policy instrument or development cooperation project has been defined neglecting the historical reality and the imperative of the political economy of foreign aid dependency and donor-receptor relations. Ownership is the result of the dynamics of competition and influence on options, priorities, contents, and opportunities of development.

In this context, it is worth pointing out that the family farming framework has been built on a state-led process for the delivery of the specific public policies and regulation in Brazil. The creation of participative mechanisms of public policy formulation in the re-democratization period have also contributed to the promotion of institutional changes and the establishment of intersectorial policies within the Zero Hunger Strategy. Brazil worked with two different paradigms of agricultural development with emphasis on a dualistic agrarian structure and the understanding of "agri-business" and "family farming". However, rural public policies in Mozambique are currently focused on the promotion of commercial export-led agriculture, replacing the sector as a creator of economic income for the country. Family farming initiatives are often assigned to assistentialist, social welfare and costly policies.

Hence, the reception of Brazil's family farming framework in Mozambique has faced several institutional and political challenges. Some of them are in a great extent similar to those identified in Brazil in the past, such as market linkages and institutional support to a large part of the rural population in acquiring assets needed to bring them out of the vulnerability state. The limits of political and financial commitment to social protection policies such as school feeding and the collision of PAA Africa vision with the mainstream rural development strategy in the country may constrain its consolidation. Besides, considering the political history and the vision of rural development in Mozambique – particularly related to experience sharing – the article showed that design and implementation also matter for a programme's sustainability.

Hence, short-term collaboration initiatives alone would not be adequate to share complex policy frameworks which require major institutional changes. A continuous and long-term exchange process would be useful to both sides in designing and establishing effective instruments. Further, lessons learned from PRONAE, P4P and PAA Africa's pilot suggest that a potential expansion of the home-grown school feeding approach should be designed in a way more adaptable to local contexts, even if some norms are to be softened and other options are to be considered such as promotion of local fairs. Finally, intersectoriality is key for home-grown school feeding and improved access to markets alone will not be sufficient to significantly increase food crop sales and reduce food insecurity.

However, it constitutes a political process and can only be based on the history of institutional integration and partnerships. The ownership in public policy depends on the degree of conflict of interests and also on the process of implementation, not only of decision.

Therefore, analyzing the cooperation programmes on a more detailed and on-the-ground basis was useful to identify the potential risks and benefits for local smallholder farmers as well as some of the concrete effects of this emerging international enterprise in SSA. As already observed, the Zero Hunger Strategy still faces several challenges in Brazil to incorporate the most vulnerable producers and addresses operational obstacles. Under these circumstances, challenges and lessons should be highlighted in the process of experience sharing with Mozambique, which serves as a starting point for new innovations abroad. The first steps of the technical endeavor of Brazil's official engagement in SSA have been defied by the reality on the field. However, there is potential to increase policy dialogue through strong intra-institutional and inter-institutional alignment, particularly regarding public and social technologies necessary to create and maintain such social protection and productive networks.

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