# The Next White Gold? The political economy of rights to land and resources in rice investments in Mozambique

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#### Outline

- PELE framework
  - Three relationships
- What to understand and explain more broadly
  - Rice policy, none-approval still partial implementation
- The Local Exchange Deal -- rice
  - Xai-Xai example
- Political settlement underpinnings



Return to the two other legs in the triangle

# Hierarchies of rights: land and investments

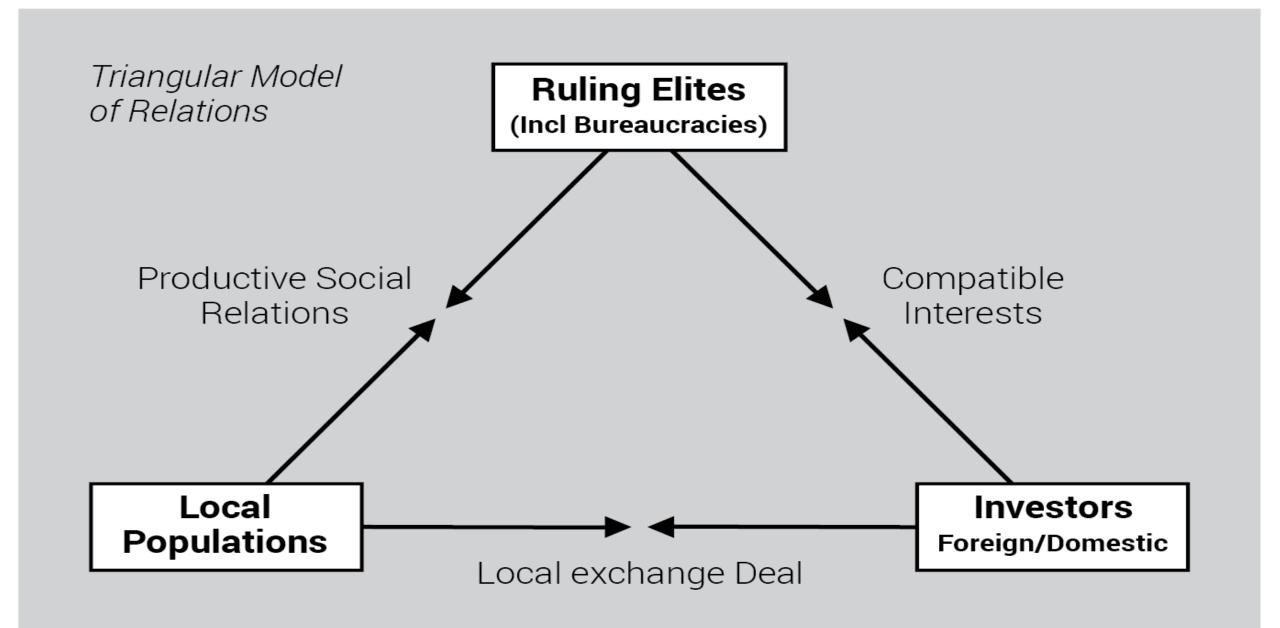
- Do all investments in natural resource extraction have to be negative and lead to a situation in which socio-economic inequalities only increase, where rights are always undermined and the level of conflicts becomes untenable?
- In the Hierarchies of Rights programme we ask if there are some forms of extractive investments that can lead to economic transformation and be more inclusive by benefitting larger parts of the population, including those with limited power and few resources?
- Are there with extractive investments no room for progressive capitalist accumulation, including the creation of new spaces for perhaps more manageable struggles around land and how to benefit
   from natural resource investments?

#### The Political Economy of Land and Natural Resource Investments

- A tentative framework for analysing large-scale investments in land and natural resources
- What are the key relations to look at?
- What are the possible conditions underpinning investments that actually get implemented? How do these conditions emerge?
  - Premise that there can never be economic transformation without conflict, and that development outcomes often are unequal, but that a more inclusive economic transformation is preferable and worth striving for
  - A delicate balance between attracting investments and 'backing them up', while at the same time protecting local populations' rights to land and livelihood security



#### Outcomes and relations



#### Rice....!

- NRDP National Rice Development Programme
  - Eigth years of none-approval why?
- Imports, donations and urban low prizes
  - Riots,
  - Debt crisis
- Partial implementation
  - 'Betwixt and Between' period of liminality
  - WanBao, CAIC etc. consequences
  - WanBao-smallholders

Imported rice bags in Olam warehouse, Maputo





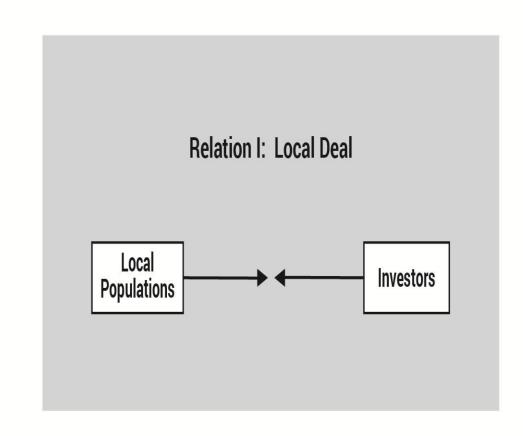
#### Contexto - Acesso a terra e conflicto

- Atores envolvidos:
  - WanBao, RBL, População
  - FDA, BCI... Estado local...
- Conflitos de terra e como foi gerido
  - Primeira fase conflictos re-alocar terras a População
  - Segunda fase transferencia de tecnologias/produção
- Critérios para o acesso a terra
  - RBL, estado local, secretarios
- Características dos grupos beneficiários e sua organização
  - Grupos e associações



### Relação entre os pequenos produtores de arroz e a WanBao

- Investidores expostos a riscos sociopoliticos
  - Evitando conflitos
  - Opurtunidade para aumentar a producao de arroz lucro
- Populacao local expectativas e opurtunidades
  - Transferência de tecnologias aos pequenos produtores
  - Acesso ao credito e outros serviços
  - Acesso ao mercado comercial
  - Lucro





# Impacto socio-económico para os produtores

- Trocas reciprocas?
  - A reciprocidade nao implica igualdade, mas ambos os grupos tem ganhos e avanca
- Acesso a rendimentos
  - Melhoria das condições de vida
  - Re-investimento na producao
  - Mais terra

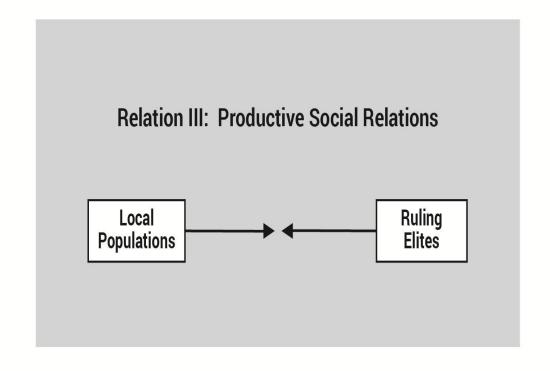
#### **Novos Conflictos**

- Relação entre os pequenos produtores e o RBL
- Relação entre WanBao e o RBL



### Productive social relations

- Ruling elite: investment deals in local contexts:
  - State formation: broadcasting authority
  - Voters elections
- Local population: accepting, ignoring or resisting investment projects?
  - Political influence of smallholders votes, violent opposition, etc
  - Historical relationship based on types of exchanges and state projects (Ujamaar, Sociedade nova etc.)
- Productive social relations:
  - Nature of social contract: coercive, dismissive or productive?





# Compatible exchange relations

- Investor: investments in uncertain environments
  - Huges potential rents from being first mover, but often high political risks
  - National/international investors different needs, different relations to ruling elites (and to local population)
- Ruling elites
  - Attracting investments for national development; for generation of rents
  - Political/bureaucrats different roles/interests, short-term/long-term – resources for implementation?
- Compatible (not mutual) interests create conditions for investments

