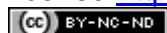


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noraceh@ceh.ac.uk

1 **The impact of farm size on agricultural sustainability**

2

3 Chenchen Ren^{a,b,#}, Shen Liu^{c,d,#}, Hans Van Grinsven^e, Stefan Reis^{f,g}, Shuqin Jin^h,

4 Hongbin Liu^d, Baojing Gu^{a,i,*}

5

6 ^a Department of Land Management, Zhejiang University, Hangzhou 310058, People's
7 Republic of China;

8 ^b Policy Simulation Laboratory, Zhejiang University, Hangzhou 310058, People's
9 Republic of China;

10 ^c Aisino Corporation Inc., Beijing 100195, People's Republic of China;

11 ^d Key Laboratory of Nonpoint Source Pollution Control, Ministry of Agriculture,
12 Institute of Agricultural Resources and Regional Planning, Chinese Academy of
13 Agricultural Sciences, Beijing 100081, China

14 ^e PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, PO BOX 30314, 2500 GH
15 The Hague, The Netherlands

16 ^f Centre for Ecology & Hydrology, Penicuik, EH26 0QB, United Kingdom

17 ^g University of Exeter Medical School, Knowledge Spa, Truro, TR1 3HD, United
18 Kingdom

19 ^h Research Center for Rural Economy, Ministry of Agriculture of China, No. 56
20 Zhuanta Hutong, Xicheng District, Beijing 100810

21 ⁱ School of Agriculture and Food, The University of Melbourne, Victoria 3010,
22 Australia

23

24 [#] Co-first authors

25

26 ***Corresponding Author:**

27 Department of Land Management, Zhejiang University, Zijingang Campus, 866
28 Yuhangtang Road, Hangzhou 310058, PR China.

29 Email: bjgu@zju.edu.cn

30

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3 **The impact of farm size on agricultural sustainability**

4

5 **Abstract**

6 Farm size plays a critical role in agricultural sustainability. This may have far-reaching
7 consequences for the economic and environmental performance of agricultural
8 production, resulting, for instance, in an excessive use of mineral fertilizers. However,
9 the magnitude of such effects and their main causes are not well understood, while
10 being essential for effective policy development, especially for countries like China
11 where the agricultural sector is still largely dominated by smallholder farms. In this
12 paper, we review the current understanding of how farm size affects agricultural
13 sustainability using China's crop farming as an example from economic, environment
14 and social aspects. We analyze impacts from both a Chinese and a global perspective
15 to identify intervention points to improve agricultural performance. We found that
16 increasing farm size has a positive impact on farmer's net profit, as well as economic,
17 technical and labor efficiency with mean coefficients 0.005, 0.02 and 2.25 in economic
18 performance, respectively. Nevertheless, the relationships between farm size and
19 overall productivity, total factor productivity and allocative efficiency are still not well
20 understood and therefore require more research. Meanwhile, increase in farm size is
21 associated with statistically significant decrease in fertilizer and pesticide use per
22 hectare, showing clear benefits for environmental protection. In line with the
23 experiences documented for the evolution of agricultural practices in developed
24 countries, the expansion of large-scale farming is a critical path for modernizing
25 agricultural production and ensuring sustainable food production from the social
26 perspective. Measures concerning farm size should be implemented in an interaction
27 between farmers and the government to promote the green development of agriculture.

28

29 **Keywords:** Environmental protection; Land fragmentation; Large-scale farming;
30 Smallholder farms; Efficiency; Non-point pollution

31

32 **1. Introduction**

33 The world has achieved great success in increasing agricultural production and
34 food security during past half century. It feeds over 7 billion global population with
35 limited arable land. Grain yield increased from 1.2 to 3.7 tons ha⁻¹ during the period
36 from 1961 to 2017 (FAO, 2017). However, the world is also facing grand challenges.
37 Hunger and malnutrition are still commonly found in Africa and Asia with the fact that
38 a high proportion of population depends on local agriculture for their livelihoods
39 (Zhang et al., 2013). Nowadays more than half of the nitrogen fertilizer used in
40 agriculture is lost to the environment, wasting the resource, producing threats to air,
41 water, soil and biodiversity (Lassaletta et al., 2014). To reduce these negative impacts
42 and promote the sustainable development of agricultural production, many measures
43 have been proposed such as increasing the use of modern technologies (Hašková, 2017),
44 or the use of biochar (Smetanová et al., 2013; Maroušek et al., 2017).

45 However, few measures have so far considered farm size when it comes to
46 agricultural development and related environmental sustainability. In fact, smallholder
47 farms globally occupy up to 40% of agricultural areas (Lesiv et al., 2018). Smallholder
48 farms typically are less than 2 ha, although the definition of smallholder used in national
49 censuses varies considerably (Rigg et al., 2016). Smallholders can survive and grow
50 because poverty decreases (Lipton, 2006), but small-scale farming can present a barrier
51 for the sustainable development of agriculture, especially for countries with
52 smallholders dominated. Previous studies have indicated that fertilizer use per hectare
53 decreases with increasing farm size (Ju et al., 2016). Other factors of agriculture, such
54 as productivity, efficiency and rural income, may also be closely related to farm size.
55 Yet, previous studies usually focused on some of the factors mentioned above. A
56 comprehensive and integrated picture on the impacts of farm size and their causes is so
57 far lacking.

58 China is a typical region still dominated by smallholder farms, accounting for 35%
59 of the 570 million world farms in 2014 (Lowder et al., 2014). It is mainly caused by the

60 Household Contract Responsibility System (HCRS), resulting in several parcels
61 operated by each household instead of a non-divided farm, leading to land
62 fragmentation. Land fragmentation is defined as the existence of a number of spatially
63 separate plots of land which are farmed as single, which is a major problem in China
64 (Tan et al., 2006). The average farm size in China remains to be comparatively small
65 until today. Farm size traditionally expands with economic development (Adamopoulos
66 and Restuccia, 2014), as demonstrated by examples for the United States of America
67 (USA), France and other developed countries (Figure 1). However, China did not
68 follow this rule because of policy distortion (Wu et al., 2018). The consequences can
69 be observed today in many negative environmental impacts such as air and water
70 pollution and low agricultural labor productivity (Chuanmin and Falla, 2016). And the
71 fertilizer intensity per crop in China is about 3-fold higher than the world average, in
72 total accounting for ~30% of global mineral fertilizer use with serious pollution (Jiao
73 et al., 2016).

74 To identify and better understand the relationship between farm size and these
75 problems, we reviewed papers related to farm size taking China as a typical example
76 with the aim of giving a comprehensive and integrated picture of the impacts of farm
77 size and their causes. We hypothesize that impacts of farm size will promote
78 agricultural sustainability and test it by the analysis of existing literature taking crop
79 farming as an example from both a Chinese and global view. Sustainable agriculture is
80 defined as practices that meet current and future societal needs for food, for ecosystem
81 services, and for healthy lives, and is achieved by maximizing the net benefit to society
82 when all costs and benefits of the practices are considered (Tilman et al., 2002). There
83 are still many countries dominated by small scale farming, and a better understanding
84 of the role of farm size is relevant for future national and international agricultural
85 policies.

86

87 **2. Methods**

88 In order to fully assess the impact of farm size on agricultural sustainability, we

89 carried out a comprehensive review taking the following steps. Based on the facts
90 presented within the introductory sections, relevant keywords were derived. We firstly
91 reviewed published literature regarding the history of agricultural mechanization in
92 some developed countries in order to fully understand the role of farm size, considering
93 that two keywords were common for this subject (agricultural
94 mechanization/sustainability, history/lessons). At the same time, we further searched
95 on two keywords (China, agriculture) to analyze the evolution of farm size in China
96 and its drivers as a typical case study. Next, in order to further enrich the review relevant
97 key words for farm size were identified as used by experts in the field. In each research
98 string, the keywords used to select papers were: "farm size" or "field size" or "large-
99 scale farming" or "scale farm" or "land fragmentation" or "smallholders" or "small
100 farmers". The search was carried out in "article title, abstract, keywords" and adding
101 constraints concerning "document type" ("article" "article in press" and "review") and
102 "subject area" focusing on research areas related to farm size. Accordingly, we
103 summarized three aspects related to farm size on agricultural sustainability, namely,
104 economy, environment and society (policy). Finally, we selected papers for in-depth
105 review based on the following criteria: (1) screening out various aspects related to farm
106 size, the research object is crop farming; (2) clearly explaining relationship between
107 farm size and each related aspect, and explicitly including information on the
108 limitations of the respective study; (3) proposing feasible suggestions for existing
109 problems; (4) prioritizing analytical papers with global implications. Besides, databases
110 were aimed at ScienceDirect, Engineering Village, ISI Web of Science, and Google
111 Scholar databases and some major international publishers, such as Elsevier, IEEE
112 Xplore, Springer, and Wiley to ensure a comprehensive overview of relevant papers
113 throughout the searching.

114 Based on these steps, this paper is structured as follows: (1) from the perspective
115 of economy, we analyze the relationship between farm size and agricultural
116 performance, including indicators such as total factor productivity (TFP), labor
117 efficiency, technical efficiency, allocative efficiency and economic efficiency; (2) we

118 discuss the environmental impacts as a function of farm size; (3) we review the
119 historical development of agriculture in China from 1949 to 2016 and analyze its
120 linkage with farm size; (4) and then we analyze the interaction between farmers and
121 governments in the society and provide policy suggestions from Chinese and global
122 perspective; (5) and finally, a distribution pattern of farm size in China is given with
123 brief mechanism, followed by (6) conclusions.

124

125 **3. Results and Discussion**

126 **3.1 The relationship between farm size and agricultural economy**

127 Due to the indivisibility of capital such as fixed inputs on machinery and
128 knowledge, average input cost per area of small-scale farms is difficult to reduce
129 (Manjunatha et al., 2013). For large-scale farms, on the contrary, the fixed cost per land
130 area managed is small (Carter, 1984), resulting in relatively higher production
131 efficiency (Rios and Shively, 2005). In order to further measure the impact of farm size
132 on production efficiency, we analyzed the following multiple concepts of efficiency,
133 including productivity, TFP, labor efficiency, technical efficiency, allocation efficiency
134 and economic efficiency (Xu and Jeffrey, 1998; Helfand et al., 2015). The definitions
135 of these efficiencies are listed in Table 1.

136 **Agricultural productivity** as an indicator to measure the level of agricultural
137 development has been studied widely (Benjamin and Brandt, 2002; Barrett et al., 2010),
138 especially connected with farm size. However, their results are inconsistent. In earlier
139 years, it was believed that increasing farm size did not necessarily lead to production
140 increases; on the contrary, this may be an inverse relationship (Barrett et al., 2010).
141 However, recent studies found that agricultural productivity increases with farm size
142 (Wang et al., 2015). It seems that the perceived inconsistency regarding the relationship
143 between productivity and farm size may arise due to other influencing factors, such as
144 technology levels and economic development stage (Juliano and Ghatab, 2003;
145 Henderson, 2015). Another important influencing factor is political context. Yet more
146 research on this subject is still needed to better understand the key drivers and

147 contributing factors.

148 **TFP** is mainly affected by technology (Avila and Evenson, 2004). The growth of
149 TFP can substantially contribute to agricultural development (Jorgenson and Gollop,
150 1992). However, the relationship between TFP and farm size remains to be ambiguous.
151 There is a strong positive relationship between TFP and farm size in the Corn Belt,
152 USA (Key, 2018). On the contrary, TFP is higher for smaller farms than for larger ones
153 in Malawi, Tanzania, and Uganda (Julien et al., 2018). This relationship can even be
154 different between regions of the same country, such as observed for Brazil (Helfand et
155 al., 2015). Thus, whether farm size essentially is related to the TFP on household level
156 farms is still unclear (Restuccia and Santaaulalia-Llopis, 2015).

157 **Labor efficiency** is labor productivity (Li et al., 2013). Before the 1990s in China,
158 when fertilizers, pesticides, and agricultural machinery were not widely available,
159 affordable and used, farmers often invested more labor to increase agricultural
160 production (Liu et al., 2018). This resulted in lower opportunity cost of laborers
161 working in the agricultural sector (Deininger et al., 2014). Farmers could only devote
162 their labor to agriculture, leading to a low level of labor efficiency (Benjamin and
163 Brandt, 2002). Labor efficiency increased in recent years (Liu et al., 2018), because
164 increased inputs of fertilizers and machinery increase the total production, while
165 reducing labor input (Deininger et al., 2014). Meanwhile, economic growth attracted
166 more rural workers to non-agricultural sectors and also reduced the labor input to
167 agriculture. Labor efficiency increased with farm size by a factor of 2.25 due to the
168 scale effects (Li et al., 2013). This explains the relatively lower labor efficiency in
169 China with smallholders dominated compared to developed countries such as France
170 and the USA, which have much larger farm sizes than China (Figure 2).

171 **Technical efficiency** can shed an insight into the assessment of whether input is
172 excessive or not (Bojnec and Latruffe, 2013), and is an important integral part of the
173 TFP. The degree of adoption of technology generally determines the level of efficiency.
174 With the increase of farm size, the knowledge of farmers increases due to more input
175 to training and studying that promotes the adoption of higher level of technologies (Syp

176 et al., 2015). In general, one hectare increase in farm size increases technical efficiency
177 scores in the range of 0.01-0.03 (Xu and Jeffrey, 1998; Bojnec and Latruffe, 2013).

178 **Allocative efficiency** can substantially influence TFP. However, there is not much
179 research available on the relationship between farm size and allocative efficiency,
180 hence the relationship between these factors remains ambiguous. For example,
181 smallholder farms can achieve higher allocative efficiency (Xu and Jeffrey, 1998),
182 which reflected by the fact that farm size has a negative effect on allocative efficiency
183 (Bojnec and Latruffe, 2013).

184 **Economic efficiency** is related to farmers' profits. Generally, a one hectare
185 increase in farm size results in a 0.005 increase in economic efficiency (Xu and Jeffrey,
186 1998; Bojnec and Latruffe, 2013). But it shows different results between plant types
187 and regions (Xu and Jeffrey, 1998). It has been highlighted that an increase by one unit
188 in in farm size leads to about an 8% decline in the average production cost (Lu et al.,
189 2018).

190

191 **3.2 Environmental consequences related to farm size**

192 Agricultural non-point source pollution has been the global focus of attention in
193 recent decades. Environmental pollution by agriculture stems mainly from chemicals
194 such as synthetic fertilizers and pesticides (Niroula and Thapa, 2007), burning of crop
195 residues (Yang et al., 2008) and animal waste (Guo et al., 2010). Over half of this
196 applied fertilizer is in excess of plant nutritional needs and hence lost to the
197 environment (Caires et al., 2016). As a result, substantial environmental and health
198 impacts can be observed, e.g., eutrophication (Zhang et al., 2013), soil acidification
199 (Guo et al., 2010) and air pollution (Wang et al., 2018). Therefore, each country has
200 introduced corresponding laws to limit the use of chemical fertilizers. For example, the
201 US Fertilizer Law stipulates the minimum guaranteed content of medium and trace
202 element fertilizers (FAO). The European Union promulgated the "Nitrates Directive"
203 that restricts the use of fertilizers outside the growing season and on steep slopes and
204 near water courses, demand codes of Good agricultural practices to promote balanced

205 fertilization and the maximum amount of nitrogen from manures is set at $170 \text{ kg} \cdot \text{ha}^{-1}$
206 (EPCEU, 1991; Van Grinsven et al., 2015). "Fertilizer Management Law" in Japan
207 stipulates the corresponding specifications and standards for various types of common
208 fertilizers such as the minimum or maximum amount of main ingredients should be
209 included, and the maximum limit of harmful components to plants should be allowed
210 (MAFF, 2014). However, China's fertilizer management belongs to different
211 departments lacking a unified fertilizer supervision and management system. In 2011,
212 468 kg ha^{-1} of mineral fertilizer was applied on China's arable land, as compared to a
213 world average level of 129 kg ha^{-1} (Figure 3). Meanwhile, the percentage of organic
214 nutrients such as residues returned to agricultural land in China has declined from $>95\%$
215 in 1949 to $<54\%$ in 2005 (Ju et al., 2005). Fertilizer input and losses are assumed to
216 double by 2050 compared to 2010 levels, if no measures to mitigate China's agricultural
217 pollution are implemented (Gu et al., 2015).

218 Managing farm size can affect the environmental performance of farming through
219 a range of different mechanisms. In general, 1% increase in farm size would cause a
220 1.8% decrease in the use of herbicides & pesticide and 0.3% decrease in fertilizer and
221 pesticide use (Wu et al., 2018). Compared to small-scale farms, land used by large
222 farms has 6-9% more soil organic carbon (SOC) stocks (Zhu et al., 2018), 48% less
223 carbon dioxide emissions (Todde et al., 2018) and an 8%-28% carbon footprint
224 reduction (Zhu et al., 2018). Meanwhile, the global warming potential, eutrophication
225 potential, acidification potential, aquatic eco-toxicity and human toxicity impacts per
226 unit area in large farms are 1.6-12.7% lower than that of small farms (Syp et al., 2015;
227 Wang et al., 2017).

228 To produce more cereals, costs from both non-fixed (e.g. fertilizer) and fixed (e.g.
229 machinery) inputs are both key factors (Figure 4). Smallholders tend to use excessive
230 amounts of fertilizers and pesticides to maximize agricultural production (Ju et al.,
231 2016). Due to the high costs of fixed inputs, smallholders would likely use more non-
232 fixed inputs than fixed input to increase yields (Pishgar-Komleh et al., 2017; Wang et
233 al., 2017). Meanwhile, many smallholder farmers have part-time jobs in urban areas

234 especially for countries like China, and as a consequence are not able to invest more
235 labor to improve their management practices due to the high opportunity costs of labor
236 input and a small share of their total income stemming from agriculture. Therefore, in
237 spite of implementation of soil testing and elimination of fertilizer subsidies, we
238 fertilizer use still increased in small-scale farms. In contrast, large-scale farms tend to
239 have relatively more fixed inputs due to their scale effect, resulting in much cheaper
240 fixed costs per unit cropland area if their total cropland area managed was large (Wu et
241 al., 2018). These fixed inputs can save non-fixed inputs such as fertilizers and increase
242 fertilizer use efficiency. Large-scale farm-holders are more sensitive to fertilizer prices
243 and will intentionally use less mineral fertilizers to reduce production costs (Ju et al.,
244 2016). Thus, large-scale farming has no direct impact on the environment, but provides
245 a good platform for improving farmers' agricultural practices and lead to a positive
246 impact on our environment.

247

248 **3.3 History of agricultural development and its linkage with farm size in China**

249 To comprehensively understand the role of farm size in the society, we firstly
250 review the history of agricultural development and its linkage with farm size taking
251 China as an example. Based on the socioeconomic development and related effects on
252 agricultural performance, we divided agricultural development phases into six distinct
253 periods: from 1949 to 2016: 1949-1977, 1978-84, 1985-93, 1994-98, 1998-2003, and
254 2004-2016, respectively (Figure 5). Each period is divided by policies or regulations
255 promulgated or abolished with productivity or efficiency changes.

256 The first phase (1949-77) is a period where China underwent land reform,
257 collectivization movement, the Great Leap Forward, and the Cultural Revolution
258 (detailed in Table 2). After the land reform was successfully implemented by 1952, a
259 collectivization movement started with an impressive success: agricultural production
260 increased steadily from 1952-58 (Putterman and Skillman, 1993). However, with the
261 collectivization changing from a voluntary to a compulsory movement with a lack of
262 supervision, the agricultural production collapsed in the period 1959-61 (Feder et al.,

263 1992). Since 1961, China's large-scale farming has stagnated, and agricultural
264 production showed large variations until the end of Cultural Revolution in 1976.

265 The second phase (1978-84) was marked by the installment of the HCRS, which
266 was set up as an alternative institution due to the recognized failure of the
267 collectivization movement. It has been proven that the HCRS increased agricultural
268 productivity significantly and accounts for half of the production growth during the
269 period of 1978-1984 (Lin, 1991). Average farm size evolved from large scales under
270 collectivization to small ones under the HCRS (Qu et al., 1995). Meanwhile, the Hukou
271 system - formally implemented in 1958 - restricted the free migration of farmers from
272 rural to urban areas, which reduce farmers' willing to transfer their farms, further
273 enhancing small-scale farming emerging as a result of implementing the HCRS
274 (Deininger et al., 2014).

275 During the third phase (1985-93), the economic system was reformed from plan-
276 dominated to market-driven (Gong, 2018). Government started allowing products to be
277 traded in the market freely (Yao, 1995), and gradually abolished the unified
278 procurement approach (Zhang and Brümmer, 2011). Compared to the previous phase,
279 agricultural production grew slowly due to the diminishing returns from the
280 implementation of HCRS, in spite the introduction of some new technologies such as
281 hybrid rice (Lin, 1991). The contribution of small-scale farming to agricultural
282 production reached its peak during this phase.

283 In the fourth phase (1994-98), agricultural funding by the central government
284 increased dramatically, facilitating the development of industrial-scale agriculture
285 (Gong, 2018). To meet food security objectives and increase farmers' incomes,
286 government raised the procurement prices of grain. Meanwhile, mineral fertilizer
287 production (resulting in lower costs) and subsidies increased the affordability of
288 fertilizers to farmers at all levels, leading to a further increase of agricultural
289 productivity. But it also resulted in negative consequences, such as a drop in nutrient
290 use efficiency and wide-spread environmental pollution (Fan et al., 2011). Labor
291 elasticity began to decline at this stage, indicating less contribution of labor input to

292 output, compared with other input factors (Gong, 2018).

293 The fifth phase (1998-2003) can be considered as a transition period marked by
294 integrating rural development and overall economic reforms (Zhang and Brümmer,
295 2011). China faced a heavy economic burden because of excessive increases in grain
296 stocks and the substantial debts accumulated by state-owned grain enterprises during
297 this period (Zhang and Brümmer, 2011). China joined the World Trade Organization
298 (WTO) in 2001, adding further pressures on the protectionist policies with regard to the
299 Chinese agricultural sector and the elimination of the quota procurement system (Gong,
300 2018). However, the grain yield per hectare declined, with a continuing increase in
301 fertilizer use during this period. In 2003, the arable land area per rural population
302 available was only half that in 1949 (NBSC, 2006).

303 The sixth phase (2004-16) was labelled “San Nong” as a reference to agriculture,
304 farmer and countryside (Gong, 2018). Chinese government released 19 “No. 1
305 Documents” focusing on agriculture by 2017. As a consequence, China started to
306 abolish agricultural taxes in 2004 (Lohmar et al., 2009) and land transfer and large-
307 scale farming were proposed in the No. 1 Document in 2009. A series of policies were
308 implemented to raise farmer’s income and narrow the urban-rural gap. For instance, a
309 reform of the Hukou system was listed as one of the key objectives in 2013. Various
310 new agricultural technologies emerged during this period (Fan et al., 2011) and as a
311 result, mechanization in agriculture increased 10 folds between 1978 and 2015 (DRSES,
312 2017).

313 In the context of this historical development of Chinese agriculture, we found an
314 increasing degree of financial support for agriculture from Chinese government
315 subsidies and improved levels of agricultural science and technology. Unfortunately,
316 we also observe a substantial and rapid increase in the use of mineral fertilizers and
317 significant drop in arable land per rural population availability (Figure 5). This leads to
318 a decrease in the proportion of land >10 mu (15 mu = 1 hectare) managed by each
319 household and as a result, land fragmentation is intensifying. We also found that
320 technical efficiency remained generally stable from 1949 to 1984, after which it

321 dropped substantially (Zhang and Brümmer, 2011). Meanwhile, a 3.6% drop of the TFP
322 was also observed for the period after 1984 (Zhang and Brümmer, 2011). In fact, the
323 agricultural technology level and the farm size are matched well in the second phase
324 (Chen and Song, 2008). At a low level of technology, the optimal farm size that can be
325 managed by a single household is small. It is one of the key reasons that agricultural
326 productivity increased rapidly during that period.

327 Since the late 1970s, hybrid rice has been widely used (Lin, 1991) and agricultural
328 science and technology have been improved substantially (Fan et al., 2011), benefiting
329 agricultural productivity. Thus, the farm size per household managed should be
330 increased. Unfortunately, the per capita arable land area in China declined dramatically
331 over the past 30 years, which causes a mismatch between productivity and farm size,
332 leading to efficiency loss and environmental pollution. Many studies suggested that
333 TFP and technical efficiency can still be improved, indicating that innovations in
334 technology, infrastructure and supporting policies can further improve agricultural
335 production, without jeopardizing environmental protection (Chen et al., 2009).
336 However, in the context of small-scale farms, the extension of technology use and
337 improvement of infrastructure typically incur high implementation costs (Niroula and
338 Thapa, 2005). On the other hand, the large number of smallholders make the effective
339 dissemination of scientific information and latest technology and skills more difficult.
340 A typical example is that the introduction of soil testing technology has not been widely
341 adopted yet in China. In addition, due to the indivisibility of capital such as fixed inputs
342 on machinery and knowledge, smallholders in China often benefit little from scale
343 farming (Feder et al., 1992), resulting in high costs, low profit, and non-point pollution
344 (Niroula and Thapa, 2005). It seems that farm size plays an important role on the
345 problems arisen in agriculture during the past decades in China.

346

347 **3.4 The role of farm size in a societal context over time**

348 Reviewing the history of agricultural development in developed countries such as
349 the USA, Japan, Israel and France, reveals that these countries achieved agricultural

350 modernization in the last century with successes on large-scale farming, agricultural
351 cooperation in production and sales, and agricultural mechanization. This suggests that
352 increasing farm size may be a critical path for agricultural modernization. In addition
353 to the role of the economy in promoting farm size, the development of large-scale
354 farming in the USA and France is mostly driven by the market due to their models of
355 private land ownership as scarcely populated countries. In contrast, for a densely
356 populated country like Japan, it is a greater challenge to promote large-scale farming
357 solely through market drivers. Hence, the Japanese government issued a series of
358 preferential policies in the 1960s to promote scale farming. For example, regulation and
359 subsidies were used to encourage farmers to consolidate land, and agricultural
360 associations also provided a platform to help farmers to adopt large-scale farming. As
361 a result, the total number of rural households rapidly decreased by 59.8% and farmers
362 in the Hokkaido owning more than 10 ha lands increased from 4.7% to 43.2% between
363 1960 and 1995 (Zhang et al., 2014). Israel is a land state-owned country, indicating that
364 land is owned by the country and will not be freely used and traded, just like China. It
365 is famous for its irrigation, cultivation and sound science-technology systems. However,
366 there is no way to spontaneously promote large-scale farming through market forces or
367 incentives alone. Therefore, Israeli agricultural modernization mainly relied on
368 government policies and financial support, e.g., developing agricultural infrastructure
369 as well as using land intensively. Even so, the average farm size in Israel is much larger
370 than that in China. Therefore, countries like China can learn from Israel's agricultural
371 science and technology system and the way of intensive land use to improve their
372 agriculture.

373 Based on reviewing the agricultural history of China and other developed countries,
374 the role of increasing farm size needs to be reconsidered in order to enhance the
375 modernization. We suggested the important role of farm size in a societal context over
376 time by analyzing the interaction between Chinese farmers and the government (Figure
377 6). The willingness of farmers to transfer land or manage a large-scale farm depends on
378 whether there is a sound transfer system and the availability of non-agricultural

379 employment opportunities, as well as a social security system (Hung et al., 2007; Wang
380 et al., 2016). As for the government, setting laws to safeguard property rights of farmers
381 (Benjamin and Brandt, 2002), reducing restrictions imposed by the Hukou system (Liu
382 et al., 2016; Long et al., 2016) and improving the land market by regulations and
383 institutions are effective ways to consolidate land with proficient farmers (Juliano and
384 Ghatab, 2003). Moreover, a sound science-technology system as it has been
385 implemented e.g. in Israel for farmers is also important (Liu and Zhuang, 2000). This
386 could improve the farmers' knowledge and result in the more efficient management of
387 cropland. Other measures including agricultural insurance, agricultural cooperation and
388 other financial support policies like credit services like in France and USA should also
389 be taken into consideration.

390

391 **4. The distribution of farms with different sizes and its driving forces**

392 An illustration of the spatial distribution of China's scale farms in 2007 can be
393 obtained from Figure 7, highlighting the low level of large-scale farming overall. Even
394 with the small total number of large-scale farms in China, the differences between
395 provinces are still very obvious. The number of larger scale farm in the southern hilly
396 region and the western region of China is relatively small compared to higher numbers
397 in the Northeast Plain and Inner Mongolia. Land fragmentation shown by the pie chart
398 in the southern hilly region is consistently high. However, this does not generally apply
399 to all provinces. For example, the number of scale farms in Xinjiang and Gansu
400 Province is higher than average. The average farm size in each area is typically limited
401 by the natural resource endowment, including total farm size, slope, terrain and so on.
402 However, economic development, urbanization and technological development of an
403 area also play an important role (Huang, 1973). This is reflected in a reduction in
404 economy-wide productivity from 1 to 0.25 resulting in an increase in the share of
405 employment in agriculture from 2.5% to 53%, a 21-fold reduction in average farm size,
406 and a 25-fold reduction in agricultural labor productivity (Adamopoulos and Restuccia,
407 2014).

408 More research needs to explore the mechanisms behind this. Such future research
409 can build on the use of models to quantify farms' suitability in various provinces, so as
410 to reasonably advance large-scale farming. Improving the interactions between the
411 Chinese national and provincial governments and farmers, utilizing a model as depicted
412 in Figure 6, would make a difference not only regarding agricultural production, but
413 also food security and national development.

414

415 **5. Conclusions**

416 This paper provides a comprehensive and integrated assessment of the drivers for
417 and impacts of farm size. Our analysis shows that farm size has a substantial influence
418 on agricultural sustainability from the aspect of economy, environment and society. At
419 the same time, it highlights the importance of reducing agricultural non-point source
420 pollution. In fact, some literature sources argue that small farmers can ensure food
421 production through intensive farming with new technology (Zhang et al., 2016), but at
422 substantial transaction costs. Agricultural sustainability can be improved based on a
423 better understanding of the role of farm size especially for developing countries where
424 small farms are still dominant. While we could not quantify all impacts of farm size in
425 great detail, robust evidence from our work and existing studies suggests that
426 addressing farm size is a critical way to promote development of sustainable agriculture.
427 The fact that these assessments are incomplete means that our analysis may
428 underestimate the social benefits of large-scale farming. More studies are needed to
429 enhance the quantitative and qualitative understanding of the role of large-scale farming,
430 and efforts to develop this approach should continue to move ahead with cautious
431 optimism, while ensuring opportunities for adaptation as new and better information
432 emerges.

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- 726
- 727

728 **Table 1 Definition of different efficiencies**

Items	Interpretations
Total factor productivity (TFP)	TFP measures output growth that is deducted from the input of factors. TFP refers to the ratio of total investment to total output over a given period of time in a company, industry, or region. It often uses production functions of the Cobb-Douglas form to calculate TF (Li et al., 2013).
Labor efficiency	Same as labor elasticity (Benjamin and Brandt, 2002; Li et al., 2013), or the output of unit labor (Carter, 1984). Labor efficiency=Yield/Farm labor
Technical efficiency	Technical efficiency can be calculated with the non-parametric methods: Data Envelopment Analysis (DEA) (Bojnec and Latruffe, 2013) or stochastic frontier production function (Tan et al., 2010; Li et al., 2013). It is often expressed by the ratio of real output and frontier output, reflecting the extent to which people master and use a technology (Xu, 2013).
Allocative efficiency	The ability of choosing optimal input levels for given factor prices (Xu and Jeffrey, 1998; Benjamin and Brandt, 2002). It refers to the adjustment of inputs and outputs corresponding to prices after the determination of production technologies (Xu, 2013). Allocative efficiency is calculated with DEA using input prices and output (Bojnec and Latruffe, 2013). It includes components of cost minimization, revenue and profit maximization (Rios and Shively, 2005).
Economic	The state of allocative efficiency and technical efficiency achieved at

efficiency the same time is called economic efficiency (Xu, 2013). The product of technical and allocative efficiency (Xu and Jeffrey, 1998; Bojnec and Latruffe, 2013). $EE = AE \times TE$

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731 **Table 2 A Glossary of Political Terms in China**

Terms	Explanations
Household Contract Responsibility System (HCRS)	The HCRS is the basic institution in rural China to allocate the majority of farmland to all rural households equitably.
Rural China	Rural China is relative to urban China. It refers to the agricultural area, which includes towns, villages and agricultural industry (natural economy and primary industry). The Hukou system - formally implemented in 1958 – further delineated the boundaries between rural and urban areas and restricted the free migration of farmers from rural to urban areas.
Hukou system	The Hukou system is a very specific Chinese household registration system that divides the Chinese population into two categories, rural and urban, and regulates rural-to-urban migration.
Land transfer system	Land transfer system refers to a platform that help farmers transfer their land to more capable farmers. It is an effective system to promote large-scale farming.
Land reform	Nationwide Land reform took place from 1950 until the spring of 1953. In all, 700 million mu of land (1 hectare=15 mu) and various means of production were redistributed among 300 million peasants who had been landless before.
Collectivization movement	In a process of collectivization that started in 1953, the farmers were first organized in so-called mutual help teams. Then these were gradually merged into lower agrarian cooperatives. As a result of the collectivization of the countryside, certain amenities and services that had until then been reserved for city dwellers, now came within reach of the rural population. During this period, the cropland was consolidated to some extent.
Great Leap	During the Great Leap Forward, lower forms of cooperatives would be

Forward merged into huge People's Communes. The Great Leap Forward took two forms: a mass steel campaign, and the formation of the people's communes. As a result of the massive production drives in steel and agriculture, both the production and transport sectors had become severely dislocated, which disrupted the national economic order, wasted a lot of resources, and caused great losses.

Cultural Revolution The Cultural Revolution is a series of campaigns, initiated by Mao, intended to transform China into a truly revolutionary country. The campaigns result effectively in a civil war.

732

733

734 **Table 3 Summary of variables affected by farm size**

Variables	Large-scale farms	Small-scale farms	References
Average costs	–	+	(Jabarin and Epplin, 1994; Lu et al., 2018)
Machinery	+	–	(Wang et al., 2011)
New technology	+	–	(Tan et al., 2008)
Risk spreading	–	+	(Sikor et al., 2009; Demetriou et al., 2012)
Ecological variety	–	+	(Demetriou et al., 2012)
Chemical use	–	+	(Niroula and Thapa, 2007)
Land fragmentation	–	+	(Wan and Cheng, 2001; Kalantari and Abdollahzadeh, 2008)
Technical efficiency	+	–	(Xu and Jeffrey, 1998; Rios and Shively, 2005; Bojnec and Latruffe, 2013)
Economic efficiency	+	–	(Bizimana et al., 2004; Bojnec and Latruffe, 2013)
Labor efficiency	+	–	(Benjamin and Brandt, 2002; Adamopoulos and Restuccia, 2014; Li et al., 2013)
Allocative efficiency	Ambiguous		(Xu and Jeffrey, 1998; Bojnec and Latruffe, 2013)
Total Factor productivity	Ambiguous		(Restuccia and Santaaulalia-Llopis, 2015; Julien et al., 2018)
Production	Ambiguous		(Juliano and Ghabab, 2003; Chen et al., 2011; Wang et al., 2015)

735

737 **Table 4 List of data sources in Figure 5**

Items	Data sources	Year
Grain yield	Compilation of Statistical Data for the New China Fifty-five Years (NBSC, 2006)	1949-2004
	China Statistical Yearbook (NBSC, 2017)	2005-2016
Arable land area	A Study of the Changing Trend of Chinese Cultivated Land Amount and Data Reconstructing 1949-2003 (Feng et al., 2005)	1949-1995
	Compilation of Statistical Data for the New China Fifty-five Years (NBSC, 2006)	1996-1998
	Statistical Yearbook of China Land and Resources Statistics (MNRC, 2009)	1999-2008
	China Statistical Yearbook (NBSC, 2017)	2009-2016
Rural population	Compilation of Statistical Data for the New China Fifty-five Years (NBSC, 2006)	1949-2004
	China Statistical Yearbook (NBSC, 2017)	2005-2016
Fertilizer	China Statistical Yearbook (NBSC, 2017)	1949-2016

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740 **Table 5 A List of Abbreviation**

Abbreviation	Full Name
CHIP	China Household Income Project
DRSES	Department of Rural Socio-Economic Survey, National Bureau of Statistics
EPCEU	The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
HCRS	Household Contract Responsibility System
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
MNRC	Ministry of Natural Resources of the People's Republic of China
NBSC	National Bureau of Statistics of China
SOC	Soil Organic Carbon
TFP	Total Factor Productivity
WTO	World Trade Organization

741

742 **Figure 1 Comparison of farm size in different countries.** Note: The left axis (green
743 lines) refers to average farm size in France, Israel, USA, and high-income countries.
744 The right axis (red lines) refers to China, Japan and low-middle-income countries.
745 Country-level longitudinal data of average household arable land are from decennial
746 national agricultural census during 1960-2000, compiled by Lowder et al. Farm size
747 refers to the area of agricultural land, including land use for cultivation of crops and
748 animal husbandry.

749

750 **Figure 2 Comparison of labor efficiencies for different countries during 1964-1987.**
751 Data sources: Labor efficiency data are from Arnade.

752

753 **Figure 3 Comparison of synthetic fertilizer input and wheat yield within different**
754 **countries in 2011.** Data sources: Data are from FAO (Food and Agriculture
755 Organization of the United Nations) database of the United Nations. Most of the
756 variables used for cross-country comparisons in the paper are compiled from the FAO
757 database of the United Nations, available at <http://www.fao.org/faostat/en/#data/QC>.
758 These variables include, for instance, consumption of NPK fertilizers, areas of arable
759 land, yields of wheat. Figure A refers to the amount of N fertilizer applied to a unit of
760 arable land and is calculated by dividing the total amount of N fertilizer applied in each
761 country by the area of cultivated land. Figures B and C respectively show the
762 application rates of P and K fertilizer per arable land. The calculation method is the
763 same. D is intended to show the agricultural production in each country, taking wheat
764 as an example. This picture clearly shows us that China's better agricultural production
765 is accompanied by a very high chemical fertilizer application.

766

767 **Figure 4 Input comparison between small-scale and large-scale farms.** Fixed inputs
768 refer to machinery, irrigation infrastructures, etc. Non-fixed inputs refer to chemical
769 fertilizers, pesticide, seeds, etc. Large-scale and small-scale farms have different input

770 preferences. Large-scale farms tend to prefer more fixed inputs, and small-scale farms
771 have the opposite, preferring more non-fixed inputs. Therefore, under the condition of
772 increasing the same output, the fixed input of large-scale farms will contribute more to
773 the increase of production, while the small-scale farms will mostly use non-fixed inputs.

774

775 **Figure 5 History of agricultural development and farm size changes from 1949 to**
776 **2016 in China.** Left Y-axis: ha/rural population; right Y-axis: NPK fertilizer
777 application and grain yield. Data sources are detailed in Table 4. Arable land area per
778 rural population is based on the total cultivated area divided by the rural population.
779 Rural population refers to the population living in rural areas, corresponding to the
780 urban population. Fertilizer data is the amount of NPK fertilizer from China Statistical
781 Yearbook divided by the arable land amount. Data of the farm size distribution pattern
782 in the lower right corner comes from China Household Income Project (CHIP, 1988,
783 2002, 2008, 2013). It reflects a gradually decrease proportion of land >10 mu (15 mu =
784 1 hectare) per household in China since 1988. CHIP is available at
785 <http://ciid.bnu.edu.cn/chip/index.asp> provided by China Institute for Income
786 Distribution. It is a widely used nationally representative survey on households since
787 1988.

788

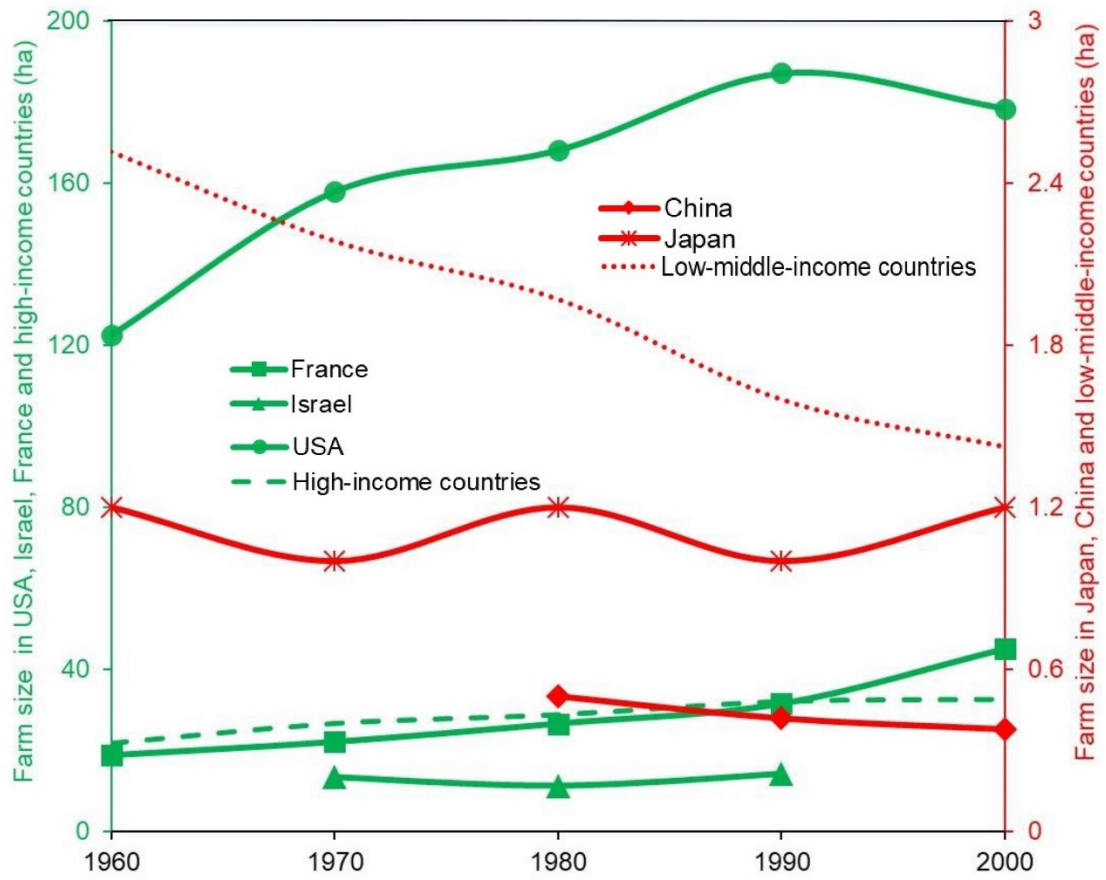
789 **Figure 6 Relationship between government and farmers in China's agriculture.**
790 China's agriculture has always been constrained by economic development, local
791 conditions, and the Household Contract Responsibility System (HCRS) as well as the
792 Hukou system. For the Chinese government, after the establishment of policies, laws,
793 and institutions, the state of agriculture is adjusted by providing subsidies, credit
794 support, and education. Farmers provide feedback to the government by changes in
795 productivity, profits, and environmental impacts. These are shown by farmers'
796 investment costs e.g. for seed, chemicals and machinery. In such a process, China's
797 agriculture is in the process of evolving from a smallholder-focused sector to modern,
798 large-scale farming. However, under the constraints imposed by China's HCRS and the

799 Hukou system, coupled with the impact of economic drivers and local conditions, the
800 process of increasing the share of large-scale farming in China is slow.

801

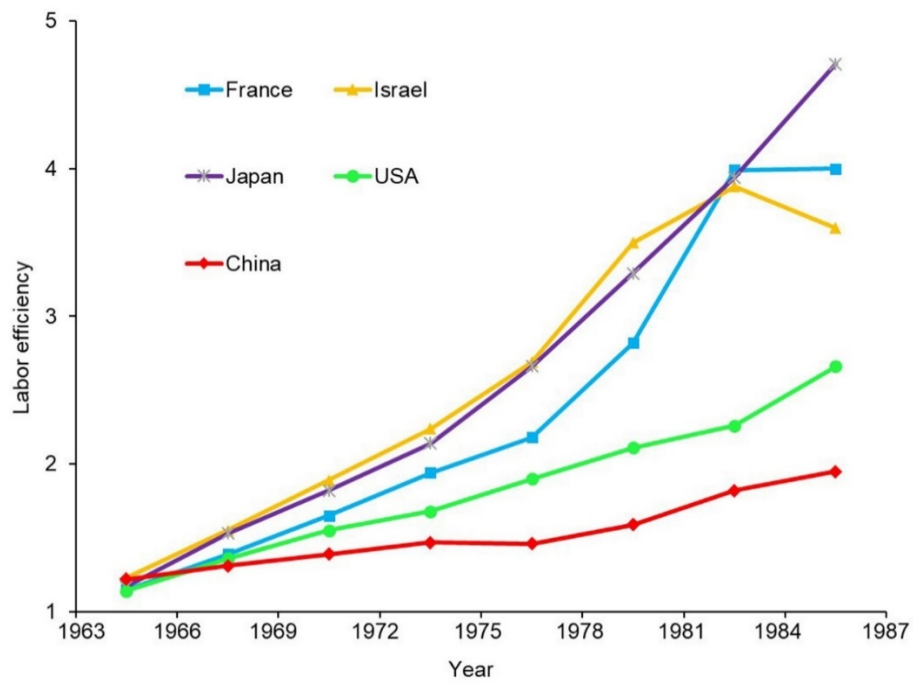
802 **Figure 7 The distribution of China's scale farms in 2007.** In this figure, we used data
803 from the first national survey on pollution sources in China in 2007. The data includes
804 a census of registered scale farms. The depth of the base map color indicates the number
805 of scale farms in each province. Pie charts represent the proportion of parcels of
806 different sizes. For example, the red slide of each pie chart refers to the proportion of
807 parcels less than 10 mu in the province. The figure can show that in 2007, the national
808 scale of operation was low and land fragmentation was serious.

809

810 **Figure 1**

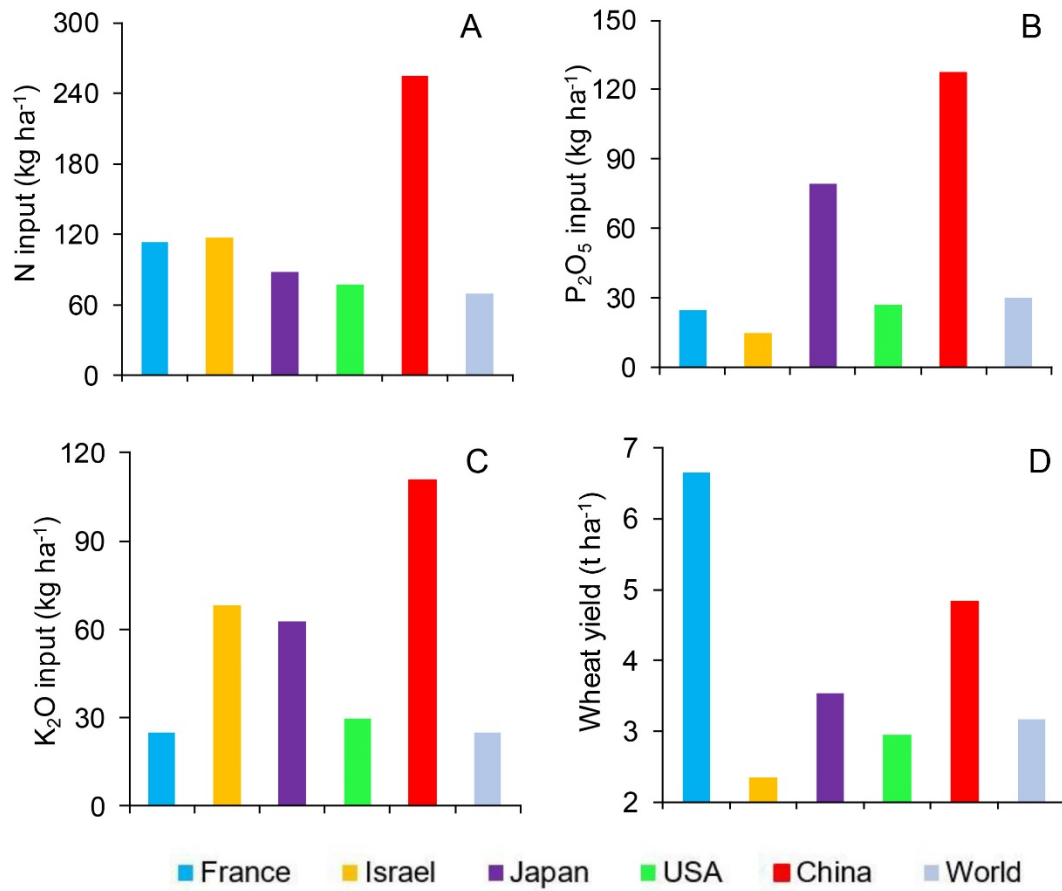
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813 **Figure 2**

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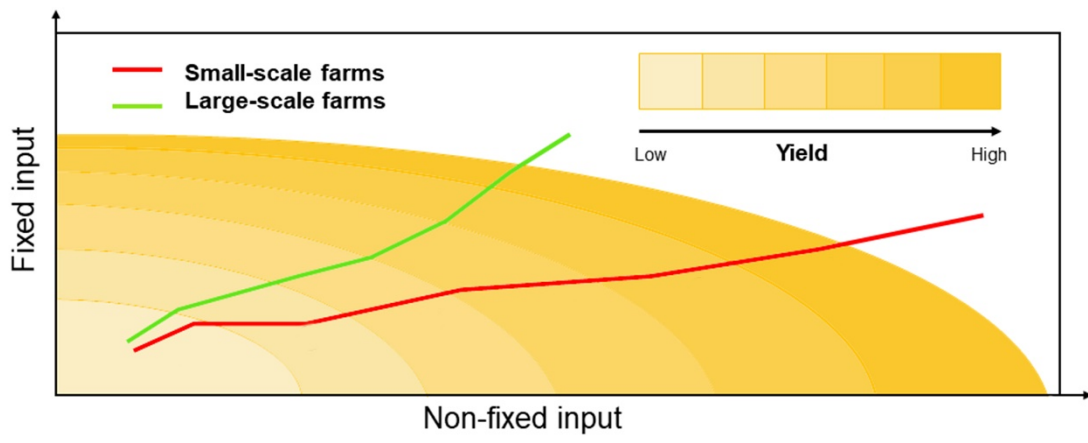
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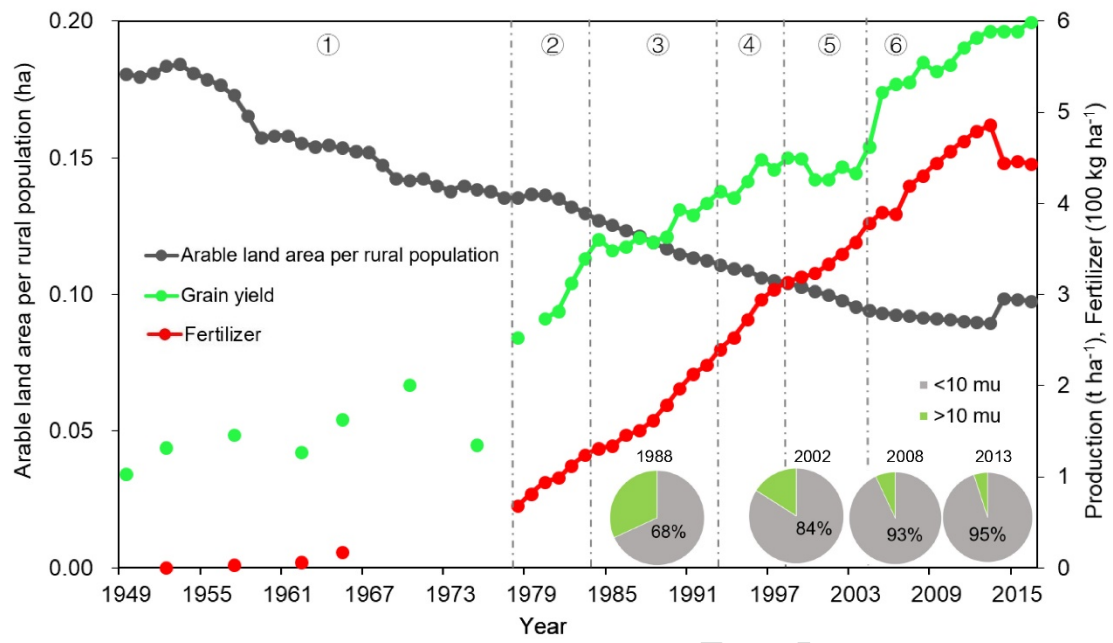
816 **Figure 3**

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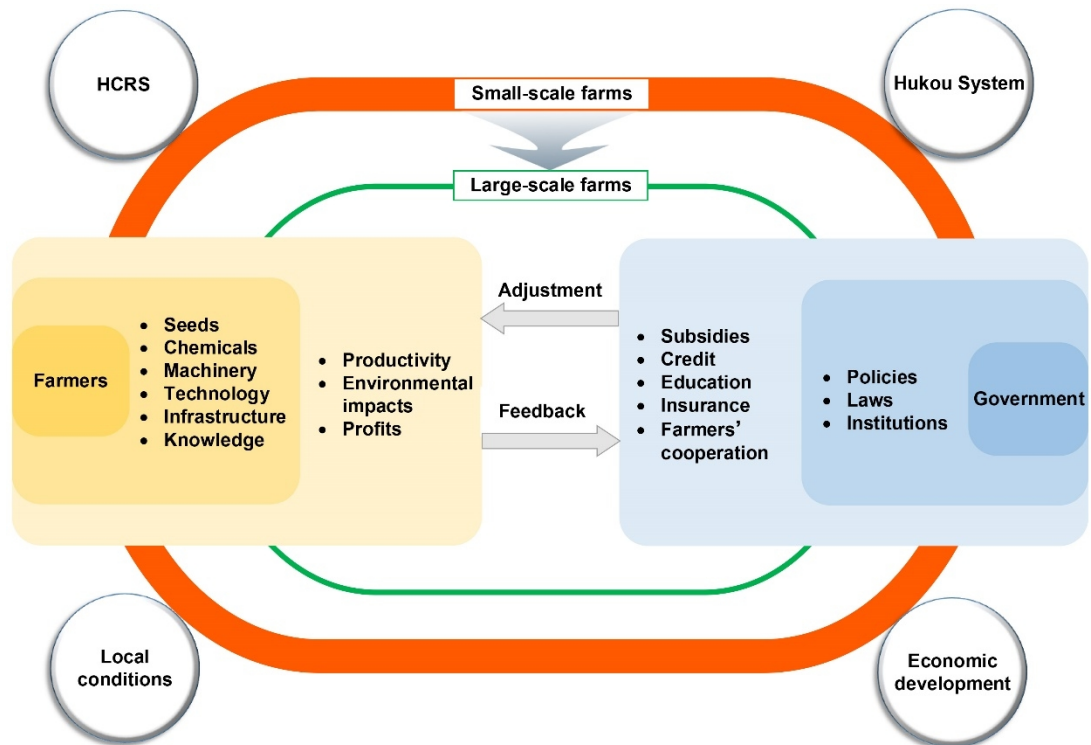
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820 **Figure 4**821
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823 **Figure 5**

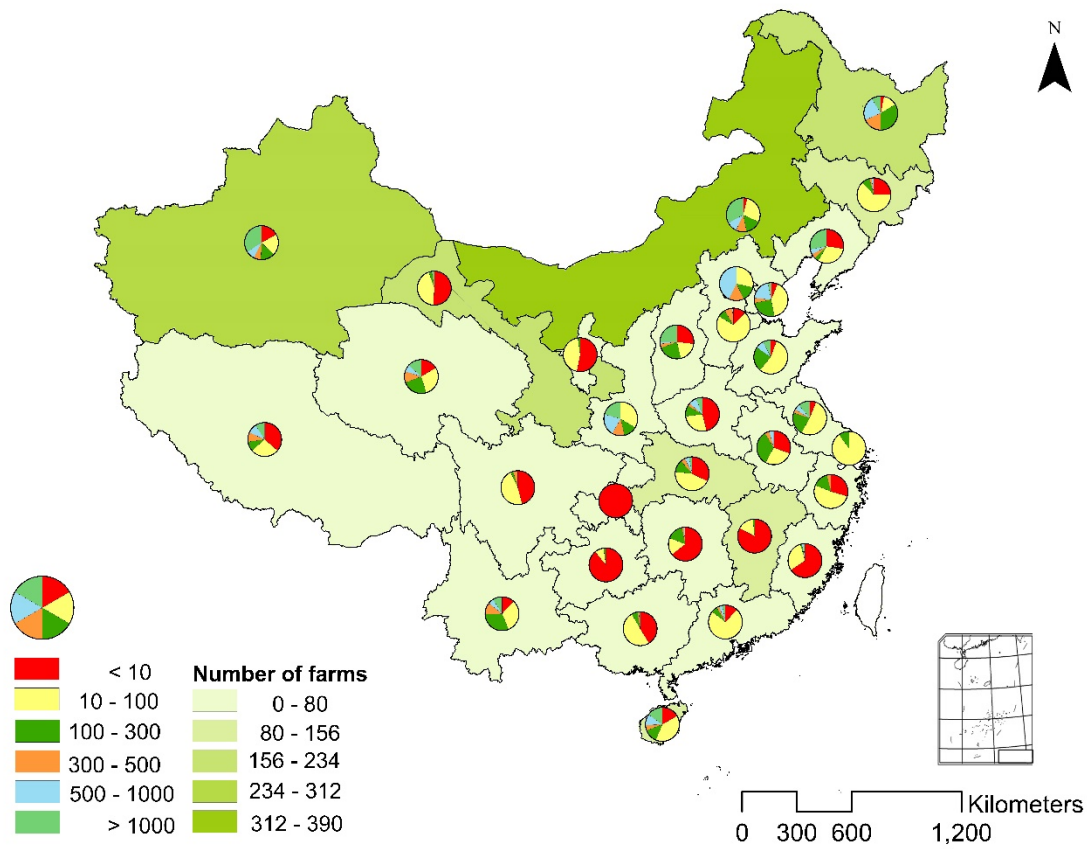
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826 **Figure 6**

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829 **Figure 7**

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831

Highlights

- Farm size plays an important role in the performance of agriculture.
- Increasing farm size shows clear benefits for environmental protection.
- Large-scale farming is a critical path for modernizing and sustaining agriculture.
- Smallholders prefer to use more non-fixed inputs to increase yields.