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**Title:** Reflecting on counter-hegemonic strategies based on food and nutritional security: notes on the Brazilian case.

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**Abstract:**

The emergence of a New World Order (NWO) from the late 1970s imposed limits to public policies of the countries or countries' blocs at the periphery of the capitalist system to promote their autonomous development. Internationally, we built a global food system that gradually has deepened the dependency and vulnerability of these countries in relation to the NWO, including the business strategies of international corporations. The study aims to reflect on counter-hegemonic strategies, particularly strategies based on Food and Nutrition Security (FNS). Strategies of this nature have the potential to support autonomous development processes in the periphery of the capitalist world? If so, where is it this potential and what are its limitations? To answer these questions the author proposes a model based on the "Map of the structure-action of capitalist societies in the global space added by spaces of individuals and social groups" for understanding the territorial development, considering the FNS as a development strategy. Then provides an analysis of hegemony and counter-hegemony in the NWO; the place of the global food system in this context; and an analysis of the Brazilian strategy of FNS in the 2000s. Final considerations systematize the potential and limitations of this strategy in terms of transformation of the NWO and also its replication possibilities - considering local and regional possibilities, including the need to strengthen the non-hegemonic countries' blocs.

**Key words:** Food Security; counter-hegemonic strategies.

## Reflecting on counter-hegemonic strategies based on food and nutritional security: notes on the Brazilian case.

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### I. Introduction

The study aims to reflect on counter-hegemonic strategies, particularly strategies based on Food and Nutrition Security (FNS). This reflection will be made from the analysis of the Brazilian experience. The main questions that guide the work are: strategies of this nature have the potential to support autonomous development processes in the periphery of the capitalist world? If so, where is it this potential and what are its limitations? To answer these questions, the author proposes a model based on the “Extended Structure-Action Map of Capitalist Societies in the World System” to understand the power of counter-hegemonic strategies in relation to the hegemonic strategies. In this context, FNS is a strategy – not the only - and we will try to demonstrate that it should be considered when we think about counter-hegemonic strategies.

During the last fifteen years, Brazil was one of the few countries of the world that tried to broke the neoliberal norms, resisting with social and development policies based on the domestic market (LEUBOLT, 2014). In accord with World Bank (2016:15), *“From 2003, the country has become recognized for its success in reducing poverty and inequality and its ability to create jobs. Innovative and effective policies to reduce poverty and ensure the inclusion of previously excluded groups have lifted millions of people out of poverty.”* Despite that, the social policies implemented in Brazil during that period have not eliminated poverty and inequality as a whole, but they are being seen here as a successful counter-hegemonic strategies in the face of the trends that characterize the New World Order (NWO). In this context, the policies oriented by the notion of FNS are relevant. One can even say that actions on food security, started by the “Fome Zero” Program (Zero Hunger) in 2003, constituted the main axis of the social policies implemented by Lula and Dilma’s governments.

However, since the beginning of the Dilma Rousseff’s second mandate in January 2015, the President’s governance capacity has been reduced drastically due to a persistent and consistent anti-government action promoted by opposition parties and political groups defeated in the 2014 elections, with the support of the mainstream media, entrepreneurs and bankers associations. This action culminated in the removal of President Rousseff after a judgment in an impeachment process, even without any evidences of responsibility crimes as

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determined by the Brazilian Federal Constitution, thus constituting a "*legal*" coup (LOWI, 2016) or a "*theater*" coup (ANDERSON, 2016), a blow to the country's democratic institutions (TATEMOTO, 2016).

Taking into account the purposes of this article, this radical shift in the Brazilian State structure becomes more interesting the analysis of the potential of counter-hegemonic strategies as well as its limitations. In "Theoretical and Methodological Notes", we will present the "Extended Structure-Action Map of Capitalist Societies in the World System" as a model to be considered to the understanding of ongoing processes. In sequence, the Brazilian social development strategy based on the notion of FNS will be analyzed. Finally, the main conclusions will be presented.

## **II. Theoretical and methodological notes**

According to Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2000), the historical transformations that erupted from the 1970s has committed the explanatory power of social theories. For the author, we are experiencing a period of "*paradigmatic transition*" and one of the great challenges that are posed to the social sciences today is to overcome the dilemma between structure and action. From a critique of modern epistemology, centered in modern science, in the liberal state, and in the State right, Santos build a conceptual framework for thinking both forms of regulation of contemporary society and the possibilities of social emancipation contained therein, helping us to reflect on hegemonic and counter-hegemonic strategies. In this context, the author then proposes the "*Map of Structure-Action of Capitalist Societies in World Space*" (SANTOS, 2000: 273).

It is a matrix of inter-relationships that shows the social reality set in structural spaces. In each structural space there is a permanent tension between "*regulation order*" and "*transformation order*." The author's criticism includes the relativisation, from Foucault and feminist theories, of the practice of the State power, so that society itself produces the power that circulates in it - disciplinary power exerted horizontally by the social subjects themselves, beginning with the human body. It also includes the partial acceptance by the author of the Theory of World System. This theory proposes a rereading of capitalism's constitution process, especially from the contributions of Wallerstein, Braudel and Polanyi. In the space of citizenship and world space are installed the powers inherent in the global financial capitalism.

The Extended version of Map Structure-Action, presented below, was proposed by Reis (2002).<sup>2</sup> In this version, the author incorporates the space of the individual and the space of social groups and rearranges its internal configuration. This configuration includes the following spaces: individual; domestic; social groups; community; production; market; citizenship; world. The top four structural spaces together represent what is local / regional, an interconnected way to the national and global. The spaces of production and of the market mediate pass to the top two structural spaces: that of the citizenship and the world space. So, the local and regional plans, where populations reproduce itself material and socially, and how these populations accommodate / repel the pressures emanating from other structural spaces.

### Extended Structure-Action Map of Capitalist Societies in the World System

dimensions / Structural spaces	Unity Social Practice	Institutions	Development Dynamics	Power Form	Right Form	Epistemological Form
Space of Individual	Individual's relationship with himself	Individual	Maximization of self-image and self-esteem	Guilt	Self-censorship	Self knowledge
Domestic space	Sexual and generational difference	Marriage, Family and Kinship	Maximization of affectivity	Patriarchate	Domestic Right	Familialism Family Culture
Space of social groups	social identification; union of equals	Bars, restaurants, sports squares, sidewalks, workplaces and study.	Maximizing of sense of belonging	disaffiliation	Social group right	Common sense
Community space	Ethnicity, race, nation, people, religion	Community, neighborhood, region, popular organizations, and churches.	Maximization of Identity	differentiation uneven	Community right	local knowledge, community culture and tradition.
Space of Production	Class and nature as capitalist nature	Factory and company	Profit maximization and the degradation of the nature	Exploitation and capitalist nature	Right of Production	Productivism, technologism, vocational training and corporate culture
Space of Market	Customer-consumer	Market	Utility maximization and commodification of needs	Fetishism of commodities	Right of Exchange	Consumerism and mass culture
Space of Citizenship	Citizenship	State	Maximising loyalty	Domination	Territorial law (state)	educational and cultural nationalism, civic culture
World space	Nation-State	System interstate, international organizations and associations, international treaties	Maximising effectiveness	Unequal trade	Systemic right	Science, universalism progress, global culture.

Source: Reprinted from Reis (2002). Free translate from Portuguese.

<sup>2</sup> The argument was revised in Reis (2006, 2015).

The argument developed here brings therefore an implicit criticism of dichotomous way of thinking, so that "actions in order transform the order itself." But what is the range of different actions? What is the nature of the embedded power in action? First, let's say that people are individuals who are born, grow, become adults, age and die. When we are born, we find a reality given a priori and are educated according to customs, rules, institutions that are rooted in family, community and societal relations. We accumulate energy to challenge them in the passage from childhood to youth, and perhaps find forces and conditions to continue challenging them throughout our lives, due to personal issues, generational and / or groups that we are part. It may be that our life pass and nothing changes with regard to those customs. It may be that many changes occur, or change slightly. But it is always the result of a meeting between an "I" that is being formed over time and the specific conditions in which its existence unfolds. In this walk, we do not have the option in relation to whether or not institutions. The human individual cannot survive without learning derived from culture (ELIAS, 2006: 129).

Institutions are socially constructed, in a time that is beyond the time of individuals. They regulate relations of the individuals themselves, the relations between individuals, between individuals and social groups. They also regulate relations between social groups and communities, between communities and the relationships between human groups and physical and biotic environment where these human groups live. These institutions legitimize and expand the range of individual and group action, while that the constrained. They are always the result of power relations. And the only forces that can change them without any human action are that are above what is human: the forces of nature, which also have their own time. So it makes sense to look at the history as Elias and Braudel do. That is, the history runs in three times: the time of individuals, the time of societies and the time of the nature. As said Braudel (1992:15) and Elias (1994a:38), there are three dimensions of the historical processes and these cannot be understood unless they form part of the analysis. These three dimensions are of individual stocks; the social processes; and biological processes (Elias) or geographical (Braudel).

Thus, while individuals and groups to move within the structures, including towards the possibility of changing them, the settings in which they are inserted impose limits on its action. This is the environment itself delimits the settings, and creates boundaries for the development potential of individuals and social groups.

What is the nature of the embedded power in action? First, there is a question of ethical and moral nature that permeates the relationship between action and power, because the action is always on the border between "what is" and "what should be". *"Legitimacy and / or legality for action are sought in institutions socially constructed. That said, according to Wright (2012: 4), 'power is the ability to do things in the world, takes effect. This is what might be called a sense of power 'actor-centered ': people, both individually and collectively, use the power to accomplish things."*<sup>3</sup> However, Norbert Elias (1994a) said, *there is no "I" without "we."* From this point of view, power is a relational phenomenon and its exercise, the exercise of power, comes amid a relationship. Then, the power is in the people themselves, the groups that they form and the institutions that they embody and / or represent.

With this in mind, inspired by Elias contributions, we propose that individuals and social groups vying for three types of power opportunities: the power supported by the threat of violence; the power to control the flows of wealth and means of survival; and the power to create representations of reality. What seems interesting is that the power seen as opportunity is connected to building strategies. And the way it is set up allows its analysis in all spaces of the "Extended Structure-Action Map", from the space of the individual to the global space, and allows its analysis amongst the structural spaces. The strength of the dominant strategies comes from the combination of these three opportunities of power, permeating all structural spaces. Therefore, we have to seek the power of counter-hegemonic strategies in this combination as well.

The hegemonic strategies make use of the force that binds the control over the flows of wealth and the means of survival of the *"inhabitants of the anti-market layer"* with the ability to interfere on the reality of national states. Throughout the eighteenth century, the liberal political and economic theories added significant value to this force, creating a representation of reality which, among others results, has been able to unlink the action of national states of the interests of large owners of wealth, despite the abundant historical evidence as otherwise. Moreover, this theory focuses attention on the dichotomy between state and market. From the point of view of strategies, it makes possible a spectrum of interventions involving two extremes: the liberal-conservative and the liberal-democratic. Between the 1930s and 1970s the liberal democratic perspective prevailed. Since the early

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<sup>3</sup> Free translate from Portuguese.

1970s, during what we call the NWO, the balance has tended to lean to the liberal-conservative side.<sup>4</sup>

A good example of how it is being implemented the liberal-conservative strategy is the way it has been set up the global arrangement around the food issue, which has been called "Global Food Security." According to Maluf & Reis (2013: 30), we are witnessing a process engendered by the "*United States and taken up by international organizations*", and by the "*separation of self-sufficiency and food security*," the latter understood "as the ability to acquire sufficient food whenever need them. In terms of that logic, global food security and of each country [and ultimately to each person] would be achieved by means of the well-functioning world market. Also according to the authors, "*This conception provides the general framework of trade agreements promoted by the old GATT and the current WTO, being present in FAO's formulations*".<sup>5</sup>

Braudel (1987) shows that the main characteristic of capitalism is the association of great wealth owners with the "*princes*" around the problem of capital appreciation. This association has engendered the formation of national states, as well as the interstate system we know today. In addition, the social structure has to be marked by the presence of three major layers: the bottom layer, which is the "*layer of material life*"; the "*market*" layer and the "*anti-market*" layer or "*counter market*" where capitalists live.

The greatly enhanced the illusion to which Bonamo and Wolf (2016) call attention, in my view, is the methodological device to remove the individual from history, as economists do when referring to Robson Crusoe figure. In this area, ideas as "*individual freedom*" and "*do by yourself*" gained strength at the same time the space for individual action increased. But we know that people are born within social structures. There is so much more between the individual and the state - and above of the state - that one can suppose from the "*market idea*". We need to gain a better understanding what is happening to improve our ability to interfere with the processes that are underway.

But how, from what was said above, we can see these strategies forming, being implemented and vying for space with alternative strategies? The "*Structure-Action Extended Map*", as has been said, is an array of interrelations. In it, the power flows horizontally and vertically. The way the structural spaces were configured allows observing more easily how

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<sup>4</sup> For the conceptual construction and characterization of the concept of political projects in dispute, see Reis (2006, 2014, and 2015).

<sup>5</sup> Free translate from Portuguese.

power circulates horizontally. But this is not so clear when we think how power circulates vertically. The availability of power opportunities in each configuration is a result of their own history. This history is linked to other spaces, although there is a hierarchy between them. Families belong to communities that, in turn, are embedded in the context of national states. On the one hand, national states generally are structured internally into three levels: municipalities, regional states and Federal level. On the other hand, national states constitute the interstate system.

According to Braudel (1987), this system began to form from the Italian city-states. It shows how the social strata were formed. From this perspective it is not difficult to show how the national spaces are also organized around these layers. Given that the main characteristic of the inhabitants of anti-market is its hegemony over state power, we can see local elites forming groups / communities with regional elites and those with national elites and finally, with global elites. In the latter case, the hegemony takes on international organizations including large corporations. For his part, Elias (1994b, 2001) shows how, in parallel, the particular "*habitus*" of those groups were forming and the courts becoming a concrete model and training centers of the style, which ended up shaping the conduct of the national bourgeoisies and by extension of the middle classes. The representation of the reality experienced by those circulating the financial center to the palace and desired by others, forming a large community of established and outsiders (ELIAS & SCOTSON, 2000).

Amid these processes gradually will occur remoteness of production and consumption, with the deepening social division of labor and the formation of local and regional markets, under the aegis of those who control the world centers of commerce and finance (first Genoa, then Amsterdam, and already as a national state, London and New York) (Braudel, 1987). The market layer becomes thicker and the inhabitants of the layer of material life are being compressed, as they depend on access to natural resources for their survival, such as indigenous peoples. This is due to what Polanyi (2000) called "*commodification of land and labor*" accompanied by the tendency to generalize the use of money. And even in the nowadays world not everyone reproduces himself or herself material and socially through the establishment of market relations, or not depend on them to survive. There is a combination of production for self-consumption, exchange behavior without accumulation interest, production for the market - which is the case of family farming. The inhabitants of the market layer, in turn, depend on the quality of commercial relationships they establish to survive.

Thinking from the institutional standards of Polanyi and their principles of behavior (symmetry-reciprocity; central-redistribution; authority-domesticity; market exchange), there was always a balance between these patterns in regulating the processes of production, distribution and consumption of social wealth. This balance was broken with the advent of the "*haute finance*" and a representation of reality that insists on affirming that the institutional market standard is better than the other three. With this, the liberal ideologues contribute to seriously undermine the State's ability to intervene in reality, one of the most important ways that societies have to defend against the "*satanic mill*".

From this perspective, the concentration of wealth and the general increase in violence in the world today result from the pressure exerted by the inhabitants of the anti-market layer on the working conditions and use of natural resources through the action of National States and liberal-conservative economic discourse, regardless of any consideration of ethical, moral, theoretical and historical nature. As Klein (2007) shows, the voices of Milton Friedman reverberate today.

### **III. FNS as counter-hegemonic strategy**

In this topic we will first conduct a contextual analysis. Following, we let's examine the definition of FNS and its implications. Then we present a framework that minimally synthesizes public actions that have been implemented for the promotion of FNS. Some implications and results are presented at the end.

To understand the progress of discussions and public actions in FNS in Brazil, we must return to the 1940s, with contributions from Josué de Castro (1953). Leão & Maluf (2012: 14) analyses the author's work as pioneer, because he debates on the problem of hunger and poverty in Brazil as a social and political issue: "*Since then the food problem has been understood as a set of simultaneously biological, economic and social manifestations.*" Since the contributions of Castro, "*in the 1940's-1950's, the first collective food services were created, the minimum wage was introduced in the country and the 'School Food Campaign' – currently the National School Food Program (PNAE) - was established.*"<sup>6</sup>

The nutrition field was imbricated with the food field and both were related to the development process. Thus difficulties of access, unavailability of food, quality and quantity of food consumed, cardiovascular diseases, breastfeeding, women's work, access to land, water and natural resources, income distribution, international geopolitics, eating habits, food

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<sup>6</sup> See also Castro (1953).

culture, sovereignty food, among other aspects are part of the same problem: the problem of public policies in FNS. In other words, hunger and malnutrition then become thought beyond the natural constraints of the agro-food production. More attention should be given to political relations that countries have with each other at international level and to the sub-national plans, and to the relations between social classes, between the different levels of manifestation of the territorial state (Federal, regional states and municipalities), between the state and civil society, between the state and the private sector, between this and the society as a whole, and between social groups, in the ways they express themselves in individuals, in the household, in the community, in the sphere of production, sphere of the market and the national and international levels.<sup>7</sup>

The social movement against hunger and the promotion of FNS, along with other movements – *“rural and urban organizations, leaderships and social movements, unions, professional associations, public and private sectors, churches, and traditional peoples and communities”* (LEÃO & MALUF, 2012:15) – significantly influence the promulgation of the new Brazilian Constitution (1988). *“The 1988 Constitution ensured new forms of participation in public policies through councils and social control policies, while enabling partnerships between the public sector and the nonprofit private sector. A new arena for social dialogue has been established.”* (Op. Cit., 2012:6).

However, as noted by Leubolt (2014), the 1988 Constitution did not eliminate some of more conservative brands from the Brazilian political structure such as *“patrimonialism”* and *“clientelism”*. Although it has provided instruments for social policies to be designed and implemented in a decentralized and democratic way, the Constitution not included the main sources of social injustice and lack of democracy in its text because of the resistance of conservative forces. These are important issues such as the concentration of land ownership, the concentration of income and wealth, the concentration of the media and a highly regressive tax structure. This is what makes Brazil one of the most unequal countries in the world, despite its ability to produce wealth. *“The constitution can be viewed as an expression of a political equilibrium (or stalemate) between progressive and conservative forces.”* (LEUBOLT, 2014:11).

Since 2003, when President Lula began his first government, social areas were privileged and was opened an opportunity for social movements put into practice decades of accumulated reflection about the collective improvement in Brazil, but always confronting obstacles coming from economic policy makers (BRASIL/IPEA, 2005:8) - which continued

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<sup>7</sup> Ver Maluf & Reis (2013 a and b); Burlandy (et. al., 2006), Maluf (2007), dentre outros.

following neoliberal guidelines, and strong groups of parliamentarians related to agribusiness, banks and other corporations. This contradiction can explain, for example, the high consumption of pesticides in Brazil, mentioned by Chmielewska & Souza (2011: 30).

Indicators of these highlights are the tremendous legislative production in the area of social policy throughout the 2003-2005 period, which has provoked the proliferation of institutional participative spaces, such as Councils, Forums, Working Groups, etc. and the creation of special Secretariats and public agencies specialized in deal with social issues. We report the following events below: the convocation to National Conferences in practically all social areas can also be observed (Social Assistance, Health, Cities, Children and Young Adults, Food and Nutritional Security, Women's and Human Rights); also, the creation of new Councils with the participation of representatives from government and society, such as the National Food and Nutritional Security Council, the Economic and Social Development Council, the Council for Cities, the Council for Promotion of Racial Equality, the National Council for Cultural Policy, the National Youth Council, the National Labor Forum - which is particularly noteworthy; and the debate on the Pluri-annual Plan (PPA 2004-2007) that was held among 27 state Forums and the Federal District, involving more than two thousand organized civil entities. According to Federal Government agencies, more than one million people took part in the processes of preparation and execution of these Conferences.

The publication of the book organized by Emir Sader (2013), a Brazilian sociologist and political scientist, entitled "10 anos de governos pós-neoliberais no Brasil: Lula e by Dilma" ("10 years of post-neoliberal governments in Brazil: Lula and Dilma"), with papers of recognized Brazilian intellectuals from different areas of knowledge in social sciences, give us the idea of the scope and dimension of political action results implemented in these governments, especially in relation to social policies. These policies, especially policies to promote FNS have been analyzed by many authors and institutions and even replicated in other countries by international organizations. It is not an exaggeration to say that they have become a reference for combating poverty.<sup>8</sup>

A landmark of political action for the promotion of FNS in Brazil is the establishment of the National System of Food and Nutritional Security - SISAN. The law establishing it brings in its Article 3 the following definition of FNS:

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<sup>8</sup> For exemple: Amaral & Peduto (2010); Chmielewska & Souza (2011); Rocha (2009); Custódio & Yuba & Cyrillo (2013); IPC-IG/UNDP, (2015); Rocha & Burlandy & Magalhães (Orgs) (2013); World Bank (2013a,b); UN-BR (2011) BRAZIL/CONSEA (2009); SILVA & GROSSI & FRANÇA (2011).

FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY Food and nutrition security is the realization of the right of all to regular and permanent access to quality food in sufficient quantity, without compromising access to other essential needs, based on nutrition practices that promote health, respect cultural diversity and are socially, economically and environmentally sustainable. (LOSAN, Art. 3, 2006)<sup>9</sup>

Amid this definition, we easily highlight three important points: FNS itself constitutes the materialization of Rights that posits the regular and permanent access to quality food in sufficient quantity; promoting FNS should not compromise the satisfaction of other basic needs of human existence; and promote FNS also means promoting health, respect for cultural diversity and economic and environmental sustainability. The analysis of the definition of FNS, enshrined in the Second National Conference on Food Security and Nutrition, highlights three features of the concept of FNS, which are inseparable: the Human Right to Adequate Food, the principle of food sovereignty and the relationship between the promotion FNS and promoting development. Thus, principles such as the Human Right to Adequate Food and Food Sovereignty are the basis for building strategies that enable the State to act for the socio-economic development. The table below gives a rough idea of the Brazilian strategy of FNS.

<b>Axes, Programs and Actions of the Zero Hunger Strategy</b>	
<b>Axes</b>	<b>Programs and Actions</b>
<b>Coordination, Mobilization and Social Control</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social Assistance Reference Centers (CRAS) and</li> <li>• Integral Family Care Program (PAIF)</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public Policy Councils (CONSEAS and other Social Control Councils and Committees)</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Citizenship Education and Social Mobilization</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grants</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Partnerships with Corporations and Entities</li> </ul>
<b>Access to Food</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to Income: Bolsa Família Program.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to Food: School Meal (PNAE); Distribution of Vitamin A and Iron; Food for specific population groups; Food and Nutrition Education; Food and Nutrition Surveillance System (SISVAN); Workers Food Program (PAT)</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local and regional food and nutrition security networks: Popular Restaurants; Community Kitchens; Fairs; Urban Agriculture; and Food Banks</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to Water: Cisterns</li> </ul>
<b>Strengthening of Family Agriculture</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financing of Family Agriculture (PRONAF):</li> <li>• Agricultural Insurance and Harvest Insurance</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food Acquisition Program (PAA)</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social and Professional Qualification</li> <li>• Solidarity Economy and Productive Inclusion</li> <li>• Oriented Productive Microcredit</li> <li>• Regional food and nutrition security Clusters: Rural Development Councils;</li> </ul>
<b>Income Generation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CONSADs;</li> <li>• Territories of Citizenship</li> </ul>

SOURCE: ARANHA (2010), APUD LEÃO & MALUF (2012:53). \* That was added by the significant effects in terms of access to income of the working population.

<sup>9</sup> Article 3 of Law 11.346 of 15/09/2006 establishing the National System for Food and Nutrition Security - SISAN - with a view to ensuring the human right to adequate food and other provisions. [https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/\\_Ato2004-2006/2006/Lei/L11346.htm](https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2004-2006/2006/Lei/L11346.htm). Extracted from **Leão & Maluf (2012:15)**.

The Table shows how the Brazilian government implemented those principles through public policies. First, it is necessary to refer to the construction of a governance process around the FNS policies (Coordination, Mobilization and Social Control) involving government and civil society (Public Policy Councils - CONSEAS and other Social Control Councils and Committees). Second, the Table also shows actions aimed at promoting access to food (School Meal – PNAE, for example), as well as the conditions of access (Bolsa Família, for example).

Another important point of this policy is the strengthening of family farming by the implementation of three programs: Food Acquisition Program (PAA); Agricultural Insurance and Harvest Insurance; e Financing of Family Agriculture (PRONAF); and School Meal Program (PNAE). It is interesting to say that PNAE obliges municipal governments of all municipalities in Brazil to acquire at least 30% of the food for snacking/lunch in schools of family farming. In fact, PAA and PNAE create public markets to production of family agriculture. This form of organization of agricultural production provides about 70% of the food that reaches the people's tables. We highlight, finally, the actions for women, rural women, young people, young farmers, “*quilombolas*” (descendants of slave-era “*quilombos*”), indigenous people, five years old children, organic agriculture, urban agriculture, as creation of a specific databases for FNS, among many other actions. Finally, it is important to mention the external support received by Brazil. International agencies such as the World Bank and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) gave financial and technical support. International institutions such as OXFAM and Action-Aid, among others, also participated in this collective effort. Some results are shown in the following Table.

<b>Some information's about FNS policies in Brazil and results</b>	
<b>Increase the income of poor families</b>	Between 2004 and 2009, the share of Brazilians living in families with incomes equal to or greater than one minimum wage per capita rose from 29% to 42%, from 51.3 to 77.9 million people (BRAZIL/IPEA, 2011).
<b>Poor people benefited</b>	The population in income range corresponding to the extremely poor, poor and vulnerable has declined in absolute numbers. The stratum with the greatest relative reduction (44%) was that of the extremely poor, which fell from 15.1% to 8.4% between 2004 and 2009.
<b>Real growth in average per capita income</b>	There was a real growth in average per capita income of 22% between 2004 and 2009, a phenomenon that occurred in all Brazilian regions but was stronger in the Northeast, the poorest region in the country.
<b>1st Millennium Development Goal (UN)</b>	In the case of Brazil, the 1st Millennium Development Goal (UN) of reducing extreme poverty by half the 1990 rates by 2015 was achieved in 2006 (from 22.1% in 1990 to 10.8% in 2006) and therefore nearly a decade in advance. However, it must be pointed out that about 8.4% of the population still lived in extreme poverty in 2009.
<b>Progress can also be seen in the evolution of some social indicators:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improvements in education through the increase in the average years of schooling, which rose from 5.2 years in 1992 to 7.4 years in 2008;</li> <li>• reduction in the infant mortality rate, which fell from 47.1 to 19.0 deaths per thousand live births (a reduction of about 60% in 18 years) between 1990 and 2008;</li> <li>• a significant decrease in malnutrition in children under 5 years, although important regional, racial and ethnic inequalities persist</li> </ul>

Source: Leão & Maluf (2012).

#### IV. Concluding Remarks

Thinking about the resistance on global agri-food strategies and politics today our paper proposed an analysis about the Brazilian experience in the first decade of the 21 century, based on "*Extended Map of Structure-Action*". The main questions that guided the work are: strategies of this nature have the potential to support autonomous development processes in the periphery of the capitalist world? If so, where is it this potential and what are its limitations?

The use of the term "*paradigmatic crisis*" allows a distancing between the perceptions of reality from the reality itself, of history. Thus, it is possible to make space for the contradictions ongoing cases speak for themselves. It avoids for example the possible confusion between the notions of NWO and neoliberal policies. Certainly, the political rise of the liberal-conservative political project since the 1970s contributed to worsen the possibilities to address problems that NWO brought for collective improvement. Not even the objective of economic growth was achieved, which is at the heart of their proposals, according to economists at the IMF - International Monetary Fund (OSTRY; LOUNGANI & PRAKASH, 2016).

But if on one hand the hegemony of this political project was almost complete in the period, on the other some confusion complicates the perception of the power of other political projects that are in dispute. In other words, it seems that we are always playing in "*the opponent's field*." Unlike this, to analyze strategies, we are on the border between "*what is*" and "*what should be*", which involves a question of ethical and moral nature which is earlier than the action itself.

Then we present the extended version of the "*Structure-Action Map*", whereby we noted the possibility of integrating the space of individuals and their histories, with the history of societies and the environment in which we live. This approach enables the perception of the closest levels of everyday life (local / regional) integrated to what apparently appears more distant (national / global). We establish a functional and structural hierarchy of structural spaces, connected by power relations views from the individuals themselves. In this case, the power is not a data. There are opportunities that individuals and groups dispute, including through the institutions they embody / represent. We proposed then consider three opportunities to power: the ability to produce action supported by the threat of violence; the ability to control the flows of wealth and means of survival; and the ability to create representations of reality. The political projects also differ by power opportunities accumulated over time.

That said, the Brazilian experience - in connection with the experience of other countries, accumulated power of individuals and social groups, piling up social energy for decades. Researchers from the areas of Health and Social Sciences have joined social movements in rural and urban areas. And they themselves, the institutions that they represent and other institutions that were born of this meeting converged to build a representation of reality that allows us to see ongoing processes in a way that links the history of individuals in time of societies. This understanding enabled to point to a better future, consistent with the notion of development and includes the majority of people in Brazil. The next step was to merge this representation of collective improvement with another opportunity of being able: the ability to control flows of wealth and livelihoods of rural and urban workers, their families and communities. The third step was to articulate them through concrete public actions. This set in a short time, directly transformed the lives of nearly 100 million people, and indirectly the whole population.

In other words, reality representations and power of individuals and social groups were converted into State power to act on the concrete reality, under the approval of the voters for four consecutive times. During this period, conservative forces regrouped, and taking advantage of access to power opportunities that are their characteristics - but without the legitimacy of democratic processes, try recently (by June / 2016) imposing a coup acting on conservative loopholes still remaining from the 1988 Constitution. An interim government was installed on May 12, 2016, and in a few days and in line with what we call here the hegemonic strategies is implementing a neoliberal agenda that will significantly compromise the Brazilian State's ability to continue to implement inclusive development policies. How said Naomi Klein in a recent interview: *"There's no doubt that Brazil's democracy is under attack. (...) It's a different kind of coup. (...) They are exploiting a situation of chaos, of lack of democracy, to impose something that they wouldn't be able to implement in a context without crisis and with a real democracy"* (KLEIN, 2016).

Despite this, the Brazilian experience adds significant value to the counter-hegemonic strategies just to have been able to transform principles of action - the right to food and food sovereignty - in public actions indeed. These actions introduced in the formulation of public policies, according to Burlandy & Magalhaes & Frozi (2013: 90), the following *"principles and guidelines of the FNS policy: universality, equity, social participation, sustainability, decentralization, intersectoral approach and interrelating budget and management."* In doing that, democratized access to opportunities for power; valued the diversity; and from the internal market, boosted the economic growth especially in rural areas and poorer regions,

among others. Thus the limit of compensatory policies was overcome towards socio-economic development policies.

The limitations of FNS strategies used in Brazil, finally, are not in addressing the issues related to the implementation of policies and programs and their funding. These limitations reside in the process of dispute settled with the hegemonic project. How Lowi (2016) said: *“What the tragedy of 1964 and the farce of 2016 have in common is hatred of democracy. The two episodes reveal the profound contempt of the dominant classes in Brazil for democracy and the popular will.”* But this is not a characteristic only of the Brazilian elites. As Klein (2007) suggests, the hatred of democracy is everywhere. Since the early 1970s this hatred has been encouraged by the US government. This government uses the doctrine of free markets and the direct and indirect political intervention to impose to most people in the world operating rules of the institutions, which are appropriate to the interests of Brazilian counterparts at the global level.

In this context, speak of social justice and democracy, as Wright (2012) and others, it makes sense. Finally, Brazil has introduced an innovation in terms of public development policies that puts attention on people and groups they form. However, much remains to be done. Anyway, it appears that the concept of FNS provides a base to be considered with regard to the construction of counter hegemonic strategies.

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