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Food and Agriculture
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An in-depth review of the evolution of integrated public policies to strengthen family farms in Brazil

Mauro Eduardo Del Grossi and
Vicente P.M. de Azevedo Marques

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An in-depth review of the evolution of integrated public policies to strengthen family farms in Brazil¹

Mauro Eduardo Del Grossi² and Vicente P. M. de Azevedo Marques³

Abstract

From 2003, the Zero Hunger Program and subsequently, in 2011, the Brazil Without Poverty Plan, marked a deliberate convergence of the purposes and actions focused on farmers and family farmers in Brazil. This allowed simultaneous access to social policies and policies focused on agriculture and livestock activities, through a permanent set of public policies, such as rural credit, climate and income insurance, technical assistance and commercialization. This happened in parallel to affirmative actions related to gender, ethnicity and rural youth.

To deal with such complex themes such as eradicating hunger and extreme poverty, the Federal Government began to integrate traditionally independent actions and programs. The creation of institutional markets focused on family farming, such as the Program for Purchase of Food (PAA) and the National Program for School Meals (PNAE), is an example of combining public policies, such as social assistance, education, agriculture and land development.

The creation of this integrated program was only made possible by the coordination and the strong commitment towards joint efforts by federal ministries and bodies, as well as the effective participation of state and municipal governments. The constant presence of organized civil society, with its councils and forums, and of the organized movements in the rural, helped to correct and increase the actions, and conferring legitimacy to the programs.

Keywords: family farm; public policies; hunger; extreme poverty; Brazil.

JEL codes: Q18, D18, I38

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Summary of key lessons

Food insecurity and malnutrition are complex problems: the solution requires a circumstantial and structural strategy provided with strong institutionalism and stable coordination over time.

- Strong political commitment at the federal level in favour of eradication of hunger, and subsequently of extreme poverty, attracted the support and participation of state and municipal governments, and motivated the commitment of the civil society and social movements around the project.
- Institutional history is important. Existence of a specific institutionalism to deal with family farming and the settled families of the land reform was a decisive step towards the creation of permanent public policies focused on rural development in the scope of the Zero Hunger program in 2003.
- Information obtained by a family farming census is fundamental to assess the public and improve effectiveness of the public policies. Its continuity and improvement, pointing to the potentiality and limitations of the family farmers, are the basis for new agendas for rural development.
- Simultaneous access to public policies is grounded in the progressive convergence of concepts that characterize the persons under protection, and in national administrative registers, such as DAP (Declaration of Aptitude to Pronaf) and the CadÚnico, that allow for the unification of the identifying modes of this population and the integration of the programs and actions of the various departments.
- Permanent dialogue between the government and the organized civil society and the social movements, conferred legitimacy to the government actions and those of the actors involved, improved the diagnosis and understanding of the problems, and helped in the execution of the program with effective social control, given the immediate needs of the population involved.
- Association between the existing programs, aiming at an exploitation of their synergies, demands strong institutional coordination. The creation of institutional markets, such as PAA (Program for Purchase of Food) and PNAE (National Program for School Meals), are examples of this link of public policies traditionally under the responsibility of independent ministries, such as Agrarian Development, Agriculture, Social Assistance and Education.
- Even with a strong performance of the actors involved in the execution of the new public programs, there is a maturing time, which depends on pre-existing institutional conditions. Laws for public bidding processes are an example: in the last decades there has been a great advance in modern societies, in the demand for lower costs and higher efficiency of public expenditure. This advance has permeated the whole of the public administration in all levels, under the efficient supervision of the control bodies. However, the organized legal apparatus gave the same legal treatment, whether it be to buy a box of vegetables for a rural school, or whether it be to contract and build a gigantic civil construction project. In this regard, it was necessary to spend a time to build the regulatory framework, since the approval of a legal exception in the traditional public bidding processes for buying from family farming, be understood by public agents, until be transformed

into regulations and infra-legal procedures which can be accepted by the control agencies, and these be understood by all the actors involved.

- There is also the learning time of the farming families and their organizations, in order to take part in the institutional markets. Learning about the institutional market, about standardization of products, health, stowage, and transportation are important aspects for a better integration in the traditional market.
- Government actions may function as an important affirmative instrument related to gender, generation, race or ethnicity. In the purchasing for PAA, for example, the participation of women is a priority criterion in the selection of the proposals, and at least 5% of the resources should be destined for purchases from organization made up of women.
- Institutional markets can also be important instruments for appreciation of organic or agro-ecologic practices, or still, for food education and appreciation of local culture.
- The current PBSM programs, the organization of the Land Reform and Brazil “Quilombola”, are examples of the coordination of various public policy instruments, aiming at eradication of extreme poverty.
- The territorial strategy may be an important instrument for de-centralization, strengthening local actors and levels, and adapting the federal programs to the territorial projects and initiatives. An example of this is the PTC, which offers, simultaneously, 71 actions from 14 different ministries, for selection, appreciation and deliberation by the territorial councils.
- Private initiative may be an important partner. An example of this was the More Food Program, which combined special credit conditions for mechanization in family farming with an agreement with agricultural machinery industries, in order to provide the equipment which is appropriate for family farming, at prices below market prices. Another example is the current partnership of the PBSM with supermarket chains, reserving special space for the products coming from the farmers participating in the program.
- The whole set of permanent public policies focused on the family farmers, plus the positive economic context, led to the fact that these workers had a real gain in income of 64% between 2003 and 2011, strongly influenced by the growth of 51% of the agriculture income in the same period, pointing to an inclusive cycle of income growth.

List of Acronyms

AGU	Federal General Attorney
ANP	National Agency for Petroleum, Natural Gas and Biofuels
ATER	Technical Assistance and Rural Extension
BB	Bank of Brazil
BCB	Brazilian Central Bank
BNB	Brazilian Northeast Bank
CadÚnico	Single Registry for Federal Government Social Programs
CAE	School Meals Council
CAR	Environmental Rural Register
CDRU	Grant for Real Right of Use
CEDRS	State Council for Sustainable Rural Development
CEF	Federal Savings Bank
CGU	General Comptroller's Office
CMC	Council for Common Market
CMDRS	Municipal Council for Sustainable Rural Development
CMN	National Monetary Council
CNDRSS	National Conference for Sustainable and Solidary Rural Development
CNPM	National Conference of Policies for Women
CNSAN	National Conference for Food and Nutrition Security
Comsea	Municipal Council for Food and Nutrition Security
Conab	National Food Supply Company
Conapir	National Conference for Promoting Racial Equality
Condraf	National Council for Sustainable Rural Development
Consea	National Council for Food and Nutrition Security
DAP	Declaration of Aptitude to Pronaf
Dieese	Inter-syndicalist Department for Statistics and Socio-economic Studies
Emater	Technical Assistance and Rural Extension Company
ET	Land Statute (Law 4,504, dated 1964) (Estatuto da Terra)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FC	Federal Constitution
FCP	Palmares Cultural Foundation
FNDE	National Fund for Development of Education
Funai	National Indian Foundation

GMC	Common Market Group
IBGE	Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics
ICMBio	Chico Mendes Institute for Conservation of Biodiversity
Incra	National Institute for Colonization and Land Reform
IPEA	Institute for Applied Economic Research
Iphan	National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute
ITR	Rural Territorial Tax
MAPA	Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply
MCR	Manual for Rural Credit
MDA	Ministry for Agrarian Development
MDS	Ministry for Social Development and Hunger Combat
MinC	Ministry of Culture
MMA	Environment Ministry
MP	Provisional Measure
MPA (GOV)	Ministry of Fishing and Aquaculture
MPF	Federal Prosecutor
MPOG	Ministry for Planning, Budget and Management
PAA	LeiteProgram for Purchase of FoodIncentive to the Production and Consumption of Milk (Programa de Aquisição de AlimentosIncentivo à Produção e ao Consumo de Leite)
PAA	Program for Purchase of Food (Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos)
PAC	Program for Growth Acceleration (Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento)
PBQ	BrazilQuilombola” Program (Programa Brasil Quilombola. “Quilombola” is a resident of a “quilombo”; the descendants of the Afro-Brazilian slaves who escaped from slave plantations until abolition in 1888).
PBSM	Brazil Without Poverty Plan (Plano Brasil Sem Miséria)
PGPAF	Program of Price Guarantee for Family Farming (Programa de Garantia de Preços para Agricultura Familiar)
PGPM	BioPolicy for Guarantee of Minimum Price for Socio-biodiversity Products (Política de Garantia de Preços Mínimos para Produtos da Sociobiodiversidade)
Planapir	National Plan for Promotion of Racial Equality (Plano Nacional de Promoção da Igualdade Racial)
Planapo	National Plan of Agro-ecology and Organic Production (Plano Nacional de Agroecologia e Produção Orgânica)
PMCMV	My House My Life Program (Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida)
PNAE	National Program for School Meals (Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar)

PNATER	National Policy for Technical Assistance and Rural Extension (Política Nacional de Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural)
PNCF	National Program for Land Credit (Programa Nacional de Crédito Fundiário)
PNDTR	National Program for Documentation of the Rural Woman Worker (Programa Nacional de Documentação da Trabalhadora Rural)
PNHR	National Program for Rural Housing (Programa Nacional de Habitação Rural)
PNPB	National Program for the Production of Biodiesel (Programa Nacional de Produção de Biodiesel)
PNRA	National Plan for Land Reform (Plano Nacional de Reforma Agrária)
PNSAN	National Policy for Food and Nutrition Security (Política Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional)
Pronaf	National Program for Strengthening Family Farming (Programa Nacional de Fortalecimento da Agricultura Familiar)
Pronat	Program for Sustainable Development of Rural Territories (Programa de Desenvolvimento Sustentável de Territórios Rurais)
Pronater	National Program for Technical Assistance and Rural Extension (Programa Nacional de Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural)
Pronera	National Program for Education in Land Reform (Programa Nacional de Educação na Reforma Agrária)
Prorural	Program for Assistance to the Rural Worker (Programa de Assistência ao Trabalhador Rural)
PTC	Citizenship Territories Program (Programa Territórios da Cidadania)
REAF	Mercosul Specialized Meeting for Family Farming
RGPS	General Regime for Social Security
SAE	Presidency Strategic Issues Office
SDH	Presidency Human Rights Office
SEAF	Family Farming Insurance
Seppir	Presidency Office for Policies of Promotion of Racial Equality
Sisan	National System for Food and Nutrition Security
Sudene	Superintendence for the Development of the Northeast
TCU	Federal Court Auditors
UFPR	Family Units of Rural Production

Introduction

This text was written to support the FAO publication *The State of Food and Agriculture (SOFA) 2015*, on the theme ‘Social protection and agriculture: breaking the cycle of rural poverty’, with an emphasis on public policies that focus on family farming. The purpose is to present the need for a coordinated set of actions able to lead to sustainable development, using current Brazilian public policies within rural areas as a reference.

The historical context starts with the re-democratization movement in Brazil, which began in the eighties, along with social upheaval and the reorganization of the political environment. A crucial milestone was the promulgation of the Federal Constitution in 1988, with important advances in the Brazilian social policies, always accompanied by strong pressure from the social movements.

During the nineties, in spite of social advances, the neoliberal public policies promoted the dismantling of instruments focused on rural development, privileging the market instruments, and limiting their response to only a few of the demands of the organized movements in the fields. The emergence of differentiated public policies was simultaneous to the emergence of the concept of family farming, and the continuity of the reorganization process of the actors in the rural environment.

From 2003, with a changing model of economic development supported by the government, there was a change in the rural development policies. These changes were initiated by the Zero Hunger Program, which highlighted strong coordination and implementation among the various instruments of state action, combining emergency measures that provided assistance during food insecurity and structural measures of productive inclusion.

The main changes lie in State prompting development through the growth of public investments and the implementation of a wide social protection net. The economic policy was focused on the strengthening of the internal market, and in an articulated manner, the social policies sought out a universalization of access to rights, creating a new foundation to support the growth cycle with the redistribution of income.

Rural areas formally viewed as backward and impoverished and as an obstacle for development, are now view as places for dynamic and sustainable growth to take hold. This new agenda was possible with the affirmation of the social identity of the farming family and the legitimation of differentiated agricultural policies targeted at them.

With the Zero Hunger, new programs and policies improved and expanded instruments supporting family farming. As an example, rural credit was once restricted to the Southern Region and now is nationwide, providing weather and income insurance as well. The land reform and land regularization programs have also been reinvigorated. Affirmative actions related to gender, race and ethnicity, and rural youth were included in the agenda for rural development.

The simultaneous combination of various policies, initially focused on the fight against hunger and food insecurity, and more recently, on the eradication of extreme poverty, created a “permanent network” of public actions. These explore the synergies between the various instruments. The strong political motivation and the coordination among stakeholders lead to the fact that the results are not the product of one specific action or program, but the integration of all these public policy instruments, as set out in the Zero Hunger programme.

The strategy has already produced positive results, such as the eradication of hunger⁴ and the almost eradication of extreme poverty⁵.

A total of 36 million Brazilians have left extreme poverty⁶ and have gained better conditions to obtain their autonomy, with actions giving access to public services, social assistance and urban and rural productive inclusion (technical and professional training, guided productive micro-credit, water supply, electric power, apart from differentiated agricultural policies).

This text presents Brazilian public policies for family farming, how and when they were created, their institutional context, their development and their integration with other various instruments. Knowledge of the historical landscape is important in order to understand how the instruments were implemented (*path dependence*); therefore the policies are all dated.

In the first part, consolidation of the concept of family farming and the institutional changes are presented. Next, the actions organized as from the Zero Hunger Program in 2003 are described. In the third part, in order to illustrate the combinations of public policy instruments, four programs shall be presented: Citizenship Territories, Brazil without Poverty, the organization of the Land Reform and Brazil “Quilombola”. Finally, the lessons taken from the recent Brazilian experiences are drawn, focusing on the possibilities of integrating economic and social policies aimed at sustainable development.

1. Family Farming in Brazil: from isolated policies to development policies

In a not too distant past, agriculture and the rural environment were seen as internal obstacles to development, or sectors simply subordinated to the dictates of urbanization and industrialization:

Everything rural was associated to backwardness, to poverty, and from where it would be necessary to get out in order to obtain the basic citizen rights in the cities. Only the dominating sector of the great properties were seen as productive and legitimate targets for the rural and economic policies (França and Soriano, 2010, p. 223).

Changing this point of view was very gradual in Brazilian society. In 1964, Law 4504,⁷ also known as Land Statute (Estatuto da Terra [ET]), made an attempt at managing the agricultural system of the country by means of the implementation of the Land Reform and the promotion of a Land Policy, aimed at guaranteeing full employment and harmonization with the industrialization process in the country.

This Law attributes priority to the constitution of “family properties” by means of the distribution of land from properties which are not fulfilling their Social Function, in other words, which do not carry out a rational and adequate use of the land; do not preserve the environment; do not observe labour legislation; and do not favour the well-being of the

⁴ In the report *The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2014*, from FAO, Brazil already had undernourishment levels below 5 percent (the methodological limit that can assure significance of the results different from zero).

⁵ The proportion of people in extreme poverty was reduced from 25.5% in 1990, to 3.5% in 2012 (US\$1.25/day, Brasil, IPEA, 2014), quite close to the 3% considered as a parameter for having overcome the problem, i.e. reach the residual level (World Bank, 2014).

⁶ In this respect see the speech proffered by President Dilma Rousseff at the opening of the High Level Debate at the 69th General Assembly of United Nations, available at: <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/acompanhe-o-planalto/discursos/discursos-da-presidenta/discorso-da-presidenta-da-republica-dilma-rousseff-na-abertura-do-debate-de-alto-nivel-da-69a-assembleia-geral-das-nacoes-unidas-onu>. Accessed 24 September 2014.

⁷ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Leis/L4504.htm.

owners and workers. The family property is defined in this Law as “a rural property which, directly and personally worked by the farmer and his family, absorbs all of their work force, ensuring their livelihood, economic and social progress, with a maximum area determined for each region and type of exploration, and eventually work with the help from third parties” (article 4, II, Law 4504/1964).

The Rural Development Policy established by the ET includes land taxation measures; assistance and protection for the rural economy, which involves technical, financial and credit assistance, and commercialization; agricultural mechanization; cooperativism; industrialization and product processing; rural electrification and infrastructure work; agricultural insurance; the guarantee of a minimum price for agricultural production; and education, by means of agricultural establishments with professional guidance.

The Federal Constitution (FC) – 1988⁸—among other aspects, opened the way for provisions regarding the social function of property, compatibility of agricultural political actions and land reform, and various other instruments of agricultural policies already provided for in the ET. Item XXVI of article 5 of the FC protects small rural properties— provided that they are worked by the family – from levy for payment of debts resulting from its productive activities, and determining that the State should make a provision for financing the development of these units.

Apart from this, article 185 of the FC protects small and medium sized rural properties, and the productive properties that comply with the social function of the land (provided their owners do not own any other property), from expropriation for the purpose of land reform as declared in article 186.

Another important aspect of the FC was the Social Security theme, offering differentiated treatment to rural workers of both genders that carried out their activities in the “family economy regime”, without permanent workers, independent of their legal condition in relation to the land (FC, articles 195 and 201). Before this, Complementary Law 11 dated 1971,⁹ that instituted the Program for Assistance to the Rural Worker (Prorural), considered the rural worker as the “producer, owner or not, who, with no employees, works in a rural activity, individually or in the family economy regime, thus being the work of the family members understood as indispensable to their own survival and which is carried out in conditions of mutual dependence and collaboration”. This program gave a monthly retirement wage of 50% of the current minimum wage,¹⁰ to persons over 65 years of age, limited to the head of the couple.

The FC set up new parameters for the rural population: the age for eligibility to the benefit became 60 years old for men and 55 years old for women (five less than urban workers), and a benefit floor equal to a minimum wage, universalizing in practice the benefit for all of the rural population, with equality of access for men and women (Beltrão *et al.*, 2004, p. 325).

In the process of the constitutional convention, land reform was one of the main subjects of coalition of forces from the rural social movements. With the promulgation of the FC, part of these forces readjusted their agendas for the following years to “claim differentiated

⁸ Available at http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Constituicao/ConstituicaoCompilado.htm.

⁹ Available at http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/lcp/lcp11.htm.

¹⁰ The minimum wage is a social right, provided for in item IV of the 7th article of the FC, and by the Decree Law 5452, dated 1943, as a minimum consideration due and paid directly by the employer to every employee, including the rural worker, with no distinction of gender, “established in the law, nationally unified, able to attend to his/her basic vital necessities and those of his/her family for housing and food, education, health, leisure, clothing, hygiene, transport and social security with periodic readjustments which preserve the buying power (...)”.

agricultural policies for small rural producers” (Santos, 2011, p. 162). This new agenda was at the same time encouragement and an expression of the strengthening of democracy in the country, with a strong participation of the organized rural social movements.

These claims occurred simultaneously with the process of liberalization and deregulation of various activities related to agriculture and animal raising, with a significant change in State actions, including the support and the financing of these activities. In 1990, by means of Law 8029,¹¹ the Federal Government closed the Brazilian Company for Technical Assistance and Rural Extension (Embrater), created in 1974,¹² and drastically reduced the financial support granted to state governments for the maintenance of their service rendering technical assistance and rural extension. In 2002 the Federal Government Resources for this action were around US\$4 million (in constant 2011 PPP¹³ international \$, or R\$3 million)¹⁴.

At this time also, a great amount of academic research exposed the continuous process of social exclusion in rural areas, and started to point out the importance of family farming as a means of development (among which Kageyama and Bergamasco 1989; Veiga, 1991; Abramovay, 1992; Lamarche, 1993; Guanziroli, 1994; Veiga, 1995; Neves, 1995; Abramovay *et al.*, 1996; Guanziroli and Cardin, 2000), inspired in the European post-war experience of rural development.

As Santos observes, “political relevance concerning the family farming concept is thus a result of the convergence of social struggle processes and change in the political actors, which occurred in the context of the early nineties, bringing a new approach concerning the rural world and to Brazilian agriculture” (Santos, 2011, p. 113).

Among the policies initiated in this period is the National Program for Strengthening Family Farming (Pronaf) and the inclusion of the special insured person¹⁵ in the General Regime for Social Security (RGPS).

Decree 1946 dated 1998,¹⁶ ascribes to Pronaf the purpose of promoting the sustainable development of the family farmers, so as to provide them with an increase in their productive capacity, generation of work and improvement in their income. In order to obtain this goal, four specific purposes were chosen: a) adjust public policies in accordance with the reality of family farmers; b) provide the necessary infrastructure for the productive development of family farmers; c) raise the level of professionalization of family farmers by means of access to new standards of technology and social management; d) encourage access of these farmers into the input and product markets (Schneider *et al.*, 2004).

From the operational point of view, Pronaf was linked to the Ministry of Agriculture and Supply, currently the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply (MAPA), and initially implemented four major activities: a) credit of working capital and of investment designed for productive rural activities; b) infrastructure and services financing for municipalities from all regions of the country whose economy depended fundamentally on the family farming units; c) building capacity of the family farmers by means of courses and training for the farmers, municipal counsellors and technical teams responsible for the implementation of

¹¹ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/18029compilada.htm.

¹² Embrater was created by Law 6126, dated 1974. Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/1970-1979/L6126.htm.

¹³ Purchasing power parity (PPP). In this text, all PPP values are in constant 2011 international \$. Source: World Bank.

¹⁴ Concerning this see Cassel, 2010.

¹⁵ Modality of social security that covers rural workers, those lead their land in "family economy regime". See section on family farming in Brazil of this text.

¹⁶ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/D1946.htm.

rural development policies; d) financing of research and rural extension aiming at the generation and transfer of technologies to the family farmers (Schneider *et al.*, 2004).

Among these activities, the one that proved effective early on was the credit of working capital and of investment. Until the creation of Pronaf, family farmers in Brazil were treated as “mini or small producers”. In other words, the difference between them and the medium sized or large producers was simply their scale of production which was strongly linked to the size of the property. For family farmers it was very difficult to gain access to the same lines of financing available for other producers due to the necessary demands for concession of credit. The documentation and guarantees required for obtaining rural credit were fixed, with no distinction whatsoever if the credit borrower was a large producer of commodities for export, or if he was a small producer of food, that sporadically sold the surplus of his production in the market. This idea that the difference between the types of producers was not relevant, led the State to treat equally unequal persons, which led to the exclusion of millions of producers and rural workers from official support systems in agricultural and rural sectors.

The initial target for Pronaf was defined by the National Monetary Council (CMN)¹⁷(Resolution number 2191, dated 1995),¹⁸ to bring benefits to family farmers that fulfilled the following conditions:

- a) use the plot of land as the owner, squatter, leaseholder or partner;
- b) not have a permanent employee, with the exception of the help from third parties, when the seasonal nature of the agricultural activity so demands;
- c) not have, in any situation, an area bigger than four inspection units,¹⁹ quantified in the legislation in force;
- d) at least eighty per cent (80%) of the gross income should result from agriculture and livestock or forest exploitation;
- e) live on the property or in an urban or rural community close at hand; [...] (article 2, I of Resolution BACEN number 2191, dated 1995).

Formerly, in 1991, Laws 8212 and 8213,²⁰ that regulated the Welfare and the Social Security provided for in the FC, considered as a special insured person of the RGPS, the rural producer, partner, sharecropper and leaseholder, the prospector, the traditional fisherman and similar, those that carried out their activities, individually or in the family economy regime, even with the help from third party, as well as the respective spouses or partners and children over 14 years of age or that can be treated as such, provided they work, in a proven manner with the family group. The family economy regime was understood as: “an activity in which the work of the members of the family is indispensable to their own survival and is carried out

¹⁷ CMN is the superior agency of the National Finance System and has the responsibility of formulating currency and credit policies, aimed at sustaining the currency and the economic and social development of the country. Its current composition is: Minister of Finance as President of the Council, Minister of Planning, Budget and Management, and the President of the Central Bank of Brazil. Source: <http://www.bcb.gov.br/?CMNENTENDA>.

¹⁸ Available at: <http://www.bcb.gov.br/pre/normativos/busca/normativo.asp?tipo=res&ano=1995&numero=2191>. Pronaf was preceded by the Program of Valorisation of the Small Rural Production (Provape) in 1994, which aimed at granting rural credit only to groups of small producers, in the form of associations, cooperatives or communities (Resolution BACEN no. 2,101, dated 1994).

¹⁹ The inspection unit defined by the ET is a unit of measure in hectares, established for all the Brazilian municipalities, according to the type of exploration predominant and the income obtained, having as a reference the concept of family property, in order that it becomes economically viable. The size of the inspection unit varies from 5 to 110 hectares, according to the municipality.

²⁰ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Leis/L8213cons.htm and http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/L8212orig.htm.

in conditions of mutual dependence and collaboration, without the use of employees” (article 12, § 1 of Law 8212/1991 and article 11, § 1 of Law 8213/1991, original text).

In other words, the definition of the beneficiaries of Pronaf in 1995, maintained characteristics of the special insured person in the Social Security, applicable to owners and non-owners (leaseholders and partners), and established two new limitations which related to the size of the venture and to the farming income (Del Grossi and Marques, 2010).

Thus, without massive actions of land reform policies provided for in the law, both Pronaf and Social Security integrated economic and social policies for family farmers, which were scaled up nationally. These actions were carried out independently, without planning and definition of common priorities.

1.1 The current definition and importance of Brazilian family farming

As seen with definitions given by Pronaf and Social Security, there was a definition of family farming in the country by means of the article 3 of Law 11326, dated 2006,²¹ which establishes the directives for the formulation of a National Policy for Family Farming and Rural Family Ventures. The current definition considers the family farmer and the rural family business as the person or entity that undertakes activities in the rural environment and attends simultaneously to the following requisites:

I – do not have, in any way, an area bigger than 4 inspection units;

II – use predominantly labour from the family itself in the economic activities of your establishment or venture;

III – have a minimum percentage of family income originating from the economic activities of your establishment or venture, in the manner defined by the Executive Powers.

IV – manage your establishment or venture with your family’s help;

[...]

§ 2 –The following are also beneficiaries of the Law:

I – woodland farmers that attend simultaneously to the requisites dealt with in the *caput* of this article, that cultivate native or exotic forests and promote the sustainable management of these environments;

II – fish farmers that attend simultaneously to the requisites dealt with in the *caput* of this article, and explore hydric reservoirs with a total surface area of up to 2 ha or that take in up to 500 m³ of water, when the work happens in the tank-net system;

III – forest users²² that attend simultaneously to the requisites provided for in items II, III and IV of the *caput* of this article, and carry out this activity in the traditional manner, in the rural area, excluding prospectors and gold washers.

IV – fishermen that attend simultaneously to the requisites provided for in items I, II, III and IV of the *caput* of this article, and carry out their fishing activities in the traditional manner;

V – indigenous peoples that attend simultaneously to the requisites provided for in items II, III and IV of the *caput* of the article 3;

VI – members from remaining ‘quilombo’ rural communities and other peoples and traditional communities that attend simultaneously to the requisites of items II, III and IV of the *caput* of article 3.

[...] (article 3 of Law 11326/2006).

²¹ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ato2004-2006/2006/lei/111326.htm.

²² People living off the use of natural resources, also known as ‘gatherers’ or ‘extraction workers’.

The existence of a legal consolidated milestone allowed the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE), a public federal administration body, to identify these rural producers in the 2006 Agricultural and Livestock Census.²³ As the questionnaire used in the census was prepared before the publication of Law 11326/2006, IBGE and MDA carried out a joint effort to identify the establishments that were part of the census and which would fit into the legal wording.²⁴

Information from the 2006 Agricultural and Livestock Census highlighted the importance of Brazilian family farming, with all its contours and nuances. It allowed for the backfilling of an important deficiency in official information concerning the public policies for rural development: how many there are, where they are, and how and what family farmers produce within the country. As França states:

With the repercussion of the Family Farming law in the official statistics produced by the 2006 Agricultural and Livestock Census, IBGE and MDA have given an important contribution to the identification and characterization of a social sector, whose economic and social importance is the object of a growing recognition by the State, informed by a series of social struggles and academic debates. It is a recognition that realizes the plurality of family farming, the contribution of the diversity of cultures and activities for a more balanced regional economy and a more sustainable standard of appropriation and use of natural resources (França *et al.*, 2009, p. 38).

The results of the Agricultural and Livestock Census can be seen in Table 1. Brazilian family farming in 2006 was made up of 4.3 million agricultural and livestock establishments which had access to 80 million hectares and occupied more than 12 million people. In relative terms, they represented 84% of the establishments, occupied 74% of the rural work force, and, in spite of occupying only 24% of the area, accounted for 33% of the production value.

Table 1: Importance of family farming in Brazil, 2006

Characteristics	Family Farming		Non-Family	
	Number	(%)	Number	(%)
Number of establishments	4 366 267	84	809 369	16
Area (millions of hectares)	80	24	254	76
Work force (millions of people)	12	74	4	26
Value of production (BR\$ billions)	54	225	109	675

Source: França *et al.*, 2009. Developed by the authors, at the second disclosure of information from the 2006 Agricultural and Livestock Census by IBGE.

²³ Concerning this see: http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/economia/agropecuaria/censoagro/agri_familiar_2006_2/apresentacao.shtm.

²⁴ For more details see: Del Grossi and Marques (2010).

Family Farming Register

The Declaration of Aptitude to Pronaf (DAP) is an instrument which is used to identify and qualify the Family Units of Rural Production (UFPR) and their organized forms of association into legal entities. In other words, DAP characterizes the UFPR and not only the private individual that is part of it:

The UFPR is defined as] a body made up of the family and possible aggregates, including also the case of the individual without a family and possible aggregates, seen in their community as family farmers and that make the use of a combination of factors for production, aimed at securing their own survival and/or the society's demand for foods and other service goods, and also: a) live in the same residence; b) operate the same establishment under a strictly family management; and c) depend on the income generated by the Family Units for Rural Protection, whether it be in the establishment or outside it (article 2 of Ordinance/MDA/no. 21/2014).

DAP is voluntary and the necessary data for its issuance are provided unilaterally by the interested person, which does not prevent the Public Authorities, at any time, from confronting the data and elements presented and promote acts and necessary steps to determine the truth, and, whenever appropriate, lead to the respective cancelation. In order to obtain DAP, the applicant should provide, among other information, the number of properties involved, their localization and denomination and his/her legal condition relating to them.

Issuance of a DAP is free and takes on the principle of unity, in other words, the UFPR should have only one main, active DAP. Similarly, each form of association and of family farming ventures should have only one active Juridical DAP. From the moment of a stable union contract or civil marriage, the DAP should obligatorily identify each one of the responsible people for the UFPR, without any ranking in this double ownership. The aggregated woman and the young person, son of family farmers, of 15 to 29 years of age, may obtain accessory DAPs, linked to a main DAP of the UFPR, to which they are linked.

DAP was instituted by Resolution/CMN/Number 2191, dated 1995, under attribution of the then Ministry of Agriculture, Supply, and Land Reform (Maara). As from 2002, the DAP started to be issued in an electronically and decentralized manner, by means of a network of public bodies and issuing entities authorized by the MDA. This network includes the National Institute for Colonization and Land Reform (Incra), Ministry of Fishing and Aquaculture [MPA (GOV)], National Indian Foundation (Funai), "Palmares" Cultural Foundation (FCP) and the "Chico Mendes" Institute for Conservation of Biodiversity (ICMBio), among others. In December 2013, there were 26 787 registered DAP issuing agents.

Conditions and procedures for issuance of DAP are regulated by Ordinance/MDA/no. 21, dated 2014. As well as family farmers, DAP also identifies: (i) fishermen; (ii) families living from vegetal extraction activity; (iii) woodland farmers that cultivate native or exotic forests; (iv) fish farmers that explore an area not larger than 2 hectares of water strip or occupy up to 500m³ of water, when the work is carried out in the tank-net system; (v) members from remaining "quilombola" rural communities and other peoples and traditional communities; (vi) indigenous peoples and (vii) settled families of the National Plan for Land Reform (PNRA) and those who benefit from the National Program for Land Credit (PNCF).

The DAP Register System allows access to the register of entities that are authorized to issue DAPs, with their respective operational units, issuance agents and respective areas of actuation, as well the beneficiaries, through the Web (<http://www.mda.gov.br/sitemda/dap>).

A DAP is used as a reference database for definition of the beneficiaries of 12 rural credit lines associated to Pronaf, to the Family Farming Insurance (SEAF), to the Program of Price Guarantee for Family Farming (PGPAF), to the Harvest Guarantee Program, to the Program for Purchase of Food (PAA), to the National Program for School Meals (PNAE), to the National Program for Rural Housing / My House My Life Program (PNHR/PMCMV), to the Program for Sustainable Development of Rural Territories (Pronat), to the National Program for the Production and Use of Biodiesel (Social Fuel Seal) and also to gain access to social security benefits, among others.

In August 2014, there were 5 073 215 active DAPs of private individuals, and 2 900 of legal entities.

1.2 Definitions of family farming in the scope of the Mercosul

The definition of family farming in Brazil happened as these producers gained political and social recognition (both men or women) in Latin America and in the Caribbean, especially those that are part of Mercosul (Salcedo *et al.*, 2014).

In 2004, the Mercosul Specialized Meeting for Family Farming (REAF)²⁵ was created to strengthen public policies and promote commerce from this segment. REAF currently includes representatives from the government and civil society of Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela and of associated countries (Bolivia, Chile, Peru and Ecuador).

After REAF was created, the Common Market Group (GMC), the Mercosul executive body, approved Resolution/GMC/number 25, dated 2007²⁶ that established directives for the recognition and identification of family farming in the Mercosul and establishes the implementation of voluntary national register systems for farming families based on common minimum criteria for the definition of these producers (men or women).

In 2012, the Common Market Council (CMC), the senior body of Mercosul, approved Decision/CMC/number 59,²⁷ by means of which it recognizes as family farmers all the persons registered in the voluntary national registers established by Resolution/GMG/number 25/07 and establishes mechanisms of assistance, monitoring, assessment, development and interchange of these registers, including for national census purposes.

This identification provides the minimum necessary conditions for the development of joint and effective regional actions for the implementation of the various public policies.

1.3 Development of the organizational environment

In the plan of the institutional organization, an important step was the creation of the Extraordinary State Council for Land Policy,²⁸ with the special mission of treating the conflicts originating from land disputes, and incorporating Incra (the body responsible for the actions of land reform of the Federal government).

The creation Incra tried to give an answer to the act which became known as the “Eldorado dos Carajás massacre”, when 19 landless workers were killed on one single day by the military police of the State of Pará, in the Amazonian region. The date (17 April, 1996)²⁹ became symbolic in the struggle of the landless workers internationally.

In 1999, this Council was transformed into the Ministry of Land Policies and Agrarian Development,³⁰ and in 2000, it became the Ministry for Agrarian Development (MDA),³¹ with the mission of dealing with land reform and promoting sustainable development for the

²⁵ The Brazilian government initiative to create REAF was part of the context of reorientation of the external policies, focusing on regional integration and further approximation to developed countries.

²⁶ Available at: http://www.mercosur.int/innovaportal/v/534/1/secretaria/resoluc%C3%B5es_2007.

²⁷ Available at: <http://www.mercosur.int/innovaportal/v/4393/1/secretaria/2012>.

²⁸ See Decree 1888, dated 29 April 1996. Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/1996/D1888.htm. Similar previous initiatives happened with the creation of the Minister’s Extraordinary State Council for Land Policy (Decree 87457, dated 1982, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/CCIVIL_03/decreto/1980-1989/1980-1984/D87457.htm) and of the Ministry of Reform and Agricultural Development (Decree 91214, dated 1985, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/CCIVIL_03/decreto/1980-1989/1985-1987/D91214.htm#art21).

²⁹ Concerning this see: http://www.dhnet.org.br/dados/relatorios/dh/br/jglobal/redesocial/redesocial_2001/cap3_massacre.htm.

³⁰ See MP 1999-13, dated 1999. Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/mpv/antigas/1999-13.htm.

³¹ See MP 1999-14, dated 2000, Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/mpv/antigas/1999-14.htm.

rural segment made up of family farmers, by means of the specific bodies (Land Reform and Family Farming Offices) and a linked entity (Incra).³²

The MDA viewed it as an effort to integrate the policy for strengthening family farming (Pronaf) with the policy of land reform, with a “coordination of the land obtaining and of the rural development policies, treating the settled families of the land reform as part of the universe of family farmers” (Guanziroli *et.al.*, 2001).

MDA caused the policies of family farming and land reform to reach a new level by linking the initiative with other ministries and internal departments of the Federal Government, as well as with state governments, as Santos points out:

The development of policies of support to family farming as from 1995, produced effects on the government actors and caused changes in the abilities of the State, with the creation of new political instruments (agencies and programs). The creation of the MDA, in 1999, was a fundamental change in the government structure, with various other effects in the policies of support to family farming (Santos, 2011, p. 160).

The institutional structure of MDA was reformulated with the creation of two specific bodies to meet the specific demands of territorial development and of agrarian redevelopment.³³ In the case of the territorial strategy, there was the development of the action line of the Pronaf for infrastructure and municipal services and other specific programs (Schneider *et al.*, 2004). The Agricultural Ombudsman was also created as a body specialized in human rights and in the mediation of agrarian conflicts.

Decree number 7255, dated 2010,³⁴ defines the current organizational structure of the MDA and its four areas of competence: land reform; promotion of sustainable development of the rural segment made up by the family farmers; and the identification, recognition, delimitation, demarcation and ownership of the occupied land by the remaining ‘quilombola’ rural communities. On an exceptional basis, the Ministry also took on the regularization of land involved in the land occupations situated in Union areas, in the region of Legal Amazon, in the terms of Law 11952 dated 2009.³⁵ These actions focus on issues of gender and race, youth and territorial development. Based on this institutional environment, great innovations have occurred in terms of public policies for family farming in the country.

MAPA has the responsibility of conducting agricultural policies, especially concerning minimum prices, supplies and regulating stocks, animal and plant health protection, weather prediction services, cooperatives and agricultural and livestock research.³⁶

The National Policy for Social Participation, instituted by Decree 8243 dated 2014,³⁷ seeks to strengthen and articulate the democratic mechanisms and instances of dialogue and the joint action between federal public administration and civil society. Among these instances there are the councils and the national conferences.

Decree 3200, dated 1999,³⁸ created the National Council for Rural Development (CNDR) in order to “consider the National Plan for Rural Development, which shall be constituted by the

³² See Decree 3338, dated 2000. Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/D3338.htm.

³³ See decree 5033, dated 2004. Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2004-2006/2004/Decreto/D5033.htm.

³⁴ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2007-2010/2010/Decreto/D7255.htm.

³⁵ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2007-2010/2009/Lei/L11952.htm.

³⁶ See Decree 7127, dated 2010. Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2007-2010/2010/Decreto/D7127.htm.

³⁷ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2011-2014/2014/Decreto/D8243.htm.

³⁸ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/D3200.htm.

Pronaf directives, purposes and aims, being responsible for, among other activities, coordinating, articulating and proposing the adjustment of public federal policies to the needs of the land reform and family farming” (article 1 of Decree 3200/1999).

Following this, Decrees 3580, dated 2000 and 3992 dated 2001,³⁹ transformed this body into the National Council for Sustainable Rural Development (CNDRS), with the purpose of developing and proposing the National Plan for Rural Sustainable Development (CNDRS), based on the purposes and aims of the programs that promote access to land, the strengthening of family farming and diversification of rural economies (article 1 of Decree 3992/2001). The composition of the new council expanded the representation of government bodies and non-government organizations.

Associated to Pronaf, the national and state councils of the Program were created, as well as the municipal councils for rural development. These bodies were transformed into the State Councils for Rural Sustainable Development (CEDRS) and into the Municipal Councils for Rural Sustainable Development (CMDRS), in accordance with the directives of the so called at that time CNDRS.

By means of Decree 4854 dated 2003,⁴⁰ CNDRS became Condraf, with the purpose of proposing directives for the formulation and implementation of active public policies, being constituted into a space for consultation and articulation between the different levels of the government and the civil society organization, for rural sustainable development, land reform and family farming. It is Condraf’s responsibility, among other attributions:

I – to support the formulation of structural public policies, that fall within the purview of the Ministry for Agrarian Development, based on the purposes and aims related to land reform, to the reorganization of the agrarian development and to family farming, as well as other policies related to rural sustainable development;

II – to consider the rural territory as the focus of planning and management of programs for rural sustainable development, starting from the inter-relations, articulations and complementarities between the rural and urban spaces;

III – to propose strategies for accompaniment, monitoring and assessment, as well as participation in the decision-making process of the directives and procedures of the policies related to rural sustainable development.

IV – to propose the adaptation of federal public policies to the demands of society and the needs of sustainable development of the rural territories, incorporating experiences, considering the need for articulation of a territorial economy and the importance of its cost charge, harmonizing efforts and encouraging actions which point to:

- a) overcoming poverty by means of generation of work and income;
- b) reducing inequalities of income, gender, generation and ethnicity, including regional inequalities;
- c) diversifying the economic activities and their articulation inside and outside the rural territories;
- d) adopting instruments of participation and social control in the strategic phases of planning and execution of the public policies for rural sustainable development;

[...]

V – to encourage expansion and improvement of the mechanisms of participation and social control, by means of a national network of bodies, state, regional, territorial and municipal

³⁹ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/2001/D3992.htm.

⁴⁰ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/2003/D4854.htm.

collegiate, aiming at strengthening rural sustainable development, land reform and family farming;

VI – to propose the updating of legislation related to the activities of rural sustainable development, land reform and family farming;

[...] (article 2 of Decree 4854/2003).

Currently, Condráf is made up of 18 representatives from various spheres of the Federal Government and 19 representatives from national entities of family farmers or linked to rural development.⁴¹

The National Council for Food and Nutrition Security (Consea) was created by Decree 4582, dated 2003,⁴² as a body for immediate consultancy to the President of the Republic, and aims at proposing the general directives of the National Policy for Food and Nutrition Security of the Executive Power.

Similar to the national council, provisions were made for the creation of state and municipal councils for food and nutrition security, with the purpose of establishing cooperation among themselves.

Due to the majority composition of civil society, Consea sought to consolidate itself as an instrument of communication between the government and civil society in the proposition of directives for policies focused on guaranteeing the right to food.

Currently, Consea is made up of 60 members, two thirds of which are representatives of the civil society and one third are government representatives.

The creation of collegiate bodies at different levels strengthened participation and the roles of various entities of national representation of family farmers and other populations in rural areas, in the construction of a democratic agenda for rural development and its incidence on public policies.

Among these entities of national coverage, some stand out from the others such as the National Confederation of the Agricultural Workers (Contag) (created in 1964), the Movement of the Rural Landless Workers (MST), the Movement of Small Farmers (MPA) (1988) and the National Federation of Workers and Family Farming Workers (Fetraf Brazil) (2004).

These entities have different forms of organization and many times they are not attached to the official union structure. On the whole, they present demands which are quite wide-ranging, such as land reform and access to land; income generation; technical assistance; credit; rights of the rural employed persons; social policies such as education, health and social security; new relations of gender and generation with the socio-productive inclusion of women and young people; environment and agro-ecology; productive and social infrastructure such as rural housing, access to water and energy; agro-industries; and improvement in the life quality (culture, sport, leisure) and in community living, among various other themes.

These demands may be organized in the form of plans, such as the Alternative Project for Sustainable and Solidary Rural Development (PADRSS) in Contag, the Popular Land Reform Project (MST) and the Peasant Plan (MPA).

In order to mobilize and take their demands to the Federal Government, the entities organize yearly events to present their agendas. When receiving the national agenda, the government

⁴¹ The whole list of the current members of Condráf is available at: <http://www.mda.gov.br/sitemda/composi%C3%A7%C3%A3o>.

⁴² Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/2003/D4582.htm.

agency that is responsible, distributes the requests to the respective ministries and offices responsible for these actions, and at the end, presents answers from the Federal Government concerning the workers' requests.

Other organizations of traditional peoples and communities also act and participate in the government councils such as, the National Council for the Extractivist⁴³ Populations (CNS), the National Coordination of Articulation for the Black Rural “Quilombola” Communities (Conaq), the National Movement of Fishermen (Monape), the Coordination of Indigenous Organizations in Brazilian Amazonia (Coiab), the Interstate Movement of Women Working as “Babaçu” Coconut Breakers (MIQCB), among others.

Apart from the entities mentioned above, tens of other movements are present carrying demands in aid of family farming and land reform, sometimes simply in a local or state form, or other times in a joint action about a current temporary problem, or with wide-ranging demands for structural changes. The whole set of movements has a strong presence in the Federal, state and municipal Governments, especially in the councils, defending their proposals for rural development.

On the whole, the agendas of these entities are wide-ranging and not restricted to economic aspects or circumstantial problems derived from weather conditions. The agendas focus mainly on giving citizenship and decent living conditions to rural populations.

The conferences are a special moment for wide-ranging social participation where advances and limitations are assessed and public policy plans are approved for the next year. Among the national conferences carried out up to 2014, we can highlight those related to rural development and food and nutritional security.

The 1st National Conference for Sustainable and Solidary Rural Development (CNDRSS) took place in 2008 and involved over 30 000 participants in all of the stages (from municipal to national), with women accounted for 40% of the participants.⁴⁴

In 2013, the 2nd CNDRSS with gender parity, involved approximately 40 000 participants during the whole process, and considered the construction of a National Plan for Sustainable and Solidary Rural Development (PNDRSS), indicating short, medium and long term targets.

The 1st National Conference for Food and Nutrition Security (CNSAN) was carried out in 1994, with the following editions in 2004, 2007 and 2011.

2. Development under the standpoint of food security: The Zero Hunger Program

The idea of integrating public policies to use their synergies, was put into practice in 2003 with the implementation of the Zero Hunger Program, under the leadership of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

The significant expansion of the retirement benefit for rural populations, as from the FC and its regulation in 1991, caused an unexpected effect to the agricultural economy of families receiving retirement benefits and was detected by the research carried out by Delgado and Cardoso:

⁴³ Extractivist refers to individuals who live off the use of agriculture, fisheries and/or forestry.

⁴⁴ Concerning the decisions of the 1st CNDRSS, see: http://www.ipea.gov.br/participacao/images/pdfs/conferencias/Desenvolvimento_Rural_Sustentavel/relatorio_1_conferencia_desenvolvimento_rural_sustentavel.pdf.

There happened a conversion of the social security into agricultural security [...] it is, effectively, an unexpected result, because it introduces a new element into the social security policies, which is, its impact on agricultural production of the family farming sector in the whole country. This information is very important, because it means a conversion of social security into the main instrument of support for the agricultural policy to backup family farming, and even the vast segment of survival agriculture, strongly, but not exclusively present in the Brazilian Semiarid regions. This protection mechanism offers the development of a small surplus in the income of households that make up the S1 (sector related to retired persons and rural pensioners), which is practically reinvested in the family's own productive activity, creating conditions for an "increase in reproduction" of this family economy (Delgado and Cardoso, 2004, p. 203).

The indirect impact of the social security benefit on the revitalization of family farming, due to investment of the retirement resources for the increase of farming production, was seen at the end of the nineties,⁴⁵ and attracted the attention of the team which at that time was starting the development of the "project" Zero Hunger, of the Citizenship Institute, launched in 2001, and which subsidized the Zero Hunger Project. This project was created to guarantee food security to all Brazilians and make proposals to fight the immediate causes of hunger and its structural causes, which generate social exclusion, such as income distribution and access to land.

When the Zero Hunger Program started, its priorities were: land reform, strengthening of family farming, emergency project for conviviality with the North-eastern Semiarid, overcoming illiteracy and creation of jobs (Takagi, 2010).

The Zero Hunger Project involved tens of actions that may be organized around three groups:

- a) Income transfer: it started with the Food Card Program (PCA),⁴⁶ for the purchase of food, and in 2004 it was unified with other income programs, forming the current Family Allowance Program (PBF), which shall be described further on.
- b) Government purchases: with the implementation of the Program for the Purchase of Food (PAA), and later on with the rerouting of resources from the National Program for School Meals (PNAE) for family farming purchases.
- c) Support given to family farming, aimed at boosting staple food supply, such as the expansion of Pronaf and of land reform.

Initially the Program was coordinated by the Extraordinary Ministry for Food Security and Hunger Combat (MESA),⁴⁷ and later, by the Ministry for Social Development and Hunger Combat (MDS), created in 2004 with the responsibility to promote national policies for food and nutritional security, social assistance, and citizenship income, among others.⁴⁸

The reimplementation of Consea in 2003 was accompanied by the creation of various similar councils at state and municipal levels (Comsea).⁴⁹ As of the issuance of Law 11346, dated 2006,⁵⁰ Consea became part of the National System for Food and Nutrition Security (Sisan)

⁴⁵ Concerning this see: Delgado, 1997.

⁴⁶ Created by Law 10689, dated 2003, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Leis/2003/L10.689.htm.

⁴⁷ See Law 10683, dated 2003, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/2003/L10.683compilado.htm.

⁴⁸ See Law number 10689, dated 2004, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Ato2004-2006/2004/Lei/L10.869.htm.

⁴⁹ Concerning Consea, see: <http://www3.planalto.gov.br/consea>.

⁵⁰ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ato2004-2006/2006/lei/11346.htm.

instituted to assure the human right to adequate meals. This system ensured that public authorities, with the participation of an organized civil society, designs and implements policies, plans, programs and actions aimed at assuring the human right to adequate meals.

CNSAN became part of Sisan as the body responsible for indicating to Consea the directives and priorities of the Policies and National Plan for Food Security (Plansan), as well as for the assessment of Sisan. The IV CNSAN debated the issue of Plansan 2012/2015.⁵¹

Apart from Condraf and Consea, other instances of participation were instituted in which the themes related to family farming and sustainable development are present permanently. Among them we have the National Council for Women's Rights (CNDM), created in 1995, and reorganized in 2003;⁵² the National Council for Promoting Racial Equality (CNPIR), created in 2003;⁵³ the National Council for Aquaculture and Fishing (Conape), created in 2003;⁵⁴ the National Committee for Sustainable Development of Peoples from Traditional Communities (CNPCT), created in 2004;⁵⁵ and the National Commission for Agro-ecology and Organic Production (CNAPO), created in 2012;⁵⁶ and others⁵⁷.

Apart from CNDRSS and CNSAN, other thematic forums were instituted, such as the National Conference of Policies for Women (CNPM), carried out in 2004, 2007, 2011; and the National Conference for Promoting Racial Equality (Conapir), 2005, 2009, 2013.

The following Plans were developed and approved: National Plan for Promotion of Racial Equality (Planapir) (2009),⁵⁸ the National Plan for Policies for Women 2013/2015 (2013),⁵⁹ the National Plan for Sustainable Development of Peoples and Traditional Communities of African Descent (2013), The National Plan for Sustainable and Solidary Rural Development (PNDRSS) (2014), among others.

⁵¹ For details concerning Plansan see: <http://www.mds.gov.br/segurancaalimentar/publicacoes%20sisan/livros/plano-nacional-de-seguranca-alimentar-e-nutricional-2012-2015/>.

⁵² CNDM was created by Law 7353/1985 and reorganized as from Decree 4773, dated 2003, and Decree 6412, dated 2008, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2007-2010/2008/Decreto/D6412.htm.

⁵³ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/2003/D4885a.htm.

⁵⁴ Conape was created by Law 10683/2003 and regulated by Decree 5069 dated 2004, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2004/decreto/d5069.htm.

⁵⁵ See Decree dated 27 December 2004 (available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2004-2006/2004/Dnn/Dnn10408.htm) and Decree dated 13 July 2006 (available at http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2004-2006/2006/Dnn/Dnn10884.htm). CNPCT seeks to represent a socio-diversity existent among the peoples and traditional communities in Brazil, that include Indigenous Peoples, "Quilombolas", Rubber Tappers, Brazil Nut Pickers, "Babaçu" Coconut Breakers, Communities who possess and use the land and its resources, with animals raised freely, Wood Gatherers, Traditional Fishermen, Women Shellfish Collectors, Riverside Dwellers (Amazon), Riverside Dwellers (Non-Amazon), "Caiçaras" (Ethnic mixture among Brazilian Indians, Portuguese colonizers and African slaves), Beach Combers, Back-Land Livers, "Jangadeiros" (traditional fishermen living along the coast between Bahia and Ceará and who use "jangada" type boats), Gypsies, Azoreans (Descendants from immigrants from the Azores), Residents of the Pampas, Riverside Dwellers (specially along the rivers when the waters are low), "Pantanal" Peasants, Residents of the Savannahs, Residents of the "Veredas" (North-eastern fields), Residents of the "Caatingas" (North-eastern semi-arid land), Field Workers along the Araguaia River, among others.

⁵⁶ See Decree 7794, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2011-2014/2012/decreto/d7794.htm.

⁵⁷ Concerning councils and national conferences, see: <http://www.secretariageral.gov.br/participacao-social/>.

⁵⁸ See Decree number 6872/2009, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2007-2010/2009/Decreto/D6872.htm.

⁵⁹ Available at: <http://spm.gov.br/pnpm/publicacoes/pnpm-2013-2015-em-22ago13.pdf>.

2.1 The link between family farming and the institutional market: the Program for Purchase of Food (PAA)

Studies about effects of a program for institutional purchase were started with the development of the Zero Hunger project, already mentioned. The thesis already proven at that time was that the hunger that existed in Brazil was not a problem of food availability, but rather due to the low purchasing power of some parts of the Brazilian population. We had insufficient demand which caused reduced food prices leading to less food production by agriculture and agro-industries. This was a vicious cycle in which poverty generated low production and income, which in turn generated more poverty.

It was necessary thus, to break this cycle with consumption by the poor increasing the demand for food. However, in order to break the vicious cycle of hunger, it would not be sufficient to increase food production in the regions with surplus production, and then reallocate the food to populations in poorer regions. In this manner, we would be maintaining the perverse vicious cycle, generating wealth in one region and maintaining poverty in another. It would be necessary to encourage local food producers to increase their production to satisfy increasing demand for local food, thus creating a virtuous circle of income and work at a local level.

PAA was discussed at Consea and launched as a measure of the first Seasonal Family Farming Plan 2003/2004.⁶⁰ Law 10696, dated 2003,⁶¹ with wording taken from Law 11512, dated 2011, instituted the program in the following terms:

Article 19. The Program for Purchase of Food is hereby instituted, comprising the following purposes:

I – to encourage family farming, promoting its economic and social inclusion, boosting production with sustainability, food processing and industrialization and generation of income;

II – to encourage the consumption and appreciation of food produced by family farming;

III – to promote access to food, in the necessary quantity, quality and regularity for the persons in situations of food and nutritional insecurity, under the perspective of the human rights to adequate and healthy food;

IV – to promote food supply, that involves government purchases of food included to the school meals;

V – to constitute public stocks of food produced by family farmers;

VI – to support the building up of stocks by the cooperatives and other formal organizations for family farming; and

VII – to strengthen local and regional markets and commercialization networks.

§ 1 The funds raised with the sale of strategic stocks developed in the terms of this article shall be entirely destined to actions for hunger combat and promotion of food and nutritional security (Law 10696, dated 2003, with wording taken from Law 11512, dated 2011).

The Law consolidated the PAA directives, drawn up since its inception with a double purpose: strengthen family farming and promote food security, with an emphasis on local markets.

⁶⁰ The Seasonal Family Farming Plan is an institutional space for consultation between the government and civil society that promotes organization, negotiation, and updating of differentiated policies and which results in a set of measures focusing on encouragement to family farming, announced yearly for the next agricultural cycle. Up to 2003/2004, there was only one Seasonal Family Farming and Livestock Plan, instituted by Law 8171 dated 1992, that is concerned about the Agricultural policies.

⁶¹ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Leis/2003/L10.696.htm.

In order to promote food and nutritional security, PAA purchases products from family farms to be donated gratuitously to families in situations of food insecurity, to the social-assistance network (government and philanthropic) and to public facilities of food security.⁶² One of the important effects of buying locally is that the program emphasizes regional culture and eating habits.

On the other hand, in order to promote family farming, the government purchases directly from family farmers, supporting commercialization of their products at a fair price. To take part in PAA, it is necessary that the farmer present his valid DAP, assuring exclusive participation of family farming.

The first debate tackled was the idea that family farming would not be able to respond productively to the government stimulus. The answer was simple: it's not the case of "substituting" the farmers, but giving opportunity to the poorer ones to commercialize. In some very poor regions this means creating and organizing a local market for family farmers.

The second great initial challenge was the system for obligatory bidding for public purchases, a common feature among various countries with a similar reality⁶³ (Takagi *et al.*, 2014, p. 32). The solution was to alter Law 8666 dated 1993,⁶⁴ that institutes norms for biddings and contracts for Public Administration, in order to create an exception in this bidding system, with purchases carried out by means of exemption of public bidding, provided that: the prices be compatible with the current prices in the market (local or regional), in limited quantities, and that the products have proven origin as having come from family farmers or their organizations.

In order to itemize the legal principles, assuring implementation of the program, the Law instituted a Management Group for the PAA,⁶⁵ currently made up of ministries, among them MDS and the MDA.⁶⁶

One of the innovative aspects of the PAA is that it included different operators, right from the beginning stages of the program. Law 12512/2011 altered an important aspect in the implementation of the program: the signing of "Membership Terms" with the program operators, instead of the execution of agreements, which simplifies the procedures and provides more agility to the program. Another innovation was the direct payment of family farmers by the Federal Government, with no intermediary operating agent. This alteration made it possible for the Federal Government to develop a data base with all of the PAA supplying producers, to ensure greater integration among the public policies, as well as controlling the limits of purchases per family farmer by different operators in the program.

Currently, PAA uses the following modalities.⁶⁷

⁶² The purchases of the public education network are carried out in a similar manner, by means of the National program for School Meals (PNAE), which shall be discussed later.

⁶³ Item XI of article 37 of the FC establishes that, "excepting the cases specified in the legislation, the [...] purchases and divestments shall be contracted by way of a public bidding process which shall assure equality of conditions for all the competitors [...]".

⁶⁴ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/L8666compilado.htm.

⁶⁵ It is the Resolutions of the Management Group that define the implementation details of the program, currently available at: <http://www.mds.gov.br/segurancaalimentar/aquisicao-e-comercializacao-da-agricultura-familiar/entenda-o-paa/resolucoes-do-grupo-gestor/informes-gestores>.

⁶⁶ See Decree 7775, dated 2012, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/CCIVIL_03/Ato2011-2014/2012/Decreto/D7775.htm.

⁶⁷ See Decree 8293, dated 2012 (available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/CCIVIL_03/Ato2011-2014/2014/Decreto/D8293.htm) and MDS Portal (<http://www.mds.gov.br/segurancaalimentar/aquisicao-e-comercializacao-da-agricultura-familiar/entenda-o-paa/modalidades-1>).

- 1) Purchase with Simultaneous Donation: the products purchased from the family farmers are donated to entities within the social-assistance network, to establishments connected to food and nutritional security (subsidized restaurants, community kitchens and Food Banks), and, under special conditions, to the public and philanthropic education network. The current limit of purchase per family farmer under this modality is US\$2 900/year⁶⁸ (BR\$6 500/year) when it is an individual purchase, and US\$3 500/year (BR\$8 000/year) per family farmer when it is a collective purchase. Collective organizations may purchase a total of up to US\$882 000 (BR\$2 million) per year from family farmers. The operators using this modality are most commonly municipal town halls and state governments.
- 2) Direct Purchase: the products purchased are meant to increase the public inventory, to be allocated for free distribution to vulnerable populations or sale, serving thus as a market price regulator and promoter of food security. On the whole, the products purchased are to provide food packets to be donated to populations in emergency situation. Implementation is carried out exclusively by the National Supply Company (Conab), a public company linked to MAPA.⁶⁹ The current limit of purchase per family farmer in this modality is US\$3 500/year (BR\$8 000/year). Agricultural organizations which take part in this activity have a limit of up to US\$221 000/year (BR\$500 000/year), taking into consideration the contract limit per family farmer.
- 3) Support to Form Inventories: these are financial resources allocated for family farmer organizations in order to set up a stock of food.⁷⁰ The food may be meant for public stocks or sold and the resources returned to the government. The operation is also carried out by Conab with the collective family farming organizations. The current limit for purchases per family farmer in this modality is US\$3 500/year (BR\$8 000/year). The limit of purchase of the family farming organizations, taking into consideration the individual purchase limit is US\$661 000/year (BR\$1.5 million/year).
- 4) Incentive to the Production and Consumption of Milk (PAA Milk): focused exclusively on the North-eastern Region and the North of the State of Minas Gerais (“mineiro” semi-arid), this modality aims at encouraging local production of milk (cow and goat) while it attends to families in situations of food and nutritional insecurity. The program is carried out by the state governments that contract the dairies to receive, collect, pasteurize, pack and transport the milk to the pre-determined local distribution points. The dairy receives approximately 40% and the farmer receives approximately 60% of the value paid by the government. The farmer must have a valid DAP and produce at the most 150 litres of milk/day. The current limit for purchase per family farmer in this modality is US\$1 800/semester, (BR\$4 000/semester).
- 5) Institutional Purchase: this is the modality that allows the participation of all federal bodies (for example: hospitals, barracks, penitentiaries, university restaurants) in the program, with their own resources, benefiting from the special bidding rules. The current limit for purchase per family farmer in this modality is US\$8 800/year, (BR\$20 000/year). When the operation is intermediated by family farming organizations, the limit of the entity is US\$2.6 million/year (BR\$6 million/year).

⁶⁸ PAA exchange used 1US\$ = BR\$2.2674, on July, 2014. Unfortunately, while writing this text, it was not available the conversion factor for 2014 US\$ PPP.

⁶⁹ Concerning CONAB, see: <http://www.conab.gov.br>.

⁷⁰ This modality does not support the construction of warehouse (physical space), but only the formation of stocks by family farmers for food security. Support to build warehouses, if necessary, comes from Pronaf rural credit.

- 6) Purchase of Seeds and Seedlings: this allows for the purchase of seeds, seedlings and supplies for food crops or to animal feed. The seeds are donated to the family farmers in order to allow the productive recuperation of pasture and the maintenance of animal feed, especially in the regions that have suffered from adverse climatic conditions. The current limit for purchase per family farmer in this modality is US\$7 000/year (BR\$16 000/year). When the operation is intermediated by organizations of family farmers, the limit of the entity is US\$220 000/year (BR\$500 000/year), always taking into consideration the individual purchase limit per family farmer.

It is important to note that the annual limits of purchase per family farmer are relatively low because the program was developed especially to purchase surplus production from poor farmers in order to encourage production and facilitate greater commercialization with the government at a fair price. Producers currently integrated into the market may also take part by selling part of their output into the program while taking into consideration the limits of each modality, becoming thus another channel for commercializing family farmers.

Currently, the program has a special focus⁷¹ on purchases from groups of women, and a minimum fraction for purchases from women, according to the modalities of the Program. In 2012, 43% of Conab's purchases, the biggest operator in the Program, had active female participation (Porto *et al.*, 2014).

Table 2 shows the development of the PAA since its beginning, without taking into consideration the Milk PAA. As can be observed, in 2003 during its creation it had relatively low participation which could be due to limited local capacity. The initial implementation typically is slower until information disseminates and mobilizes other actors: from the federal manager's advocacy, to the public local manager that receives the information and then mobilizes farmers individually and/or their organizations, and finally to the family farmers that try to organize their activity to gain access to a new opportunity for commercialization.

Table 2: Implementation of PAA by the MDS and MDA

Year	Resources <i>(millions constant 2011 PPP)</i>	Family farms participants <i>(thousands)</i>	Amount of food <i>(Kg, millions)</i>
2003	172.5	41.5	7.8
2004	199.4	68.7	248.8
2005	303.5	69.7	277.0
2006	481.6	150.9	462.6
2007	425.0	134.6	418.7
2008	431.9	138.3	396.4
2009	465.3	142.4	500.5
2010	490.9	157.0	462.4
2011	453.6	160.1	517.3
2012	543.2	185.5	528.7
2013	263.5	95.0	277.2

Source: MDS, PAA-DATA, Sept.2014. Values in constant 2011 PPP international \$.

⁷¹ Resolution number 44, dated 2011, of the PAA Management Group, that encourages access of women to the Program. Source: <http://www.mds.gov.br/segurancaalimentar/aquisicao-e-comercializacao-da-agricultura-familiar/resolucoes-do-grupo-gestor>.

Important resources in the Program are implemented in the North-eastern Region that includes many of the poor family farmers in the country, followed by the Southern Region (second) and Southeast (third) (Campos and Bianchini, 2014).⁷²

Since the advent of the PAA, a lot of research has pointed to important transformations in the local market where the family farmers were located:

Structuring effects were observed in the local reality due to the implantation of the program. The purchases made by PAA created markets which until then did not exist, and altered the relationship between the farmers and the intermediaries in the regions in which the markets were already established. The study verified the adoption of fairer practices and greater solidarity in the relations between the dealers and the beneficiary and non-beneficiary farmers, as well as the adaptation of the farmers to more complex commercial systems as well as the mobilization of local agents, government institutions and social movements in the routing of the local actions to reach the public target of the program (Sparovek, 2007, p. 63).

The PAA altered the relationship between family farmers and local oligopsonies or monopsonies, leading to a rise in the price paid to the farmers, such as, for example, in the commercialization of the Brazil nut and the cashew nut (Campos and Bianchini, 2014). Delgado described the indirect benefits of the program in the local market:

An aspect that many times is not taken into consideration [...] are the indirect benefits arising from the recuperation of the prices received by the farmers. In some cases, the simple announcement of the public purchase of a certain quantity of product is enough to create a rise in the agricultural and livestock prices. For example, in the purchase of “rapadura”(candy made from the juice of the sugar cane) carried out by the government of the state of Piauí. In other situations, the local market absorbs the production, and the announced government purchases do not even need to be carried out, mainly when the intervention aims exclusively at the recuperation of prices... In this case, the federal government avoids spending resources and takes on the cost of maintaining the stocks (Delgado *et al.*, 2005, p. 18-19).

The PAA still collaborates indirectly with the organization and farmers’ planning, as they incorporate in their productive procedures, the classification, health and packing required by the program, abilities which are very useful when participating in local markets (Delgado *et al.*, 2005). The possibility of sales at a price considered adequate, encouraged farmers to invest in order to expand their productive capacity (Chielewska *et al.*, 2010).

The Program encouraged food diversity and the quality of food, as it focuses on local production, offering conditions for healthy eating habits. As the program also purchases processed products, such as sweets, preserves, bread, among others, there has been a movement among the producers or their associations to organize processing units (Mielitz, 2014) which are adjusted to sanitary norm, thereby expanding the capacity market access by the farmers.

It is important to highlight the modality PAA Milk, exclusive to the North-eastern region and the Semi-arid of Minas Gerais state. Between 2011 and 2013, 485 million litres of milk have been purchased, involving resources of US\$261 million (in constant 2011 PPP). Approximately 20 000 to 30 000 North-eastern family farmers took part, handing over their production of milk to PAA (Table 3).

⁷² For detailed information, such as entities, producers and food purchased, consult: http://aplicacoes.mds.gov.br/sagi/paa/visi_paa_geral.

Table 3: Execution of PAA Milk by MDS

Year	Value <i>(million constant 2011 PPP)</i>	Family Farms <i>(thousand)</i>	Amount of milk <i>(millions of liters)</i>
2004 to 2010	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2011	107	29	208
2012	89	28	173
2013	64	20	112
Total	261	n.a.	496

Source: MDA, 2014 and PAA-Data. Values in constant 2011 PPP international \$.

Note: n.a.: information not available.

The implementation of PAA Milk is carried out in partnership with the state and municipal governments that select the processing industries (dairies) and the beneficiary population. On the whole, the dairies enrol local family farmers to deliver their production of milk under the supervision of the state and national governments. This apparently simple system has a learning curve for all the participants. In 2012 there were 172 dairies involved in the program that received BR\$0.52 per litre (approximately US\$0.34 in constant 2011 PPP) to collect, pasteurize, pack and distribute in 1 277 municipalities (Martins, 2014).

A study carried out by the Federal University of Pernambuco [...] pointed to one of the main results of the Program: the improvement in dairy products and hygiene, animal management and health... at least 20% of the participant farmers adopted new milking techniques, in response to the demands of the Program, and there was a universalization in vaccine programs against foot and mouth disease, a relevant fact for a small family production. The number of milk coolers installed in the region expanded by 40% while the use of tractors, forage areas, trucks and computers increased 15%, 17%, 27% and 35%, respectively. Relating to the genetic improvement of the herd, 26% of the farmers declared that they had bought more animals, genetically superior to the ones they had before. The authors conclude that the PAA Milk affected the price and production in most states benefited. (Martins, 2014).

Until 2009 the responsibility for the distribution point of the milk, belonged to the community or local association. Since then, the Municipal Town Halls have taken on the responsibility for the maintenance and management of the distribution points, as well as for assisting in the registration of the beneficiary families.⁷³

The program also has an effect on preservation of the agro-biodiversity, encouraging the organizations that bring together the family farmers who deal in organic, agro-ecologic or social-bio-diversity production. The price paid to the family farmer for these products may be up to 30% higher than the market price of conventional products,⁷⁴ aiming at encouraging the transition to agricultural practices that are more sustainable. According to the 2006 Agriculture and Livestock Census, only 1.7% of the establishments make use of organic agriculture which was reflected in the execution of the program: in 2012, only 1.6% of the PAA products received the additional on the price for organic, agro-ecological products or from social-diversity (Galindo *et al.*, 2014).

⁷³ Resolution number 37, dated 2009, of the PAA Management Group that establishes the norms that rule the PAA Milk. Source: <http://www.mds.gov.br/segurancaalimentar/aquisicao-e-comercializacao-da-agricultura-familiar/resolucoes-do-grupo-gestor>.

⁷⁴ See article 7 § 2 of the CONAB/MOC Communication 018, dated 2014. Available at: <http://www.conab.gov.br/conabweb/download/moc/titulos/T31.pdf>.

PAA Social Control – There is a wide network of monitoring and control of the Program, carried out as from the collegiate bodies in different spheres. In the federal sphere, there is the strong presence of Consea and Condraf. In the state sphere there are the CEDRS and the state Conseas. In the municipal sphere there are the Comseas, the CMDRS and other specific councils.

2.2 Connection between family farming and the institutional market: the National Program for School Meals (PNAE)

School meals were officially implemented in Brazil in 1955, in the form of “School Snack Campaign” (then called “National School Snack Campaign”), with its implementation made easy due to technical and financial support.⁷⁵ Until 1974, government actions corresponded to foodstuffs distribution to the schools in municipalities with needy communities, counting on the financial support of international organizations, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the United Nations Children’s Fund (Unicef).⁷⁶

In 1965 the term school “snack” changed to school “meals”, making clear the intention to improve the food offered in schools.⁷⁷ The program name changed to National Campaign for School Meals (CNAE), and also counted on strong international support from the World Food Program (PMA) of the United Nations and of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).⁷⁸ In 1968 the National Fund for Development in Education (FNDE)⁷⁹ was created, linked to the Ministry of Education, with the purpose of granting more agility to the program. With the international oil crisis, gradually Brazilian government resources replaced international ones.

The alteration of the old name to the current one – National Program for School Meals – happened in 1979, in response to strikes throughout the country.⁸⁰ During this period there was a strong effort to align the food to local eating habits, for better acceptance by the students, as the distribution of food was carried out in a centralized manner. In other words, the beginning of the movement to decentralize to the local governments (“Município”) of the school meals is prior to the FC (1988).

The FC began to consider the fact that school meals, in a supplementary character, are an obligation of the State in the following terms:

Article 208. The obligation of the State concerning education shall be effective by means of an assurance that:

[...]

VII – service offered to the student, in all the stages of basic education, by means of supplementary programs for school materials, transport, meals, and health assistance.

[...]

⁷⁵ See Decree 37106 dated 1955, and Decree 39007 dated 1956, available at: <http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1950-1959/decreto-37106-31-marco-1955-332702-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html> and <http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1950-1959/decreto-39007-11-abril-1956-329784-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>, respectively.

⁷⁶ Concerning this see: Pinho and Martinez, 2013.

⁷⁷ See Decree 56886 dated 1965, available at: <http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1960-1969/decreto-56886-20-setembro-1965-397151-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>.

⁷⁸ Concerning this see: <http://www.wfp.org> e <http://www.usaid.gov>.

⁷⁹ See Law 5537, dated 1968. Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Leis/L5537.htm.

⁸⁰ Concerning this see: Pinho and Martinez, 2013, p. 9.

Article 212. The Union shall apply, yearly, never less than eighteen, and the States and Federal District and the Municipalities, twenty-five per cent, at least, of the tax revenues, understood as originating from transfers, in the maintenance and development of teaching.

[...]

§ 4 –The supplementary programs for meals and health assistance provided for in article 208, VII, shall be financed with resources originating from social contributions and other budget resources.

[...] (articles 208 and 212 of the FC).

This wording of the FC sustained Law 8913 dated 1994,⁸¹ decided to decentralize to the local governments (“Município”) of the “school snack” until the issuance of the MP 445 in 2008, which was converted into Law 11947 dated 2009⁸² and decided on the service of school meals.

From Law 8913/1994, the Federal Government stopped buying and distributing foodstuffs in a centralized manner, and started transferring financial resources so that the States and Municipalities could provide the meals directly to the students. School meal products thus, began to be purchased locally, with a menu developed by a nutritionist, taking into consideration eating habits and the regional farming potential, and giving preference to *in natura* products. In order to supervise and accompany the use of the resources, School Meal Councils (CAE) were constituted in every Municipality that participates in the program.

The preference for local purchases was strengthened in 2001,⁸³ with the obligation that 70% of the resources of the Federal Government should be earmarked for the purchase of basic products (not industrialized), taking into consideration the local eating habits and the regional farming potential. This orientation was important and was reaffirmed by the II CNSAN in 2004: “To improve the nutritional quality, making school meals healthier, taking into consideration the regional eating habits, assuring the purchase of fruit, vegetables and greens from local production” (Brasil, 2004, p. 31).

Currently PNAE aims to “contributing to growth and bio-psycho-social development, to learning, to school performance, and the development of healthy eating habits in the students, by means of feeding and nutritional education actions and the offer of meals that should cover their nutritional needs during the school period” (article 4 of Law 11947/2009).

The Program covers students from all basic education (preschool education, elementary school, high school and education for youth and adults) enrolled in public and philanthropic schools, community entities, by means of transfer of financial resources.

Considering the importance of the program, in 2003, under guidance of Zero Hunger, the Government increased the amount of the transfer value (more resources) to the state and municipal governments, aiming at improving school meals. Meanwhile, the legal framework for the local manager to purchase basic foodstuffs continued that which had been provided for in Law 8666/1993 of public bids. At the time, Consea believed that the need to apply this law constituted an obstacle to the purchase of family farming products.

In 2007, the III CNSAN approved a resolution in the following terms:

Guarantee adequate and healthy meals to the whole school population, providing legal and necessary conditions for the purchase and sale of products originating from local family

⁸¹ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Leis/L8913.htm.

⁸² Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2007-2010/2009/Lei/L11947.htm.

⁸³ See MP 2178-36 dated 2011. Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/MPV/2178-36.htm#art32.

farming, preferably from the productive systems of agro-ecologic basis, agro-extractive and small urban suppliers, with social control (Brasil, 2007, p. 29).

The legal alteration that allowed for the direct, simplified purchase from family farmers, following the same example of the PAA in 2003, came with Law 11947/2009:

Article 2. The directives for school meals are:

[...]

V – support to sustainable development, with incentive schemes for the purchase of diversified foodstuffs produced in the local sphere, preferably by family farming and by rural family enterprises, prioritizing the traditional indigenous and remaining ‘quilombo’ communities;

[..]

Article 14. From the total resources transferred by the FNDE, in the PNAE sphere, **at least thirty per cent (30%)** should be used in the purchase of foodstuffs directly from family farming and from the rural family enterprises, or from his/her organizations, giving priority to the settled families of the land reform, the traditional indigenous and remaining ‘quilombola’ communities;

§ 1 The purchase provided for in this article, may be carried out **with no need for the bidding procedure**, provided the prices are compatible with the current market price, [...] and the products attend to the demand of quality control, established by the norms that regulate the subject [...] (Law 11947/2009, with no highlight in the original).

Law 11947/2009 also provides a specific safeguard to the local manager in the case of any difficulty in the purchase of the minimum amount of 30% from of family farmers:

Article 14 [...]

§ 2 Observance of the percentage provided for in the *caput* shall be regulated by FNDE and may be dispensed with when any of the following circumstances are present:

I – impossibility of issuance of the corresponding bill of sale;

II – impracticability of regular and constant supply of the foodstuffs;

III – inadequate hygiene-sanitary conditions.

This alteration came to ensure the States and Municipalities of the ability to purchase foodstuffs directly from family farmers, or their productive organizations, with no need for the traditional bidding procedures. With this alteration in the legal benchmark, all obstacles for the purchase from local family farmers were removed.

In 2013, PNAE dealt with 43.3 million students, involving resources of US\$2.1 billion (2011 PPP, or BR\$3.5 billion), constituting a potential market of US\$639 million (2011 PPP, or BR\$1 billion) for family farmers or their organizations. This potential market, year after year, has been occupied and used by family farmers.

As implementation is managed by the 5 560 municipalities that are participant in the program, FNDE has been slow in quantifying precisely the volume purchased from family farmers, because it is necessary to await the individual accounts reports from each municipality participating in the program.

In 2010, the PNAE budget was of approximately US\$1.8 billion (2011 PPP, or BR\$2.5 billion) and benefitted 45.6 million students from elementary schools, and education for youth and adults. For 2014, the PNAE budget was BR\$3.5 billion,⁸⁴ to benefit 43 million students

⁸⁴ Unfortunately, while writing this text, it was not available the conversion factor to 2014 US\$ PPP.

from elementary schools, and education for youth and adults. Of this amount, approximately BR\$1.05 billion are reserved for direct purchases of family farm products.

Apart from the direct effect on the market of family farming products, the program has an important indirect effect on other programs and actions, due to the inter-sectorial character. While developing actions that promote healthy and adequate feeding, PNAE integrates Plansan, the Strategic Actions Plan for Tackling Non-Transmissible Chronic Diseases in Brazil, the Inter-sectorial Strategy for Prevention and Control of Obesity and the National Plan for Agro-ecology and Organic Production (Planapo), which shall be described later (FNDE, 2014, p. 130).

In order to encourage local managers, the Zero Hunger Action⁸⁵ organizes every year in partnership with the FNDE, the Efficient Manager of School Meals Prize. The prize is a public recognition of Brazilian municipal managers that stand out by the efficient execution of PNAE. The prize has several categories: “Efficiency and Nutritional Food Education”, “Professional Appreciation of the Lunch Ladies”, “Local Development”, “Indigenous and/or ‘Quilombola’ Snacks”, “Social Participation” and “School Meals with Organic Products from Family Farming”.

3. Family farming support policies

3.1 Pronaf - rural credit

Pronaf expansion in 2003 was integrated with the actions of the Zero Hunger Program and it was crucial for the assembly of a system of public policies focused on the needs of family farming.

Since Pronaf was created, the first challenge was to elaborate a way for the financial agents to better identify family farming beneficiaries of the program. Over the years, the record systems were improved and consolidated into a broad registry: the DAP Registry. Currently the DAP registration system relies on a wide network of transmitters, from official institutions that provide technical assistance to rural workers, family farmers and peasants’ representatives. The register has a limited coverage period and must be periodically renewed (every 3 years). It depends on the widespread publicity from the registered farmers and their respective transmitter agents.⁸⁶ Due to the power conferred to the DAP registry, it is subject to strong social control,⁸⁷ public transparency⁸⁸ and administrative transparency⁸⁹.

Subsequently, Law 11326/2006 defined the current criteria used for access to Pronaf. It is important to note that Pronaf regulation was transforming. It first appeared by means of a CMN transitory disposition, which was later regulated by a Decree from the President of the Republic and, finally, by a Law which established the guidelines for public policies for family farming.

⁸⁵ The Zero Hunger Action is a Civil Society Organization of Public Interest (Oscip) that supports actions that aim at reducing poverty by means of projects focusing on food security, as from mobilization the business sector. The prize is not financial. Source: <http://www.acaofomezzero.org.br/>.

⁸⁶ Currently available at <http://www.mda.gov.br/sitemda/dap>.

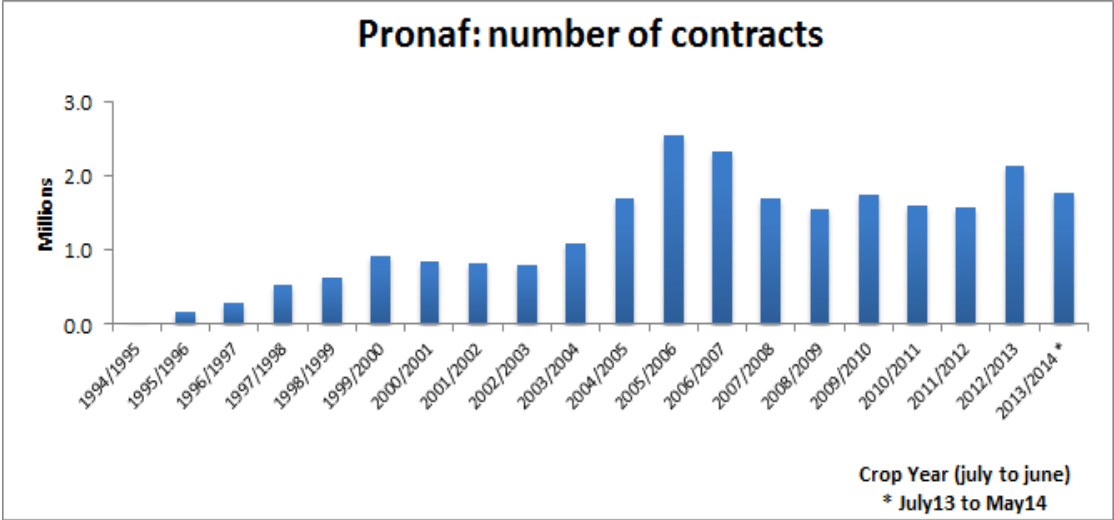
⁸⁷ Especially by CMDRS.

⁸⁸ It is possible to see the registered farmers’ names, with expiration date, in all Brazilian municipalities. See: <http://www.mda.gov.br/sitemda/dap>.

⁸⁹ Especially by the General Comptroller’s Office (CGU) (available at: <http://www.cgu.gov.br/>) and the Federal Court Auditors (TCU) (available at: <http://portal2.tcu.gov.br/TCU>).

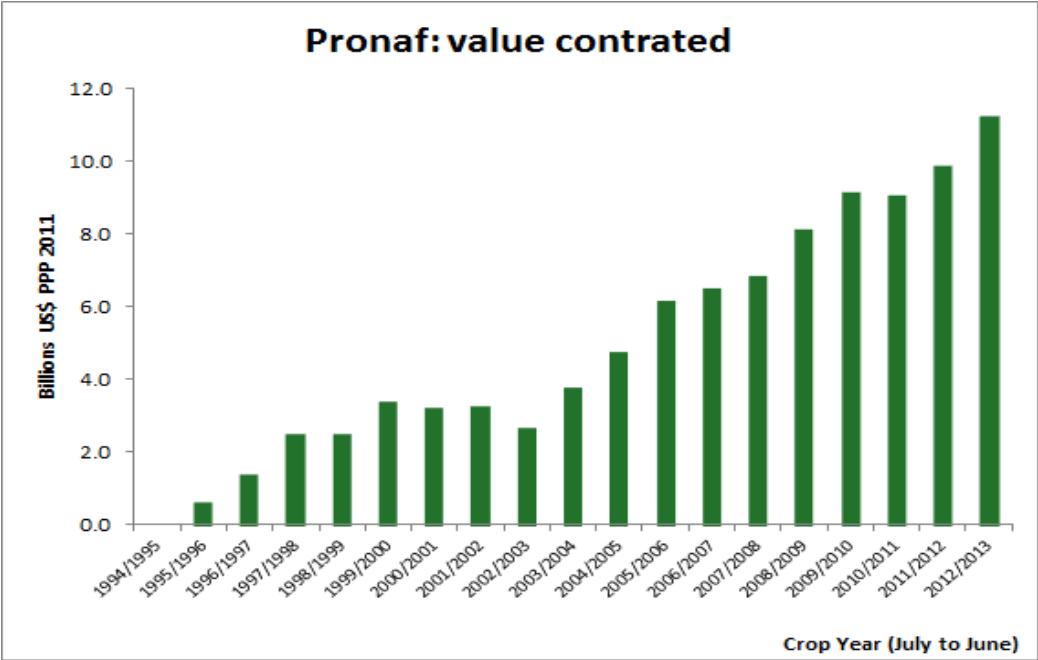
After a slow implementation process, Pronaf experienced growth, as shown in Graph 1. In the early years, Pronaf was concentrated in the Southern Region of Brazil, but from 2003 onwards, it received important support through policies aimed at fighting hunger thereby achieving nationwide coverage. In recent Brazilian crops (July-to-June-next-year), Pronaf has executed about 2 million loans, especially in regions where rural poverty is concentrated. In terms of value, in the last crops, Pronaf funded approximately US\$11 billion (2011 PPP) worth of loans (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Evolution Pronaf loan contracts per crop-year



Source: MDA, 2014.

Figure 2: Evolution of the total value of Pronaf loan contracts per crop-year



Source: MDA, 2014.

Note: Values in constant 2011 PPP international \$.

The program finances working capital and investment loan contracts, both individual or collective, regardless of access methods to natural resources (land, water or forest): land owners, squatters, leaseholders, receiver of commodatum (“comodatários”), partners, settled families of the land reform or users of public areas. The funding sources that supply the Program have various origins, according to the current economic context, composed of both public funds and bank liabilities (fractions of bank deposits in cash, destined for rural credit). The risk of the operation varies according to the purposes of the financing and it may be fully covered by the bank, the government or shared between both of them.

From 2003, the Federal Government strongly adopted the banking inclusion guideline as a way to broaden the access of family farmers to rural credit. Currently, the largest Pronaf financial operator is the Bank of Brazil (BB), followed by the Bank of the Northeast of Brazil (BNB) and the Bank of Amazonia (BASA). Apart from these three official banks (mixed capital companies controlled by the Federal Government), there has been a large increase of Solidarity Economy Cooperatives, strongly related to Pronaf implementation in regions where they operate.⁹⁰ Other agents, besides the credit cooperatives, act to facilitate access to credit, such as trade unions, associations, agro-industries and technical assistance companies, entitled banking correspondents.⁹¹ Considering the whole set of financial agents, there are approximately US\$21 billion (2011 PPP, or BR\$35 billion) in active loan contracts and contracts in execution (Campos and Bianchini, 2014, p. 12).

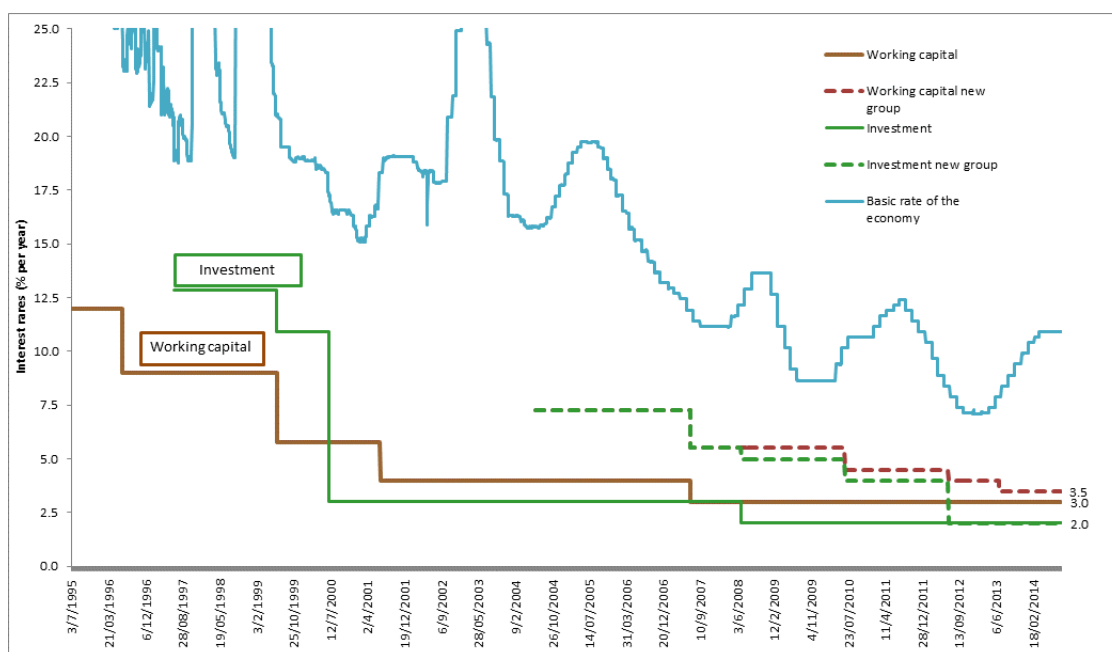
Importantly, Pronaf is not restricted to some culture or specific economic activities, but focused on family farmers who can use the resources in their enterprises as they see fit. This feature confers flexibility to the program to operate in all regions of the country thereby adapting to local needs.

Interest rates applied to Pronaf loans– At the beginning, Pronaf loans were not any different from the other rural credit lines, starting off with a nominal rate of 12% per year in the first year. But, over time, interest rates decreased gradually, following the current economic context. Nowadays, investment lines have a 2% interest rate per year, which is considered a strong encouragement to family farming. The difference between the market rate and interest rates paid by farmers is the direct support these producers get from the Federal Government aimed at ensuring food security and rural development support.

⁹⁰ For further information see, for example, the websites of the Organization of Brazilian Cooperatives (<http://cooperativismodecredito.coop.br/>) and the National Credit Union Association of Family and Solidary Economy (<http://www.ancosol.org.br/>).

⁹¹ Correspondents are employed by financial institutions for the provision of service to customers and users of these institutions. The correspondents may offer opening of accounts, payment, and especially, in the case of rural credit, reception and forwarding of credit proposals. See: <http://www.bcb.gov.br/?CORRESPONDENTESFAQ>.

Figure 3: Maximum interest rates (% per year) applied to Pronaf loan contracts at the beginning of each crop-year



Source: CMN Resolutions⁹² from 1995 onwards.

As it is a credit program aimed at family farmers, Pronaf uses Law 11326/2006 and the family annual income as criteria to identify its beneficiaries. This currently corresponds to a little less than US\$165 000/year (BR\$360 000).⁹³ It is important to emphasize that this limit used to be much more restricted at the beginning of the program: in 1999 the maximum family income limit that allowed access to the program was US\$15 500/year (BR\$27 500).⁹⁴ The family income limit for access to the program was slowly expanded, covering nowadays a larger number of family farmers in a broad spectrum, reaching from very poor to the most dynamic and developed producers.

Loan contract limits have also been expanded over the years. In the first year of the program, the highest amount a family farmer could obtain was US\$10 800/year (BR\$10 000).⁹⁵ In 2014/2015, the farmer's individual credit limit was US\$136 000/year (BR\$300 000).

In its first year, Pronaf had credit lines for the working capital and investments. As the program improved over the years, new lines were added in order to meet the different needs of family farmers. Currently, in addition to the existing, Pronaf also has special lines for settled persons of the land reform and land credit, productive micro credit, semiarid regions,

⁹² CMN Resolutions: 2191, 2310, 2321, 2629, 2729, 2879, 3001, 3097, 3206, 3299, 3467, 3559, 3731, 3868, 3977, 4107, 4228 and 4339. Available at: www.bacen.gov.br.

⁹³ Information taken from the Manual for Rural Credit (MCR) from the Brazilian Central Bank (BCB). Available at: <http://www3.bcb.gov.br/mcr/>. Accessed 1 September 2014. PRONAF exchange used 1 US\$ = BR\$2.2019, on 30 June 2014. Unfortunately, while writing this text, it was not available the conversion factor for 2014 US\$ PPP.

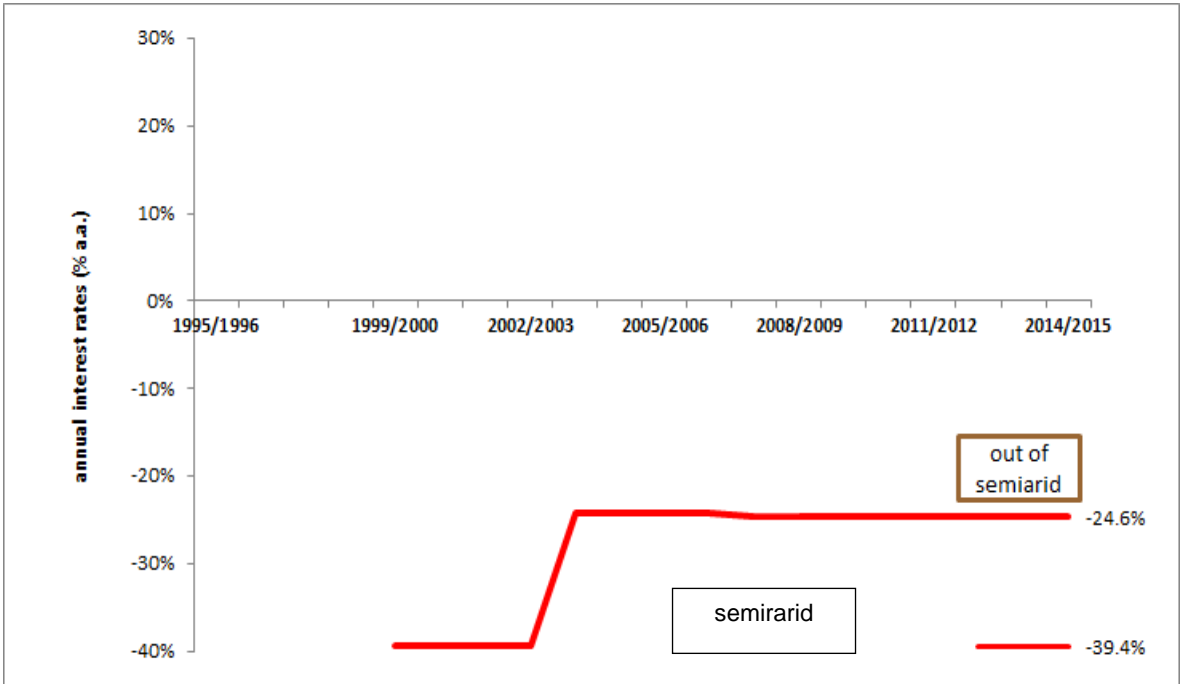
⁹⁴ CMN Resolution: 2629, dated 1999 with exchange rate at 1 US\$ = 1.7687 BR\$, on 30 June 1999.

⁹⁵ CMN Resolution: 2191, dated 1995 with exchange rate at 1 US\$ = 0.92 BR\$, on 30 June 1995.

young producers, women, forests, agro-industry (investment and funding), shares for cooperatives, agro-ecology and environmental sustainability.⁹⁶

Within the context of this paper the rural productive microcredit line (Group B), deserves particular mention as it was specially designed for poorer farmers: it currently assists families with an annual gross income up to US\$9 000/year (BR\$20 000). This line was created during the 1999/2000 crop year, relying on strong support from the Federal Government by means of negative interest rates. The financing limit of this group is restricted to US\$1 100 (BR\$2 500) and can reach up to US\$1 800 (BR\$4 000) when it uses the microcredit-oriented methodology. It may be used both in agricultural and animal raising, as well as in non-agricultural and animal raising activities, at an interest rate of 0.5% per year plus a 25% or 40% compliance bonus⁹⁷ (when the funding is aimed at enterprises located in the Semiarid region),⁹⁸ with a payment deadline of up to 2 years.

Figure 4: Evolution of interest rates applied to Group B Pronaf loan contracts



Source: CMN Resolutions.

The Group “B” credit line is available all over the country, but, considering a higher concentration of farmers with this profile in the Northeast of Brazil, most loans are held there. It is important to highlight the regional financial agent: the Bank of the Northeast of Brazil (BNB), which operates the producer oriented microcredit line entitled “Agroamigo”.⁹⁹ When

⁹⁶ To know the objectives and details of each modality, see: <http://www3.bcb.gov.br/mcr/> go to ‘Normas’, and after into Pronaf.

⁹⁷ The compliance Bonus corresponds to a discount in the debt obligation, for timely payment, before the due date of the installments.

⁹⁸ See CMN Resolution: 4248, dated 2013. Current semiarid coverage is the same used by the Superintendence for the Development of the Northeast (Sudene), in other words, nine states in the Northeast of Brazil and the semiarid areas in the states of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo (Supplementary Law 125, dated 2007, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/LCP/Lcp125.htm).

⁹⁹ See concerning this: https://www.bnb.gov.br/content/aplicacao/produtos_e_servicos/agroamigo/gerados/apresentacao.asp.

granting the credit line, a consultant helps the farmer to draw up his investment plan making this process unique and closely monitored. In 2013 more than 421 000 Agroamigo loan contracts¹⁰⁰ were opened, which accounted for more than 20% of all Pronaf loan contracts. Because of the Agroamigo, some authors have already compared BNB to the Grameen Bank,¹⁰¹ due to its prevalence among the poorest, especially among women (62% of all loan contracts), and its potential to combine existing income transfer credit policies (Neri, 2008).

Another special credit line is the Group “A” line, aimed at land reform beneficiary families and those from the PNCF, for investments in implementation, expansion, recovery or modernization of the settlers’ productive infrastructure. Financed values range up to US\$9 000 thousand (BR\$20 000), at an effective interest rate of 0,5% per year, and the farmer gets a 40% compliance bonus to encourage timely re-payment.

Another fact worth mentioning took place in 2008, during the international food price crisis, when a special line of investment, More Food Pronaf, was created with the purpose of increasing family farming productivity by means of subsidized funding for the purchase of machinery and agricultural equipment. These purchases were supported by special agreements between the Federal Government and industry representatives,¹⁰² in order to ensure lower market prices for goods financed under this credit. From the 2008/2009 crop-year, the More Food Pronaf credit line has funded the purchase of machinery and equipment for over 370 000 family farmers. (Brasil, 2014, p. 86).

In summary, Pronaf credit expansion demonstrates the strong commitment of Federal Government support to encourage family farmers, by increasing the volume of credit available, reducing interest rates, widening the range of beneficiaries and expanding both the loan contract limits and the banking assistance network, aimed at securing food security.

International More Food Program

The success of the More Food Pronaf credit line inspired the International More Food Program (MDA Ordinances 97 and 112, both dated 2012) which aims at contributing to the promotion of international cooperation with developing countries within the context of the South-South. The purpose is to help developing countries to have access to technology, machines, equipment and agricultural implements for the development of food production based on family farming, through cooperation with the Brazilian industrial sector, aimed at defining and ensuring the best price and post-sale conditions. Partnerships have already been established with Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Senegal, Ghana, Kenya and Cuba. The program has a credit line of US\$640 million (Brasil, 2012, p. 96) and currently has more than 500 Brazilian companies participating (MDA, 2014).

¹⁰⁰ See concerning this: https://www.bnb.gov.br/content/aplicacao/Produtos_e_Servicos/agroamigo/gerados/agroamigo_relatorios_resultados.asp.

¹⁰¹ Grameen Bank, with its main headquarters in Bangladesh, is specialized in microfinance and along with Muhammad Yunus, its organizer, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006. For further information, see: www.grameen-info.org.

¹⁰² Including the National Association of Motor Vehicle Manufacturers (Anfavea), the Brazilian Association of Machine and Equipment Industry (Abimaq) and the Machinery and Agricultural Implements Industry Union in Rio Grande do Sul (Simers).

3.2 Programs linked to credit: Weather Insurance

Rural credit is an excellent tool for the promotion of rural development, but can also become an indebtedness channel for rural producers, when there are losses due to adverse weather and they have no resources to pay off their debts. When this happens, credit may become a tool that causes poverty and that is a rural development inhibitor.

Aimed at dealing with this credit limitation, from 2004 onwards, Pronaf loan contracts started to get support from Family Farming Insurance (SEAF) in case of losses due to natural disasters, pests and diseases that affect the crops. Currently SEAF covers working capital and agricultural investment loan contracts, where there are consolidated edaphoclimatic zoning agronomic studies. In case of losses of protected crops, the beneficiary farmer has 100% coverage of the credit payment instalment for that year, and shall be exempt from the payment, and even receives up to US\$3 00 (BR\$7 000), which corresponds to one instalment of the expected but not obtained revenue. The current program limitation does not cover livestock activities due to lack of an internationally accepted methodology for calculating losses. For loans with activities not covered by the insurance, the Federal Government publishes, periodically, lengthening and refinancing rules. In the recent crop cycle, SEAF covered about 500 000 Pronaf loan contracts.¹⁰³

3.3 Programs linked to credit: Price Insurance

Another important innovation included in Pronaf rural credit, from the 2006/2007¹⁰⁴ crop onwards, is price insurance, known as the Program of Price Guarantee for Family Farming (PGPAF) which works with the granting of a bonus discount on Pronaf contracted credit operations whenever the market price of the financed product is below the current guarantee price. Guaranteed prices are fixed at the beginning of the season, using the production costs as a reference and, in case prices received by producers at the moment of a sale are lower than the guarantee price, there is an automatic discount on the Pronaf instalment amount, proportional to the fall in the price. During the program operation, MDA publishes, monthly, an ordinance containing the bonus values for each activity (Table 4). For example, if at the moment of the sale, prices paid to rice producers in the state of Sergipe were 5.99% lower than the guarantee price, these farmers would get a 5.99% discount on the value of the Pronaf loan instalment due that month. As this price guarantee was designed to benefit poorer farmers, nowadays the bonuses are limited to US\$2 200 (BR\$5 000) for funding loans and to US\$900 (BR\$2 000) for investment loans.

This program has also been gradually expanded, starting with rice, beans, manioc, corn, soy and milk,¹⁰⁵ and currently covers 47 agricultural and 3 livestock activities.

¹⁰³ Information from MDA/INCRA, 27 June 2014.

¹⁰⁴ See Resolution CMN 3436, dated 2006.

¹⁰⁵ See MCR, Chapter 10, Section 15. Source: www.bacen.gov.br. Accessed 8 September 2014.

Table 4: Example of PGPAF Ordinance published monthly, by MDA

April 2014 Bonus

Product: PADDY RICE

Reference month: March, 2014

Brazilian States	Marketing Unit	Unit Price Guarantee (BRL/unit)	Average Market Price (BRL/unit)	Bonus Price Guarantee
Sergipe	Sack (60 kg)	34,90	32,81	5,99%
Mato Grosso	Sack (60 kg)	31,86	30,01	5,81%

Source: Excerpt from the SAF/MDA Ordinance, published in the Union Official Journal on 8 April 2014.

The combined action of credit with climate and income insurance, created conditions of sustainability of these programs over time, with low default rate, living the financial institutions manage the moral risk (Peraci and Bittencourt, 2010, p.221).

3.4 Credit Supplementary Programs: Harvest Guarantee Program (Garantia-Safra)

Another important weather insurance program is the Harvest Guarantee Program, which focuses on family farmers in the Sudene area as already mentioned and especially those who did not have access to Pronaf rural credit, thus, are not protected by SEAF and PGPAF (Campos and Bianchini, 2013, p.14). In order to take part in the program, the family farmer must have a monthly gross family income of at the most equal to 1.5 times the current minimum wage,¹⁰⁶ excluding pension benefits.

The program was created by means of Law 10420, 2002¹⁰⁷ and saw a substantial expansion from 2003 onwards, in line with the other actions of the Zero Hunger Program, due to the profile of its target audience (poorer family farmers). Its operationalization is guaranteed by a financial fund linked to MDA, used to ensure the incomes of family farmers who suffered losses due to droughts or excess precipitation. The funds come from family farmers' contributions (currently 3%, corresponding to US\$6.57 per farmer), from the Municipalities (10%, corresponding to US\$19.68 per farmer), from the States (20%, corresponding to US\$39.36 per farmer) and from the Federal Government (67%), thus involving all the participants and making them all share the responsibility of the success of the Program.¹⁰⁸ If the respective contribution is not paid by the farmer, the Municipality (and its farmers) or the State (and its Municipalities), are excluded from the program for that season.

In case of crop failure due to severe drought or excess precipitation, municipality technicians prepare reports on the production losses of corn, beans, rice, manioc and/or cotton, and if they are equal to or above 50% all registered farmers from the Municipality get the benefit.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ The current minimum wage in June, 2014 was BR\$724, corresponding to a gross income of approximately US\$330 monthly (exchange used 1US\$ = BR\$2.2025, on June 2014).

¹⁰⁷ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/2002/L10420.htm. Access on 8 September 2014.

¹⁰⁸ See Managing Committee for Crop-Guarantee Resolution n.—1, dated 2014. Available at: <http://www.mda.gov.br/sitemda/legisla%C3%A7%C3%A3o-2>. Garantia-Safra exchange rate used 1 US\$ = BR\$2.2674, on July 2014.

¹⁰⁹ See Decree 4962, dated 2004. Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2004/decreto/d4962.htm.

During the 2014/2015 crop, the benefit amount will be BR\$850 (USD\$374.88), paid in five instalments by means of bank credit.¹¹⁰

In order to ensure the participation of family farmers who fit the profile of the program, the Federal Government establishes quotas of maximum number of producers per municipality based on the 2006 Agriculture Census, and the list with all their names must be formally approved by CMDRS.¹¹¹

Table 5: Harvest Guarantee Program Evolution

Crop	Total		With insurance payment		Resources paid to family farmers (million constant 2011 PPP)
	Municipality	Family farmers (thousands)	Municipality	Family farmers (thousands)	
2002/2003	333	200	140	85	48
2003/2004	367	18	136	8	46
2004/2005	465	288	311	211	119
2005/2006	543	357	174	106	56
2006/2007	471	346	392	317	159
2007/2008	635	559	181	182	85
2008/2009	714	553	509	424	183
2009/2010	859	662	801	639	279
2010/2011	990	738	243	167	73
2011/2012	1 035	771	1 015	769	897
2012/2013	1 118	978	979	875	582
2013/2014	1 264	1 177	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: MDA, 2014.

Note: n.a.: information not available.

Table 5 shows the number of municipalities that have joined the Program and the municipalities that received payments due to droughts or excess rain. Over the years, the number of participants from municipalities has risen steadily and today ensures the income of more than 1 million family farmers.

Table 5 also shows the years in which droughts of lesser or greater severity occurred. In the 2010/2011 crop, for instance, 990 municipalities joined the Harvest Guarantee, but only 243 of them received the insurance payment, with losses higher than 50%. However, in the 2011/2012 crop, 1 035 municipalities joined the program, and in 1 015 of them losses were higher than 50%. This drought was so severe, that the Federal Government increased the insurance amount and farmers were paid BR\$1 800¹¹² (approximately US\$1 165 2011 PPP). The drought persisted until the next crop (2012/2013), reaching 88% of the municipalities participating in the program, and which received indemnification from the Harvest Guarantee

¹¹⁰ The financial agent is the Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF), a public company of the Brazilian Federal Government, which also operates the PBF. It is quite common for the farmer to get both benefits: a credit transfer from PBF and Harvest Guarantee Insurance.

¹¹¹ The names of the beneficiaries of the program are also available at: <http://www.portaldatransparencia.gov.br/>.

¹¹² Supplementary resources to Harvest Guarantee Program were provided by the Federal Government.

Program. The presence of this program acted as a buffer against droughts and disruption in family farming production in the municipalities where it operates, besides being a positive encouragement for the development of farmers and the area (Silva and Souza, 2008).

3.5 Policy for the Guarantee of Minimum Price for Socio-biodiversity Products (PGPM-Bio)

The Policy for the Guarantee of Minimum Price in Brazil was established in 1966, covering major commodities. This typical agricultural policy tool was adapted to support family farmers engaged in extraction activities and gave rise to the Policy for the Guarantee of Minimum Price for Socio-biodiversity Products (PGPM-Bio), created by Law 11775, dated 2008.¹¹³ This policy covers products such as extractive natural rubber, “açai” (fruit), babaçu coconut, baru (fruit), Brazil nuts (with shells), “carnaúba” (powder and wax), “mangaba” (fruit), “piaçava” (fiber), “pequi” (fruit) and “umbu” (fruit).

At the beginning of each crop-year, the Federal Government, through Conab,¹¹⁴ sets the minimum price for each product, taking into account production costs plus a bonus to encourage traditional communities to preserve the natural vegetation of their land. The family farmer must join an organization of producers, and if the prices offered by the organization are below the minimum price, Conab may pay the organization a grant, against evidence of prices received. The organization then transfers the funds to its members, according to the amount supplied.

This policy is especially important for traditional communities, as it stabilizes the income derived from the farmers’ extraction activities,¹¹⁵ acting as a kind of market price flag, becoming a reference for family farmers business in their sales channels.

3.6 Diversification and value adding programs: Biodiesel

As from 2003, the Federal Government initiated studies on a program for substitution of petroleum-based diesel import, in line with the policies against hunger and social inclusion. One of the inspirations for the substitution of the petroleum-based diesel by a renewable source came from the successful Brazilian experience with the National Alcohol Program (Proálcool) in 1975,¹¹⁶ when the Federal Government and the automotive industry made a great effort to produce automobiles powered by ethanol. Currently most Brazilian cars are powered by both petrol and ethanol. The challenge of a new biofuel program was to provide renewable energy and, at the same time, promote social and productive inclusion, especially that of family farming.

The solution came in 2005, with Law 11097,¹¹⁷ which introduced biodiesel in the Brazilian energy matrix, through the National Program for Production of Biodiesel (PNPB)¹¹⁸ giving preference to biodiesel producing units that purchased raw material from family farmers.

The sector is regulated by the National Agency for Petroleum, Natural Gas and Biofuels (ANP),¹¹⁹ which authorizes the operation of biodiesel producing plants (60 producing units in

¹¹³ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2007-2010/2008/lei/111775.htm.

¹¹⁴ See concerning this: <http://www.conab.gov.br/conteudos.php?a=1341&t=2>.

¹¹⁵ See:

http://www.conab.gov.br/OlalaCMS/uploads/arquivos/13_08_23_11_48_47_2013_beatrizgomesmaracajade_moares.pdf.

¹¹⁶ Proálcool was created by Decree 76593, dated 1975, available at: <http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1970-1979/decreto-76593-14-novembro-1975-425253-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>.

¹¹⁷ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2005/Lei/L11097.htm.

¹¹⁸ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2005/Lei/L11097.htm.

¹¹⁹ See <http://www.anp.gov.br/?id=472>.

August, 2014,¹²⁰ corresponding to a total capacity of 21 000 m³/day) and launches public auction notifications on biodiesel purchases.¹²¹ The biodiesel units that purchase raw material from family farmers are given preference in the auctions,¹²² generally getting better prices for their products, compared to other units which fight for a smaller fraction of auction purchases.

In order to identify biodiesel producing units that purchase raw material from family farming, MDA grants the “Social Fuel Seal”, which ensures a better position in auctions and provides tax benefits for the biodiesel producing unit. In order to obtain this seal, the company must prove that the raw materials purchased are obtained from registered family farmers (with DAP) and must also provide technical assistance to these producers, besides ensuring the participation of family farming representatives (unions in general) in negotiations of contracts and prices.

Table 6: Family Farming Evolution in the Biodiesel Production National Program

Year	Family farmers (thousands)	Units of biodiesel with social fuel stamp	Acquisitions of family farming (billions, constant 2011 PPP)
2005	16.3	3	-
2006	40.6	9	0.1
2007	36.7	26	0.1
2008	27.9	30	0.2
2009	51.0	32	0.5
2010	100.4	33	0.8
2011	104.3	37	1.0
2012	92.7	40	1.4
2013	72.1	44	1.2
Total	-	-	5.3

Source: MDA, 2014.¹²³

Note: Values in constant 2011 PPP international \$.

The program started with a 2% biodiesel addition to petroleum-based diesel (B2), then changed to B3, later on to B5, after that to B6 and has now introduced a 7% biodiesel addition to diesel (B7) since November 2014.¹²⁴ Nowadays the most commonly used raw materials are soybean and cotton, as well as animal fat from cattle and chickens.¹²⁵ At the beginning of the program castor crops were encouraged, but current international prices made the purchase of this product more advantageous when purchased from family farming, for processing and exportation in the form of castor oil.

¹²⁰ See concerning this: Biodiesel Monthly Bulletin from ANP, August, 2014. Available at: <http://www.anp.gov.br/?dw=72216>.

¹²¹ PNPB management is performed by the Inter-ministerial Executive Committee on Biodiesel, coordinated by the Chief of Staff Office of the Presidency of the Republic, and also by the Managing Group, coordinated by the Ministry of Mines and Energy (MME). Source: <http://www.mme.gov.br/programas/biodiesel/menu/biodiesel/pnpb.html>.

¹²² The units with Social Fuel Seal are the first to participate in the auction, taking the best opportunities to sell, and have tax breaks.

¹²³ For further details, see ANP statistical data, available at: <http://www.anp.gov.br/?id=548>.

¹²⁴ See Law 13033, 24 September 2014, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/CCIVIL_03/Ato2011-2014/2014/Lei/L13033.htm.

¹²⁵ See concerning this: *Biodiesel Monthly Bulletin*, August 2014, already mentioned.

In 2013 there were 44 biodiesel producing units with “Social Fuel Seal” which purchased the production of over 70 000 family farmers in several regions of the country. Since 2005, approximately US\$5.3 billion (2011 PPP) was purchased from family farmers, ensuring income and social inclusion.

3.7 Technical Assistance and Rural Extension Policy (ATER)

As from 2003, the Federal Government guidance concerning the design of ATER national systems was changed. Between 2003 and 2010, the Federal Government allocated more than US\$780 million (2011 PPP, or BR\$907 million) in ATER service provider entities, especially in public state agencies. The state governments and the other ATER agents also invested their own resources in the system, and in 2010 it was estimated that the amount applied by the Federal Government was a third of the total.¹²⁶

The effort made in this period culminated with the permanent structuring of the National Policy for Technical Assistance and Rural Extension for Family Farming and Land Reform (Pnater) and the National Program for Technical Assistance and Rural Extension for Family Farming and Land Reform (Pronater), through Law 12188, dated 2010.¹²⁷ This Law inserted technical assistance and rural extension as permanent actions of the Brazilian State, aimed at rural development. According to this Law, technical assistance and rural extension are non-formal on-going based education services in rural areas, with the following principles: sustainable rural development, participatory methodology, ecological-based agriculture, gender and race equity, and gratuity, quality and accessibility to technical assistance services.

Law 12188/2010, regulated by Decree 7215 dated 2010,¹²⁸ also brought an important innovation to the way the Federal Government hired technical assistance and rural extension services. Previously, hiring occurred by means of agreements and transfers to registered entities and it was subject to the current legislation used in these instruments, preventing timely assistance. Law 12188/2010 allowed the Federal Government to hire ATER services through public calls with better targeting and defined temporality, without the need for public bidding. This change in hiring services improved Federal Government efficiency making it easier for beneficiaries to combine several programs such as those of technical and social assistance.

¹²⁶ Message to the National Congress with the Draft Law 5665, converted into Law 12188/2010. Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Projetos/EXPMOTIV/EMI/2009/6%20-%20MDA%20MP%20MF.htm.

¹²⁷ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2007-2010/2010/Lei/L12188.htm.

¹²⁸ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2007-2010/2010/Decreto/D7215.htm.

Table 7. Evolution of resources applied and families receiving technical and rural extension assistance in Brazil

Year	Resources <i>(millions, constant 2011 PPP)</i>	Families assisted <i>(thousands)</i>
2003	26.0	213.23
2004	39.6	326.11
2005	53.1	75.22
2006	94.6	1 306.28
2007	151.3	1 233.10
2008	116.1	805.50
2009	183.9	1 955.93
2010	118.7	17.65
2011	41.7	711.86
2012	349.1	890.84
2013	n.a.	769.18

Source: Ministry for Agrarian Development, 2014.¹²⁹

Notes: Values in constant 2011 PPP international \$.

Resources from MPA (GOV), MAPA, National Integration (MIN) and Environment (MMA) are not included. Resources from States and Municipal Governments and from other entities which provide ATER services are also not included.

n.a.: information not available.

It is important to highlight that the effort made to give the ATER National System a new design comes from the strategic importance given to the agent who provides the service. The technician combines technical expertise and public policy knowledge while identifying limitations and organizing the system for better joint operationalization of public policies in the selected areas.

In order to determine the direction of Pnater for the next years, the First National Conference for Technical Assistance and Extension for Family Farming and Land Reform (Cnater) was held in 2012. This Conference was preceded by 26 state conferences, 160 territorial and regional conferences, and six content driven events aimed at people living off the use of natural resources, ‘quilombola’ communities, indigenous communities, women rural producers and land reform beneficiaries.¹³⁰ Young people may also rely on ATER special assistance to promote income-generating projects and access to existing public policies as a strategy to creating opportunities for their remaining in the rural areas.¹³¹

More recently, MDA has been structuring ATER action aimed at a cooperative and collective family farming endeavour management (More Management Program) which would provide assistance to both institutional and private markets.¹³²

Another important institutional innovation to improve coordination occurred in 2013, when the Federal Government created the National Agency for Technical Assistance and Rural

¹²⁹ MDA and Incra information available currently at: <http://www.mda.gov.br/sitemda/acompanhe-a%C3%A7%C3%B5es-do-mda-e-incra>.

¹³⁰ See: <http://www.brasil.gov.br/esporte/2012/04/brasil-sediara-1a-conferencia-nacional-sobre-assistencia-tecnica-e-extensao-na-agricultura-familiar-e-na-reforma-agraria>.

¹³¹ See: <<http://www.mda.gov.br/portalmda/sites/default/files/chamadas/Chamada%20de%20Ater%20para%20a%20Juventude%20Rural.pdf>.

¹³² Source: <http://www.incra.gov.br/mais-gestao-chega-a-450-cooperativas-com-assistencia-tecnica>.

Extension (Anater) as an autonomous social service.¹³³ Its mission is to work toward the universalization of technical assistance and rural extension services provided to family farmers and medium-sized rural producers which aims at promoting and implementing technical assistance and rural extension programs for technological innovation and appropriation of scientific knowledge of technical, economic, environmental and social natures. This newly created agency shall be able to accredit both public and private entities that provide technical assistance and rural credit services in order to ensure the quality of service while working closely with the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (Embrapa) in order to integrate research and rural extension.

The National Program for Family Farming Sustainability and Innovation, launched in 2014, is a Pronater component, whose goal is to intensify the family farming innovation process. It is the result of a partnership between MDA and Embrapa for the development of 4 060 ATER agents that assist approximately 420 000 farming families.

The selected agents will undergo three types of activities: (i) consultation workshops which are working forums with the participation of managers and ATER leaderships; (ii) content driven events, which consist of sharing and organizing knowledge and technologies; and (iii) training courses targeted at technological and methodological updating.

3.8 National Plan of Agro-ecology and Organic Production (Planapo)

Established by Decree 7794, dated 2012,¹³⁴ the National Policy of Agro-ecology and Organic Production (Pnapo) aims to integrate, articulate and adapt policies, programs and other actions from agro-ecological transition and organic and agro-ecological based productions, contributing to sustainable development and the population and consumption of healthy food.

Pnapo guidelines are the following:

- I – promotion of food sovereignty and food and nutrition security and the human right to adequate and healthy food, through the supply of organic as well as agro-ecologic based products, free from contaminants that put health at risk;
- II – promotion of the sustainable use of natural resources, subject to provisions that regulate labour relationships and the well-being of owners and workers;
- III – conservation of natural ecosystems and restoration of modified ecosystems, through agricultural production and forest extraction systems based on renewable resources, with the adoption of methods and cultural, biological and mechanical practices, able to reduce polluting residue, and the dependence on external inputs for the production process;
- IV – promotion of sustainable and fair production systems, distribution and consumption of food that improve economic, social and environmental functions of agriculture and forest extractivism (extraction activities) and prioritize the institutional support to beneficiaries of Law 11326, dated 2006;
- V – appreciation of agro-biodiversity and socio-biodiversity products and encouragement to local experiments on the use and preservation of plant and animal genetic resources, especially those that involve the handling of local breeds and traditional or local varieties;
- VI – increase of participation of rural youth in organic and agro-ecological based production; and
- VII – contribution to the reduction of gender inequalities, by means of actions and programs that promote economic autonomy of women (article 3, Decree 7794/2012).

¹³³ See Law 12897, dated 2013 (available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2011-2014/2013/Lei/L12897.htm), and Decree 8252, dated 2014 (available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2011-2014/2014/Decreto/D8252.htm).

¹³⁴ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/CCIVIL_03/_Ato2011-2014/2012/Decreto/D7794.htm.

In order to achieve these guidelines, in 2013, the National Plan of Agro-ecology and Organic Production (Planapo), also known as Brazil Agro-ecologic Plan was developed. Planapo was instituted by Decree 7794/2012 and its version for the period 2013/2015 involves 125 initiatives distributed among 14 goals, organized from four strategic points: production; use and preservation of natural resources; knowledge; commercialization and consumption. The expected budget of this plan is BR\$8.8 billion (approximately US\$5.3 billion 2011 PPP).¹³⁵ Pnapo instruments covered by Planapo refer to programs such as Pronaf, PGPAF, PGPM-Bio, PAA, PNAE, ATER and others.

3.9 Other policies

3.9.1 Gender affirmative policies

The recognition of gender inequalities in rural areas has led to the implementation of affirmative character policies since 2003, which work to correct the existing asymmetry between men's and women's conditions. Initial analysis showed that many women have no civil documents (none or incomplete), since these documents were considered unimportant. This invisibility was excluding women from public policies. The first step was to organize a program on civil documentation.

The National Program for Documentation of the Rural Woman Worker (PNDTR) has since been created in 2004 which gives free access to civil and labour documentation for rural women, camped women waiting to be settled, the settled land reform women, from various locations including riverside communities, forest women users, indigenous and "quilombolas", among others. This is the entrance door for women to the productive inclusion policies.

The actions are developed by itinerant joint efforts, in which the following documents are issued: birth certificates, identity cards, labour cards, Individual Taxpayer Registry (CPF), register in social security, fishing registry, DAP and the registry in the Single Registry for the Federal Government Social Programs (CadÚnico), which will be described below. More than 5 000 itinerant joint efforts have already taken place, in which 1.2 million women have been assisted and 2.5 million documents have been delivered (MDA, 2014).

Among the existing affirmative measures, some should be highlighted: mandatory joint ownership in land reform and in the DAP Declaration, and priority given for land credit. Furthermore, the presence of women in participation and social control channels has grown from territorial instances to the unprecedented achievement of parity at the second CNDRSS. From 2011, Actions to Fight Violence Suffered by Farming and Forest Working Women started and have extended specialized services of the network to assist women in situations of violence, including those in the rural areas.

The Rural Women Productive Organization Program (POPMP) was established to provide income support and help women achieve autonomy. It empowers women's economic organization, providing them with support on subjects such as management, production, commercialization and training, besides the promotion of studies and research. With regard to special loans, starting in 2004 Pronaf for Women offered a specific investment credit, regardless of the credit contracted by the family.

¹³⁵ Message to the National Congress 2014, p. 92.

3.9.2 Social Security

In recent times, Social Security has continued performing a relevant role in rural areas remaining very inclusive, especially to the special insured ones. The total number of rural social security benefits issued increased from about 5.3 million in December, 1995 to 8.8 million in December, 2012. Most of these benefits were for old-age pensions, which reached 3.5 million people in 1995 and 5.8 million in 2012. Following this in size, death pensions have benefitted 1.3 million people in 1995 and 2.2 million in 2012. In 2012, in the Northeast Region considered the poorest in Brazil, approximately 4.2 million rural security benefits were issued, among them 2.9 million old-age pensions.

Most of these benefits reach the unit value of one minimum wage, which has its enhancement policy until 2015 ruled by the real growth rate of the Gross Domestic Product (PIB), according to Law 12383, dated 2011.¹³⁶ Between 2004 and 2014, the unit value of the minimum wage did not meet the constitutionally set limit, but its real purchasing power increased by 68% (Dieese, 2014).

These data reinforce the confirmation made in the early 2000s, that universalization of rural social security may be considered an important contributing factor to eradicate rural poverty (Beltrão *et al.*, 2004).

In 2008, Funding Laws and Social Security Benefits, previously mentioned, were modified by Law 11718, which explicitly included, among those special insured, the land owners, settlers, rubber tappers or forest users, among others, and has set up the maximum limit of 4 inspection units for areas involved in agriculture and animal raising.

The new law considers as a family economy regime “the activity in which the work of the family members is essential for their own survival and socioeconomic development of the family nucleus, and is performed under conditions of mutual dependence and cooperation, without the use of permanent employees” (articles 9 and 10, Law 11718/2008).

Hence, more convergence can be observed between the legal defining criteria of the family farmer and the social security specially insured person. In addition to this, the legislation has incorporated the family’s socioeconomic development as a parameter for the selection of beneficiaries.

3.9.3 Water Cistern Program

The Brazilian semiarid region is an area of high temperatures where the rainfall patterns are very irregular, with long dry periods and occasional rainfall concentrated in a few months of the year. The region covers an area of 980 000 km², covering nine states from the Northeast and South-eastern regions, with 1 134 municipalities and a population of 22 million people, of which about 8 million of them are located in rural areas, according to the 2010 Demographic Census.¹³⁷

The Water Cistern Program was created in 2003 and regulated by Law 12873, dated 2013,¹³⁸ as the National Support Program for the Capture of Rainwater and Other Social Technologies for Access to Water. It adopts the perspective of interaction and adaptation to the Semiarid, based on simple technologies to capture rainwater.

¹³⁶ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2011-2014/2011/Lei/L12382.htm.

¹³⁷ Source: <http://www.mds.gov.br/segurancaalimentar/programa-cisternas/entenda-o-programa/a-convivencia-com-o-semiarido>. Accessed 3 October 2014.

¹³⁸ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/CCIVIL_03/ Ato2011-2014/2013/Lei/L12873.htm Accessed 3 October 2014.

It aims to promote access to water for human and animal consumption and for food production, by means of implementation of social technologies, targeted at low income rural families living in areas affected by drought or frequent lack of water. The activities are carried out in partnership with state and municipal governments and social organizations¹³⁹. Currently, the program is organized into three initiatives:

- a) Water for Human Consumption (“first water”): it consists of building a cistern to collect and store rainwater for human consumption, aimed at families who lack access to drinking water sources located in rural areas. Priority beneficiaries are the eligible families registered in CadÚnico, described in section 4.2.
- b) Water for Production (second water): for families who have already been provided with a cistern for human consumption, the second water introduces social technologies for the capture and storage of rain water for agriculture and raising animals, especially for vegetable gardens and small livestock.
- c) Cisterns at Schools: consists of building cisterns to capture and store rain water for human consumption or for the production of vegetable gardens in municipal schools in the rural area of the Brazilian Semiarid Region.

3.9.4 Growth Acceleration Program (PAC)

The Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) was created in 2007 and extended in 2011 for the purpose of integrating economic and institutional measures to promote investments, such as in infrastructure: social, urban, logistics and energetic. The program has rescued planning of the economy by the Government and retook investments in structural sectors in the country, increasing public and private investments.¹⁴⁰ All of these actions, directly or indirectly, benefit populations who live in rural areas.

The second phase of the Program, also known as PAC2, gives continuity to the initial strategy, with more resources and more partnerships with States and Municipalities. Between 2011 and April 2014, PAC2 had already executed more than BR\$870 billion¹⁴¹ (approximately US\$550 billion 2011 PPP), with actions in the following areas: transport, energy, sanitation, housing, health, education and water, among others.

PAC includes programs created before it was implemented, like the National Program for Universal Access and Use of Electric Power (Light for All), created by Decree 4873, dated 2003,¹⁴² aimed at providing the Brazilian rural area population access to electricity.

Another action developed by PAC is the National Program for Rural Housing (PNHR), created under the scope of My House My Life Rural Program (PMCMV), established by Law 11977, dated 2009,¹⁴³ with the purpose of creating mechanisms to encourage the building and acquisition of new housing units or rehabilitation of urban properties and building or reform of rural housing for families with low monthly incomes. It allows for the leasing of housing units for low-income families through non-profit entities and in groups of up to 50 families.

¹³⁹ Among them we can highlight the One Million Cisterns Program Association (AP1MC) which is part of the Brazilian Semiarid Articulation (ASA). See concerning this: <http://www.asabrasil.org.br>. Accessed 3 October 2014.

¹⁴⁰ Source: www.pac.gov.br.

¹⁴¹ See concerning this: 10th Presentation of PAC Balance Sheet. Available at: www.pac.gov.br/sobre-o-pac/apresentacoes.

¹⁴² Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/2003/d4873.htm

¹⁴³ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2007-2010/2009/lei/L11977compilado.htm.

The third action is the National Program for Universal Access and Use of Water (Water for All), created by Decree 7535, dated 2011,¹⁴⁴ to promote universal access to water in rural areas, for human consumption and agriculture and raising animals, aiming at food and nutrition security of families in situations of social vulnerability. It is targeted at populations living in extreme poverty, by means of the construction of cisterns, collective supply systems and small dams.

The fourth important action taken to benefit rural areas is PAC Equipment, which aims at assisting municipalities in the building and repairing of local roads, essential for the mobility of the population that live in rural areas, and to ensure the flow of crops. So far, the beneficiaries of the program were 5 061 municipalities, with populations under 50 000 inhabitants, and municipalities in the Brazilian Semiarid Region (even with populations over 50 000 inhabitants). On the whole, the Federal Government has donated to municipal governments 18 000 pieces of equipment: 5 071 backhoe loaders, 5 061 motor graders, 5 060 dump trucks, 1 440 water trucks (water transport for human consumption) and 1 440 wheel loaders.

4. Current examples of the integration of public policies

Following are four examples of the integration of public policies aimed at sustainable development in rural areas, which have been already been described.

4.1 Territories of Citizenship Program for Territorial Development

The territorial strategy was adopted to improve the quality and effectiveness of public policies, seeking to overcome the fragmentation and disarticulation of various policies through the creation of Identity Rural Territories. Relying on the National Program for Sustainable Development of Rural Territories (Pronat), created in 2003, and an Office in the formal structure of MDA, the Federal Government recognized that the territorial dimension is adequate to support the processes of sustainable rural development. Recognition of differences in the economic, social and cultural dynamics among the territories helps to get a more effective combination of public policies.

An important innovation came in 2008 with the Territories of Citizenship Program (PTC). At the beginning of his second term (2007 to 2010), President Lula announced his intention to promote the innovation of social policies, with inter-sectorial and integrated policies to create synergies, maximize resources and enhance actions. PTC brings together actions of various levels of government and its coordination is done by a group with representatives of each ministry involved.

The PTC was welcomed by several ministries which recognized the potential of the proposal to overcome the difficulties they faced in reaching rural populations (França and Soriano, 2010). The identified difficulties stemmed from the limitations of public policies themselves, the existing arrangements, and the institutionalized burden of current political and economic domination in rural areas, associated to geographic distribution of rural populations.

The innovative nature of the program was highlighted by Ignacy Sachs, who considered it a transformation in public policies that fight poverty and inequality. He noted in particular the importance of focusing on those territories that were home to the poorest and that territorial development must be an agreement among all the actors involved (Sachs, 2008).

¹⁴⁴ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2011-2014/2011/Decreto/D7535.htm.

In its first phase, the PTC involved 22 ministries grouped into three structural axes – support for productive activities; citizenship and rights; and infrastructure – and seven themes – organization of sustainable production; land actions; education and culture; rights and social development; health, basic sanitation and access to water; support to territorial management; and infrastructure. From the then existing rural territories, 120 were converted into Territories of Citizenship, where more than BR\$50 billion (approximately US\$39 billion 2011 PPP) was spent between 2008 and 2010, with hundreds of actions which were submitted to and approved by Territorial Boards.

The program is a good example of an innovative management of public policy targeted at inter-sectorial articulation in the Federal and intergovernmental spheres in the implementation of a strategy to overcome rural poverty and territorial sustainable development.

It is inserted within the field of the new public management and in the deepening of the country's democratic governance agenda, as much as for the democratic dimension of the purpose of universalizing access to rights and expanding the economic and social leading role of rural populations, as by dialogue with specific aspects of contemporary debate on public administration (França and Soriano, 2010, p.241).

There are currently 239 accredited and recognized rural territories, and since 2003, more than BR\$1.2 billion (about US\$1 billion 2011 PPP) has been invested, enabling thousands of projects approved by Territorial Councils to be created.

Within the Territories, joint actions are supported among Municipalities, States and non-government organizations, which at the level of the Territorial Collegiate plan the investments in services for the rural communities. Before a proposal is submitted, the Territory must develop a Territorial Plan for Sustainable Rural Development (PTDRS), adjusting the projects to collective paths approved in their respective territorial plenaries. The territorial agreement generates commitment and solidarity within the action, besides strengthening local social organizations.

The implementation of the program is undertaken by the Pronat and the Support Action to Infrastructure Projects and Services in Rural Territories (Proinf), operated by MDA in partnership with States and Municipalities.

In 2013, 71 actions were carried out in 14 ministries or secretariats the PTC, with investments of BR\$9.4 billion (approximately US\$5.6 billion 2011 PPP).¹⁴⁵ It is important to note that the actions developed are not new, but what is new is that they are organized with a territorial focus, allowing the actors involved more participation. The actions include support to productive activities (such as water for production, infrastructure, ATER and PAA), citizenship and rights (like digital inclusion, oral health and professional education) and infrastructure (PAC Equipment, credit for families of settlers and rural housing).

In its current phase, the Program management cycle follows the steps below:

1. The Federal Government conducts an offer of public actions and their respective values. While preparing this list, the government uses territorial demands from previous years.
2. Territorial Debates: the members of the territorial collegiate get together to consider the government offer, assessing its suitability and completeness.

¹⁴⁵ All the 2013 matrix actions are available at: <http://www.territoriosdacidadania.gov.br>.

3. Implementation Plan: the government adjusts its offer according to territorial deliberations. In the case of non-compliance, the government must explain the reasons for not performing the requested action.

4. Progress Report: the government starts developing the actions, exposing the physical and financial progress of each one on official website, as well as the restrictions which occur and risks and measures taken.

There are other territorial approaches which are complementary to rural territories, such as, for example, Territories of Food Security and Local Development (Consad), which supports the fight against poverty, food and nutritional security, environmental protection and income generation.

Nowadays there are 40 Consads coordinated by MDS, located in regions with a low Human Development Index (IDH), covering 585 municipalities, especially supporting projects targeted at the poorest family farmers. PTC, along with MDS, for example, supports the implementation of “support units for the distribution of food from family farming”, with the purpose of providing assistance to the distribution and commercialization of foodstuffs produced by family farmers, seeking to ensure the supplies are available in public equipment networks of food and nutrition and of social and educational promotion.¹⁴⁶

4.2 Brazil Without Poverty Plan in Rural Areas¹⁴⁷

Since the very first day of her term, President Dilma Rousseff declared her intention to eradicate extreme poverty:

The most obstinate struggle of my government shall be to eradicate extreme poverty and provide opportunities for all. A significant social mobility occurred in both of President Lula’s terms. But poverty is still something we should be ashamed of and it prevents us from the full affirmation as a developed nation. I shall not rest while there are Brazilian people without food on their tables, while there are homeless families in the streets and poor children, abandoned to their own fate. Harmony in the families happens around the food, in peace and joy. This is the dream I will pursue! (Speech of President Dilma Rousseff, 1 January, 2011.)

The goal of eradicating extreme poverty soon turned into reality, by means of Decree 7492, dated 2011,¹⁴⁸ which established the Brazil Without Poverty Plan (PBSM), with the purpose to “overcome the situation of extreme poverty¹⁴⁹ of the population nationwide, *through integration and articulation of policies, programs and actions*” (article 1, Decree 7492/2011, without emphasis in original).

The basic tool for PBSM action planning and for all the planning of the other Federal Government Social Programs – except for the Social Security Program – is the Single Registry for Federal Government Social Programs (CadÚnico), established in 2001 and restructured by Decree 6135, 2007.¹⁵⁰ This tool identifies and characterizes low-income families, defined as those with monthly incomes of up to half the minimum wage per person;

¹⁴⁶ Source: <http://www.mds.gov.br/segurancaalimentar/desenvolvimentoterritorial>. Accessed 3 October 2014.

¹⁴⁷ Source of results of all the actions of the Brazil Without Poverty Program: <http://www.brasilsemisericia.gov.br/gestao-e-acompanhamento>. Accessed 3 October 2014.

¹⁴⁸ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2011-2014/2011/Decreto/D7492.htm. Accessed 3 October 2014.

¹⁴⁹ Decree 8232, dated 2014 considers populations in extreme poverty those with a monthly per capita income of up to BR\$ 77 (about US\$34 - exchange used 1 US\$ = BR\$2,2674, on July 2014).

¹⁵⁰ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2007-2010/2007/Decreto/D6135.htm. Accessed 3 October 2014.

or total monthly household income of up to three minimum wages. Families with incomes of more than half a minimum wage may also be registered, provided their insertion is linked to the inclusion and/or participation in social programs implemented by the public authorities in all three spheres of the government. According to MDS, about 47% of PBSM public live in rural areas, and this corresponds to a potential universe of about 9.8 million families in 2010.

It is important to note that the DAP initially gave access to Pronaf, and has since started allowing access to other relevant public policies, such as PAA, PNAE, ATER and the Harvest Guarantee Program, among others targeted at family farming and also at PBSM.

For CadÚnico purposes, a low-income family is a nuclear unit composed of one or more individuals, with the possible addition of others who contribute to the income or have expenses met by that family unit, all living in the same household, with a monthly *per capita* income of up to half the minimum wage or monthly family income of up to three minimum wages. The calculation of the monthly household income excludes income received from programs and income transfer actions conditioned by or aimed at populations affected by disasters.

PBSM has three focus of action: (i) income guarantee for immediate relief of extreme poverty; (ii) access to public services, to improve education and health conditions, and family citizenship; and (iii) productive inclusion to increase skills and job opportunities and income generation among the poorest families in rural areas and in cities. The performance of the program takes place in conjunction with States, the Federal District, Municipalities and civil society, as well as with a strong connection with the nine ministries and participating entities from the Presidency of Republic.¹⁵¹

4.2.1 Income Guarantee and access to PBSM public services

In the area of income guarantee, the main action occurs along with PBF, introduced by Law 10836, dated 2004,¹⁵² which unified the management and implementation procedures of income transfer actions from the Federal Government.

PBF conditionalities reinforce the access to basic social rights in the areas of education, health and social assistance. Furthermore, there are additional policies and programs that aim at the development of the families, so that beneficiaries are able to overcome vulnerability. PBF management is decentralized and shared among the Federal Union, States, the Federal District and Municipalities. In March 2014, PBF assisted a little over 14 million families, using monthly resources of BR\$2.1 billion (approximately US\$934 million).¹⁵³

Another policy focused on income guarantee is the Support Program for Environment Conservation “Green Grant” (Bolsa Verde), instituted by Law 12512, dated 2011,¹⁵⁴ aimed at families in nature conservation units and in environmentally vulnerable settlements, in addition to territories occupied by indigenous populations, riverside communities, forest users, “quilombolas”, and other traditional communities. It provides the transfer of monetary support by the Federal Government and encourages the practice of activities that preserve natural resources and sustainable production.

The program combines income transfer with environmental preservation, and is aimed at families who develop conservation activities in national forests, extractives reserves or federal sustainable development reserves, and environmentally concerned settlements, in addition to

¹⁵¹ See concerning this: <http://www.brasilsemiseria.gov.br/apresentacao>. Accessed 3 October 2014.

¹⁵² Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ato2004-2006/2004/Lei/L10.836.htm.

¹⁵³ PBSM exchange used: \$US 1 = R\$2.2624, on 31 March 2014.

¹⁵⁴ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Ato2011-2014/2011/Lei/L12512.htm.

territories occupied by riverside communities, forest users, indigenous populations, 'quilombolas' and other traditional communities. This program provides recognition for the environmental services these families provide society. The Green Grant carries out a quarterly transfer of BR\$300 (approximately US\$130), covering, in March 2014, approximately 54 000 families.

The Green Grant benefit contributes to reducing the vulnerability of families and encourages the conservation of natural resources and the development of sustainable productive activities. For access to this program, the family signs an adhesion term, which gives details of the conservation activities to be developed by them. The program is managed by MMA.¹⁵⁵

The actions focused on access to public services aim to provide families with the following services: electricity supply, health, social assistance, education, housing, food security, essential documentation, among others. This covers the PMCMV and Water for All programs, described previously. As from the Decree 7520, dated 2011,¹⁵⁶ the program Light for All, also already described, started to give priority to PBSM and PTC beneficiaries. Besides the access to Light for All, the settled family registered in CadÚnico can get a discount on electricity bills, by means of the Social Electricity Tariffs.

4.2.2 Rural Productive Inclusion in PBSM

The actions fostering productive inclusion are different for urban and rural areas. In urban areas policies put together socio-professional qualification and intermediation of workforce, aimed at getting the program beneficiaries into legal registered jobs, support to micro-entrepreneurs and Solidarity Economy Cooperatives.

The socio-professional qualification offer is conducted by the National Program for Access to Technical Education and Employment (Pronatec), created by Law 12513, dated 2011.¹⁵⁷ Pronatec integrates PBSM with the purpose of promoting social inclusion of young people and adults in rural areas by expanding the offer of basic and continued development courses, through the Federal Network of Professional and Technological Education, respecting the characteristics of each region. Pronatec gives priority to high school students from public schools, including education for young people and adults and the beneficiaries of the federal income transfer programs, among others. Rural Pronatec is a specific kind of Pronatec program for rural areas. In 2013, about 30 000 young people took development courses specially designed for rural youth.

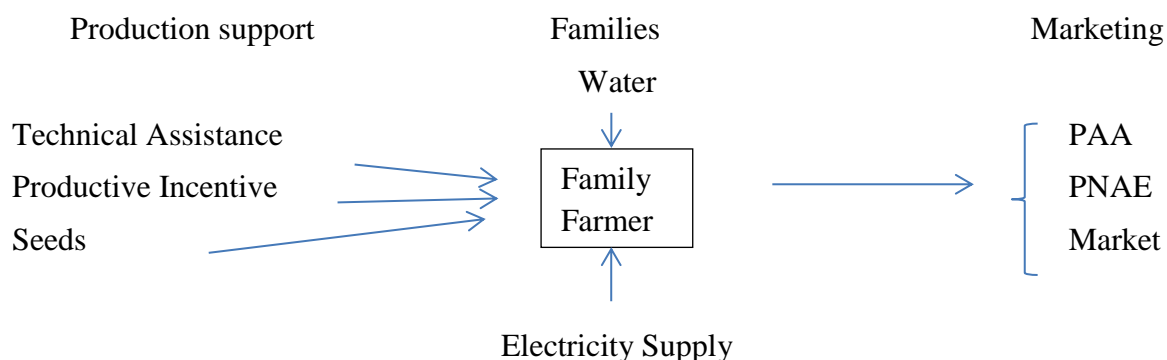
The productive inclusion actions in rural areas, aimed at family farmers in extreme poverty deserved a more detailed description as they account for 47% of the extremely poor.¹⁵⁸ These actions involve a combination of productive support, quality of life and support to market based activities.

¹⁵⁵ See concerning this: <http://www.mma.gov.br/index.php/desenvolvimento-rural/bolsa-verde>.

¹⁵⁶ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2011-2014/2011/Decreto/D7520.htm. See concerning this: <http://www.pac.gov.br/agua-e-luz-para-todos/luz-para-todos>.

¹⁵⁷ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ ato2011-2014/2011/lei/l12513.htm.

¹⁵⁸ Source: <http://www.brasilsemisericia.gov.br/inclusao-produtiva/inclusao-produtiva-rural>.



We begin with the services provided by ATER, which aim to carry the support policies for production to family farmers in extreme poverty. In the Brazilian experience, this was made possible by the improvement of ATER tools, which allowed for direct contracting of services by the Federal Government for beneficiaries. In order to achieve this purpose, MDA launches public calls to hire these services in an individual on-going way¹⁵⁹ usually by providing a list of farmers to be assisted. The service must be provided by teams composed of an undergraduate technician and ten secondary school level technicians for each group of a thousand families. Until March 2014, more than 286 000 families were included in the ATER service, exceeding the initial target of 253 000 families before 2014.

The official announcement already provides the names of selected municipalities and the number of families to be assisted. At the end of the administrative selection procedure, the selected technical assistance entity must perform a productive analysis, prepare an individual productive infrastructure project and provide on-going technical monitoring, aimed at increasing production with appropriate and sustainable technologies, preferably of an agro-ecological nature. At the end of certain periods, the families assess the services provided by ATER agents. These agents must also provide assistance in mobilizing families to take part in joint documentation efforts, distribution of seeds and other inputs, and forwarding demands concerning water, housing and income transfer.

Only after the individual productive infrastructure project by ATER service is ready will the family receive the non-refundable resources provided by the Incentive to Rural Productive Activities Program, established by Law 12512¹⁶⁰ and regulated by Decree 7644,¹⁶¹ both dated 2011.

Until March 2014, incentive had already reached 70 000 family farmers. It consists of a non-refundable financial transfer (not a credit), which is worth BR\$2 400 (approximately US\$1 060), which aims to help family farmers generate a productive surplus. For families in semi-arid areas who already have a water supply for production and a minimum production capacity, the productive funding is BR\$3 000 (approximately US\$1 325). The funding resources are released in 2 or 3 instalments, with a maximum interval of 2 years, depending on the planned activities in the productive project.

Another relevant objective concerning families in the Brazilian Semi-arid Region is to universalize access to and use of water for own consumption, food production or for livestock by vulnerable and poor populations from rural areas. This makes it possible to generate a production surplus for sale, in order to increase the rural producers' income. PBSM seeks to

¹⁵⁹ See for example: <http://www.mda.gov.br/sitemda/sites/sitemda/files/chamadas/Chmada%20bsm%202014%20MA%20e%20RR%20e%20BA.pdf>.

¹⁶⁰ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ato2011-2014/2011/Lei/L12512.htm#art9.

¹⁶¹ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ato2011-2014/2011/Decreto/D7644.htm.

integrate and link actions of the programs Cisterns and Water for All which provides for cisterns that to collect and store rainwater for human consumption (known as “first water”), normally with capacity for 16 000 litres of water. For families who are already provided with this cistern, the next step is the construction of water reservoirs for agricultural production and for the storage of rainwater (known as “second water”). As of March, 2014, 54 000 water reservoirs had already been built. In addition to the activities listed above, the Program Water for All supports the construction of collective systems of water supply, donation of irrigation kits and construction of small dams. More than 545 000 cisterns were built (as of March, 2014), in partnership with States, Municipalities and non-profit entities.

As most of the family productive projects are still in their implementation phase, market based actions have been weak in this phase of the program. The family farmers’ productive surpluses are destined to PAA and PNAE, but may also be allocated to private retail chains, which support the program through the Brazilian Association of Supermarkets (Abrás).¹⁶²

To ensure the inclusion of extremely poor families, the Federal Government started a coordinated action with States and Municipalities, of “active search”, in which the State takes the initiative of locating and registering families in extreme poverty. Due to the lack of civil documentation, constant migrations, households in remote areas, or for other reasons, some populations remain “invisible” to the State, therefore unable to be assisted by social protection and the public services network. Between June 2011 and April 2014, 1.1 million extremely poor families were located and registered.

This policy has already started to serve its purpose, as Vilhalba observed:

Despite these limitations and the short implementation period, the advances observed in living conditions of beneficiary families are undeniable, mainly concerning electric power, water for human consumption, food security and access to information on their rights (Vilhalba, 2014, p. 5).

In summary, PBSM involves 18 programs and federal actions that use CadÚnico as a reference database for selection of their beneficiaries, among them PBF; PMCMV; Light for All; Water for All; Pronater; Incentive Program to Rural Productive Activities; Pronatec; Green Grant Program for Support to Environmental Conservation; Water Cisterns; Literate Brazil Program (PBA); Program for the Eradication of Child Labour (PETI); and Social Electricity Tariffs, among others.

Recently, it is possible to observe a greater convergence between PBSM and some PAC and PTC actions concerning their focuses and beneficiaries.

¹⁶² Source: <http://www.brasilsemiseria.gov.br/parcerias/associacao-brasileira-de-supermercados-2013-abras> and <http://www.abrasnet.com.br/abras/>.

4.3 Land Policies and Land Reform in Brazil

4.3.1 Current context of the land policies

In Brazil, the national policy for land reform targets the landless farmers, or those with not enough land for their own and their family's survival; squatters; partners or leaseholders; rural workers; persons that are affected by infrastructure enterprises (especially hydroelectric dams); forest users, indigenous peoples and the 'quilombola' communities, among others.

In 2013, Law 8629 dated 1993,¹⁶³ that regulates constitutional provisions related to land reform, began to establish the need for harmonization of land reform actions with the political and agriculture actions, the social policies actions, and those part of the Multi Annual Union Plan (article 24, Law 8629/1993, with wording given by the MP 636/2013, subsequently converted into Law 13001/2014). Until this time, the guidance provided by the ET prevailed which only suggested for harmonization with the agricultural policies.

The attainment of land for the land reform is carried out by means of an onerous (dispossession and purchase) or non-onerous process, especially by designation of public land. From 2013 onward, criteria for the definition of priorities for obtaining land began to take into consideration such things as the population density in of those in extreme poverty in the rural area; concentration of agricultural land ownership; incidence of small holdings; availability of non-designated public land; the existence of Public Authority actions in the sphere of the PBSM and PTC or other initiatives that facilitate access of settled families of the land reform to social and productive inclusion. According to Incra, in the Citizenship Territories, there are 5 820 land reform projects and 637 880 settled families.

Destination of Union public land for settlement occurs especially in the Amazonian region, where the territorial occupancy is difficult to control. This modality of attainment is also used for the regulation of indigenous land and of other peoples and traditional communities, squatters and for the constitution of environmental conservation units, among other purposes.

Law 11952 dated 2009, previously mentioned established criteria and conditions for the concession of the right of real use of occupied Union land in Legal Amazonia, with the purpose of accelerating the necessary procedures for regularization of rural and urban areas, which on average normally takes five years.

Based on this law, the Legal Land Program benefitted farmers with areas productively occupied before 2004, outside the limits of indigenous land, and with no judicial conflicts. The values charged for the plots and the payment period vary according to the plot size, with gratuity assured for areas of up to one fiscal unit. The title deeds granted are conditioned to the adequate use of the natural resources and preservation of the environment. Transfer to a third party (sale) may occur only after 10 years.¹⁶⁴

Up to October 2013, the Program had already issued approximately 6 000 title deeds in rural areas and 260 title deeds in urban areas, encompassing a total area of 450 000 hectares. The geo-referenced area exceeded 22 million hectares.

Complementary to this, the National Program for Land Credit (PNCF) makes resources available which are subsidized by the Federal Government to finance the purchase of land by family farmers. The PNCF also offers resources for the installation of social and productive infrastructure and for the contraction of technical assistance, in conditions that vary according

¹⁶³ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/18629.htm.

¹⁶⁴ Concerning this see: http://www.mda.gov.br/sitemda/sites/sitemda/files/user_arquivos_20/Portaria_MPOG-MDA_596.pdf.pdf.

to the type of beneficiary. There are specific support modalities aimed at combating rural poverty and providing help for young people.

The program is an improvement on the experience of the “Ticket to Land” or “Land Bank” program, which existed between 1997 and 2002 in five Brazilian states, with the support of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), with the known model of market-assisted land reform (RAAM).¹⁶⁵ The proposal at the time was that this instrument should be a substitute for the traditional actions of land reform (with dispossessions). An internal assessment showed that this experience was not adequate, as Pereira and Sauer declare:

[The project] was implemented, but failed by a long shot to reach the rational and voluntary meeting in the market between buyers and sellers, as the IBRD economists propounded. In fact, as the preliminary assessment of the project itself showed, the “demand” for the Ticket was directly linked to a situation of extreme poverty, nonexistence of working opportunities, actions by local politicians and repression to land occupation (Pereira and Sauer, 2011, p. 595).

The current norms are a help for succession in rural property, allowing for financing of the purchase of land under a partition process among heirs. CMN fixed the maximum value for PNCF at BR\$80 000 (approximately US\$36 000),¹⁶⁶ including the expenses for initial installations (housing reforms, initial productive investments and incidental expenses such as geo-referencing and taxes arising from the registration).¹⁶⁷

The payment time for financing may be for up to 20 years, with three years grace period at the beginning of the instalments. The interest rates are differentiated: 0.5% per year for beneficiaries who are registered in the Federal Government social programs; 1.9% per year for young people between 18 and 29 years of age; and 2.0% per year for everyone else.

The instalments of the financing come with a compliance bonus of 10%, plus a bonus according to the localization of the financed property: of 40% in the semiarid region, of 30% in the northern region and the rest of the northeast (except the semiarid), and 20% in the south, southeast and centre-west of Brazil.

Since 2004, in the regions where rural poverty is concentrated, the program counts on a complementation for community investments, the Subproject for Community Investments (SIC), constituted by resources transferred to the local association of beneficiaries. The resources are destined especially for hydric projects, electrification, access roads or for the implementation of productive projects. The resources are non-refundable and transferred in instalments over a 2 year period, according to the implementation of the project. The current limit of this modality is BR\$100 000¹⁶⁸ (approximately US\$45 000) per project.

The running of the program is carried out in a de-centralized manner, in partnership with state governments, and especially with rural workers’ or family farmer syndicates. The proposals should prioritize areas of poverty, and take into consideration age, race, ethnicity and

¹⁶⁵ Formalised in 1997 by means of the Loan Agreement, approved by the Federal Senate Resolution number 67, dated 1997. Available at: <http://legis.senado.leg.br/legislacao/ListaPublicacoes.action?id=146604&tipoDocumento=RSF&tipoTexto=PUB>. Accessed 25 September 2014.

¹⁶⁶ PNCF exchange used 1 US\$ = BR\$2, 2019, on 30 June 2014. Unfortunately, while writing this text, it was not available the conversion factor for 2014 US\$ PPP.

¹⁶⁷ Concerning this see the MCR, chapter 12, section 1, available at: <http://www3.bcb.gov.br/mcr/>. Accessed 25 September 2014.

¹⁶⁸ Source: CPR-SIC Operation Manual. Available at: http://www.mda.gov.br/sistemda/sites/sistemda/files/user_arquivos_25/Manual_de_Operacao%20CPR-SIC.pdf.

environmental protection. Moreover, women should be prioritized in the registration of property.

Since the start of land credit operations in the country, 138 000 contracts had already been carried out for an area of 3.3 million hectares, of which 34 000 are destined for young people (25% of the contracts). The value of all the financing of the land was approximately US\$3.5 billion (2011 PPP), which when added to the community investment, reaches approximately US\$4 billion (2011 PPP).

4.3.2 Current organization of Land Reform

Since 2003 more than 50 million hectares have been incorporated into the land reform with approximately 4 000 new projects. In this period more than 670 000 families have been settled. According to Incra,¹⁶⁹ in September 2014, there were 960 318 families settled on 9,167 land reform projects in Brazil, in a total area of 88 160 640 ha which is approximately 10% of the national territory. These families were distributed mainly in the Legal Amazonia (617 911 families settled in 3 451 projects) and in the Semiarid regions (117 291 families settled in 2 203 projects).

The settlement projects of land reform are of various types and include environmentally differentiated modalities such as forests, extractive reserves¹⁷⁰ and units of sustainable development, among others.

After the obtainment of the land, the beneficiaries of the land reform begin to have access to various public policies for development of the social and productive infrastructure; for agricultural and livestock or forest exploitation; and for the processing and sale of these products. At least 5% of the empty lots in the settlements should be destined to the sons and daughters of the settled farmers.

The settled farmers have access to four modalities of the PAC: the Rural PMCMV, the Light for Everyone, the Water for Everyone, the PAC Equipment. According to Incra, approximately 32 230 settled families in 578 projects of land reform are served by the Water for Everyone Program; and in the PAC Equipment, 753 351 there are settled families in 7 812 projects.

Since 2014, the credit for installation, social inclusion and production in the settlement projects offers resources for families registered in the CadÚnico for the purchase of items of first necessity, durable goods for domestic use and productive equipment, fostering of productive projects for promotion of food and nutritional security, and microcredit for the increase of production capacity. There is a special credit line focused on the implementation of productive projects, under the responsibility of the female titleholder. According to Incra,¹⁷¹ 630 545 settled families were registered in the CadÚnico.

Apart from this specific financing for production, the settled families have access to the Program for Incentive Rural Productive Activities, and specific lines from Pronaf, in the modalities of working capital and investment. The resources from the Incentive Program are refundable, and those from Pronaf have a higher subvention level than for other publics. Due

¹⁶⁹ Source: See <http://painel.incra.gov.br/sistemas/index.php>.

¹⁷⁰ “Reservas extrativistas” in portuguese, Art.18 of Law 9985/2000: is an area used by traditional forest users, whose livelihood is based on the use of natural resources, and in complement, with subsistence agriculture and the creation of small animals. The basic objective is protecting the livelihoods and the culture of these populations, and ensures the sustainable use of natural resources of the unit. Source: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/19985.htm.

¹⁷¹ Source: <http://painel.incra.gov.br/sistemas/index.php>.

to the Pronaf credit, the settled families have access to SEAF and the PGPAF. Apart from this, the settled families have access to the Harvest Guarantee Program.

Since 2010, the settled families are included in the Pronater, which aims at organizing and carrying out services from the Technical Assistance and Rural Extension. In 2013, the Federal Government contracted technical assistance and rural extension services for 236 184 settled families.

The Sun Land and Strong Land Programs have the purpose of implementing and/or modernizing the joint enterprises in land reform projects created or recognized by Incra in the whole national territory. According to MDA, between January 2004 and April 2014, 209 187 families were attended by the Sun Land program.

The beneficiaries of the land reform also have access to PAA and the PNAE, and in 2013, 15 450 families from 1 676 projects had access to PAA. Apart from these policies, the beneficiaries of the land reform also have access to other public policies, such as the conditional cash transfer programs, linked to PBSM; Social Security and specific education. Among the conditional cash transfer programs, the PBF and the Green Grant are included, which, according to Incra have benefitted, respectively 397 751 and 40 593 settled families.

Since 1998, the settled persons have been included in the RGPS, as special insured persons, and may request the benefits of retirement, pension, paid maternity-leave and sick pay, among others.

Apart from the Field Pronatec, the settled families have access to the National Program for Education in Land Reform (Proneca), created in 1988, with the purpose of increasing the formal education level of the settled persons. The Program offers courses at basic, intermediate and advanced levels, including literacy, technical professionalization and specialization, all with appropriate approach pedagogical, as well as teacher training.

4.4 The Brazil “Quilombola” Program (PBQ)

The FC, in article 68 of the Transitory Constitutional Disposition Act (ADCT), recognizes the rights of remaining communities of “quilombos” to their land, as a form of reparation of the social debt to these ethnic-racial groups, with a black historical pathway, that resisted the imposition of slavery in the Brazilian colonial period.

The Brazil “Quilombola” Program (PBQ), started in 2004, aims at consolidating a State policy for ‘quilombola’ areas. Decree 6261, dated 2007,¹⁷² instituted the Social “Quilombola” Agenda, which brings together and organizes actions focusing on the communities in various areas, in the following ways:

1. *Access to Land*: execution and accompaniment of the necessary procedures for the land regularization in the “quilombo” areas, which is constituted by a collective title deed of ownership of the land traditionally occupied, according to Decree 4887 dated 2003.¹⁷³ The process starts with the certification of the communities and closes with the title deed, which is the basis for implementation of development alternatives for the communities, apart from assuring their physical, social and cultural reproduction.

“Palmares” Cultural Foundation (FCP), linked to the Ministry of Culture (MinC) carries out the certification of the communities and the Incra carries out the studies and the other measures necessary to title deeds at the Federal level.

¹⁷² Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2007-2010/2007/Decreto/D6261.htm.

¹⁷³ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ Ato2007-2010/2007/Decreto/D6261.htm.

The title deed is carried out after identification, delimitation and demarcation of the land occupied by these communities. The title deed is drawn up in a collective manner along with the communities, with clauses of non-transferability, imprescriptibility, and with security from not being seized. The communities are represented by their associations.

2. *Infrastructure and Life Quality*: consolidation of effective mechanisms for the destination of infrastructure works (housing, sanitation, electrification, communication and access roads) and construction of social equipment to attend the demands, mainly those of health, education and social assistance. The “quilombola” communities have access to the programs of the PBSM and PAN, as well as PMCMV, Light for Everyone and others.

3. *Productive Inclusion and Local Development*: support to local productive development and economic autonomy, based on cultural identity and on the natural resources present in the territory, aiming at the environmental, social, cultural, economic and political sustainability of the communities.

The “quilombola” communities are beneficiaries of development policies focusing on family farming, such as Pronaf, PAA and PNAE, and have access to a specific modality of ATER. They are registered in the Citizenship Territories and have projects which are supported by CEF and state mixed-capital companies controlled by the Federal Government, such as Eletrobrás and Petrobrás.

4. *Rights and Citizenship*: the fostering of initiatives that assure one’s rights promoted by different public bodies and civil society organizations, encouraging active participation of the “quilombola” representatives in the collective spaces for control and social participation, such as the councils and local and national public policy forums; this is to promote access for these communities to the set of actions outlined by the government and their involvement in the monitoring of those that are implemented in each municipality where there are remaining “quilombo” communities.

The purposes and the resources of the PBQ involve 23 ministries and federal bodies. The general coordination of PBQ is the responsibility of the Office for Policies of Promotion of Racial Equality (Seppir), linked to the Presidency of the Republic, which works jointly with 11 ministries that make up the Managing Committee. The de-centralized management of the PBQ occurs as from the structuring of the state committees with the articulation of specific state and municipal bodies and with the entities which are representatives of the “quilombola” communities and other non-government partners.

Seppir, for purposes of PBQ application, considers the assessment of FCP, which has mapped out more than 3 500 of these communities, among which 2 289 were certified by the Foundation up to April, 2014.¹⁷⁴

According to the monitoring carried out by Seppir¹⁷⁵ and by MDS in July 2014, 121 557 “quilombola” families were registered in the CadÚnico. Among these, 93 791 were beneficiaries of the PBF.

According to Incra, since the launch of the program until April 2014, 169 “quilombola” areas had already concluded their identification and delimitation report,¹⁷⁶ benefitting 23 000

¹⁷⁴ The list of the certified communities is available at: http://www.palmares.gov.br/?page_id=88.

¹⁷⁵ Available at: <http://monitoramento.seppir.gov.br/>. Accessed 3 October 2014.

¹⁷⁶ The identification and delineation corresponds to the initial stages of the areas regularization process and consist of technical and scientific studies to establish the boundaries of communities.

families, in an area of approximately 1.7 million hectares. Around 13 000 families have already been benefitted with definite title deeds of their areas.¹⁷⁷

In 2013, approximately 14 000 DAPs for “quilombola” families were issued. “Quilombola” ATER benefitted 4 500 families which have been attended to. Approximately 1 800 “quilombola” families accessed PAA or PNAE.

According to the 2013 School Census carried out by the Anísio Teixeira National Institute for Education Studies and Research (INEP) of the Ministry of Education, there were around 227 000 students actively enrolled in approximately 2 200 schools situated in remaining “quilombo” areas.¹⁷⁸

5. Final considerations

The re-democratizing process of the Brazilian society, which started in the eighties, created the right conditions for the emergence of a specific institutionalism of the Federal Government, to attend to the needs of the farming families and the settled farmers of the land reform by means of differentiated public policies.

As from 2003, with the full commitment of the Federal Government for eradication of hunger (Zero Hunger Program), and subsequently, in 2011, for eradication of extreme poverty (Brazil without Poverty Plan – PBSM), a set of permanent public policies was created, focusing on family farming. In the recent period there has been a convergence of purposes and actions focusing on farmers and farming families in Brazil, allowing them to have simultaneous access to policies directed to the agricultural and livestock activity in the strict sense, and to social policies. These actions constitute a social protection network and a new economic dynamism for the rural areas, with priority given to family farming.

To deal with complex subjects such as the eradication of hunger and extreme poverty, the Federal Government started to provide conditions for integrating actions and programs which were traditionally independent. The creation of institutional markets such as the Program for Purchase of Food (PAA) or the National Program for School Meals (PNAE) are examples of the linking of public policies which were traditionally independent, such as social assistance, education, agriculture and agrarian development.

This connection of programs was possible only because of the coordination and strong commitment of joint actions of the ministries and bodies involved in the federal sphere, counting on the effective participation of the state and municipal governments. The constant presence of organized civil society, with its councils and forums, and the organized movements in the rural area, helped to correct and increase the actions, conferring legitimacy to the programs. Current examples are the PBSM and the Citizenship Territories (PTC), and the recent articulation of the settled families of the land reform to the various federal programs.

Simultaneous access to public policies is anchored on the progressive convergence of concepts that characterize the persons who are beneficiaries and in administrative registers of national scope, such as the Declaration of Aptitude to Pronaf (DAP) and the Single Registry for Federal Government Social Programs (CadÚnico), that allow the unification of identification of this public, rationalization of the registering process and the integration of the programs and actions of various bodies.

¹⁷⁷ Source: <http://www.incra.gov.br/quilombolas>. Accessed 3 October 2014.

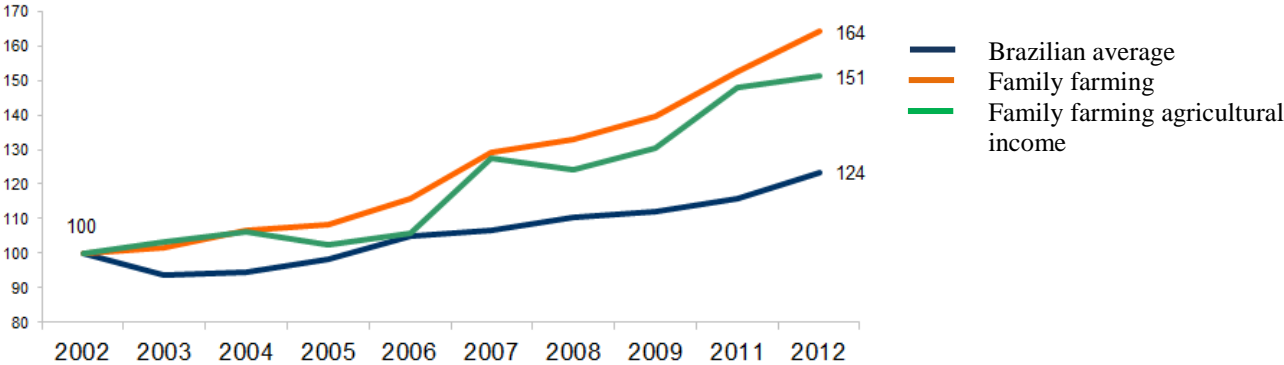
¹⁷⁸ See: <http://www.dataescolabrasil.inep.gov.br/dataEscolaBrasil/>. Accessed 3 October 2014.

This guidance is supported by a wide system of participation and social control that confer legitimacy, consistence and credibility to the programs. The directives adopted in the last decade have resulted in an institutional reorganization, inasmuch as they demand a greater capacity for financing of the public policies associated to the functional strengthening of various government bodies (including public financing institutions) and to new planning and execution mechanisms of joint actions among themselves in the federal, state and municipal sphere.

The results can already be seen and are recognized internationally. Hunger is not a structural problem of Brazilian society anymore and today is restricted to some occasional situations or specific groups. And the country is close to reaching the millennium goals for eradication of extreme poverty, including in the rural areas.

Family farmers had a real growth of 64% in their household income between 2003 and 2012, above the average for the Brazilian population, which had a real growth of 24%. This significant increase in the family farmers’ income was strongly influenced by the growth of agricultural income in 51% in the same period, pointing to the fact that the majority of them were inserted in local virtuous cycles of income growth.

Figure 5: Evolution of the average real income of the family farmer households, comparatively to the average income of Brazilian households. Brazil, 2002-2012



Source: IBGE [National Household Sample Survey](#) (PNAD). Incomes deflated by [Extended National Consumer Price Index](#) (IPCA). Elaboration: Del Grossi

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