

## LULA III GOVERNMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF AGRARIAN, AGRICULTURAL AND FOOD POLICIES IN THE 2023-2024 BIENNIUM

*Governo Lula III: uma análise das políticas agrárias, agrícolas e alimentares  
no biênio (2023 - 2024)*

*Gobierno de lula III: un análisis de las políticas agrarias, agrícolas y  
alimentarias en el bienio (2023-2024)*



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### RESUMO

This article aims to discuss the actions of the Lula III government, during the 2023-2024 biennium, in the areas of agrarian, agricultural, and food policies in Brazil, observing whether they were directed towards combating hunger. Thus, this work began with bibliographic and documentary reviews of books, texts, governmental and/or independent websites, as well as institutional repositories. The analysis of this material allowed for a systematization of these policies, contributing to an exercise in the state of knowledge. We found that in the historical series analyzed, there was a resumption of important social programs, but these do not solve the problem of hunger, as they are based on mitigating actions. According to the assessment of socio-territorial movements, the resumption of agrarian reform did not occur, a crucial factor in combating hunger in our country.

**Keywords:** Public policies; Hunger; Agribusiness; Peasantry.

#### Article History

Received: 01 october, 2025  
Accepted: 03 december, 2025  
Published: 29 december, 2025

## RESUMO

Este artigo objetiva discutir as ações do governo Lula III, no biênio 2023-2024, nos âmbitos das políticas agrárias, agrícolas e alimentares no Brasil, observando se elas se direcionaram ao combate à fome. Assim, esse trabalho partiu de revisões bibliográficas e documentais em livros, textos, sites governamentais e/ou independentes, bem com repositórios institucionais. A análise desse material possibilitou uma sistematização dessas políticas, contribuindo para um exercício do estado do conhecimento. Constatamos que na série histórica analisada, ocorreu a retomada de importantes programas sociais, mas que não resolvem a problemática da fome, pois fundamentam-se em ações mitigatórias. De acordo com a avaliação dos movimentos socioterritoriais, a retomada da reforma agrária não aconteceu, um fator primordial para o combate à fome em nosso país.

**Palavras-chave:** Políticas públicas; Fome; Agronegócio; Campesinato.

## RESUMEN

Este artículo busca discutir las acciones del gobierno de Lula III, durante el bienio 2023-2024, en las áreas de políticas agrarias, agrícolas y alimentarias en Brasil, observando si estuvieron dirigidas a combatir el hambre. Así, este trabajo comenzó con revisiones bibliográficas y documentales de libros, textos, sitios web gubernamentales y/o independientes, así como repositorios institucionales. El análisis de este material permitió una sistematización de estas políticas, contribuyendo a un ejercicio sobre el estado del conocimiento. Encontramos que, en la serie histórica analizada, hubo una reanudación de importantes programas sociales, pero estos no resuelven el problema del hambre, ya que se basan en acciones de mitigación. Según la evaluación de los movimientos socioterritoriales, no se produjo la reanudación de la reforma agraria, un factor crucial en la lucha contra el hambre en nuestro país.

**Palabras clave:** Políticas públicas; Hambre; Agronegocios; Campesinado.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Poverty and structural unemployment exacerbate food insecurity in urban and rural areas of our country. According to data from the Summary of Social Indicators (SIS) reports released by the IBGE (2023), approximately 9.5 million people live in extreme poverty. This scenario can be understood in terms of the worsening precariousness of labor relations and informality, which limit access to a minimum and stable income, thereby compromising the regular purchase of food.

Important public policies to combat hunger, which had been progressively strengthened but dismantled in recent years, such as the abolition of the National Council for Food and Nutritional Security (CONSEA)<sup>1</sup> in 2019, represented a significant setback in

<sup>1</sup> CONSEA was reinstated in 2023.



the coordination of intersectoral policies aimed at achieving adequate nutrition. This has weakened the institutional capacity to tackle hunger in a coordinated manner.

These institutional setbacks have significantly contributed to the worsening of food insecurity in the country, as reflected in the social and economic indicators of recent years. The dismantling of public policies aimed at food and nutrition has had direct effects on the lives of the most vulnerable populations, whose ability to access adequate food has been severely compromised.

According to the Brazilian Food Insecurity Scale (EBIA)<sup>2</sup>, based on surveys conducted by the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) - which considers only urban household samples - food security indicators in Brazil showed continuous deterioration between 2018 and 2022. In 2020, the share of the population with full access to adequate food dropped from 63% to 45%, revealing the spread of hunger across all regions. This trend worsened in 2022, when the index fell to 41%, indicating that more than half of Brazilians were facing some level of food restriction.

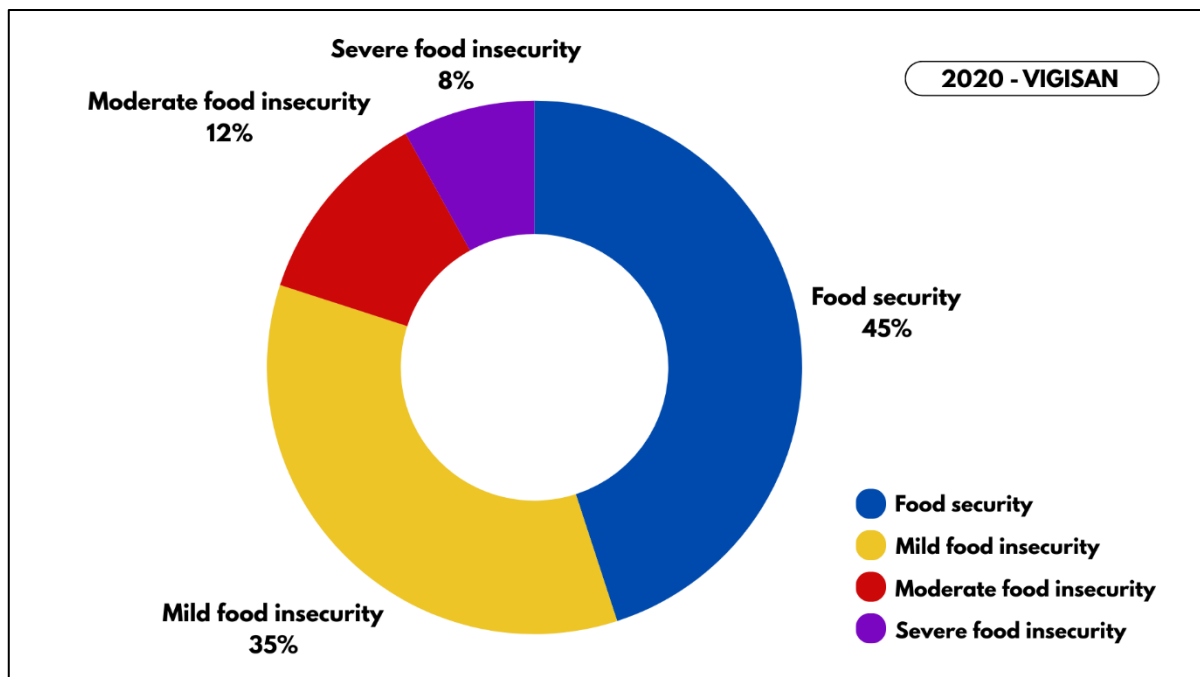
This rise in hunger highlights the impacts of economic and political crises and exposes the fragility of social safety nets, especially among the most vulnerable groups. Below are graphs that illustrate.

These figures reaffirm that hunger still plagues the daily lives of millions of Brazilians, revealing how far we still are from guaranteeing the basic right to food for all. These rates affect families succumbing to food insecurity and exclusion. That is why it is important to demand the development of solid public policies that, in addition to combating hunger, address the structural causes that perpetuate it.

Thus, with the arrival of a new government after the 2022 elections in Brazil and the victory of President Lula, civil society's prospects for the return of public policies have been rekindled. This is because most of these policies were destroyed by the previous government, especially public policies and social programs.

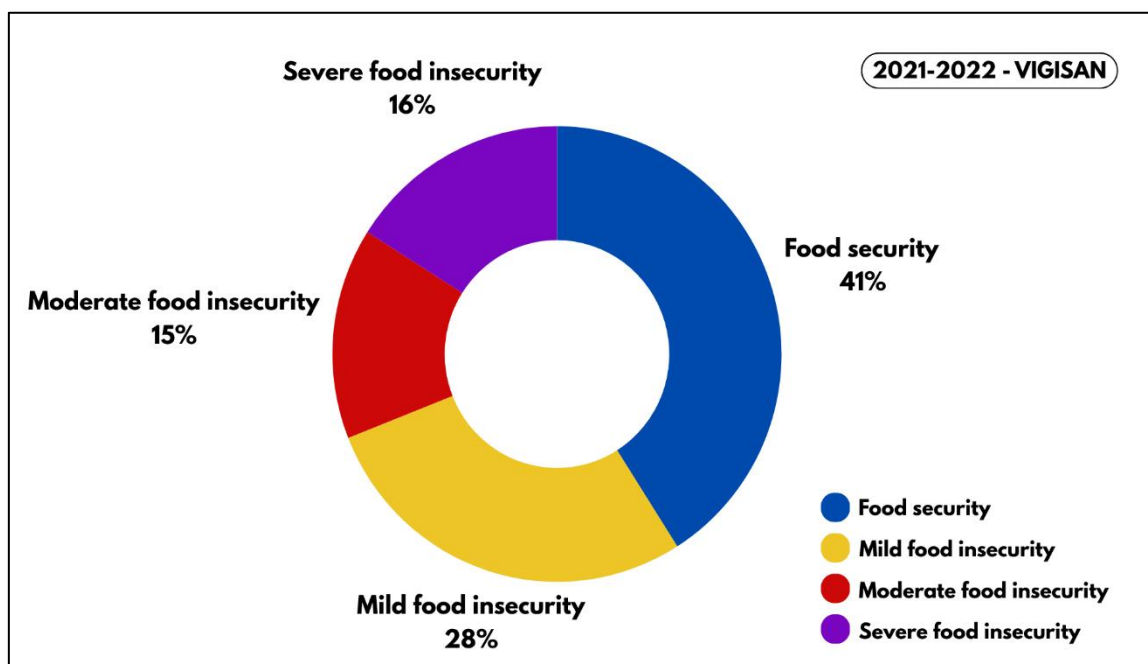
<sup>2</sup> According to Kepple and Segall-Correa et al. (2011), the Brazilian Food Insecurity Scale (EBIA) was adopted as a tool to estimate food insecurity among the population starting in 2004. The scale classifies four levels of food insecurity: food security, mild food insecurity, moderate food insecurity, and severe food insecurity.

**Graph 01-** Levels of Food Insecurity in Brazil – VIGISAN (2020)



**Source:** Prepared by the author (2025).

**Graph 02-** Levels of Food Insecurity in Brazil – VIGISAN (2021-2022)



**Source:** Prepared by the author (2025)

In practice, certain sectors of society expected the resumption of inclusive public policies, agrarian reform, the strengthening of socio-territorial movements, and the fight against hunger. It is in this context that this article was written, aiming to promote a discussion about the actions of the Lula III government over these two years (2023–2024).

When approaching the issue of hunger in Brazil, it is essential to understand that its reasons are related to the consequences of the historical process of the colonial period and the relationship with the Brazilian territorial formation, which resulted in an agrarian structure characterized by land concentration, monoculture, and expropriation.

In rural areas, capital develops a model of development that mainly involves control of land for the production of goods that have exchange value, the production of commodities, or simply control of land as an instrument of speculation, a manifestation of land rentierism. Control over land represents opportunities for the production of wealth, political power, obtaining financial credit etc. (Ramos Filho, 2013, p.346, our translation).

The agrarian issue emerges from the structural contradiction of capitalism, which simultaneously produces the concentration of wealth and the expansion of poverty and misery (Fernandes, 2004). Agrarian reform is understood as a compensatory policy aimed at reducing misery, functioning as an instrument of social control and of economic stimulation through the dynamization of the land purchase and sale market (Ramos Filho, 2013).

Over time, Brazil developed a political base that was strongly controlled by large landowners who maintained this structure. This led to the consolidation of monopoly capital in land ownership, since, “big capital became a landowner especially through the tax incentives granted during the military dictatorship” (Martins, 2004, p. 90, our translation).

In this context, this paper presents an assessment of the investments made by the Lula administration in Brazilian agriculture during its first three years in office, situating the analysis within a context marked by structural challenges such as unequal access to resources, environmental pressures, and the coexistence of different production models. It examines how federal policies and investments have been mobilized to address these structural tensions and, at the same time, to promote effective actions to combat hunger in Brazil.





## 1.1 Methodological procedures

The article is based on bibliographic and documentary reviews of books, online texts, and websites, which culminated in systematizations and analyses conducted throughout the development of the first author's master's thesis, from which the present article was derived, as mentioned in the note above. We systematized the agrarian, agricultural, and food policy guidelines of the Lula III Brazilian government for the 2023–2024 biennium. This time frame was established based on the average duration of the master's research.

The objective was to observe these government actions and materialize them in the construction of the state of the art of knowledge, which, according to the definition proposed by Brandão et al. (1986), consists of surveying what is known about a given subject through research conducted in a specific field. “Inventorying and systematizing production in a given area of knowledge” (Soares and Maciel, 2000, p. 9, our translation).

This process was accompanied by the systematization of government policy and action guidelines, giving shape to the exercise of constructing the state of knowledge. In this context, we developed a critical analysis of these actions, providing an assessment of the first three years of government and highlighting the investments made by the Lula administration in the Brazilian agricultural sector.

Thus, this work is organized into two stages. The first involved conducting bibliographic and documentary reviews, “developed from material already prepared, consisting mainly of books and scientific articles” (Gil, 2002, p. 50), as well as online sources, which involved reading, note-taking, and analysis. The objective was to monitor and systematize the agrarian, agricultural, and food policy guidelines of the Lula III administration during the 2023–2024 biennium.

The second stage consisted of observing these government actions and analytically materializing the information collected, which was systematized through the construction of the state of the art or state of knowledge, based on research and ongoing monitoring of government and independent websites, digital media, and social networks.

Among the sources used were the website and social media platform (Instagram) of the Ministry of Agrarian Development and Family Agriculture (MDA); the Landless Workers' Movement (MST); the Small Farmers Movement (MPA) and MPA–Sergipe; the National Agroecology Articulation (ANA); and the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT). Additional sources included websites such as *Brasil de Fato*, *CartaCapital*, *Repórter Brasil*,



the *MST website*, *O Joio e o Trigo*, and *Agência Brasil*, as well as the monitoring of interviews conducted on radio, television, and online platforms.

These stages addressed the article's objectives and discussions. The sources were chosen for their reliable data and comprehensive view of government priorities. This enabled a consistent analysis of investments in the early years of government administration.

Based on an understanding of the complexity of the dynamics that govern Brazilian agriculture, such as the high economic weight of this sector, its significant productive diversity, and historical challenges related to land concentration, socio-environmental vulnerability, and inequalities in access to public resources, we adopted criteria based on budgetary relevance to select the main actions for the 2023–2024 period. Priority was given to programs and investments with the greatest financial impact on the agricultural sector, particularly those focused on smallholder farming (here understood as peasant agriculture), productive sustainability, and the strengthening of rural infrastructure.

In this way, we sought to understand how the federal government distributed investments between peasant (smallholder) farming and agribusiness, analyzing how these actions impact rural development, food security and sovereignty, and ecological transition strategies

## 2 A BRIEF CONTEXTUAL OVERVIEW OF PUBLIC POLICIES

Before turning to the systematizations proposed here, it is important to contextualize different approaches to public policies. To this end, we first present the central concepts addressed in the article, in order to clarify that they may be shaped by the interests of those who conceived and/or implemented them. Public policies involve a series of stages, ranging from the recognition of a social need to the development, implementation, and evaluation of actions designed to address it.

However, it is important to emphasize that this process is neither neutral nor purely technical; rather, it is deeply embedded in historical, social, and political contexts. The formulation of public policies reflects disputes, negotiations, and divergent interests among different social groups and institutions.

The formulation of public policies results from the correlation of forces among institutions that either embody or represent class interests. It is social actors who, through their policy proposals, defend their respective development models. The influence of institutions and civil society organizations shapes the direction of both government and state policies. Development policies for

rural areas exemplify this process. Over the past decade, peasant movements have been able to exert greater influence on the formulation of development policies related to agriculture, livestock production, markets, industry, education, health, and housing, among others. Taken together, this set of policies constitutes territorial development policies, which are contested by capitalist corporations, commonly referred to as agribusinesses (Fernandes, 2015, p. 18–19, our translation).

In theory, public policies are implemented with the aim of achieving specific goals intended to improve the well-being of society as a whole. However, this is not always accomplished, due to factors such as poor resource management or the underlying political intentions shaping the implementation of these policies. As a result, government programs often produce unintended consequences for those who designed their guiding frameworks (Souza, 2018).

Conceptualizations of public policies are diverse and have been developed over the centuries, both as a field of knowledge and as an academic discipline. In this context, public policies are understood through different conceptual approaches. According to Souza (2006, pp. 24–25, our translation):

there is no single, definitive definition of public policy. Mead (1995) defines it as a field within the study of politics that analyzes government in light of major public issues, while Lynn (1980) defines it as a set of government actions that produce specific effects. Peters (1986) follows the same line of thinking, defining public policy as the sum of government activities carried out directly or through delegation that influence citizens' lives. The best-known definition remains that of Lasswell, according to which decisions and analyses of public policy involve answering the following questions: who gets what, why, and what difference does it make? Other definitions emphasize the role of public policy in problem-solving. [...] It can also be added that, by focusing on the role of governments, these definitions tend to overlook their conflictual nature and the constraints surrounding governmental decision-making. They also exclude possibilities of cooperation between governments and other institutions and social groups. Nevertheless, definitions of public policy, even minimalist ones, direct our attention to the locus where disputes over interests, preferences, and ideas unfold, namely governments.

At the end of the eighteenth century, several revolutions took place with freedom as their central focus. Shortly thereafter, the need for public policies, as they are understood today, began to be recognized (Souza, 2018). These transformations marked the transition from a State concerned solely with maintaining order to a model in which state intervention came to be viewed as essential to guaranteeing rights and promoting development.



Public policy as an area of knowledge and an academic discipline originated in the United States, breaking with or bypassing the stages followed by the European tradition of studies and research in this field, which at the time focused more on the analysis of the State and its institutions than on government output itself. Thus, in Europe, the field of public policy emerged as an extension of work grounded in explanatory theories of the State and the role of one of its most important institutions, namely the government, the primary producer of public policies. In the United States, by contrast, the field emerged within academia without establishing links to theoretical foundations concerning the role of the State, moving directly toward an emphasis on studies of government action. The premise of the field in the United States is that, in stable democracies, what governments do or fail to do can be (a) scientifically formulated and (b) analyzed by independent researchers (Souza, 2018, p. 10, our translation).

Public policies involve a series of steps, from recognizing a problem or need to developing, implementing, and evaluating actions to address that problem. “Public policies are useful for studying various aspects of politics, such as the discussion of the public agenda by society as a whole, elections involving candidates and their programs, government activities, opposition activities, and analytical efforts related to these issues” (Parada, 2006, p. 67–68).

Thus, the evolution of public policies reflects not only institutional changes, but also the different political and economic paradigms that have shaped the actions of the State over time. According to Souza (2006, pp. 23–24, our translation),

The field of public policy is considered to have four major founding figures: H. Lasswell, H. Simon, C. Lindblom, and D. Easton. Lasswell (1936) introduced the term *policy analysis* in the 1930s as a way of reconciling scientific and academic knowledge with the empirical production of governments, as well as establishing dialogue among social scientists, interest groups, and government. Simon (1957) introduced the concept of bounded rationality among policymakers, arguing, however, that such limitations could be minimized through rational knowledge. Lindblom (1959; 1979) questioned the emphasis on rationalism advanced by Lasswell and Simon and proposed incorporating additional variables into the formulation and analysis of public policies, such as power relations and the integration of different stages of the decision-making process, which do not necessarily have a clear beginning or end. For this reason, public policy analysis must incorporate elements beyond rationality, including the roles of elections, bureaucracies, political parties, and interest groups. Easton (1965) contributed to the field by defining public policy as a system, that is, as a relationship among formulation, outcomes, and the environment. According to Easton, public policies receive inputs from political parties, the media, and interest groups, which influence their outcomes and effects.

In summary, this historical process of public policy development has been marked by multiple nuances and significant changes in the role of the State and in the relationship between government and society over time. As new social, economic, and political demands emerged, the State was challenged to assume different functions, alternating between periods of limited intervention and phases of strong presence and regulatory action.

Therefore, a general theory of public policy involves seeking to synthesize theories developed in the fields of sociology, political science, and economics. Public policies have repercussions on the economy and society; therefore, any theory of public policy must also explain the interrelationships between the state, politics, the economy, and society (Souza, 2006, p. 25, our translation).

These changes directly impacted how public policies were designed, implemented, and defended. Views on public policy shifted as ideas about the state and democracy evolved, each influenced by the history, prevailing beliefs, and social pressures of the time.

Public policy can therefore be summarized as a field of knowledge that seeks, at the same time, to “put the government into action” and to analyze that action (independent variable) and, when necessary, to propose changes in the direction or course of those actions (dependent variable). The formulation of public policies constitutes the stage at which democratic governments translate their electoral goals and platforms into programs and actions that produce results or changes in the real world (Souza, 2006, p. 26, our translation).

In Brazil, the 1988 Constitution is considered a milestone in the public policy agenda (Souza, 2018), marking a period of redemocratization in Brazilian society following two decades of military dictatorship (1964-1985). After the Constitution was enacted and since the 1990s, “the Federal Government has adopted a series of measures to implement constitutional mandates relating to public policy and the principles that govern it – decentralization, participation, and universalization” (Souza, 2018, p.45). In Brazil:

The National Congress assumes particular importance in the approval phase of policy formulation, insofar as many public policies are constitutionalized or have been the object of infra-constitutional legislation, which leads policy decisions to be submitted by governments to the approval, modification, or veto of legislators (Souza, 2018, p. 52, our translation).

Reflection on public policies requires understanding that they do not arise in a neutral manner or detached from social reality. On the contrary, they are embedded in a

historical context marked by diverse interests, conflicts, and contradictions. In this process, the State acts as a space for mediation, where different social classes seek to assert their projects and worldviews.

Public policies reveal not only technical choices, but above all political options that express power relations and disputes over the definition of the direction of society. Thus, Fernandes (2015, pp. 28–29, our translation) points out that:

In order to think about public policies based on the paradigmatic debate, it is necessary to understand that they are constructed through political disputes. Depending on the correlation of forces, public policies of subordination or emancipatory public policies are developed. The starting point is the understanding that peasant and capitalist territories need different policies for their development, which must be thought out according to the logic of social relations. Agribusiness territories have used public and private policies to develop based on the logic of wage labor and the production of commodities for export. Peasant territories need development policies based on the logic of family, cooperative, or associated labor for the production of various crops for local, regional, and national markets and for export. Peasant territories need development policies based on the logic of family, cooperative, or associated labor for the production of diverse crops for local, regional, and national markets and for export. Emphasizing, once again, each territory needs to produce policies according to its logic, its mode of production. Agribusiness activity in peasant territories disrupts peasant territoriality and creates subordination, expressed by agribusiness territoriality. Peasant territory policies cannot, therefore, be developed based on agribusiness logic. Public policies with these principles should preferably be developed by peasant movements, unions, and their confederations. Government participation is important, but it cannot be intrusive.

(...)

The term “public policy” can be understood according to the selected premises. When we use the expression public policy, we are referring to a program, project, or development plan developed by governments or by them with civil society organizations that transform spaces and territories. Based on this thinking, public policies are developed in certain spaces and territories by public and private institutions that advocate different models of development for the country. In addition to the relationship between institutions, their spaces, and territories, we have public policies developed from the top down, that is, from a sector of the government to meet a demand of the population, without counting on their participation. Public policies are also developed from the bottom up, with broad participation from organized society (Fernandes, 2015, pp. 29-30).

Given these concepts, we understand that public policies can be formulated and implemented by governments or provided for within the framework of the State, a characteristic that makes them more durable over time. They are conceived, disputed, and implemented within the context of class struggle. They can also be developed and



implemented by non-State actors such as corporations, third-sector organizations, unions, and socio-territorial movements.

We emphasize that State public policies must consider relevant, historically situated issues and be aligned with democratically defined political objectives through the participation of subordinate classes at all stages, especially through effective social control.

It is important that their objectives be constructed on the basis of public debate, listening to beneficiary or affected populations, promoting public accountability, and evaluating results. Likewise, their scope should seek universality and universalization, rather than the competition, selectivity, and exclusion promoted by public policy tendering processes<sup>3</sup>.

### **3 SYSTEMATIZATION OF THE AGRARIAN, AGRICULTURAL, AND FOOD POLICIES OF THE LULA III ADMINISTRATION FOR THE 2023-2024 BIENNIUM**

In this section, we present a systematic and chronological analysis of agrarian, agricultural, and food public policies, examining whether they were in fact directed toward combating hunger in Brazil. In this context, we highlight three key ministries within the fields of food, agrarian, and agricultural policies that comprise the Lula III administration, in order to better understand the governmental structure under analysis.

These are the Ministry of Agrarian Development and Family Farming (MDA), headed by Luiz Paulo Teixeira Ferreira, affiliated with the Workers' Party; the Ministry of Social Development, Family, and the Fight Against Hunger (MDS), headed by José Wellington Barroso de Araújo Dias, also affiliated with the Workers' Party; and the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, and Supply (MAPA), headed by Minister Carlos Henrique Baqueta Fávaro, a member of the Social Democratic Party (PSD).

The Ministry of Agrarian Development and Family Farming (MDA) is responsible, within the federal government, for formulating and implementing public policies related to agrarian reform and for strengthening the family farming sector, with the aim of addressing challenges such as reducing poverty in rural areas and ensuring food security and sovereignty.

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<sup>3</sup> The tendering of public policies is a bottom-up process that has expanded alongside neoliberalism. It consists of the targeting of public policies and the promotion of access through the submission of proposals, projects, and applications via public calls, usually with limited resources allocated. This mechanism undermines the universalization and scope of public policies by stimulating competition among supposedly equal actors, narrowing state action, and promoting individualism and meritocracy, to the detriment of rights.

The Ministry of Development and Social Assistance, Family, and Fight Against Hunger (MDS)<sup>4</sup> is responsible for national policies on social development and social assistance, citizenship income programs, and food and nutritional security, as well as for managing the Single Registry for Social Programs. In addition, the ministry coordinates actions with federal, state, district, and municipal governments, as well as with civil society, in order to establish guidelines for the implementation of these national policies

The Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (MAPA) is responsible for managing public policies aimed at stimulating agriculture and livestock farming, promoting agribusiness, and regulating and standardizing services related to the sector. It acts in managing public policies that stimulate agriculture and livestock farming by regulating and standardizing services associated with this sector. The minister, Carlos Fávaro, is a representative of agribusiness.

These ministries are entrusted with fundamental functions in addressing the problem of hunger. Each ministerial representative may express different viewpoints based on their class condition, in such a way that their interests may come into conflict.

It is important to understand the political structure established under the new Lula administration by identifying ministerial representatives and their trajectories to date, in order to observe how they have operated in their mandates and political positions and the agendas they have put into action.

These political-ideological trajectories reflect class conceptions that play a crucial role in the formulation and implementation of public policies and constitute an indicator of the contradictory political direction adopted by the government, as well as of its performance in combating food insecurity.

Below, the functions and specific responsibilities of each of the three ministries are examined, based on data available on the official websites of the respective government ministries.

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<sup>4</sup> The MDS is an agency created by Decree No. 11,392, of January 20, 2023.



**Table 01 – Functions and Specifications of the Three Ministries**

| Ministry of Agrarian Development and Family Farming (MDA)  | Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS)   | Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (MAPA)  |
|--|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Agrarian reform and land regularization in rural areas of the Union and the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Incra);</li> <li>-Identification, recognition, delimitation, demarcation, and titling of quilombola community lands;</li> <li>-Sustainable rural development focused on family farming, quilombolas, other traditional peoples and communities;</li> <li>-Local food supply systems, public procurement of family farming products and food;</li> <li>-Marketing, supply, storage, and minimum price guarantees;</li> <li>-Regulatory and strategic stocks of agricultural products;</li> <li>-Biodiversity, conservation, protection, and use of the genetic heritage of interest to family farming.</li> </ul> | <p>The agency is responsible for actions related to income transfer. It seeks to promote social inclusion, food security, comprehensive social assistance, and a minimum income for families living in poverty. It is organized through social development programs and public policies implemented at the federal, state, and local levels of government, in partnership with civil society organizations, international agencies, and financing institutions.</p> | <p>Management of the marketing, technological, scientific, environmental, and organizational aspects of the productive sector and the crop supply, storage, and transportation sectors, in addition to the management of economic and financial policy for agribusiness</p> |

**Source:** Prepared by the author (2025).

### 3.1 Government's main actions in 2023

The first year of government was marked by the resumption of some public policies and the reconfiguration of social programs. March 2023 symbolizes a starting point, as on March 22, the Food Acquisition Program (PAA)<sup>5</sup> was relaunched, representing an important initiative to strengthen peasant agriculture.

The PAA consists of the public purchase of products from family farming for distribution to those in need, generating income in rural areas, and contributing to the fight against hunger. According to data from the Ministry of Agrarian Development and Family Farming (MDA), approximately R\$500 million will be allocated to the program, distributed

<sup>5</sup> The PAA was established by Law No. 10,696/2003, with subsequent amendments, and is currently regulated mainly by Law 14,628 of 2023.

through five modalities: Simultaneous Purchase and Donation, PAA Milk, Direct Purchase, Institutional Purchase, and Support for Stockpiling.

The following table shows the main specifications of the PAA, based on information provided by the Ministry of Social Development and Fight Against Hunger (MDS).

**Table 02 – PAA Specifications**

| Food Acquisition Program (PAA) |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| The PAA                        | It purchases products directly from family farmers, without the need for bidding, and distributes them to people experiencing food and nutritional insecurity. In addition, it supports the social assistance network, public food and nutritional security facilities, as well as public and philanthropic educational institutions.   |
| Main goal                      | Strengthen family farming by generating jobs and income, boosting the local economy, expanding access to food, and contributing to the reduction of food and nutritional insecurity.  |
| Intended for                   | Family farmers, including agrarian reform settlers, foresters, extractivists, artisanal fishermen, Indigenous and Quilombola communities, and other traditional peoples and communities; people experiencing food and nutritional insecurity, as well as entities that provide assistance or services to these populations and receive food donations..   |
| How it works                   | The program may be implemented by states and municipalities using funds from the Ministry of Development and Social Assistance (MDS), or by the National Supply Company (Conab), with resources provided by both the MDS and the Ministry of Agrarian Development and Family Farming (MDA). Products are purchased at prices compatible with those practiced in regional markets. The program is structured around five modalities: Simultaneous Purchase and Donation, PAA Milk, Direct Purchase, Institutional Purchase, and Support for Stockpiling. Among these modalities, family farmers may access Simultaneous Purchase and Donation, Direct Purchase, and Support for Stockpiling, either individually or through associative organizations of which they are members. |
| Management                     | The PAA is managed by the Ministry of Development and Social Assistance, Family, and Hunger Fight (MDS).  |

**Source:** Prepared by the author (2025).

Thus, the PAA went from a paltry budget of 2.7 million planned for 2022 by the previous government, based on the Annual Budget Bill (PLOA), to 500 million, which in practice represents an increase in the percentage growth rate of more than 185 times from 2022 to 2023. In the meantime, the reinstallation of the National Council for Sustainable Rural Development (Condraf) was signed.

He Mais Alimentos (More Food) Program was resumed with the aim of expanding access to machinery and equipment to support the development of family farming. On June 28, 2023, in Brasília, the Family Farming Harvest Plan was launched in collaboration with the Minister of Agrarian Development and Family Farming, Paulo Teixeira, allocating R\$ 71.6 million in Pronaf rural credit for the 2023/2024 harvest.

The government signed 8 decrees<sup>6</sup>, these measures include the Productive Backyard Home Gardens for Rural Women Program, which aims to encourage economic autonomy among rural women producers, as well as the creation of a commission to combat violence in rural areas. In addition, the federal government reinstated the Green Grant, a program that provides financial support for the sustainable use of natural resources and the maintenance of vegetation cover in the areas where beneficiary families reside. The measures also expand mechanisms for social participation among rural workers. According to official government statements, these decrees aim to strengthen peasant agriculture in response to demands presented by the Daisies' March<sup>7</sup> social movement during its 7th edition in 2023.

The federal government promoted the re-establishment of the Interministerial Chamber of Agroecology and the National Commission for Agroecology and Organic Production (CNAPO), which had been dismantled by the previous administration. The commission resumed its role as a space for dialogue between public authorities and civil society in the formulation of the National Plan for Agroecology and Organic Agriculture. In addition, calls for technical assistance and rural extension were reinstated with a focus on the agroecological transition, alongside the creation of the Ecoforte Program, aimed at strengthening and expanding networks of agroecology and organic production.

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<sup>6</sup> Available in: <https://assufsm.com.br/>.

<sup>7</sup> Daisies' March (Marcha das Margaridas) began in 2000 and takes place every four years. According to the movement, it represents a space for broad strategic action by women from rural and forest areas, organized by the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers (CONTAG), federations, and trade unions. Over time, the Marcha has become an established part of the agenda of the Rural Workers' Trade Union Movement (MSTTR), as well as that of partner organizations, feminist movements, women workers' organizations, trade union centers, and international organizations that coordinate and mobilize women around a wide range of social, economic, and political issues. Further information on the movement's political objectives and achievements is available on its official website. <https://marchadasmargaridas.org.br/?pagina=oquee>.

**Table 03 – Eight decrees signed by the Lula administration in 2023**

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | Establishment of the Productive Backyard Home Gardens for Rural Women Program to promote food security for rural women;   |
| 2 | Commitment to resume agrarian reform with a focus on families headed by women; establishment of a commission to combat violence in rural areas;   |
| 3 | Establishment of a Commission to Combat Violence in Rural Areas,  |
| 4 | Creation of an Interministerial Working Group to develop the National Plan for Youth and Rural Succession, aimed at providing public services to young people in family farming and expanding job and income opportunities. |
| 5 | Creation of the National Citizenship and Well-Being Program for rural women with the resumption of the National Rural Worker Documentation Program;   |
| 6 | Creation of the National Pact for the Prevention of Femicide;   |
| 7 | Resumption of the National Policy for Employed Workers, aimed at strengthening the social rights of these workers.  |
| 8 | Resumption of the Bolsa Verde Program, which provides payments to low-income families living in environmentally protected areas.  |

**Source:** Prepared by the author (2025).

In this context of encouraging an agroecological transition, four Pronaf credit lines were made available, offering lower interest rates for agroecological and sociobiodiversity production: Line 1- New Pronaf Working Capital line for sociobiodiversity, organic, and agroecological products; Line 2 - Pronaf Agroecology; Line 3 - Pronaf Forest; Line 4 - Pronaf Bioeconomy.

On September 13, 2023, Decree No. 11,700/2023 was published, establishing the National Urban and Peri-Urban Agriculture Program. According to Paulo Teixeira, Brazil's Minister of Agrarian Development and Family Farming, urban agriculture plays a fundamental role in the strategy of organizing the population to combat hunger, and the program seeks to promote food and nutritional security in order to ensure the human right to adequate food in the country.

The program seeks to stimulate agroecological food production in cities by making use of idle urban and peri-urban areas to promote the sustainable production, processing, and commercialization of healthy foods. The National Urban and Peri-Urban Agriculture Program aims to provide access to healthy food and to ensure food and nutritional security for the urban population.

In 2023, partnerships totaling R\$ 3.9 million were established to strengthen urban and peri-urban agriculture networks, structure production units, and implement and/or strengthen urban processes and spaces dedicated to food marketing and supply, such as markets, supply centers, warehouses, and community kitchens.

The year 2023 concluded with the launch of the National Food Supply Policy, as a fundamental instrument to promote regular access for the Brazilian population to food in sufficient quantity, quality, and diversity, restoring public food stocks and prioritizing products from family farming and socio-biodiversity.

The National Food Supply Policy (PNAAB) also represented a milestone during the year. Among its central objectives are the promotion of regular access to food in sufficient quantity, quality, and diversity for the Brazilian population; the guarantee of the formation of strategic public food stocks, especially those composed of products from family farming and socio-biodiversity; as well as the fight against food waste.

Therefore, these measures constitute the main actions undertaken by the federal government in its first year to combat hunger and strengthen family and peasant farming. It is important to emphasize that these public policies represent relevant initiatives in the face of a previous context marked by the dismantling of the State, which resulted in the weakening of peasant agriculture.

However, these public policies have not fully achieved their intended objectives, as essential issues, such as land reform and the disruption of large landholding structures aligned with agribusiness and commodity production, remain unaddressed. It is therefore crucial to establish a counterpoint to commodity-based systems which, in addition to perpetuating inequalities in access to the fundamental right to healthy food, fail to adopt sustainable agricultural practices that respect the territories and cultures of Indigenous, traditional, and peasant peoples.

### 3.2 Main government actions in 2024

In 2024, other actions emerged. Abolished in 2019 by the previous government through Provisional Measure No. 870/2019<sup>8</sup>, on February 28, 2024, there was a ceremony to reinstate the National Council for Food Security and Nutrition (CONSEA), accompanied by the previous publication of Provisional Measure No. 1,154/2023, later converted into Law No. 14,600/2023, which establishes the basic organization of the organs of the Presidency of the Republic and the Ministries.

In early March 2024, during the 1st plenary meeting of the National Council for Food Security and Nutrition (CONSEA) at the Planalto Palace in Brasilia, the federal government

<sup>8</sup> Provisional Measure No. 870 of 2019 revoked the criteria established by law for the composition of CONSEA and its link to the Presidency of the Republic.



published two decrees within the scope of public policies for food security and sovereignty in Brazil: one establishes the basic basket of healthy foods, which, according to the president of the republic, will seek to promote changes in the composition of the basic basket, including more foods in an attempt to minimize the presence of processed foods, in addition to the addition of regional products; and another aimed at regulating the National Solidarity Kitchens Program, which, according to the government, aims to assist civil society, under the coordination of the Ministry of Social Development and Fight Against Hunger (MDS).

By signing these decrees, the promise is that the basic food basket will contain foods from ten different groups, namely: beans (leguminous plants), cereals, roots and tubers, vegetables, fruits, nuts (oilseeds), meat and eggs, milk and cheese, sugars, salt, oil and fats, coffee, and tea<sup>9</sup>. There are also plans to prioritize agroecological foods and those produced by small-scale family farms. Solidarity kitchens will also be strengthened, since according to data from the Ministry of Social Development, there are more than 2,770 solidarity kitchens operating in Brazil, with the aim of providing food to people in vulnerable situations.

On March 8, 2024, the MDA announced the release of R\$30 million for the Productive Organization call for proposals, with the aim of selecting proposals from civil society organizations to strengthen the productive and economic organizations of rural women. According to the MDA, once selected, these entities will be responsible for developing and executing projects focused on growing productive capacities, increasing access to markets and financing programs and public procurement, and structuring cooperatives that include productive groups of rural women.

On October 16, 2024, the federal government launched the National Agroecology Plan, together with the National Food Supply Plan (Planab) and the National Agroecology and Organic Production Plan (Planapo). At the ceremony held in Brasilia, at the Planalto Palace, the government claimed that these two plans (Planab - Food on the Plate and Planapo) will contribute to the promotion of agroecology in Brazil.

In 2025, Planapo is intended to expand and strengthen the production, post-harvest handling, and processing of organic and agroecological products. Planab, in turn, represents a pioneering initiative aimed at establishing a food system that ensures access to healthy foods, with particular emphasis on items that constitute the Brazilian basic food basket.

According to the federal government, these plans are designed to initially reach family farmers, agrarian reform settlers, traditional peoples and communities, micro and

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<sup>9</sup> Ministry of Social Development Ordinance No. 966, of March 6, 2024, defines the non-exhaustive list of foods that may comprise the Basic Food Basket according to food groups.

small rural enterprises, cooperatives, and associations, while holding the potential to benefit the Brazilian population as a whole. Both initiatives were developed with the active participation of civil society organizations, in collaboration with the National Agroecology Network (ANA), and are the result of a historic struggle led by popular organizations and social movements in both rural and urban contexts.

#### 4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

By systematizing the resumption of these public policies and highlighting the main activities carried out by the federal government in relation to the fight against hunger and the strengthening of peasant agriculture, we perceive that there have been significant advances that bring the prospect of further improvements.

However, public policies are unable to fully achieve their objectives if the State does not provide the necessary means to address essential issues such as agrarian reform and a break with the predominant large landholding structures that are aligned with agribusiness and the commodity system. These structures concentrate land, productive resources, and knowledge, in addition to promoting the indiscriminate use of chemical inputs, which pose threats to human health and biodiversity.

We understand that hunger in Brazil is a historical problem that continues to persist and is reflected in current scenarios, in which, despite government measures within the scope of social policies that foster initiatives aimed at social programs and income transfer, the problem of hunger has only undergone mitigation.

We argue that the hegemonic model of food production and consumption poses major challenges, which prompt us to think about and debate viable alternatives to this system for the Brazilian countryside. In this scenario, we highlight the importance of agroecology, which emerges as a paradigm that articulates traditional knowledge, social justice, and practices that respect nature, while socio-territorial movements are configured as central actors in the construction of proposals that seek to transform the dynamics of rural space.

In this context, we emphasize the crucial importance of establishing in our country a counterpoint to commodity systems that, in addition to perpetuating inequalities in access to the fundamental right to healthy food, contribute to the increase in hunger and to situations of food insecurity. Moreover, these systems fail to adopt practices aimed at a more

ecological form of agriculture that respects nature, as well as the territories and cultures of indigenous and traditional peoples.

Based on this understanding, we observe a resumption of policies in the agricultural and food spheres. However, in the field of agrarian policies, expectations fell short of what movements fighting for agrarian reform had hoped for with the arrival of the new government. Few advances have been made in promoting land redistribution that incorporates the social and labor dimensions of production, particularly given the need to reorganize the agrarian space, which has historically been dominated and increasingly concentrated in the hands of capitalist agriculture.

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