


SOME CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT SCHOOL FEEDING IN ESPÍRITO SANTO

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ABSTRACT

This article proposes to analyze the National School Feeding Program (PNAE) in the State of Espírito Santo from a geographical point of view. It makes a historical overview of programs aimed at family farming and the fight against hunger in Brazil, emphasizing the importance of issues that permeate food such as globalization, hunger and the land structure of Espírito Santo as well as its consequent impact on food production in the State. The objective is to show how important the Program is for those who produce food (farmers) and for those who consume it (students from state public schools), and that it can still be improved.

Keywords: School Feeding. Feeding. Globalization. Family Farming.

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INTRODUCTION

Food is obligatorily present in the daily life of all human beings, but studies and research on it are usually directed by large food industries, or branches of medicine and pharmacy. These elements will tell us what to eat, the quantity, the interval between meals, what types of foods prevent diseases, among other information that we are used to seeing on TV or in the printed media. However, in the midst of this whole process there are essential agents: the peasant men and women. Such agents - family production, from small farms - are responsible for more than 70% of the food that reaches our table (PORTAL BRASIL, 2017). Even so, it seems to us that the role they play is in the background, as if the food industry and agribusiness were the real responsible for our daily food. Especially when we live in cities and are alienated from the food production process, we become dependent on other agents to satisfy a basic physiological need for survival, which is to feed ourselves. The structures of everyday life, among which food is inserted, are not targets of study by researchers, but their apparently insignificant events lead to historical changes, such as the way we behave at the table, or the use of cutlery. The way of preparing the same food is different among peoples and denotes social and technological differences between them.

In the countryside, where there is preparation and work to produce food, a series of questions are imposed on rural workers. Before the shelves of large and small markets, or the stalls of open markets, was it a middleman or the producer himself who took the food to the places where it is purchased by consumers? Has this food been processed, has it undergone some kind of transformation or is *it in natura*? And, if industrialized, does this process take place inside or outside the property? These issues, as well as the theme of globalization and food are central to this work. We verify, therefore, that the issue of food carries a complexity that goes beyond what has been studied about it. When it comes to food, what you have is a wide variety of colors, smells and flavors, food is all over the social structure. Taking the theme into the school environment, few know how that food got to the cafeteria, where, how, by whom and why it was produced, why some are more frequent than others and why not all of them appear every day on the menu. The production, transportation and distribution of this food until it reaches schools is not simple. A series of bureaucratic issues are required of small farmers so that they have the right to participate in public calls for school meals.

The changes in the way of eating are directly linked to the globalization movement, as well as so many others that we have gone through with the advancement of this process. However, it is untrue that the world's food is becoming homogenized. As Gilles Fumey (2012) reinforces, the process of globalization can reinforce local habits - not only food habits - instead of standardizing them. Culture influences human beings to choose their food; However, millions of food-insecure people in the world cannot choose what they eat, nor when they will have their next meal.

It was precisely the direct contact with this impossibility of choice that led Josué de Castro to write perhaps even more important account and portrait of this sad fact in Brazil, the book *The Geography of Hunger* (1946). Hunger was the origin of public policies aimed at food and nutrition in Brazil, including the National School Feeding Program (PNAE). The PNAE is a public policy to combat hunger, aiming at the food and nutritional security of Brazilian students, and seeking at the same time to guarantee the sale of family farming production, that is, it is a policy that wants to be structural and no longer interventional. Josué de Castro investigated and denounced the phenomenon of hunger throughout Brazil through the geographical method, it was from the writings of this author, in *Geografia da Fome* (1946), that the Brazilian State, particularly during the period of the Getúlio Vargas government, took the issue of food and nutrition as one of the main ones on its agenda (VASCONCELOS, 2005). It was during the Estado Novo (1937-1945) that the SAPS (Social Security Food Service) was created, which was in force between 1940 and 1967, and the CNA (National Food Commission), which existed between 1945 and 1972 (VASCONCELOS, 2005). Josué de Castro's writings on the issue of hunger remain, in some aspects, current. From the 1940s to the present moment, there have been great technological advances, including with regard to the food production chain. According to Filho and Batista (2003), "it is now known how to produce, transform, preserve and transport food satisfactorily for the entire human population" (p.40), that is, the equation for the problem of hunger is sufficiently solved on a global scale, according to the same authors.

From the development of public policies to combat hunger, the National Policy for Food and Nutritional Security was instituted in the country, which goes beyond guaranteeing food for those who need it, covering the entire population. Healthy and adequate food, as provided for by law, is not restricted only to the quantity and availability of food, it concerns the quality of what is being consumed as food, so it covers points such as

respect for the diversity of culture and habits of peoples. Food and Nutrition Security (FNS) provides for the right to adequate food in quantity and quality; its promotion should not compromise other factors essential to human existence; it also extends to the promotion of health, respect for cultural diversity and economic and environmental sustainability. The importance of such an initiative can be verified from two points of view: that of access to food, and that of its availability (MALUF; REIS, 2013). Concerns related to FNS concern the population as a whole, and not just the part exposed to hunger or malnutrition (MALUF; REIS, 2013). The actions that guarantee FNS must go through production, marketing, quality control and consumption. In addition, they must involve practices related to education, health, agriculture, among others. Bonomo (2010) also reinforces that food and nutrition security policies must ensure food in quality, quantity and regularity for insecure groups. This consumption must take place in a dignified way, that is, with real food, not with formulas or rations, normally used in programs to combat malnutrition, and already used in the PNAE.

The Human Right to Adequate Food (DHAA) is one of the principles that supports FNS actions worldwide. Food is a fundamental right, along with civil and political rights, which are part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, reaffirmed on several occasions by the United Nations (UN) (MALUF; REIS, 2013). To ensure the DHAA, the diversity of cultures and habits of peoples must be respected. Maluf and Reis (2013) state that "It is the duty of the State to protect and promote the human right to food" (p.19).

Almost every country in the world seeks to feed their schoolchildren, and school feeding programmes can perhaps be considered the world's largest safety net (WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME, 2013). Brazil innovates its school feeding program when it institutes Law 11.947/2009, which has the proposal to strengthen and diversify the production of family farming in Brazil, in addition to including food education in schools and creating a menu prepared by nutritionists that allow the student to improve the learning process.

HISTORY OF PUBLIC POLICIES TO COMBAT HUNGER IN BRAZIL

The origin of Brazil's political concern with school feeding dates back to the 1940s. However, the idea could not be implemented due to lack of financial resources, according to the history of the National Fund for the Development of Education (FNDE). In the 1950s, a National Food and Nutrition Plan was drawn up, called the Food Conjuncture and the Problem of Hunger in Brazil, thus structuring the first school lunch program at the national

level, under public responsibility. Of this original plan, the only program that remained was the School Feeding Program, supported by the then International Fund for Childhood Relief (FISI), currently the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Also according to the FNDE's history, it was only in 1979 that the program was renamed the National School Feeding Program (PNAE) - after several name changes - and was managed by the National School Feeding Campaign.

The National School Feeding Program is a public policy aimed at promoting healthy and adequate food for Brazilian schoolchildren, and guaranteeing the sale of family farming products. Thus, it is essential to know about other Brazilian public policies with similar objectives. The PNAE, after the enactment of Law 11.947/2009, is inspired by the Food Acquisition Program (PAA) with regard to direct purchase from farmers, constituting the public calls. In this context, Bonomo's (2010) statement that Brazil is able to produce in sufficient quantity to feed the entire population is valid, and despite this, there are still people in a situation of food and nutritional insecurity due to lack of access to food.

The PAA is an interministerial program operated by the National Supply Company (CONAB) and executed by the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS) and the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), ²in partnership with states and municipalities. It exists in the following modalities:

- Institutional, in which federal agencies can acquire products from family farming through a public call, dispensing with bidding;
- Direct purchase, which aims to sustain the prices of family farming products and is operated by CONAB;
- Support for the formation of stock, which is also operated by CONAB and its purpose is to provide financial support to cooperatives and associations in the formation of stock and add value to production;
- Milk consumption production, in which the executing agent is the State and its objective is to increase milk consumption by people in a situation of food insecurity;

² In 2016, the MDA was extinguished and its competencies transferred to the MDS through Provisional Measure No. 726, of May 12, 2016. Decree No. 8,780, of May 27, 2016, transfers the competencies of the MDA to the Special Secretariat for Family Agriculture and Agrarian Development – Civil House of the Presidency of the Republic. (Reference: <http://www.mda.gov.br/sitemda/pagina/hist%C3%B3rico> accessed on 06/18/2017)

- Purchase with simultaneous donation can be executed by CONAB, or by states and municipalities. Its objective is to provide people in situations of food insecurity with the Human Right to Adequate Food.

All PAA modalities can be accessed by family farmers.

Vasconcelos (2005), in his study of the programs to combat hunger in Brazil, makes a historical analysis of these programs in the period from 1930 to 2003. For this, three time frames were carried out (1930-1963; 1964-1984; 1985-2003), seeking to identify and describe in each of them the instruments of social policy for food and nutrition and to point out their main discursive and operational categories. The author says that the first systematized studies on eating habits and nutritional deficiency took place from the nineteenth century onwards in Brazil, starting from the existing medical schools in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, and that the first specific instruments of social policy aimed at food and nutrition were instituted during the Vargas Dictatorship (1937-1945).

During the first phase (1930-1963), in the period 1930-45, there was the scientific discovery of hunger, the emergence of Nutrition as a science and, consequently, of the professional nutritionist, and the institution of the social policy of food and nutrition. During the Estado Novo (1937-1945) the minimum wage was instituted; the creation of the SAPS (Social Security Food Service) and the CNA (National Food Commission). The CNA was created in 1945, and the promulgation of the First National Plan for Food and Nutrition, in 1953, deserves to be highlighted among its achievements, which can be considered an embryo of Brazilian nutritional planning, whose actions were also aimed at schoolchildren and workers. Through this commission, there was also the creation, in 1954, of the embryo of the National School Feeding Program. Vasconcelos (2005) points out that it was from the writings of Josué de Castro, in *Geografia da Fome*, that the Brazilian State, particularly during the period of the Getúlio Vargas government, took the issue of food and nutrition as one of the main ones on its agenda (VASCONCELOS, 2005). One of these measures was the institution of the minimum wage which, even though it does not have the direct objective of fighting hunger, is intended for the most urgent needs of an individual or family, and food is certainly one of them, if not the most imperative.

During the period of the Collor government (1990-1992), according to Vasconcelos (2005), within a discourse of economic stabilization, modernization of the State and the economy, there was a sharp reduction in financial resources, emptying and/or extinction of food and nutrition programs. Such programs also became the target of the misappropriation

of public funds, dubious bids, among other illicit mechanisms that characterized corruption within that government. Among the programs investigated by the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPI da Fome) and audits by the Federal Court of Accounts (TCU), the PNAE was present. It is important to note that in 1990 the government appointed the president of the Brazilian Association of the Nutrition Industry as president of INAN (National Institute of Food and Nutrition), and as a consequence, the interests of producers of formulated foods were prioritized (VASCONCELOS, 2005)

Also according to Vasconcelos (2005), during the government of Itamar Franco (1993-94) the National Food Security Policy was implemented, the Plan to Combat Hunger and Misery was launched, and the proposal for the constitution of the National Council for Food Security (CONSEA). CONSEA was established by Presidential Decree, and had the "objective of advising the government in the formulation of proposals and implementation of actions in search of solutions to the problem of hunger and misery in Brazil" (VASCONCELOS, 2005, p.448).

Later, in 1995, the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso extinguished CONSEA, and created the Solidarity Community Program and the Solidarity Community Council, chaired by the then first lady, Ruth Cardoso. Until the end of the first FHC government (1994-1997) the PNAE continued to operate. At the end of the second period of his government (1999-2002), the National Fund for the Development of Education (FNDE) was responsible for conducting the PNAE (VASCONCELOS, 2005).

In 2001, the Zero Hunger Project was prepared, under the coordination of José Graziano da Silva: a proposal for a Food Security Policy for Brazil, later launched during the candidacy of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010). According to Vasconcelos (2005) "... the Zero Hunger Program is composed of a set of actions that are said to be integrated with the objective of eradicating hunger and implementing the food and nutrition security policy in the country" (p.450). These actions take place gradually, and group three modalities of intervention called structural policies, specific policies and local policies. The PNAE is within the framework of specific policies (VASCONCELOS, 2005). According to Coelho (2012), this project guided the actions of the government that began in 2003, based on the premise that the State must ensure the right to food, and presented as its main objective the formulation of a National Policy for Food and Nutrition Security for the country. Lula, as soon as he assumed the Presidency of the Republic, restored CONSEA, which has the participation of representatives of the government and civil society, and "constitutes an

advisory and immediate advisory body to the President of the Republic, with the objective of proposing the general guidelines of the Food and Nutrition Security Policy" (VASCONCELOS, 2005, p. 451), in addition to creating a ministry with the objective of fighting hunger, the MESA (Extraordinary Ministry of Food Security and Fight against Hunger). In 2004, MESA was incorporated into the MDS (Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger) as the National Secretariat for Food and Nutritional Security (SESAN) (COELHO, 2012).

Coelho (2012) analyzes the government's programs and policies aimed at promoting food and nutrition in Brazil and the concept of Food Security in the country, which dates from the 1980s, highlighting that during the Collor government almost all of them were extinguished, with the exception of the PNAE and the Worker's Food Program (PAT). It also addresses the FAO and the 1996 National Human Rights Plan, which places food as an inalienable human right. In his first term (1995-1998), FHC extinguished CONSEA, annulling the intersectoriality necessary for FNS policies. In the two FHC governments (1995-98 and 1999-2002), priority was given to economic development, to the detriment of social policies, including the National Policy for Food and Nutrition Security. The author cites Pinheiro (2008) when stating that with the control of inflation, the population's access to food improved, however the dialogue with the social movements that worked in the field of FNS and sectors of civil society, such as the Citizenship Action against Hunger, Misery and for Life³, were weakened.

In 2006, the Organic Law on Food and Nutrition Security (LOSAN) was enacted, which established the National System for Food and Nutrition Security (SISAN) and an interministerial chamber (CAISAN). The institution of the latter was important for the articulation within the government instances, promoting greater visibility to the issues of Food and Nutritional Security (COELHO, 2012). The author also highlights the creation of Interministerial Ordinance No. 1010: articulation between the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education for the promotion of healthy eating habits in public and private kindergarten, elementary and high schools throughout the country (COELHO, 2012). According to the author, in 2007 obesity also became an issue of FNS.

The PNAE is supported by funding lines from the National Program for the Strengthening of Family Agriculture (PRONAF), and one of the requirements to participate is the Declaration of Aptitude for PRONAF (DAP). PRONAF was created in 1996, during the

³ Social movement emerged in 1993 led by sociologist Herbert de Souza (Betinho) (VASCONCELOS, 2004).

government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso and is one of the most important programs to support family farming. The program consists of financing individual or collective projects, with the objective of generating income for family farmers and agrarian reform settlers. The credit can be applied to acquire machinery and equipment, production infrastructure and agricultural or non-agricultural services. To access credit, the farmer must obtain the Declaration of Eligibility for Pronaf (DAP) from the rural union or the Technical Assistance and Rural Extension company (ATER). According to Tsukamoto et al (2013), PRONAF emerged under pressure from social movements, and, even with structural flaws, it is still the one that most serves small farmers. However, according to the same authors, the objective of the program is to promote the modernization of the countryside, through technological packages. From this program, the farmer has access to others, such as the Food Acquisition Program and the PNAE. Carneiro (1997) points out that until the advent of Pronaf, family farming had been surviving in the midst of competition of conditions and resources oriented to favor large production and large properties. In this context, Pronaf emerges as a proposal for a program to strengthen family farming that starts from the demands of workers.

The Food Acquisition Program was thought of and discussed by sectors of civil society and public authorities for years before its institutionalization in 2003. It was instituted by Law 10.696/2003 as a structural action of the Zero Hunger Program, and its objective is to promote access to food for populations in situations of food insecurity and promote social and economic inclusion in the countryside through the strengthening of family farming, according to the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS). In addition, the Program also has as one of its pillars the formation of food stocks. As in the PNAE, to have access to the PAA, the farmer has to have the DAP. According to Muller, Silva and Schneider (2012), the commercialization of food from family farming, articulated with other policies such as school feeding, food stocks and food assistance, were of little relevance to the actors of the family farming policy network, including social movements.

In the State of Minas Gerais, the Family PAA was implemented in 2015⁴, which determines that all state public institutions must allocate 30% of the budget for food to family farming. As of 2016, Decree No. 8,473 of June 22, 2015 orders that federal public

⁴ The Family PAA is provided for by Law No. 20,608, of January 7, 2013, but was implemented through Decree No. 46,712 of January 29, 2015. (Source: <http://www.agenciaminas.mg.gov.br/noticia/programa-de-aquisicao-de-alimentos-vai-beneficiar-agricultura-familiar-em-minas>)

institutions are also required to allocate 30% of the funds to family farming, through the Institutional PAA. In other words, federal universities should acquire a portion of their foodstuffs directly from small producers, which could already be done. Fortunately, some universities are already following this path, such as the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR), the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) and the Federal University of Viçosa (UFV), which have already opened public calls to supply, in part, the University Restaurants (RU's).

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL FEEDING PROGRAM

The objective of the National School Feeding Program is:

Contribute to the growth and biopsychosocial development, learning, school performance and the formation of healthy eating habits of students, through food and nutrition education actions and the offer of meals that cover their nutritional needs during the school period. (BRAZIL, 2009)

For this purpose, the money is transferred in installments to the states, the Federal District, municipalities and federal schools through the National Fund for the Development of Education. The amount is calculated based on the number of students enrolled according to official data from the School Census of the previous year, carried out by the Ministry of Education. These resources may be transferred from the states to the municipalities to serve students enrolled in state schools, and the state must authorize the transfer directly to the FNDE. The states, the Federal District and the municipalities have the obligation to report to the FNDE for the total resources received. The Law also emphasizes that any individual or legal entity can report irregularities in the application of resources intended for the execution of the PNAE.

The technical responsibility of school feeding is the task of the nutritionist in charge, with basic foodstuffs - indispensable to the promotion of healthy and adequate nutrition - respecting the guidelines of the Law. For the preparation of the menu, also a task of the nutritionist, local eating habits, culture and food tradition must be taken into account, in addition to being based on the agricultural diversity of the region, and on healthy and adequate food. Students who need individualized attention as a result of a specific health condition (celiacs, lactose intolerant, etc.) will have a special menu.

Of the total resources transferred by the FNDE for the execution of the PNAE, at least 30% should be used to purchase food from family farming, prioritizing agrarian reform

settlements, traditional indigenous communities and quilombola communities (BRASIL, 2009). The acquisition is made through a public call, dispensing with the bidding procedure, as long as the prices are compatible with the local market and may not be carried out in the absence of an invoice, in the unfeasibility of delivering the food and due to lack of adequate hygienic-sanitary conditions.

It is the duty of the Ministry of Education to propose educational actions for the school curriculum that permeate food, from the perspective of food and nutritional security. It is also the obligation of the Union, through the FNDE, to establish the general rules for planning, execution, control, monitoring and evaluation of the PNAE; transfer financial resources for the execution of the PNAE; provide general technical guidance for the good performance of the Program, among other actions. The states, the Federal District and municipalities are responsible for ensuring that the supply of school meals is in accordance with the guidelines of the ⁵Law and ensures the nutritional needs of students during the school period; promoting studies and research to evaluate actions aimed at school feeding; providing physical and human resources for the full functioning of the CAE (School Feeding Council); promoting and executing basic sanitation actions in the school units under your responsibility; disseminate in public places information on the amount of financial resources received for the execution of the PNAE; to account for the financial resources received to the PNAE account; submit to the CAE the annual management report of the Programme, among others.

The CAEs are institutionalized by the states, the Federal District and municipalities, and are permanent collegiate bodies that supervise, deliberate and advise them for the full functioning of the PNAE. These bodies are composed of a representative appointed by the Executive Branch; two representatives of the entities of education workers and students; two representatives of students' parents; and two representatives appointed by organized civil entities. With the exception of the first, all other representatives are chosen through a specific assembly. Each representative will have an alternate, and the number of members of the Council may be increased as long as the proportions defined in the Law prevail. These representatives will have a four-year term, and the exercise of counselor is

⁵ The guidelines of Law 11.947 are to offer healthy and adequate food in the school environment, universally, throughout the school period, respecting eating habits, culture and tradition. In addition, it also provides for the inclusion of food and nutrition education in the school curriculum and the participation of the community in controlling and guaranteeing the supply of school meals, as well as the universality of service. The purchase of food at the local level from family farming, primarily remnants of indigenous people and quilombos, is preferred.

considered a relevant, unpaid public service. It is the duty of the states, the Federal District and municipalities to inform the FNDE of the composition of their respective CAE. The Council is responsible for inspecting and monitoring compliance with the guidelines of the Law, the application of resources, ensuring the quality of food, and receiving the annual management report of the PNAE, giving an opinion of approval or disapproval of the execution of the Program. The CAEs may develop their activities in cooperation with the state and municipal Food and Nutrition Security Councils and other related councils, observing the guidelines established by CONSEA. When the states, the Federal District or municipalities do not constitute the CAE or it does not fully function, do not present the accountability, or commit irregularities in the execution of the PNAE, the FNDE may suspend the transfer of resources to the execution of the PNAE. If the suspension occurs, the FNDE has up to 180 days to transfer directly to the executing units the equivalent resources for the purchase of foodstuffs on an urgent basis. The law deliberates on the task of the nutritionist responsible for preparing the menu and respecting local eating habits, on the CAE and its role in complying with the guidelines, and on the role of the Ministry of Education in educational proposals with themes that contemplate food from the perspective of Food and Nutrition Security. The CAE is extremely important for the full functioning of the Program, it is responsible for inspecting and verifying that the determinations are being complied with and for sending the annual report to the FNDE.

Law 11,947 also deals with the Direct Money at School Program (PDDE), the National Program to Support School Transportation (PNATE), the granting of scholarships by Capes for the improvement of basic education teachers, and the institution of the National Program for Education in Agrarian Reform (PRONERA). As they are not directly linked to the issue of school feeding, not leaving aside their fundamental importance for education, the articles involving these points will not be detailed.

There are at least 168 million school-age children in the world, who receive food through their schools, in a sample of 169 countries. Based on information on the number of students receiving school meals and the *per capita* cost of school meals, it can be estimated that the global annual investment is between 47 and 75 billion dollars, most of which comes from government budgets. The largest programs are in India, Brazil, the United States and China. The largest school feeding program in the world is India's; In 2011, the program served 113.4 million students. School feeding programmes started in low-income countries on average 21 years ago. As of 2008, several countries have sought

to expand these programs. In low-income countries, the area where there are poorer students/people and the worst performing students is usually delineated, and school meals are offered in these regions (WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME, 2013).

Bonomo (2010) states that preventive programs, such as those for schoolchildren, are very low cost in relation to the treatment of consequent diseases caused by poor diet, and that such programs are also a tool to combat malnutrition in children, since elementary education is almost universal.

Data on school feeding in rich countries is still limited. School feeding in high- and upper-middle-income countries has been present for a long time, on average for 38 years. The concern of these countries is with obesity/overweight and school performance. In rich countries, school feeding is generally available to all primary school students. Sweden and Finland are notable examples (WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME, 2013).

The World Food Programme (2013) defines School Feeding as "the provision of food to schoolchildren" (p.3). According to the report, there are several types of programs, but these can be classified into two main categories, based on their modalities: (1) school feeding, in which schoolchildren receive food at school; and (2) take-home 'rations' (food in sufficient quantity) in which families receive food if their children go to school. School food can be divided into two common categories: (1) programs that provide meals and (2) programs that provide high-calorie snacks. (WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME, 2013).

The report highlights the performance of Brazil, the second largest school feeding program in the world, saying that "Brazil has successfully connected school feeding with the production of family farmers, producing good results for both schoolchildren and the small-scale agricultural sector and local economies" (WORLD FOOD PROGRAM, 2013, p.26).

THE PNAE IN ESPÍRITO SANTO

The purchase of food from state public schools in Espírito Santo by the State Department of Education began in 2012. For the public call 001/2012, for the year 2013, SEDU programmed an expenditure of R\$ 12,679,805.90 (twelve million, six hundred and seventy-nine thousand, eight hundred and five reais and ninety cents), according to information on the secretariat's website. It is also stated on the website that the transfer of funds to school counselors constitutes an obstacle to the school's core activity, which is teaching. But, if food should also be part of the school curriculum, in addition to being essential for the maintenance of the life of any human being, why does SEDU consider the

purchase by each school unit a factor of obstacle? It must be agreed that it can be an opportunity to contextualize the students, with all the complexity that involves food in the theme of school feeding. Remembering that it is the duty of the Ministry of Education to propose educational actions for the school curriculum that permeate food, from the perspective of food and nutritional security (BRASIL. 2009). The responsibility for this step lies with the Executing Entities (in this case, SEDU itself), which must provide sufficient information in the Public Call for suppliers to correctly present their sales projects, as well as ensure the smoothness of the process.

With regard to the land structure of the state of Espírito Santo, this is, in opposition to the Brazilian reality, fundamentally small properties and based on the peasantry, widely discussed in the dissertation of Jaime Bernardo Neto (2012). The author recognizes this peculiarity of the state, but states that:

Although Espírito Santo is a state of fragmented properties, in contrast to the general reality of Brazil, the state has a significant strip of its territory marked by the presence of large estates and a meager area occupied by small rural properties. This strip comprises the extreme northwest, north and northeast coast. (BERNARDO NETO, 2012, p.23)

This fact makes a difference in the functioning of the PNAE, since the state offers conditions for the supply of food to small farmers. Espírito Santo is currently one of the three states that most comply with Law 11.947/2009 in the country, according to the publication of some local newspapers. This is probably due to the actions of the municipal departments of education, as the variety of requests from the State Department of Education is small and does not take into account local eating habits. However, so far, the public calls prepared by SEDU request the same foodstuffs for all municipalities in the state, modifying only the quantity of them, which denotes a lack of research on what is produced by the Espírito Santo peasantry and what is the food culture of the different regions of the state.

The reconfiguration of the agrarian space in Espírito Santo throughout the second half of the twentieth century took place through the replacement of use value by exchange value, and is conditioned to the demand for each product, which is determined by commercial capital and does not, therefore, give freedom to peasants to choose what to produce. In this way, there is a determination of what is produced, and in the case of Espírito Santo, in addition to commercial capital, the incentives of the state government are

also determining factors (BERNARDO NETO, 2012). Bringing this context prior to the school feeding law to the present day, it can be inferred that the allocation of 30% of the PNAE for the purchase of family farming ends up contributing to the determination of what farmers will produce, that is, they also define the production space of the peasantry of Espírito Santo and reconfigure the form of land use.

According to Bernardo Neto (2012), one of the hopes for diversification of production for peasants in the extreme north of the state are government programs, such as the PNAE and the PAA. According to the author, despite this, government purchases were still underutilized, possibly due to the exclusive dedication of small farmers over 50 years of age to extensive cattle raising, which ended up inhibiting the production of other foodstuffs. At the time of the research (2012), there was an expectation about the construction of a Supply Center (Ceasa) in the northern region of the state, in the municipality of São Mateus, currently already in operation. Thus, producers could grow other foodstuffs besides milk or beef cattle. However, the author points out that Ceasa can lead the farmer to produce only one type of foodstuff (monoculture), reproducing the typical contradictions of capitalism. For the author, therefore, public policies such as the PAA and the PNAE have enormous potential and escape this capitalist logic, because they allow diversification in production and the guarantee of purchase.

It should be remembered that Espírito Santo is a state of small territorial extension, but that it has a diverse peasant population, since it has a strong presence of quilombola communities, indigenous people, Italian and German immigrants, among others.

Before going specifically into the topic of school feeding in Espírito Santo, it is important to contextualize how the geography of food in the state takes place. Pedro Henrique Lucci (2013) also comments on the socio-spatial division of labor, in which the countryside is the producer of food, and the city receives them. The urban population does not produce its own food, becoming permanently dependent on the countryside for this, which configures a situation of food insecurity. He highlights the fact of the "complex web of factors and productions, an intricate geography of production that takes place behind each meal" (LUCCI, 2013, p. 69), so that we can also perceive that the school meal is loaded with complexity from its production until it becomes school meals. The beginning of the process is the same, in the field by the hands of family farmers. The author also recalls that the state's land structure is peculiar in relation to the rest of the national territory because it has a large number of small properties, and this directly influences food production.

Colonization in the interior of the state contributed to the current configuration of the agrarian space in Espírito Santo. Coffee is the flagship of Espírito Santo agriculture, and the state produces 70% of the Conilon coffee in the country.

In Espírito Santo, 94% of the properties have less than 94 hectares, and occupy 47% of the state territory (LUCCI, 2013). In order to spatialize the dynamics of the production of fruit and vegetables in Espírito Santo, Lucci (2013) identified that production is dispersed throughout the state, but that there is the presence of some green belts, that is, food-producing areas close to large consumer centers, as is the case of the Mountain Region, close to the Metropolitan Region of Greater Vitória (RMGV). Lucci (2013) concludes that Espírito Santo is really self-sufficient in the production of fruit and vegetables, however, it imports some types of food - such as apples, pears, peaches - and shelters regions with a shortage of these same foods.

As previously mentioned, Espírito Santo is basically composed of small properties, but includes large estates and extensive areas of sugarcane and eucalyptus cultivation. These large properties implied the removal of peasants, riverside dwellers and communities of traditional populations that existed in Espírito Santo. Large companies were founded on violence with traditional peoples, under the guard of the State. Until the 1960s, small rural properties predominated, including in the northern portion of the state, which is currently where there are more areas of extensive cattle ranching and monoculture of sugarcane and eucalyptus. The areas closest to the capital, Vitória, were in charge of producing food, because of the demand. In the other regions, the small landowner was left with the milk production and sale of calves to the large landowners, who practiced beef cattle (BERNARDO NETO, 2012; LUCCI, 2013).

The research of Bernardo Neto (2012) and Lucci (2013) clearly demonstrates how the current territorial configuration of the agrarian space in Espírito Santo was formed. We can see that the region that produces the most food is the one closest to the capital, followed by the southwest region, close to the Zona da Mata of Minas Gerais (Figure 1). As can be seen in Public Call 001/2012, the cooperative that delivered the largest quantity and variety of food is located in the mountainous region of the state, in the municipality of Domingos Martins, as shown in table 01.

Figure 1: Food production in Espírito Santo

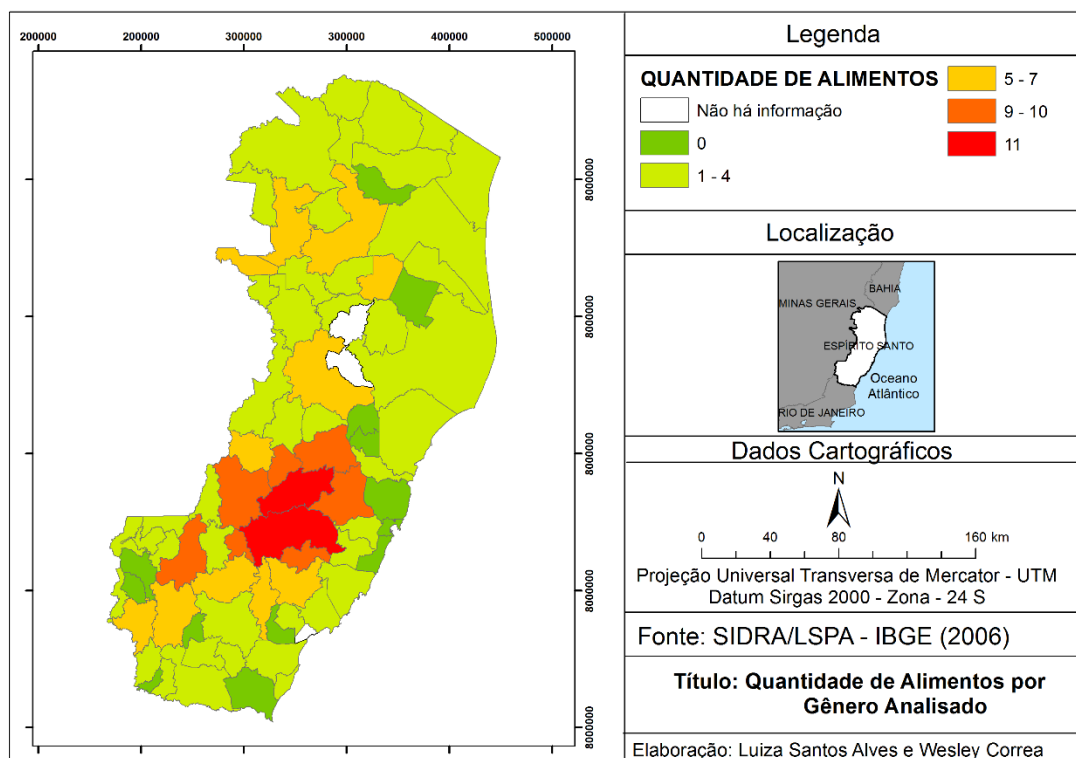


Table 1: Origin and destination of food according to Public Call 001/2012

ORIGIN X DELIVERY		
ORIGIN	TYPE OF FOOD	FATE
COOPRAM	Courgette	Alfredo Chaves, Domingos Martins, Guarapari, Marechal Floriano, Venda Nova do Imigrante and Viana
	Lettuce	
	Beetroot	
	Yam	
	Strawberry	
	Cabbage	

CONCLUSIONS

In this article we have seen how the laws and programs on the National School Feeding Program are elaborated, what are their guidelines, what are the roles of each entity in their execution. Law 11.947/2009, the National School Feeding Program, the Food Acquisition Program, and the Food and Nutrition Security guidelines in Brazil are well designed and well connected. The PNAE is the successful Brazilian experience in school feeding, and therefore serves as an inspiration for other countries, in addition to contemplating more than X million people, it is a program that is in great demand around the world and that includes a huge number of people. Article 14 of Law 11,947, the main point of this work, brings the pioneering spirit of benefiting two different characters at once:

the producer and the consumer. But, for everything to work fully according to the law, the role of the State and civil agents is fundamental. It is necessary for society to participate, watch over and denounce irregularities, if any, and for the State to enforce the guidelines of the Law. In this regard, the operation of the CAEs is of fundamental importance.

Brazil has one of the largest school feeding programs in the world. The PNAE combines the strengthening of family farming and the offer of healthy food to schoolchildren, including food education in the school curriculum and respect for eating habits. It is important to note that the Program was one of the factors that contributed to Brazil's departure from the world hunger map, released in a report by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in 2014. (<http://www.fnde.gov.br/fnde/sala-of-press/news/item/6034-fao-alimenta%C3%A7%C3%A3o-escolar-ajuda-o-brasil-a-superar-a-fome>)

Despite the success of the PNAE, it and other government programs aimed at family farming carry contradictions, because, among other factors, they link the small farmer to the State and capital. And there is still a long way to go for the program to effectively get off the ground, reach public schools across the country and really benefit family farmers with regard to the commercialization of their products. Espírito Santo presents an isolated case of relative success due to the favorable conditions present in the state, even though it is not completely adequate to Law 11.947/2009.

Law 11.947/2009 guarantees food to all students in the public school system on school days, and determines the promotion of healthy eating habits through nutritional and food education actions. These should go beyond the supply of food during the recess period; They also concern food education within classrooms, or in a field class.

Stimulating the production, sale and consumption of family farming products is a good way out for farmers and consumers. The offer of processed and ultra-processed products, combined with the lack of time to prepare our own food, leads us to choices, orchestrated by advertising and the food industry, which affect our health, coexistence with other people and limit our contact with food. In addition, there are still a significant number of people who cannot even choose what they are going to eat, nor do they know how many meals they will have in a day. For both cases, the stimulus and promotion of family production is beneficial, in addition to family farming itself. We know that there is a long journey until people have their rights respected, including the right to eat properly, and that there are numerous obstacles on this path. Respect for farmers, appreciation of their work

and dignity in their lives are fundamental for us to achieve a more just and egalitarian society. Reverting a percentage of the budget allocated to school feeding is a significant step towards achieving this goal.

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