THE INSTITUTIONAL MARKET Evaluating Programmes in Brazil
Movimento Sem Terra - MST
The main goal of MST [Movimento Sem Terra, or Brazilian Landless Workers' Movement] is threefold: fighting for land, for land reform, and for a fairer and more fraternal society. MST is present in 24 states in all five Brazilian regions.

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Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens - MAB
MAB [Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens, or Movement of People Affected by Dams] is an independent nationwide mass movement run collectively on all levels, with local members and no distinction of gender, ethnicity, religion, political affiliation or educational background. It is a grassroots political movement that demands change.

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Comissão Pró-Índio de São Paulo - CPI
CPI-SP [Comissão Pró-Índio de São Paulo] is a non-governmental organisation founded in 1978 that works with indigenous peoples and quilombolas to secure their territorial, cultural and political rights, aiming to contribute to empower democracy, to gain recognition of the rights of ethnic minorities and to fight racial discrimination.

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Christian Aid
Christian Aid is an international development organisation that represents forty-one religious denominations from Great Britain and Ireland. Christian Aid is one of the largest non-governmental organisations in the United Kingdom and is supported by individuals, churches, governments, funds and foundations.

www.christianaid.org.uk/brasil
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A dramatic change has occurred in the flow of many types of food from the source to the table of the lowest-income, most vulnerable communities since 2002. Family production in Brazil is now purchased through institutional market programmes, and this has helped remove smallholder farmers from the back burner of the economy. This new political ingredient has also spiced up the whole recipe, which may, therefore, be exported to other countries.

In this publication, quilombolas, rural workers from MST benefited by the Land Reform, indigenous people and representatives from communities affected by dams in Brazil—jointly with the British-Irish ecumenical cooperation agency Christian Aid and its partners, CPI-SP, MST and MAB—, weigh those ingredients. Together, they assess the obstacles to the introduction of the programmes and policies behind PAA (Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos, or Food Acquisition Programme), PNAE (Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar, or National School Feeding Programme), PNPSB (Política Nacional para a Promoção dos Produtos da Sociobiodiversidade, Brazilian National Policy for the Promotion of Socio-Biodiversity Products) and PGPM (Política de Garantia de Preços Mínimos para Produtos da Sociobiodiversidade, or Policy for Minimum Guaranteed Prices for Socio-Biodiversity Products), as well as projects like PAIS (Produção Agroecológica Integrada e Sustentável, or Sustainable and Integrated Agroecological Production).

This study is the fruit of the history of the movements and organisations participating in this joint reflection, which took place in São Paulo in December 2013. The purpose is to help describe the current situation of the government’s market access programmes and serve as a springboard for initiatives that allow designing better strategies so that the population can have healthy food produced locally. Diversified market channels and a reduced dependence on the institutional market, made possible by breaking into conventional markets, strengthen the pillars of this project insofar as they help overcome the business hurdles created by multinationals and their pesticide-based production.

Since these programmes of the Brazilian government have been shared with several countries, the results assessed at the event become even more important. This is especially true in view of Brazil’s prominent role in the new international geopolitics in the 21st century and the dissemination of income transfer programmes as reference.

Put together, PAA and PNAE make up one of the world’s largest initiatives promoting the institutional purchase of food, with a focus mainly on buying food produced by smallholder farmers. This finding by the UN was published in October 2013 in a study entitled “Structured Demand
These Brazilian experiences have been so successful that they’ve been serving as examples for other developing countries interested in introducing similar programs, mainly in school feeding programs. Despite all this interest, we feel that more research about the impacts is needed to prove the efficiency of these programs, and this led us to conduct this study,” explained Daniel Balaban, the director at WFP’s Centre for Excellence Against Hunger.

The UNO estimates that over 3 million tonnes of food have been purchased through PAA from about 200,000 family farmers over ten years. Considering the contributions from States and cities, the budget for institutional purchases leaped from R$143 million in 2003 to R$1.4 billion in 2013. However, the UNO observes that these amounts account for just 0.0004% of Brazil’s Gross Domestic Product.

PNAE provides meals for at least 43 million students per day. FNDE’s (Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação, or National Fund for Education Development) budget for the program was R$3.5 billion in 2013. Since Law 11947/2009 states that at least 30% of the food used in school meals has to be purchased from family farms, R$1 billion is received by these families in theory, which also represents more market opportunities.

“These Brazilian experiences have been so successful that they’ve been serving as examples for other developing countries interested in introducing similar programs, mainly in school feeding programs.”
During the joint reflection in São Paulo, representatives from Christian Aid’s Brazil Programme pointed out how important it is to share the recommendations developed at the event with partner organisations in the 35 other countries in which it is present since similar programmes are currently being introduced. Christian Aid is a British-Irish cooperation agency that represents forty-one religious denominations from the United Kingdom and Ireland. It sees this reflection as an opportunity to execute the organisation’s new strategy for the period between 2012-2017, mainly because one of the main goals of the Brazil Programme is “to help create alternative resilient development models that ensure environmental and energy sustainability” and in which the access of indigenous people, quilombolas, people affected by dams and landless workers to inclusive markets is a priority.

Christian Aid has been sponsoring social projects in Brazil since the late 1970s. Some of the most recent projects involve business plans and feasibility assessments for organic rice and coffee crops (MST) and Brazil nut harvesting (CPI-SP). The publication of this reflection about results with the access to institutional programmes somehow reflects these three initiatives, undertaken between 2011 and 2013.

Christian Aid’s representative in Brazil Mara Luz says “it is necessary to share the diagnostic assessment of institutional market policies, as well as the recommendations for further progress, based on participants’ practical experience.” Publishing this study—thus making participants’ assessments public—is part of the strategy that sets priority on helping promote all the alternatives for development that reduce the country’s structural inequalities.

Another Christian Aid study, “The Real Brazil: the Inequality behind the Statistics,” shows that, despite advances, Brazil has not been tackling structural inequality and has been unable to unleash its potential for social development.

“It is necessary to share the diagnostic assessment of institutional market policies”
QUILOMBOLAS AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

This publication is an important tool for CEQMO (Cooperativa do Quilombo, or Quilombo Cooperative) and CPI-SP since it shows the potential and limits of the programmes based on a study of concrete experiences. It is useful in that it looks into the quilombola reality more thoroughly and helps these organisations outline strategies to access institutional market programmes or demand improvement. There are over two thousand quilombola communities in at least 24 Brazilian states.

CPI-SP’s executive director Lúcia Andrade believes that policies promoting the access to institutional markets are an alternative for the quilombola communities with which the organisation works to generate income. “These policies serve as an encouragement that these populations don’t usually have, since being able to market products is one of the obstacles to generating income. There are many requirements—from documentation to health rules—that don’t reflect the reality of those populations.” Ms. Andrade believes that government programmes pose a major challenge for those communities: organising themselves to gain access to institutional markets. As a result of this effort—or resilience—the organisation of those communities is improved.

While sharing experiences to organise the event in São Paulo, CPI-SP contacted Coordenação Estadual de Comunidades Quilombolas do Pará (Pará State Commission for Quilombola Communities) to search for other organisations participating in government programmes. Surprisingly, none was known to exist even though Pará is a state in which quilombola communities are very well organised, which clearly shows how difficult it is to have access to those programmes.

Domingos Printes, from Comunidade Abuí (Abuí Community), on the Trombetas River, in the Oriximiná region (Pará), agrees: “It doesn’t work out because of the huge amount of red tape, and we even believe this is a kind of discrimination. The fact that we’re up there at the tip (in northernmost Pará, at the border with Guyana and Suriname), as we usually say, isolated in the jungle, there is no way for us quilombolas to access these projects.” Printes goes even further: “I believe it has to do with both sides: the red tape, difficult for us quilombolas, who have a different way of life; and, on the other hand, politics itself,
Even though the Guarani Mbyá traditionally grow food only for their families, two participants in the event (from the Tenondé Porã Village, in Parelheiros, São Paulo) believe that these government programmes can be of great value for many of the over 200 ethnic groups in Brazil.

Osmar Tupã Mirim and Adriano Karaí Poty observed that bureaucracy has to be reduced to ensure that all indigenous communities have access to them and assessed the importance of PNAl for their village. Karaí Poty, who is an educational coordinator, says that they were able to improve the snack offered at the city school by introducing organic products from family farms, such as corn, cornmeal and sweet potato, after a great deal of discussion. “But what they get at the state school is not what we want; just tinned food. They put in tins whatever they can.”

Data compiled by CONAB’s (Companhia Nacional de Abastecimento, or Brazilian National Food Supply Company) Office to Monitor and Control Family Agriculture Initiatives show PNAl’s weak presence in indigenous and quilombola areas. Between 2008 and 2012, only 134 projects—which benefited 2,381 indigenous people—were formally approved, which corresponded to just 0.44% of PNAl’s budget allocated to purchasing products.

The 586.27% increase in the share of quilombolas in two PNAl categories between 2008 and 2012 was still small in comparison to the national data for the programme. In 2012, the purchase of quilombola products recorded by CONAB accounted for a mere 1.26% of the amount invested in PNAl in Brazil. Quilombolas comprised no more than 1,652 out of a total of 128,804 smallholder farmers benefited by CONAB funds in 2012. Despite these negligible figures, CONAB’s data indicate improvements—such as a change in eating habits and greater appreciation of women’s labour—in indigenous and quilombola communities benefited by PNAl.
This reflection is also important for MST in the build-up to its 6th National Conference. The movement has been seeking to debate new strategies for action to face the advance of agribusiness and financial capital in the farming industry. The organisation considers it essential to promote its sustainable production and the progress in the transition to an agroecological and polyculture model. In addition, it faces the challenge of marketing that same production, in general, monopolised by middle-men and large Brazilian and international networks with their trade barriers, more solid than the fences torn down by the fight for land reform.

With a three-decade history, MST is one of Brazil's largest social movements and is organised in 24 states. While settling unproductive areas for land reform, as guaranteed by the 1988 Constitution, it has had widely diverse experiences according to each region. MST has over 400 associations and cooperatives that work collaboratively to produce non-transgenic pesticide-free food. It has 96 agroindustrial plants to improve rural workers' income and working conditions. Another achievement of the movement has been the creation of 2,000 public schools in its encampments and settlements. These schools provide education for more than 160,000 children and teenagers and have made over 50,000 young people literate in recent years. To improve settlers’ education, MST has made partnerships with universities from the whole of Brazil and offers 100 undergraduate programmes. While it is making headway in terms of organisation and education, MST has almost 90,000 families still in encampments waiting for the land to be redistributed. The organisation required to settle and gain ownership of land, life in encampments and even the creation of agrovillages, as well as the structuring of agroindustrial plants and cooperatives, are all learning experiences that help MST fight against bureaucracy when accessing institutional market programmes.

At the debate dealt with in this publication, representatives from cooperatives near Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul State, (COOTAP) and from the Itapeva and Itaberá area, São Paulo State, (COAPRI) who have more experience in this regard, showed their positive numbers and the hurdles that they have been facing to access institutional market programmes. They also discussed their challenges and the advances made in the organisation and in the cooperation among families due to the consolidation of the access to these markets.

To Altamir Bastos, who is responsible for coordinating action among MST cooperatives in São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and Goiás States, “marketing our products has always been our front line. Therefore, we're trying to improve our skills to gain access to institutional markets as a priority while still targeting conventional markets”. Over 90% of the production of MST cooperatives goes to social programmes through PAA and PNAE. Nevertheless, Bastos
estimates that just about 10% of 370 thousand families benefited by land reform in Brazil are organised in cooperatives. “The others are working independently, plugging away. Therefore, we believe that technical support has to serve as an organisation tool. It has to facilitate the process, that is, play a somewhat more significant role. Organisation is a key issue from production to consumers’ tables.”

Ademar Ludwig, from MST’s national coordination, believes that the advancement of these programmes “is a major issue since large landholders are afraid of competition for the market although our families receive very small amounts of money.” He points out that further progress is needed, from food processing to food packaging, including the use of computer software. “Either we move ahead in terms of technology or we’ll lose the fight because we don’t have enough stamina. We have to build our political and financial independence.”
MAB (Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens, or Movement of People Affected by Dams) represents one million people in Brazil according to the World Commission on Dams (WCD). MAB is present in 17 states and has been accessing institutional market policies since it believes that they can significantly help increase rural workers’ income and diversify production. As the organisation sees it, PAA, PNAE and the other programmes have been promoting a closer relationship between farms and cities by taking farm produce to needy populations in big cities and school children.

MAB resorts to different programmes for different projects. Fishermen affected by the Tucuruí Dam, in Pará State, for example, have accessed PAA since they became fish farmers using aquaculture cages. PNAE is also widely accessed in areas impacted by the 80 dams or areas in which MAB is present. The movement has made a partnership with Fundação Banco do Brasil (Banco do Brasil Foundation), one of the sponsors of the social technology called PAIS (Produção Agroecológica Integrada e Sustentável, or Sustainable and Integrated Agroecological Production), to make it possible to produce quality food that reaches the population through PAA, PNAE or the conventional market. The project allowed the creation of 800 circular agroecological vegetable gardens in 12 states, and MAB is planning to turn it into a policy to promote smallholder production with no need for farm credit.
In addition to fighting against the consistent violation of at least 17 human rights whenever dams are built in Brazil, MAB organises the production of small farmers that have lost almost everything, have been relocated or are still awaiting redress or receive peanuts in compensation. For people affected by dams, this reflection may mean an alternative to expand their access to the market by strengthening the ties between grassroots organisations that produce healthy food and encouraging small farmers and gatherers to become organised.

Gabriel Sollero, from MAB’s management, believes that institutional market programmes have been increasing production, improving the food culture and helping set prices for biodiversity products. He observes that small-scale production is usually seen as a side source of income for the family, that is, a new source involving women. “For rural workers, this meagre income that starts coming in is important,” explains Sollero, who defends the idea that the State should play a more active role so that the programmes can work better since “they have been helping much less than expected.” Some of the flaws that he sees are that “there’s no good technical support, and local governments don’t help, create obstacles and do not value local production.”
The programmes and plans to introduce produce from family agriculture and gathering into institutional markets go beyond mere acronyms. They are institutional policies that comprise many of the efforts for change, historical demands of rural workers, through their movements and organisations, and quilombolas and indigenous people with the support of partner institutions.
Implemented by Law 10696 on July 2, 2003, it was altered by Law 12512, dated 10.14.2011, and is governed by Decree 7775, dated 07.04.2012. It is a public policy focused on production, marketing and consumption. Its goal is twofold: to purchase direct family production by government bodies with no bidding process, but at reference prices, to make food available in areas in which food security is in danger. The following suppliers can benefit from PAA: family farmers eligible for PRONAF (Programa Nacional de Fortalecimento da Agricultura Familiar, or National Programme for Strengthening Family Agriculture), settlers benefited by the land reform, people in encampments, gatherers, quilombolas, families affected by dams, indigenous communities among others. Consumers may be governmental and non-governmental organisations.

PAA is funded by MDA (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário, or Agrarian Development Ministry) and MDS (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome, or Ministry of Social Development and the Fight against Hunger) through CONAB (Companhia Nacional de Abastecimento, or Brazilian National Food Supply Company) jointly with state and city governments. In operations run by CONAB, family farmers must be organised in associations and cooperatives.

The programme has six objectives: formally purchasing family farm production for simultaneous donation purposes from family farmer associations and/or cooperatives that deliver the produce directly to beneficiary institutions; building stocks by formally purchasing family farm production from family farmer associations and/or cooperatives, which receive in advance 100% of the funds needed to buy raw material, packaging material and labels, pay suppliers and cover processing expenses; purchasing directly from family farms production determined by the government at reference prices through purchasing hubs located close to production sites; increasing milk production and consumption; and promoting purchasing by institutional customers.

Since July 2013, R$5,500.00 per family per year is the most that smallholder farmers may obtain from selling food products to PAA. To access the programme through supplier organisations, the limit rose to R$6,500.00 per family per year. For purchases through supplier organisations which have at least 50% of their members registered at the Unified Registry for Social Programmes, the annual limit of sales to PAA is R$8,000.00 per family per year. In the case of organisations of suppliers selling only organic and/or agroecological or biodiversity products, the limit is R$8,000.00 per family per year.
This programme focuses on conservation and the sustainable use of biodiversity, as well as income generation alternatives for rural communities. These goals translate into the access to credit policies, technical support, rural extension, markets, marketing tools and minimum price guarantees. This sixfold plan is designed to include traditional peoples and communities in the production process by promoting sustainable technologies. In parallel, it caters to the business class “by connecting it to the business opportunities provided by Brazilian biodiversity.” PNPSB is managed by MDA, MDS and MMA (Ministério do Meio Ambiente, or Ministry of the Environment.)

PNPSB defines a Socio-Biodiversity Production Chain as “an integrated system consisting of independent players and a succession of educational, research, management, production, processing, distribution, marketing and consumption processes of socio-biodiversity products and services, with a cultural identity and the inclusion of local values and lore and whose benefits are distributed in a fair and equitable manner.”

Law 11947, dated 06.16.2009, stipulates that at least 30% of the funds transferred through FNDE (Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação, or National Fund for Education Development) for school feeding purposes must be used to purchase produce from family farms or family farm organisations (mainly from settlements created by the land reform), traditional indigenous or quilombola communities. This measure gave rise to an important marketing channel and led to a quality improvement in school meals. Since July 2012, the sale limit to PNAE has been R$20,000 through a Statement of Eligibility to PRONAF-DAP/year. This amount does not comprise products sold through PAA.

PNAE’s steering committee consists of representatives from FNDE, MDS, MDA, CONAB and the MPA (Ministério da Pesca e Aquicultura, or Ministry of Fishing and Aquaculture), as well as an advisory committee with 14 representatives from civil society.
PAIS focuses on the production of vegetables, fruit and the small livestock farming on an agroecological basis, with no use of pesticides, in circular areas. It is designed to improve natural resources and reduce the dependence on imported inputs while respecting the local and cultural integrity. Two of PAIS’s goals are to diversify production and prevent food, water, energy and the time of the families involved from being wasted. It is a social technology funded by government bodies, such as the Ministry of Social Integration and Fundação Banco do Brasil, jointly with civil society organisations, such as SEBRAE (Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas, or the Brazilian Micro- and Small Business Support Service.)

CREDIT LINES

PRONAF, PAIS and the Mais Alimentos (More Food) programme provide credit lines for small farmers in general and those in land reform settlements, quilombolas and people affected by dams. These credit programmes often allow them to organise the food production that will be sold through institutional market programmes.

PGPM (POLICY FOR MINIMUM GUARANTEED PRICES FOR SOCIO-BIODIVERSITY PRODUCTS)

PGPM is intended to improve family farmers’ income, mainly by purchasing their production at minimum prices established by CONAB, which runs the system. PGPM’s goals are to build the government’s stocks and provide subsidies directly to farmers, who receive the amount corresponding to the difference between minimum and market prices. Gatherers of biodiversity products receive direct subsidies through the PGPM-Bio system.
PRONAF (NATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF FAMILY AGRICULTURE)

PRONAF offers over 15 credit lines at low interest rates (0.5 to 4% per year): for general purposes, such as to fund crops and invest, and geared to specific groups or industries. An important resource for individual or collective projects to generate income for family farmers, it was launched in 1996. PRONAF is run by the financial agents that make up SNCR (Sistema Nacional de Crédito Rural, or National System of Rural Credit) and are divided into basic agents (Banco do Brasil, Banco do Nordeste and Banco da Amazônia) and associated agents (BNDES, Bancoob, Bansicredi and those connected with Febraban). PRONAF is better known for extending credit to family farmers, but also has a supplementary programme named ATER (Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural, or Technical Support and Rural Extension.) The purpose is to promote income generation by the agroindustry, rural tourism, biofuels, medicinal plants, production chains, farm insurance, price insurance and drought insurance in Northeastern Brazil.

PROGRAMA MAIS ALIMENTOS (MORE FOOD PROGRAM)

This is a PRONAF credit line for projects to upgrade family farms, thus generating income for beneficiaries. It allows small farmers to purchase new machinery and equipment and restore soils or correct their deficiencies. Farmers can also invest in milk cooling tanks, genetic improvement, irrigation, new orchards, greenhouses and warehouses among others. The Mais Alimentos Produção Primária credit line (for investments in production infrastructure on family farms) is geared to individual projects up to R$150 thousand and collective projects up to R$750 thousand, with interest rates of up to 2% per year; a deferment period of up to three years and 10-year maturity. In turn, the Mais Alimento Agroindústria credit line can be used for investments in infrastructure, and is mainly geared to the processing, storage and marketing of farming production, forest and gathering products, handcrafted products, as well as rural tourism on family farmers. The credit limit is R$300 thousand for family farms (legal entities) and R$35 million for associations and cooperatives (also legal entities.)
In Brazil, family agriculture accounts for 75% of all rural employment and 70% of all the food served on Brazilian tables. However, family farmers have access to no more than 25% of all farm credit. Despite this discrepancy, it is worth noting settlers, quilombolas and small landholders’ experiences, which have become references for other movements and organisations also seeking access to institutional market programmes such as PAA and PNAE, in addition to showing the real value of family agriculture.

These diverse experiences were described during the event at which institutional market programmes were assessed, in São Paulo. They show success that can be translated into figures or resilient ways of life; in other words, they can yield good results after the obstacles are overcome.
COOTAP-RS
MANAGEMENT TEAM

COOTAP (Cooperativa dos Trabalhadores Assentados da Região de Porto Alegre, or the Cooperative of Workers from Land Reform Settlements in the Porto Alegre Region), accesses several programmes of the Brazilian Federal Government and the Rio Grande do Sul State Government for production infrastructure projects. Ninety percent of the cooperative’s production is sold through institutional market programmes. Those of PAA, conducted by CONAB, help beneficiaries organise their activities in connection with stocks and simultaneous donations, which go to 26 institutions that assist needy families benefited by the Fome Zero (Zero Hunger) programme.

Founded in 1995, COOTAP had 1,421 members in 26 settlements in 17 cities and towns in the Greater Porto Alegre area in 2013. The cooperative’s organisation is based on production, a system inspired by MST. Coordinated action is under responsibility of managing groups of families organised in production lines. There are managing groups for rice, fruit, medicinal plants, milk, fish and vegetable gardens. Produce goes to PAA, PNAE and street markets. Families are organised in groups in settlements and jointly set up street market stalls in the cities of Porto Alegre, Canoas, São Leopoldo, Eldorado do Sul, São Gerônimo, Viamão, among others. Consumers are delighted at their high-quality organic produce, including fruit. In addition, they highlight the local culture by putting grandmas’ vegetables back on the menu.

The cooperative members’ goal is to cover the whole production chain—production, processing and marketing—to gain independence collectively. “We’ve shortened the distance between producers and consumers, thus avoiding middle-men,” celebrates Nélio Luís Krupinski, from COOTAP, an expert in cooperative management from a land reform settlement in Rio Grande do Sul State. “These achievements help families make plans and become organised because they gave us a steady market share. This allows us to compete and organise our production.” Krupinski believes that market access through PAA and PNAE allowed organising large-scale production and getting the most out of the property, which did not used to be financially sustainable. In addition, it improved settlers’ lives and reduced waste losses, which used to reach 70% due to lack of proper transportation of produce.

Krupinski points out that public policy incentives for production—which comprise seed donations, crop funding, agricultural lime, the possibility of using tractors—strengthen family farming. He says that the institutional market has a very important by-product: improved organisation and cooperation among families. “To a certain extent, these programmes have been changing the situation in settlements in terms of production, work methods, economic and productive development, as well as quality of life. In fact, families strengthen their culture, gain independence, provide healthy sustenance, boost their self-esteem and make land fulfil its social role when they themselves produce and don’t have to work for others for a living.
COAPRI-SP’S “PLENTIFUL TABLE”

COAPRI (Cooperativa dos Assentados e Pequenos Produtores da Região de Itapeva e Itaberá, or the Cooperative of Settlers and Small Farmers from the Itapeva and Itaberá Area, in São Paulo State), founded 16 years ago, has been accessing institutional markets through PAA for ten years. It brings together 35 entities from six agrovillages, where they produce milk, cereals and grains, as well as 400 tonnes of vegetables and fruit per year. COAPRI’s products are branded as “Raízes da Terra”. “When we started accessing PAA, we were able to put the agrovillage’s land to good use, and the vegetable gardens started generating income for families,” recalls COAPRI’s Fernando Aranha. In 2012 alone, we hit over R$680 thousand in revenue, shared among 400 families, with the help of the programme. “It helps a lot. It’s generating income and good food, but it’s necessary to go a step further and turn programmes into public policies.”

Agricultural technician Fabiana Fagundes da Silva, a land reform settlers’ daughter who is about to graduate from college with a degree in agronomy, designs and follows up on COAPRI’s projects. She says that a lot of produce not considered important, such as fruit, was wasted before the institutional programmes but is now sold. In fact, 60% of all fruit is sold through PAA. “There have been overall changes adding value to the products, and we’ve planted vegetable gardens. Therefore, we receive positive evaluations from the programmes. However small the amount may be, it provides benefits for families, a richer diet, generates income, and the city has good-quality food.”

Even though COAPRI mainly focuses on cereal and grain production, Silva explains that it covers the whole cycle, from production to packaging, including vegetables and dairy products, up to the processing phase. The whole set of initiatives is the “plentiful table” concept put into practice. Cereals and grains are sold to 18 cities and towns in the area through PNAE. In addition to the closer ties between settlers and local governments, Silva values the direct connection established between COAPRI and the organisations that receive the produce in cities. “It’s very important because producers themselves make the deliveries and explain where the food came from and how important organisation is. This has opened a closer dialogue with society.”
Aranha and Silva agree that the main PAA’s obstacles are the bureaucracy and long payment terms. Concerning PNAE, they say that “local governments are not interested in purchasing the products.” Aranha gives an example. They won a public bidding for 365 thousand tonnes of beans in São Paulo but lost the deal because of an error that he claims that the municipal government has made. “There was some prejudice involved, but there’s also the ‘bean mafia’, which hurts producers throughout the country by driving prices up and down as they see fit to corner the market.”

“TERRA LIVRE”:
ORGANIC RICE FOR SCHOOLS

Gaining production independence, highlighting farmers’ culture and lore while preserving the environment. Based on these principles, 24 settlements belonging to COOTAP and the cooperatives in Santa Rita (COOPAN) and Tapes (COOPAT), in Rio Grande do Sul State, created the organic rice brand “Arroz Terra Livre” jointly in 2010. Through PNAE, this rice is used in school meals for over 1.6 million children in 19 cities and town in the state. Through PAA, vacuum-packed rice goes to CONAB’s stocks or charities.

“We make a point of raising future consumers’ awareness of the importance of eating quality products,” explains Krupinski. He also claims that “We must reverse the degradation that agribusiness is causing, mainly by the use of herbicides in crops. A recent study has shown that the use of pesticides in Brazil is 4.8 litres per person per year.”

In 2014, “Terra Livre” crossed the state line after winning a bidding process conducted by the São Paulo city government due to the high quality and fair price of the products. The three cooperatives, which control the whole production chain, including transportation and logistics, are going to enrich meals at São Paulo’s city schools with pesticide-free organic rice with International certification.
In Minas Gerais State, there are over 400 dam projects, 100 of which are fully operational. MAB (Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens, or Movement of People Affected by Dams) is organised in the Jequitinhonha Valley, in the northern, eastern and southeastern parts of the state, where violations of rights are commonplace. “In Minas Gerais, construction companies don’t pay in compensation even 30% of what they should. Amid so much injustice, there are some government programmes, where we can get a little more money,” says Cauê Valim de Melo, who monitors and organises production in the different communities in which MAB is organised.

In 2013, 175 agroecological vegetable gardens were planted through the PAIS project. They were funded by Fundação Banco do Brasil for people from Minas Gerais State affected by dams. These circular vegetable gardens are integrated production systems with a chicken pen in the middle. They provide not only produce to sell, but also food for families, Melo observes. “This means a better, more varied diet and self-sufficiency, something very positive in these areas, where there is a lot of vulnerability.”

PAA “is very promising. It helps us sell our production, a key issue for farmers,” says Melo. Nevertheless, “it has to be better executed by the State and more comprehensive since it has a very limited budget.” Although each family receives just R$375.00 per month on average, it is “a significant amount, which means a better life,” he explains.

In the specific case of Minas Gerais, MAB has objections to CONAB, the government body that runs PAA. “We’re having trouble getting projects approved because of there is a waiting line and a lot of red tape,” Melo complains. He explains that many documents are needed, not only from the applying organisation, but also from schools, day care centres and city governments. “As a result, the CONAB chapter in Minas Gerais has been returning funds in the last three years.”

As for PNAE, Melo believes that competition from large producers hinders access. “They often take small farmers’ place because of lack of information, city governments, or because certain state schools don’t comply with the law, which says that 30% of the food used in school meals must come from family farms.”
RAPADURA AND POLITICAL WILL

MAB believes that political will makes a difference when accessing institutional market programmes. Melo gives as an example the case of the Diogo de Vasconcelos city government, in the Mariana area. “They’ve been helping us a lot with project development and monitoring. They also help transport, collect and distribute food for PAA. This is proof that the programme succeeds when public authorities want it to.”

Another successful story occurred in northern Minas Gerais, in Rio Pardo de Minas, where women sell rapadura [brown sugar candy] and beiju [cassava flatbread] to PAA. “Producing and packaging rapadura for schools has made the women involved independent. It provided income, independence and self-esteem,” Melo celebrates.
THE DREAMS OF THE ORIXIMINÁ QUILOMBOLAS

The absence of the State, the long distances in the Amazon Region and even prejudice against local products hinder the access to programmes and policies that benefit gatherers and family farmers.

Representatives from CEQMO (Cooperativa Mista Extrativista dos Quilombolas do Município de Oriximiná, or Mixed Extraction Cooperative of the Quilombolas from the Town of Oriximiná) mention these and other difficulties when they describe the experience of 35 communities from northwestern Pará State, an area of the Lower Amazon River, where a lot of Brazil nuts, açaí and fish can be found.

Between 2001 and 2006, they developed Projeto Castanha (Brazil Nut Project), which faced difficulties that persist when they apply for institutional programmes.

The State, which standardised the rules without taking Brazil’s regional differences into account, is not prepared to inspect, enforce what it demands or support communities.

Facing difficulties, CEQMO is trying local alternatives. One of their dreams is to build a processing plant. In this project, they have the support from Christian Aid’s In their Lifetime programme and CPI-SP. They also received a plot of land from the town of Oriximiná. Part of their strategy to break into institutional and conventional markets is to sell their industrial products directly to consumers, thus bypassing middle-men and competition. The lack of public infrastructure and long distances are obstacles, but the learning experience gleaned from fighting for common ownership of the land and organising the communities paved the way for other opportunities.

Some communities belonging to CEQMO are 12 hours from Oriximiná by boat, and this prevents them from accessing institutional programmes, which do not cover transportation costs. This problem is rampant in Pará State, in which quilombola communities cannot access institutional markets according to a quilombola survey. It is also common in different areas of the Amazon Region. A total of 240 quilombola communities have been found to exist in Pará. The only states with more quilombola communities are Maranhão (527), Bahia (between 300 and 500) and Minas Gerais (about 400).

Nilza Nira Melo de Souza, from the Jauari community, on the Erepecuru River, a tributary of the Trombetas River, makes it clear that they will not give up their dreams and talks about two of them: “We’re fighting tooth and nail for our nut processing mill and a secondary school so that young people won’t leave their communities.” Souza’s next goal is to sell Brazil nuts and their industrialised by-products, such as candy and cookies, and including them in school meals. She is a coordinator at ARQMO (Associação das Comunidades Remanescentes de Quilombos do Município de Oriximiná, or the Association of the Quilombo Remnant Communities of the
SCHOOL MEALS WITH A LOCAL FLAVOUR

The students from the eight hub schools in the quilombola communities of Oriximiná, in Pará State, had objections to their school meals, made with almost expired canned food that came from far away and generated a lot of waste, which they avoid. Developing their own menu based on local eating habits was a project that grew to involve nutritionists. “It was an achievement of our engagement effort, and the city eventually agreed,” celebrates Hugo de Souza, CEQMO’s president, who recalls that “there was an awful lot of red tape, and we had to go through a lot of groups.”

Quilombolas’ goal was to face bureaucracy and improve school meals by offering produce from family farms and extraction, such as tapioca, Brazil nut porridge, pumpkins, bananas, potatoes, yam, açaí and local fish. However, the health surveillance agency has objections to açaí, which is a traditional part of the local diet but does not follow certain standards. Nilza de Melo tries to explain the problem: “We need to follow a lot of norms for them to let our kids eat our product in school meals, but quilombolas are used to it, they eat açaí from birth.”

In addition to improving the quality of school meals, local products will be an important source of income, mainly for women, who are more involved in production and gathering. “They will be happier, and that will give them the strength to produce more and more,” says an excited Souza. With the menu approved, the next step is to participate in public biddings for the products.
The Tucurui Hydropower Plant, on the Tocantins River, in southeastern Pará, was built between 1974 and 1985, during the military dictatorship. At that time, there was no environmental awareness and civil rights were completely disregarded. Eletronorte\textsuperscript{1} estimated that 5,000 people were affected by the construction of the dam, the second largest in Brazil. MAB, however, believes that 30,000 people were affected, and most of them have received no compensation yet. The concessionaire bowed to the pressure exerted by MAB, which initially involved mostly women, and started investing in fishing and farming projects.

\textbf{AQUACULTURE CAGES IN TUCURUÍ}

In one of the projects to offset the impact of the construction, Eletronorte invested R$8 million to build eight aquaculture cages for each of the 333 fishermen who worked at the toe of the dam, where both the generator units and the fish are. Nevertheless, the fishermen, who had become fish farmers, had no processing sheds, technical support or access to electric power. Among other problems, there were delays in fish harvesting, and thousands of fry were lost.

MAB’s Euvanice de Jesus Furtado is a member of the Mixed Cooperative of Workers and Fishermen, Rural and Extraction Workers from the Tucurui HPP Reservoir. COOPMAB brings together 156 fishermen who are raising fish in aquaculture cages. The product is marketed through PAA for simultaneous donation to the Pastoral Commission for Children and drug rehabilitation centres.

“Despite the problems, there are no more deaths at the toe of the dam, a very dangerous spot, due to our fight,” Furtado celebrates. The fish farmers managed to harvest 22 tonnes of fish in the first phase in spite of the difficulties, the bureaucracy and the lack of public policies supporting the cooperative. “For the future, we have another project developed by Eletronorte, and the negotiations with CONAB are already finished. We’ll be harvesting the fish soon, in the second phase.”

\textsuperscript{1} Eletronorte (Centrais Elétricas do Norte do Brasil S.A.) is a subsidiary of the Brazilian power utility Eletrobrás.
Government bodies consider the institutional market programmes successful. As the movements that represent family farmers and extraction workers see it, much more progress is needed before celebrating. There must also be improvements in legislation so that they will not be vulnerable to pressure from large producers.

CONAB’s Office to Monitor and Control Family Agriculture Initiatives relies on the PAA figures to prove that the programmes are efficient. CONAB’s budget allocated to the program shot up from R$81.5 million in 2003 to R$586.5 million in 2012.

According to data analysed by IPEA (Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas Aplicadas, or Institute of Applied Economic Research), a total of R$840 million was invested in PAA in 2012, when 185 thousand family farmers were benefited. That is a giant leap since only 42 thousand were benefited in the year in which the programme was created. Investments in PAA increased almost sixfold in one decade. However, food purchasing benefited just 4% of the 4.4 million family farms. Concerning the 1,200 quilombola communities and over 200 indigenous peoples, the data show almost no results.

In 2012, indigenous and quilombola communities received just 4.5% of PAA’s funds. Data for organic products purchased by CONAB also show conflicting trends. While purchases doubled and amounts paid for them tripled between 2009 and 2012, no more than 2.15% of PAA’s funds were invested in them.

Based on official data, ISA (Instituto Socioambiental, or SocioEnvironmental Institute) shows in the publication A política agrícola como vetor para a conservação ambiental [Agricultural Policy as Guideline for Environmental Conservation] that socio-biodiversity products still account for a tiny share of the programme’s budget allocations. Of the R$450 million invested by PAA through CONAB in 2011, just R$10 million was used to purchase socio-biodiversity products, corresponding to 2% of total investments.

Small farmers, quilombolas, indigenous people and partner institutions feel on a daily basis the impact of this low level of investment on the part of institutional market plans and programmes. As a group, they were able to see the obstacles and advances in different contexts while sharing experiences. Some views of the participants in the event held in December 2013 can be found in the following pages.
“The State tries to streamline the service in a reality as complex as Brazil’s. This public policy applied nationwide is unable to cater to the specific needs of different contexts. In addition, the parties involved lack skills.

*Gabriel Sollero, MAB*

“We do our share, but the government doesn’t. We need funds for our activities. The mayor can join the Health Surveillance Department, which can join a nutritionist, with the people in charge of the bidding process and go to the community to try to develop a project.”

*Hugo Souza, Ceqmo, Oriximiná-PA*

“Local governments lack training to run PAA and PNAE. The nutritionist doesn’t understand the essence of the programme, and don’t respect the seasonality of local produce.”

*Fernando Aranha, Coapri-SP*

“PAA is good. It’s helpful, but it takes the local government’s political will or it doesn’t work. In Minas Gerais, for example, you can’t sell cheese or cheese buns because the list of organisations provided by CONAB isn’t available. The Health Surveillance Department can’t monitor the delivery of our cheese, which is a good-quality product. We can’t sell products of animal origin. CONAB has even forbidden us to sell free-range chicken. It seems there are only technicians on the other side of the table.”

*Cauê Valim, MAB-MG*

“Both the bodies running the programme and local governments have to get to know settlers’ reality better—since that’s where family agriculture is—and try to take it into account in public policies so both at the same time can facilitate access to these markets. It’s necessary to bear in mind that consumers will be receiving quality products originating from agroecological production, which is also very important.”

*Fabiana Fagundes, Coapri-SP*

“It’s necessary to take steps to create inclusion-oriented public policies to put an end to our anxiety since we know that any executive order can tear down everything we’ve achieved.”

*Ademar Ludwig, MST*

“It has become an important task to share with other countries and organisations the method to systematise the achievements and challenges that institutional market programmes bring to quilombolas, settlers benefited by the land reform, people affected by dams and indigenous peoples.”

*Mara Luz, Christian Aid*
“Our management is flawed because a farmer is a bit of a craftsman. He organises production with a focus on delivery, and we’re in charge of management, which involves the documentation, qualifications, official permits, in short, all the red tape. It’s very hard work. There are many details, a lot of contracts have to be signed, and that drags. Sometimes four or five documents have to be signed before delivering the merchandise and acknowledging receipt, and this is often a very delicate step for us: The paperwork goes back and forth, and CONAB doesn’t authorise the payment. They have to cut down on red tape. It has to be more objective. One signature, one contract, and we can do it.”

Nelson Krupinski, Cootap-RS

“It’s necessary to cut down on red tape. Each one comes up with something new. Sometimes you do everything they ask you to do in a PNAE bidding process. Then, they create more paperwork, and it makes it impossible because all you do is get through paperwork, reports, documents, and end up missing the deadline.”

Fabiana Fagundes, Coapri-SP

“It’s no use creating a policy geared to family agriculture and settlements if you create obstacles. In PAA, they want a lot of documents, and it’s really complicated to render accounts. We’re trying to prepare better for these policies. It’s important to train our people and have good technical support to overcome the obstacles of red tape.”

Ana Paula Botelho, MST

“They have to streamline the access, cut down on red tape. For us indigenous people, quilombolas and landless workers, when the government creates projects, programmes, they have to be adapted to regional differences, to meet everyone’s needs. Indigenous communities, in particular, have trouble accessing programmes because there’s a lot of red tape. If they cut down on it, more people will access them. Maybe not us, for the time being, because we Guaranis just produce food for our families, but for other communities.”

Osmar Tupã Mirim, Guarani Mbyá from the Tenondé Porã Indigenous Land

“They have to cut down on red tape. It has to be more objective. One signature, one contract, and we can do it.”
“Each programme has a specific problem, but they all have limited budgets. PAIS, PAA and PNAE all have small budgets because the prevailing power in the government is currently agribusiness. Thirty percent, in the case of PNA, is too little. Why can’t we supply all school feeding programmes since small producers are able to? We produce 70% of all the food consumed in Brazil. We need more investments, incentives and even subsidies to make our production economically feasible and improve it.”

*Cauê Valim, MAB-MG*

“Social programmes have to take into account technical support and families’ organisation, as well as cooperatives’ technical management, funding, stock management, logistics, in short, the whole production chain.”

*Altamir Bastos, MST*

“PNAE and PAA is a share, a tiny part of a share of the market that is available for agribusiness. Local governments could buy more than 30%, which is the minimum. The city of São Bernardo do Campo, in São Paulo, is an example: It purchases almost 100% from family farms. Erechim, in Rio Grande do Sul State, is another example: All the food for the school feeding programme comes from family farms.”

*Ana Paula Botelho, MST*

“PAA and PNAE encourage purchasing our production, but they should also offer working capital for production, transportation, processing and sales. This is one of our constraints, which becomes an obstacle for us, and there’s still a lack of technical support to improve production quality.”

*Nelson Krupinski, Cootap-RS*

“How can we structure production until our product reaches school meals or consumers’ tables? What can we do if there’s no credit? How can we bear the cost of complying with health legislation? How can we improve management?”

*Ademar Ludwig, MST*
“Besides paperwork, there’s logistics, which also poses obstacles. Transportation isn’t covered. In PAA, each family can get up to R$6,500.00 a year. But we have to discount freight costs, logistics for delivery, packaging, taxes, accounting services and paperwork. How can a family get by on what’s left? There’s also seeds, production costs... PNA started at R$9,000.00 a year and now goes up to R$20,000.00, but it’s still little money in comparison to what goes to agribusiness.”

Ana Paula Botelho, MST

“One of the challenges for this type of policy is to adapt it to the different realities of these population by taking into account both their locations in the Amazon Region—with their unique features—and, like in the case of ethnic groups, respecting the way they are organised. The challenge is to make use of current policies and adapt them to these specific realities so that people can really access them.”

Lúcia Andrade, CPI-SP

“It’s necessary to invest in CONAB, strengthen it, so that processes can flow because it is becoming inoperative. It doesn’t hire anyone. No-one is saying that they’re going to restructure CONAB or change INCRA [Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária, or National Institute for Colonisation and Land Reform] in the short term. And those are the two bodies that help make land reform possible. The government creates all the programmes, and it seems it’s just to make an impact on the population. But it’s really hard to make them work.”

Fernando Aranha, Coapri-SP

“Our main constraint these days is technical support, being able to produce concrete results both to access the programmes and to plan, make crop projections, that is, those basic tasks involved in technical assistance.”

Gabriel Sollero, MAB
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The main family agriculture and extraction players participating in the reflection described the problems and benefits of institutional market programmes. They stressed the importance “working hard so that they won’t be discontinued” and so that they will become public policies, “which cannot be eliminate by an Executive Order.” They described the lessons that they learned and made suggestions to improve the programmes.

They decided to plan an advocacy campaign for the maintenance and expansion of these programmes while seeking more actively to enter the conventional market, which they believe is “a major field of competition that has to be broken into.” Some of the different suggestions are to fight for the creation of at least 30 more distribution centre and general warehousing companies and to strengthen CONAB, in addition to encouraging farmers to produce food for school feeding programmes.

“We’ve always put food on Brazilians’ tables, but now we also want to market our food products;” pointed out Euvanice Furtado, from COOPMAB, in Tucuruí, Pará, thus showing a determination to face the new challenge. “We have to outdo the big fish;” Nélson Crupinski, from COOTAP, in Rio Grande do Sul State, agrees. “We, as well as quilombolas, people affected by dams and the real owners of the land, indigenous people, are important players. As our talks unfold, we’ll find a way,” concluded COAPRI’s Fernando Aranha.

The participants of the reflection believe that the issue of institutional markets goes beyond income generation. Therefore, “it’s necessary to forge ahead with the land reform. People affected by dams have to fight for their rights. Quilombolas have to find a better strategy to sell Brazil nuts, without giving in to mining companies. And it’s necessary to fight for the demarcation and ownership of the land.”

Ademar Ludwig says that “the great challenge is to strengthen organisation and cooperation. It’s necessary to invest in education while investing in the agroindustry, which processes the primary product, encourages young people to stay on farms and makes our products reach consumers directly.” Other participants added that cooperatives should centralise sales, negotiate with families and interact with the organisations and CONAB. This suggestion is based on the idea that cooperation has been essential to structure the programmes in settlements and increase women’s engagement.

To make further progress in terms of organisation, quilombolas, landless workers and people affected by dams assessed the importance of support from partner institutions.
to allow experience-sharing on the local level and have assistance with business plans. They believe that trying to apply the appropriate methodology is also important to implement any project; therefore, PMSD (Participatory Market System Development), Christian Aid’s methodological plan, was considered an important tool to promote market access.

Christian Aid’s Gabriel Bahía described two experiences in which PMSD was successfully applied and inspired the participants in the joint reflection. The first one was in the Peruvian Andes and made the sale of alpaca wool more economically feasible; the other was in El Salvador, where PMSD created opportunities for workers to export dried shrimp. An analysis of these two experiences in Latin America gave rise to the following suggestions: Good practices, innovation and models to start profitable businesses and create networks should be disseminated.

Overall, the recommendations from the event with family farmers and extraction workers indicate that youth engagement in projects should be promoted and women’s access to the programmes should be encouraged. Other issues were seeking organic certification and building enough physical structures to store products. Further recommendations included fighting for credit lines for working capital and product agroindustrialisation and processing, in addition to seeking management training—and even funding for this purpose. Finally, it is necessary to demand less bureaucracy by devising specific and concrete proposals to implement these policies and programmes for indigenous people and quilombolas.
AMAZON REGION

Considering that institutional market programmes are a historical achievement for Brazilians, the participants in the reflection from the Amazon Region recommended:

1. Less bureaucracy for the programmes
2. Devising specific policies for quilombolas, people affected by dams, landless workers and indigenous people
3. A stronger presence of the State, with more effective monitoring from technical support bodies
4. Adaptation of the Health Surveillance Department’s inspections to communities’ realities
5. A policy based on local realities (school meals adapted to communities’ eating habits, for example)

a. Sharing knowledge about how the programme works with other players
b. Training throughout the production chain
c. Political coordination with different local and state government bodies
d. Ground work with nutritionists, teachers and students to create a menu adapted to the school
**SOUTH/SOUTHEAST**

The participants from the South and Southeast Regions recommend:

1. Turning programmes and plans into State policies
2. Reducing of bureaucracy of the programmes
3. Having more legal force
4. Strengthening cooperatives and improving infrastructure
5. Increasing the annual limit per DAP
6. Speeding up the checking of accounts and payment procedures
7. Facilitating the organic certification process
8. Streamlining health standards and making them more flexible
9. Having easy mechanisms to adjust, adapt and correct projects

In addition to recommendations to improve institutional market programmes, the participants suggested the steps below to those starting to try access them:

1. Organised people with production potential
2. Starting with PAA and then go on to PNAE, which is more complicated
3. Being a legal entity in good standing
4. Having a group of people responsible for developing projects, monitoring/management/control
5. Establishing well-structured contact networks with partner organisations, like local governments, schools and organisations accessing PAA
6. Taking progress into account: other channels of sale (street markets, direct sales), industrialisation (transformation of primary products)
Participants in the joint reflection about the inclusive market programmes that took place in São Paulo in December 2013: rural workers from MST benefited by the land reform; representatives from the Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAB); quilombolas from Oriximiná, Pará, and members of CEQMO (the Quilombo Cooperative); Guarani Mbyá from the Tenondé Porã Reservation, in São Paulo; representatives from the Brazil Programme of Christian Aid and partners, Pro-Indian Commission of São Paulo, MST and MAB.

MAIN DOCUMENTS AND SITES

“Parceria para Mudança, Christian Aid Brasil – Estratégia 2012-2017”
www.socioambiental.org/sites/blog.socioambiental.org/files/publicacoes/pol_agricola.pdf
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