PUBLIC POLICIES
AND FOOD SYSTEMS
IN LATIN AMERICA

J.-F. Le Coq, C. Grisa, S. Guéneau, P. Niederle, editors

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Foreword

The profound transformation of sustainable food systems is a major challenge for agriculture and societies. We must not only solve the problems of malnutrition, but also address all the challenges of sustainable development in a comprehensive way. In addition to the recurrent food and nutrition crises that have marked previous decades, changing dietary patterns have created a situation where population supply challenges are compounded by nutritional and health challenges, such as obesity and its many related diseases. Although there is now near-universal abundance of food, malnutrition is the main public health problem.

Moreover, the environmental and climate crises and their impacts invite us to rethink food systems to reduce their footprint, support the renewal of resources and increase the resilience of societies and ecosystems. Finally, the Covid-19 pandemic both reflects the systemic dimension of the crises that follow one after the other and reinforces the need for profound structural transformations. This pandemic has generated an additional shock that urgently requires more rapid and systemic actions.

Society can respond to these challenges in various ways and at multiple levels. From international organizations to local civil society actors, social movements, and national and local governments, initiatives to promote food systems are emerging to promote sustainable food systems. However, although awareness is growing and consumers around the world are increasingly demanding healthy food that respects cultures and the environment, current solutions are limited given the scale of the challenge. Truly successful solutions will require actors from different sectors, at different scales and with different visions to all work together. This book highlights many initiatives and transformations, often developed and carried out in different places and within specific spaces. We know that such initiatives are rarely replicable, given the specificity of contexts, and that we cannot imagine remaking the world simply by reproducing them. We also know that local changes depend on actions undertaken in other spheres, which make new transformations possible and drive them forward. The aim is therefore to develop a new system of action, a framework that structures and enhances action to support sustainable development. In the face of this challenge, public policies play a central role. They educate populations and raise their awareness; adjust production and consumption standards; create new legal and regulatory frameworks; encourage new forms of production, marketing and consumption while prohibiting others; facilitate the creation of spaces for cooperation; promote and support local initiatives; address conflicts of interest, and more.

This book, proposed by the Public Policy and Rural Development in Latin America (PP-AL), contributes to this global reflection. The original chapters compiled here analyze food policies in Latin America, a heterogeneous continent where both food issues and innovative initiatives to address them abound.

With chapters covering the situation in ten Latin American countries, this book presents a broad overview of the region's food policy trajectories, illustrating the development of policies over the last two decades to provide access to food for the poorest and most vulnerable populations. These food and nutrition security policies and programs have integrated the health dimension in the last decade. However, they have only marginally integrated the environmental one necessary to establish sustainable food systems. Moreover, recent political changes in certain countries have affected the implementation of these programs, leaving vulnerable populations in a critical situation.

This book also takes an original look at emerging initiatives from urban and rural territories, through which the many different situations can be explored by substituting or complementing national public actions. Certain local initiatives and dynamics presented in this book reflect initial efforts to reconfigure local alliances between producers and consumers and the emergence of new actors working to promote alternative food culture and values. They also show the possible development of integrated policies that seek to address the various economic, social, health and environmental challenges in a coordinated manner, and to better ensure coherent sector-specific policies.

Additionally, this book explores the processes by which instruments and regulations are created and local initiatives emerge. The analysis reveals that the social movements of family farming and agroecology have played a key role in promoting inclusive regulations and environmentally friendly local food systems.

However, although promising, the initiatives presented in this book are recent and relevant to a specific moment or place. This book shows that innumerable constraints persist in fostering sustainable food systems in the region. The first constraint results from agrarian dynamics, competition between different models of agricultural development and centuries-old inequality in the way land and natural resources are distributed. As a result, the food situation continues to deteriorate very rapidly for certain rural population groups, particularly traditional communities. The second constraint highlighted in this book stems from the difficulties of coordinating different actors and levels of government to build integrated policies for sustainable food systems. In fact, although there has been a shift towards more integrative *référentiels* for a new generation of policies, there are still no integrated national food policies that include all the dimensions required to develop sustainable food systems and provide the necessary framework for action for the local production of public goods. To create such policies, policymakers would need to address intersectoral challenges, which inevitably emerge with multifaceted issues such as sustainable food systems. There would also need to be greater dialogue and integration between rural social movements and consumer movements and urban civil society organizations, on the one hand, and environmental movements, on the other, to advocate for sustainable and equitable food system models. This book does

not propose a normative vision of sustainable food systems, but instead presents historical and recent policy trajectories along with their current limitations, and provides an overview of innovative perspectives. Through these contributions, it offers food for thought for the scientific community, as well as for public decision-makers and social movements, to consider and promote policies for sustainable food systems. It also offers suggestions and perspectives from which to tackle an important challenge for the design of our future: coordinating local initiatives, regional and national public policies and international frameworks for action. In a context of increasing political volatility and re-politicization of food issues, this book offers an important contribution to defining the political strategies that must now be implemented to navigate towards a sustainable world and mobilizing the lessons learned, alliances and power relations across different scales of action.

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Introduction

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This book presents the results of a collective research effort coordinated by the Public Policy and Rural Development in Latin America network (PP-AL), an inter-institutional platform created in 2011 to enable regional academic and policy dialogue on the design and implementation of rural development policies. Motivated by the results of previous projects,[1] in September 2018 the network's coordination committee proposed a new research project on "Public policies and food security for sustainable food systems." Between March 2019 and March 2021, researchers from ten countries worked on this project seeking answers to a set of guiding questions posed by the coordinators of the research and this publication. In this introduction, we return to these questions and briefly describe the project's path to the publication of the chapters in this book.

We begin with the concept of food and nutritional security. This concept, used in Latin America since the 1990s, sums up a movement whereby the key food-related problems shifted from being focused on eradicating hunger (Chonchol, 1987) to return to the broader issue of the human right to healthy food, which incorporates the discussion on access to food in adequate quantity and quality, but also elements related to citizenship and environmental protection (FAO et al., 2011). In other words, the concept of food and nutritional security acquired new dimensions that were integrated into public policies in several Latin American countries in the mid-2000s (Almeida Filho & Ramos, 2010).

The discussions that underpinned the construction of food and nutritional security policies emphasized that the problems of undernutrition or malnutrition are not due to lack of food so much as to problems of access to safe and nutritious food (Maluf, Burlandy & Alexandre, 2020). This is one of the reasons why some Latin American countries have implemented policies to better distribute food or subsidize consumer prices.

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1. See: Sabourin, E., Samper, M., Sotomayor, O. (Eds.). (2015). *Políticas públicas y agriculturas familiares en América Latina y el Caribe: nuevas perspectivas*. San José: IICA; Sabourin, E., Patrouilleau, M., Le Coq, J.F., Vasquez, L., Niederle, P. (Eds.). (2017). *Políticas públicas a favor de la agroecología en América Latina y El Caribe*. Porto Alegre: Red PP-AL; Goulet, F., Le Coq, J-F., Sotomayor, O. (Eds.). (2019). *Sistemas y políticas de innovación para el sector agropecuario en América Latina*. Rio de Janeiro: E-papers.

It was from this perspective that was developed, for example, the Brazilian Zero Hunger program, launched in 2003 to eradicate hunger and extreme poverty in Brazil (Graziano da Silva, Del Grossi & França, 2010), or the National Food Program (PNA)[2] in Nicaragua, to increase the supply of staple foods and improve access to healthy food (Freguin-Guesh & Cortes, 2018). In addition, countries such as Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay and Ecuador have also implemented policies for public procurement of food for redistribution in school canteens and public institutions for vulnerable people (Clark, 2016; Wittman & Blesh, 2017; Grisa, Perafán & Calderón, 2018; Schneider & Bohórquez, 2019). The common feature of these policies is that they aim to combat hunger and malnutrition not only through mechanisms that give vulnerable populations more affordable access to food, but also by stimulating the provision of affordable and quality food products.

Despite the spread of these policies in several Latin American countries (Sabourin & Grisa, 2018; Lopes Filho, 2018; Caldas & Ávila, 2018; Grisa & Niederle, 2019), recent data show that the problems of hunger and malnutrition have reappeared with a high level of prevalence (FAO et al., 2020, 2018). First, economic and political crises have led to a sharp rise in prices, which has directly affected net food importing countries as well as exporters. Today, even the richest countries of the continent, where food and nutrition insecurity was considered low by the FAO, are in a very difficult situation. This is the case, for example, in Brazil, where malnutrition once again became a problem for more than 5.2 million people in 2017 (FAO et al., 2018). By the end of 2020, already under the effects of the pandemic, 19 million Brazilians (9% of the population) were hungry (severe food insecurity) and another 43.4 million (20.5%) did not have enough food (moderate or severe food insecurity) (Rede Penssan, 2021).

In addition to the problems of famine and malnutrition, food safety issues have received increasing attention in Latin America. This is a consequence of a number of developments such as urban population growth, the restructuring of major food supply chains, the growing influence of supermarkets, the increase in food consumption outside the home, and the rise of fast food (Popkin & Reardon, 2018; Schubert, Schneider & Dias-Mendez, 2017). The biophysical-chemical and nutritional quality of food and consumer information on health risks became one of the central objectives of FSN policies because of repeated food scandals and crises (Schubert & Ávalos, 2020).

Large-scale food production has benefited from changes in food safety standards because, until now, these have focused on a hygienic and statistical view of contamination risks. This evaluation system, which has tended to standardize food according to essentially sanitary criteria, has effectively excluded a large part of non-industrialized products derived from family farming from sustainable food policies (Cintrão, 2017). Moreover, due to the adoption of food safety regulations, the supply of ultra-processed foods has strengthened the dual trend towards food industry concentration and food standardization.

Another effect is that people in urban and even rural areas of Latin America have experienced a rapid transformation of their diets. This shift, together with a decrease

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2. These acronyms are in Spanish or Portuguese (see the list at the end of this book).

in physical activity, has led to a rapid increase in obesity in several countries where these problems were already alarming, such as Mexico, or have increased sharply since the 2000s after a decline in the 1990s, as in Brazil (Rivera et al., 2004; Monteiro et al., 2019; Popkin & Reardon, 2018; Fernandéz et al., 2017). Today, more than half of women and more than 20% of children are overweight or obese (Corvalán et al., 2017).[3] In some countries such as Chile and Mexico, these indicators are true for two-thirds of women and more than half of men (Popkin and Reardon, 2018). Of course, poor nutritional quality is also responsible for the high rates of diabetes, hypertension and other diseases that increasingly affect Latin American and Caribbean populations (Anauati, Galiani & Weinschelbaum, 2015).

Faced with this scenario, public action needs to address a dual food and nutrition problem, resulting from the coexistence of malnutrition and obesity in the same environment and often in the same households. In this sense, new dynamics of action, both public and private, are developing that contradict the food and nutritional security framework, which focused only on food safety (Triches, Gerhardt & Schneider, 2015). This new approach is especially evident in movements that support agroecology, sustainable food and local food supply chains, with a particular focus on public action to strengthen the contribution of new forms of small-scale agricultural production (agroecology, urban and peri-urban agriculture, family farming) to ensuring the food and nutrition security of the poorest households (Cabanãs, Nigh & Pouzenc, 2020; Preiss & Schneider, 2020; Portilho, 2020; Moura, Souza & Canavesi, 2016; Guarín, 2013).

Moreover, in urban areas, where more and more consumers are looking for healthier but also more authentic products with regard to certain regions, food issues go beyond the strict scope of nutrition. They increasingly involve cultural and social issues related to the social inclusion of the most disadvantaged producers and efforts to save certain types of food or recipes from rural or traditional communities (Cabanãs, Nigh & Pouzenc, 2020; Guéneau et al., 2017; Niederle & Wesz Jr., 2020). These issues also increasingly relate to environmental issues, given the desire of a swath of consumers to minimize the impact of production processes (Portilho, 2020). Moreover, in some Latin American cities, the growing demand for local food chains has favored the development of alternative food networks, resulting in the development of urban agriculture and the participation of consumers in food production, as part of the growing number of "agricultural support communities" (Gianella & Pinzás, 2019).

Food is thus a social symbol that expresses much more complex ways of being. Contemporary consumers increasingly make food choices as a political act (Paredes et al., 2020; Portilho, 2020), leading to a growing demand not only for a more diversified food supply, but also for new production, distribution and consumption practices. The shortening of supply chains, the emergence of "co-farming" consumers, the multiplication of restaurants offering dishes prepared from unconventional food plants or products derived from "socio-biodiversity," are some examples of the innovative dynamics underway in major cities (Duarte et al., 2021; Guéneau et al.,

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3. According to data on obesity in Latin America, the percentage of children under 5 years of age who are overweight increased from 49.8% in 2000 to 59.6% in 2018, and the percentage of children aged 5-19 years who are overweight increased from 21.6% to 30.6% (FAO et al., 2019).

in chapter 2 of this book). Most of these innovations are based on the belief, real or not, that they contribute to sustainable development, such as the idea that local food production is ecological (Moustier, 2017).

This dynamic of transition to alternative food systems is part of a context of rapidly changing consumption practices, particularly in urban areas, especially in larger urban areas. The proportion of the population living in these areas is rising considerably in Latin America. In major Brazilian cities, consumers' food budgets are increasingly allocated to meals outside the home, where consumption patterns are becoming more diverse (fast food, food trucks, "kilo" restaurants, etc.) (Zaneti, 2017; Schubert, Schneider & Dias-Mendez, 2017). Moreover, new actors such as chefs are increasingly present in the media and on television programs dedicated to gastronomy, which are becoming increasingly popular. Latin American chefs such as the Peruvian Gastón Acurio and the Brazilian Alex Atala are playing a vital role as activist entrepreneurs to put the issue of food sustainability on the political agenda (Zaneti, 2017).

While these various factors do not yet seem to have led to a fundamental change in food systems, they do lead us to imagine a shift in the perspective of public action on food challenges. While policies have thus far been developed from a top-down, productive, rural-to-urban point of view, various groups of actors in urban settings have suggested adopting a new perspective: a bottom-up, consumption-driven, urban-to-rural approach that involves consumers and places the issue of food systems on the political agenda. Although some research focuses on the many innovative initiatives and new local policies aimed at transforming the food system and enabling consumers to regain control of their food (Paredes et al., 2020; Blay-Palmer, 2016; Preiss, Charão-Marques & Wiskerke, 2017), research has not yet captured the full importance of the ongoing dynamics in cities for sustainable food policymaking. For this reason, our research began with the attempt to shed light on the following questions:

− How do public policies take into account the new challenges of food security and the promotion of sustainable food systems? What are the initiatives aimed at designing public policies for sustainable food in rural and urban areas?

− What are the reconfigurations of stakeholder coalitions around the issue of sustainable food systems? How does public action renew the notion of sustainable food system?

How are food policies linked with agricultural, rural development, health, education, environmental and urban policies to address the food challenges of urban and rural populations?

To what extent can food policies constitute new vectors for changing agricultural production models towards greater sustainability and a profound transformation of the rural world?

The greatest difficulty of the project was that the research was conducted during a highly unstable period. In addition to the Covid-19 health crisis, which severely aggravated food insecurity conditions and made it exponentially more difficult for states to address food problems, there were strong political and economic changes throughout Latin America and the Caribbean over the two years of the project.

In 2018, when we began our research, the Latin American political scene pointed to a rise of conservativism, which had already set in motion an accelerated process of dismantling public policies for rural development, food security and family farming support (Sabourin et al., 2020). And it was precisely this reality that many researchers encountered during their work. However, in 2021, some countries were beginning to show signs that the conservative wave might not last as long as initially projected, with governments in countries such as Argentina and Bolivia once again under the leadership of progressive political coalitions. In short, over the last two years, Latin America has become a much more complex political mosaic.

In terms of the continent's political trajectory, the most direct effects of the uncertainties are reflected in the agenda and dynamics of the multilateral blocs. In the first two decades of the 2000s, these blocs were instrumental in the regional dissemination of food security policies (Sabourin & Grisa, 2019; Grisa & Niederle, 2019). MERCOSUR, and in particular its Specialized Meeting on Family Farming (REAF), was hollowed out by the Brazilian government of Jair Bolsonaro, who considers the bloc an obstacle to direct bilateral relations and market liberalization. Furthermore, because Bolsonaro's attempts to end the bloc come at a political cost and have encountered resistance from other countries, the Brazilian government has demanded the adoption of an agenda that seeks to open markets and trade agreements allowing agricultural product exports. Issues such as social participation, democracy and regional integration were withdrawn from the discussions, while the many forums for dialogue on developing food security policies were discouraged or terminated.

The situation of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) and the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) is even more dramatic. For the CELAC, the entity became the scene of strong political conflicts between countries with very different ideological stances. Once again, the Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro took the lead and, in January 2020, suspended the country's participation in CELAC, stating that he could not communicate with governments that impose non-democratic regimes. Given Bolsonaro's own authoritarian bias, such a move was simply a rejection of left-leaning governments. UNASUR was dismantled after a series of withdrawals. At the beginning of 2018, Colombia, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Peru announced they would be temporary stopping their involvement. However, by the end of 2018, Colombia withdrew definitively. In 2019, Ecuador and Bolivia followed suit, and in 2020, Uruguay also dropped out.[4]

These conflicts, compounded by the effects of Covid-19, have severely compromised the food security agenda. As a result, the social scourges so familiar to the Latin American population – poverty, hunger, inequality, authoritarianism – have made a comeback. Until the early 2010s Latin America was recognized as one of the regions that had made the most rapid progress in addressing these problems. However, in

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4. To replace these entities, in 2017, foreign ministers from Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay and Peru created the Lima Group, stating that "We urge the international community to work together to support Venezuelans in finding a peaceful solution that urgently addresses the serious crisis they face and leads to the reestablishment of the rule of law and the constitutional and democratic order in Venezuela." However, in 2021, in a sign of support for the Venezuelan government, Argentina withdrew from the group.

recent years it has been pinpointed as one of areas facing the greatest setbacks. In 2019, nearly one-third of the world's moderate or severe food insecurity occurred in Latin America and the Caribbean (preceded only by Africa, where more than half of the world's population lives). If recent trends continue, hunger will continue to rise in Latin America and the Caribbean until 2030, taking this region farther away from the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (FAO et al., 2020).

From an economic viewpoint, the scenario is just as complex. In the last two years, agricultural commodity prices have soared in international markets, contributing to rising exports from several Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, among others). Meanwhile, despite a loss of purchasing power among the population (resulting in reduced domestic demand), growing international demand, the national currency devaluation crisis (against the dollar) and a lack of market regulation have led to increasing domestic food prices, thereby aggravating food crises, especially for the most vulnerable urban and rural populations. These processes also impact the accelerated expansion of neo-extractivist practices and related social processes, such as agricultural land grabs, deforestation and violence in the countryside (Sosa Varroti & Gras, 2020; Sauer, 2018).

Rising food prices, the unemployment crisis, and falling incomes for the poorest population (net food buyers) have increased purchases of industrialized and ultra-processed foods. Such foods are cheaper and easily accessible because they are widely distributed through large supermarket chains. Thus, despite the progress made in the region with regard to discussions on producing and consuming healthy foods, much of the population has access to them only with the support of public policies. Unfortunately, state fiscal crises and the rise of governments aligned with the interests of the food industry have weakened such public policies.

These difficulties also matter when discussing food and nutritional security policies aiming to support the development of sustainable food systems. Rising agricultural commodity prices alone are already a factor driving the monoculture expansion, pesticide use and biodiversity losses. However, some Latin American governments have also spoken out against the global movement to curb the effects of climate change and attempts to build more sustainable production, distribution and consumption models. Thus, rather than working to strengthen policies that address these concerns, civil society, certain segments of academia and the media in many countries have been unable to do much more than pressure governments to reduce the environmental damage caused by agribusiness exports (Sabourin et al., 2020).

It was in this climate of controversy and abrupt economic and political changes, aggravated by the pandemic, that we produced the analyses presented in this book. Before making them public, we held seminars and debates among our team. The aim was to produce a coordinated interpretation that could explain the hegemonic food dynamics on the continent. In the end, as expected, what emerges from the compiled chapters is that the political and economic kaleidoscope of Latin America reflects a variety of food systems and policies. This variety accounts for the different ideological stances that have prevailed in each country – in governments as well as in interest groups, social organizations and academia – and the different dynamics of how food is approached a political problem in each context, referred to as the "politicization of food" (Grisa et al., chapter 1).

This book is divided into five parts. The first comprises three articles that present a cross-cutting look at regional dynamics, focusing on the diversity of reference points that guide food policies in Latin America (chapter 1), an analysis of foresight studies on food policies that were produced in the region (chapter 2), and a review of the role of international organizations in the dissemination of those policies (chapter 3). The second part presents a historical overview of national food policies based on the experience of four countries: Nicaragua (chapter 4), Paraguay (chapter 5), Mexico (chapter 6), Bolivia (chapter 7) and Chile (chapter 8). The third part then looks at recent changes in national food policies, examining the cases of Argentina (chapter 9), Peru (chapter 10) and Paraguay (chapter 11). The fourth part explores innovative experiences at the local level, analyzing policies developed in the cities of Brasilia (chapter 12), Cali (chapter 13), San Ramón (chapter 14) and Antioquia (chapter 15). Finally, the last part of the book discusses the challenges related to developing specific policies: the food procurement programs of Brazilian state governments (chapter 16), food safety regulations in the Argentine context (chapter 17), public procurement in Uruguay (chapter 18) and the intersection between food policies and the food cultures of the indigenous peoples of Paraguay (chapter 19).

In chapter 1, Catia Grisa, Paulo Niederle, Stéphane Guéneau, Jean-François Le Coq, Clara Craviotti, Graciela Borrás, Daniel Campos RD, Héctor Ávila-Sánchez, Sandrine Freguin-Gresh, Junior Miranda Scheuer and Jorge Albarracin review the evolution of benchmarks used in Latin America to address food challenges. Based on an analysis of policies in the countries of the region, they identify eight main *référentiels*, which promote different values and norms and are reflected in different policy instruments. Chapter 1 also shows that policies have evolved from a "food-for-market" *référentiel* to more "integrated" *référentiels* that seek to achieve adequate, healthy, sustainable and responsible consumption through a broad set of policy tools.

In chapter 2, Maria Mercedes Patrouilleau, Diego Taraborrelli and Ignacio Alonso analyze foresight studies carried out in the Latin American region. This chapter shows a strong increase in foresight studies since the 2000s, and a revaluation of food issues in recent years.

In chapter 3, Fernanda França de Vasconcellos analyzes how the narratives and *référentiels* used by international agencies were translated into food and nutritional security policy recommendations in Latin America and the Caribbean. Based on a literature review focusing on four organizations (Food and Agricultural Organization – FAO, World Food Programme – WFP, Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture – IICA and International Fund for Agricultural Development – IFAD), the author shows consistent coordination of public policy reference points to prevent conflicting proposals, even when different points coexist in the narratives. It is also evident that the narratives have become increasingly catastrophic, reflected in the rising numbers of hungry people and increasing rates of obesity, overweight and diseases caused by malnutrition. Policy proposals have become more inclusive, in line with the premises of the international agenda comprising the SDGs.

The second part of this book presents a historical overview of national food policies. In the case of Nicaragua, Sandrine Freguin-Gresh and Geneviève Cortes discuss a critical period in the late 2000s that led to a gradual institutional change

of policies. From this point, policies began prioritizing family farming and the fight against poverty and hunger, which resulted in the creation of two flagship programs, "Zero Hunger" and "School Meals." However, despite the progress made, these programs have encountered significant limits in terms of governance, particularly when it comes to selecting beneficiaries, which calls into question the universality of these programs.

In the case of Paraguay, Daniel Campos and María Benavidez conclude that the development of a food and nutritional security system that fully guarantees the right to food is still lagging far behind. Several laws and policies do support family farming, and various programs attempt to address food security as a social protection issue. However, no profound changes have been undertaken that could promote strategies for a national policy on food security and sovereignty, and there is no coordinated participation among social, private and public sectors, including vulnerable groups, most of whom are from the rural and peri-urban sector.

In the case of Mexico, Héctor Ávila-Sánchez discusses the strong state interventionism in agrarian issues throughout history. The author highlights a recent shift in policies under the current government, which takes up the previous struggles and social movements, and asserts the role of small and medium-sized producers. This shift suggests an intention to link rural programs and policies to food sovereignty. While presenting a broad set of policies and programs to promote food and nutritional security, the author concludes by questioning the real capacity to implement these policies focused on small and medium-scale producers in an environment dominated by the conventional production of large companies and the monopolistic expansion of transnational agribusinesses.

In the case of Bolivia, Jorge Albarracin highlights a dual and conflictive agrarian history between agroindustry and agribusiness on the one hand, and family and indigenous agriculture on the other. Bolivia has maintained and reinforced a food system focused on the production of products and food that follows the structure of the agroindustrial and agribusiness model, positioning itself as a supplier of raw materials to the world. Meanwhile, the more traditional production systems suffer from deficient public investment in both production support and the development of local markets, which both maintains and aggravates the problems of malnutrition in the Andean and valley areas.

In Chile, Michel Leporati Néron and Pablo Villalobos Mateluna propose an institutional, political and economic analysis of the public policies that have shaped the Chilean food system from its origins to the present day. Initially, the authors discuss changes in social protection policies, healthy eating and modernization of the food safety and quality management system. They then provide a historical overview of shifts in agricultural development and promotion policies. Based on these historical components, they close out the chapter by discussing the performance of the Chilean food system with a forward-looking view of present and future challenges.

The third part of this book explores recent changes in food policies. In Argentina, Cecilia Aranguren, Ana María Costa, Susana Brieva and Graciela Borrás analyze the agendas and processes of social construction of food policies since 2001. The authors show that, since the crisis of the early 2000s, food issues have become a key public

concern within the country's socioeconomic policy agenda. After a detailed analysis of two programs, the National Food Security Plan (PNSA) and the National Plan for a Healthy Argentina (PNAS), they conclude that there was little citizen participation in the development of these programs, and call for a greater alliance between the public sector and civil society to create sustainable and healthy food systems that integrate the interests of the actors involved in all stages of the food chains.

In Peru, Carolina Trivelli and Carlos Urrutia analyze the evolution of food programs and changes in consumption patterns from 2004 to 2018. The authors show that the main public policies on food security are deeply disjointed with regard to their specific objectives. On one side are food policies with a productive approach that focus on access to food, while on the other, social policies target health problems. In addition, the authors highlight the ways these programs changed from 2004 to 2019, marked by inconsistent public intervention. Finally, they show that shifts in consumption were driven by the sustained increase in the cost of the food basket over the last few years. For this reason, the authors call for greater consideration of food quality in studies on these food security programs.

In Paraguay, Silvia Zimmermann and Noelia Riquelme analyze the policy-politics-polity dimensions of food policies. National public policies aimed at combating hunger and malnutrition began in the 2000s, with the creation of three national programs: Tekoporã, the Comprehensive Nutritional Food Program (PANI) and Abrazo. The policies then evolved along with the successive governments, namely with the creation of the National Plan for Food and Nutrition Sovereignty and Security (PLANAL). This plan combined different actions and was an important attempt at institutional coordination between 2009 and 2012. The policy changes are strongly linked to changes in government, with a recent tendency to treat the food problem as an issue of social assistance and protection, rather than questioning the economic growth model and its implications for food security and sovereignty.

The fourth part of the book analyzes innovative food policy initiatives and actions in place in different regions and cities. Stéphane Guéneau, Mauro Capelari, Janaína Deane de Abreu Sá Diniz, Jessica Pereira Garcia and Tainá Bacellar Zaneti investigate how the food issue is politicized in the city of Brazilia (Brazil). The authors show how local initiatives and policies are developed in response to a desire for change expressed by part of the urban population (especially those with higher education and income). They also discuss how such actions tie in with the desire for access to healthy food, while considering how to improve environmental and social conditions, enhance waste management and reduce food waste. The authors show how these actions have spurred local actors to become more involved as they attempt to tackle the challenge of regaining control of public problems managed at higher national and international scales, while battling strong interference from powerful private actors in the agrifood sector. The authors also highlight how the shift towards more sustainable food systems was initially initiated by actors from the alternative agricultural world, and that including such systems in policies is largely dependent on the action of a coalition focused on agroecological transition.

Ruby Castellano, Guy Henry and Sara Rankin analyze the construction of the urban food policy of Cali (Colombia). Based on the concept of sustainable food systems, the authors present the dynamics of the construction of the Municipal Public Policy

Proposal for Food and Nutritional Security and Sovereignty (PSSAN), which was created through collaboration between the municipal administration, research centers and universities, and local civil society actors as part of a food security roundtable. The authors highlight the dimension of trust between actors that was developed throughout the process as a key factor in the creation of this plan.

Jairo Rojas Meza, Pedro Pablo Benavídez and Francisco Chavarría Aráuz analyze the transformations of food systems in the rural municipality of San Ramón (Nicaragua). The authors show that the current food system in San Ramón is the result of a historical process of agricultural public policies and relations with the national and international market. The access of landless rural families to food products depends on the income generated, which is uncertain. The results of public policies promoted in programs seeking to capitalize peasant farms, such as the Food Production Support program (also known as Zero Hunger), have been questionable. The agroecological transformation of peasant farms has been mainly been achieved through efforts by trade and social organizations. Finally, the authors conclude that there is still insufficient coherence between national and local policies, coordination mechanisms and intersectoral cooperation.

José Anibal Quintero Hernández analyzes the evolution of and changes in food and nutritional security public policy in the Department of Antioquia (Colombia). The author outlines the process by which the pioneering, department-level Food and Nutrition Improvement Program of Antioquia (MANA), which began in 2001, was created and implemented. This food security policy aims to help people facing the greatest difficulties, especially children under 14, and has been based on public procurement programs for school meals. The authors describe the five successive stages that this policy has known, and emphasize that it has made great strides in bringing together large sectors, academics, politicians and economists around the issue of food security. Finally, the authors conclude that, while this policy has made it possible to improve food and nutritional security among children in the department, the problem has not been entirely solved. Doing so will require greater participation of social organizations.

The last part of the book provides a more focused analysis of specific food policy tools and innovations. First, Catia Grisa, Mario Avila and Rafael Cabral analyze the politicization of the 12 public food procurement programs for family farming of state governments in Brazil. The authors discuss the various issues that contributed to setting the public agenda and politicizing public food procurement, including the innovations and results of the Food Acquisition Program (PAA) and National School Feeding Program (PNAE), the financial and political crisis of the PAA (2013 onwards), the dismantling of public policies for family farming and food and nutrition security, as well as national and state political changes and the Covid-19 pandemic. Because the federal government has done little to address food challenges, various social actors have picked up the slack to strengthen the food policy agenda by promoting food activism through social movements and family farming unions, bringing their representatives to lobby the state government, and engaging in institutional activism by mid- and street-level bureaucrats. The authors highlight the predominance of family farming organizations among the actors involved in developing state programs. While these organizations pressure, interact