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AGROECOLOGY AND FEMINIST PRAXIS IN BRAZILIAN SCHOOL FOOD POLITICS

Sônia Fátima Schwendler, Cristiane Coradin, and Islandia Bezerra

“Agroecology will be carried forward, and it is being carried forward because it is something that women have embraced for themselves . . . for food sovereignty, for the matter of bringing healthy food to the family first.” Through this statement, Violeta, a feminist agroecologist from the Contestado Settlement, explains why she and others work together to feed Brazil’s children through Brazil’s National School Feeding Program (*Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar*, PNAE).

In 2009, the PNAE was transformed by a requirement that at least 30 percent of the PNAE purchasing budget from the National Fund for Education Development (*Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação*, FNDE) must be invested in the direct purchase of food and food products from local and regional family farms.¹ This policy generated more inclusive processes of school food procurement and increased access to family farm–produced foods for school children across the country. It is also shifting local food systems across Brazil. As communities reconsider what is produced for and eaten in schools, agroecologists have become important public policy stakeholders.

Agroecology is a science, movement, and practice that is “a combination of bio-physical and socioeconomic elements grounded in the three pillars of sustainable development—the social, the economic and the environmental.”² Agroecologists apply an ecological approach to farming, working

with natural resources to produce nutritious, culturally relevant, and sustainable food while also striving to create locally focused, sustainable, and socially conscious approaches to food production including fair markets for smallholder farmers. Agroecology can help stimulate significant changes in local food systems.³ The PNAE's procurement process prioritizes such shifts, specifically the purchase of food and/or products certified as organic or agroecological.⁴ What's more, farmers from indigenous and *quilombola*⁵ communities, as well as land reform settlers, are also supposed to be prioritized when annual PNAE contracts are awarded.

Many of the required 30 percent local PNAE providers are women agroecologists: land reform settlers who, having worked to transform food systems linked to their households, are extending that focus to local schools. They are often affiliated with the Brazilian Landless Workers' Movement (*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*, MST),⁶ a social movement rooted in struggles for agrarian reform and rural social justice.⁷ To understand more about their participation in the PNAE, we conducted field research in the Brazilian state of Paraná between 2017 and 2019.⁸ We focused on two sites where agrarian reformers who are part of the MST live and work: the Emiliano Zapata Encampment, which for nearly twenty years has been occupied by families agroecologically cultivating their plots, kitchen gardens, and forests,⁹ and the Contestado Settlement,¹⁰ where about 50 percent of the 150 families who currently live in the area produce agroecologically. We recorded oral histories with forty-five agroecologists: thirty-nine women and six men.¹¹ Our sample is stratified by diversity (of gender, age, race/ethnicity, work experience, and leadership level) and for saturation.¹²

In addition to listening closely to our interviewees' perspectives, we analyzed their accounts to understand the connections between their agroecology work, their role as PNAE suppliers, and their agency as women. We complement the participant interviews with interviews and observations of agroecological farmers from settlements near Londrina, Cascavel, and Francisco Beltrão, who participate in annual learning spaces called Agroecology Journeys¹³ in Paraná.

We found that the PNAE's most recent policy shifts have accelerated and expanded agroecological transitions in land reform territories associated with the MST. By producing, harvesting, processing, and marketing

food for the PNAE using their agroecological farms, these women have increased their agency, asserted leadership capacities, and elevated their socioeconomic autonomy. Utilizing their role in the PNAE to advance the ethics of care integral to their agroecological operations, the women in our study promote a feminist decolonization of Brazil's food systems. They have helped transform schools into healthy food environments—spaces that promote access to and consumption of nourishing foods for all social groups.¹⁴ Within the transformed PNAE framework, the school becomes a strategic environment to build new food cultures that promote self-care, care for the environment, and care for others.¹⁵

FEMINIST AGROECOLOGY AND THE PNAE

Much of Brazil's land is controlled by a domestic oligarchy and foreign-based multinational corporations, mainly from China and the US. The widespread industrial agriculture system tends to intensively exploit natural resources and labor to cultivate and export monoculture crops, using agrochemicals and genetically modified seeds, with intensive manual labor and heavy machinery. This rural development model, the result of centuries of Brazilian colonization, has bolstered patriarchal power and led to countless social and environmental injustices.¹⁶ Rural Brazilian women have been excluded from basic social rights, such as land access and ownership and a retirement, affecting their capacity to farm, generate income, and gain autonomy.¹⁷

Despite these complementary forces, rural women have long been saving seeds, reproducing medicinal plant knowledge, and protecting biodiversity.¹⁸ According to Copaíba (Contestado Settlement), women “historically already did agroecology. They just didn’t call it that.” The Landless Women had agroecologically cultivated fields, kitchen gardens, and orchards prior to their involvement in public procurement programs, not to generate profits but as an act of care for the health of land and family.¹⁹

Women in the MST who practice agroecology aim to transform both colonial food and oppressive gender systems, with profound implications for self and family as well. Their intimate understandings of care practices, traditionally assigned to women, have formed them into leaders of actions related to “biodiversity and food sovereignty and security, which

are pillars of family autonomy.”²⁰ Agroecology has become a site for swelling “feminist, decolonizing and anti-capitalist consciousness based on the observation of and work with nature for the production and distribution of food.”²¹

Women’s agroecological practices have been undervalued, but the 2009 mandate that the PNAE purchase at least 30 percent of food from local and regional suppliers is beginning to change that, allowing women to profit from—and earn respect for—their agroecological food production. There is still significant untapped potential. According to FNDE data, 36 percent of the local PNAE purchasing committees, known as Executing Entities (EEx), did not meet the minimum requirement of family farming purchasing in 2014. By 2017, with the PNAE serving 40.6 million students, the economic investment was R\$3.9 billion. The PNAE may be falling short of its promises, but it is already creating real change in the lives of family farmers.

Coradin, Pereira, and Bezerra, when studying the PNAE in a *quilombola* territory,²² found that to the community, “eating is a political act [that] reverberates in agriculture (planting and harvesting in an agroecological way), in cooking (preparing and processing food/ingredients) and finally in eating.”²³ Perez-Cassarino, Bezerra, and Costa e Silva studied how the inclusion of agroecological foods in the PNAE connected to the human right to adequate food. Integrating family-farmed agroecological foods into school meals comes to fruition through collective community efforts driven “by dialogues, confrontations, and contradictions . . . (and) guided by principles and values of agroecology,” which ultimately transform the lives of both producers and consumers.²⁴ Through the PNAE, the Landless Women in our study are initiating these efforts on their land, transforming their local schools and communities into spaces of care through daily practices of agroecology.

Copaíba reveals how PNAE policies boosted environmental sustainability in agrarian reform settlements and the economy.

I think that the PNAE, with it, [the settlement] discovered in production its true vocation, that is, the production of vegetables, of legumes. The PNAE had a differentiated price for agroecological products, at the same time it had to have a certification process. Families were included in this certification process. I think it was a great learning moment to advance agroecology.

In other words, the policy valued women's approach to caring for the land and producing food. Women were ready to seize the opportunity to become PNAE suppliers. As Imbuía (Contestado Settlement) stated, "We never thought that we could sell food to schools because historically, Brazil's [school food program], who supplied the schools, was not family farming, it was big business. (. . .) The women, they took over [supplying school food] in the beginning."

The women PNAE producers whose experiences we analyzed produced vegetables, fruits, legumes, and tubers: cassava, pumpkins, lettuce, cucumbers, beets, cabbage, green onions, parsley, spices, broccoli, cauliflower, carrots, tomatoes, oranges, and tangerines for schools.

However, for family farmers and smallholder producers, especially women, it is often not easy to access the certification mechanisms that operationalize the PNAE. To be qualified as a supplier for the PNAE, our interviewees told us, they must provide a document called Document of Aptitude (*Documento de Aptidão ao Programa Nacional de Fortalecimento da Agricultura Familiar*, DAP) proving that they are family farmers, land reform settlers, or quilombolas. In addition, they must prove that they formally participate in a cooperative. On approval of these documents, they may join the PNAE through their cooperative, which takes responsibility for the production, delivery, and flow of food. Women collectively define what, how much, how, and when they should produce and deliver to school communities.

Women who successfully navigated the certification processes earned a better income than they had previously. As income has increased, so too has the time devoted to agricultural labor and management, for as Hibiscus (Eli Vive Settlement) said, "The PNAE for us today is the only way to earn money a little easier." In interviews, the women mention incomes ranging between R\$200.00 to R\$2,000.00, dependent on varying productive capacities, for an average of R\$800.00/R\$1,000.00 per month per family. Some earnings are saved.²⁵ Others are used to support and expand operations. Rosa (Emiliano Zapata encampment) explains the effects of joining the PNAE: when "the cooperative opened for us, sales improved [. . .] We started earning and investing little by little, little by little." Margarida (Emiliano Zapata Encampment) tells us, "With this

money that comes from [the PNAE] we are investing here, like buying seedlings, getting a tractor, tilling farmland, and such.”

Participation in the PNAE has boosted women’s self-esteem, confidence, and pocketbooks. Aroeira (Emiliano Zapata Encampment) says that on starting to sell to the PNAE, “[. . .] you learn to be more, to respect yourself more, and not let anyone step on you.” For the Landless Women, the financial autonomy they derive from PNAE income is fundamental to their emancipation “because” as Violeta (Contestado Settlement) explains, “no woman is emancipated with an empty pocket.” However, they also understand their value in terms that exceed finances: their own cultural and historical agricultural practices are helping them remake the dominant, neoliberal food regime, decreasing the PNAE’s reliance on exploitive food systems. Dente de Leão testifies that women “have built an important counter-hegemonic culture. This proposal of agroecology owes a lot to our capacity to put this message of agroecology into the subjectivity of the processes [. . .] and this is thanks mostly to women” (Eli Vive Settlement). “Subjectivity” here refers to the expansion of women’s agency, their increased capacity to effectively build agroecology in their home settlement and, thus, to elevate their social positions in the community, the MST, and the school food program, such that their voices command more respect.

However, the success women have found with PNAE participation has also produced tensions within the MST. As women start to gain monetary income and the empowerment that accompanies it, men start to show interest in running, and profiting from, spaces previously the domain of women, including kitchen gardens, fields around the home, and orchards.²⁶ Melissa (Contestado Settlement) attests, “interest in the gardens increased a lot after these programs when men saw that [women] earned an income.”

Women see the entry of men into this activity in a positive way, as they identify that this process has taken place in conjunction with the maintenance of their female empowerment and the possibility of the transformation of patriarchal culture. However, they also identify tensions in this process and call attention to the need to continue the permanent “gender struggle within the struggle for land”²⁷ and agroecology as a framework for agricultural production.²⁸ The women affirm that the reproduction and reinforcement of gender coloniality if or when men engage in this activity can be countered. Their earlier training on gender equality provided by

MST and feminist social movements helps them assert agency in and over their fields. Copaíba (Contestado Settlement) explains that “it is a matter that women have to be aware of, but many women are in charge here on their plots, they are deciding what to do and how to do it.” Iris (Walmir Motta Settlement) points out that the struggle for gender equity is “a constant struggle” when they are included in PNAE. She continues, “We want a woman to have a voice and a turn,” and that is not simply “won.”

FOOD SOVEREIGNTY AND CULTURALLY RELEVANT FOOD BECOMES PEDAGOGY

The PNAE represents a new direction for MST women seeking to change the intertwined systems of food and gender in rural Brazil: food sovereignty vis-à-vis school food. “No longer [is food] just a matter of eating, but of being ‘sovereign’ and being able to decide” our system of production based “on local, peasant, ecological, seasonal agriculture.”²⁹ PNAE’s commitment to local, sustainable sourcing that aligns with local food culture valorizes food sovereignty and, in doing so, also valorizes the Landless Women of our study. Their agroecological school food production makes food sovereignty possible for their communities, revalorizing their previously invisible and undervalued domestic work as political, a source of resistance to multiply intertwined oppressions.³⁰ As Violeta (Contestado Settlement) reflected in an interview: “So, this relationship of agroecological work, of work without the use of agrochemicals, fertilizers, begins in this small work that is developed with women and that is why I believe that agroecology will be carried forward, and it is being carried forward because it is something that women have embraced for themselves. And that today men [are contributing], but it was women [who fought] for the preservation of seeds, for cultivation on small scales, for food sovereignty, for the matter of bringing healthy food to the family first.”

In these Agrarian Reform contexts especially, women’s work with agroecology promotes their increased participation in spaces of sociopolitical action.³¹ Through sociopolitical organization, women become the protagonists of their own constructions of agroecology. As they establish linkages between their diversified fields and school cafeterias, women suppliers to the PNAE carry the practice of food sovereignty beyond their

direct family sphere.³² By constituting themselves as agroecologists, women claim and promote food sovereignty at home and in their community as a political and transformative act of care.

The declaration of healthy food as a right has been the most concrete achievement of the PNAE, especially since the implementation of mandatory food purchases from local family farms. In addition to food sovereignty, culturally relevant food is a priority, leading to the inclusion of locally produced and prepared foods on school menus. However, PNAE staff—especially the nutritionist technical responders (RT, *Resposta Técnica*)—assert certain menu requirements, which in turn requires producers to diversify what they grow.³³ This may seem like a challenge, a contradiction even, to the PNAE feminist agroecologists' food sovereignty and assertion of culturally relevant and sustaining food. However, there has been a give-and-take involved in learning from and teaching about diversified crop production. There was increased diversity and quality of feminist PNAE farmers' household food consumption that, in turn, potentially improved their nutrition: "People produce and eat," Ameixa from the Contestado Settlement shared. "So, we saw a lot of change here in the settlement in the way of eating based on agroecology, on food diversity. Because if people plant just for themselves, they won't plant 5, 10 kinds of things to eat. But if they're going to sell 5, 10 kinds of things, they're going to eat 5, 10 kinds of things. So, this changes food, changes health." (Ameixa, Contestado Settlement).

The introduction of more diverse agroecological food in schools increased student consumption of fresh and minimally processed foods and decreased consumption of ultra-processed foods. This has contributed to a more robust culturally relevant and sustainable food sovereignty.³⁴

As the women take part in school food networks as PNAE producers, they strengthen their agroecological movements and produce new meaning for agriculture and health that seeps into schools and beyond.³⁵ Specifically, the channeling of women's agency into PNAE production has proved essential for producing healthy, agroecological food spaces for eating and for learning in schools. The women have not stopped sharing their knowledge at the cafeteria. They also teach what they are learning to communities-at-large. Aroeira (Emiliano Zapata Settlement) highlights

how she is reteaching consumers in street market interactions and transactions about the quality of her products. “I always share [. . .] a few words [of advice] too, because there are some people who have no notion [of agroecology]. You talk about what the product is like in the supermarket, right, and they say, wow, I didn’t know that, and I used to get the most beautiful [produce].” Aroeira teaches, for example, that the tomato that has a few spots, which is uglier, had less chemicals, “so we become more aware.” Additionally, by sharing agroecological knowledge in schools and in PNAE workshops, Rosa Vermelha (Contestado Settlement) explains that “for the first time our knowledge is validated for more people,” which contributes to increased self-esteem and valuation of women’s knowledge. Women are ensuring they are recognized and asserting themselves as knowledgeable of agroecological experiences and of a liberating feminist agroecological praxis based on food sovereignty and culturally relevant principles.³⁶

A FEMINIST PEDAGOGY OF CARE FOR LIFE

From historical experiences in the struggle for land and gender equality, women farmers have contributed to the construction of feminist epistemology, through which they rework their own understandings of agroecology and build a pedagogy of care for life that is integrated into schools. While care should not be the exclusive role of women, the rural women of our study were often its sole practitioners. By expanding their care practices beyond the home to schools through PNAE participation, they were able to expand care networks and advocate through action for democratization of care.³⁷

For the women, care implies building new forms of relationships with agriculture, nature, and human beings. Amora (Contestado Settlement) elaborates, “For me, the care for human beings is one of the main things in a [feminist] agroecology. How do you look at the people that are around you, how do you relate to them? And how do you give space to each one, each one really, you know?”

Through their ethics of care, the PNAE women producers seek socioecological transformations for all beings living in their communities. “We don’t want things [just] for women. We are not a separate process; we

are part of the process. We want to contribute to the quality of life in the settlements,” shared Flor (Eli Vive Settlement).

PNAE participation is an opportunity to teach an ethics of care in their settlements that extends beyond the agroecological ethic of care for land or the economic impact of becoming a producer. “We must discover that it is not just thinking that doing agroecology makes money,” shared Maravilha (Contestado Settlement). “It’s not just about money; you have to know that you are protecting the environment, that you are producing life, health, all these things. That to sell to school lunch, where the children are going to eat, you have to send a quality product, not a poisoned product.”

The integration of care begins with agroecological school food organized and supported by the productive capacity and active political agency of women agroecologists. Malva (Emiliano Zapata Encampment) says, “I practice this agriculture, because I’m aware of the harmful effects of chemicals. [. . .] I make a point of maintaining an agroecological garden because it’s for schools.”



10.1 Cooks preparing lunch in the Latin American School of Agroecology, Contestado Settlement. Credit: Elisa Cordeiro Brito.

The women PNAE producers encourage school students, nutritionists, cooks, and teachers to question their eating habits and food values. For Margarida, a teacher (Contestado Settlement), “agroecology is a way of life that involves education, health. Health is already the result of good nutrition. There’s no way the school cannot work on this issue [without agroecology], yeah?” She further shares that school can generate spaces for student reflection on the production of healthy food: “We did some experiments in a kitchen garden, in the forest garden, to try to show the children how we manage to produce some [crops].” School goers also learn about diversified food cultivation: “There’s fruit trees there, there’s native [trees], all planted on the same land. There’s lettuce, there’s beets.”

Margarida’s narrative demonstrates that an understanding of nonhierarchical socio-natural relationships is essential to propagating an agroecological ethics of care in education. “There are also other forms of relationships between people and nature, yeah? Of feeling part of nature and not superior to it, yeah?,” she asks. “We have to teach these kids how to take care of our common home, which is the environment, the land, the forests, etc., because if not, in the future, what will become of this country?” Camélia, another teacher from the Contestado Settlement, further reveals the possibility of teaching agroecological awareness in early childhood education: “I take [agroecology practices into my classroom] . . . we always have a little fruit here at school, but I also ask them to bring what they have at home and then . . . we talk about the importance of eating healthy and so on, but they learn a lot more by doing it, showing it, and they go home talking about it.”

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Agroecology and food sovereignty take center stage in contemporary discussions about promoting the health of people and environments. In Brazil, rural women are central to these discussions. In our study sites, MST-associated women maintained agroecological fields, kitchen gardens, and orchards to feed their families prior to their PNAE involvement. Then, they became PNAE producers and increased their incomes, increased and diversified their home’s food production, increased healthy and nutritious

food in schools, and created better living conditions for their families and communities.

These transformations impacted the women's self-esteem, which led them to assert and share their agroecological knowledge in school and community spaces. As women have become more vocal agents in local public school food systems, they are building and expanding on new meanings of the relationship of agroecology, food, and gender relations for their communities. The Landless Women of our study serve as an example for PNAE producers across Brazil of how to utilize school food policy to not only reshape the landscape of school food but also promote agroecological foodways, feminist women's agency, and care for life.

NOTES

1. See Brazil Law 11.947/2009.
2. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), "Agroecology Definitions," accessed April 20, 2023, <https://www.fao.org/agroecology/knowledge/definitions/en/>.
3. Gema Esmeraldo, "O Protagonismo político de mulheres rurais por seu reconhecimento econômico e social," in *Mulheres Camponesas: Trabalho produtivo e engajamentos políticos*, ed. Delma P. Neves and Leonilde S. de Medeiros (Niterói: Editora Alternativa, 2013), 237–256; Emma Siliprandi, "Mulheres agricultoras e a construção dos movimentos agroecológicos no Brasil," in *Mulheres Camponesas: Trabalho produtivo e engajamentos políticos*, ed. Delma P. Neves and Leonilde S. de Medeiros (Niterói: Editora Alternativa, 2013), 329–343; Liliam Telles, "Desvelando a economia invisível das agricultoras agroecológicas: A experiência das mulheres de Barra do Turvo, SP," (master's diss., Mestrado em Extensão Rural—Universidade Federal de Viçosa, 2018); Cristiane Coradin, "Entre buvas e flores vermelhas: Autorias das mulheres Sem Terra na ecologização da reforma Agrária no Paraná," (PhD diss., Programa de Pós-graduação em meio ambiente, UFPR, 2020).
4. According to Law no. 10.831 (2003).
5. Territories defined by land ownership, whose population is descended from African peoples who escaped slavery in Brazil.
6. This movement takes place in encampments comprising families who are still fighting for the right of access to productive land, and in settlements or territories on land expropriated from oligarchy families through federal agrarian reform.
7. Esmeraldo, "O Protagonismo.>"; Coradin, "Entre buvas e flores vermelhas.>"; Sônia Fátima Schwendler, "O processo pedagógico da luta de gênero na luta pela terra: O desafio de transformar práticas e relações sociais," *Educar em revista* 55 (March 2015): 87–109.
8. This study was partially funded by the Education Sector of the Federal University of Paraná MCTI/CNPQ/MEC/CAPES funding, edict no. 22/2014—Humanities and Social and Applied Social Sciences.

9. The Emiliano Zapata Encampment, located in Ponta Grossa, Paraná, was occupied in 2003 by about eighty families. See Coradin, “Entre buvas e flores vermelhas.”

10. The Contestado Settlement is an agrarian reform territory started in 1999 in the municipality of Lapa, Paraná. The Settlement also hosts, since 2005, the first Latin American Technological School of Agroecology. See Sônia Fátima Schwendler, “‘Sem feminismo não há agroecologia’: A resistência camponesa com democracia de gênero,” in *Conflitos agrários na perspectiva socioambiental*, coordinators Maria Cristina Vidotte Blanco Tárrega, Katya Regina Isaguirre-Torres e Gilda Diniz dos Santos (Goiânia: Editora da PUC Goiás, 2020), 131–154.

11. Although our study was based on the agroecological experiences of Landless Women, we included men who shared feminist perspectives as well. To maintain the anonymity of the interviewees, we will use as identification the popular names of trees, fruits, medicinal plants, and flowers, which in agroecology symbolize strength, resistance, resilience, flavor, beauty, and harmony.

12. Jacques Marre, “História de Vida e Método Biográfico,” *Cadernos de Sociologia* 3, no. 3 (January/July 1991): 89–141.

13. Since 2002 in the state of Paraná, Agroecology Journeys are organized by rural social movements as learning spaces for Agrarian Reform—occupying families and settlers to promote agroecology in Agrarian Reform. See Coradin, “Entre buvas e flores vermelhas.”

14. Karen F. Glanz et al., “Healthy Nutrition Environments: Concepts and Measures,” *American Journal of Health Promotion* 19, no. 5 (May/June 2005): 330–333.

15. Joan C. Tronto, “Assistência democrática e democracias assistenciais,” *Sociedade e Estado* 22, no. 2 (May/August 2007): 285–308; Joan C. Tronto, “Particularisme et responsabilité relationnelle em morale: Une autre approche de l’Étique globale,” in *Contre l’indifférence des privilèges: À quoi sert le care*, ed. Carol Gilligan, Arlie Hochschild and Joan C. Tronto (Paris: Payot, 2013), 99–137; Marie Garrau and Alice Le Goff, *Care, justice et dépendence: Introduction aux théories du care* (Paris: Press Universitaires de France, 2010); Alícia Puleo, *Ecofeminismo para otro mundo es posible* (València, Spain: Universitat de València, 2013).

16. Carlos Walter Porto-Gonçalves, *A globalização da natureza e a natureza da globalização* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2017).

17. Esmeraldo, “O Protagonismo.”

18. Via Campesina, “Declaration of the Second International Assembly of Rural Women,” June 13, 2004, <https://viacampesina.org/en/declaration-of-the-second-international-assembly-of-rural-women/>.

19. Sônia Fátima Schwendler, “‘Sem feminismo não há agroecologia’: A resistência camponesa com democracia de gênero”; Coradin, “Entre buvas e flores vermelhas.”

20. Ceres Hadich and Tânia Mara de Bastiani, “As mulheres assentadas e a construção da agroecologia no Oeste Catarinense,” in *Mulheres camponesas e agroecologia*, ed. Valdete Boni, Lucélia Peron, Siomara A. Marques, Naira Estela R. Mohr, and Tânia Mara de Bastiani (Curitiba: CRV, 2017), 139.

21. Peter Rosset et al., 2019. "Agroecology and La Via Campesina II. Peasant Agroecology Schools and the Formation of a Sociohistorical and Political Subject," *Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems* 43, no. 7–8 (2019): 16, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21683565.2019.1617222>.
22. Remaining Quilombo Community (CRQ) of João Surá in the municipality of Adrianópolis/PR.
23. Cristiane Coradin, Carla Fernanda Galvão Pereira, and Islândia Bezerra, "Somos mulheres quilombolas: Resistindo e construindo autonomia em sistemas alimentares saudáveis" in *Agroecologia: Caminho de Preservação do Meio Ambiente 2*, org. Jessica Aparecida Prandel (São Paulo, Brasil: Atena Editora, 2020), 191.
24. Julian Perez-Cassarino, Islandia Bezerra, and Leticia Costa e Silva, "Alimentos ecológicos no Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar: Um caminho para a promoção do Direito Humano à Alimentação Adequada (DHAA)," in *Alimentação Escolar: Construindo interfaces entre saúde, educação e desenvolvimento*, ed. Carla Rosane Paz Arruda and Rozane Márcia Triches (Chapecó, SC: Argos Editora da Unochapecó, 2016), 138.
25. Coradin, "Entre buvas e flores vermelhas."
26. Emma Siliprandi, "Mulheres agricultoras e a construção dos movimentos agroecológicos no Brasil"; Maria Ignez Silveira Paulilo, *Mulheres rurais: Quatro décadas de diálogo* (Florianópolis: Editora da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 2016).
27. Sônia Fátima Schwendler, "O processo pedagógico da luta de gênero na luta pela terra: O desafio de transformar práticas e relações sociais," 88.
28. Emma Siliprandi, *Mulheres e agroecologia: Transformando o campo, as florestas e as pessoas* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da UFRJ, 2015).
29. MST women often organize with Via Campesina—an international peasant movement founded in 1993 and recognized worldwide as the main actor in food and agricultural debates and a strong advocate of food sovereignty. See Esther Vivas Esteve, *O negócio da comida: Quem controla a nossa alimentação?* (São Paulo: Expressão Popular, 2016), 73–74.
30. Bruna Vasconcellos, "Mulheres rurais, trabalho associado e agroecologia," in *Questão agrária, cooperação e agroecologia*, vol. 1, orgs. Henrique Tahan Novaes, Ângelo Diogo Mazin, and Lais Santos (São Paulo: Outras Expressões, 2015), 341–369.
31. Vasconcellos, "Mulheres rurais, trabalho associado e agroecologia."
32. Emma Siliprandi, *Mulheres e agroecologia: transformando o campo, as florestas e as pessoas*; Laeticia Medeiros Jalil, Gema Galgani Silveira Leite Esmeraldo, and Maria Socorro de Lima Oliveira, *Rede Feminismo e Agroecologia do Nordeste* (Recife: Rede Feminismo e Agroecologia do Nordeste, 2017); Bruna Vasconcellos, "Mulheres rurais, trabalho associado e agroecologia."
33. Islandia Bezerra and Sergio Schneider, "Produção e consumo de alimentos: O papel das políticas públicas na relação entre o plantar e o comer," *Revista Faz Ciência* 14, no. 19 (2012): 35–61.

34. Ministério da Saúde, Secretaria de Atenção à Saúde, Departamento de Atenção Básica, *Guia alimentar para a população brasileira*, 2nd ed. (Brasília: Ministério da Saúde, 2014).
35. Coradin, “Entre buvas e flores vermelhas.”
36. Coradin, “Entre buvas e flores vermelhas.”
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