

# ACCESS TO AND INFLATION OF FOOD IN BRAZIL – ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF THE FAMILY ALLOWANCE PROGRAM ON FOOD SECURITY

---

Sabrina de Cássia Mariano de Souza<sup>1</sup>  
Niemeyer Almeida Filho<sup>2</sup>  
Henrique Dantas Neder

## Introduction

The main cause of hunger in Brazil is difficult access to basic foodstuffs. This is a universal cause, which in Brazil constitutes the main cause through the Brazilian potential for food production beyond the basic needs of its conjoined population. As access to food is obtained directly on the market, the difficulty of obtaining food ends up being identified as insufficient income. The most common consequence is undernutrition (commonly known as malnutrition).

The undernourished<sup>3</sup> population in Brazil was ten percent of the population or 15.9 million people in the period of 1996-98, a figure which represented nearly thirty percent of the undernourished population estimated for Latin America, constituting the greatest absolute number of those undernourished in the region (BELIK, 2003). These statistics led the FAO to attribute category 3 to Brazil, on a 1 to 5 scale, for growing proportions of undernourished individuals, depicting a moderate/high incidence of hunger.

According to the most recent data available, related to the period 2006-2008, the classification of Brazil remains the same, although the number of undernourished has fallen to 11.7 million, representing six percent of the population (FAO, 2011).

Although the figures still indicate a serious problem, they reveal an improvement in the situation of food deprivation in the country. This advance is a reflection of the change in government policy toward Food Security. Brazil is one of the pioneers in actions on behalf of

---

<sup>1</sup> Professor in the Logistics Technology course at the Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia do Triângulo Mineiro.

<sup>2</sup> Professors of the Economics Institute of the Universidade Federal de Uberlândia.

<sup>3</sup> Individuals with average consumption of 1,650 calories and deficit of 250, for minimum consumption of 2000 calories.

Food Security in Latin America<sup>4</sup>, the most advanced region in terms of laws, institutions and raising public awareness in regard to the right to food (VIVERO; ALMEIDA FILHO, 2010).

The results obtained reflect, above all, the impact of the main program implemented by the Lula governments (2003-2011), responsible for making Brazil a reference in the area of Food Security<sup>5</sup>: Fome Zero (Zero Hunger). One of the actions of the program, the Bolsa Família (Family Allowance), ensures a minimum income level to families in a vulnerable situation from the food security perspective.

According to data from the Ministry of Social Development and Combating Hunger (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome), MDS, the resources involving transfer of income, social welfare and Food Security have increased substantially in the last ten years. In 2002, R\$8.5 billion (\$4.3 billion) was spent and, in 2011, the investment was already at R\$43 billion (\$22 billion). In 2010, under the designation of Fome Zero, R\$19.5 (\$9.9 billion) was allocated while, in 2005, this value was R\$11.9 billion (\$6 billion) (STANGLER, 2011).

In 2010, there were 12.7 million families included in Bolsa Família, constituting the largest income transfer program in the world, at a cost of 14.37 billion (\$7.3 billion) (0.38% of the GDP). As a result, in ten years, 26.1 million people are no longer in poverty – in 2000, there were 57 million people in poverty; this figure reduced to 30.9 million in 2010 (ALVES, 2011).

The current government of Dilma Rousseff maintains emphasis on the program, such that in her first year (2011), she increased its budget to 17.3 billion (\$8.8 billion), with a forecast of 18.68 billion (\$9.5 billion) to be spent in 2012 (0.44% of the GDP) (MDS, 2011).

This entire new panorama of policies directed toward Food Security shows the relevance of studies on this theme. In addition, Food Security has come to attract attention throughout the

---

<sup>4</sup> The precursor was Argentina, and the other two are Guatemala and Ecuador.

<sup>5</sup> Fome Zero came to attract ever greater international recognition and, in 2011, the Brazilian José Graziano da Silva, former minister of the Extraordinary Ministry of Food Safety and Combating Hunger (Ministério Extraordinário de Segurança Alimentar e de Combate à Fome) – MESA (created at the beginning of the Fome Zero Program) and at that time president of the regional headquarters of the FAO in Latin America and the Caribbean, where he had served since 2006, came to hold the post of general director of the FAO. Also in this year, Brazil received two international distinctions for efforts in combating hunger: the NGO Action Aid indicated Brazil as the country most prepared for combating hunger from a list of 28 countries in development; and the World Food Prize award given to former president Lula in the USA for his efforts in ending hunger (STANGLER, 2011).

world, especially after the increase in food prices internationally (for wheat, corn, rice, milk, meat, soybeans, etc.), constituting the “world food crisis”.

The greatest concern was that escalation in inflation would erode the gains in income of the poorest levels of the population and, at least in the case of Brazil, would lead to setbacks in the gains provided by increased employment, better salaries and social policies of the Lula government (ORTEGA, 2010).

As highlighted by the FAO (2009), the poorer the families, the greater the proportion food represents in their total expenses, and the greater the impact of higher prices on their purchasing power.

It must therefore be taken into account that high food prices reduce the real income of poor groups in the short and medium term. Although salaries may be adjusted over time, empirical evidence shows that they normally do not compensate the total impact of the increases in prices or they are slow in responding to increases (BANCO MUNDIAL, 2008).

Since 2003, real increases in the minimum salary<sup>6</sup> and the Bolsa Família have facilitated food accessibility. Greater control over inflation has contributed to this; mean annual inflation of the Lula governments up to 2009 was around 37% less than the mean of the eight years of FHC, with one minimum salary allowing purchase of more than two (2.2) consumer baskets<sup>7</sup>, while in 2003, this amount was sufficient for little more than one consumer basket (1.5) (DIEESE, 2010).

The “world food crisis” is reflected in the Brazilian internal inflation rate in 2007: removing the part corresponding to food, the inflation rate of 4.46% would be 35% less (FECOMERCIO, 2012). Even so, Brazil is considered as one of the countries where the impact of the food crisis was dampened through consecutive record harvests and through combined public policies.

Nevertheless, the “world food crisis” has proven to be of a structural nature. According to a document of the World Bank (Banco Mundial, 2008), the increase observed in the prices of foods tends to persist in the medium term (BANCO MUNDIAL, 2008). The FAO’s own estimates indicate that the domestic prices of foods have remained relatively greater than the levels prior to the period of increases (COUTO, 2010); and diverse documents of this

---

<sup>6</sup> An increase of 155% from January 2003 to January 2010.

<sup>7</sup> “Cestas básicas” in Portuguese, a defined group of the most commonly bought food and household items. Currently, the minimum salary allows the purchase of 2.24 Consumer Baskets, the most registered since 1979 (DIEESE, 2012).

organization (FAO,2011; FAO, 2011a; FAO, 2012; FAO 2012b) show the increase and volatility of prices as a trend for the long term.

In consideration of all these elements, the purpose of this chapter is to assess food security in Brazil, analyzing the dimensions of the impacts of the main policy directed at confronting the problem, Bolsa Família, in the context of the “world food crisis”.

The hypothesis is that this program, although important and effective, is not capable of resolving the problem of hunger in the country because the causes of this phenomenon are of a much broader scope.

Therefore, in the first section, the data of the POF (Family Budget Survey) were organized so as to classify families by income ranges, including those used as a criterion for selection of beneficiaries of the Bolsa Família Program. As of this classification, a survey was performed on the consumption profile of these families, based on the per capita household expenses on food.

In the second section, systematization was made of the variations in prices of the foods that compose the consumer basket, since the beginning of the past decade, comparing them to the variations of the INPC (National Consumer Price Index), to see the repercussion of the international food crisis on Brazil.

The consumer basket was chosen for two reasons: the impossibility of setting up a distinct consumer basket as of the per capita expenses identified by the POF, above all due to the lack of criteria for establishing the per capital quantities of food consumed, and due to the fact that the items that compose this consumer basket are among the main expenses of families, especially those with lower incomes.

Finally, in the third section, an assessment was made of the food purchasing power potential of the population at risk, assessing the possible impact of supplementary income on the configuration of Bolsa Família.

### **1. Consumption profile of families under the condition of Food Insecurity**

An essential aspect for an assessment of the impacts of the food crisis on the social condition of individuals is the consumption profile.

The DIEESE (Inter Trade Union Department of Statistics and Socio-Economic Studies) calculates the value of the National Consumer Basket (Cesta Básica Nacional). The starting point for defining this consumer basket is Executive Order (Decreto Lei) no. 399 of April 30,

1938, which in art. 2 established that the minimum salary is "the remuneration owed to the adult worker, without regard to sex, for a normal day of work, which is capable of satisfying, in a determined time and region of the country, his normal needs for food, housing, clothing, hygiene and transport". The same executive order carries a list of foods, with their respective quantities, which came to make up the "consumer basket". These foods would be sufficient for the sustenance and well-being of an adult aged worker, containing balanced quantities of proteins, calories, iron, calcium and phosphorus (DIEESE, 2012).

As of the definition of these foods, three configurations were formulated with a view toward picking up part of the regional inequalities in consumption, the data of which are still used today by the DIEESE for calculating the price of the consumer basket.

In addition to the elements provided by the nature of this consumer basket, there are others related to food habits which are provided by studies of family budgets made by the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics). To get this information, microdata of the POF2008/2009 were used, which include items referring to expenses on food, whether at home or outside of it, data tabulated in the Collective Purchasing Record (Caderneta de Aquisição Coletiva) (POF3) and in the Individual Expense Questionnaire (Questionário de Despesa Individual) (POF4)<sup>8</sup>.

Using the software STATA 11.2, the information from these two parts of the POF was put together and, using the data on households available in the survey, the per capita household income values were calculated and added.

To permit the process of verifying foods in which the expense is relatively greater, the data were first catalogued and grouped, making use of the very criterion defined in the POF. The procedure was to use the level of aggregation available, which results in 68 food items for analysis, since, that way, it is possible to have access to information per product, without this

---

<sup>8</sup> On the POF3 Questionnaire, information is registered regarding monetary and non-monetary acquisitions of foods, drinks, personal care products and cleaning products, fuels for domestic use and other products, which tend to be purchased frequently and, in general, serve all dwellers. On the POF4 Questionnaire, the types of acquisitions of products and respective monetary and non-monetary expenses on products and the monetary expenses made on services characterized as for individual use or purpose, such as: communications, transport, education, eating outside of the home, tobacco products, games and betting, recreational activities, use and purchase of cell phones, pharmaceutical products and health services, perfumery articles and skin and hair products, hairstyling services and others, stationery and reading items and subscriptions to periodicals, clothing and shoes, fabrics and bathing wear, travel, vehicle purchase and maintenance. Also investigated were individual expenses on banking and professional services, ceremonies and parties, jewelry, expenses on other properties, labor contributions and pensions. On this questionnaire of individual expenses, just as on the collective expense questionnaire and record, information was investigated regarding types of establishments in which products and services were acquired and the manners of obtaining the acquisitions made by units of consumption.

bringing about a level of disaggregation which would make comparisons impossible (considering that the greatest level of disaggregation lists more than 8000 food items).

After that, total expenses on all the food researched were added up and this value was compared to the expenses on each one of the items under study. This procedure was carried out simulating diverse income ranges for the set of data and for the state of São Paulo.

Definition of the income ranges studied was based, first of all, on the criteria defined by the Bolsa Família Program itself for poverty and extreme poverty conditions, i.e., the per capita income ranges of up to R\$140.00 and up to R\$70.00 were related respectively. In addition, the same income ranges already used in analysis of the data related to Food Security made available by the PNAD (National Household Sample Survey) were used. In addition to these ranges, an income range for individuals who are exclusively in the poverty condition was included, those thus having from R\$70.00 to R\$140.00 of per capita monthly income available.

Of the 68 items under consideration, for the purpose of more adequate visualization for analysis, 25 items of greatest expenditures were focused on, as of the per capita household income range of up to R\$140.00 (limit for receiving benefits from the Bolsa Família Program), as may be observed in Tables 8 and 9.

In Table 1, which contains the expense data for the whole of Brazil, the first observation to be made is that 24 items that compose the expenses of persons with per capita household income of up to R\$140.00 are also part of the items of expense of those with per capital household income of up to R\$70.00: only the “soft drink” item is not part of the expenses of persons with the lesser per capita income. In addition, the first 10 expense items of these two ranges are the same, only changing their order from one to another.

**Table 1 – Classification of foods according to monetary expenditures in reference to specific per capital income ranges, given for the overall POF**

	Per capita household income ranges											
	up to R\$70		up to R\$140		from R\$70 to R\$140	from R\$140 to ½ Minimum Salary	from ½ Minimum Salary to 1 Minimum Salary	greater than 1 Minimum Salary				
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
<b>Lunch and dinner*</b>	10,08	1	13,51	1	13,96	1	16,10	1	21,06	1	41,70	1
<b>Rice</b>	8,20	2	7,06	2	6,77	2	6,00	3	4,66	3	2,11	9
<b>Chicken</b>	7,03	3	6,59	3	6,48	3	6,13	2	4,90	2	2,63	3
<b>Other meats</b>	4,97	4	4,39	4	4,24	5	4,38	4	3,89	4	2,38	5
<b>Lower quality beef</b>	4,01	6	4,29	5	4,36	4	4,27	5	3,63	6	1,96	11
<b>Beans</b>	4,33	5	4,08	6	4,02	6	3,51	7	2,65	10	1,17	23
<b>Bread</b>	3,51	9	3,90	7	4,01	7	3,95	6	3,73	5	2,05	10
<b>Fresh fish</b>	3,74	7	3,72	8	3,71	8	2,75	10	1,86	16	0,91	27
<b>Processed meat and fish</b>	3,23	10	3,40	9	3,45	9	3,14	8	2,98	9	2,30	6
<b>Other foods</b>	3,62	8	2,95	10	2,77	10	1,96	15	2,50	12	2,29	7
<b>Crackers</b>	2,86	11	2,68	11	2,63	11	2,35	12	1,99	14	1,23	21
<b>Other flours</b>	2,84	12	2,48	12	2,38	14	1,97	14	1,46	22	1,01	25
<b>Cow's Milk</b>	2,39	15	2,46	13	2,48	12	2,94	9	3,13	8	2,23	8
<b>Soybean oil</b>	2,81	13	2,38	14	2,26	16	1,95	16	1,56	19	0,75	30
<b>Other sugars</b>	2,79	14	2,36	15	2,24	17	2,07	13	1,82	17	1,71	14
<b>Higher quality beef</b>	2,03	19	2,33	16	2,41	13	2,72	11	3,35	7	3,42	2
<b>Manioc flour</b>	2,36	16	2,32	17	2,31	15	1,53	23	0,94	33	0,31	45
<b>Ground coffee</b>	2,30	18	2,15	18	2,10	18	1,82	19	1,52	21	0,87	29
<b>Powdered milk</b>	2,33	17	2,00	19	1,92	19	1,62	21	1,22	25	0,62	33
<b>Pasta</b>	1,55	21	1,46	20	1,44	21	1,22	28	0,99	31	0,52	37
<b>Other milk</b>	1,56	20	1,46	21	1,44	22	1,61	22	1,66	18	1,49	16
<b>Beer, draft beer and</b>	1,18	24	1,40	22	1,46	20	1,85	18	2,14	13	1,73	13
<b>Snacks</b>	1,20	23	1,39	23	1,44	23	1,88	17	2,59	11	2,58	4
<b>Chicken eggs</b>	1,53	22	1,38	24	1,34	25	1,24	25	1,05	29	0,58	35
<b>Soft drinks</b>	1,07	27	1,33	25	1,40	24	1,68	20	1,95	15	1,74	12

Source: Prepared as based on microdata from the POF 2008/2009.

Obs.: Data in reference to the relation between the value of total monetary expenditures on the item in question to monetary expenditures on all the food items for the given per capita household income range. The items marked with “\*” refer to food consumption outside of the home (POF4). Classification of the foods in the order of greatest income commitment is also presented, using the maximum income range for inclusion in the Bolsa Família Program as a reference.

Of these first 10 items, 8 of them (excluding “Lunch and dinner” – an item that refers to food consumption outside of the home, and “Other foods”<sup>9</sup>) are part of the composition of the National Consumer Basket. There is also a significant coincidence with the foods that compose the consumer basket when all the 25 greatest expense items are considered. For all

<sup>9</sup>Observing the database at the lowest level of aggregation made available, this item “Other foods” refers, in fact, to 9 sets of foods: Easter Basket, Christmas Basket, Breakfast basket, Varejão, Consumer basket, COBAL Bag, Open Air Market, Fruit and Vegetable Shop and Aggregate (Feirinha, Sacolão e Agregado).

the income groups, the “Lunch and Dinner” item was responsible for the greatest percentage of expense on food, showing the current trend for consumption outside of the home.

When the per capita household income range greater than one minimum salary is analyzed, 7 of the products that make up part of the first 25 items of expense of the lower income ranges no longer appear in this list. In addition, as per capita income increases, some products have a lesser share in the expenses. This is the case of “chicken eggs”, which occupies 22nd position in the lower per capita household income group and moves to 35th position in the group with more than one minimum salary. The same is true for “powdered milk”, “ground coffee”, “manioc flour”, “beans”, “pasta” and “soybean oil”.

The data presented in Table 1 show change in composition of expenses, in consideration of different income ranges. This is not the same as greater Food Security, especially if this condition incorporates nutritional aspects. Among the foods that come to be incorporated in the greater per capita household income range are items such as “Snacks” and “Sandwiches and individual snack pastries”, which reflect, above all, greater possibility of choice. Eating outside the home, for its part, comes to be an ever greater part of expenses as income range increases.

Nevertheless, the most important aspect observed is that the main items that make up expenses on food for families with income up to R\$140.00, i.e., potential beneficiaries of the Bolsa Família Program, coincide greatly with the foods presented in the consumer basket, both in national data and in data for São Paulo. This observation also exists for the greater income range, particularly in the data for Brazil as a whole.

## **2. Effects of the food crisis on food security**

Considering the data obtained in section 2, in which it was observed that many of the main items that make up expenses on food, notably of lower income families, would fit within the products of the National Consumer Basket, and the difficulty of defining criteria to set up a food basket based on the results obtained (especially for establishing the quantity of individual consumption), in this section, we return to analysis of the evolution of the food crisis arising from prices of the foods that make up the group of items calculated by the DIEESE.



According to Lavinias (1998), although monitoring the price of the consumer basket does not allow precise inferences on the degree of nutritional accessibility of the population, it serves to estimate variations in the degree of accessibility. Thus, the option of monitoring the prices of the consumer basket is justified since it is the standard diet in use for more than 70 years and since monitoring of its cost obeys strict and systematic criteria. These characteristics make it a consistent representative for the evolution of purchasing power in the country in the lower income levels. The foods contained in it express the greatest volume of Brazilian consumption within the main food categories (cereals, tubers, foods that provide energy carbohydrates and fats, fruit and meats) and they exhibit low income-elasticity (LAVINAS, 1998).

In Table 2 are registered the prices of the Consumer Basket and of each one of the products that make it up. As a national value is not published by the DIEESE, the option was to use the data related to the city of São Paulo.

It may be seen that the cost of the consumer basket nearly tripled in the last 10 years. This increase was continual, but it especially occurred in 2008, a mark of the food crisis. An abrupt rise in the cost of the consumer basket is seen, which passes from R\$186.98 to R\$229.09. Part of the cause is the change of the meat price from R\$56.70 to R\$74.64 and, above all, of beans, which went from R\$13.46 to R\$32.40; products that are among the main food expense items of lower income families, as was seen in the data from the POF.

**Table 2 – Prices of products of the consumer basket for the city of São Paulo (R\$)**

Period	Meat	Milk	Beans	Rice	Flour	Potato	Tomato	Bread	Coffee	Banana	Sugar	Oil	Butter	Basket
jan/00	37,26	6,00	7,38	2,58	1,54	4,86	10,17	15,54	5,03	9,68	2,01	1,20	8,96	112,22
jul/00	35,94	7,88	6,34	2,37	1,47	5,70	8,46	16,62	4,55	10,05	2,31	1,04	8,68	111,43
jan/01	37,68	7,95	7,65	2,49	1,50	7,68	13,14	17,22	4,23	11,48	2,73	1,07	8,54	123,36
jul/01	37,02	8,02	9,36	2,82	1,74	8,22	12,24	19,86	4,11	10,12	2,40	1,20	8,55	125,68
jan/02	41,88	8,02	9,04	3,33	1,90	6,42	11,79	20,58	3,76	10,28	2,55	1,54	8,09	129,21
jul/02	38,58	8,55	10,98	3,21	1,98	8,70	13,95	23,04	3,73	9,52	2,37	1,66	8,36	134,64
jan/03	47,04	8,77	14,26	4,59	3,15	7,98	13,23	29,16	4,95	10,88	4,17	2,66	11,92	162,79
jul/03	44,64	9,45	13,36	5,52	2,76	8,10	13,05	28,92	5,17	12,22	3,96	2,30	12,68	162,15
jan/04	52,08	9,52	11,25	5,94	2,38	6,06	19,62	27,90	5,42	13,12	3,21	2,54	11,96	171,03
jul/04	48,72	10,28	11,12	5,25	2,73	9,06	21,78	28,44	5,86	13,95	3,03	2,48	11,25	173,95
jan/05	52,68	10,42	12,42	4,29	2,44	9,72	15,48	28,32	5,94	13,65	3,69	2,18	11,62	172,87
jul/05	50,40	10,95	15,57	3,99	2,40	9,24	18,36	30,12	6,52	13,20	3,51	1,94	12,02	178,22
jan/06	52,32	10,88	11,97	3,99	2,31	13,08	14,76	29,04	7,10	14,02	4,29	1,83	11,85	177,45
jul/06	49,62	10,88	12,42	3,93	2,26	8,70	13,50	29,40	6,27	15,08	4,92	1,83	11,68	170,50
jan/07	55,02	10,88	11,48	4,41	2,50	7,02	22,95	30,12	6,95	15,00	4,47	2,19	11,72	184,72
jul/07	56,70	13,12	13,46	4,26	2,55	9,78	16,11	29,70	7,71	14,92	3,96	2,08	12,61	186,98
jan/08	66,12	13,58	32,40	4,56	2,91	10,98	21,60	32,16	7,51	17,78	3,45	2,73	13,30	229,09
jul/08	74,64	14,10	28,89	6,42	3,75	11,46	29,25	38,04	7,47	17,78	3,51	3,15	13,67	252,13
jan/09	80,28	14,10	18,81	6,00	3,18	11,52	23,94	37,74	7,78	17,70	3,81	2,50	14,17	241,53
jul/09	74,82	19,28	13,14	5,79	2,90	12,84	21,78	36,06	6,35	14,78	4,35	2,34	12,74	227,17
jan/10	75,60	15,30	10,58	6,06	2,61	14,88	20,61	36,60	6,33	15,37	5,88	2,38	12,81	225,02
jul/10	78,84	16,50	18,76	6,15	2,64	14,82	21,06	37,86	6,11	16,20	5,46	2,20	12,77	239,38
jan/11	98,10	16,80	13,72	5,97	3,18	10,74	24,66	40,62	6,62	17,78	6,99	2,72	13,34	261,25
jul/11	92,40	18,15	15,39	5,28	3,18	11,82	29,70	41,10	6,98	17,10	6,30	2,74	13,24	263,38
jan/12	102,60	18,30	19,62	5,76	3,15	11,34	30,87	43,08	8,02	18,90	6,87	2,78	14,25	285,54
jul/12	95,16	18,60	24,75	6,12	3,04	12,54	42,48	44,10	8,12	20,48	6,51	3,23	14,25	299,39

Source: Prepared from data extracted from the DIEESE (2012a).

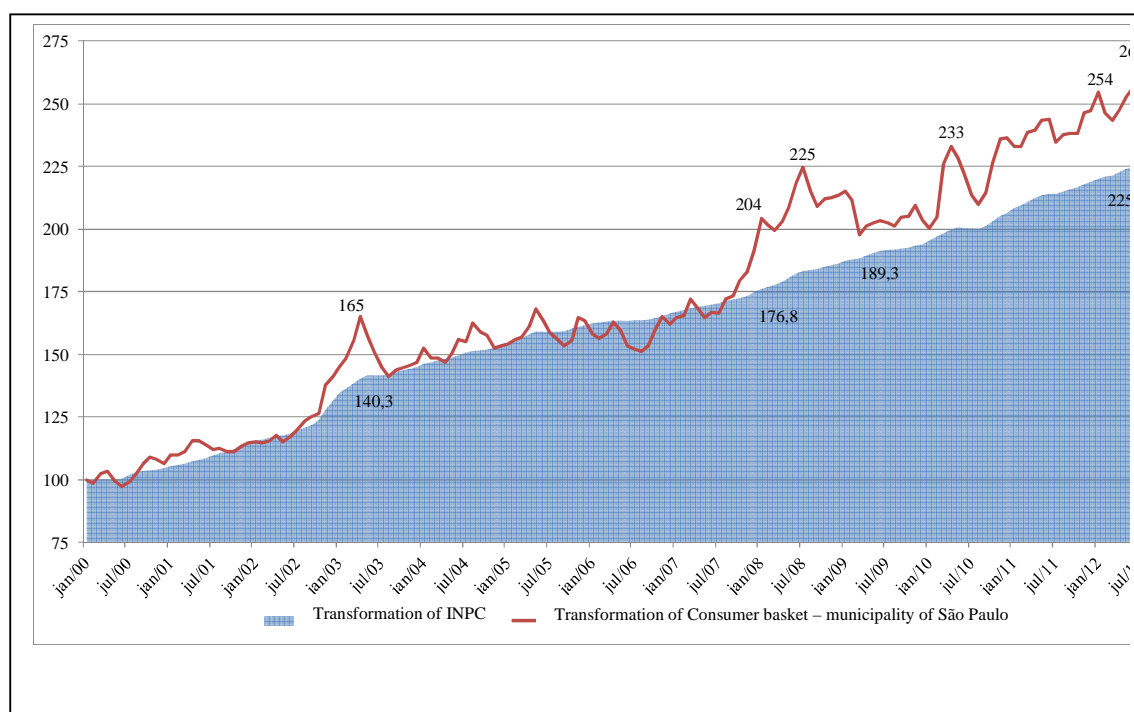
Obs.: Data in nominal values of the time and in reference to the quantities stipulated in Executive Order (Decreto Lei) no. 399/1938.

Chart 1 presents the evolution in price of the consumer basket compared to the National Consumer Price Index (Índice Nacional de Preços ao Consumidor - INPC). By means of this chart, it may be perceived that up to 2007, the two indicators registered a slight increase (in spite of the peak in the price increase of the consumer basket in the middle of 2003); and that up to 2008 there were even periods in which the cost of the consumer basket was less than the INPC.

However, as of 2008, there is a clear distancing of the two indicators, with the consumer basket increasing much more than the general price index. After this increase, there was a period, up to August 2010, of a fall in prices, although they have returned to climb and separate from the general indicator.

This situation continues even up to now. The cost of the consumer basket in the middle of 2012 exhibited growth of 167% in relation to January 2000, while the INPC grew around 125%.

**Chart 1– Evolution of price of the consumer basket (city of São Paulo) compared to the INPC (01/2000 = 100)**



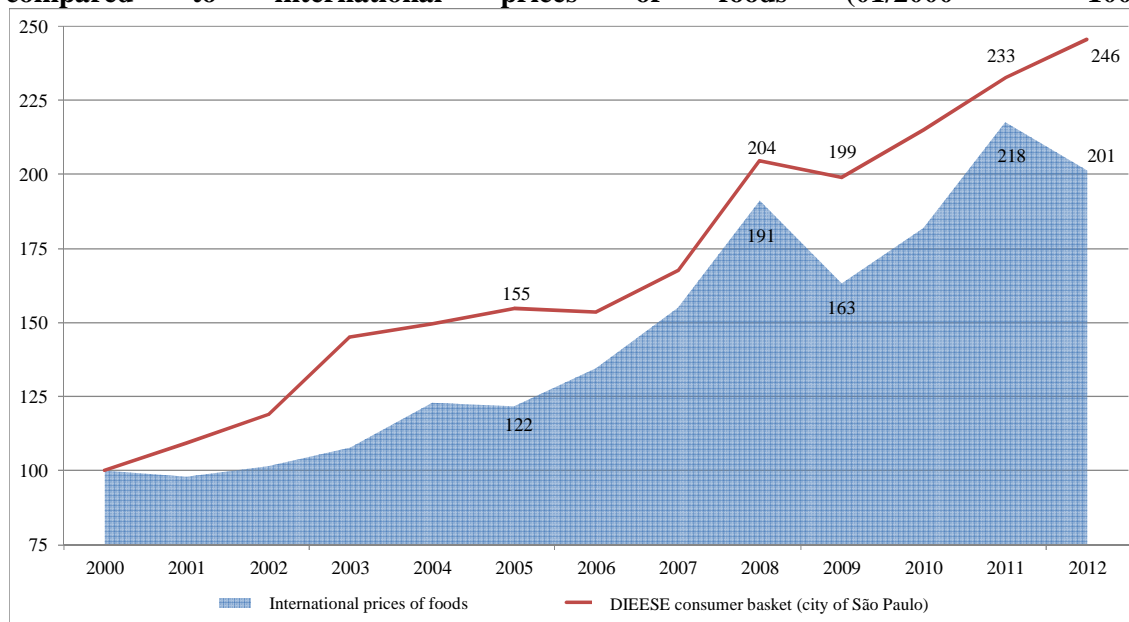
**Source:** Prepared through use of data calculated by the DIEESE and by the IBGE.

Obs.: Nominal value of the consumer basket and of its products calculated by the DIEESE for the city of São Paulo, and transformation of the INPC calculated by the IBGE (using the IPEADA). Values considering January 2000 as a reference (01/2000 = 100).

In Chart 2, the food crisis is revealed in Brazil. In this chart is shown the evolution of prices of the consumer basket compared to the evolution of the international prices of foods.

Observe that the price variation of the consumer basket follows the variation of international prices, with principal peaks in the years 2008 and 2011. In spite of the slight fall in 2009 and 2012 (only in the international indicator), it appears that there is a trend toward higher levels of prices, both internally and internationally.

**Chart 2 – Evolution of the mean annual price of the consumer basket (city of São Paulo) compared to international prices of foods (01/2000 = 100)**



International prices of foods DIEESE consumer basket (city of São Paulo)

Source: Prepared using data calculated by the DIEESE and by the IMF.

Obs.: The consumer basket index corresponds to the annual mean of the nominal value calculated monthly by the DIEESE for the city of São Paulo, and the international prices correspond to the Commodity Food Price Index (includes price indexes of cereals, vegetable oils, meat, shellfish, sugar, bananas and oranges) calculated by the IMF (World Economic Outlook Database, April 2012). Both indexes are presented using January 2000 as a reference (01/2000 = 100).

It is noteworthy that the increase of prices of the consumer basket was, in general, even greater than that of the international prices of the foods. In addition, considering the two periods of fall in prices mentioned above, in 2009, the costs of the consumer basket fell much less than the international prices of the foods. From 2011 on, in spite of the fall in the international cost of the consumer basket, the prices in Brazil continued to rise.

### 3. Bolsa Família and the food crisis

For analysis of the impact of the Bolsa Família Program in the context of the food crisis, a description of the operation of the program since the time of its regulation by Decree no 5.209 of September 17, 2004 is necessary.

The Bolsa Família program adopts the condition of extreme poverty or poverty as a requirement for access to the benefit, characterizing this per family grouping by people in the condition of expectant mothers, nursing women, children from zero to twelve years old or adolescents up to seventeen years old. However, establishment of the condition of poverty or

extreme poverty is made by the per capita income level of the family, in the terms of the Decree that regulates the program<sup>10</sup>.

The income ranges are in Table 3. Based on them, the value of the benefits to be paid is defined. For the extreme poverty range, since the creation of the program, there has been the guarantee of a minimum benefit, which may be increased by variable ranges in terms of the presence of expectant mothers, nursing women, children up to the age of twelve, adolescents up to fifteen years old, or sixteen or seventeen year old adolescents. Families in poverty conditions would have right to only the variable benefits<sup>11</sup>.

**Table 3 – Poverty and Extreme Poverty Conditions according to per capita family income range**

	Poverty	Extreme Poverty
Sept/04	up to R\$ 100,00	up to R\$ 50,00
Apr/06	up to R\$ 120,00	up to R\$ 60,00
Apr/09	up to R\$ 137,00	up to R\$ 69,00
Jun/09	up to R\$ 140,00	up to R\$ 70,00

**Source: Prepared based on Decree no. 5.209/2009 and its amendments**

In Table 4, the minimum and maximum values of the program for families under poverty or extreme poverty conditions are registered.

<sup>10</sup> Extreme poverty: Decree no 5.209 of September 17, 2004 – per capita monthly family income up to R\$50.00; Decree no. 5.749 of April 11, 2006 – per capita monthly family income up to R\$60.00; Decree no. 6.824 of April 16, 2009 – per capita monthly family income up to R\$69.00; Decree no. 6.917 of July 30, 2009 – per capita monthly family income up to R\$70.00.

Poverty: Decree no. 5.209 of September 17, 2004 – per capita monthly family income up to R\$100.00; Decree no. 5.749 of April 11, 2006 – per capita monthly family income up to R\$120.00; Decree no. 6.824 of April 16, 2009 – per capita monthly family income up to R\$137.00; Decree no. 6.917 of July 30, 2009 – per capita monthly family income up to R\$140.00.

<sup>11</sup> The eligibility criteria and attribution of values of the Bolsa Família program underwent the following changes:

- Decree no 5.209 of September 17, 2004 – for families in extreme poverty, the basic benefit at the value of R\$50.00 was created and for them and for the families in poverty condition the variable benefit of R\$15.00 per child in the age range of up to 15 years old was created, respecting the maximum limit of R\$45.00;
- Decree no. 6.157 of July 16, 2007 – changing the basic benefit to R\$58.00 and the variable benefit to R\$18.00, up to the limit of R\$54.00, and this is now directed to family units that are composed of: expecting mothers, nursing women, children from zero to twelve years old, or adolescent up to fifteen years old;
- Decree no. 6.491 of June 26, 2008 – the values of the basic benefit are changed to R\$62.00 and of the variable benefit to R\$20.00, up to the limit of R\$60.00;
- Decree no. 6.917 of July 30, 2009 – the values of the basic benefit are changed to R\$68.00, of the variable benefit to R\$22.00, up to the limit of R\$66.00, and the benefit for the adolescent at the value of R\$33.00 up to the limit of R\$66.00;
- Decree no. 7.447 of March 1, 2011 and Decree no. 7.494 of June 2, 2011 – the values of the basic benefit are changed to R\$70.00, of the variable benefit to R\$32.00, up to the limit of R\$160.00, and of the benefit for the adolescent to R\$38.00 up to the limit of R\$76.00.

**Table 4 – Values paid through the Bolsa Família Program in terms of per capita income of the families and family make up**

	Poverty		Extreme Poverty	
	Minimum Value	Maximum value	Minimum Value	Maximum value
Sept/04	R\$ 0,00	R\$ 45,00	R\$ 50,00	R\$ 95,00
Jul/07	R\$ 0,00	R\$ 54,00	R\$ 58,00	R\$ 112,00
Jun/08	R\$ 0,00	R\$ 60,00	R\$ 62,00	R\$ 122,00
Jul/09	R\$ 0,00	R\$ 132,00	R\$ 68,00	R\$ 200,00
Jun/11	R\$ 0,00	R\$ 236,00	R\$ 70,00	R\$ 306,00

Source: Prepared based on Decree no. 5.209/2009 and its amendments.

Obs.: the maximum values consider the presence of three (five, as of June 2011) expectant mothers (since July 2007), nursing women (since July 2007), children from zero to twelve years old or adolescents up to fifteen years old; and, as of July 2009, that also have two adolescents who are from sixteen to seventeen years old enrolled in teaching institutions.

To carry out tests regarding the potential impact of the Bolsa Família Program on accessibility to food for families in a situation of poverty and extreme poverty, the option was made to designate a composition of two adults and two children as a standard family unit, and two quotas of the variable benefit of the program would be assigned to them. Considering these two variable quotas, the simulated values of the benefit are presented in Table 5.

**Table 5 – Simulated values of the benefit**

	Poverty	Extreme Poverty
Sept/04	R\$ 30,00	R\$ 80,00
Jul/07	R\$ 36,00	R\$ 94,00
Jun/08	R\$ 40,00	R\$ 102,00
Jul/09	R\$ 44,00	R\$ 112,00
Jun/11	R\$ 64,00	R\$ 134,00

Source: Prepared by the author.

Obs.: Values of benefits considering a family with two adults and two children eligible for the program.

This table shows that in September 2004, according to regulations of the program at that time, the family described above, if selected, would receive two variable quotas in the amount of R\$15.00, for a total benefit of R\$30.00; while the family in a situation of extreme poverty would receive the basic value of the benefit, in addition to these two quotas, which at that time was R\$50.00.

In Table 6, there is simulation of the program benefit payment for the period from January 2000 up to its regulation by Decree no. 5.209 of September 17, 2004.

**Table 6 – Simulated values of the benefits of the income transfer program**

Period	Extreme Poverty	Poverty
Jan/00	R\$ 52,74	R\$ 19,78
Jul/00	R\$ 53,75	R\$ 20,16

Jan/01	R\$ 55,61	R\$ 20,85
Jul/01	R\$ 57,92	R\$ 21,72
Jan/02	R\$ 61,04	R\$ 22,89
Jul/02	R\$ 63,18	R\$ 23,69
Jan/03	R\$ 71,01	R\$ 26,63
Jul/03	R\$ 74,76	R\$ 28,03
Jan/04	R\$ 77,12	R\$ 28,92
Jul/04	R\$ 79,47	R\$ 29,80

Source: Prepared by the author.

Obs.: Deflation, by the INPC (09/2004=100), of the values of the Bolsa Família Program in September 2004 (R\$80.00 and R\$30.00) supposed as owed to a family with four people, two adults plus two children eligible in the program.

Table 7, considering these deflated values, presents the power for purchasing a consumer basket for individuals in a situation of poverty and extreme poverty (constituents of a family such as the standard one defined here), taking into account the income transfers of the Bolsa Família Program. Calculation is made considering the per capita incomes at the cutoffs for characterization of the situations of poverty and extreme poverty and, in the situations of receiving the Bolsa Família, adding the value of the benefit, divided by four people.

**Table 7** – Purchasing power of individuals in the situation of poverty and extreme poverty considering the income transfers of the Bolsa Família Program

	Extreme Poverty				Poverty			
	Without Bolsa Família		With Bolsa Família		Without Bolsa Família		With Bolsa Família	
	Income	% Basket	Benefit	% Basket	Income	% Basket	Benefit	% Basket
jan/00	R\$ 32,96	29%	R\$ 52,74	41%	R\$ 65,92	59%	R\$ 19,78	63%
jul/00	R\$ 33,59	30%	R\$ 53,75	42%	R\$ 67,19	60%	R\$ 20,16	65%
Dec/00	R\$ 34,49	29%	R\$ 55,18	40%	R\$ 68,98	58%	R\$ 20,69	62%
jul/01	R\$ 36,20	29%	R\$ 57,92	40%	R\$ 72,40	58%	R\$ 21,72	62%
jan/02	R\$ 38,15	30%	R\$ 61,04	41%	R\$ 76,30	59%	R\$ 22,89	63%
jul/02	R\$ 39,49	29%	R\$ 63,18	41%	R\$ 78,97	59%	R\$ 23,69	63%
jan/03	R\$ 44,38	27%	R\$ 71,01	38%	R\$ 88,76	55%	R\$ 26,63	59%
jul/03	R\$ 46,72	29%	R\$ 74,76	40%	R\$ 93,44	58%	R\$ 28,03	62%
jan/04	R\$ 48,20	28%	R\$ 77,12	39%	R\$ 96,41	56%	R\$ 28,92	61%
jul/04	R\$ 49,67	29%	R\$ 79,47	40%	R\$ 99,33	57%	R\$ 29,80	61%
jan/05	R\$ 50,00	29%	R\$ 80,00	40%	R\$ 100,00	58%	R\$ 30,00	62%
jul/05	R\$ 50,00	28%	R\$ 80,00	39%	R\$ 100,00	56%	R\$ 30,00	60%
jan/06	R\$ 50,00	28%	R\$ 80,00	39%	R\$ 100,00	56%	R\$ 30,00	61%
jul/06	R\$ 60,00	35%	R\$ 80,00	47%	R\$ 120,00	70%	R\$ 30,00	75%
jan/07	R\$ 60,00	32%	R\$ 80,00	43%	R\$ 120,00	65%	R\$ 30,00	69%
jul/07	R\$ 60,00	32%	R\$ 94,00	45%	R\$ 120,00	64%	R\$ 36,00	69%
jan/08	R\$ 60,00	26%	R\$ 94,00	36%	R\$ 120,00	52%	R\$ 36,00	56%
jul/08	R\$ 60,00	24%	R\$ 102,00	34%	R\$ 120,00	48%	R\$ 40,00	52%
jan/09	R\$ 60,00	25%	R\$ 102,00	35%	R\$ 120,00	50%	R\$ 40,00	54%
jul/09	R\$ 70,00	31%	R\$ 112,00	43%	R\$ 140,00	62%	R\$ 44,00	66%
jan/10	R\$ 70,00	31%	R\$ 112,00	44%	R\$ 140,00	62%	R\$ 44,00	67%
jul/10	R\$ 70,00	29%	R\$ 112,00	41%	R\$ 140,00	54%	R\$ 44,00	63%
jan/11	R\$ 70,00	27%	R\$ 112,00	38%	R\$ 140,00	53%	R\$ 44,00	58%
jul/11	R\$ 70,00	27%	R\$ 134,00	39%	R\$ 140,00	49%	R\$ 64,00	59%
jan/12	R\$ 70,00	25%	R\$ 134,00	36%	R\$ 140,00	47%	R\$ 64,00	55%
jul/12	R\$ 70,00	23%	R\$ 134,00	35%	R\$ 140,00	47%	R\$ 64,00	52%

Source: Prepared by the author.

Obs.: 1. The values of the income limits and of the benefits for the period prior to the Bolsa Família Program were obtained through deflation of the value of September 2004 using the INPC; 2. For calculation of the value of the benefit, a family with four people, two adults and two children that fit within the eligibility criteria of the program, was considered; 3. The value of the consumer basket calculated by the DIEESE (2012a) for the city of São Paulo was used; 4. To calculate purchasing power, the per capita incomes at the cutoffs for characterization of the situations of poverty and extreme poverty were taken into account; and in situations of receiving the Bolsa Família, the per capita value of the benefit was added (considering the four people).

It may be observed that both the people classified in the situation of extreme poverty and those in the situation of poverty, potential beneficiaries of the Bolsa Família, do not exhibit the capability for acquisition of the consumer food basket: the purchasing capacity ranged from 23% to 35% for individuals in extreme poverty and from 47% to 70% for those in the state of poverty.

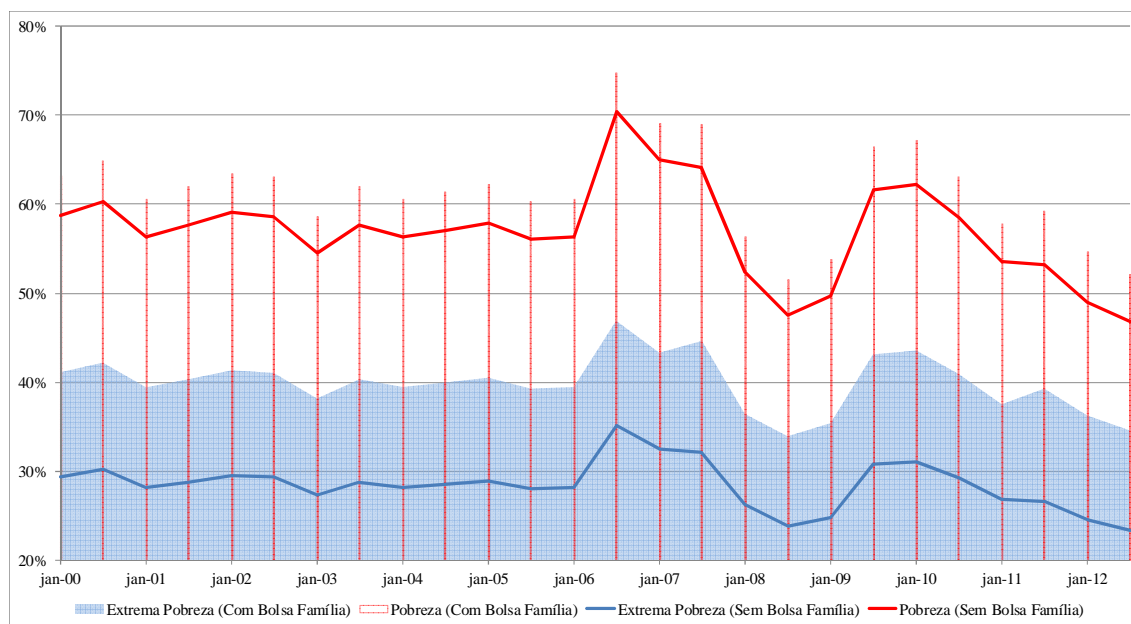
Taking into consideration that the consumer basket refers to a “Minimum Essential Allowance”, sufficient for feeding a person as an adult, and even if one spends the entire available budget only on these foods, it is not possible to have economic access for all people; there is a great possibility for establishment of a condition of Food Insecurity.

Upon adding the values of the simulated benefit of the Bolsa Família to the per capita income, even then, this situation continues and the capability of purchasing the consumer basket expands to at most 47% in the cases of extreme poverty and 75% for individuals in the situation of poverty. This may be seen in Chart 3.



**Chart 3 – Ability to purchase the consumer basket by individuals in a situation of poverty and extreme poverty considering the simulated benefit of the Bolsa Família Program.**

(data for the city of São Paulo).

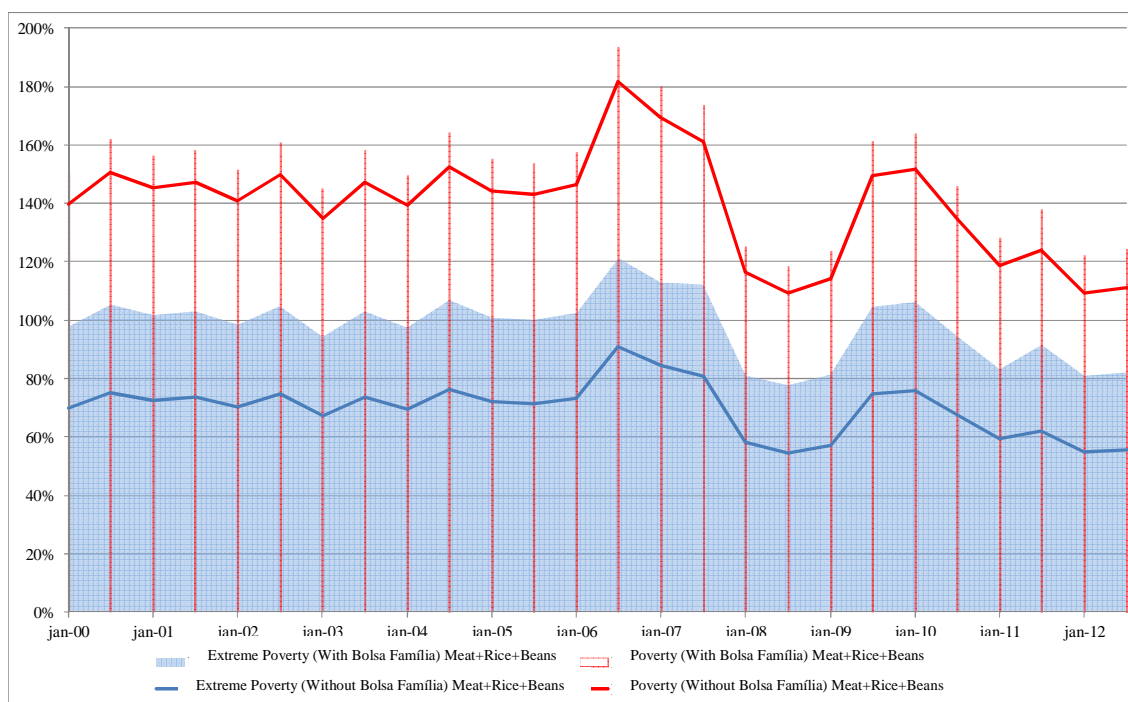


Source: Prepared by the author.

Obs.: 1. The values of the income ranges and of the benefits for the period prior to the Bolsa Família program were obtained through deflation of the value of September 2004 using the INPC; 2. For calculation of the value of the benefit, a family with four people, two adults and two children that fit within the eligibility criteria of the program, was considered; 3. The value of the consumer basket calculated by the DIEESE (2012a) for the city of São Paulo was considered; 4. To calculate purchasing power, the per capita incomes at the cutoffs for characterization of the situations of poverty and extreme poverty were taken into account; and in situations of receiving the Bolsa Família, the per capita value of the benefit was added (considering the four people).

In Chart 4 and in Table 8 are shown the data for assessment of purchasing power of individuals for three products: rice, beans and meat, analyzing this typical food combination for Brazilians, and which represent, according to data from the POF disclosed in this study, the main component of food expenses of families in a situation of poverty and extreme poverty.

**Chart 4 – Purchasing power of individuals in a situation of poverty and extreme poverty considering income transfers of the Bolsa Família Program**  
(for the foods Meat, Rice and Beans)



Source: Prepared by the author.

Obs.: 1. The values of the income ranges and of the benefits for the period prior to the Bolsa Família program were obtained through deflation of the value of September 2004 using the INPC; 2. For calculation of the value of the benefit, a family with four people, two adults and two children that fit within the eligibility criteria of the program, was considered; 3. The values and quantities of the foods “meat”, “rice” and “beans” in the form calculated by the DIEESE (2012a) for the consumer basket in reference to the city of São Paulo were used; 4. To calculate purchasing power, the per capita incomes at the cutoffs for characterization of the situations of poverty and extreme poverty were taken into account; and in situations of receiving the Bolsa Família, the per capita value of the benefit was added (considering the four people).

From Chart 4, it is possible to observe that the individuals in extreme poverty would not be capable, even using all their income, of acquiring at least these three item for their food. Even if the simulated value of the Bolsa Família were added to this income, this person would remain without purchasing ability for part of the period under analysis.

For those periods in which purchase of the products became accessible (or for the people in the poverty condition whose purchasing power would be sufficient for acquisition), even so, considering the use of all “available” income, it is possible to affirm that consumption only of these foods would not ensure the daily quantity of micronutrients necessary for bodily maintenance (especially vitamins and minerals) (NEWS.MED.BR, 2007).

**Table 8 – Purchasing power of individuals in situations of poverty and extreme poverty considering income transfers of the Bolsa Família Program (for the foods Meat, Rice and Beans)**

Extreme Poverty					Poverty			
Period	Without Bolsa Família		With Bolsa Família		Without Bolsa Família		With Bolsa Família	
	Income	Meat+Rice+Beans	Benefit	Meat+Rice+Beans	Income	Meat+Rice+Beans	Benefit	Meat+Rice+Beans
Jan/00	R\$ 32,96	70%	R\$ 52,74	98%	R\$ 65,92	140%	R\$ 19,78	150%
Jan/05	R\$ 50,00	72%	R\$ 80,00	101%	R\$ 100,00	144%	R\$ 30,00	155%
Jul/12	R\$ 70,00	56%	R\$ 134,00	82%	R\$ 140,00	111%	R\$ 64,00	124%

Source: Prepared by the author.

Obs.: 1. The values of the income ranges and of the benefits for the period prior to the Bolsa Família program were obtained through deflation of the value of September 2004 using the INPC; 2. For calculation of the value of the benefit, a family with four people, two adults and two children that fit within the eligibility criteria of the program, was considered; 3. The values and quantities of the foods “meat”, “rice” and “beans” in the form calculated by the DIEESE (2012a) for the consumer basket in reference to the city of São Paulo were used; 4. To calculate purchasing power, the per capita incomes at the cutoffs for characterization of the situations of poverty and extreme poverty were taken into account; and in situations of receiving the Bolsa Família, the value of the benefit was added, divided by four people

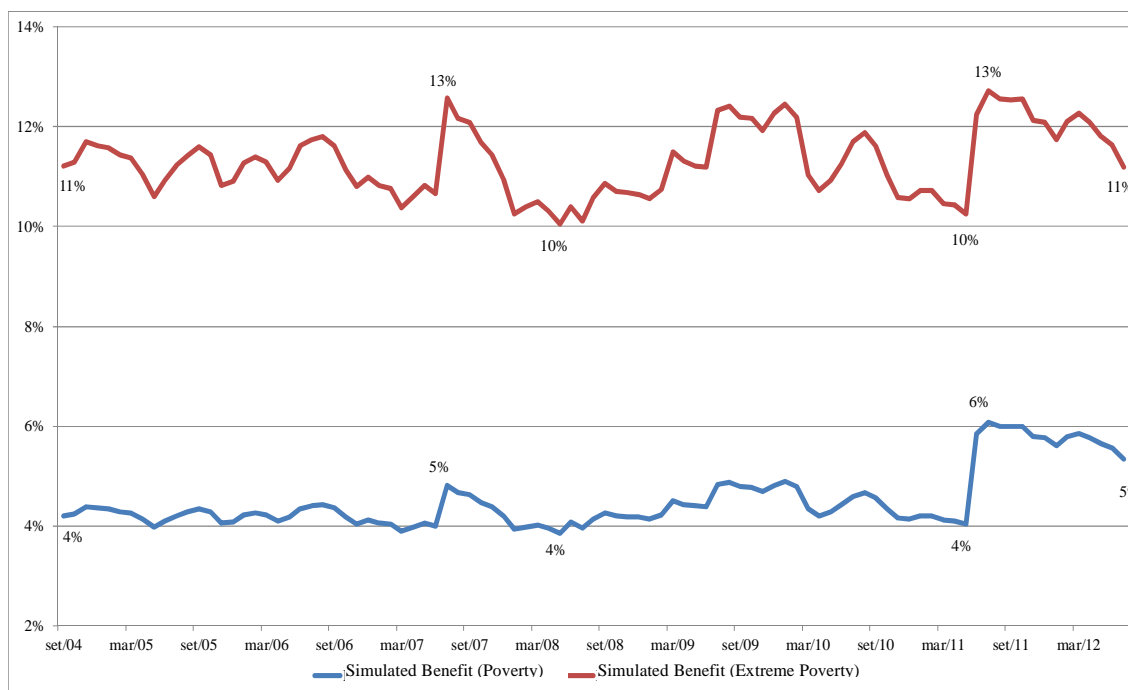
In addition, even in the recent period of expansion of the value of the benefit of the Program, the income in July 2012, for example, for an individual in extreme poverty, would be enough for acquisition of only 82% of the consumer basket (Table 8).

This panorama leads to another important observation, which may be noted in Charts 3 and 4: individuals in extreme poverty and poverty conditions exhibit a considerable fall in their capacity for acquiring the consumer basket, especially in the period from 2008 to 2010, characterized as the food crisis, and this capacity remains at relatively lower levels currently when compared to previous periods.

Charts 5 and 6 help to assess the capability for maintaining purchasing power through increase in the benefit of the Bolsa Família Program to individuals in situations of poverty and extreme poverty.

Chart 5 shows the capability for purchasing the consumer basket, as provided by the per capita values transferred by the simulated benefit of the Bolsa Família Program, was reduced in 2008 when compared to the period immediately prior to the crisis, but this transfer of income allowed maintenance of approximately the same purchasing power observed in the period in which the Program was created, especially in the situation of poverty.

**Chart 5 – Capability of purchasing the consumer basket from benefits of the Bolsa Família Program (simulated per capita benefit)**



Source: Prepared by the author.

Obs.: For calculation of the value of the benefit, a family of four people was considered, composed of two adults and two children that fit within the eligibility criteria of the Bolsa Família Program, this value being divided among the four people, calculating the benefit per capita. The value of the consumer basket calculated by the DIEESE for the city of São Paulo was used.

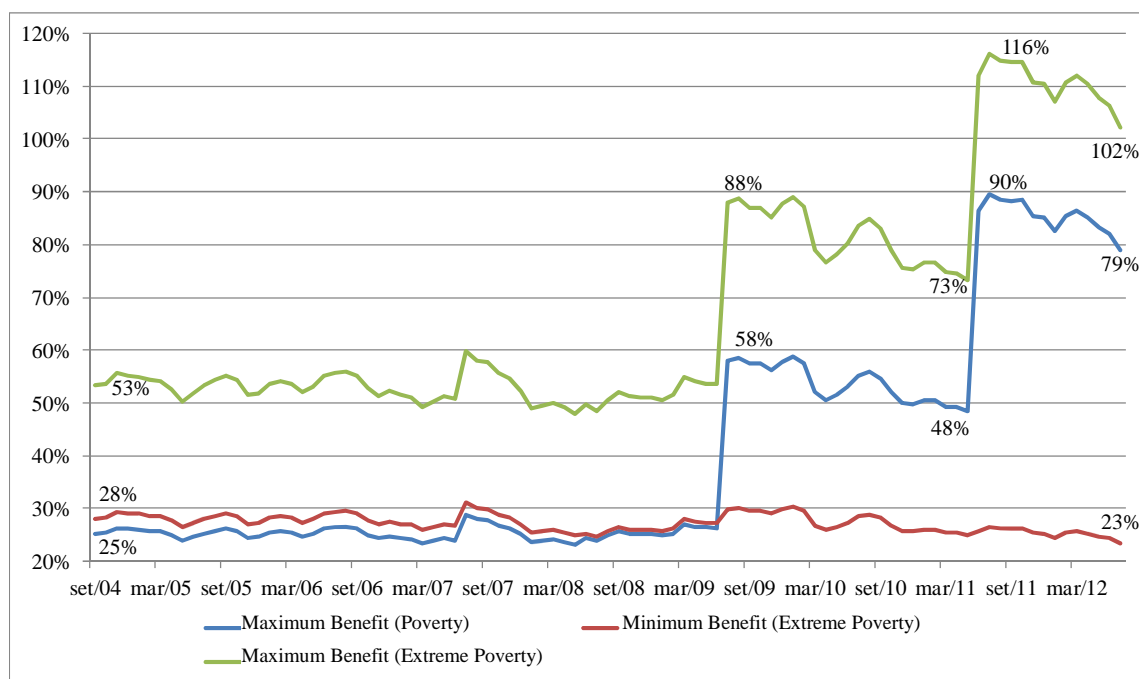
As of 2011, with the new rise in prices of the consumer basket, the last increase in the benefits of the Bolsa Família Program allowed expansion in food purchasing power: from 10% to 13% for individuals in extreme poverty and from 4% to 6% in the cases of poverty. Nevertheless, it is important to look at the form through which the increase in these benefits occurred so as to be able to verify the real purchasing capability that it may provide.

The increases that occurred in the maximum values of the Bolsa Família benefit (Chart 6) in 2009 and 2011 are fundamentally due to the expansion of the variable benefits, which depend on components of the family group: in 2009, the benefit for adolescents (age 16 and 17) was created, with the possibility of payment of up to two quotas and, in 2011, the number of variable quotas of the benefit was expanded from 5 to 7.

Chart 6 could thus exhibit wide distortion of the purchasing power provided by the Program. To have access to the maximum benefit, which would allow acquisition of a consumer basket in March 2012, for example, a family in an extreme poverty situation would need to have enough people with a profile for receiving all the variable quotas distributed by the Bolsa Família. On the other hand, the minimum benefit, which had the purchasing power of 28% of

the consumer basket when the program was created, is currently capable of acquiring only 23% of this food.

**Chart 6 – Capability of purchasing the consumer basket from the benefits of the Bolsa Família Program (maximum and minimum benefits for families in Poverty or Extreme Poverty)**



Source: Prepared by the author.

Obs.: The basic benefit (families in extreme poverty) and the variable benefits that depend on the presence in the family of up to 5 expectant mothers, nursing mothers, children up to twelve years old or adolescents up to 15 years old; and of 2 adolescents 16 or 17 years old were considered. The value of the consumer basket, calculated by the DIEESE for the city of São Paulo was used.

It may therefore be observed that even with the increases in the values paid by the Program, the purchasing power provided was not able to expand. This situation may grow worse in a perspective of structural inflation of foods.

The analysis made up to this point thus showed that the income of Brazilians and the price of foods are factors which directly affect food accessibility in the country. In spite of the Food Security condition having improved in the country in recent years, a considerable portion of the population is still in a vulnerable condition. The lower the income of the individuals, the more critical the situation.

The data presented signal an effective political action for combating hunger as of the Lula government, but insufficient for resolving the problem of food deprivation. It is consequently observed that even if all the poor and extremely poor families (in the profile presented)

received the simulated benefit of the Bolsa Família Program, this would still not ensure the condition of Food Security. This situation becomes even more critical in a context of increased prices of foods such as that observed in recent years.

In spite of the prominence of the Bolsa Família Program, an initiative even strongly recommended by multilateral organizations like the FAO, the World Bank and the IMF as potentially easing the impact of food inflation observed as of the end of the first decade of the 21st Century, it may be concluded that the question of hunger is a universal social problem within the sphere of capitalism, with a much greater incidence in underdeveloped and dependent countries. Specific policies like this program are incapable of structurally ensuring adequate food conditions and do not present the potential for overcoming the problem, which is intrinsic to capitalist development. The situation grows worse through the greater structural incidence of inflation in countries at the periphery.

It may be observed that programs like Bolsa Família are in general government programs, such that their continuity depends on the reiteration of political decisions and are dependent on the economic conditions of each country.

In the case of Brazil, the current government, upon introducing the new plan for combating poverty, “Brasil sem Miséria”, in 2011, and implementing, in 2012, one more program for income supplementation, “Brasil Carinhoso”, seems to recognize the insufficiency of the actions performed by the Lula governments. It should be noted that income transfer programs continue as the most highlighted social actions in the sphere of federal policies, in spite of not being the only measures directed to combating hunger in the country.

This situation stands in contrast to the conclusion of this study that these measures are incapable of ensuring adequate accessibility to foods (even if one considers only the people served by the Programs), above all in a context of a food crisis.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- ALVES, Maria Magdalena. **Fome, não dá pra esquecer**. Available at: <<http://www.webartigos.com/articles/56300/1/FOME-NAO-DA-PRA-ESQUECER/pagina1.html>>. Accessed on: Aug 6, 2011.
- BANCO MUNDIAL. Guidance for Responses from the Human Development Sectors to Rising Food Prices. **Human Development Network**, 21 jun. 2008. Disponível em: <[http://www.unicef.org/wcaro/wcaro\\_WB\\_Response\\_Food\\_Prices.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/wcaro/wcaro_WB_Response_Food_Prices.pdf)>. Accessed on: Aug 5, 2011.
- BELIK, Walter. **Segurança Alimentar: a contribuição das universidades**. 1. ed. São Paulo: Instituto Ethos, 2003. 88p.
- BRASIL. Decreto Lei nº 399, de 30 de abril de 1938. Aprova o regulamento para execução da Lei nº 185, de 14 de janeiro de 1936, que institui as Comissões de Salário Mínimo. **Coleção de Leis do Brasil - 1938**, Página 76, vol. 2. Diário Oficial da União - Seção 1 – 07 de mai. 1938, p. 8.600. Available at: <<http://www2.camara.gov.br/legin/fed/declei/1930-1939/decreto-lei-399-30-abril-1938-348733-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>>. Accessed on: Oct 9, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Lei nº 8.742, de 7 de dezembro de 1993. Lei Orgânica da Assistência Social. Dispõe sobre a organização da Assistência Social e dá outras providências. **Diário Oficial da União** - Seção 1 – 08 dez. 1993, p. 18.769. Available at: <<http://www81.dataprev.gov.br/sislex/paginas/42/1993/8742.htm>>Accessed on: Dec 16, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Medida Provisória nº 132, de 20 de Outubro de 2003. Cria o Programa Bolsa Família e dá outras providências. **Diário Oficial da União** - Seção 1 – 21 out. 2003, p. 1. Available at: <<http://www81.dataprev.gov.br/sislex/paginas/45/2003/132.htm>>Accessed on: Feb 3, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Lei nº 10.836, de 9 de janeiro de 2004. Lei do Programa Bolsa Família. Cria o Programa Bolsa Família, altera a Lei nº 10.689, de 13 de junho de 2003, e dá outras providências. **Diário Oficial da União** - Seção 1 - 12 jan. 2004, p. 1. Available at: <[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/\\_ato2004-2006/2004/lei/110.836.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2004/lei/110.836.htm)>Accessed on: Feb 3, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Decreto nº 5.209, de 17 de setembro de 2004. Regulamenta a Lei nº 10.836, de 9 de janeiro de 2004, que cria o Programa Bolsa Família, e dá outras providências. **Diário Oficial da União** - Seção 1 – 20 set. 2004, p. 3. Available at: <[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/\\_ato2004-2006/2004/decreto/d5209.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2004/decreto/d5209.htm)>Accessed on: Feb 3, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Decreto nº 5.749, de 11 de abril de 2006. Altera o caput do art. 18 do Decreto nº 5.209, de 17 de setembro de 2004, dispondo sobre atualizações de valores referenciais para caracterização das situações de pobreza e extrema pobreza no âmbito do Programa Bolsa Família, previstos no art. 2º, §§ 2º e 3º, da Lei nº 10.836, de 9 de janeiro de 2004. **Diário Oficial da União** - Seção 1 - 12 abr. 2006, p. 1. Available at: <[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/\\_ato2004-2006/2006/Decreto/D5749.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2006/Decreto/D5749.htm)>Accessed on: Feb 3, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Lei nº 11.346, de 15 de setembro de 2006. Cria o Sistema Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional – SISAN com vistas em assegurar o direito humano à

alimentação adequada e dá outras providências. **Diário Oficial [da] República Federativa Do Brasil**. Poder Executivo. Brasília, DF, nº 179, 18 de set. 2006. Available at: <[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/\\_ato2004-2006/2006/lei/111346.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2006/lei/111346.htm)>. Accessed on: Jan 5, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. Decreto nº 6.157, 16 de julho de 2007. Dá nova redação ao art. 19 do Decreto nº 5.209, de 17 de setembro de 2004, que regulamenta a Lei nº 10.836, de 9 de janeiro de 2004, que cria o Programa Bolsa Família. **Diário Oficial da União** - Seção 1 – 17 jul. 2007, p. 1. Available at: <[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/\\_Ato2007-2010/2007/Decreto/D6157.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2007-2010/2007/Decreto/D6157.htm)>Accessed on: Feb 3, 2010.

\_\_\_\_\_. Decreto nº 6.491, de 26 de junho de 2008. Dá nova redação ao art. 19 do Decreto nº 5.209, de 17 de setembro de 2004, que regulamenta a Lei nº 10.836, de 9 de janeiro de 2004, que cria o Programa Bolsa Família. **Diário Oficial da União**– Seção 1 – 27 jun. 2008, p. 3. Available at: <[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/\\_Ato2007-2010/2008/Decreto/D6491.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2007-2010/2008/Decreto/D6491.htm)>Accessed on: Feb 3, 2010.

\_\_\_\_\_. Decreto nº 6.824, de 16 de abril de 2009. Altera o caput do art. 18 do Decreto nº 5.209, de 17 de setembro de 2004, atualizando os valores referenciais para caracterização das situações de pobreza e extrema pobreza no âmbito do Programa Bolsa Família, previstos no art. 2º, §§ 2º e 3º, da Lei nº 10.836, de 9 de janeiro de 2004. **Diário Oficial da União** - Seção 1 - 17 abr. 2009, p. 2. Available at: <[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/\\_Ato2007-2010/2009/Decreto/D6824.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2007-2010/2009/Decreto/D6824.htm)>Accessed on: Feb 3, 2010.

\_\_\_\_\_. Decreto nº 6.917, de 30 de junho de 2009. Altera os arts. 18, 19 e 28 do Decreto nº 5.209, de 17 de setembro de 2004, que regulamenta a Lei nº 10.836, de 9 de janeiro de 2004, que cria o Programa Bolsa Família. **Diário Oficial da União**– Seção 1 – 31 jul. 2009, p. 2.

Available at: <[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/\\_Ato2007-2010/2009/Decreto/D6917.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2007-2010/2009/Decreto/D6917.htm)>Accessed on: Feb 3, 2010.

\_\_\_\_\_. Decreto nº 7.447, de 1º de março de 2011. Dá nova redação ao art. 19 do Decreto nº 5.209, de 17 de setembro de 2004, que regulamenta a Lei nº 10.836, de 9 de janeiro de 2004, que cria o Programa Bolsa Família. **Diário Oficial da União** - Seção 1 – 02 mar. 2011, p. 1. Available at: <[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/\\_Ato2011-2014/2011/Decreto/D7447.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2011-2014/2011/Decreto/D7447.htm)>Accessed on: Feb 3, 2010.

\_\_\_\_\_. Decreto nº 7.494, de 02 de junho de 2011. Altera o Decreto nº 5.209, de 17 de setembro de 2004, que regulamenta a Lei nº 10.836, de 9 de janeiro de 2004, que cria o Programa Bolsa Família. **Diário Oficial da União**– Seção 1 – 03 jun. 2011, p. 15. Available at: <[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/\\_Ato2011-2014/2011/Decreto/D7494.htm#art1](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2011-2014/2011/Decreto/D7494.htm#art1)>Accessed on: Feb 3, 2010.

COUTO, Ebenézer Pereira. Economia política dos preços de alimentos, instabilidade econômica e regulação no capitalismo contemporâneo. In: ALMEIDA FILHO, Niemeyer; RAMOS, Pedro. **Segurança Alimentar: Produção Agrícola e Desenvolvimento Territorial**. Campinas: Editora Alínea, 2010. p. 279-304.

Departamento Intersindical de Estatística e Estudos Socioeconômicos (DIEESE). **Cesta Básica Nacional: metodologia**. 1993. Available at: <<http://turandot.dieese.org.br/bdcesta/metodo.pdf>>. Accessed on: Feb 12, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. **Política de Valorização do Salário Mínimo**: considerações sobre o valor a vigorar a partir de 1º de janeiro de 2012. Nota Técnica, nº 106, dez. 2011 (Revista e



atualizada) em jan. 2012. Available at:  
<http://www.dieese.org.br/notatecnica/notatec106PoliticaSalarioMinimo.pdf>.  
 Accessed on: May 14, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. **Banco de dados da Cesta Básica Nacional.** 2012a. Available at:  
<http://turandot.dieese.org.br/bdcesta/produto.html>. Accessed on: Aug 15, 2012.

ORGANIZAÇÃO DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS PARA AGRICULTURA E ALIMENTAÇÃO (FAO). Agricultural and Development Economics Division. **Policy Brief: Food Security.** Issue 2, Roma, jun. 2006. Available at:  
[ftp://ftp.fao.org/es/esa/policybriefs/pb\\_02.pdf](ftp://ftp.fao.org/es/esa/policybriefs/pb_02.pdf). Accessed on: May 5, 2011.

\_\_\_\_\_. Declaration of the world summit on food security. **World Summit on Food Security.** Rome, 16-18 Nov. 2009. Available at:  
[http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/wsfs/Summit/Docs/Final\\_Declaration/WSFS\\_09\\_Declaration.pdf](http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/wsfs/Summit/Docs/Final_Declaration/WSFS_09_Declaration.pdf). Accessed on: May 13, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. **Global Statistics Service - Food Security Indicators: Brazil.** Last Update: 09/11/2011. 2011. Available at:  
[http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/ess/documents/food\\_security\\_statistics/monitoring\\_progress\\_by\\_country\\_2003-2005/Brazil\\_e.pdf](http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/ess/documents/food_security_statistics/monitoring_progress_by_country_2003-2005/Brazil_e.pdf). Accessed on: Jan 24, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. **The State of Food Insecurity in the World:** How does international price volatility affect domestic economies and food security?. Roma, 2011a. Available at:  
<http://www.fao.org/docrep/014/i2330e/i2330e.pdf>. Accessed on: May 16, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. **The Millennium Development Goals Report: 2011.** New York, 2011b. 70 p. ISBN 978-92-1-101244-6. Available at:  
[http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/11\\_MDG%20Report\\_EN.pdf](http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/11_MDG%20Report_EN.pdf). Accessed on: Feb 12, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. **Interactivehunger map.** 2012. Available at:  
[http://www.fao.org/hunger/en/#jfmulticontent\\_c130584-2](http://www.fao.org/hunger/en/#jfmulticontent_c130584-2). Accessed on: Jun 5, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. **Día Mundial de la Alimentación:** 16 out. 2012. 2012a. Available at:  
<http://www.fao.org/getinvolved/worldfoodday/es/>. Accessed on: Feb 25, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. **FAO policy seminars to address high food prices.** 2012b. Available at:  
<http://www.fao.org/isfp/isfp-highlights/detail-highlights/en/item/51583/icode/>.  
 Accessed on: Mar 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. **High food prices: the food security crisis of 2007-2008 and recent food price increases – Facts and lessons.** 2012c. Available at:  
[http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/ISFP/High\\_food\\_prices.pdf](http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ISFP/High_food_prices.pdf). Accessed on: Jun 5, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. **Social Safety Nets and the Food Security Crisis.** 2012d. Available at:  
[http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/ISFP/Social\\_safety\\_nets.pdf](http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ISFP/Social_safety_nets.pdf).  
 Accessed on: Jul 10, 2012.

FECOMERCIO. **Crise global de inflação dos alimentos:** crise mostra o Brasil como potência mundial em alimentos. 2012. Available at:  
[http://www.fecomerciomg.org.br/pdfs/comex\\_estudos\\_crise\\_alimentos.pdf](http://www.fecomerciomg.org.br/pdfs/comex_estudos_crise_alimentos.pdf).  
 Accessed on: Jul 2, 2012.

- INSTITUTO BRASILEIRO DE GEOGRAFIA E ESTATÍSTICA (IBGE). **Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios: Segurança Alimentar 2004/2009**. Rio de Janeiro, 2010. 183 p. Available at: <[http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/seguranca\\_alimentar\\_2004\\_2009/pnadalimentar.pdf](http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/seguranca_alimentar_2004_2009/pnadalimentar.pdf)>. Accessed on: Aug 3, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Comunicação Social – 26 de novembro de 2010. **PNAD – Segurança Alimentar 2004/2009: Insegurança alimentar diminui, mas ainda atinge 30,2% dos domicílios brasileiros**. Rio de Janeiro, 2010a. Available at: <[http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/presidencia/noticias/noticia\\_impresao.php?id\\_noticia=1763](http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/presidencia/noticias/noticia_impresao.php?id_noticia=1763)>. Accessed on: Aug 3, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Pesquisa de Orçamentos Familiares 2008-2009**. Rio de Janeiro, 2010a. Available at: <[http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/condicaodevida/pof/2008\\_2009/default.shtm/](http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/condicaodevida/pof/2008_2009/default.shtm/)>. Accessed on: May 11, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Pesquisa de Orçamentos Familiares 2008-2009**. Microdados. Rio de Janeiro, 2010b. Available at: <[http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/condicaodevida/pof/2008\\_2009/microdados.shtm](http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/condicaodevida/pof/2008_2009/microdados.shtm)>. Accessed on: May 11, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios: Síntese de Indicadores 2009**. Rio de Janeiro, 2011. Available at: <http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/trabalhoerendimento/pnad2009/>. Accessed on: Aug 3, 2011.
- LAVINAS, Lena. **Acessibilidade Alimentar e Estabilização Econômica no Brasil nos Anos 90**. Texto para discussão nº 591, Rio de Janeiro, set. 1998. Available at: <<http://www.ipea.gov.br/pub/td/td0591.pdf>>. Accessed on: May 13, 2011.
- MINISTÉRIO DO DESENVOLVIMENTO SOCIAL E COMBATE À FOME (MDS). **Bolsa Família**. Available at: <<http://www.mds.gov.br/bolsafamilia>>. Accessed on: Sept 19, 2011.
- Plano Brasil Sem Miséria: 1 ano de resultados**. Maio 2012. Available at: <<http://www.mds.gov.br/layout-1/secretarias-destaques/brasilsemmiseria/Caderno%20de%20Graficos%20BSM%201ano.pdf>>. Accessed on: Jun 29, 2012.
- NEWS.MED.BR. **Prato dos brasileiros: no arroz com feijão e carne sobram carboidratos, proteínas e gorduras, mas faltam vitaminas e minerais**. 2007. Available at: <<http://www.news.med.br/p/saude/11862/prato-dos-brasileiros-no-arroz-com-feijao-e-carne-sobram-carboidratos-proteinas-e-gorduras-mas-faltam-vitaminas-e-minerais.htm>>. Accessed on: May 24, 2012.
- ORTEGA, Antônio César. **Segurança Alimentar, Desenvolvimento e Enfoque Territorial Rural: uma proposta**. In: ALMEIDA FILHO, Niemeyer; RAMOS, Pedro. **Segurança Alimentar: Produção Agrícola e Desenvolvimento Territorial**. Campinas: Editora Alínea, 2010. p. 193-224.
- POF - PESQUISA DE ORÇAMENTO FAMILIAR (2008-2009). **Análise do Consumo Alimentar Pessoal no Brasil**. Ministério do Orçamento, Planejamento e Gestão. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. Diretoria de Pesquisas. Coordenação de Trabalho e Rendimento. Rio de Janeiro, 2011.

---

.**STANGLER, Jair.**Brasil Sem Miséria: passados dez anos, Fome Zero quintuplica investimento e serve de modelo para outros países.**ESTADAO.COM.BR**, 16out.2011. **Available at:** <http://blogs.estadao.com.br/radar-politico/tag/fome-zero/>. **Accessed on:** Dec 12, 2011.

---

.**VIVERO, José Luis, ALMEIDA FILHO, Niemeyer.** A Consolidação do Combate à Fome e do Direito à Alimentação nas Agendas das Políticas da América Latina. In: **ALMEIDA FILHO, Niemeyer; RAMOS, Pedro. Segurança Alimentar:** Produção Agrícola e Desenvolvimento Territorial. Campinas: Editora Alínea, 2010. p. 29-54.