

Notes on public policies to combat hunger in Latin America and the Caribbean based on an integrative review

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ABSTRACT

The objective of the work focuses on explaining notes on the public policies to combat hunger identified in the period from 2010 to 2020 implemented in Latin American and Caribbean countries. In view of the integrative review used as a research methodology to write the doctoral thesis, which required the inclusion of studies with experimental and quasi-experimental designs, the work was not able to cover all countries in both regions.

Keywords: Public policies, Fight against hunger, Public health.

INTRODUCTION

The objective of the work focuses on explaining notes on the public policies to combat hunger identified in the period from 2010 to 2020 implemented in Latin American and Caribbean countries. In view of the integrative review used as a research methodology to write the doctoral thesis, which required the inclusion of studies with experimental and quasi-experimental designs, the work was not able to cover all countries in both regions.

The approach to hunger policies can help to understand intervention priorities, shape new policy structures and institutional arrangements. Therefore, the work contextualizes issues related to food costs, social and economic inequality, access to public goods and services, social welfare, culture, sustainability/environment and public health, such themes have become essential for understanding the construction of actions to combat hunger in Latin American and Caribbean countries.

Latin America, led by Brazil, was a pioneer in actions to combat hunger, for this reason, it has become the region that has made the most progress in this agenda since the beginning of the twenty-first century. After a decade and a half of the 1990s, the percentage of the population threatened by hunger fell to 5%, which means that 34 million people stopped going hungry, considering that, in the same period, there was a population growth of 130 million people in the region. However, it should be noted that the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) did not produce positive results predicted for the period. In 2016, hunger increased for the first time after a decade of decline, reaching 820 million people in 2018. Behind this change in trend was the combination of conflicts, economic crises, changes in government representatives, and climate disasters (Graziano da Silva, 2019).

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Since the problem of hunger advanced in the year 2020, this means that one third of the deadline for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals has expired. In fact, the growing commitment to the vision of Zero Hunger throughout the region has become appropriate. The United Nations (UN) and its development partners spared no effort to promote mechanisms, create monitoring tools, promote political dialogue and the exchange of experiences between Member States and their partners, thus creating the 2030 Agenda² (Graziano da Silva, 2019).

This article consists of five sections, with the introduction containing the objective and presentation of the theme on hunger, followed by the methodology that configures and describes the integrative review method developed with 89 scientific articles. The literature review contextualizes the historical events that influenced the actions and institutions representative of hunger, followed by the main notes found as results of the research, and finally the final considerations reiterate the findings on the interventions implemented to combat hunger in Latin America and the Caribbean.

OBJECTIVE

The objective of this paper is to explain notes on the public policies to combat hunger identified in the period from 2010 to 2020 implemented in Latin American and Caribbean countries.

METHODOLOGY

To meet the objective proposed for the work, a longitudinal study was constituted, which carried out a careful bibliographic survey in the scientific literature, based on the compilation of national and international scientific articles published in the *online database* on the actions of policies to combat hunger between the period of 2010 and 2020.

The proposal of this qualitative work has as specificity the use of a systematic review (*systematic review*), which can be considered one of the tools of the evidence-based methodology (known in the English literature as *Evidence-based Methodology*), whose origin of the notes comes from an integrative review, this method is used to raise knowledge about a certain topic from recognized sources such as Scientific.

Through a bibliographic survey, an integrative review was carried out in 2022 and 2023, which included articles published in scientific journals, in order to answer the following guiding question: "What results did the interventions demonstrate on the fight against hunger?", based on what scientific publications reported about the performance of public policies implemented in Latin America and the

² Developed from the legacy of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the 2030 Agenda represents a commitment made by world leaders to address issues in favor of sustainable development. Many of these problems, including hunger, are considered limiting factors to development in low-income countries (Djonú *et al.*, 2018).



Caribbean. The academic works were found in national databases: 1) Capes Journal Portal; 2) Scielo; 3) Virtual Library on Violence and Health (VHL/VS) of the Regional Library of Medicine (BIREME); International Bases: 1) Redalyc - *Scientific Information System Redalyc*; 2) ResearchGate; 3) *Scientific Electronic Library Online* and Search Portals: *Google Scholar*. For this research, the following descriptors were used: Outcome analyzed AND Public Policy; or Outcome analyzed AND Public Policy AND Food Sovereignty; Additional quests: Hunger; Countries that the portal does not cover have been adjusted individually for each database.

The analysis and presentation of data from 89 studies were built based on the similarities between the scientific articles, the data grouped to obtain the final conclusions. The analysis of the selected empirical material was done in a descriptive way and carried out with reference to the categorization of the studies according to the type of study and objectives, place of conduction of the research, year of publication, the journals in which they were published, methodologies used and main results found.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE CONCEPT AND INTRODUCTION OF POLICIES TO COMBAT HUNGER

Theoretical versions of hunger emerged in the literature at the end of the 1970s, when the authors identified one of the main conditions for the appearance of child malnutrition, allocating it to the condition of income and the way the family was involved in the production process. In this same period, food security was still disregarded as a factor in the production issue, until global food reserves became insufficient, due to drought-induced crop failures. From the identification of the essential factors to confirm the existence of food security, it enabled the emergence of a new and more heterogeneous hunger. Thus, the author Amartya Sen warned that hunger and malnutrition were related to people's access and not only to food scarcity (WFP, 2009; Burity *et al.*, 2010).

In response to the worsening of the hunger outbreak, the United Nations (FAO) promoted the first World Conference on Food Security in 1974, which began to support the chemical industry in the context of food shortages, defending the Green Revolution that began at the end of World War II. As a result of the meeting, several measures were developed to combat hunger, such as the expansion of the use of modern raw materials, agronomic research, extension and training actions for farmers, programs aimed at improving nutrition, research on the possible use of land and water, storage, expansion of the role of women producers, reduction of the cost of war, providing aid to African countries, improving conditions for international food trade and establishing a global food and agriculture information and warning system. Thus, the understanding of food security cannot be maintained only through the prism of production, which is no longer considered the only area in which the problem of food availability was



included, since it was believed that the problem of food scarcity had been solved, but the scourge of hunger remained (Ortega, 2008; Maluf, 2009; Burity *et al.*, 2010).

The amount of food available to the population has not become a sustainable condition to justify the permanence of hunger. Author Sen noted that the availability of food did not significantly mitigate the problem, if at all decreased during the famines that hit Bengal in 1943, Ethiopia in 1973, and Bangladesh in 1974. In these countries, the author noted that the various implications were linked to collapsing wages, rising food prices, unemployment, and falling meat prices that intensified the situation of hunger, all of which were connected to the area of access to food or markets also in Latin American and Caribbean countries (WFP, 2009).

In the early 1980s, according to Chonchol (2005), some new issues emerged with greater attention on the part of the State, regarding the link between agricultural food production, rural development and agriculture. A time when hunger was not the only consequence of the result of insufficient food production, but stopped at the economic marginalization of certain population groups, at the same time, the world produced much more food than was necessary to feed an entire population.

Later, between the 1980s and 1990s, the state used the economic justification for the permanence of hunger, which was directly linked to market failure and poverty by reducing the ability to obtain food. Thus, in 1989, at the twelfth FAO World Conference, the organization expanded the scope of food security by including terms in the concept linked to sufficient production, stability of capacity and access for all who needed food. Since the mid-1990s, attempts have been made to demonstrate that the explanation for hunger in the third millennium was always for political reasons (lack of will or lack of relevant political action), but it had to do with the fulfillment of the human rights of the people and the protective role of the State (Sen, 1981; Burity *et al.*, 2010).

To achieve the proposed objectives, an effective commitment was sought not only from governments, but also from all social actors (public, private, financial institutions and international organizations), which resulted in the formation of the international alliance against hunger to ignite will and practical measures through political coalitions. The international alliance survived from the progress of national alliances, which served the same purpose, but at the individual level of each nation, thereby drawing attention to the need for joint and coordinated efforts to increase results at all levels of government. From this debate, the drastic reduction in the number of hungry people has been on the political agenda of all governments (Vivero; Porrás, 2008).

By analyzing the lines that run through hunger, Freitas (2003) saw the importance of understanding this problem from a new perspective, which can rethink the entire phenomenon, reflect on the complex interaction of the anthropological field with social, economic, clinical and epidemiological aspects. The eradication of hunger that was created over centuries encompassed a problem in a multidisciplinary way,



whose process felt the need to combine the implementation of public policies as a human right, with actions to transform the culture of hunger and improve unequal societies.

The permanence of subjects who are unable to comply with the three meals a day cannot be considered only a technical challenge of what, where, when and how to do it, but it has become a dilemma for society. Hunger should not be analyzed only as a social, humanitarian or technological problem, whether from an agronomic or medical point of view, or from any other scientific area, it has not become only a political problem or the fault of the economic system, or even of the system of production, distribution and acquisition of food. Such invisibility of the problem can be considered a dangerous issue, because of this recognition that hunger has also become a political and social priority (CEHAP, 2006; Castro, 2013).

From the historical point of view recognized by Pinheiro (2009), it can be seen that different political strategies related to the fight against hunger have traditionally been directed to low-income groups. The programs, projects and actions implemented were not integrated into an effective political agenda, as the decisive aspects of hunger and social exclusion were not addressed. According to Vivero; Porras, (2008) the problem of hunger in Latin America and the Caribbean was linked to the insufficient food of the population, however hunger affected not only those who lived in extreme poverty, but broader classes and groups that lived in certain areas not considered poor.

Hunger has represented a complex phenomenon in the food and nutrition agenda in Latin America and the Caribbean, which can be considered a violation of the Human Right to Adequate Food (DHAA) due to the instability in the food supply, given the contradictions of the food system resulting from production methods. Thus, hunger came to be understood as a consequence of national development and underdevelopment, the latter being a product of the former. This revealed an underdevelopment translated as an equally complex and socially determined process, which this author envisions as a kind of human pollution in some sectors undermined by the great industrialized countries of the world (Castro, 2003).

According to Vivero; Almeida Filho (2010), the fight against hunger on the political agenda of Latin America and the Caribbean was the result of different forces, coordinated or not, that worked in the same direction relying on social organization. For this to happen, scientists, international agencies and political organizations have contributed to keeping hunger at the center of social policy and have even reinforced an alternative approach to food sovereignty and social cohesion. The common feature of these policies is interventions that aim to combat hunger and malnutrition through mechanisms that allow vulnerable groups access to cheaper food, but also by stimulating the supply of affordable and high-quality food products (Griza *et al.*, 2021).

Public policy began to be implemented in these countries through the practices of agricultural condition; energy systems; price control and food distribution with social policies through the introduction



of new food products that evolved in traditional educational approaches. Food import campaigns became linked to educational practices, as it was believed that hunger and malnutrition were due to the lack of access to education (Almeida Filho, Tavares, and Azevedo, 2019). This political framework has emerged in different degrees and configurations in the vast majority of Latin American and Caribbean countries since the 1990s with the institutionalization of neoliberal measures and tools, in trade agreements or treaties, other normative instruments, measures and general guidelines (Grisa *et al.*, 2021).

This movement has moved away from the focus on ending hunger and guaranteeing the Human Right to Adequate Food, by including the focus on issues of access to food in quantity and quality, elements of citizenship and environmental protection related to food. In the mid-2000s, the concept of FNS gained a new dimension and was integrated into the public policies of several countries, hunger and food insecurity, although related concepts, were not configured as the same event in Latin American and Caribbean countries (Chonchol, 1987; Almeida Filho; Ramos, 2010; FAO, 2011).

On the international scene, Latin America has shown itself to be the region that has made the most progress in legal systems and in the construction of the DHAA. In 12 of the 17 Latin American countries that participated in the Parliamentary Front Against Hunger in Latin America and the Caribbean (FPH-ALC), held in 2015 in Lima, Peru, they already had food security and sovereignty laws. According to data from the *National Food and Nutritional Security Policy* (PSAN), belonging to the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), of the ten South American countries analyzed, five already had specific laws for food security, with Argentina in 2003 being the first country to adopt a policy in this regard; in 2006 Brazil; Venezuela, in 2008; Ecuador, in 2009; and Bolivia, in 2013. The countries that assumed the right to food in a constitutional, direct and applicable way to the entire population were Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama and Suriname. The countries that accepted the right to food for a specific group were Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Dominican Republic and Uruguay. Countries that have served both the general population and specific groups with public policies believe that some vulnerable groups need their own protection policies, in addition to those offered to the general population.

Although this political dynamic has been promoted in several countries in the Latin American and Caribbean region, hunger and malnutrition have resurfaced at high prevalence rates, due to the economic and political crisis that has promoted sharp increases in the prices of basic foods in importing or exporting countries. The richest countries on the continent found themselves in a very difficult position, which the FAO considered to be food and nutrition insecurity, where there was a resurgence of malnutrition. In the case of Brazil, hunger affected more than 5.2 million people in 2017 and at the end of 2020, with the impact of the epidemic intensified by 19 million people (9% of the population in severe food insecurity)



and another 43.4 million (20.5%) had nothing to eat (moderate or severe food insecurity) (Sabourin; Grisa, 2018; Grisa; Niederle, 2019; FAO, 2021; PENSSAN NETWORK, 2021).

A set of policies for the eradication of hunger was part of the so-called bilateral or parallel approach of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. When it enabled the hungry to maintain their ability to access food in a sufficient way to eat, along with the need to serve all those individuals, who are unable to meet basic needs with adequate, nutritious food and live with hunger. The contradiction is that the hungry temporarily solve their problems, when only food or subsidies are provided through monetary transfers, the dynamics of which make them dependent on the State and/or donors, so hunger cannot be solved in the long term. As a result, there was a lack of adequate conditions for the population in a state of vulnerability to develop their skills and have access to the food they need through their own efforts and resources (Millán Smitmans, 2014).

Another explanation for the lack of definitive actions to eradicate hunger may be related to the lack of knowledge of authorities and politicians about its economic and social costs. At the World Summit on Food Security held in Rome on November 16, 2009, Pope Benedict XVI emphasized structural hunger as an integral part of the social and political reality of each country. This argument may have made sense years ago, but there have been numerous ongoing studies on the impact of malnutrition and hunger on pregnant women, children, workers, society, economic growth, social peace, among other elements (Millán Smitmans, 2014).

In these cases, FAO emphasizes the importance of investment in agriculture and rural development of the continents, as studies show that the world's poor live in rural areas. For this institution, the path should prioritize the need to stimulate rural development, improve productivity, market access for family farmers and small landowners. Actions against hunger can be classified under the two-pronged approach adopted by United Nations agencies involved in promoting food and agriculture together. This approach suggests that public policy to eradicate hunger should be based on a food aid and development pathway (Millán Smitmans, 2014).

To ensure that these lines of action are taken from a food rights perspective, in recent years emergency programs and social policies known as food aid interventions and/or social safety nets have been considered. In addition, other interventions can be considered at the structural level, as a subset of productive development programs, or at the macroeconomic level, as policies that facilitate rural development and connection between rural and urban areas (ECLAC, 2004).

In the last two decades, Latin America and the Caribbean has become a global connection in the field of the formulation and implementation of public policies for food and nutrition security (FNS), that is, with the fact that the Region has been recognized for meeting the goal established in the MDGs in 2000, to reduce the hunger rate by 50% by the year 2015 (FAO, 2015). This area was a pioneer in the



development of the Community Plan of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) for Food and Nutrition Security and the eradication of hunger by 2025, with the support of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI) (Vasconcelos, 2021).

NOTES ON POLICIES TO COMBAT HUNGER IN A LITERATURE REVIEW

Countries such as Brazil, Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay and Ecuador have approved public policies to protect sovereignty, food security and interfere in the fight against hunger. To understand this situation, the right to food is usually promoted by international organizations, so it was necessary to analyze the contradictions and inequalities that emerged in each country in relation to State policy (Diaz; Benavidez, 2021).

Each country seeking to implement programs to combat child malnutrition and alleviate poverty, in some cases, even provided large food subsidies, but poverty reduction was dissolved in social policy. In many cases, responsibility has been shared among various ministries and agencies, so many of the public programs related to hunger and food security come and go periodically depending on policy changes and needs (Millán Smitmans, 2014).

In most countries there are interventions aimed at eradicating hunger. As a result of research, the case of Guatemala was found, in which the author shows the persistence of hunger in 40% of the households surveyed after the implementation of the Rural *Communities of the Millennium* Program. Findings on the effects of existing conditional transfer programmes in other countries in the region have shown a positive effect on the level of total household food consumption. These estimates suggest that families have spent more resources to eat better and more nutritious food (Macours; Vakis, 2008; Angelucci; Attanasio, 2009; Millán Smitmans, 2014; Arnés *et al.*, 2019).

Another piece of data from this study that deserves to be highlighted was the reduction in the incidence of severe food insecurity (an indicator of hunger in adults and children) over mild or moderate food insecurity, possibly as a result of direct income distribution, such as the Bolsa Família Program in Brazil and the program developed in Argentina, both countries have a long history of developing interventions in the food field to meet the diverse nutritional needs of the population. During the 2001 crisis, Latin America and the Caribbean was a region characterized by an overabundance of food, however, since 2015 the issue of food has gained even more importance on the public policy agenda, when social needs have become growing in the face of enormous difficulties in meeting the population's food needs (Suzart *et al.*, 2017).

In the case presented by Salvia; Tuñón; Poy (2015) along with Walsh's work; Sings; Tuñón (2020) the improvement in food security was evident as a side effect of AUH, so it was found that this program



reduced food insecurity, because it became an important mechanism in remittances that increased income and raised the standard of family consumption. Attanasio; Battistin; Mesnard (2012) found that the *Familias em Acción* increased both family income and the share of food expenses as a result of the transfer of this resource. Angelucci; Attanasio; Di Maro (2012) found that the Oportunidades Program implemented in Mexico also increased the food intake of the beneficiary public.

The programs aimed at school feeding varied in actions because they included hunger control as a short-term objective (Allen; Gillespie, 2001). With the implementation of Chile's Colación BKN Program, the provision of fruits and vegetables three times a week increased food consumption and became a contribution to the fight against hunger in the country (González *et al.*, 2014). The Food Acquisition Program was effective in the municipalities with the highest probability of implementing it in populations with conditions of vulnerability (Figueiredo Salgado *et al.*, 2017). The World Bank's 2006 Poverty Assessment Report showed that Honduras' food supply and rural development programs were appropriately targeted at high levels of poverty and considered pro-poor (e.g., poor students received more benefits from the program than students who did not live in poverty) (Boland; Brautigam, 2010).

The specific programmes and activities considered in each roadmap have evolved over time and knowledge, which must be adapted to the realities of each country and the specific circumstances (Millán Smitmans, 2014). Government-subsidized restaurants in Southern Brazil have become important components of the National Food and Nutrition Security Policy and play a key role in ensuring food and nutrition security, as well as the right to food for vulnerable populations (Oliveira *et al.*, 2020). The potential for populations vulnerable to hunger in states with public kitchens (CCs) has not been disputed, but states with the lowest Human Development Indices have implemented kitchens in their communities at the time of the study (Bandoni *et al.*, 2010). The initiative linked to sustainable development became an important tool to ensure that segments of the population had access to adequate and affordable food in Brazil (Branquinho *et al.*, 2015).

Adequate nutrition becomes essential to meet the population's right to food, which continues to be an issue that needs to be addressed through local public policies from the perspective of human rights (Herrán; Patiño, 2015). The arrival of displaced persons (migration) has adversely affected the food situation of the destination community, consequently increasing the vulnerability of the target community. The migrant-hosting country appeared to have a higher dependence on food aid and a higher rate of food expenditure (Bohada, 2010). The results of studies on *Red Solidaria* suggest that migration is associated with improved infant nutritional status during periods of high food prices (Brauw, 2011).

The quality of life of beneficiaries of the Food Subsidy Program for the Poor in the Indigenous Colony of La Promesa, in the department of Presidente Hayes, has managed to improve access to daily meals for the elderly in Paraguay (Galeano Bate, 2019). For example, Arciniegas and Peña (2017) draw



attention to the nutritional situation in Colombia characterized by a significant increase in malnutrition, due to the excess supply of food and a significant decrease in malnutrition due to nutritional deficiencies, which is reflected in the anthropometric measurements of the MANA participants included in the study by Hackett *et al.* (2010), which showed differences in the consumption of food supplements depending on the level of food security of the families.

In the interventions found in Ecuador had a significant impact on food consumption, evidence pointed out that *voucher* programs had a positive effect on dietary diversity (Ponce; Ramos-Martin, 2017). Agricultural policies in Nicaragua have played a key role in the economy and food supply. Although attention to food self-sufficiency began in the 1980s, it was not until the mid-2000s that food sovereignty became a political agenda, leading to changes in institutions in Latin America and the Caribbean (Freguin-Gresh; Cortes, 2021).

The government's interest in the food needs of the Mexican people dates back to the early twentieth century, in the context of the first governments to rebuild the country after the revolution. Mexican food plans and programs were developed at specific times (natural, social, economic, and political crises) and affected food and nutritional security to meet specific needs (well-being, school meals), which tend to promote the production of staple foods such as milk and meat. At first, this is due to rapid urbanization and the gradual growth of the population in the main cities of the country (Barquera; Rivera; Gasca, 2001).

This became one of the main facts that guided Mexico's food policy, the more the population was concentrated in the cities, the more needs and strategies to meet food needs were required of the State. The greater the number of disadvantaged populations, the increase in malnutrition in rural and urban areas, which has had a greater and broader impact on the need for social policies and programs. As a result, Mexico has faced delays in providing enough healthy food to marginalized rural populations (Faria and Sanches, 2022).

In the case of Peru, food security policy has focused on the agricultural sector, while social food programs have been implemented by social sectors such as the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion and the Ministry of Health. This type of system prevented food safety problems from being fully resolved. Policymakers deliberately and directly focused on actions that did not address food insecurity as a whole (Trivelli; Urrutia, 2021). The results of studies show that the NIP that was part of the Peruvian government's nutrition strategy effectively reduced malnutrition (Beltrán; Seinfeld, 2011). In addition, it provided data to facilitate the implementation of policies that affected learning outcomes by reducing poverty and malnutrition in children (Andersen *et al.*, 2015).

The FAO Strategic Food Security Project implemented in Mexico has been active since 2003, and has contributed to productive activities and projects aimed at improving domestic food security in high-



marginalized regions of the country (Bolom Martinez *et al.*, 2015). Contrary to this statement, there are studies that have shown food insecurity affecting a significant proportion of the population of Montevideo, Uruguay (Rossi *et al.*, 2017). This showed the low effectiveness in promoting food security and inefficient use of public resources (Cruz-Sanchez *et al.*, 2016).

Thus, Neron and Mateluna (2021) corroborate the indications of public policies on food, nutrition, and health developed over several years. Which began in the early twentieth century, focusing on the socioeconomic and health problems caused by malnutrition and high infant mortality rates, through the distribution of food and control of the nutritional health of different groups according to their existing sensitivities, in addition to serving groups with special nutritional needs.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In order to explain notes on the public policies to combat hunger identified in the period from 2010 to 2020 implemented in Latin American and Caribbean countries, scientific works show that in Latin American and Caribbean countries there are several actions aimed at combating hunger in each country, which differs between plans, law, policy that took place in a period from 2010 to 2020.

Thus, actions against hunger have become an upward trend, not only because of their large scale, but also because they encompass multisectoral cooperation involving agriculture, food, sanitation, water, education and other fields. In addition to receiving the contribution of different policies from other relevant departments in the area, such as social protection, planning, development, agriculture and economic policy.

There is no extensive academic production on the analysis of public policies to combat hunger, and it is still not very significant and systematic in relation to programs and policies in a universal way. However, the theme of hunger has been disseminated by several scientific journals registered in scientific databases, as well as a set of books and publications by organizations and governments. With the strengthening of the theme through social programs and implemented policies, there is a need to disseminate information through scientific communications by university agents, governmental and non-governmental organizations.

A striking feature in the history of Latin American and Caribbean economies is the inequality in income distribution, explained by the dynamics of the productive process between capital and labor. In some underdeveloped areas, hunger is common in both rural and urban spaces, which represents another inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean. Conditions that affect food shortages harm women, especially when compared to men. Women with lower incomes, individuals and families, and indigenous peoples face the highest level of exclusion from the right to food. For these populations and geographic



regions, general policies related to the right to food have become inadequate, sometimes even specific solutions appropriate to their circumstances are needed.



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