

Social Causes of Hunger

Purus Upadwala

An End to Hunger? The Social Origins of Food Strategies: A Report prepared for the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development and for the South Commission based on UNRISD research on food systems and society by Solon L. Barracrough; Zed Books, London, 1991; pp 284.

I

It is a sad reality that people regularly go hungry in our day and age. That they do so in overwhelming numbers in a world of agricultural abundance is shameful as well. The problem persists despite the close attention called to it by world politician and entertainer alike, and more importantly, despite the concerted efforts over three decades and more of countless highly knowledgeable, well trained, reasonably well financed, and exceedingly dedicated professionals of great goodwill from all over the world. Indeed, the Institute on Hunger and Development (Bread for the World) estimates in its *State of World Hunger* report for 1992 that "there are more hungry people in the world than ever before". Even if, as some argue, this represents a somewhat smaller proportion of humanity than earlier, that is scant comfort for the millions who still suffer and are at risk, and should not be of any greater consolation to the rest of us.

Who amongst us has not wondered about the reasons for such a calamity? And yet, genuinely satisfactory explanations are hard to find. Human destruction of such immense proportions necessarily has many causes. They stem partly from societal arrangements, partly from the natural world. They relate to a whole host of scientific disciplines. They occur singly and jointly. They arise within the boundaries of the societies concerned, and are imposed or influenced from outside. They vary with geography and have changed over history. They are often closely tied to politics, and thus prone to ideological interpretation and obfuscation. Sorting them out is a complicated task, even in the best of circumstances. In the normal run of things, or in incompetent or unscrupulous hands, the results are almost always wanting.

An End to Hunger? is a long overdue exception. We have here the intellectual culmination of a lifetime of sterling work in the area of food and development. What Barracrough modestly terms his "biases" in the Preface are in reality the impressive credentials of an agriculturist, ac-

tivist, international civil servant, scholar, and above all, humanist. His words carry great authority.

Barracrough is a quintessential practitioner-scholar. A country youth from New Hampshire (he still owns farmland there), he served with the US Occupation Forces in Japan after World War II, an experience that he credits in the book with sparking his interest in development issues. After an economics doctorate from Harvard—financial courtesy the GI Bill—he began professional life working with sharecroppers in the Mississippi Delta. There he first became acquainted with extreme social and economic inequities, and the brutal power of landed interests, that later were to form one of the focal interests of his life and work. As a US agricultural officer in west Asia, and then as a senior official with the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in Latin America in the 1960s and early 70s, Barracrough became renowned as an authority on land tenure and agrarian reform. He wrote at length, lectured, and taught in many third and first world universities. (Cornell was lucky to snare him as a tenured professor of agricultural economics in the late 60s, but after a short time he returned to the field.) His scholarship led him to the directorship in 1977, of the UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). Even as an international civil servant and researcher, Barracrough never forgot his grass roots activism, for which pains he paid the all too common price. His family was forced to depart Chile in danger after the 1973 military coup, and later, at the start of the Reagan years, he was prematurely eased out of the UNRISD directorship by state department pressure because of his assistance to revolutionary Nicaragua.

II

Although he never states it quite so directly, Barracrough argues that the problem of world hunger has two roots. One is the failure of public policy; the other, the destructive effect of regressive social structures. These twin shortcomings are present in both the third world and in the

industrialised countries. Detrimental policy and stifling social structures are not confined to agriculture and rural areas only, but extend to all parts of the national economy, including the urban-industrial sector, and international trade.

This deadly mixture of failed policies and biased social structure ensures the food insecurity of billions of people. Investments are diverted to non-priority and luxury needs, in the countryside and in the cities (p 34). Agricultural production is shunted to cash and export crops, instead of food crops (pp 31-33, 239). Food crops, when grown, are given over to animal feed and other non-human consumption. Business and public benefits are cornered and co-opted by the privileged classes (pp 30, 70). The rural poor are physically and psychologically brutalised. If they choose to resist, even if by "peaceful democratic means, they are likely to be forcibly repressed with loss of liberty, livelihood and sometimes life... [by] devastating reprisals from landlords, employers and the police" (pp 177, 245).

The most important way to reduce hunger and food insecurity is to enlarge the numbers of people who are in control of their own economic destiny. This requires raising the levels of genuine participation in society, particularly amongst the least privileged. The main barriers to this are found in social structure rather than in faulty policy. Eliminating or reducing structural roadblocks almost always involves some measure of agrarian reform and changes in land tenure, although it may not be limited to that. Where land has been distributed more equitably, improvements have followed in food security and general physical well-being. If the changes were also accompanied by some sort of transition to collectivised or communal agricultural production, the results have been even better and longer lasting. On the other hand, land reform by itself is no panacea, or guarantor of improved food security. Societies are very complicated. So is history. It is imprudent to try to generalise too much about these issues. "Each situation is special" (p 236).

This is a complex argument, with many intricate weaves. Barracrough uses repeti-

An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies

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Table of Contents An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies

1. Understanding the eBook An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies
 - The Rise of Digital Reading An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies User Reviews and Ratings
 - An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies Free and Paid eBooks
 - An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies Public Domain eBooks
 - An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies eBook Subscription Services
 - An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strategies eBook Formats

- ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
- An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies Compatibility with Devices
- An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies
 - Interactive Elements An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies
- 8. Staying Engaged with An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies
 - Setting Reading Goals An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of An End To Hunger The Social Origins Of Food Strrategies
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
- 14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements
 - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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