

Meanings of ‘eating’ in the daily life of teenagers: accounts of overweight students at a federal high school in the city of Salvador, Bahia

Significados do comer no cotidiano de adolescentes: narrativas de estudantes com excesso de peso de uma instituição federal de ensino médio da cidade de Salvador, Bahia

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Abstract

This paper aims to clarify the meanings of eating in the daily routine of overweight teenagers from a federal high school located in Salvador, Bahia. It is an ethnographic study, developed in a public school among teenagers aged 10 to 19 years old, who self-reported as overweight/obese. The method of referrals was used to identify the participants, whereby one participant shares contact information about other possible interlocutors. First, observations were made of places inside the school and in the surroundings where students had meals. Individual interviews were performed, and the participants were stimulated to elaborate on the answer to the question “How do you feel about your body on a daily basis?” The interviews were fully transcribed and categorized. The findings unveiled that overweight, which was present since childhood, seemed to orientate different feeding behaviors. The teenagers shared information about a theoretical notion of eating, based on the intake of fruits and vegetables and on the principles of moderate food intake. However, in their everyday lives, they showed the behavior of “eating junk food”, which is full of symbolisms. In the home environment, there were signs of excess eating, followed by compensatory attempts of “trendy diets”, even when they were inefficient. The feelings and meanings attributed to eating and to food evidenced conflicts and dualities of this expressive sociocultural practice, which is capable of nourishing not only the body but also sensorial desires. It is a source of pleasure that is often controlled, mechanized and prescribed.

Key words: Feeding. Culture. Obesity. Teenager. Personal Narratives.

Resumo

O artigo busca compreender os significados do comer no cotidiano de adolescentes com excesso de peso em uma instituição federal de ensino médio da cidade de Salvador, Bahia. Trata-se de estudo de cunho etnográfico, realizado com adolescentes de 10 a 19 anos de idade que relatavam sentir-se com ou apresentar sobrepeso/obesidade. Para identificar os participantes, utilizou-se o método de indicação, no qual, por meio de um indivíduo, são obtidos contatos de outros possíveis interlocutores. Inicialmente, privilegiou-se a observação dos espaços de comensalidade dentro da intuição e no seu entorno. Foram realizadas entrevistas individuais, e os participantes foram estimulados a escrever um texto dissertativo, respondendo à provocação: “como você se sente com o seu corpo, no seu dia a dia?”. As entrevistas foram transcritas na íntegra e categorizadas. Os achados demonstraram que o excesso de peso, presente desde a infância, pareceu nortear diferentes trajetórias alimentares. Os adolescentes relataram um “comer” teórico pautado no consumo de frutas, verduras e no princípio da moderação. No entanto, no cotidiano desvelou-se o “comer besteira”, carregado de simbolismos. No ambiente doméstico, sinalizaram-se os indícios do comer em excesso, acompanhados de tentativas compensatórias a partir da utilização, ainda que de forma ineficaz, das “dietas da moda”. Os sentimentos e signos atribuídos ao comer e à comida evidenciaram conflitos e dualidades desta prática sociocultural tão expressiva, capaz de nutrir não apenas o corpo, mas também os desejos sensoriais, sendo fonte de prazer muitas vezes controlada, medicalizada e prescrita.

Palavras-chave: Alimentação. Cultura. Obesidade. Adolescente. Narrativas Pessoais.

Introduction

Adolescence, the period between 10 and 19 years of age¹, involves biological, emotional and social transformations that can affect changes in size, appearance and body satisfaction.^{2,3} For this age group, the Brazilian government Family Budget Survey (POF, in the Portuguese abbreviation) has identified that overweight has accounted for 21.5% of Brazilian youths, ranging between 16% and 18% in the North and Northeast areas of the country and between 20% and 27% in the Southeast, South and Central-West of Brazil.⁴

Eating habits in adolescence encompasses different dining sites, involving domestic environments, schools and “eating in the street,” consisting of snack bars, restaurants, informal vendors, among others.^{5,6} In turn, the connections between these “sites” form webs that correlate with the (re)formulation of eating habits^{7,8} that need to be studied in an attempt to understand and interpret the “youth style of being” as a way of relating to the world and to express themselves, which is also reflected in eating behavior.^{9,10}

Cultural representations that permeate eating habits are loaded with symbolism and express aspects associated with life history, eating behavior in childhood, beliefs and myths related to food, influence of the media, socioeconomic scenarios, capitalism, globalization, among other issues.^{11,12} Eating then goes beyond the selection of what would be healthier, nutrients, what and how much is eaten, adding sensory aspects, memories and affective relationships that are established around food.^{13,14}

Considering these aspects, Santos¹⁵ criticizes blame and medicalization on eating (when only nutrients are considered, without taking into account aspects of culture), increasingly present in today’s society. The author emphasizes the importance of deepening issues that go beyond the number of calories and nutrients and permeate feelings and relationship with food.

Particularities regarding adolescents also make them one of the main targets of the food industry, which uses different means to reach them. Television and the Internet stand out when paradoxically conveying attractive advertisements of industrialized and hypercaloric foods and thin bodies beauty standards which are distant from the obesogenic reality.^{5,8,9,10,13}

In view of this scenario, this article aims to understand the meanings attributed to eating in overweight adolescents’ daily lives, students in the modality of integrated secondary education at a public educational institution.

Methodology

The article is the product of a qualitative study set at a high school public institution in the Brazilian city of Salvador, Bahia. The inclusion criteria were: being an integrated high school student (a modality that encompasses high school curricula along with technical training in different areas); age between 10 and 19 years; feeling as having some degree of overweight (overweight/obese); agreeing to participate voluntarily in the study; for those over 18 years of age, to sign an Informed Consent Form (ICF), and, when minors, present this term signed by parents or legal guardians along with the student’s consent form. The study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee (REC) of the Nutrition School at Brazilian university *Universidade Federal da Bahia* (approval

document number 575,000) and was carried considering guidelines from Resolution no. 466/12 of the Brazilian government National Health Council (CNS, in the Portuguese abbreviation).¹⁶

Observations were made in the school's eating and leisure sites consisting of a cafeteria, canteen, an area outside the classrooms, and the institution surroundings, including snack bars, supermarkets, restaurants, bakeries, a cake bakery, besides street food vendors and even the modern "*food trucks*." A field diary was used during the execution of all the research, with records of information pertinent to the impressions regarding behaviors, events and commensality.

To select the adolescents, the "snowball¹⁷" method was used, according to which each student appointed other colleagues who might be interested in participating in the research. Thus, from the criterion of narratives similarity, a sample of seven interlocutors was decided upon. In order to preserve the interviewees' identities, fictitious names were used.

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, the interlocutors were encouraged to write a dissertation, answering the following question: "How do you feel about your body in daily life?" The technique used elicited narratives about the experience of being adolescents and overweight or obese and how this relationship is established in their eating and body strategies.

After repeated readings of the empirical material, words, key expressions and categorizations were identified. The hermeneutic approach¹⁸ was chosen to analyze the data as it dialogues better with the individuals' reality since the speech is examined according to its sociocultural context. Thus, narratives were interpreted with the purpose of understanding and interpreting how these adolescents give meaning to eating and food as well as eating strategies adopted in their economic and socio-cultural contexts.¹⁹

From extracts collected, three thematic axes were selected for discussion, using words and excerpts from the narratives to name them: 1) In theory: the "cliché" of fruits and vegetables! In practice: fast eating and skipping meals; 2) I don't resist temptations, only the juice is natural; 3) The mismatch between eating and food.

Results and Discussion

In theory: the "cliché" of fruits and vegetables! In practice: fast eating and skipping meals

As evidenced by Freitas et al.,²⁰ the adolescents presented similar narratives about the presence of salad, vegetables, and fruits in eating habits considered healthy: "I understand that cliché that everyone talks about, fruit, vegetables, foods that are not too greasy and such" (Joana, 17 years old).

In a complementary way and supported by the father's explanations, who for Gemima is "a true nutritionist," due to being interested in the subject of food and nutrition, the adolescent has differentiated food products from food, separating what is industrial from what is "natural":

"I think they are also natural food, food that, as my father himself says, are not food products, they are real foods, fruits, stuff like that. Everything that is not made by man, everything that is not generated... Everything that has grown and is found on the planet, without men's interference." (Gemima, 15 years old).

ANVISA [Brazilian government Agência Nacional de Vigilância Sanitária (National Health Surveillance Agency)] Law 986 promulgated in 1969 and still in force presents definitions for food and food products, important concepts for deepening discussions between what is natural and what is artificial, expressions brought by the interlocutor. According to such legislation:²¹

Food means any substance or mixture of substances in solid, liquid, pasty or any other suitable form intended to provide the human body normal constituents for its formation, maintenance and development.

Food product: any food derived from food raw material or fresh or not, from other substances permitted, obtained by appropriate technological processes.

Difficulty in detecting origin, way of preparation and even possible health risks arouses in consumers some relationship of impersonality and distancing between production and consumption, generating alertness and distrust regarding the food industry,²² as evidenced in Gemima's speech, which used man as a transforming symbol of natural into industrial.

Moderation while eating was also a category included: "[...] Nothing exaggerated, always in the right measure, not too much or too little, to the extent that it only satisfies, and that's it." (Thiago, 19 years old). But if on the one hand there were explanations about healthy eating based on prescriptive knowledge, on the other hand, when reporting the daily food intake, fast eating, skipping meals as well as replacing lunch for snacks stood out. Therefore, some distance between what adolescents express as theoretical knowledge and the possibilities of this being incorporated in their daily life was perceived – a situation revealed in different studies targeting this age group.^{9,10,13,20}

Narratives about speed in eating, reflected in the selection of food and the relation with food, were expressed even in the avid way of speaking, almost trampling words:

"[...] I'm not one to sit at a table [...]. It's a very fast breakfast, sometimes it's just some (American multinational food, snack and beverage corporation PepsiCo, Inc. milk beverage) Toddyinho®, some yogurt, some slice of pa-paya, very fast [...]. Sometimes I snack, sometimes I don't. And sometimes I have lunch, sometimes I don't [...]." (Beatriz, 15 years old).

“ [...] I make pasta, fast stuff. Miojo® (Japanese food and chemical corporations Nissin Food Products Co., Ltd. and Ajinomoto Co., Inc. instant noodles) I'm not eating much... But previously I'd always eat, which is faster than pasta. And when there is something ready, like... I like to be very quick in the kitchen.” (Joana, 17 years old).

“Snacks... usually there aren't. Because I spend a lot of time on the computer or going out and I end up not eating.” (Márcio, 17 years old).

In Brazil, the phenomenon of nutritional transition, intensified in the last decades, has repercussions on changes in the population's eating standard, drawing attention to the increase in processed foods consumption, high in fat, sodium and sugar, as well as in the reduction of intake of fruits, vegetables and whole grains.⁴

As for adolescents' eating habits, different studies associate them to being fast and monotonous, which shows the behavior of groups with which they relate.^{9, 23} Incongruities verified in current society are questioned by Esteban²⁴ due to the uncontrolled stimulus to consumption of industrialized and hypercaloric foods and the pressure for self-discipline and rigid aesthetic and alimentary standards.

As found by Freitas et al.,²⁰ financial aspects were highlighted by Joana as limiters because certain foods, such as fruits and vegetables, would be purchased in the family environment with monthly frequency:

“ [...] Then we'll buy them at the beginning of the month. Like in a week, at most, a week and a half it's over. In such period I'll eat fruit (laughs). It's over. We don't buy anymore. Only next month.” (Joana, 17 years old).

Socioeconomic contexts produce marks in the individual: those with lower purchasing power can present difficulties to make dietary changes due to financial limitations and less knowledge of alternative food practices that do not involve large financial expenses.²⁵ In the present study, some interlocutors have reported remaining for around seven hours without food (between breakfast had at home and lunch served in the institution's cafeteria). Besides these aspects, it is worth mentioning that these adolescents come from families headed by women of low income. For some, the affective and financial absence of the paternal figure would still be some load.

It is important to note that, at the beginning of the study, all participants would have lunch in the institution's cafeteria. The institutional meal served is part of a student assistance program that, within the different inclusion modalities, presents the Brazilian government supplemental nutrition assistance program.

The standard menu offered would consist of an entrée (raw and cooked salads), main course and some choice (two types of meat preparations), side dishes (rice or noodles and beans), dessert

(fruits and sweets) and fruit juice. In the period of observation, menus were varied, colorful and attractive. The nutritionist in charge reported being careful about the supply of foods with high levels of fats, sugars and fried foods.

According to the operation rules adopted, when they would be repeatedly absent without justification, the “assistance beneficiaries,” as they were classified, would be temporarily withdrawn from the program. Contrary to the logic of the program and the financial limitations, there was some seasonality in the use of the site and at times it seemed that there was no interest in seeking reinsertion into the program, which may represent some preference for other commensality sites such as, for example, the snack bar located inside the institution and other options around it, which presented visual appeal of flavors, in addition to affordable prices.

In an attempt to reveal feelings attributed to eating, paradoxes on “ideal” eating were observed, based on nutrition science premises, often constructed based on generalizations and dissociated from socioeconomic and cultural aspects rather than in a contextualized way and adapted to the individuals’ reality. And also the “real” eating, which for these interlocutors seemed to be adequate not only to theoretical knowledge about food and nutrition but also to cultural aspects, preferences, desires and sensory pleasures, financial limitations, time constraints, among other aspects.

Thus, knowledge about recommendations on eating permeated by fruits, vegetables and salads is relativized by an everyday eating that was more related to “eating junk food,” an expression that as such introduces the symbol that these adolescents attribute to their diet.

“I don’t resist temptations, only the juice is natural.”

The expression “eating junk food” was recurrent among adolescents and although it was not used by male adolescents it was observed that the consumption pattern was similar in both genders. Among adolescents in the study by Silva,²⁶ “eating junk food” would be used to classify foods without prior preparation or with fast preparation and low nutritional value. Complementarily, Freitas et al.²⁰ have evidenced the association of this expression with “snacks” and sandwiches consumed mainly outside the domestic environment.

Among the interlocutors in the present study, “eating junk food” was represented by sweets, cakes, puddings, various snacks, hamburgers and soft drinks. There have been attempts to control the consumption of these foods, limiting them to weekends, when some “treat” would be allowed. This suggests that food that does not fall into the category of “junk food” would not appeal to them and would even be seen as some punishment. There is some interpretation that the problem would be in the quantities ingested not in the consumption as such. That is, one can eat junk food, provided that it is in a controlled way, suggesting the incorporation of the scientific discourse of moderation when eating:

“[...] Then I stop eating junk food, sweet things that I like. Then at the end of the week I see that I got it and I’ll have some treat [...]” (Gemima, 15 years old).

“Oh! I like eating junk food [...]. And then I also have an eye toward it, you know. Because eating (junk food)... I think it’s normal. But not eating a lot, no.” (Joana, 16 years old).

“I’ve been eating much more junk food [...] I don’t resist the temptations [...] Only the juice is natural.” (Karine, 15 years old).

Of particular note is the growth of information networks on food, diet and body, whether based on scientific data and supported by professionals, or those in which there is no such technical support. These contents can sometimes hide market interests, as observed with the food industry. The growth of the “*fitness*” and “*natural*” industries is seen.^{15,27,28}

Observation in commensality sites, both within the institution and in its surroundings, has allowed a better understanding of the group’s consumption habits. Inside the school, a paradoxical situation has emerged: as previously mentioned, the school cafeteria, for students selected in a student assistance program, had varied and balanced menus, as well as a professional nutritionist.

As for the school canteen, open to all students who can afford the snacks and meals served, even visually it is different because of the counters and walls with flashy images of burgers, fried snacks, sandwiches and pies. In addition, the supply of fresh fruits or juices and salads was insignificant. The juices marketed in these spaces, cited by the interviewees as “*natural*,” were mostly sugary nonalcoholic beverages.

Around the school, the food trade was even more attractive, both in price and variety. Different types of snacks and sandwiches combined with refreshments and soft drinks were marketed.

Such sites provided food options of fast access and consumption, which possibly depicts the behavior of the groups with whom they related. Thus, this network formed by the canteen, snack bars and bakeries seemed to favor the maintenance of this cycle, interfering in the group’s food identity process.^{9,20}

The role of school canteens is questioned, since these could represent a privileged site for the development of better food practices, as the easy access to foods of low nutritional value can interfere in the formation of their users’ food identity.^{19,20}

In addition to the scenario of fast food and low nutritional value, with emphasis on “*eating junk food*,” there was evidence of overeating related to moments of stress and high demands at school, as well as periods of attempted control by means of different strategies.

Ramiro²⁹ reflects on the changes in the very official and health discourses, which have undergone reformulations in order to reach a greater popular appeal. For the author, the imperative to remain physically and mentally healthy can be presented as a possible cause of suffering for those who can not reach the parameters required. Thus, under the aegis of health, healthy and clinical and nutritional needs, there is a growing concern with the body and with eating but that can be truly imbued by needs of “social validation.”^{15,29}

“Natural” and eating junk food perfectly fit into contemporary culture, which stimulates fixation for lifestyles propagated as healthy but which paradoxically promote the practice of exaggerated, rapid, practical, ready and sometimes packed consumption as the interlocutors’ narratives have sometimes shown.

Strategies adopted for self-control: what, when, how to carry out food “choices”

Overeating and even compulsive eating, especially in the domestic environment, was related to moments of anxiety, disillusionment and pressure in the school environment:

“[...] If I stay home, I eat all night, feeling like eating, snacking this and that, eating this and that, I fell this anxiety. It’s awful.” (Beatriz, 16 years old).

“When something is not working, I relieve it all on food.” (Márcio, 17 years old).

“[...] When I have some... some sort of school evaluation that is ‘dangerous’, so to say, it’s ... it’s just that I eat too much, I get too desperate.” (Thiago, 19 years old)

Anxiety and social pressure were the most common symptoms and were related to eating “whatever you have at home.” These adolescents are similar also due to being close to each other since childhood, with different degrees of overweight, which seemed to interfere with eating and food.

In the search for weight loss strategies, the Internet was a much requested tool in the search for diets and information on dietary supplements. But despite mentioning access to the so-called “fad diets” and even weight control and food intake mobile application software, low effectiveness and credibility attributed to them were noted:

“There was a time when I’d follow an Internet diet. Only that I’d be feeling bad, because it was a very radical change. Then I stopped doing it. [...]” (Márcio, 17 years old).

“I’ve gone on a crazy diet, very crazy. I’d eat lettuce in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening. Then, for variation, I’d put lettuce with rice. I think it didn’t last two weeks [...]. Now I’ve been drinking eggplant water.” (Beatriz, 16 years old).

“Activia® (brand of yogurt owned by French multinational food-products corporation Groupe Danone) with flour and goji berry (Lycium barbarum). It makes you belly flat [...]. I saw on the Internet that it makes you lose weight. Then I asked my mother to buy it.” (Gemima, 15 years old).

Adolescents, because they are in a stage of biopsychosocial transformations, sometimes feel greater needs of inclusion in the groups with which they relate, making them more prone to the use of strategies such as restrictive diets without an adequate guidance.³⁰

Thus, between the duality of what would be “right” and “wrong” and discourses that generally do not hold until the next season, at which time other food villains and new miracle-workers and appetite suppressants will be chosen – for example, “fat belly flour” –, these individuals experience frustration as to the low effectiveness of the strategies adopted.³⁰

Such behaviors, in addition to being ineffective, can pose health risks.^{20,23,30} A study that analyzed the nutritional quality of diets published in nonscientific media has observed that there was no adaptation to the individual needs, highlighting possible risks to adolescent populations, not only in terms of physical development but also those related to the emergence of eating disorders.⁸

In the present study, the verbalization of the desire to use weight loss medication as something that is “*one time only and one loses weight*” was worrisome in what is called “miracle character” by Costa³⁰. This narrative is revealing and demonstrates the search for quick and almost magical results in which individuals seek subsidies to lose weight:

“I don’t know. I don’t have much information about it. I just know that people will take it and lose weight. It... it suppresses the appetite and then people won’t eat.” (Beatriz, 16 years old).

The behavior of family members or friends can also serve as a parameter for adopting or not certain behaviors. Márcio, who witnessed the use of thermogenic dietary supplements by his father, reported interest in potentializing the results obtained at the gym, making use of these substances. He chose, however, to wait for medical evaluation:

“I was going to have some thermogenic dietary supplements for the gym. Except that I had no medical recommendation. I didn’t take it. My dad bought it because he’d take it. But I didn’t have the same metabolism as his. I ended up waiting to talk to a doctor.” (Márcio, 17 years old).

Among the paths adopted in an attempt to lose weight, there was still the use of weight loss smoothies and teas, alternatives used by Thiago, which, in a conflicting way, although finding

them expensive and not considering enduring the results of what he called “treatment,” would wish to resume their use.

At times there was a tendency to medicalize the act of eating, distancing it from sensory pleasures, reducing it to nutrients or energy necessary for working out days at the gym or to the miraculous eggplant capable of promoting weight loss. Thus, it is called “information bricolage” by Santos,¹⁵ obtained among the different groups with which they interact and given new meanings according to their interests and perceptions.

The perception of the body as demotivating for a different eating behavior was raised by Karine, according to her narrative below. Beatriz, who in the first interview stated that she didn’t feel motivated to make changes in eating as part of her daily habits, stressed at another time to be determined to change and “reeducate” herself:

“Because... I’m boundless in this case. I’ll eat what I feel like eating. [...] I want to eat, but I think I’m going to get fat. Then I’ll say, ‘I’m already fat.’ So I’m going to eat.” (Karine, 15 years old).

“I’m going to start eating... in small amounts. I say I’m going to run. I run one day and then I stop it. It’s like this. I can’t carry it on, you see? [...] I’d like to add everything that happens as motivation... I can’t.” (Beatriz, 16 years old, 1st interview).

“Yeah, I’ve decided to change, to go to the gym, to reeducate myself, to reeducate my diet [...]” (Beatriz, 16 years old, 2nd interview).

In a study conducted by Santos,¹⁵ food reeducation was seen by some adult individuals as a salvation and even the “way of truth.” For the author, the expression suggests the need to relearn how to relate to food and, unlike diets, which already begin with a deadline, often without adapting to individualities, this process expands responsibilities on what to eat, when and in what quantity.

The process of selecting food is imbricated in sociocultural webs that involve values, desires, symbols. Conviviality with these adolescents has allowed to identify that in many moments eating would be represented by practical, fast, low cost meals, consumed in great quantities, socially valued among their peers, behaviors, and often related to the young audience.^{20,23,24}

Changes in eating behavior and motivation were also present in Márcio’s narrative, for example. Under the guidance of a nutritionist, he began to make changes in his diet and also highlighted his mother’s support in this journey:

“[...] I looked (for help). Then I scheduled with my mom... a nutritionist indeed, to have some guidance. And there was even an appointment last weekend. I’ve really started going on a diet and I’m taking sports more seriously than I was before.” (Márcio, 17 years old).

However, in the present study, only this adolescent sought counseling with a nutritionist, which suggests a professional helplessness to guide them and therefore greater exposure to ineffective and dangerous behaviors.

Final thoughts

Accompanying part of these adolescents' daily lives has allowed us to welcome their narratives about eating and food, the conflicts and dualities of such an expressive socio-cultural practice, able to nourish not only the body but also sensorial desires, being some source of pleasure often controlled, medicalized and prescribed in contemporary society.

These adolescents coexist from childhood with being overweight, observing and experimenting with different strategies in an attempt to control and reduce body weight, a situation that may interfere with the way in which they relate to food.

In many instances, "eating" has appeared fragmented, divided between "liking," which is widely spread among their peers, the "junk food" widely offered in the school canteen, its surroundings, and in other environments. Such "junk food" now affectionately viewed as a weekend "pleasure," now signifying the opposite and the duality of nutritional knowledge, prescriptive, punitive and increasingly popular in the different media.

Compulsive eating would be present mainly in domestic environments and justified as the result of stressful situations and high demands at school. Perhaps it is imbricated, even in this practice, that they are in a place where they feel distant from the group and that in some cases they still have "allies" represented by their family members.

At the same time, the search for "fad diets" as well as alternatives to weight loss were briefly signaled. Diets themselves, accessed on the Internet, have proved inappropriate for their individualities and financial situation and may have repercussions on the maintenance of the body dissatisfaction cycle, since there is a tendency in not to continue the recommendations for long periods, due to the severe restrictions found.

Eating junk food, so present in their imaginary, and snacks easily found within the school itself refer to the importance of school canteens as promoters of effective actions for food and nutrition education that go beyond the simple prohibition that, as seen, is easily circumvented.

The results reinforce the need for continually exercising the valuing of food, culture and the intersubjectivities that surround them. It is not a matter of denying the importance of biomedical knowledge but of expanding interpretations beyond the "good" and the "bad" in the search for

understanding and interpreting the various relationships that are established and that influence the meanings attributed to eating and food. This is a challenge and far from finalizing this discussion these results inspire and encourage further debate.

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