

 Ligia Amparo da Silva Santos¹


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Food and nutrition education in the context of promoting adequate and healthy eating practices: the food-human right binomial

Educação alimentar e nutricional no contexto da promoção de práticas alimentares adequadas e saudáveis: o binômio alimentação-direito humano

Abstract

Introduction: This work is part of the publication "Food and nutritional education in the context of promoting healthy eating practices", whose objective was "to reflect on food and nutritional education in the context of promoting healthy eating practices, identified as an important strategy to face the new challenges in the field of health, food and nutrition". **Objective:** Revisit the reflection undertaken in the aforementioned publication, expanding the scope of analysis to the recent period, 2000-2023, in light of new scenarios and actions in the field of food and nutrition policies. **Methods:** This is an essay that used as its methodological approach the analysis of documents published or updated since the 2000s, relating to health, food and nutrition policies and Food and Nutritional Sovereignty and Security. **Results:** From this analysis, shifts in the focus of Food and Nutrition Education (FNE) can be inferred, fueled by the notions of Food and Nutritional Security (FNS) and Human Right to Adequate Food (HRAF) that fueled public policies in the field. The formation of the Adequate and Healthy Eating (AHE) concept stood out, as a result of the convergence of perspectives that expanded the understanding of food as a human right. It is worth highlighting the elaboration of the FNE Framework for Public Policies, as a development of policies and a promoter of the decentering of the paradigm that historically paved the way for FNE actions in the Brazilian context. **Conclusion:** This entire scenario guides us to assume that the right is the noun to accompany food in the FNE binomial during this period. It appears that the understanding of FNE, based on the interpretations of different moments in its history, characterized by the binomials food-education, education-income, food-information and food-human rights, are not linear and overlap.

Keywords: Food and nutritional education. Human right to adequate food. Healthy eating. Food and nutrition security. Public policy. Public health.

Resumo

Introdução: O presente trabalho parte da publicação "Educação alimentar e nutricional no contexto da promoção de práticas alimentares saudáveis", cujo objetivo foi "fazer uma reflexão sobre a educação alimentar e nutricional no contexto da promoção das práticas alimentares saudáveis, apontada como importante estratégia para enfrentar os novos desafios no campo da saúde, alimentação e nutrição". **Objetivo:** Revisitar a reflexão empreendida na publicação supracitada, ampliando o escopo de análise para o período recente 2000-2023, diante de novos cenários e atuações no campo das políticas de alimentação e nutrição. **Métodos:** Trata-se de um ensaio que utilizou como percurso metodológico a análise de documentos publicados ou atualizados a partir

dos anos 2000, referente às políticas de saúde, alimentação e nutrição e Soberania e Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional. **Resultados:** Desta análise, podem-se depreender deslocamentos no foco de EAN, alimentados pelas noções de SAN e DHAA que abasteceram as políticas públicas do campo. Destacou-se a conformação do conceito de AAS, fruto da convergência de perspectivas que ampliaram a compreensão da alimentação enquanto direito humano. Ressalta-se a elaboração do Marco de EAN para PP, como desdobramento das políticas e promotora do descentramento do paradigma que pavimentou historicamente as ações de EAN no contexto brasileiro. **Conclusão:** Todo esse cenário nos orienta a assumir que o direito é o substantivo a acompanhar a alimentação no binômio de EAN nesse período. Constata-se que o entendimento da EAN, a partir das interpretações dos distintos momentos da sua história, caracterizados pelos binômios alimentação-educação, educação-renda, alimentação-informação e alimentação-direito humano, não são lineares e se sobrepõem.

Palavras-chave: Educação alimentar e nutricional. Direito Humano à alimentação adequada. Alimentação saudável. Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional. Política pública. Saúde coletiva.

INTRODUCTION

This article is part of the publication “Food and nutritional education in the context of promoting healthy eating practices”, authored by Amparo-Santos,¹ whose objective was, based on the analysis of government documents and publications, “to reflect on nutritional education and nutrition in the context of promoting healthy eating practices, identified as an important strategy to face new challenges in the field of health, food and nutrition” (p. 681).¹ The objective is to revisit the reflection undertaken in this publication, expanding the scope of analysis for the recent period, 2000-2023, due to new scenarios of food and nutrition policies in Brazil. Attached is an updated characterization of the Food and Nutrition Education (FNE) periods analyzed here.

METHODS

This is an article that used as a methodological path the analysis of documents published or updated since the 2000s, relating to health, food and nutrition policies, and Food and Nutritional Sovereignty and Security.

The trajectory of EAN from the 1930s to the 2000s

The history of FNE in Brazil has been widely covered over time.¹⁻⁵ Based on the article by Amparo-Santos,¹ in dialogue with other authors, Nutritional Education (NE) emerges in the 1930s, in the constitution of the Brazilian State and its social policies, especially in the areas of health, education and social assistance. This period, which covers the years 1930-1970, despite Josué de Castro's thoughts, was marked by the **food-education** binomial, in which NE had as its main focus on the correction of eating habits.³

At this point, we reflect on what it would mean to eat correctly, what knowledge was provided by the State and what its mediating agents of NE were. During this period, Nutritional Sciences were also consolidated, initiating a new way of thinking about food, eating and nourishment, based on the grammar of nutrients. Reduced to no more than a vehicle of nutrients, the cultural senses and meanings of food were separated from the ways of eating.⁶ Consequently, nutritional rationality became fundamental, consolidating a process of medicalization of food.⁷

In the 1970s, the **food-education** binomial still guided food and nutrition policies during the Military Dictatorship period, with nutritional supplementation for specific groups considered “biologically vulnerable”, reducing the problem of hunger and malnutrition to a technical and biological problem.⁸ It is worth noting that food supplementation and food fortification were not able to solve the problems of hunger and malnutrition.⁹ The food fortification “ideology” has considerably strengthened the related industry, in line with the Green Revolution and the pharmaceutical industry, to the detriment of groups considered “vulnerable”. In this context, it seemed that the main objective of the NE mediating agents would be to convince the subjects that the condition of vulnerability was inherent to their innate condition and that it should be treated and medicalized with supplements and food donations, thus naturalizing the poverty and social misery, which generate hunger and disordered eating.

With the process of Brazilian redemocratization, when the social and economic conditions of the working classes were revealed, a “transition” from the food-education binomial to the **education-income** binomial was revealed, in the years 1970-1980, gaining emphasis on the dimension of access to feeding.³

At this point, one wonders who the NE agents were and what content was shared with the subjects. It can be seen that, on the one hand, some with Marxist-oriented influences became politically engaged in social struggles in defense of an agricultural policy and agrarian reform, assuming an emancipatory and transformative perspective, along freirean lines, turning to the discussion of determinants of hunger and malnutrition.

On the other hand, the production of a set of knowledge and practices continues in which NE is engaged in a nutritional project linked to the production system, increasingly promoting the use of industrialized foods – fortified, manipulated with the aim of optimizing its nutritional value, with a view to supposedly reducing health risks. Here, it is noted that, when referring to NE, we include a plurality of practices and actions that are not always aligned with the same understanding of what it is, nor with the same societal project.

During the 1990s and 2000s, a period marked by neoliberal policies, there was a gradual reduction in the State's responsibility in relation to social welfare policies.^{10,11} Neoliberal perspectives do not only deal with an economic proposition, but also with a world perspective. For example, the notion of a free market feeds the illusion of freedom of consumption and, in this commodification of life, food is increasingly an object of consumption,¹² a commodity.¹³

Along this path, we can say that FNE, as it is now more intensely called, goes through a third moment, which is called the **food-information** binomial, appearing to limit itself to subsidizing subjects with “correct” information, reproducing a reductionist view that information is education, and not a process imbued with purpose. The expansion of access to the media, the virtual world and its networks, stands out, ushering in an era of the information society. Similarly, at FNE, available technological information and communication resources are used to the maximum. Strategies, such as campaigns and the creation of educational and instructional materials, are emphasized, leaving it up to “consumers” to believe in their total freedom and autonomy to decide what, how much, how and when they consume. FNE mediation agents approach “service providers” to their consumer “clients”.

During this period, Amparo-Santos^{14,15} was already analyzing the growth in the supply of weight loss programs *via* the internet, the phenomenon of social networks for circulation and access to information about food. Such strategies can, on the one hand, contribute to the production of knowledge and construction of food possibilities, at any time and without financial channeling to do so,¹⁶ and, on the other, contribute to the food cacophony and difficulty in selecting information sources. These, in turn, fluid and sometimes controversial, are generated by institutions, researchers and health professionals¹⁷ - who need to adapt their technical and scientific language to that of social networks, by producers of digital content – many sponsored, with conflicts of interests, as well as by ordinary people – who share their food (in)successes.

Even during this period, the FNE continues to be challenged by the persistence of hunger, now alongside the rise of obesity, creating the phenomenon called the double burden of malnutrition, also provoking science and policies, as it affects and grows among people of all ages, social classes and regions in the world, albeit in different ways.¹⁸

In this way, the Brazilian State launched, in 1999, the first version of the National Food and Nutrition Policy (NFNP) (from Portuguese: *Política Nacional de Alimentação e Nutrição – PNAS*),¹⁹ which sought to deal with this nutritional scenario and pointed out that its guidelines had as its guiding thread the notion of the Human Right to Food (HRF), Food and Nutritional Security (FNS), and the term of promoting healthy eating is consolidated.

Amparo-Santos¹ highlights the growth in the dissemination of information about food and nutrition to the detriment of FNE actions, which pointed to the importance of FNE's theoretical-methodological bases, as

only such strategies were not sufficient for the construction of healthy eating practices. The author highlighted that, although FNE was present in policies, its space was not explicitly delimited, which led to the conclusion that “food and nutritional education is everywhere and, at the same time, it is not in nowhere” (p. 688).

Food and nutritional education to promote adequate and healthy eating (2000-2023): the food-human right binomial

For the purposes of this article, we will examine the main institutional documents that call for FNE actions within the scope of its objectives, guidelines or strategies. To this end, the analysis will be undertaken in light of the documents of the National Food and Nutritional Security Policy (NFNSP, from Portuguese: *Política Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional – PNSAN*),²⁰ of the NFNP (*PNAN*),²¹ focusing on the 2012 edition of the FNE Reference Framework for Public Policies,²² one of the main official documents FNE advisors in the period, and the Food Guide for the Brazilian Population (FGBP) (from Portuguese: *Guia Alimentar para a População Brasileira – GAPB*).²³

In the 2000s, the Brazilian political scene was occupied by successive left-wing governments (2003-2016), which produced inflections in the model of development and social protection, creating a set of public policies aimed at combating hunger and reducing poverty as a permanent agenda.²⁴ Social policies allow us to update reflections on the place of FNE in the period under analysis, among which we highlight: a) from the perspective of the Human Right to Adequate Food (HRAF) and Sovereignty and FNS (SFNS), are examples of these actions: the *Bolsa Família* Program, for income transfer, the institution of the legal framework of policies and actions aimed at guaranteeing the HRAF, in addition to the creation of FNS councils and conferences, expanding democratic and participatory processes in political decisions ; b) in the context of health, the implementation of the NFNP(*PNAN*), together with the plurality of actions such as the Family Health Strategy and the National Health Promotion Policy (NHPP) (from Portuguese: *Política Nacional de Promoção da Saúde – PNPS*).²⁵

It appears that the concept of FNS was central to the public agenda to combat hunger, paving the way for institutionality as a State policy, through the legal framework of the Organic Law on Food and Nutritional Security (OLFNS) (from Portuguese: *Lei Orgânica da Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional – LOSAN*) – Law n.º 11.346, of 2006.²⁶ The FNS began to be assumed, since then, in subsequent legal-institutional documents and in the formulation of public policies as a condition for carrying out the HRAF.²⁷

The trajectory of this institutionalization was presented by Guerra²⁸ in an article about the impasses in implementing the HRAF. As a result of *LOSAN*, the NFNSP(*PNSAN*),²⁰ two National FNS Plans (from Portuguese: *Plano Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional – PLANSAN* 2012-2015 and 2016-2019),^{29,30} are established, in addition to social participation mechanisms. The author alludes to other official documents that corroborated this process, by offering a conceptual reference to the management of HRAF, highlighting, in this sphere, the FNE Framework and the FGBP(*GAPB*). Despite the advances made, the author demarcates the disputes surrounding the presence and permanence of the mechanisms for implementing the HRAF, especially considering the capitalist structure that forms the “food-commodity-disease triad”.

In effect, the legal-normative framework of the FNS was anchored in the promotion, protection and respect for the HRAF, while the policies and documents placed in the political and programmatic scenario for the implementation of the FNS and the HRAF were constituted by evoking FNE actions, in such a way that we suggest that this political and programmatic situation contributed to a shift in the contours of the FNE in the context of the last decade. Certainly, its presence in these documents gives content to its conception and the

nuances with which it was treated, offering clues that can elucidate its reconfiguration in this period, as it was approached in these documents *pari passu* to the recognition of food as a human right, alongside the concept of Adequate and Healthy Nutrition (AHN), whose reformulation is related to the notion of HRAF.

Within the scope of NFNSP (*PNSAN*),²⁰ FNE was highlighted as a guideline for permanent actions in the areas of FNS and HRAF, in addition to other food and nutrition actions at all levels of health care. This guideline is one of the conditions for achieving the objective of articulating programs and actions within the scope of the HRAF.

Another important policy that contributes to understanding the contours of the FNE in the Brazilian context is the NFNP (*PNAN*),²¹ updated in 2012. When analyzing the first version of the NFNP (*PNAN*), Amparo-Santos¹ identified that the document announced actions to promote healthy eating practices, but did not explicitly delimit a conception of FNE, but also did not indicate guidelines for its practice. Its second version also did not assume an explicit conceptualization of FNE; however, by admitting certain conceptions about food, alongside recommending characteristics of ways to promote adequate and healthy eating practices, it outlines contours that shape a conception of FNE.

Firstly, it is noteworthy that the NFNP (*PNAN*) is the first institutional document in the health field to adopt the term Adequate and Healthy Food (AHF), already created by the FNS field. Our analysis is of interest to understand the bases on which the term was established in the Brazilian context, as its connotation will give substance to FNE actions.

Regarding this, it is noteworthy that this is a genuinely Brazilian elaboration, whose institution was the object of documentary and conjunctural analysis carried out by Paiva et al.³¹ The authors state that the confluence of the two terms comes from the purpose of increasing the first perspective – the healthy – coined by the science of nutrition, from a biological perspective, centered on the quantification of nutrients, the dimension of “adequate” nutrition as one that considers nutrition as a fundamental human right. The authors state that the term “adequate” in this conceptualization proposal was a direct subsidiary of the notion of HRAF, in accordance with General Comment n.º 12 on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, according to which adequacy must consider social, economic and, cultural, climatic and ecological.

Therefore, the concept of AHE presented, in a pioneering way, by National Food and Nutrition Security Council (from Portuguese: *Conselho Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* – *CONSEA*) was:

the realization of a basic human right, with the guarantee of permanent and regular access, in a socially fair way, to a dietary practice appropriate to the biological and social aspects of individuals, in accordance with the life cycle and special dietary needs, guided by the local traditional reference. It must meet the principles of variety, balance, moderation and pleasure (flavor), the dimensions of gender and ethnicity, and environmentally sustainable forms of production, free from physical, chemical and biological contaminants and genetically modified organisms (p. 31).³²

Salienta-se que este conceito vem sendo adotado nos documentos subsequentes, ainda que sofra alterações na sua formulação, como é o caso da própria PNAN. Um dos fundamentos aludidos à atualização da PNAN foi a necessidade do setor saúde de disponibilizar política da área de Alimentação e Nutrição em conciliação com a promoção da SAN e a garantia do direito à alimentação.

It should be noted that this concept has been adopted in subsequent documents, even if it undergoes changes in its formulation, as is the case with the NFNP (*PNAN*) itself. One of the reasons for updating the

NFNP (*PNAM*) was the need for the health sector to provide a policy in the area of Food and Nutrition in conjunction with the promotion of FNS and the guarantee of the right to food.

In this update, its second guideline stands out, “promotion of adequate and healthy eating (PAHE)”, with FNE portrayed with one of its strategies. It is also possible to identify the presence of FNE in at least four of its guidelines, as well as recognize statements of elements that shape the critical and constructivist perspective from which FNE actions must be based. Consequently, there is an option for a problematizing approach to FNE as an instrument for PAHE, based on the perspective of respect for the particularities of the individual and the context in which they are inserted. This approach advocates intra- and intersectoral articulation, alongside overcoming the perspective of offering information to the population, strengthening dialogue with popular knowledge and overcoming the biomedical model, highlighting the incorporation of AHE in the “contents and strategies of social movements in education popular health care” (p. 34).²¹

Another relevant element is the characterization of “food as an element of humanization of health practices”, which makes us assume a move away from food from a perspective restricted to its physiological functionality. This configuration seems to call for other forms of food agency in health practices and, consequently, of addressing it in FNE actions. This set of citations aids to consider the content that fulfills the perspective of a conception of FNE that is more focused on reflective processes, contextually situated and based on the right to food.

In this sense, it is observed that the NFNP (*PNAM*) reiterates the FNE as strategic when it recognizes that food, in addition to the biological, has centrality in the processes of health production, when it assumes that food and the autonomy of subjects are intertwined, and that this requires reflection critical about oneself, others, one's surroundings and the structures that compel us to eat a certain diet. NFNP (*PNAM*) continues to consolidate the recognition of the centrality of FNE in PAHE, reiterating it as a dialogical process, and its importance for the development of autonomy and self-care, considering that food adds unique cultural, behavioral and affective meanings, which need to be valued, dimensions expanded by the AHE concept.

During the course of policies that call for FNE actions, the operationalization of NFNSP (*PNSAN*) occurred through the actions foreseen in *PLANSAN* (2012-2015 and 2016-2019).^{29,30} Regarding the I *PLANSAN*, it is worth highlighting two considerations explained in the document: i) that there was no progress towards the institution of an intersectoral policy for the consolidation of education processes for FNS and HRAF, as proposed by the III National FNS Conference (NFNSC)³²; and ii) recognition of the lack of consensus around ways of working with FNE that can guide dietary guidelines and actions in this field. Highlighting this need, *PLANSAN* proposes as one of its goals the development of a conceptual framework for FNE.

This Plan was organized based on the eight NFNSP (*PNSAN*) guidelines, structured by goals and objectives for each guideline. Related to permanent FNE processes, guideline number 3 has six objectives, four of which are directly related to FNE. The Plan recommends FNE actions with the FNS and HRAF agenda, on a regular basis, considering cultural and regional specificities. It suggests expansion of actions in different scenarios: health services; in the National School Feeding Program (NSFP), considering it strategic for strengthening its management and social control; and also, the encouragement for organized civil society to act “with food, nutrition and healthy consumption components” (p. 87),²⁹ that is, for it to act with the FNS theme and develop FNE projects and actions at its level of performance.

Combined with the aforementioned policies and as an offshoot of I *PLANSAN*, the FNE Framework for Public Policies²² was created by the General FNE Coordination of the then Ministry of Social Development and Fight Against Hunger (MSD) and launched in 2012. The result of a collective construction with

coordination between different actors, the Framework defines FNE, in the context of carrying out the HRAF and ensuring the FNS, as

a field of knowledge and continuous and permanent, transdisciplinary, intersectoral and multidisciplinary practice that aims to promote the autonomous and voluntary practice of healthy eating habits. The practice of FNE must make use of problematizing and active educational approaches and resources that encourage dialogue with individuals and population groups, considering all phases of the life course, stages of the food system and the interactions and meanings that make up eating behavior (p. 23).²²

It is mentioned that, from this moment on, the term FNE becomes “official”, occupying the place of NE or Food Education in subsequent government documents. This occurs concomitantly with the acceptance of the concept of AHE, which starts to appear among texts and policies in the area, especially FNS and, later, health. This may have resulted from a resonance of movements to redefine the field of Food and Nutrition, by incorporating other dimensions – social, cultural, subjective, ethnic and political – into food.³¹

The Framework considers principles for FNE actions: I) Social, environmental and economic sustainability; II) Approach to the food system, in its entirety; III) Valuing local food culture and respecting the diversity of opinions and perspectives, considering the legitimacy of knowledge of different natures; IV) Food and nourishment as references; appreciation of cooking as an emancipatory practice; V) Promotion of self-care and autonomy; VI) Education as a permanent process that generates autonomy and active and informed participation of subjects; VII) Diversity in practice scenarios; VIII) Intersectorality; IX) Planning, evaluation and monitoring of actions.

This document's main focus is “supporting people so that they become social agents that produce their health” (p. 27).²² Of its nine principles, we could form them into two main axes. On the one hand, related to “thinking about FNE” with the themes of environment and sustainability, food systems, culture, food, food and cuisine, contributing to broadening the concept of AHE; and on the other hand, related to “doing FNE”, concentrating educational principles, such as: its permanent form, which leads to self-care and autonomy, as well as in more “political-institutional” terms, the issue of practice scenarios, intersectorality and the dimensions of planning.

Certainly, it is worth highlighting that this conformation is a tool for this analysis, since we understand that thinking and doing are intertwined dimensions that feed each other in action in practice.

It should be noted that Framework and NFNP (*PNAM*) jointly point out the direction regarding the place and way of carrying out FNE. Regarding this, Amparo-Santos & Diez-Garcia³³ state that the construction of the second oxygenates the first, as it overcomes the fragmentation that marked the history of public policies in the country, reinforcing the importance of articulation between different sectors in the field of Food and Nutrition.

In this way, we can see an ongoing paradigm shift in the FNE after the publication of the Framework and its presence in the most current documents. It is assumed that part of this result is related to the expansion of the discussion of its theoretical-methodological bases in recent years and which produced the FNE Reference Framework as the main guiding document. For Amparo-Santos,³⁴ “with the launch of the Framework, it can be considered that FNE anchored in a port and gives Brazilian society a compass” (p. 596),³⁴ as it presents concepts, principles and guidelines that seek contribute to the qualification of FNE actions.

However, the challenge still persists for professionals linked to the area to associate the principles presented in the Framework with practical situations experienced in different realities, as well as the countless possibilities of association between the principles in the same initiative, which can be used for planning and carrying out FNE actions. In this scenario, the MSD launched the publication “Principles and Practices for Food and Nutrition Education”,³⁵ which aims to contribute to the development of actions aligned with the Framework’s principles in different scenarios.

In 2014, in accordance with the WHO recommendation to periodically update dietary recommendations and, also, as a result of the goal established in I *PLANSAN*, the second edition of *GAPB*²³ was published. This refers that its development contributes to the strengthening of the institutionalization of NFNSP (*PNSAN*) in a context of the assumption of food as a social right, through Constitutional Amendment n.º 64/2010,³⁶ which introduced, in article 6 of the Brazilian Federal Constitution, food as a right.

We can suggest that this context of institutionalization of FNS and HRAF, the contextual and analytical references that such notions require, alongside scientific evidence, together with other factors, contributed to the conception of nutrition present in *GAPB* approaching the network of complexity in which it is located, in reference to the food system, for example.

The *Guide* addresses principles and recommendations of an AHE and serves as an instrument to support FNE actions, endorsing the principles of the FNE Framework and those of the Popular Education Reference Framework for Public Policies.³⁷ There are five principles of the *GAPB*, namely: nutrition is more than nutrient intake; food recommendations must be in tune with your time; adequate and healthy food derives from a socially and environmentally sustainable food system; different types of knowledge generate knowledge for formulating dietary guides; and food guides increase autonomy in food choices.

The *Guide* adopts the *NOVA* classification of foods, which organizes them into four groups, according to the degree of processing to which it is subjected before its acquisition, preparation and consumption, as this process conditions the nutrient profile, in addition to having a social and environmental. According to Oliveira and Santos,³⁸ this version of the document and its theoretical references – epidemiological, clinical, sociological, anthropological studies and popular knowledge – and the use of the *NOVA* food classification favored the development of more holistic dietary guidelines that address eating and meal patterns, culinary practices, the act of eating and commensality, food systems and sustainability.

Subsequently, the II *PLANSAN* (2016-2020)³⁰ presents nine challenges, for which goals and related actions were established, and no longer guidelines and objectives, as in the I *PLANSAN*. Thus, the fifth challenge is identified as specific to FNE, which was “to promote and protect adequate and healthy nutrition for the Brazilian population, with FNE strategies and regulatory measures”, with actions related to PAHE, including in the school environment. The sixth challenge is also identified as specific to goals aimed at controlling and preventing diseases resulting from poor diet. Thus, this Plan gains relevance both by proposing strategies and by its intertwined interaction with health, with emphasis on nutritional care, which was little addressed in the previous Plan.²⁸

It was in this scenario that, in 2015, V National Food and Nutrition Security Conference (NFNSC, from Portuguese: *Conferência Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional – CNSAN*)³⁹ adopted the motto “real food in the countryside and in the city: for rights and food sovereignty”. The concept of “real food” was collectively constructed by the event participants and it is highlighted that this is a safeguard of life, healthy for humans and the planet; guarantees and respects different human rights, including food rights; protects and promotes food cultures, socio-biodiversity, traditional and ancestral practices. It is characterized by fresh and minimally

processed foods, to the detriment of ultra-processed foods, ultimately stating that eating is a political act, also highlighting the notion of sustainability as fundamental to the consolidation of AHE.

Therefore, within the health, food and nutrition policies, and FNS of this period, it is also worth noting how much the conformation of the concept of AHE and food as a human right had an impact on the ways of thinking and doing FNE. And yet, how much such assumptions interfered in different programs, such as the National School Feeding Program (NSFP, from Portuguese: *Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar – PNAE*), which constructs the concept of school feeding as a human right;^{40,41} or in health-related policies, such as the NHPP, which aims to face production challenges of health. The latter highlights eight priority themes, including AHE, aiming to promote health and FNS, among other strategies. Such incorporations, in some way, if well understood, invite an expansion of the conception of FNE, its perspectives, ways of thinking and doing.

It is also essential to highlight a new political shift that began in Brazil in 2016, with the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff and the accentuation of neoliberal policies, marking the dismantling of public policies in Food and Nutrition from then on.⁴² Furthermore, as of January 2019, the extinction of the National Council for Food and Nutritional Security (NCFNS) and the MDS weakened a large part of FNS policies, as well as resulting in the VI NFNSC(CNSAN), scheduled for 2019, not being held, and the lack of a new *PLANSAN* to deal with the FNS scenario in the country.⁴³

During this political, economic and social crisis in the country, the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic not only heightened the FNE challenges that were ongoing, but also signaled others. The emergence of unemployment and hunger, the necessary social distancing, the relationships established almost essentially through virtual means, the fears of contamination by the virus from the handling of inputs, including food, coming from the environment outside the homes (from those who had both), the distribution of meals, basic food baskets, kits and school meal tickets, etc. led to a series of FNE initiatives, such as the formulation of booklets and virtual folders. And yet, actions on social networks, in which many seemed to confirm the idea of “teaching people how to eat correctly”, reiterating a reduction in food as vehicles of specific nutrients, separating eating (and not eating) from its context and a greater experience that crossed us.⁴⁴

Despite the setbacks of the last period analyzed, we can infer that the FNE focus was revisited and expanded, fueled, above all, by the notions of FNS and HRAF that fueled public policies in the field and the FNE Framework, alongside the adoption of a broader, multidimensional AHE perspective. This entire context guides us to assume that the right is the noun to accompany food in the FNE binomial during this period.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The understanding of FNE based on the interpretations of different moments in its history, here characterized by the binomials food-education, education-income, food-information and food-human rights, are not linear. In any case, assuming the **binomial food-human right**, some questions are mobilized: how the agents promoting FNE are acting based on this call for new thinking about AHE, in the direction of food as a human right. Or even, how other reference categories that support the FNE Framework are effectively involved in actions, especially those that promote the decentering of the paradigm that historically paved the way for FNE actions in our context.

Therefore, the classic methodological resources, based essentially on nutritional rationality, are forced into retirement, since it does not contemplate the expansion in the way of understanding human nutrition, foods beyond its nutrients, food and cuisine in its cultural environments, the food system, the environment and sustainability, social inequalities and, above all, FNS and HRAF.

In this scenario of FNE displacements, we assume that the references of “eating as a political act”, “from field to table” and “real food” are full of meanings, vitality and power to reconcile the complexity of HRAF and FNS and other pressing topics on the FNE action scene.

Finally, with the resumption of food and nutrition policies from 2023, with the return of left-wing governments, it remains for us to reflect, in due course, on the challenges and possibilities of FNE in this political scenario that is approaching towards expanding the materiality of food as a human right, considering how the pandemic revealed a series of weaknesses and new issues such as environmental issues, the wide gap of social, ethnic-racial, gender inequalities, among other dimensions that cross and make indigenous peoples, quilombolas invisible. Thus, a potential FNE is envisaged to corroborate the confrontation with colonial capitalism, which operates the food-commodity-disease triad, product and producer of inequalities, which is why eating as a political act can be configured on a path to another FNE.

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Contributors

Santos LAS and Ramos FP participated in the conception and design of the work, analysis and interpretation of data, writing and formatting of the manuscript, review and approval of the final version; Reis ABC and Soares MD participated in the analysis and interpretation of data; writing, reviewing and approving the final version.

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