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## Between eating enough and the desire to eat: the state of the art on sovereignty and food and nutritional security in Brazil

### *Entre comer à vontade e a vontade de comer: o estado da arte sobre soberania e segurança alimentar e nutricional no Brasil*

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**ABSTRACT:** The article aims to identify the main debates on Food and Nutritional Sovereignty and Security considering a broad approach and legal publications in order to comprehend the theme in a multidisciplinary way and to locate possible research gaps. It proceeds a bibliographical and systematic review (state of the art) that was carried out in the 5-year time frame (2016-2020), and restricted to journals available at SciELO and theses and dissertations from Master's and Doctoral programs at Capes. With qualitative data analysis approach and the deductive method, a critical analysis of the data was done. The results were divided into three categories: environment; human rights and political-economical. It concludes that the use of pesticides, the counter-hegemonic discourse and the analysis of public policies, especially those directed to family farmers, are approaches with the highest incidence. The scarcity of research on food systems and seeds stood out, mainly regarding the regulatory framework, and water security, closely associated with food production can be mentioned as research gaps.

*Keywords:* human right to adequate food; nutrition and food public policies; food and nutritional insecurity; PAA; PNAE.

**RESUMO:** O artigo objetiva identificar as principais discussões a respeito da Soberania e Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional (SSAN) de modo amplo e em publicações jurídicas, contemplando a multidisciplinaridade da

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temática e possíveis lacunas de pesquisa. Realiza revisão bibliográfica sistemática de tipo estado da arte com recorte temporal de 5 anos (2016-2020), restringindo-se aos artigos encontrados na plataforma SciELO e às teses e dissertações de programas de Mestrado e Doutorado Capes. Com abordagem qualitativa e método dedutivo, faz análise crítica dos dados. Os resultados foram categorizados em três eixos: meio ambiente; direitos humanos e político-econômicos. Conclui que o uso de agrotóxicos, o discurso contra hegemônico e a análise de políticas públicas, principalmente as voltadas à agricultura familiar, são enfoques de maior incidência. Como lacunas, possuem especial destaque a escassez de pesquisas sobre sistemas alimentares e sementes, sobretudo no que tange ao arcabouço regulatório, e a segurança hídrica associada à produção de comida.

*Palavras-chave:* direito humano à alimentação adequada; políticas públicas de nutrição e alimentação; insegurança alimentar e nutricional; PAA; PNAE.

## 1. Introduction

With the advance of capitalism and technology, a discourse was established on the need to increase food production and modernize peasant farming, on the grounds that the latter, considered outdated, would not be enough to guarantee food for the entire population, given the projected population increase. Thus, it would be necessary to incorporate chemical inputs, genetically modified seeds, machinery, among other elements, which, according to this discourse, would result in the expansion and optimization of production with the consequent overcoming of hunger. In this context, farmers based on traditional and peasant agriculture are marginalized and a relationship of subordination and dependence on the market is created (Shiva, 2016; Jordão & Silva, 2018).

However, this premise is invalidated when the data is analyzed in detail. Although Brazil is among the ten largest grain producers in the world, the 2017/2018 household budget survey (POF 2017-2018), promoted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2020, p. 28), revealed high levels of hunger and malnutrition. Of the 68.9 million households covered, 36.7% had some degree of food insecurity (25.3 million), one

of the lowest ever recorded since 2004 (Cavalcante *et al.*, 2019; IBGE, 2020).

Food and production must be thought of in a holistic, cyclical, connected and related way, contrary to the simplification of production. In this sense, Schutter (2014), the United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, in his final document of January 2014, strengthened the need to rethink food systems based on a production paradigm based on agroecological valorization, diversification, the development of policies to strengthen family farming, social protection for the most vulnerable and poverty reduction (Shiva, 2016; Santarelli *et al.*, 2019).

From this perspective, we highlight the complexity of the debates related to Food Sovereignty and Nutritional Security (FNS), both in the practical field and, consequently, in the theoretical field. Due to its interdisciplinary nature, the research asks what approaches have been raised over the period of analysis, both broadly and in the legal sphere, and therefore aims to identify the contributions of public policies related to the promotion of SSAN.

To this end, the state of the art and systematic review of the bibliography were adopted as the methodology, focusing on the works available on the SciELO and Capes platforms, based on a five-

-year time frame. Scientific articles from journals with Qualis between B2 and A1 were evaluated, as well as theses and dissertations from stricto sensu programs with grades 3, 4 or higher, from 2016 to 2020. Using a qualitative data approach and deductive method (Gil, 2002; Severino, 2013), the results were categorized into three thematic groups: environment, human rights and political and economic aspects. An analysis was carried out to identify the main authors cited, theoretical lines, discussions and research gaps. Finally, a brief overview of the contemporary SSAN scenario was presented.

The main objective of the state of the art is to broaden knowledge and analyze what has already been presented in order to contribute to discussions on SSAN. As such, this research is justified academically, due to its nature as a review, and socially, politically and economically, due to its relevance and impact, especially in the pandemic context of covid-19 and neoliberal practices, in which basic human rights, such as adequate food, are increasingly at risk.

## 2. Methodological paths

The research was based on the systematic literature review methodology described by Sampaio and Macini (2007) and Trivellato *et al.* (2019) (Figure 1).

Firstly, the scientific question was defined based on curiosity about the diversity of interpretations and factors related to SSAN in multiple disciplines, but mainly by asking: how has SSAN been and is being debated in the legal environment and at its intersections? What is the scope of this debate? What are the theoretical contributions of these studies to public food policies?

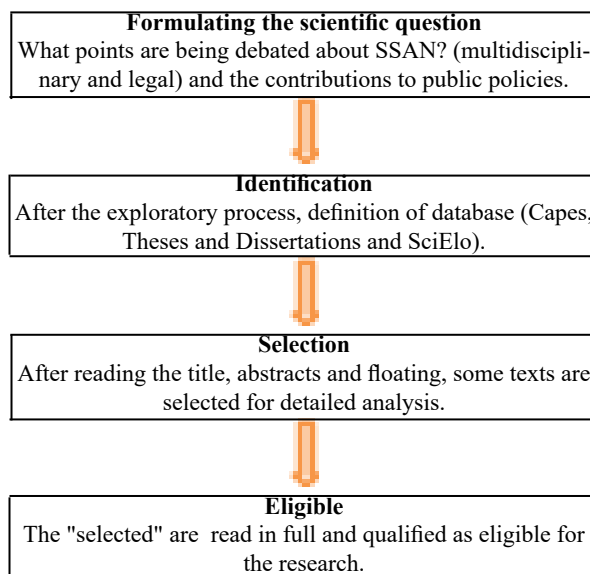


FIGURE 1 - Stages of the state of the art  
Source: elaborated by the authors (2021).

In March 2021, speculative searches were carried out on the Google Scholar platform using the keywords food sovereignty and food security, without quotation marks or any filter, and found a volume of 14,900 and 27,800 in English, restricted to the 2016-2020 timeframe, demonstrating the relevance of the topic.

Once the exploratory period was over, we moved on to the identification stage (1), defining the database to be used and the number of results obtained, with the keywords established. The SciElo and Capes theses and dissertations platforms were chosen because of the need to know the main research in Brazil. The keywords "food sovereignty" and "food and nutritional security" were defined, since Brazil adopts this concept, which also incorporates the idea of nutrition. The search was restricted to publications linked to Brazil, in Portuguese and

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English, and published in the five years prior to this research, i.e. from 2016 to 2020.

In the Capes database, with the filters: (1) Type: master's, doctorate; (2) Year: 2016 to 2020; (3) Major field of knowledge: agricultural sciences, multidisciplinary, applied social sciences, human sciences; (4) field of knowledge: political science; law; constitutional law; public law; special rights; economics; agrarian economics; rural extension; geography; international politics; social service; social and humanities; sociology; sociology of development; 111 results were found in Portuguese and 71 in English, using the same keywords and filters.

SciElo found 6 results<sup>1</sup>, including the filters. The search in English produced the same results as the one in Portuguese.

Next came the selection stage (2). After reading the titles, abstracts and full texts, the documents to be analyzed and possibly included in the state of the art were selected. Papers that were not relevant or appropriate were also discarded (3). This procedure made it possible to identify the eligible papers.

The inclusion and exclusion protocol was based on the sum of filters and the analysis of thematic suitability, reflected in the elements organized in Table 1. The selection was also based on the Capes score for Master's programs above 3 and Doctorate programs above 4, and the Qualis score for scientific journals between A1 and B2. Papers that only touched on the subject, without going into depth, were excluded, such as those dealing with the agroecological transition, urban planning law,

ecofeminism, among other subjects which, despite their relevance, could not be considered in this research because the approach to food security and sovereignty was only secondary.

As for data analysis, a qualitative approach was used, characterized as a process dependent on multiple factors and acts, with data reduction and categorization actions. In addition, the deductive method was used, which starts from general theories, concepts or ideas, which is why it is broader, until it reaches a specific understanding and triggers the results and discussions aimed at by this research (Gil, 2002; Severino, 2013).

### ***3. Results and discussion: inferences from the research analyzed***

From the research carried out, 35 documents were selected to make up the state of the art in the two databases consulted. Three of them came from SciElo, two of which were identified from searches carried out in Portuguese and the third from a search in English. The results were linked to the area of Nutrition. The remaining documents, 32 theses and dissertations, were identified in the Capes database, with searches in Portuguese. Of the 71 results in English, 67 matched the results in Portuguese. The remaining 4 did not meet the inclusion criteria. As far as exclusions are concerned, 25 were not authorized for publication and 86 did not fit or were only tangential to the topic that is the focus of this state of the art.

<sup>1</sup> The small number of articles found can be explained by the rigor of the electronic library and the use of combined keywords. The combined use of the terms "food and nutritional security" and "food sovereignty", in addition to serving as the primary exclusion criterion, reflects the authors' intention to deal with the issue from the perspective of legal construction and public policies aimed at the right to food, which in Brazil has been working from the perspective of Food and Nutritional Security.

TABLE 1 - Categories and Attributes

Categories	Elements
Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• agroecology and sustainability</li> <li>• use of pesticides</li> <li>• use of genetically modified and transgenic seeds</li> <li>• genetic diversity</li> <li>• protection of natural resources</li> </ul>
Human rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• adequate food</li> <li>• public health</li> <li>• food with a predominance of individual and collective values</li> </ul>
Political and economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• public SAN policies</li> <li>• confronting the globalization of hunger</li> <li>• counter-hegemonic discourse</li> <li>• access to land</li> </ul>

Source: prepared by the authors (2021); CINI *et al* (2018); López-Giraldo; Franco-Giraldo (2015); Pimbert (2018).

TABLE 2 - Texts included for review by Capes and SciELO\*

	Author, year	Title	Course/type	Location	Concept/Qualis	Methodology
1	Alves, 2017.	Transformations in Paraíba's agrarian space, agroecological practices and the struggle for food sovereignty by the Guardians of the Passion Seeds of the Borborema Pole	Geography/ Dissertation.	UFPB	Geography/ Grade: 4	Bibliographic and documentary research, field research and secondary data.
2	Amaral, 2018.	Between activisms, framings and controversies: the ideas and agencies of bureaucrats in the Food Acquisition Program (PAA).	Political Science/ Thesis.	UNB	Political Science/ Grade: 6	Qualitative research; case study.
3	Andrade, 2019.	The use of pesticides in the Poison Package: an approach based on the human right to adequate food.	Law/ Dissertation.	FDSM	Law/ Grade: 4	Bibliographical and documentary research.
4	Andrade, 2020.	Drinking water cisterns: a study on political and institutional change through the Advocacy Coalition Framework.	Political Science/ Dissertation.	UNB	Political Science/ Grade: 6	Literature review; qualitative research; case study; Advocacy Coalition Framework.
5	Bittencourt, 2019.	Towards an agroecological Brazil: an analysis of the political construction of discourse.	Social sciences/ Dissertation.	UFRRJ	Social sciences in development, agriculture and society/ Grade: 5	Documentary analysis and bibliographic review.

6	Botelho, 2020.	The decolonial struggle of rural workers for the human right to land and territory.	Law/Thesis.	PUCPR	Agrarian Law/ Grade: 6	Bibliographical and documentary review, historical-dialectical materialism.
7	Carvalhosa, 2018.	School feeding as a process of political mediation: an analysis of the historical trajectory of the purchase of family farming in Brazil and the USA.	Social Work Social Policy/ Thesis.	UFF	Sociology and Law/ Grade: 4	Literature review and documentary analysis;Qualitative research.
8	Cavalcante, 2017.	Food and nutrition security: the impacts of water policy in Rondônia.	Legal and Social Sciences/ Dissertation.	UFF	Sociology and Law/ Grade: 4	Bibliographical research.
9	Costa, 2016.	The trajectory of food and nutritional security actions in Brazil: an analysis of state action in the light of Poulantzas' theory.	Economics/ Dissertation	UFBA	Economy/ Grade: 4	Literature Review.
10	Cruz, 2017.	The dichotomy between agribusiness and family farming and its impact on food and nutritional security.	Law/ Dissertation.	UFG	Agrarian Law/ Grade: 4	Bibliographic review.
11	Cruz, 2018.	Characteristics and Contemporary Trends in Food and Nutrition Security in Brazil: from the Zero Hunger Program to SISAN.	Social Work/ Dissertation.	UERJ	Social Work/ Grade: 6	Bibliographic review.
12	Fabricio, 2016.	The agrarian question and food sovereignty: the case of the 8 de Junho settlement in Laranjeiras do Sul - PR.	Geography/ Dissertation.	UNIOESTE	Geography/ Grade: 3	Bibliographical, qualitative and field research.
13	Facco, 2019.	Contribution to the study of the Brazilian agrarian question: the contradictions of the food acquisition program in agrarian reform settlements.	Geography/ Thesis.	UFPR	Geography/ Grade: 6	Scalar analysis.
14	Faria, 2017.	Food Sovereignty in the Quilombola Community of Colônia do Paiol: between Local and Global Culture.	Geography/ Dissertation.	UFJF	Geography/ Grade: 4	Campesino to campesino methodology.
15	Florisbelo, 2020.	The trajectory of CONSEA-MG in the mediation of sustainable food and nutritional security policy in Minas Gerais.	Rural extension/ Dissertation.	UFV	Rural Extension/ Grade: 4	Bibliographic review

16	Furlan, 2016.	The human right to adequate food from a socio-environmental perspective: repercussions of the hegemonic control of life by large market corporations.	Law/ Dissertation.	UCS	Law/ Grade: 4	Hermeneutic method.
17	Guimarães, 2020.	Food and Nutrition Social Policies in Brazil: from eugenics to food security.	Human and Social Sciences/ Dissertation.	UFABC	Humanities and Social Sciences/ Grade: 4	Descriptive/bibliographic documentary.
18	Kraiewski, 2017	Characterizing the Food and Nutrition Security Policy: An analysis based on the experience in the municipality of Nova Esperança - PR.	Social sciences/ Dissertation.	UEM	Social Sciences/ Grade: 3	Quantitative/qualitative research.
19	Martinelli <i>et al.</i> 2020*.	Strategies for the promotion of healthy, adequate and sustainable food in Brazil in times of Covid-19	Nutrition/ periodical.	Nutrition magazine.	B2	Bibliographical research and indirect data analysis.
20	Medeiros, 2020.	Creole seeds in the Açu-Mossoró citizenship territory: a diagnosis in the agrarian hubs of the municipality of Mossoró -RN.	Geography/ Dissertation.	UERN	Geography/ Grade: 3	Qualitative research, secondary and primary data collection.
21	Melo, 2020.	State intervention in the economy and the human right to adequate food: an analysis of the role of the state in public policies implemented to prevent and combat chronic non-communicable diseases.	Law/ Dissertation.	UFJF	Law and Innovation/ Grade: 3	Descriptive normative mapping.
22	Mendes, 2017.	Public policies in rural settlements: potential and limitations and the PAA and PNAE in Mato Grosso.	Geography/ Thesis.	UFG	Geography/ Grade: 5	Bibliographic and documentary research.
23	Paiva <i>et al.</i> , 2019*.	The confluence between "adequate" and "healthy": an analysis of the institution of the notion of adequate and healthy food in Brazilian public policies.	Nutrition/ periodical	CSP Public health journal.	B1	Exploratory research and documentary analysis.
24	Peixoto, 2016.	Public policies for rural development in Goiás: the effects of the PAA and the PNPB on peasant farming.	Geography/ Dissertation.	UFG	Geography/ Grade: 5	Bibliographic and documentary research.
25	Pereira, 2018.	The human right to adequate food and innovations in legal-institutional arrangements: a case study of the Yedda Duarte Gomes Popular Restaurant in Juiz de Fora.	Law/ Dissertation.	UFJF	Law and Innovation/ Grade: 3	Descriptive normative mapping.

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26	Pinto, 2017.	National School Feeding Program: an analysis of performance and results.	Social Sciences/ Dissertation.	UFRRJ	Social sciences in development, agriculture and society/ Grade: 5	Literature review.
27	Rangel, 2018.	Food and nutritional security in the southeast: encounters, mismatches and vulnerabilities.	Legal and Social Sciences/ Thesis.	UFF	Sociology and Law/ Grade: 4	Qualitative/quantitative research.
28	Recine <i>et al.</i> , 2020*.	Reflections on the extinction of the National Council for Food and Nutrition Security and the confrontation of Covid-19 in Brazil	Nutrition/ periodical.	Revista de nutrição.	B2	Bibliographic and documentary research, indirect data analysis.
29	Ribeiro, 2016.	For a global rebellion: the formation and territorial action of the Via Campesina in Brazil.	Geography/ Dissertation.	UNESP	Geography/ Grade: 7	Bibliographic research and analysis of data from the Land Struggle Database.
30	Ribeiro, 2017.	What does eating at school mean? From school to politics: an analysis of the national school feeding program.	Social sciences/ Thesis.	UFJF	Social Sciences/ Grade: 4	Exploratory literature review.
31	Rodrigues, 2017.	The National School Feeding Program (PNAE): controversies over the instruments for purchasing food produced by family farming.	Social sciences/ Thesis.	UFRRJ	Social sciences in development, agriculture and society/ Grade: 5	Bibliographic review; Documentary analysis; field observations.
32	Santos, 2016.	Participation and effectiveness in Brazil's food and nutrition security council.	Social sciences/ Dissertation.	UFBA	Social sciences/ Grade: 4	Documental research.
33	Santos, 2018.	Agroecology as a counter-hegemonic sustainable alternative to food production based on the rights of nature.	Law/ Dissertation.	IMED	Law/ Grade: 3	Bibliographic research.
34	Souza, 2018.	Food acquisition program in Paula Cândido, MG: A mechanism for empowering family farmers.	Home Economics/ Dissertation.	UFV	Home Economics/ Grade: 4	Bibliographic and documentary research.
35	Zanotto, 2017.	Food sovereignty: a counter-hegemonic project of the campesino way: a study of experiences in Brazil and Bolivia.	Geography/ Dissertation.	UNESP	Geography/Grade: 3	Bibliographic and documentary review.

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Source: elaborated by the authors (2021).

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The methodology mostly used in the research analyzed is bibliographical review and documentary research, followed by literature review and indirect data analysis. Some studies also collected data through interviews. In general, the research analyzed was exploratory and investigative in nature.

As for the most cited theoretical references in the debates on Nutritional Food Security (FNS) and its historical and social construction, Josué de Castro, Renato S. Maluf, Walter Belik, Takagi and Luciene Burlandy stand out. With regard to food sovereignty, it can be seen that it is still a concept that has not been dealt with in any detail, except by those who focus on the themes of seeds and peasantry. Some authors (Andrade, 2019; Bittencourt, 2019) analyzed food sovereignty as a broader concept than FNS. Other authors (Ribeiro, 2016; Santos, 2018) preferred to use only food sovereignty, due to the appropriation of agribusiness, defined as a production model based on large estates and the export of commodities to which the concept of food security is linked.

As for food sovereignty and the peasantry debates, Vandana Shiva, Stedile, Schiavinatto, Ploeg, Chayanov, Carvalho stand out, as well as the texts written by La Via Campesina, Stédile and Carvalho. As for agroecology, the best-known theoretical references are Altieri, Gliessman and Shimitt. With regard to rural development, agrarian issues and rural public policies, Thomaz-Júnior, Porto-Gonçalves, Grisa, Schneider, Nelson Giordano, Delgado and Umbelino de Oliveira were identified as the main authors.

There was a significant difference between the number of publications dealing with the concepts of "food sovereignty" and "food and nutritional security", with a predominance of studies on the

latter term. It is inferred that this may be due to: the chronological consequence of the conception of the terms and their consolidation; the broader nature and the burden of struggle and resistance that the concept of sovereignty represents.

Of the texts selected, only seven were from the area of law and addressed, in descending order of presence, subjects such as the use of pesticides (Andrade, 2019), counter-hegemonic discourse through the contestation of agribusiness and its economic and political defense (Furlan 2016; Cruz, 2017; Botelho, 2020).

Only one paper addressed state intervention in the economy by discussing food advertising and labeling standards as a form of state action to combat chronic non-communicable diseases (Melo, 2020).

There was one paper focusing directly on decoloniality for rural workers and the human right to land (Botelho, 2020) and another, restricted to the scope of legal-institutional arrangements applied to the public policy of Popular Restaurants in Juiz de Fora region (Pereira, 2018).

Other information was analyzed together in three sections or categories in which the documents were allocated depending on the priority of the documenting approach. Three axes were established: environment, human rights and political-economic aspects.

### *3.1. Interfaces with the environment*

The interfaces with the environment relate to more sustainable production systems based on the agro-ecological production model, water security, protection of natural resources and genetic diversity. Aspects such as the use of pesticides, genetically

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modified and transgenic seeds are covered. All these issues are directly linked to the protection of the environment and human dignity, according to the Universal Declaration on Bioethics and Human Rights (UNESCO, 2006).

Cruz (2017) and Andrade (2019) described the incorporation of pesticides as a post-war market necessity, since these products were used as weapons of war and therefore needed a new market. They also added that, in Brazil, this expansionist process of pesticides took place during the military period in 1976, with the National Plan for Agricultural Defensives, which established a rural credit policy conditional on the use of pesticides.

Throughout his research, Cruz (2017) demonstrated that, in the Brazilian context, the increase in the use of agrochemicals is directly linked to the increase in the monoculture production system aimed at export, which creates a dependence on long stretches of land and large quantities of chemical products.

Cruz (2017), Andrade (2019), Cavalcante (2017), Costa (2016) and Furlan (2016) point out various negative aspects of pesticide use and present agribusiness as a despoiling production model, opposed to the promotion of SSAN. Andrade (2020) and Pinto (2017) consider the conceptual appropriation of food security as a means of self-promotion and justification for the production systems used by agribusiness. The same would happen with the term sustainability.

Furlan (2016) adds that this agrochemical paradigm involves the use of transgenic seeds and agrochemicals as essential components of so-called modern agriculture, ignoring the subsequent expenditure on the health of intoxicated individuals or the population that consumes poison on a daily basis. In

this way, it demonstrates the overlapping of market interests in favor of profits, with no accounting of health and socio-environmental costs.

In the works that deal with the trajectory of SSAN, as Costa (2016) points out, the influence of the dominant classes and sectors is notorious, even if indirectly, not occupying high positions of power, interfering in the state apparatus. Costa (2018) presents constant trends of deregulation and flexibilization in the pesticide market. The situation is all the more worrying given that Brazil is one of the biggest consumers of pesticides in the world and is still going through the so-called Poison Package in its legislative houses, with the aim of dismantling the regulation of pesticides in order to expand and facilitate the use of poisons.

Andrade (2019) is critical of the nomenclature used by the industry which, in an attempt to present poisons as a means of defending production from pests, uses the term pesticides. The use of different nomenclatures seeks to have less impact on society's ears. In contrast, Rachel Carson uses the term biocide, since these pesticides kill life forms.

As for the damage caused by eating food contaminated with pesticides and the general risk of manipulating biotechnology in the field, both Andrade (2019) and Alves (2017) draw on Ulrich Beck's theory of risk, Ilya Prigogini's theory of uncertainty, Niklas Luhmann's theory of risk and Anthony Giddens' theory of reflexive modernity. Thus, given all the uncertainties about the dangers, the best solution would be to adopt the principle of prevention and precaution.

Throughout his research, Furlan (2016) highlights the genetic erosion that is consolidated in the production cycle with genetically modified seeds. The loss of biodiversity is linked to this process of

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replacing traditional seeds, as well as knowledge and cultures. The use of these seeds is not supported by a competitive advantage, but by a corporate monopoly. The seeds have a *terminator*<sup>2</sup> technology, which, after harvest, become sterile, creating a bond of dependence between the producer and the companies (Furlan, 2016).

Even for producers who don't use them, as a result of the pollination process, creole seeds are contaminated, i.e. they suffer interference and mutations. Furlan (2016) and Medeiros (2020) reinforce the indispensability of creole seeds for food sovereignty. Both in its applicability and in the economic sphere, Brazil stands out as a world producer of Creole soybeans, and this sector is even more profitable than GM soybeans (Furlan, 2016).

Another point raised by Furlan (2016) is the profitability of royalties. Farmers who use genetically modified seeds are obliged to pay royalties to the companies that produce them. Creole seeds are a symbol of peasant resistance and survival in the face of the globalization of agriculture.

Cavalcante (2017) focuses on water security as a direct and indirect component of food security. This was the only work that analyzed Rondônia region and focused on the water issue. Indirectly, there is also the work by Andrade (2020), discussing the water cistern policy. The others dealt only with water contamination from pesticides.

Of all the natural resources, water is the one that is furthest from a market model, from an element that can be privatized, due to its distribution characteristics; its irreplaceable and indispensable

nature, as well as the fact that nature is the only producer (Cavalcante, 2017). Considering that inadequate or insufficient valuation of natural resources can cause more harm than denial of the values attributed to these resources, Cavalcante (2017) defends the need to account for the use of water.

With this in mind, Cavalcante (2017) brings up the concept of virtual water. This is all the water used directly or indirectly in production, embedded in the entire production chain. Despite the inalienability of water, there is an intense trade, and the public authorities must manage it. The author mentions the existence of academic disagreement when it comes to discussing whether the gains obtained from using natural resources outweigh the losses (Cavalcante, 2017).

Opposing this understanding, Cavalcante (2017) defends the economicization of natural and water resources as water justice, and argues that this process of appropriation of natural goods results in various conflicts. In this sense, and in view of the notion of a water price, water costs should be internalized by producing bodies, and monitored on the basis of the polluter pays principle, and on the basis of hydrosustainable development.

For Cruz (2017) and Medeiros (2020), family farming contributes to the production of more sustainable food that is interlinked with rural development and the protection of biodiversity. Bittencourt (2019) and Andrade (2019) see agroecology as a counter-hegemonic system and a symbol of resistance to food monopolies. Food sovereignty is inserted into the agroecological discourse through concep-

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<sup>2</sup> There are transgenic cultivars that do not use *terminator* technology, also known as *Genetic Use Restriction Technologies* (GURT) or which indicates the restriction of use of genetic technologies for the purposes of intellectual property protection. Seed companies often advertise the characteristics linked to the expected results using acronyms. RR soybeans, for example, would be resistant to glyphosate. BT soy would be resistant to insects.

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tions of sustainability, democracy, social justice and resistance, consisting of a way of integrating small producers socially and economically.

As for agroecology, Santos (2018), Florisbelo (2020) and Bittencourt (2019) highlight the National Plan for Agroecology and Organic Production (Planapo) as a promoter of legal guarantees for producers, ensuring access to resources for organic production, technical training, expansion of insurance and help with marketing. The authors also address the difficulties that permeated the approval of the plan due to interference from the ruralist caucus. However, in general, little is discussed about Planapo in the works analyzed.

The importance of urban or peri-urban agriculture (UPA), i.e. the practice of farming in urban areas, is practically non-existent. The only research study that dealt with this aspect was by Sousa (2019), whose main focus was defending UPA as an alternative form of food production and environmental quality, based on Abramovay's understanding.

### *3.2. Interfaces with human rights*

The protection of human rights includes adequate and healthy food, as well as public health, respect for cultural plurality and the diversity of eating habits. To understand a people's diet, it is necessary to look at their food system. This is only possible if we understand food systems as a chain that links people, the environment, production, the circulation of food and the infrastructure so that it can reach the consumer's table (Melo, 2020).

Diets also influence food systems. Melo (2020) defines food regimes as chains that impact the world's food cultures as a result of the com-

modification process, and are therefore connected to the internal and external political issues of the state. Throughout his work, the author details food regimes, using McMichael and Friedmann as a theoretical reference.

The process of food industrialization influences the food system and promotes a dictatorship of food in which the operator interferes in the choice of each people as to what will be consumed. This process generates consequences, triggering a series of chronic diseases, which Melo (2020) calls the social cost. In other words, the social cost is the result of the relationship between production and the impact on the final consumer. From this perspective, mere production can already trigger damage. These social costs can be summarized as a series of violations of social rights.

Melo (2020) discusses the perspective of state intervention in favor of the economic aspect and the private sector linked to the state as its financier or promoter in order to discuss the impacts of these dynamics on the human right to adequate food. In this respect, she concludes that Brazil has a model of hybrid interventionism and a food regime based on the national developmentalist style, since the influences of economic power produce effects not only in the economic sphere, but also in the normative sphere and in the population's food choices.

A recent example of this is the Technical Note No. 42, issued in 2020 by the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply to the Ministry of Health. The document raises the supposed need to revise the Food Guide for the Brazilian Population on the grounds that the recommendation to avoid consuming ultra-processed foods is no longer appropriate. The Guide, produced in 2014, would be a "clear attack on industrialization without justification"

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(Brasil, 2020). MAPA also ends the note by falsely claiming that the Brazilian Food Guide would be considered one of the worst on the planet and preaching the use of the NEW classification. It should be clarified that the "NEW classification" was named in this way without referring to any acronym, with the clear aim of highlighting a hypothetical delay in the previous document. This is an important step towards undoing the achievements related to the human right to food, because NOVA allows for a greater influence of processing levels on nutritional quantity and increases the potential risk of chronic diseases such as obesity.

The presentation of these arguments by members of the Executive Branch demonstrates, firstly, the affront to the historical, scientific and social construction of the breadth of the concept of adequate and healthy food (Paiva *et al.*, 2019).

Secondly, according to the statement by USP's Nupens (2020), the note disregards Brazilian science and omits the more than 400 studies published in PubMed on the relationship between the NOVA classification and the concept of ultra-processed foods, as well as all the literature reviews carried out over the years (Paiva *et al.*, 2019).

In a third aspect, NOVA disregards international studies, such as those by Hall KD *et al.* (2019) *Ultra-Processed Diets Cause Excess Calorie Intake and Weight Gain: An Inpatient Randomized Controlled Trial of Ad Libitum Food Intake*, published in 2019 and linked to the National Institutes of Health, one of the most important health research centers in the world, which confirms the causal relationship between increased body fat and high consumption of ultra-processed foods (Nupens USP, 2020).

Finally, in terms of affirming the quality of the Brazilian Food Guide, it is internationally recognized by the FAO, WHO and UNICEF as an

example. In addition, in the journal *Frontiers in Sustainable Food Systems* in 2019, Brazil had the best performance score when analyzing its Food Guide, regarding the relationship between sustainability, health, socio-cultural, economy and politics among the countries observed (Ahmed *et al.* 2019; Nupens USP, 2020).

It is the state's responsibility to ensure that the DHAA and SSAN are effective and that these foods are healthy, sustainable and culturally integrated, so that they are linked to the rescue and preservation of cultural eating habits and their diversity. In this sense, the Food Guide plays an important role in aggregating and respecting these habits, and the inclusion of ultra-processed foods is obviously not part of this process (Nascimento, 2020).

Paiva *et al.* (2019) carried out a documentary analysis of the texts produced by the Ministry of Health and other bodies since the first publication in 1950, in search of the emergence of the recognition of healthy or adequate food. This adjective of food as adequate is important because the concept is "[...] determined by a set of prevailing conditions, including social, economic, cultural, climatic and ecological conditions, [...] the notion of sustainability [...] and the idea of accessibility and availability of food" (Paiva *et al.*, 2019, p. 4).

The term healthy comes from the science of nutrition and has gradually been incorporated into food. Paiva *et al.* (2019) point out that the terminology - adequate and healthy food - is genuinely Brazilian, with no corresponding term found in English. Therefore, this concept was only incorporated with the recognition of the structure that favors chronic non-communicable diseases.

Paiva *et al.* (2019) state that, at that time, it was necessary to draw up a global strategy for the problem of hunger and the obesity epidemic, hi-

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ghlighting the role of states in coordinating public policies and plans aimed at this concept of healthy eating.

With regard to the individuality and collectivity of eating habits, and access to land, all the papers presented, albeit superficially, the process of food and agricultural industrialization as opposing respect for cultural values. The debate on land accessibility is directly linked to SSAN and the counter-hegemonic discourse.

In his case study using the campesino a campesino methodology, Faria (2017) discusses how the Quilombola Community of Colônia do Paiol has been losing its eating habits. She also assesses the tendency for their traditions to break down in the face of interference from global culture. Industrialized elements are being incorporated, cultivation practices are being put aside and production is becoming insufficient due to the limited amount of land available, since territorialization does not take place equally.

Botelho (2020), Zanotto (2017), Fabricio (2016) and Ribeiro (2016) present food sovereignty as synonymous with human emancipation and work on the agrarian question as an antagonistic class struggle, amid the formation of latifundia by the ruling class and the impossibility of development, conditioning others to misery, in the face of monopoly and land concentration. Ribeiro (2016) and Zanotto (2017) highlighted the role of the Via Campesina in building this perspective globally and nationally.

From a decolonial perspective, according to Botelho (2020), land is not just an economic issue for peasants, but a space of belonging. It is something that comes naturally to them. The verbs to be, to do and to live are conjugated on the land.

It refers to Pachamama, Mother Earth, who carries the meaning of life and existence. In contrast, agribusiness shapes the unproductive latifundia into a capitalized agribusiness.

This is an imposition of colonial clothing, a reflection of the modern world-system's need to convert what would be considered rustic to civilized, reducing it to a single, limiting structure that deterritorializes and establishes a chain of homogenization, including consumer habits (Botelho, 2020).

### *3.3. Interfaces with political and economic aspects*

All the authors analyzed understand that the industrialization process has an impact not only on changes in eating habits or customs, but on the whole cultural aspect.

Melo (2020) argues that the consumption of food that is unsuitable or harmful to health is directly linked to industrial activities, which are expanding dramatically, affecting dietary patterns. In this sense, from a legal perspective, he maps out the rules and points to advertising, taxation and nutrient labeling as mechanisms of state intervention that oppose the increase in chronic non-communicable diseases. It is the only text among those analyzed to take this approach.

Guimarães (2020) carries out a historiographical assessment of public policies on food and nutrition, analyzing the periods 1930/1964, 1965/1988, 1989/2001 and 2002/2010.

The first phase was characterized by interventionism and the perspective of food education, in which it was believed that Brazilians ate poorly due to a lack of knowledge. The second phase was

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based on food supplementation actions supported by the Military Dictatorship, with a view to giving prestige to the food industries in line with the US influence on so-called food aid. The last phase was defined by a binomial of reducing existing policies, but then building a food policy agenda. After this period, from 2003 to 2010, there was a breakthrough in the fight against hunger and the FNS agenda (Guimarães, 2020).

Of the eligible texts, 15 focused on public policies, especially the Food Acquisition Program (PAA) and the National School Feeding Program (PNAE). Many authors were restricted to a specific region. Despite this, we analyzed the general aspect of the documents and considered the arguments of the beneficiaries of these programs in order to establish a practice-theory relationship.

Facco (2019) points out that there was a vacuum in government actions for agricultural policies aimed at family farming and, as Mendes (2017) points out, the creation of the PAA is linked to social demonstrations in favor of recognizing peasant production, being the first policy aimed at peasant production in Brazil. The authors also make similar points, and summarize the PAA as a strategic surplus program, which has a socially important task in creating work and income opportunities for peasants, as well as expanding the food supply for those who are food insecure (Mendes, 2017; Facco, 2019).

Generally speaking, the PAA has several execution modalities, but it is not the aim to detail or work on them in this research. They are: purchase with simultaneous donation; support for the formation of stocks; direct purchase from family farming; incentives for milk production and consumption (PAA-milk); institutional purchase; purchase of seeds. Facco (2019) points out that, throughout its

implementation, the PAA is influenced by corporations and agribusiness lobbies to prevent it from being expanded or renewed.

Mendes (2017) evaluates the constant budget cuts in programs aimed at family farming. Compared to what is invested in agribusiness, the amounts used to carry out the PAA are derisory (Mendes, 2017).

For Facco (2019), the defense of institutional markets is merely a matter of state appropriation. In practice, the fight against poverty and the pretension of rural development is carried out with meager resources and the PAA is distributed in micro-points in the midst of the hegemonic agriculture of the corporate food regime, vast in Brazilian territory.

Mendes (2017) and Facco (2019) understand that bureaucratic obstacles and a lack of knowledge of agricultural practices are flaws in the credit system. Peasants have their production linked to nature and all its dynamics, respecting seasonality, harvest time and planting. Thus, when there is a delay in authorizing the project, there is an incompatibility of production, since the planting period for that crop can pass and affect the entire operation of delivering and exchanging products. For this reason, Mendes (2017) understands that it would be necessary to facilitate exchange mechanisms.

This change is made in PAA projects, in the form of Simultaneous Donation Purchases (PAA-CDS). It involves changing the item that was to be delivered, because it is impossible to follow what was initially planned. Therefore, a product must be exchanged for another of equal value, by means of a document called a Change Request. However, this whole process is extensive and bureaucratic and can take around 3 to 4 weeks, compromising the quality of the food (MENDES, 2017).

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In order not to lose their production, many farmers began to trade with each other without notifying Conab. However, for the purposes of rendering accounts, the provisions of the project were kept intact and were considered to have been fully complied with. Mendes (2017) and Amaral (2018) cite as an example the Agro-ghostly operation in Paraná in 2013, in which the embezzlement of PAA funds was investigated and led to the pre-trial detention and subsequent acquittal of the farmers involved. As Mendes (2017, p. 66) points out, this operation highlighted the regulatory obstacles that exist in the implementation of the PAA and the fact that "the nature of the program is not consistent with the reality of the peasantry and the working class".

The bureaucratic issue is a much-discussed point in all the research that deals with the PAA. The difficulty of obtaining all the required paperwork; the lack of internet access; followed by the discontinuity of programs over time, which brings instability to farmers; the delay in releasing payments; the difficulty in adapting to the required health standards are some of the obstacles cited. The program operational problems end up harming farmers, generating disbelief and discouraging them from joining the PAA, since these issues cause losses for farmers (Souza, 2018; Peixoto, 2016; Kraiewski, 2017; Mendes, 2017; Facco, 2019).

However, for Rangel (2018), this bureaucratic action is an essential element for subsidizing a series of document production requirements. The officiality and publicity of the act are important parts of the process, helping to quantify and understand the results achieved. Thus, Amaral (2018) analyzes this duality of bureaucracy: the insertion of these requirements removes the autonomy and protagonism of farmers; but, on the other hand, it is a way

of identifying users, creating a database, facilitating performance analysis and bringing transparency.

Mendes (2017) also points out that the PAA-CDS levies taxes on what farmers sell, but commodity producers and exporters are exempt from taxes under the Kandir Law (Complementary Law No. 87 of 1996). In addition, Law No. 12,865/2013 suspends the levy of the PIS/PASEP contribution on income from the sale of soybeans.

Turning to the National School Feeding Program (PNAE), one of the oldest programs, in existence since 1955, initially called the School Meal Campaign, Rodrigues (2017) establishes a historical grouping to understand this policy. From 1954-1971, the focus was on the distribution of food from international "food aid" and US influence.

Food was linked to economic development, fostering industrialization and was also used as a mechanism to expand the market, standardizing eating habits (Ribeiro, 2017; Guimarães, 2020). Representatives of the government at the time believed that something that was "free" did not need to be of good quality (Rodrigues, 2017). Josué de Castro, as a member of parliament, made several denunciations on the grounds that this stance weakened the domestic market, generated dependency and introduced foods that were not compatible with the country's food culture.

There was a similarity between the PAA and the PNAE in terms of bureaucracy. Pinto (2017), Mendes (2017), Carvalhosa (2018) and Rodrigues (2017) cite the following points as the most frequently mentioned in field interviews: the difficulty in accessing documents and complying with health standards; the unfeasibility of regular and consistent food supplies; flaws in the mandatory 30% from the PAA; the lack of due publicity for public calls to

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benefit entrepreneurs or in exchange for favors, with the justification of few interested parties; and the need to participate in the School Feeding Council.

Ribeiro (2017) carried out field research in two schools in the municipality of Juiz de Fora and in Lisbon, Portugal (state and municipal). Only the notes related to Brazil were considered. As difficulties, it is pointed out the relationship of resistance to the students' reception of the menu, which is constantly changed, and the unavailability of food. In both schools, there is a preference for processed foods and there were no food education initiatives. Ribeiro (2017) and Carvalhosa (2018) state that, despite changes in the menus, considering the food received, it is almost impossible to follow the plan. These studies, however, do not analyze the effectiveness of public policies, only the autonomy of schools and their influence.

One of the studies looked specifically at popular restaurants as a public policy, but focused on the limitations of the legal-institutional arrangements that promote social participation and control. Pereira (2018), through his descriptive normative mapping research, evaluates the difficulty of executing positive law in the face of authoritarian policies that limit this action and the need for de-bureaucratization, including the Food and Nutrition Security Council (CONSEA) itself, promoting the expansion of civil society representation and more robust deliberation mechanisms.

Only three papers dealt with CONSEA. One analyzed CONSEA at federal level and its effectiveness from 2011 to 2014 (Dilma Rousseff government). Another looked at the mediation of FNS policies at state level in Minas Gerais. A third discussed the consequences of its extinction in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Santos (2016), in his documentary analysis of CONSEA minutes and opinions from 2011 to 2014, states that CONSEA was ineffective because "[...] it is unable to exercise social control over state actions that affect the area of food security". The author criticizes what he calls the traditional political system and the insufficient democratic effect of the councils.

When he analyzed the minutes, he found that in the plenary sessions, the government has previously consolidated positions. According to Santos (2016), the challenges presented by CONSEA have little effect on the legislative branch, with little correspondence between the Council and what is actually decided. For Santos (2016), with pseudo-participation, there is the institutionalization of democracy, but only as a strategy for governability, because in the practical field there is not much control or modifying power.

Florisbelo (2020), on the other hand, praises the socio-political foundations of CONSEA, with its origins aligned with Brazil's re-democratization movement and the institutionalization of an agenda to promote FNS. In this sense, she emphasizes Brazil's political instability throughout history, the process of consolidating democracy and the influence of global references that impact on economic and social issues, citizenship and public action.

Unlike Santos (2016), Florisbello (2020) has a positive view of CONSEA's impact, although the area of analysis has different dimensions and periods, and the global and sectoral reference points also affect the perspectives. Recine *et al.* (2020) also follow the same line, looking at the positive impacts of CONSEA at the federal level for the promotion of FNS throughout history, such as the drafting of the National Food and Nutrition Security

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Plan (PLASAN) and the improvement of the PNAE with the obligation for 30% of food purchases to come from family farming (PAA). It is important to highlight the place of speech of Recine *et al.* (2020), in her direct relationship with CONSEA, acting as a councilor since 2007 and appointed president in the 2017-2019 term.

Recine *et al.* (2020) challenges Provisional Measure 870/2019, which changed the composition of the Executive Branch, reducing Ministries and leading to the inoperability of CONSEA, as a factor resulting from the disarticulation of the entire national public policy system, bringing more intense consequences to people in situations of greater vulnerability, especially in the context of the health crisis with the COVID-19 pandemic.

Recine *et al.* (2020), Rangel (2018) and Cruz (2018) state that before the pre-pandemic context, the Council already had performance difficulties, with power asymmetries and little diversity of representation. There was already a weakening of FNS policies under the Dilma administration, which followed a moderate economic model, and this has deepened under the Temer government. With the deactivation of the Intersectoral Chamber for Food and Nutritional Security (CAISAN), policies were no longer monitored. PLASAN has come to an end, with its implementation period running from 2016 to 2019 with no indication of renewal.

For Recine *et al.* (2020), the extinction of CONSEA is synonymous with a step backwards, compromising the continuity of public policies. Kraiewski (2017) also highlights the impact of the public spending ceiling, with PEC 55/2016, restricting budget resources. All these factors bring concern to the contemporary scenario of FNS and overwhelming consequences for the future. The fact

that Provisional Measure 870/2019 means the extinction of SISAN was mentioned by all the authors.

As can be seen from the texts by Santos (2016), Florisbello (2020), Recine *et al.* (2020) and Cruz (2018), there is a consensus on the difficulty of analyzing effectiveness due to the reduction of budgets and lack of continuity of public policies in changes of government. As Mendes (2017), Rangel (2018) and Costa (2016) summarize, Brazilian policies are government policies and not state policies. Costa (2016), through historical analysis, states that neoliberal governments tend to discontinue actions, especially in the social area, and deals with the setbacks and instabilities in SAN and the articulation of the Agricultural Front to promote the interests of the dominant classes.

The social isolation measures have had an economic and social impact, increased food insecurity and jeopardized the food supply. At first, the pillars of FNS, such as the availability, physical and economic accessibility of food, were directly affected, strongly impacting the most vulnerable population. People who were already in an unstable situation had their situation worsened. Those who had financial resources had their eating habits changed: consumption of ultra-processed food increased, due to its low value (Martinelli *et al.*, 2020).

In this context, Martinelli *et al.* (2020) highlight the importance of emergency aid, as well as the need to strengthen family farming, given its role in guaranteeing SSAN, generating work and income in the countryside, keeping local culture alive and valuing eating habits. Considering the importance of family farming, it would be necessary to invest in expanding the PAA, in special credit lines, in prioritizing food purchases from traditional communities and in strengthening short supply circuits.

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Martinelli *et al.* (2020) highlight positive measures to promote the right to food during the pandemic, such as making the PNAE more flexible and offering food kits or ready meals, so as not to suspend the program. However, the authors point out the challenges in supplying these kits in terms of the dynamics of preparation, distribution in the context of covid-19, or the granting of food vouchers, which disconnects the need to purchase food from family farmers.

### 3.4. A reflection on the contemporary SSAN scenario

Going beyond the works initially selected, the study by the Brazilian Research Network on Food and Nutritional Sovereignty and Security (PENSSAN Network), launched in 2021, indicated that 55.2% of the households analyzed were food insecure. This figure represents an increase of 54% compared to the 2018 data. In addition, 9% of households were severely food insecure. In other words, 116.8 million people were food insecure, equivalent to twice the population of Argentina. 19.1 million people were severely food insecure, which is close to the population of Greater São Paulo. While severe food insecurity in urban areas is 9%, in rural areas it is 12%. Brazil is not only going through a health crisis, but also a hunger crisis.

If we analyze public policies such as the PAA and the transfer of funds from 2015 to 2019, based on the Simultaneous Donation Purchase modality, one of the main forms of operationalization, using data taken from the Conab bulletin of September 2021, we see a downward trend in investments (Figure 2). This has an impact not only on family farmers, but on food security in general. Producers

now have only one market outlet, which interferes with confidence in the program (Brasil, 2021).

The 2019 FIAN report points to budget cuts in various SAN facilities, such as popular restaurants, food banks, community kitchens, the PAA and the Bolsa Família Program (Santarelli *et al.*, 2019).

In addition to these problems, official inflation in 2020 was 6.25%. Products such as meat increased by 17.9%, rice by 76%, beans by 68% and fruit by 25.4%. If analyzed, according to IPEA, inflation had an impact of 6.22% for the poorest population, while for the rich it was 2.74%. In addition, the unemployment rate has risen and currently stands at 14.1% and income has not kept pace with the rise in the cost of living (Mitidiero Junior; Goldfarb, 2021).

In January 2022, the 12-month accumulated National Consumer Price Index (IPCA) was 10.38% (IBGE, 2022), which shows that Brazilians' purchasing power and, consequently, the possibility of accessing food are in perceptible decline.

The situation is worrying and there is little hope of improvement if the position adopted by the President between 2019 and 2022 remains the same. The Spending Ceiling instituted in 2016 (PEC 55/2016), budget limitations, Provisional Measure 870/2019, which dismantled SISAN, extinguishing bodies responsible for monitoring and planning actions to promote SSAN such as CONSEA, the National Commission for Agroecology and Organic Production (CNAPO), the Interministerial Chamber for Agroecology and Organic Production (CIAPO), make it difficult to even measure the current level of SSAN, as it is practically impossible to obtain up-to-date official data. Brazil is back on the Hunger Map and those (ir)responsible for running the country have decided that hiding the data is less damaging than allowing Brazilians to starve.

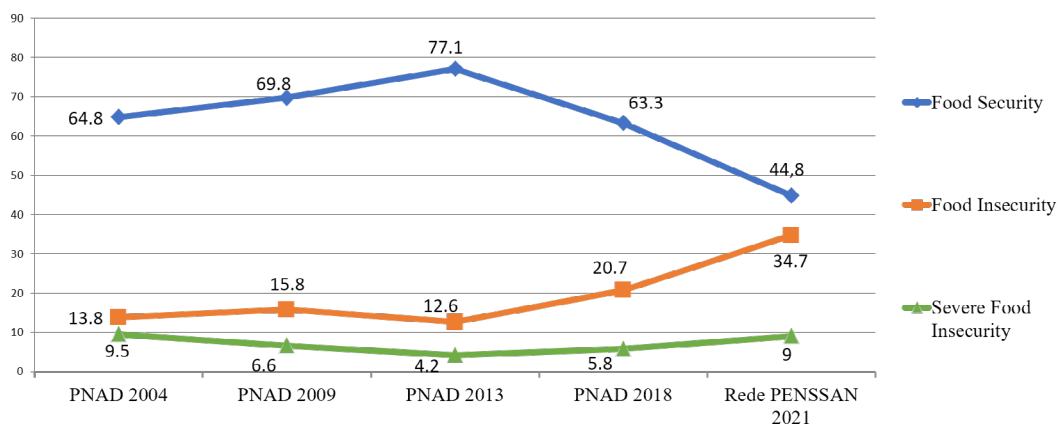


FIGURE 2 - Food security and insecurity in Brazil (2004-2020)  
 Source: prepared by the authors (2021); PENSSAN NETWORK (2021)

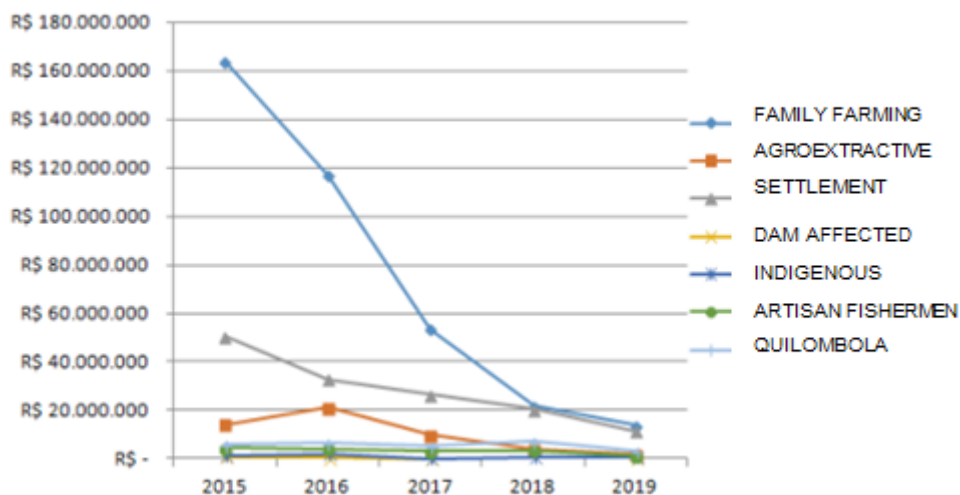


FIGURE 3 - Evolution of investment in the PAA-CDS by supplier category 2015-2019  
 Source: prepared by the authors (2021); Brazil (2021).

#### 4. Final considerations

Based on the research analyzed, it was found that when it comes to SSAN regarding perspectives on the environment, the most discussed points are the use of pesticides and their intensification, the

contamination of natural resources, tax exemptions and legislative changes that expand the incorporation of these pesticides, such as the Poison Package. The confrontation with the hegemonic discourse, based on productivism and the control of natural goods subjugated to financial interests,

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also appeared frequently in the analyses, as did the use of genetically modified and transgenic seeds and their effects on the reduction and extinction of biodiversity, the impacts on Creole seed crops as a result of pollination and the devaluation of peasant knowledge. Alternative models were presented: family farming, organic farming, urban and peri-urban farming, and agroecological farming.

As for human rights, the debates are aligned with the guarantee of adequate and healthy food, and the trend towards industrialization and standardization of eating habits. From a political and economic perspective, public policies such as the PAA and PNAE were the most addressed. With regard to the PAA, the themes that stood out were: the drastic reduction in the budget over the years and its impacts, the duality between the excessive bureaucracy of the rules, which are not suited to the reality of peasant farming, and the need for bureaucratic instruments as a way of controlling actions and measuring the reach of public policies. From the perspective of the PNAE, bureaucracy and the difficulties of adapting to health standards were also highlighted, as well as the constant changes to the school menu and the influences of the food industry.

Several papers have also discussed the role of CONSEA. It was noted that older studies approached CONSEA more critically, analyzing its real effectiveness. On the other hand, more recent research has placed greater value on CONSEA's achievements and has brought to light the impacts of its extinction in 2019, through Provisional Measure 870, which dismantled and weakened SISAN's structure. At this point, it is worth noting that the context in which the data was collected ultimately reflects the Brazilian political and scientific scenario from 2018 onwards. With the record release of pesti-

cides in Brazil, the deconstruction of environmental policy and the country's return to the hunger map, it is possible that there is a tendency to broaden the subject under discussion by expanding the problems linked to it. Verifying this trend, however, will depend on the work of future researchers dedicated to linking the amount of work produced to the social and political repercussions of the issues on the agenda at any given time.

They also analyzed issues involving the current covid-19 scenario, measures to mitigate the impacts, such as making the PNAE more flexible, the need to strengthen the PAA, emergency aid and the financial aid policy.

Of all the texts analyzed, seven are from the field of law. They all work from the perspective of the human right to adequate food, with one focusing on pesticides (Andrade, 2019), making it a common point in all the research analyzed, albeit superficially. Two others (Furlan, 2016; Cruz, 2017) analyzed the dichotomy in relation to agribusiness and agriculture, discussing the role of food monopolies. Botelho (2020) also addressed this latter perspective, but linked it to the decolonial foundation, especially with regard to the privatization of land. Only one of the papers was based on a case study of popular restaurants, aimed at understanding the legal arrangements for promoting social participation (Pereira, 2018) and interventionist regulatory issues regarding food advertising and labeling. Melo (2020) presented the DHAA, restricted to economic state interventionism, as rules linked to labeling and advertising, for example, as a way of combating chronic non-communicable diseases.

In summary, with regard to theoretical references, the researches of Josué de Castro, Renato S. Maluf, Walter Belik, Takagi, and Luciene Burlandy

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stand out. As for food sovereignty and peasant issues, Vandana Shiva, Stedile, Schiavinatto, Ploeg, Chayanov, Carvalho and the Via Campesina texts stand out. As for agroecology, the most referenced theoretical frameworks are Altieri, Gliessman and Shimitt. Thomaz-Júnior, Porto-Gonçalves, Grisa, Schneider, Delgado and Umbelino de Oliveira are the main theoretical references for rural development, agrarian issues and rural public policies. Therefore, even though these authors are not theoretical references for future research on the subject, they are essential for understanding the relevant concepts and points that permeate or are directly linked to the study of SSAN.

It has been noted that the subject involves interdisciplinary analysis, making it necessary to draw on knowledge or reflections from multiple areas. Examples include agricultural geography, nutrition, agronomy, economics and agricultural law. This knowledge is extremely important for understanding peasant practices, food practices, public policies and the disputes surrounding the issue.

As possible gaps to be researched, it can be inferred that little has been discussed about food systems and seeds. Although some research works on creole seeds, for example, little is specifically directed at the regulatory legal framework, the legal frameworks, the instruments limiting the circulation of these seeds. Another point that is rarely addressed is the issue of water and its correlation with food security and sovereignty. In general, the concept of food sovereignty and the categories that can derive from it do not seem to have been consolidated yet, especially in legal texts, where the perspectives of HRAF and FNS are addressed more.

Of the 35 papers analyzed, 15 were restricted to public policies. Of these, the majority dealt with

the PNAE and the PAA. In the context of state action, little was discussed or mentioned about Planapo as a promoter of SSAN, aimed at expanding agroecology and organic production.

It should be noted that it is not the intention of this work to present all the questions on the subject of SSAN. On the contrary, it would be difficult to do so in just a few pages. Therefore, we have only tried to infer which of the many aspects were presented and most prominent within the scope of the research, with the aim of getting to know the path taken by researchers and pointing the way for future research.

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