

O bem-viver à luz da boa mesa: modos de endereçamento e convocações ao consumo em programas culinários do GNT

The well-living in the light of the good table: ways of addressing and convocations for consumption in GNT cooking shows

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Resumo: *Tendo em vista os tensionamentos verificados no estatuto da cozinha no panorama da produção audiovisual recente, este artigo procura compreender as formas pelas quais programas televisivos buscam cativar seus espectadores em sua força de seguidores de valores de consumo. Para tanto, formula operadores de análise para a identificação dos modos de endereçamento no programa culinário, que propomos compreender como gênero específico do discurso televisual. Assim, por meio desse ferramental metodológico, o trabalho examina os programas culinários *Tempero de Família – Não joga fora* (2021) e *Que Maravilha – Delivery* (2020), exibidos pelo canal GNT. Como principal resultado do estudo, destaca-se a identificação de convocações que atendem a demandas potenciais de bem-viver formatadas à luz do consumo da comida e da cozinha.*

Palavras-chave: *Programas culinários; Televisão; Modos de endereçamento; Convocações ao consumo; GNT.*

Abstract: *Considering the displacements verified in the kitchen statute in the panorama of recent audiovisual production, this article intends to understand the ways in which television programs seek to captivate their viewers in their strength as followers of consumer values. Therefore, it formulates analysis operators to identify the ways of addressing in the culinary program, which we propose to*

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*understand as a specific genre of the television discourse. Thus, through these methodological tools, the work examines the culinary programs *Tempero de Família – Não joga fora* (2021) and *Que Maravilha – Delivery* (2020), broadcasted by GNT channel. As the main result of the study, it might be highlighted the identification of convocations that meet potential demands for well-living formatted in the light of food and cooking consumption.*

Keywords: Culinary shows; Television; Ways of addressing; Convocations for consumption; GNT.

Introduction

From highly competitive reality shows to journeys of gastronomic discovery, through the emergence of the figure of “celebrity chefs”: in contemporary audiovisual culture, the profusion, diversification, and segmentation of narratives of food presentation, preparation and tasting (OLIVEIRA, 2016) show displacements in the media visibilities of the kitchen universe and the tensioning of regimes of representation of food, eating and cooking established throughout the 20th century, a period marked by the emergence and predominance of cooking shows and segments with a didactic-instructional proposition, then directed to a female audience formed by housewives (BUENO, 2016; REZENDE; LAVINAS, 2017).

At the same time, it is urgent to recognize that, this scenario of possible expansions and evident re-articulations in how cooking practices are represented in audiovisual culture corresponds to the emergence of a true “wave of consumption of the kitchen universe” (OLIVEIRA, 2016, p. 136). It is also in the wake of this appreciation of the “consumption of experiences” (FONTENELLE, 2017) that categories such as “gourmet” and “gourmetization”, for example, become popular. Thus, the summoning of refinement, *haute* gastronomy, and distinction consolidates processes aimed at aggregation, valorization, and exploitation of an experience value from edible consumer goods (OLIVEIRA, 2016).

Considering this conjuncture, given such recent tensions verified in the status of the kitchen in consumption practices and the landscape of audiovisual production, we are interested in understanding how audiovisual productions seek to captivate their spectators in their force as followers of consumption values. In other words, we propose investigating how TV productions invite the consumption of the kitchen. By modes of summoning for consumption, we understand, according to Prado (2013), how media devices direct “calls” to their spectators, challenging them to occupy discursive roles linked to projects of “good living” (PRADO, 2013).

We conceive here the “good living” as an unsaid underlying the regimes of visibility and interaction articulated by media enunciators, understood as “symbolic analysts” who reckon between “two symbolic points, on a temporal scale,” like calculated routes (PRADO, 2013, p. 10). In these regimes of media visibility, the ideals of well-being relate to “idealized places” projected “according to a certain conception of life and desired world, one’s own body, and the meanings of the future available to each one by the system of commodities.” (PRADO, 2013, p. 10).²

To do so, we chose to prioritize television productions as the empirical object of this research. TV can be understood as a privileged locus of rearticulation of media representation regimes of food in contemporary life, influencing the visibilities engendered in other spaces of media culture, such as streaming platforms and digital social media. Thus, with such a methodological choice, it becomes possible to direct our efforts to a media that, since the 20th century, presents itself as an important space for the circulation of discourses on cooking practices (BUENO, 2016).

From the Brazilian television programming about cooking, we chose titles aired by the pay-tv station *GNT* as the focus of attention. Besides the viewer segmentation of pay-tv channels, another relevant aspect in the discussion on how cooking programs engender consumption is that cable TV has been playing a decisive role in Brazil by incorporating foreign influences in the renewal of cooking television shows, including trends like the predominant appeal to the senses in *haute* cuisine and the protagonism of male chefs³ (NILSSON, 2013; NEGRA; TASKER, 2019;

2 Following this conception, it is possible to assume that, while well-being concerns quality of life socioeconomic indicators based on quantitative and qualitative data, good living contemplates a kind of “subjective well-being.” (ALCÂNTARA; SAMPAIO, 2020).

3 Although the historical course of television cooking shows has, in recent years, replaced the traditional (female) role of culinary experts with the (male) role of chefs (AUTHOR), the protagonism of whiteness in these programs appears to be structural and systematic throughout the history of Brazilian TV. We find examples of female chefs and hosts in contemporary shows, like Rita Lobo heading *Cozinha Prática* aired by GNT. Cases of Black male and female chefs are even rarer: one of the few exceptions is the case of chef Bela Gil, who was in charge of four seasons of the program *Bela Cozinha*, also on GNT.

LEER, 2016). At the same time, *GNT* constitutes a case study of interest for the importance that cooking shows represent in its programming: in the first quarter of 2021, for example, the broadcaster broke a record for share and average time in the whole day and prime time, with four cooking shows among the five most watched in the period (TELA VIVA, 2021). In 2020, the Grupo Globo channel had already climbed ten positions up to 17 in the pay-tv ranking, given the good performance of cooking shows during the pandemic (SANTIAGO, 2020).

From the *GNT* schedule, we focused on productions that we can classify as belonging to the genre of televisual discourse⁴ that we propose to denominate as a *cooking show*. We understand *cooking shows* are television audiovisual products whose thematic contents do not simply cover issues related to food or nutrition but, more precisely, *cooking practices*. In addition, the appreciation of recipe preparation narratives fundamentally characterizes its *compositional structure*, which can focus on different stages and processes involved in transforming ingredients into food⁵. In terms of *style*, cooking shows are, to a greater or lesser extent, productions of a didactic or instructional proposition, which seems to be one of the most decisive aspects for defining the genre, given its social function, namely, teaching the viewer to reproduce recipes and cooking techniques.

Among the cooking shows we could call “traditional,” whose origin in Brazilian TV goes back to women’s shows in the 1950s⁶, we observe relatively stable stylistic aspects, for instance, the detailed exhibition of

4 We understand discursive genres as “relatively stable types of content” (BAKHTIN, 2016, p. 12) characterizable by the specific conditions of the field of human activity and identifiable by three main elements: thematic content, compositional construction, and style (BAKHTIN, 2016).

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5 In this sense, the cooking show distinguishes itself from other discursive genres typical of television programming about food, like game shows or reality TV shows, even if characteristics of the latter are frequently and fragmentarily incorporated into the cooking show style.

6 That was the case of *Revista Feminina* aired by TV Tupi, the first women’s show on Brazilian television, which opened space in 1958 for a regular culinary segment led by Ophelia Anunciato that later gave rise to the *A Cozinha Maravilhosa de Ofélia* show.

recipes' steps, the highly didactic tone, and the host or culinary expert (almost always women) leading in studios fitted to look like domestic kitchens (REZENDE; LAVINAS, 2017). On the other hand, in recent years, we find more and more cooking shows that present re-readings of previously stylistic aspects, a trend of which the *GNT* broadcaster is an exemplary case.

In this sense, we must recognize, following a Bakhtinian perspective, the historicity of the cooking show, understood as a relatively stabilized form, whose constitutive traits accompany social practices in transformation, as the practices taking place around the kitchen and television production and consumption practices. In the first case, it is necessary to recognize the historical movement by which the kitchen is no longer a space relegated to women's domestic life to the extent that professional practices affirm themselves as part of the process of forming a gastronomic field (PREVIATTI, 2019). In the second case, we highlight processes such as more content and audience segmentation (Rezende; Lavinas, 2017), the convergence between platforms, and the "double movement" (JOST, 2019), from the TV to the internet and from the internet to TV content, of discourses, productive forces, and consumers.

Back to the criteria for building the empirical object of the research, we selected for the composition of the analytical corpus the most recent seasons of two cooking shows, which had already been completely exhibited on *GNT* by the time of this work's analysis: *Tempero de Família*, headed by the fashion model and presenter Rodrigo Hilbert, and *Que Marravilha!* starring chef Claude Troisgros. More precisely, we considered the *Não joga fora* season from *Tempero de Família*, aired in 2021, and the *Delivery* season from *Que Marravilha!* aired in 2020.

Besides appearing amongst the productions with the highest ratings on the channel, this work focuses on the two TV shows as they prioritize different representations of the kitchen. As its title suggests, *Tempero de Família* [*Family Seasoning*] seeks to value a representation of the kitchen marked by meanings of affection, familiarity, and domesticity.

In *Que Marravilha!*, the kitchen's representation is marked by meanings of *haute cuisine*, professionalism, and expert knowledge (materialized in the figure of the host chef), images that translate themselves in the French accent presupposed in the misspelled word “*marravilha*” (“wonderful”) in the show's title.

Thus, although a superficial look may suggest that the differences are more expressive than the similarities between the shows, a close examination reveals the existence of more convergences than contrasts. In other words, although the recurrence of different socially crystallized representations of the kitchen can confer a certain sense of diversity to the *GNT* timetable, both productions seem to position the spectator and invite them to consume the culinary universe through similar strategies.

Analysis operators in cooking shows

To advance in the reflection on the ways *Que Marravilha!* and *Tempero de Família* convene to the consumption of the culinary universe, we verified, during this research, the need to define efficient analytical tools for collating the discursive materiality of cooking shows. Thus, more than merely thematic descriptors, we find in the concept of mode of address, as defined by Gomes (2011), a way to respond to the questions raised in this work. That is because the mode of address, giving specific modulations to relatively stabilized generic aspects, indicate how television shows seek to establish particular forms of relationship with their audiences.

Initially developed within the scope of screen theory, focusing on film analysis, the notion of “mode of address” has been appropriated and re-dimensioned since at least the 1980s in television studies. From the perspective of the latter, “mode of address is what is characteristic of the specific forms and communicative practices of a program. It concerns how a specific show tries to establish a particular form of relationship with its audience.” (GOMES, 2011, p. 36). In other words, examining modes of address in TV shows makes it possible to understand the

reception practices requested by the shows through the construction of “specific styles.”

In this sense, given the interdependent relationship between enunciator and the receiving end, the mode of address concerns an “orientation towards the receiver” (GOMES, 2011, p. 37) and establishes the “appeal” that the shows launch towards their audiences (HARTLEY, 2001). Therefore, from this dual perspective, the orientation towards reception as a fundamental element in the production of meaning in television programs and as a stylistic specificity, we propose considering modes of address in cooking shows.

This way, the individual style of a show is linked invariably to how it addresses its audience and seeks to win it, which, in turn, has implications for how this audience is “summoned” to consume symbolically the program and the representations contained in it. Thus, in this work, we propose to discuss the modes of address in cooking shows as a methodological tool for understanding the strategies by which these audiovisual productions establish *calls for consumption*, as defined by Prado (2013).

To conceptualize analytical operators adequate for examining cooking shows, we start with Gomes’ (2011) methodological protocol for studying television news programs, rereading it considering the specificities of the empirical object in focus in this research⁷. We, therefore, propose three analytical operators for the study of modes of address in cooking shows, namely:

(1) *Mediator/host*. In the case of this analytical operator, it is about understanding the performance undertaken by cooking show hosts – many of them chefs raised to the status of celebrities and digital influencers – including their interactions with other characters eventually present in the productions. At the same time, if applicable, one should not lose sight of the status achieved by these mediators from their work in different media spaces.

7 Although we sought an analogy with Gomes’ (2011) proposal, we chose not to consider the “communicative context” as an analysis operator of the modes of address – as the author does – since we already presuppose it as part of the concrete conditions of discursive production.

(2) *Instructions for use*. Here, we have an analytical operator quite similar to how Gomes (2011) understands the instructions for using television news programs, considered as the “regulating principles of communication – how senders present themselves, how they represent their receivers, and how they place each other in a concrete communicative situation” (GOMES, p. 39). In the case of cooking shows, the instructions for use concern, in a more evident dimension, how the recipes are taught (with more or less didacticism, with more or less precise indications of the measurements of the ingredients, etc.). Nevertheless, this analytical operator also encompasses how mediators address their audiences directly – including the use of vocatives and marks of greater or lesser proximity to the spectator, for example – and how each show makes its proposal explicit. Still, in a global sense, the instructions for use understand the role played by cooking shows as mediators of social, cultural, and material relations established with and around the kitchen.

(3) *Thematic approach*. Making evident the existence of bets on interests and skills on the part of the viewer, this analytical operator regards the observation of how cooking shows: construct representations of food, culinary practices, and food consumption rituals; frame interpersonal or social relationships articulated around cooking and food; and adopt narrative frameworks to present the preparation of recipes. Moreover, the analytical operator regards audiovisual resources responsible for engendering sensory stimuli and affectivities around food and cooking, including choices of framing, lighting, montage, etc., and the establishment of relationships between the shows’ principal theme – the presentation of cooking recipes – and its secondary themes.

Taken together, we believe that the three analytical operators make it possible to highlight the tacit agreements that inform viewers of cooking shows what they should expect to find in these productions. However, it is necessary to remember that examining the modes of address in television products cannot take place without considering the concrete circumstances inscribing the interactions between production

and reception (GOMES, 2011). Correspondingly, Voloshinov (2017) defends the examination of the material and immediate conditions of interaction in discursive communication as a first methodological procedure. Specifically in the case of the object of this work, we must observe that interest in television productions with a culinary theme is present mainly among an audience with high purchasing power, given that shows on free-to-air television channels are also available on the internet, pay TV, and streaming services. So, the format has good commercial potential for broadcasters (STYCER, 2019).

That is the case of *GNT*, which ranked in July 2020 in seventh place among TV stations watched by classes A and B in Brazil, according to data collected in June of that year by Kantar Ibope Media. According to the survey, 71% of its viewers belong to the wealthiest social strata (FELTRIN, 2020). But this audience profile is nothing new and accords with the history of the broadcaster, especially since 2003, when *GNT* assumed women from classes A and B, aged between 25 and 49, as its principal target viewership (PROPMARK, 2006). Not by chance, the prioritization of this target audience occurred at a time of brand repositioning, when *GNT* sought to build a new identity for itself, described as a “female soul” by its Marketing manager at the time, through the lineup of shows (CHAMUSCA, 2019). With the perception that women accounted for 60% of its audience and 80% of its advertising revenue, the broadcaster began to invest in behavior, beauty, health, current affairs, and gastronomic themes (CHAMUSCA, 2019). Almost ten years ago, the launch of the *Saia Justa* program was a milestone in repositioning the channel’s timetable, which sought to “affirm a distinction concerning what was commonly called female shows, a space usually evaluated by critics as low-quality” (CHAMUSCA, 2019, p. 83). In this way, the claim for a “differentiated” place relative to television programming involved an attempt to distance itself from the traditional domestic life themes and approach the reality of a female audience with growing consumption power. At the same time, *GNT* consolidated its vocation for so-called “entertainment” programs, thus moving away

from the news channel label it had assumed upon its inauguration definitively.

With such considerations on our horizon, in the next section, we will move on to the results of the reflections developed regarding *Que Maravilha!* – *Delivery* and *Tempero de Família – Não Joga Fora* based on the analytical operators proposed for examining the modes of address in cooking shows. First, however, we need to clarify the criteria that guided us in structuring the presentation and discussion of the results.

Although we carried out the analysis of the shows using a descriptive grid that characterizes each episode according to the *mediator/host*, *instructions for use*, and *thematic approach* operators, we chose to highlight the recurrences observed in the analyzed corpus, that is, without individualizing the findings by episode, to favor textual organization and conciseness. Still, to enable the systematization of research findings in the space of an article, we resorted to examples extracted from the inaugural episodes of each season to illustrate the observed recurrences, a choice owed to the fact that, in these episodes, we found particularly clear delimitations of the singularities of each production.

***Tempero de Família* and *Que Maravilha!*: good living proposals served at the table**

A rustic workshop located in an attic of a house filled with tools. A cozy kitchen with appliances that refer to trivial domesticity, although decorated in a meticulously planned way (see Figure 1). From these two spaces, the workshop and the kitchen, host Rodrigo Hilbert – famous star of social media memes that highlight his simultaneously “unreachable” and “deconstructed masculinity” – presents the *Tempero de Família – Não joga fora* season, recorded at his family’s farm in Teresópolis, Rio de Janeiro, and exhibited in the first half of 2021 (NA TELINHA, 2020). In each episode, a new object undergoes renovation in the workshop and then finds its use in the kitchen, where presented recipes propose to reuse common foods in the fridge.

Figure 1 – The kitchen in *Tempero de Família* in a scene from the first episode of the *Não joga fora* season



Source: Screenshot by the author. *Globoplay* (2021).

A compact and modern space with stainless steel appliances and utensils reminiscent of restaurant kitchens (see Figure 2): this is the scenario of the 2020 *Que Maravilha! Delivery* season in which celebrity chef Claude Troisgros – the owner of luxurious restaurants, active figure on social media, and lead host of successful television programs – is challenged by ordinary people to prepare an “affectionate” recipe, always accompanied by his assistant, Batista. Having as a subtext the desire for communion at the table in the pandemic situation, Claude announces, in the first episode, the proposal of the season: to create meals to “gift people who love to gather around the table.”

Figure 2 – The kitchen in *Que Marravilha!* in a scene from the first episode of the *Delivery* season



Source: Screenshot by the author/*Globoplay* (2021).

In *Tempero de Família* and *Que Marravilha!*, mediators Hilbert and Claude present the food and the kitchen as elements that give access to meanings of social responsibility (*Tempero de Família*), community (*Que Marravilha!*), and affection (both). Such meanings emerge, above all, from characteristic aspects in the ways the shows construct instructions for use – summoning the viewer to assume a place in social, cultural, and material relations around the kitchen – and the principal thematic approach – such as their narrative frameworks and, in the case of *Tempero de Família*, the form of representing the spatiality of the kitchen. In this sense, the shows seem to represent food and the kitchen as means to access different ideals of self-fulfillment and aspirations in themselves that one can achieve through the enjoyment of eating and preparation rituals.

In the case of *Tempero de Família*, the thematic approach includes the representation of food preparation rituals that refer to senses of everyday life, triviality, and familiarity. That is evident, for example, in how the *Globoplay* streaming platform describes the show: “Rodrigo teaches the secrets he learned from his mother and grandmother in the

kitchen. The series demystifies the idea that to cook, you need to use difficult ingredients and utensils.” In this case, as instructions for using the program, we have the position of the viewer as a non-expert in the kitchen interested in learning or, at least, *being in contact with* culinary secrets.

Detaining this culinary know-how, Hilbert is a popular and charismatic media figure. Although he has no training in gastronomy, he receives recognition as a celebrity whose career currently centers on audiovisual productions related to food. In this sense, Hilbert has a “professional” relationship with the kitchen. At the same time, his performance on the show refers to a laid-back attitude, like someone who cooks “by eye” because he learned the art of cooking at home, with his family, “by watching.” This semantic ambiguity – on the one hand, cooking as a socially differentiated practice; on the other hand, everyday non-professional cooking – emerges as a characteristic feature of the thematic approach and instructions for using *Tempo de Família*, also reflected in the recipes presented.

Hilbert describes the raw materials used in the recipes as trivial, given the proposal of the season to reuse food forgotten in the fridge. In the first episode, for example, the presenter prepares gnocchi with arrabbiata tomato sauce from leftover rice, popcorn made with the rind of parmesan cheese, and orange *pavê* made with the peel of the fruit. The dishes, however, presuppose access to high-cost ingredients, which places the spectator in a privileged position from the point of view of their food consumption, especially when we consider the alarming data on food insecurity in Brazil⁸. In this sense, it seems clear to us that, by proposing the reuse of certain ingredients, the season invites the viewer to enjoy the ideal of sustainability more as an *individual lifestyle* than as a means of social transformation or solving practical everyday problems (for example, the high cost of food in Brazil).

8 According to a 2021 study by Research Network on Food and Nutritional Sovereignty and Security (PENSSAN), during the Covid-19 pandemic, hunger in Brazil rose to 2004 levels, when moderate food insecurity reached 12% of the population, and severe reached 9.5% (PENSSAN NETWORK, 2021).

For all these reasons, although *Tempero de Família* values, as we pointed out at the beginning of the work, a representation of the kitchen as a daily and family practice, its modes of address invite the spectator to appreciate a culinary experience aimed at those who *like to cook* – and not who *need to cook* – as a distinctive feature of a somewhat hedonistic and evidently elitist lifestyle. This call is reinforced by the figure of Hilbert himself, whose relationship with the kitchen is marked by *pleasure, affinity, and affection*.

In the case of *Que Marravilha!*, Claude constantly claims to *fall short* of the priceless value of family recipes, though he always positions himself *beyond* everyday cooking when creating authorial versions of the dishes – again, a semantic ambiguity that seems to characterize both the thematic approach and the instructions for using the show. In the first episode, for example, when cooking a “bogged-down cow,” the host replaces the beef ribs with lamb meat and adds plantain to the preparation. Positioning himself according to his specialized knowledge as a *chef*⁹, Claude makes re-readings that mobilize senses of distinction, authorship, and refinement. At the same time, narrative frames that explore the tension established in the opposition between different versions of the same dish mark the show’s thematic approach. In this sense, the show seems to make the kitchen visible as a space for dispute – albeit playfully and humorously¹⁰.

Concerning the social relations articulated around the kitchen in the production, the way it establishes the interaction between Claude and Batista deserves attention for revealing the role of whiteness in the televisual making of cooking shows. A professional relationship – experienced cordially, but no less hierarchically – between a (white) chef and his (black) assistant guides the dynamics between Claude and Batista. Hence, the program shapes a social relationship articulated with

9 The professional and hierarchical character that marks the host’s relationship with Batista also composes this way of positioning himself, despite the cordial interaction between the two.

10 Not by chance, we found it in *Que Marravilha!* the presence of fragments of stylistic resources typical of reality shows, a genre of television discourse linked to senses of competitiveness and high performance and highly aestheticized representations of food (REZENDE; LAVINAS, 2017).

such recurrence around the kitchen in Brazilian culinary shows that we never see a white kitchen assistant supporting a black host.

Still, regarding the instructions for use in *Que Marravilha!*, it is worth noting the show positions the viewer from the non-expert perspective of non-chefs. At the beginning of the first episode, the host addresses the audience asking, “Do you know that traditional recipe of your family or that classic dish at meetings with friends?” At the same time, the show invites the spectator to enter Claude’s kitchen, witnessing his performance as a privileged observer. At the end, the episodes invite the viewer to assume the role of “taster” of the dishes prepared by the chef, which families who own the original recipes consume amidst the euphoria generated by Claude’s unusual visit as a delivery service person. In the first episode, for example, upon learning that her “bogged-down cow” had turned into a “bogged-down lamb,” the character “Aunt Cida” – whose dream is to “taste food made by Claude’s hands” – states: “it got even chicer!”

Knowing that taste, understood as an aesthetic judgment, is produced through processes of “distinction” (BOURDIEU, 2007), we observe in *Que Marravilha!* the recourse, as is usual in representations of food in audiovisual culture, to an “aesthetic affectation” linked to the conception of “good taste” (OLIVEIRA, 2016). In this sense, its modes of address summon the spectator to enjoy a unique gastronomic experience, which presents itself as pleasurable through the mediation of both the taste (flavor, palate) and the taste (aesthetic judgment) of the food.

Final considerations

Through the mobilization of the proposed analytical operators, this work sought to understand how the modes of address in cooking shows demonstrate how these productions “appeal” to their viewers and summon their strength as followers of consumption values (PRADO, 2013). Thus, in the analyzed shows, we found calls that meet potential demands for good living, formatting these under the light of food consumption and cooking. As Prado (2013, p. 12) observes, the call

offers “not a pure and simple satisfaction of a ‘natural’ need but gives form to a latent demand, making it express itself in a cultural want.”

In *Tempero de Família*, the call positions the culinary experience before an audience, presumed to have high purchasing power, as a means to accessing a lifestyle articulated around a (re)valuation of everyday life and the domestic space itself, seen as an environment where you can occupy your free time productively and pleasantly through the practice of cooking understood as a hobby.

To this end, the show offers the spectator *know-how*, not intending to provide *information* to satisfy a need (that of simply knowing how to prepare food), but rather to *summon* people to enjoy an experience reserved for those who like cooking and can choose when and how to do it. Thus, in the case of the call established in the program, senses of creativity, sustainability, and affectivity mediated by cooking and food are presented as potentiating aspects of the culinary experience as an object of desirable consumption. In this sense, though the show values its representation as an everyday and family practice, cooking appears as a mediating element of a lifestyle whose access is available only to economically privileged sections of the population, in which the appreciation of everyday pleasures becomes a sign of personal achievement.

In *Que Marravilha!*, the call positions the access to the cooking experience of professional chefs and gastronomists as desirable, understanding it not only as an experience of sensory satisfaction of the palate but also as a form of social distinction. Thus, while it gives shape to a demand for the enjoyment of good food, the call suggests it takes place in the symbolic consumption of tasty images of food, the guests’ descriptions of the dishes, and the ideal of high-quality performance represented by the performance of a chef-host. In this sense, the show aims to summon the spectator to the consumption of a know-how ideal potentiated by the meanings of *haute cuisine* transversal to the production.

Thus, even if a superficial look at the shows *Tempero de Família* and *Que Maravilha!* may suggest the presence of very different approaches to the universe of cooking, the examination of their modes of address highlights more similarities than differences. At the same time, the research findings help shed light on the historical transformations of cooking shows, which, following the social practices that articulate this discursive genre, concern mainly the displacement of the exclusively “instructional” character that predominated throughout the twentieth century in these television productions.

Although viewers can still watch current cooking shows with the intention of learning and reproducing specific recipes, calls for assistance include factors such as aesthetic enjoyment, acquisition of gastronomic knowledge, and the search for distinction based on sophistication and refinement values. In fact, one does not have to be a frequent cook to occupy the position of spectator requested by these productions – as our analysis of *Tempero de Família* and *Que Maravilha!* shows. Thus, despite some stylistic peculiarities, both shows summon the viewer to consume the same discursive universe in which “good food” and “good cuisine” appear as synonyms of wealth and distinction.

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