

Brazilian cuisine and the bustling *gourmet universe*



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Luzia da Silva Arruda

PhD in Contemporary Culture Studies from PPGECO / UFMT and Administrative Technical Server as TV and Film Camera Operator at TVU / UFMT.

ABSTRACT

When one thinks of Brazilian cuisine, what immediately comes to mind is the triad of

influences: indigenous, African and Portuguese present in classic works of national gastronomic literature, such as that of Luís da Câmara Cascudo and Gilberto Freyre. There is no denying that we are the fruits of a miscegenation, in fact Martín-Barbero (2002, p.50) points out: "the history of Latin America is the history of miscegenation and not the history of purities, of authenticities, whether we like it or not".

1 INTRODUCTION

When one thinks of Brazilian cuisine, what immediately comes to mind is the triad of influences: indigenous, African and Portuguese present in classic works of national gastronomic literature, such as that of Luís da Câmara Cascudo and Gilberto Freyre. There is no denying that we are the fruits of a miscegenation, in fact Martín-Barbero (2002, p.50) points out: "the history of Latin America is the history of miscegenation and not the history of purities, of authenticities, whether we like it or not".

In recent years, Brazilian cuisine has been placed at the center of the sociological debate by Dória (2014), in one of his most vigorous works, "Formation of Brazilian Cuisine: writings on the izeira cuisine", which outlines the contours of our culinary history and unveils the myths immersed in the Brazilian imaginary. The first myth debunked by the author is that of culinary miscegenation, since the contributions of Indians, whites and blacks were not egalitarian. For him, freedom is a primary factor for creation and culinary innovation, however, the lack of autonomy, given the current slave regime, did not allow these advances. The idea is comfortable, but it does not explain everything, because "if there is no freedom in cooking, gastronomy does not thrive" (DÓRIA, 2014, p. 31). A practical example cited by the author is the feijoada that, historically is described as appearing in the senzalas, however, there are reports that identified that the "beans with meats" appeared in Rio de Janeiro, only at the end of the nineteenth century, but was already known in Europe for many years.

At this point, I think it is interesting to offer a counterpoint, because Tempass (2010) advocates in favor of indigenous culture, when presenting arguments, in his doctoral thesis, that contradict the



idea that the indigenous contribution to Brazilian cuisine was only with ingredients (cassava, beans, pumpkin, peanuts, etc.). Through a thorough research in the works of Gilberto Freyre and Câmara Cascudo, Tempass (2010), while emphasizing the culinary system of indigenous groups, holistically, says he has found, between the lines, evidence of the indigenous contribution to the national cuisine. The first would be the marriage between Portuguese and Indians, since there were a large number of Indian women, in relation to the Portuguese. By marrying an indigenous woman, the colonizers obtained, in addition to a wife and children, a network of kinship, reciprocity, sharing of rights and duties and forms of production, distribution of food, necessary for survival in foreign lands.

In other words, all the stages (obtaining, storing, processing, preparation, consumption, etc.) of the colonizers' diet took place in the indigenous model. In the culinary systems of indigenous groups. And this lasted for the first two centuries of colonization, a period in which, according to Freyre (1996), there was a lack of white women in Brazil. In the first two centuries, the cuisine of Brazil was the indigenous [...] In short: the colonial adventure was only possible by the ability of Europeans to incorporate native institutions (TEMPASS, 2010, p.70).

Thinking about this logic, indigenous cuisine was sovereign in the first two centuries of colonization in Brazil. In a second moment, even with the arrival of Portuguese women in the colony it was the indigenous ingredients, which supplanted the scarcity of European ingredients. Tempass (2010, p. 70) contradicts Cascudo, who claimed that it was the Portuguese woman who taught the Indians to cook, "but the opposite, the Portuguese had to learn to cook with the Indians. More than just ingredients, indigenous *savoir-faire* also prevailed." Thus, the basis of the cuisine remained indigenous, formed by several indigenous groups and not just one, as it survives in the common sense, as if all Indians were equal. It is possible to include, not only the ingredients, but the forms of consumption, on the mats, with gourd, clay pot, with the hands and the names of the dishes such as: moqueca, caruru, paçoca, beijú and porridge.

Tempass (2010, p. 73) points out that the Portuguese contribution in the process of formation of Brazilian cuisine was more documented, with emphasis on fine dishes, on the feasts prepared by the *sinhas*, "while the indigenous part, the basis of food, the everyday dishes, prepared in the kitchen outside, was, let's say, forgotten." In this perspective, there were several contributions from different indigenous groups, who came into contact with the colonizer and left their mark on each region of the country.

Ortiz (1985) points out the elements of the process of historical construction of Brazilian identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this period it was literature and romanticism, which traced the contours of our Brazilianness, with authors such as Gonçalves Dias and José de Alencar. It is noted that, until this moment in history, in a slave society, the black ethnicity was excluded from discussions about national identity. Only with the abolition of slavery, the black, transformed into a free worker, appears in society, but as a second-class citizen. In this period, the myth



of the three races emerges, along with the discourse that Brazil is formed by the union of the white, the black and the Indian. It is a cosmological myth, which refers to the origin of the Brazilian state and arises at the moment of profound transformations in society, among which: the abolition of slavery, the constitution of the Republic, the incentive to European immigration and, later, the process of industrialization, urbanization, growth of the middle class and the urban proletariat (ORTIZ, 1985).

In this sense, it is worth noting, with Damatta (1987), that the racism contained in the fable of the three races has expanded both in the erudite field (of the so-called scientific theories), removed from social reality, and in the popular field and in the junction of religious, political and commercial interests, with moral, political and social implications. This "Brazilian-style" racism, as a dominant ideology, managed to reconcile a series of contradictory impulses, by shifting emphasis and reality, since we situate in biology and race, relations, essentially, political and economic. It was the Abolitionist Movement and the Proclamation of the Republic, according to Damatta (1987), that imposed on the national elite the need to create their own ideologies and rationalization mechanisms, which would explain and appease internal differences, freeing slaves legally, but keeping them without conditions of "social freedom" and guaranteeing the *status quo* and the power of landowners. It was the evolutionary theories, scientifically respected in Europe and the United States, that Brazilian intellectuals used to explain our reality.

For Ortiz (1985), it was the theories elaborated in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century that served as the basis for all the theoretical productions of the time, Comte's positivism, Spencer's evolutionism and social Darwinism. Ortiz (1985) points out that, from the political point of view, these theories served to consolidate the expansion of world capitalism and, ideologically, to guarantee the hegemonic position of European superiority in relation to all other peoples.

The attempt to apply the evolutionary theory to the Brazilian reality was the great dilemma for the national theorists (ORTIZ, 1985), who had to explain the backwardness of the country in a civilizing line, which had as its top the European society. How could Brazil constitute itself as a nation state considering the local contours and peculiarities? To resolve the gap between theory and society, national theorists chose race and the environment as foundations for the interpretation of all Brazilian history of the time. Thus, the environment and race became the categories of knowledge, which defined the interpretative framework of the Brazilian reality and explained our evolutionary backwardness in relation to civilized Europe, our indolence, unbridled sexuality and the insecurity of the intellectual elites. The environment and race would be the internal factors that geographically delimited the boundaries of the construction of Brazilian identity. Deterministic elements such as heat, humidity, the river system and even the trade winds justified the Brazilian delay, even explaining the political and economic phenomena. In this perspective, nature supplanted man and founded the scientific discourse.



According to these theories, the difference between societies can be expressed through differentiated biological positions, on an evolutionary scale, in which the white race would be at the top of evolution. In a deterministic way, this differentiation evaluates behavior and mentality by its biological component, in an equation between biological and psychological traits and historical position, without being able to alter its nature by the pure act of the will.

In the United States, these theories led to segregation, as miscegenation would lead to degradation, and the way to maintain white supremacy and social hierarchy was to avoid interaction between whites, blacks, and Indians. At this point, the peculiarity of racism "à brasileira" is established, because in the construction of Brazilian society, blacks and whites could interact freely, because both "had a certain and unambiguous place within a hierarchical totality" (DAMATTA, 1987, p. 69). The miscegenation of the white, the Indian and the black was accepted, although with reservations, so that society began to believe in the harmonious coexistence between the different races. The mestizo would be the conciliatory figure who would avoid the conflict between the black and the Indian with the exploitative colonizer.

With the revolution of 1930, the issues were being oriented to the field of politics and the State decided to assume these social demands. The discourse of miscegenation, as a historical, political and cultural category, which differentiated us from the European matrix, was resumed to claim a mestizo national identity. The myth of racial democracy emerged from the fable, that Brazilian society is formed by three races and was strengthened by state mechanisms, in the literary and scientific productions of the time. Thus, the Estado Novo assumed this ideology and began a process of intense cultural transformation towards a modern country. Ortiz (1985, p. 44) says that the myth of the three races was efficient, because "it not only covered up racial conflicts but also enabled everyone to recognize themselves as nationals."

The myth of the three races then becomes plausible and can be updated with ritual. The ideology of miscegenation, which was imprisoned in the ambiguities of racist theories, when reworked can spread socially and become common sense, ritually celebrated in everyday relationships, or in major events such as carnival and soccer. What was mestizo becomes national (ORTIZ, 1985, p. 41).

Another discourse that deserves to be reviewed is the regionalist, which begins in the twentieth century, from the Modernist movement and the Northeastern intellectual movement, led by Gilberto Freyre, who proposed the redivision of the country, based on the geographical division of the IBGE,¹ converted into "natural regions" and "homogeneous regions", in the socio-political perspective. From the intellectual point of view, this regionalist discourse tried to legitimize power through plural cultural value, in which the excluded also had time and voice, in opposition to the centralizing power of the

¹According to the regional division of 1945, Brazil had seven regions: North, Western Northeast, Eastern Northeast, Midwest, Northern East, South East and South.



São Paulo and Minas Gerais oligarchies, which alternated in power. This regionalist discourse eventually became more of a political discourse, driven by the ideology of the "great Brazil" and with the intention of promoting national integration, exacerbating the role of government marketing in promoting a state heritage. "Practices of the so-called Brazilian cuisine unify us at the table, those of the regional cuisines separate us, even though we are all Brazilians" (DÓRIA, 2014, p. 139).

In the Brazil of 1950/60, the elite still sought sophistication, through the imitation of the French cuisine of the beginning of the century, rooted since Independence. Globalization, the internationalization of economies, rampant urbanization, cultural uprooting, and changes in eating practices from the private to the public environment have constituted changes in eating habits.

Hall (2001) analyzes the impact of globalization on cultural identities in late modernity and defends the idea that national identities, supposedly unified or homogeneous in their representations, no longer account for this postmodern subject. This complex of processes and forces of change, called globalization, has caused cultural flows between nations and global consumption to create the possibility of "shared identities" between people from different parts of the world. Modern identities have been "decentralized", that is, displaced and fragmented, in a phenomenon of shortening of space-time, basic elements of all systems of representation. This has had a major impact on national identities around the world, as "modern nations are all cultural hybrids" (HALL, 2001, p. 62). However, identities have not been destroyed globally, on the contrary, new articulations and new identifications have emerged between the global and the local. Identities, in this globalizing context, are increasingly multiple, sometimes contradictory and conflictual. Thus, the discussion of nationalism ceases to make sense when the internationalization of economics and politics takes place.

In the 1950s, Brazil was at the peak of its developmental process, with the advance of national industry, new cities, a new architecture, the growth of the middle class, which increasingly consumed technological novelties. Televisions and countless household appliances portrayed a modern lifestyle, influenced by American culture, mediated by the media to stimulate consumption. While the internal discourse was clothed in a progressive feeling of construction of modernity itself, the economic opening made the first international *American fast-food* chains arrive in the country. The youth were the first to enthusiastically adhere to this novelty, as they did not usually frequent the confectioneries and tea houses. In *fast-food stores*, teenagers could meet and flirt in endless lines. Soon *the frappés* and sorbets *were replaced by* hot-dogs, milkshakes, ice-cream and sundaes. Gradually, the flavors of the time (pé-de-moleque, maria-mole) were disappearing from the menus (NASCIMENTO, 2007).

The French words were disappearing, however, the cuisine remained in the expensive and exquisite bistros and confectioneries, which imitated the French *pâtisserie* and the Portuguese or Italian confectionery. The opening to foreign cuisine was not restricted to Americans, expanding to other countries, resulting in a growth of ethnic restaurants (pizzerias and Italian canteens, German breweries,



Arab and Japanese restaurants) and the confinement of regional cuisine to typical restaurants, for tourists from abroad (NASCIMENTO, 2007, p. 120).

Immigration² to Brazil, in large quantities, allowed foreign food to make an impact on the Brazilian market, due to its novelty. In the cosmopolitan capitals of the country (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Salvador), it is possible to try dishes from all corners of the world: Colombian, Russian, Indian, Jewish, Moroccan, Greek, Thai, as well as the French, Italian and Portuguese. Dishes with unusual flavors, made with international techniques, but far from the cultural richness of origin, sometimes even the immigrants themselves do not recognize as authentic.

Collaço (2009) researched aspects of the relationship between invention and recovery, of elements of a supposed authentic Italian cuisine in São Paulo, emphasizing, precisely, the phenomenon of immigration as a civilizing element of taste that extended to other groups, such as Japanese and Syrians. Since their arrival in Brazilian lands, the Italians were welcomed as white labor in substitution, the black and as an instrument of progress for the metropolis of São Paulo. In the urban scenario, the new Italians, coming from the big cities, sought to reinforce the distinction between the old canteens and the refined restaurants, with cosmopolitan airs that, among the local population, lacking in gastronomic education, had a role of civilizer of taste. Then began the haute cuisine in São Paulo, led by Italian immigrants. In the words of Collaço (2009), this clash between the traditional and the modern only diluted the recognition as Italian, since the cuisine practiced in this period was similar. However, it found fertile enough ground to mark the class difference and as an influence for the construction of the progress of the city, which aspired to the title of World Capital of Gastronomy.

The 1970s/80s were the most relevant for what was called "New Brazilian Cuisine", a movement influenced by the *chefs* who landed in the country, graduated from the French school *Nouvelle Cuisine*. The precursors of this movement in Brazil were the *chefs* Laurent Suaudeau and Cloude Troisgros, who began to draw the contours of a Brazilian haute cuisine, influencing the new generations. The French *chefs* combined their original techniques with the typical Brazilian ingredients, a fact that resulted in an appreciation of local products in dishes such as sour palm, tucupi and São Paulo cheese, passion fruit crepe *soufflé*, the fillet of sole with banana and mashed baroa, *terrine* of *foie gras* with peach palm and rapadura.

It is worth mentioning that the first technical course for the training of cooks in Brazil was created in 1969, by the National Apprenticeship Service (Senac), in Águas de São Pedro, in São Paulo. Only in 1994, Senac, in partnership with *the Culinary Institute of America*, launched the International *Chef Cook* course, the first paid Gastronomy course in the country, which featured only American professors, *chefs*, who moved to Brazil. And only in 1999 appeared the first higher education courses

² Mainly from Italians and Japanese who came to work in the coffee plantations or in the commerce and industry in the city of São Paulo. Other immigrants have arrived in the country: Germany, Spain, Lebanon, Israel, Turkey, and more recently, China, South Korea, Bolivia, Paraguay, among others.



in Gastronomy in the country³ (ROCHA, 2016). Until then, the supremacy was of the foreigners who landed in the country.

Given its extension and geographical and regional differences, Brazil has an "internal exoticism", in which the ingredient overlaps with the technique. Brazilian ingredients have fallen into the graces of *chefs* (Brazilian and foreign), to become unusual dishes, without escaping much from the canon of international techniques. The *chefs* began to replace imported and expensive ingredients with typical products of the Brazilian regional cuisine. Asparagus makes room for the taioba stalk and cabbage. The most expensive sea bass, tuna and salmon give way to mullet, sororoca and prejeraba. The jamón (Spanish ham⁴) is replaced by torresmo and even Japanese cuisine has surrendered, and salmon has been replaced by beijupirá or mecca (typical fish of the Northeast sea). But nothing equals the diversity and searches that have been made in the Cerrado and the Brazilian Amazon, the great drivers of this hunt for typical and exotic products. Fish such as tambaqui, peacock bass, calf, pirarucu and mapará; fruits such as bacuri, cupuaçu, açaí and pupunha, in addition to tucupi, cassava flour and buffalo mozzarella, from Marajó Island are used in the high gastronomy of the North and South of the country, as symbols of sophistication and exoticism, and by the rarity have become luxury.

Troisgros (2011) said that he mined in the street fairs, the ingredients for his dishes and disseminated them in all the events that he participates abroad. "I really carry Brazilian cuisine in my heart and in all the events I do abroad I try to show the strength and beauty of the ingredients of the land" (TROISGROS, 2011). French *chef* Emmanuel Bassoleil, a contemporary of Troisgros, said that when he arrived in the country, it was difficult to find ingredients for the recipes he knew and customers did not understand the sequence of dishes on a tasting menu⁵.

In the beginning we wanted to make French cuisine with our recipes and for that we needed to find good ingredients. We wanted to put into practice that *savoir faire* (know-how) that we had learned from the masters. And from there we came to understand that it didn't have the raspberry or the strawberry, but it had the guava and passion fruit. It didn't have a proper potato, but it had cassava. We were criticized a lot because we wanted to do a tasting menu with four, five or six dishes in a row and everyone complained because it was little in each of them. Today people go to Alex Atala and eat a dish that is the size of a coffee spoon and no one says anything (BASSOLEIL, 2014).

³ The Bachelor's Degree in Tourism with Qualification in Gastronomy at the University of Southern Santa Catarina, in Florianópolis; the Higher Course of Specific Training in Gastronomy in the sequential format at the Anhembi Morumbi University in São Paulo; and the Gastronomy Course in sequential modalities and graduation at the University of Vale do Itajaí in Balneário Camboriú (ROCHA, 2016).

⁴ Garcia (2014) discusses how local ingredients are inserted into global gastronomic customs and transformed. In a cut of hybrid practices in Cuiabá it was possible to understand the dynamics and processes of contemporary intercultural relations. The formation of dishes that associate a local element with others whose idea is that of global consumption, such as Pantanal pizza, golden sashimi, pintado ceviche, among others.

Gushiken et al (2003) addresses this cosmopolitanization in everyday intercultural relations by demonstrating the process of cultural hybridization of traditional cuisine today. How the traditional local cuisine shares space these days with the so-called globalized food, produced in sophisticated restaurants, franchise chain stores and modest equipment mounted on the popular street snacks.

⁵ In the tasting menu the customer experiences, in a single meal, several dishes in smaller portions than usual.



In the 2000s, Brazil began to abandon the model of urban and industrial development, idealized by the military, characterized by the centralization of employment, income and wealth in metropolitan regions⁶. In the interim, the world economy was experiencing the most prosperous and stable period in history, until the mortgage crisis triggered in the United States in 2007. Brazil resumed economic development, now decentralized, with public policies of employment and income, which brought great social and economic transformations (FAGNANI, 2011). Factors such as: the increase in income and the need to eat out, as well as the reduction of taxes on imports, the creation of the Consumer Protection Code, allied to the bombardment of cooking programs on open and subscription TVs (culinary reality shows), as well as books, magazines, newspaper inserts, opinion columns, blogs and social networks (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) decisively influenced the behavior of the diners, who began to share the experiences (discover dishes, photograph and share) and thus found new ways to show *status*⁷.

But in the same way that economic openness brought foreign chefs *here, there was a contrary movement, in which aspiring* national chefs began to run the world, willing to learn and perfect their culinary talents. Some of them today are celebrities and present culinary programs on TV, print magazine covers, run trendy restaurants and have become a successful brand in the gastronomic market.

As an example, Carlos Bertolazzi, who studied gastronomy in Piemonte, Italy, in 2005; interned at *Flipot*, an Italian restaurant with two stars in the *Michelin guide* and has already led programs such as *Hell's Kitchen* and *BBQ Brasil* (both on SBT) and *Homens Gourmet* (GNT). Another example is chef Guga Rocha, graduated in Management and Gastronomy from Unip – Universidade Paulista – in São Paulo, specialized in Thai food at *The Blue Elephant* in Thailand, traveled to 35 countries studying international cuisine and, in Brazil, studies the quilombola, riverside, caçara and indigenous food culture. Chef Helena Rizzo did several internships in the kitchens of Italy and Spain in 2006, including the Spanish restaurant *El Celler de Can Roca*, twice voted the best in the world, among the *50 Best* of the British magazine *Restaurant* (2013 – 2015). When he returned to Brazil, he commanded the kitchen of *Mani*, in the west of São Paulo, opened in 2006, which entered the list of the 50 best restaurants in 2013.

The hottest of the *chefs* of the New Brazilian Cuisine is Alex Atala, elected in 2013 as one of the 100 most influential in the world, by *Time* magazine, and, considered by Troisgros (2009) the greatest ambassador of Brazilian gastronomy today. Atala began his career at the hotel school in Namur, Belgium, and went through the French restaurants *Jean Pierre Bruneau* and *Hotel de La Cote D'Or* and *Montpellier* in Milan. His biggest influence was the *chef* Ferran Adrià of *El Bulli*, elected five times the best in the world, who encouraged him to seek new flavors in Brazil. Upon his return,

⁶ Set of municipalities centralized around the capitals, the largest being those of: São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte.

⁷ These contemporary trends will be discussed throughout this work, so they will not be explored in this initial part.



he inaugurated in 1999 the D.O.M Restaurant (Brazilian Gastronomy), considered an icon of the new avant-garde and sophisticated Brazilian gastronomy. D.O.M entered the list of the 50 best, of the English magazine *Restaurant* in 2006, in the 50th place. In 2015, it received two stars from *the Michelin Guide*, an unprecedented fact in the country, which attracted the attention of gastronomy enthusiasts to Brazil. Thus, the national restaurant scene was no longer limited to a few, in the noble neighborhoods of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (Jardins and Leblon, respectively).

In recent years, *chefs* have come to give even more prestige to local products and to rescue old recipes, however, the country lives a great contradiction, since the *fast-food* chains, which serve food considered without personality, but possessing an *aggressive marketing*, do not stop growing. The flagship enterprises, mainly American, consecrated abroad, linked to the fund of investors and transnational financial groups, spread from the capitals to the most distant interiors (creperias, hamburgueria, paletteria, among others).

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, Brazil already had *new chefs*, who were prestigious and dedicated in the search for new ingredients that would give personality to their creations. The idea was no longer to replicate and imitate consecrated recipes, but rather to seek one's own identity, even if the influence, deep down, remains of the *French terroir*.

Chef Alex Atala was one of the pioneers in the research for exotic ingredients from the Amazon. In his renowned restaurant D.O.M. serves the ant saúva, appropriation of indigenous cuisine, in a dessert, and ensures that the reaction of the people is one of fascination.

I just serve an ant, salute it, and it's really delicious. It comes one per dish, with chilled pineapple, the person eats it and it's an explosion of flavor. I think that when you find an insect that is really delicious it is fair to use it, but that is not why I will take all the insects and put them in my restaurant (ATALA, 2014).

The cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro continue to be the gateways of culinary influences, which had free transit to international cuisine. In this metropolitan space, the cosmopolitan feeling is what animates the Brazilian bourgeoisie, which opts for Moroccan couscous, instead of couscous with corn flour. However, more recently, this same bourgeoisie has been surrendering to the Brazilian exoticism, brought by the *chefs of the Amazon, the Cerrado, the Atlantic Forest, the Quilombos and the indigenous communities*. Thus, the New Brazilian Cuisine, through universal techniques (French canon, molecular gastronomy), modern technologies and regional research of ingredients appears as a counterpoint to the old cuisine (colonial, imperial), in which, the abandonment of the techniques of transformations creates a modernizing and seductive appeal. The strategy is to insert popular foods into the menu of the elites, converting them into luxury, not because they are expensive, but because they are exclusive (APPADURAI, 2008, DÓRIA, 2015).



In this scenario, only the increase in income, the interest of consumers for differentiated foods and the willingness of *Brazilian chefs* are not enough to leverage gastronomy. We have seen that Brazilian gastronomy is recent and still does not have a solid reference of high gastronomy, in addition, there are no parameters for the average diner in relation to taste and value, after all how much more expensive should one pay for the delicacy? But we also have to consider the bombardment of marketing and advertising, allied to the food industry, we have the gourmet phenomenon, which leverages consumption and turns something simple into inaccessible. And if it's working, everyone wants to navigate this sea of novelty, everyone wants to experiment, to be included in a new world of sensations so close, but with references, sometimes so distant.

As Canclini (2005, p. 45) points out, in all these behaviors are intertwined culture, society, the material and the symbolic, according to him "all conduct means, participates, in a distinct way, in social interactions and any social practice, in work and consumption, contains a significant dimension that gives it its meaning". Thus, culture is something constitutive of everyday interactions, as processes of signification develop at work, in transport and in other common movements.

From the social point of view of consumption, Featherstone (1995, p. 35) writes that, in the same way that there is a "logic of capital" related to production, it is possible to think of a "logic of consumption", which refers to the socially structured ways of using goods, because, when moving from production to consumption, goods, in their symbolic aspects, they can be negotiated and renegotiated, to emphasize lifestyle differences and demarcate social relationships. The author uses the expression "Consumer Culture", since, to understand contemporary society, it is necessary to consider the world of commodities and their structuring principles. On the one hand, there are the cultural dimensions of the economy, the symbolization and use of goods as "communicators", not as mere utilities, and, on the other hand, market principles, which operate within the sphere of lifestyle and cultural goods (FEATHERSTONE, 1995). This author uses, as an example, a bottle of Port wine of good vintage that, being in the group of food and drink would have a short life, however, in this case, the consumer enjoys prestige and exclusivity, because, more than being opened and drunk, it can be consumed symbolically in various ways (desired, contemplated, photographed, commented), This highlights the symbolic double meaning of commodities in Western capitalist societies, which are not only in *design* or *marketing*, but in many other symbolic aspects.

For *pop-star chef* Alex Atala, we are in a phase where the cooking profession suffers deformations, as well as the advertisers and models of the 1980s/90s, who did not have any kind of regulation or parameter and suddenly became *more nstream*. In all professions there are deformations and exaggerations that sometimes make them better. He jokes that it was from the time when cook was synonymous with illiterate or "faggot" and food was just service. Today, this is a common subject conveyed in all media and the consumer, "who previously researched travel and museums, now guide



restaurants and, even if there is a load of snobbery in the choice, there is an approach first" (ATALA, 2015, p.02). But, how did *Gourmet fashion* catch on so fast in the country?

2 FOOD TRENDS AND THE MEDIATIZATION OF FOOD

Cooking is an open, ever-changing system, and in a country where feijoada is as popular as the kibble and sphyrra brought by immigrants, we have fertile ground for food fads. The recent gastronomy, the strong influence of immigrants, a generation of chefs *willing to value local colors and flavors*, "smaller chefs", as Steinberger (2010) observes, *who try to imitate the style of the creators, the increase in income, consumption and aggressive marketing, with exaggerated use of labels, are factors that make up the phenomenon of Gourmetization*⁸. Simple everyday foods have come to have their most expensive version, with "secret" ingredients, expensive and unusual, which can triple the price on certain occasions or even turn them into a food trend. And, how to define Trend?

For Erner (2015, p.09), given the polysemy of the word, tendency serves both to designate basic movements of society, as well as underground and futile phenomena, such as collective and temporary enthusiasms for objects and practices. Culture and customs can no longer determine the ways of eating and dressing, for example. The trend today can designate fashion, as well as mediatized ways of life, in an intense and accelerated process of restricted or wide diffusion. In general, the author demonstrates that there are two possible theoretical approaches: to explain the tendencies by the vision that shows the manipulative forces, within the social body, that would determine the adherence or not; or the view that shows how, individual decisions grouped through specific rational strategies would explain them. In this work, the second approach stands out. Thus, Erner (2015, p. 09) and I are in full agreement in considering the tendency as "focal points of desire through which individuals very different from each other and without common agreement discover themselves in the same wills."

I also corroborate with Barbosa (2009), when considering trends as a set of possibilities and not certainties, which occur in a social context and in an intense process of interaction between what already exists, what is being signaled and the transformations that are being incorporated or rejected. In this way, much of what appears as a trend, remains and disappears in the day-to-day. In the case of food, trends can be observed in changes in practices, contents and representations about eating and food, which are appropriated in a very different way. "This also means that the idea of a Machiavellian control behind the transformations is too simplistic to account for the complexity of what is involved" (BARBOSA, 2009, p. 19 - 20).

Erner (2015) considers two possibilities of trends, the confidential, with an ostentatious bias of consumption, which mark the belonging to a circle of initiates or informed amateurs, in a dimension

⁸ The term "gourmetize" appeared on the Internet, it is not known for sure when, but proliferated on social networks with the fashion of sharing dishes, recipes and gastronomic experiences.



of fascination, recreation, restricted to a minority and, almost always, does not make sense to the majority. And the massive tendencies, which allow for social integration and are the fruit of confidential democratized or globalized tendencies, since "cutting-edge practices announce, sometimes as weak signals, the popular enthusiasms of tomorrow. Metamorphosis is possible: it is obviously not inevitable" (ERNER, 2015, p. 18).

Based on analyses of strategic reports produced by reference institutes in various parts of the world, it was possible to group food trends into five categories, which according to Barbosa (2010) are:

- **Sensoriality and Pleasure:** premium, ethnic, gourmet *foods* etc.
- **Healthiness and Well-being:** *light/diet*, energetic, fortified products, etc.
- **Convenience and Practicality:** ready-made dishes, microwave products, etc.
- **Reliability and Quality:** guarantee of origin, quality seals, celebrities etc.
- **Sustainability and Ethics:** recyclable packaging, environmental seals, etc.

It is important to note that these categories can be concatenated with each other, as was shown earlier (Chapter 1, with regard to political consumption, organic ingredients, *pop star chefs*) and later on, in the following sections, it will be possible to understand these entanglements in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, since the trend of consumption of *gourmet* foods and the search for indulgences, quality of life, sustainability and the fascination with *chefs* are a phenomenon displayed daily in the media through advertisements, TV shows, books, magazines and newspapers, in a process of global mediatization, not only local. Factors such as the growth and aging of the population, the increase in purchasing power, the reduction in the number of children per family, the participation of women in the labor market and greater access to information, have also increased the interest of consumers in food and the benefits it can bring to their quality of life and/or just as hedonistic experiences.

In this way, the trends are in all layers of society, in the consumption of fashion and in other spheres that the industry takes advantage of (agri-food, clothing) allowing the construction of diverse identities and self-realization (ERNER, 2015, LIPOVETSKY, 2015). So what mechanisms could explain the emergence and expansion of a trend, in this case, a food trend?

Johnston & Baumann (2007) recall the general surprise, when the American magazine *Bon App'e'tit*, January 2004 issue, declared that the hamburger was the dish of the year. In August 2004, *Food and Wine* magazine, in its cover story, challenged the 10 *best chefs* to make their best version of hamburger, having as evaluation criteria scores from 0 to 10, in terms of creativity, speed and simplicity. Other publications extolling the burger began to appear everywhere, including, recurrently, in the *Food and dining notebooks of the New York Times*, a global creator of gastronomic trends. Since then, the burger has jumped from *Fast-Food*, where it was manufactured in series, to haute cuisine restaurants around the world, with its own manufacture, in an artisanal process with extreme



care in the choice of ingredients. From a hasty consumption, it comes to be enjoyed slowly, in a quiet environment, chewed with pleasure and with recurrent use of the word "art" to refer to the preparation of food and not only its fruition.

The novelty arrived in Brazil and the delicacy began to be served on the plate and adapted to different cuts of meats, such as diaper, filet *mignon*, picanha, rib *filet* or other types of meats, such as lamb, salmon, chicken, even *foie gras* or vegetarian. The *gourmet burger* ranges between 100 and 280 grams of a *blend* of at least two types of meats. The most exquisite restaurants boast American, Japanese, Argentine beef burgers, served with mushrooms, specialty cheeses, spice sauces and truffle oil that push the price up to triple digits. At this point, it is worth noting, with Lipovetsky (2015, p. 81), that there is no more domain that escapes the phenomenon of fashion and trends, in fact, the important thing is to be "trend", "it is necessary to spectacularize the mercantile offer, regularly launch new lines presented as a fashion collection", factors that shorten the life of the products, however, the changes in the look and design at very high speed do not cease.

Another excellent example is the *petit gâteau*, chocolate cake with creamy filling served with cream soverte. Controversies aside about its origin, there is a consensus that the cake's successful path began with the French *chef* Michel Bras, who created the *tights au chocolat* in 1981 (BERTOLINO, 2018; Tonon, 2016). The dessert became so famous that it entered the menu of great restaurants of haute cuisine. He arrived in Brazil in the 1990s. The French *chef* based in São Paulo, Erick Jacquin claims to be the first to introduce the *petit gateau* on the menu, at the restaurant *Le Coq Hardy*, in the capital of São Paulo (BERTOLINO, 2018). Since then, the acceptance of the dumpling and its fame has only increased, being possible to find it in steakhouses, in *self-service restaurants*, in confectioneries. The dessert became popular and *gourmetized*, winning, for example, a version of *chef* Carla Pernambuco, with dulce de leche. Other flavors were being created, in a process of reinvention, such as the dessert made with cheese and guava and regional products such as pequi. In addition to these versions, as a counterpart to the *gourmet* trend, the dumpling was industrialized and frozen, able to be taken home. It took almost three decades for *the petit gateau*, a trend in haute cuisine, to become popular, to "gourmetize", to reach the neighborhood bakeries and the industry to massify it, as a frozen product.

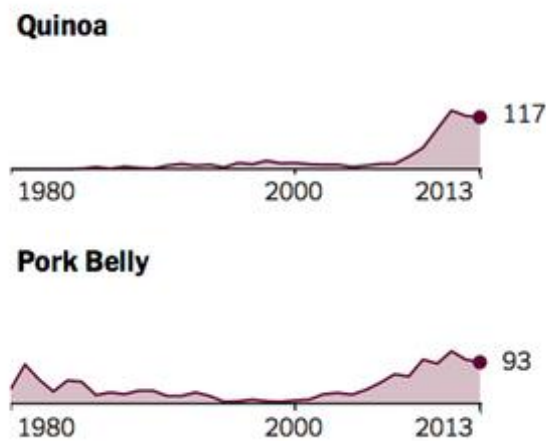
Irwin (2014), a columnist for *The New York Times*, did research and traced the path of a trend until it becomes *mainstream* and cliché in the most popular restaurants. This route begins in the innovative haute cuisine restaurants of the big cities, such as New York, then appears on the menu of the sophisticated restaurants of the smaller cities, passes through the bistros of the neighborhood, goes to the interior until it reaches the restaurant chains around the country. This path, over time, demonstrates how long it took for a trend to reach the average consumer. Irwin (2014), using the searchable database of *The New York Times*, showed *beyond the path taken by a food trend, the speed*



of massification, from the point of view of the number of articles in the New York Times that mentioned these foods. The more mentions, the more popular and accessible, as it disappears, it is understood that it has become *mainstream*.

A good example is fried squid, which began to appear in publications in the 1980s, peaked in 1996 with 56 articles and has been declining ever since, has become *mainstream* in 16 years. Goat cheese began its journey in the 1980s, increased with 100 articles in 1990 and surpassed 200 in 1998. Irwin (2014) found that before a trend took up to thirty years to become popular, a period that was being shortened, with the passage of time and with the change in the way the newspaper began to disclose food trends. Today the trends move more quickly, reflecting the process of mediatization and the search for novelties of the contemporary consumer.

FIGURE 1: Number of New York Times articles mentioning these foods, 1980-2013



Source: Irwin (2014)

Quinoa⁹ had few mentions until the year 2000, in 2013 appeared more than 120 times. Pork belly was already mentioned in the 1980s, with 70 occurrences, but from 2008 it reached its peak with 93 mentions in 2013 (FIGURE 1). Following this same logic of Irwin (2014) and using the database of the *Times*, Hamblin (2014) sought to observe the popularity of Fondue and Gluten, recent food trends, let's see the charts below (

⁹ Quinoa is a species of grain native to the Andean region, a great source of protein.

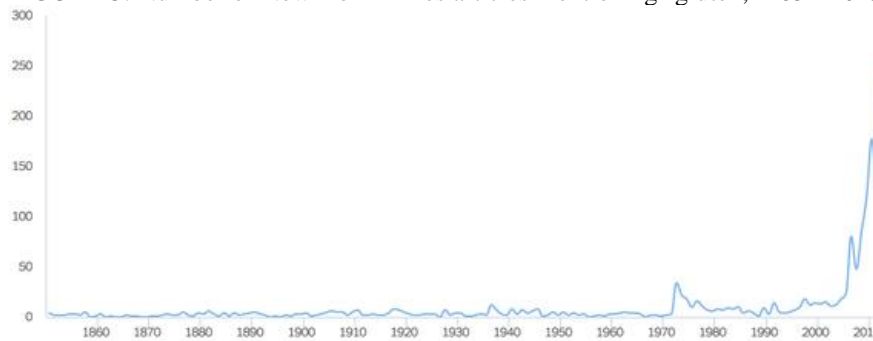


FIGURE 2: Percentage of New York Times articles mentioning "fondue," 1851-2014



Fonte: Hamblin, 2014

FIGURE 3: Number of New York Times articles mentioning "gluten," 1851-2013



Source: Hamblin, 2014

It's an attempt to quantify when these food trends emerged and how quickly they became popular. It is possible to see in figure 4 that there was already a record of the appearance of fondue before the 1860s, stagnated for decades and resurfaced after 1950, reached a peak in 1980, in 2000 and in 2010; and a decline begins. Gluten appears in irrelevant records, having a first highlight in 1970 and meteoric rise from the 2000s onwards, in less than ten years (around 2005 to 2013) it was already at the height of popularity. It is possible to notice that, from a few years to now, the speed with which a trend becomes popular is much greater. In Brazil, Silva and Van Deursen (2014) demonstrate that the word *Gourmet* appeared in the pages of *O Estado de S. Paulo* from 1901 to 1970, less than 10 times a year. In the following decades, it rose to about 80 mentions a year and skyrocketed, reaching 1,144 times in 2005 and 5,077 in 2010, that is, in just five years, it more than doubled the mentions.

Of course, this type of survey should be viewed with caution, given the arbitrariness of the choices, of this or that food, but mainly by the increase in interest and the change in the way the media have become interested in trends, especially food trends. There is no denying the speed with which food trends are widespread and the greater number of people they can reach, with the advent of new media, mainly through the Internet. Fried squid and goat cheese, a trend in the 1980s, disappeared from the pages of the *Times* for becoming popular and went away from trendy foods, which interest the newspaper, but remain delicious dishes served by the country (IRWIN, 2014). For Tarde (2005) and Appadurai (2008), the cycle arise-grow-stagnate-retreat before a new idea, is inherent and



characteristic, both of the movement of ideas and needs, as of tastes or beliefs and materializes in the social life cycle of the product. Tarde (2005) still writes that there is little difference between opinion and consumer good, because when choosing an opinion, in the same way would be the act of consuming the product, thus, the opinion assimilates the consumption and both depend on the fashion, the moment, the taste and the social position. It passes from the opinion discussed to the opinion consumed, so that it preserves "an appearance that allows to save the illusion of free choice to which the modern mentality is so attached" (TARDE, 2005, p. 17).

Johnston & Baumann (2007, p.165) consider that the discourses produced by media, such as the *New York Times Magazine*, *Bon App'e'tit* and the Michelin guide, through their writers, journalists, collaborators, are good starting points, to understand the contours of the field of contemporary cuisine. These publications have considerable power to shape perceptions and a way of electing a food as high quality, elegant, worthy of attention by its readers. For Franco (2004), the way of eating is one of the elements used by higher social circles for their distinction. This fact stems, in part, from their greater propensity to accept sensory novelties, since they also function as an element of difference. When, however, what was once innovation spreads, privileged social circles try to assimilate other novelties, thus giving dynamism to fashion and eating habits (FRANCO, 2004, p. 246).

Personally, I prefer to agree with Erner (2015), who is right to state that the media can sometimes describe as a tendency really avant-garde behaviors or just disseminate existing phenomena in the social body, thus, "can put in the same bag phenomena arising from the whim of some, on the one hand, and mechanisms arising from an evolution of ways of life, on the other" (ERNER, 2015, p. 19).

Today, the process of mediatization results in an exacerbated mediation, in an autonomous space, which integrates classical mechanisms and virtual devices (SODRÉ, 2006). In the thought of Sodr  (2006), it is a hybridized complex that articulates the multiple institutions with the media organizations having as purposes strictly technological, marketing and culturally tuned with specific codes, in a technoculture. It is not just about normative influences, but emotional and sensory, as a form of aestheticization of social life.

Cunha (2003, p. 27-28), in his studies on Communication and Culture, brings a differentiation between the dimensions of mediated and mediatized communication. For the author, mediated communication is always a phenomenon contextualized in a given culture, but that, through the social action of individuals, generates new phenomena, which tend to produce new instances of mediation and cultural contextualization. Mediatized communication, on the other hand, is that which takes place through the media, new media, the cultural and content industry. In this case, the media and new media are themselves institutions of mediation. For Cardoso and Seabra (2007) the media are instruments of diversified social appropriation, technology and its global configuration entails several dichotomies,



ranging from the homogenization and differentiation of markets, to the centralization and dispersion of power, to integration and cultural pulverization. However, the new media, through the Internet, allowed the expansion and strengthening of the new forms of sociability inherent to the Network Society, as it enabled the exchange, communication and interaction between people, without the obstacle of space and geographical borders. The new spaces of mediation created with the Internet can articulate the newspaper, radio, television or cinema in different combinations that foster the development of new strategies more autonomous of use, the result of the appropriation of the tools, functions and meanings that are attributed to the media and shared by the network.

The Internet, in its multiple information and entertainment functions, combines the advantages of the previous communication system (one for all) into a platform of worldwide reach (all for all). In this way, it is possible to think of alternatives to the hegemonic model of the market and communication (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2006). The WWW system (World Wide Network) enables the sharing of information and entertainment on the Internet, as it allows people, companies, organizations, governments to create or add to their Web pages, videos, music, interactive games, radio, television or any other multimedia content. Thus, the trend market gains many more spokespeople, whether based on market research, to publicize their products or personal opinions, everyone can disclose their lists of food trends, their tastes and suggestions. As is the case of the Brazilian Association of the Bakery and Confectionery Industry (ABIP, 2019), which has already made available the food trends for 2019 on its website; Vital Âtman's blog (2018) also listed its 10 food trends for 2018, and in this movement are magazines, newspapers, industry and commerce, all in search of visibility. The power to guide society no longer belongs only to the large communication corporations.

Faced with this panorama it is possible to identify a dangerous fragility in the communication cycle, since, in many cases, the commitment to the truth is left aside, because the struggle is to be the first to disseminate information. Thus, the desire to communicate and the desire to consume information can generate an environment that is more anarchic than democratic. It is up to companies and various institutions to "consider as a responsibility to deal with this new era as a matter not only of relationship with the public, but mainly of social and political survival" (SECOM, 2014, p. 17).

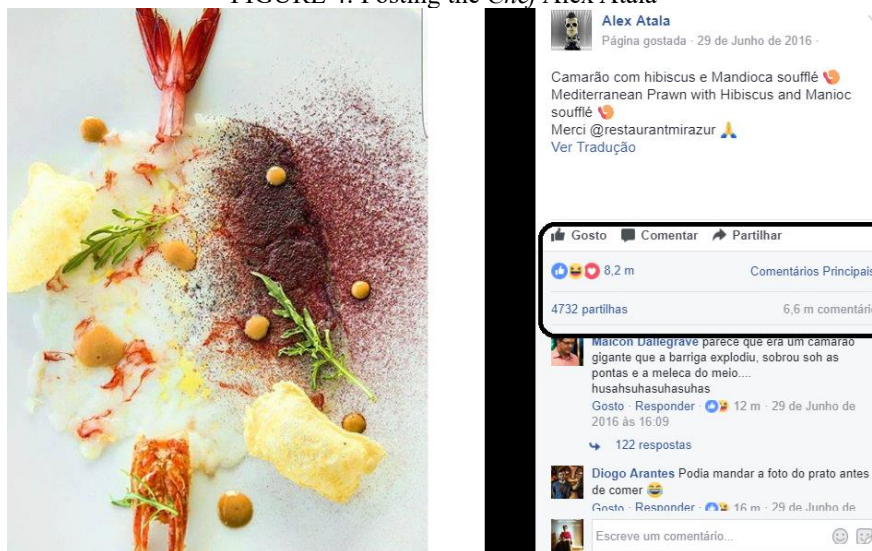
The Internet has been able to articulate other media within cyberspace, as is the case of online newspapers and Web radios that have, in this way, a new channel and new possibilities to reach its audience or conquer new audiences. *The New York Times*, based in New York, already has 40% of its revenue coming from the digital platform, according to the financial result of the year 2018 (MARIA, 2019). The *Guardian* has 55% of its revenue coming from digital sources, which includes advertising and digital subscriptions (BENTON, 2019). So what we see is a complementarity in access, on the part of the audience, rather than a substitution. We see the coexistence of print and online newspapers, television over IP, in the broadcasters' own Internet portals and digital TV, social media and blogs that



are edited and reedited creating windows for opinions, political and social clashes or just entertainment. The displacements seem to be no longer necessary to get in touch with new "worlds", new people, distant countries, for this a connection to the networks is enough and it seems that the whole world is brought to the home and put at the fingertips (RODRIGUES, 1994).

When the *Post Star Chef* Alex Atala posted the photo of a sophisticated dish on his social network, perhaps he did not expect so many hits and comments, which went from admiration, through irony to debauchery. Alex posted the photo with the caption: "Shrimp with *Hibiscus* and *Mandioca* blown. Thank you@restaurantmirazur¹⁰" (FIGURE 4). Most likely, the result of the experience of the *chef* at the Mirazur restaurant in France. The dish is an example of Mediterranean haute cuisine, both in the ingredients, in the unusual mixture (hibiscus with shrimp), and in the presentation under the minimalist dictates, in which the dish becomes a blank canvas and the food is delicately positioned, so that it becomes the representation of a painting, of a work an art.

FIGURE 4: Posting the *Chef* Alex Atala



Source: FACEBOOK (2015)

There were 8.2 million views, 4,732 shares and 6.6 million comments, until the month of June 2016. Millions of people viewed and shared the image and, in seconds, the dish of Mediterranean haute cuisine, made in France, already entered the homes of Brazilians interested in the subject, even from miles away. Considering the journey proposed by Irwin (2014), from a trend of high gastronomy to the popular, this dish or its image would take years to reach the average consumer, in other times, it may not even arrive, but within the process of mediatization it took seconds to cross the Atlantic. Whether it will become a trend here and become popular, only time will tell, but the speed at which

¹⁰ The Mirazur restaurant is located on the *Côte d'Azur*, the small town of Menton, on the border between France and Italy, is the fourth in the world in the list of the 50 best in the world in the annual ranking of the English magazine *Restaurant* (2016).



information transits in cyberspace, reduces the distance between the famous *chef* and the Internet user interested in food, which could, in this case, be framed as the *foodie*, the transaesthetic consumer (LIPOVETSKY, 2015), interested in health, well-being and also in the experiences of pleasure provided by food. Foodies *are the ones who like to share their gastronomic experiences, share images of dishes, trips, restaurants and use social media to interact, like, comment, follow* the renowned chefs or other "foodies." Being friends with a celebrity, for many, is a way to 'borrow' part of the fame and show that 'if it is someone' within the system" (RECUERO, 2010).

Never has fashion spread so quickly and widely as in modern times, Tarde (2005) tells us that, the extension in the field of communication is linked to the greatest possible acceleration and diffusion of ideas. Thus, the circulation of opinions has reduced the borders and reached, equally, all social classes, today there are no more limits. With technology designed to reach hundreds of thousands of people, multiple times a day, we are seeing a huge expansion of audiences. Previously, what was printed in newspapers was information shared by the common public, then came radio, television, the computer, and now, mobile phone applications, which expand the audience. This larger audience now has access to more information (PATTERSON, 2000; AFTERNOON, 2005).

Castells (2004, p.236) states that the Internet is a means of communication, with its own logic and language, but it is not circumscribed to a specific area of knowledge, because it can cross all. For the author, their communication is usually included in social activity and not isolated in a kind of imaginary world, as in games and false identities. People use it to spread political messages, to communicate with social media, to convey ideas and seek information.

In this way, in Brazil, it is possible to see today, that *the gourmet* is everywhere, in the newspapers, on the Internet and in the streets, in a movement of supermediatization of gastronomy. Based on these findings, the pertinence of this research is based, observing that the phenomenon of *gourmetization incites not only food issues, but also social, cultural and linguistic issues and this offers us many tools to advance and go beyond marketing, working nuances such as: consumption, social space, social distinction and lifestyle*. Thus, the advance, in the next sections, will be to understand the language of *premium/gourmet food*, to seek to apprehend the forms of subjectivities of the gastronomic discourse of foods and how they are mediated. I intend to dedicate myself to the developments of the field of contemporary cuisine and how this category is being built and, who knows, destroyed daily every time that one novelty is surpassed by another, in the languages, in the discourses and how they are presented by the media, various forms of mediatization of the *gourmet*.

3 CONSIDERATIONS

I understood that conditioning does not generate equal tastes or behaviors, and even educational socioeconomic contexts do not allow predicting individual behavior in the process of socialization



between people. Even marketers know that it is necessary to take into account the differences, whether of nations, ethnicities, men and women and that, to form audiences, it is not enough just to repeat the offer, innovations that lead to new experiences are needed.

Since the creation of the term Gastronomy, around 1800, the gastronomic discourse has been modified, through migratory flows, wars, revolutions, industrialization, the press and, more recently, globalization. Thus, the idea was to think about the phenomenon of gourmetization in a sociological and communicational bias inherent to urban life in contemporary society, precisely because this *gourmet* wave does not walk alone, it is part of this whole social context. It is not a paradigm, but a model that, a few years ago, has taken a proportion and appears, even in architecture and *design*, with a practically autonomous communication. It becomes a rhizomatic event and, with a polysemic discourse, manages to be in several places.

The *gourmet* adjective that refers to products that carry the symbolism of refinement and sophistication and have qualities that differentiate them, whether in production, marketing, originality, packaging, age, specialty, price, consumption, but also in aesthetic, ritual, cultural and social (APPADURAI, 2008; DOUGLAS and ISHERWOOD, 2004).

And the *Gourmet* verb is the caricaturization, for marketing purposes, of the values associated with gastronomy. Through the image of *pop-star chefs* and the super mediatization of gastronomy, diners discover a new way to show *status* through food consumption. The increase in income, the interest of consumers for differentiated foods and the bombardment of marketing and advertising, allied to the food industry, created the phenomenon of gourmetization, which leverages consumption and turns something simple into inaccessible. The term "gourmetize" has become synonymous with market opportunism and Internet joke, because it is enough to put *gourmet* on the label, to charge more for the product. This path allowed me to build a path from the nineteenth century to the present day and think, how contemporary food, in its hybrid character, manages to permeate and be seen in all these historical moments.

This phenomenon enters the field of semiotics showing that, the modern food sign is not perceived only by the senses, but within other domains such as fashion, marketing and advertising, also occupying the terrain of crafts and being practiced in restaurants and by imitation in various homes, by aspiring *gourmets* (DÓRIA, 2015). *As Appadurai (2008) points out, these new overarching categories only make sense from a cosmopolitan perspective. More recently, the world gastronomy movement has been gaining contours that consider, in addition to parameters such as status, health and fads, also globalization, social ascension, ethical-environmental concerns, medicalization and cult of the body, without forgetting the price.*

There are significant processes underway that allow us to distrust the volatility of social relations, especially with the emergence of the middle class as the protagonist of movements of social



change and incorporation of new habits. It is possible, therefore, *the gourmet* is not a category responsible only for the social distinction and contradiction between the cult and the popular.

It is possible to perceive a *gourmet* in haute cuisine, in which the elites appeal to the *terrior and* bet on exoticism, sophistication and pleasure in cooking, in the overexposure of *chefs*, fine ingredients and different places. And a popular *gourmet* (from supermarket shelves, pubs, street food), which appeal to simplicity or even to cooking programs, in an indirect consumption of the delicious image of aesthetically appealing dishes, of *seductive chefs*, both with a common goal, to transform into experiences. In this way, the consumer can integrate the *gourmet* culture into their lifestyle, budget and ability to cook.

In television and in the written press, the language of gastronomy seeks the connection with culture, discoveries and sensory and social refinement privileging *the chefs* to the detriment of the utilitarian aspects. In the publishing market, photographs are the instrument that help in the diffusion of elements of sophistication, differentiation and spectacle that feed the *gourmet universe*. The television narrative interweaves multiple media languages and genres and is able to reveal cultural practices and social and gender representation in the field of mediatized gastronomy. The goal is the contemplation of the art of *the chef*, who satisfies only with the look, not taught cooking in these programs or publications. In *the reality shows*, it was possible to notice that the theme "gourmetization" aroused some discomfort of the chefs, the participants were incited to use the gourmet aesthetic or ridiculed when they tried. The ingredients could be simple, but the presentation of the dish should be the differential. Considering that gastronomy is normative, but also a system of conveniences, the risk of changing the classics is always a controversial subject.



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