

Beans and rice in Le Creuset cookware: Rita Lobo's universe in the transmedia gastronomy

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Abstract

This article proposes to analyze, based on the concepts of convergence culture and transmedia narrative, and through authors such as Jenkins (2009, 2011), Shirky (2011), Scolari (2013) and Martino (2010, 2014), how Panelinha's universe, created by the chef Rita Lobo, occupies space on the web. The culinary will be seen as a culture, through authors such as Montanari (2013), Oliveira (2013) and Asheley et al (2004). The methodology used is content analysis, based on Bardin (2011) and digital methods (ROGERS, 2013). As a result of this research, we emphasize the construction of network publications in different social media and the perception of strategies that range from stimulating interactivity to branded content.

Keywords: Social media. Gastronomy. Transmedia Narrative. Rita Lobo. Digital Methods.

Introduction

The world of food lovers¹ has been expanding with the growth of the offer of new recipes. Whereas, until a few years ago, recipes were handwritten, passed down through

1 In this article, we work with the organization presented by Oliveira (2018, p. 77) to differentiate between gastronomy and culinary. "And even though these are domains that have been formed over the years in a manner that correlates with cooking activities, the term culinary has reinforced the sense of group or peoples traditions (suggesting a more spontaneous or unperceived mode of achievement, as a know-how naturalization) while the mention of gastronomy seems to be oriented towards a more professionalized, theorized performance of the kitchen (alluding to a programmed, strategic know-how in the actions performed, approaching an intellectualized point of view)".

generations of families through notebooks and loose pages; currently, there are television programs, websites, apps, Facebook, Instagram and YouTube channels dedicated to the theme. Among the options of gastronomic content in Brazil is the Panelinha website², created by chef Rita Lobo. The site presents itself as a narrative universe and includes Facebook fanpage³ and Instagram profiles⁴ and YouTube channels⁵ fed with content. In addition, the Panelinha publishing house produces books written and/or approved by Rita Lobo. The chef reinforces in her channels and products the concept of “real food” and home cooking, in a proposal of simplicity and “degourmetization”, without ultra-processed foods. Thus, it values the most traditional ingredients of Brazilian food: rice with beans.

The purpose of this article is to analyze how Panelinha's narratives are distributed in different platforms and to understand what the products generated from this possible universe are and which are based on transmedia strategies, according to what is characterized by Jenkins (2009, 2011), Scolari (2013) and Martino (2014). Therefore, content analysis is used as a methodological tool, as proposed by Bardin (2011), for the observation of the site panelinha.com.br, and digital methods (ROGERS, 2013) for the automated data collection of Rita Lobo and Panelinha's related profiles on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and YouTube through Stilingue and Keyhole tools.

Gastronomy and culinary

Gastronomy encompasses knowledge and practices related to cooking, dealing with the food itself and related material, cultural and social elements. According to Braune and Franco (2012, p. 13), it developed due to the social function of meals, which enables the existence of bonds and mutual obligations, moments full of rituals and socialization. Food tastes are a result of the socio-historical and cultural context of individuals. “From the survival instinct comes the need to eat; however, each people has created their cuisine according to available resources and their own selection of foods dictated by their culture” (BRAUNE; FRANCO, 2012, p. 15).

In this sense, food is always a cultural attribute for humanity, as explained by Montanari (2013):

Food is culture *when produced*, because man not only uses what he finds in nature (as do all other animal species), but also aims to create his own food, overlapping the activity of production and predation. Food is culture *when prepared*, because once his core *food* products are acquired, man transforms them through the use of fire and an elaborate technology that is expressed in cooking practices. Food is culture *when consumed*, because man, although

2 Available at: <https://www.panelinha.com.br>. Accessed on: 24 may 2018.

3 Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/Panelinha/>. Accessed on: 24 may 2018.

4 Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/editorapanelinha/>. Accessed on: 24 may 2018.

5 Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/user/sitepanelinha>. Accessed on: 24 may 2018.

he can eat everything, or perhaps precisely because of this, actually does not eat anything, but chooses his own food, with criteria related to both the economic and nutritional dimensions this gesture covers the food itself with symbolic values. Through these paths, food is presented as a decisive element of human identity and as one of the most effective tools for communicating it (MONTANARI, 2013, p. 15-16 – Emphasis in original)⁶.

Food goes far beyond satisfying hunger or nutritional needs. It reveals the social belonging of an individual and is a constituent trait of the identity of a people. As stated by Castells (2002, p. 23), “[...] any and all identities are built”. It is a cultural attribute from which food contributes to its formation. Identity is formed by collective memory and personal fantasies, history, geography and biology. All this is reorganized by subjects and societies, considering social and cultural trends inserted in the social structure and space/time (CASTELLS, 2002, p. 23). Martino (2010, p. 16) adds that “[...] contemporary identities pass through the media, articulate with people and become new models of understanding”.

As a social factor, cuisine also undergoes transformations according to social, cultural, economic, territorial, historical and temporal contexts:

Like the other arts, culinary is not static. The history of its evolution differs according to geographical areas and times. All economic transformations have repercussions on food production and distribution processes and profoundly influence cooking, eating habits and the very structure of domestic life (FRANCO, 2010, p. 263).

Traditionally restricted to women (slaves first, then maids under housewife management), cooking has gained more and more supporters. As Oliveira (2013, p. 53) points out, “[...] the current slogan is to cook for pleasure, by choice and also for the possibility of insertion in certain social groups that today are identified as opinion makers”⁷. Thus, cooking became an ennobled activity, a source of pleasure. This culinary climate has led to the creation of more and more products and channels linked to the teachings of everyday cooking.

⁶ In the original: “Comida é cultura quando produzida, porque o homem não utiliza apenas o que encontra na natureza (como fazem todas as outras espécies animais), mas ambiciona também criar a própria comida, sobrepondo a atividade de produção à de predação. Comida é cultura quando preparada, porque, uma vez adquiridos os produtos-base de sua alimentação, o homem os transforma mediante o uso do fogo e de uma elaborada tecnologia que se exprime nas práticas da cozinha. Comida é cultura quando consumida, porque o homem, embora podendo comer de tudo, ou talvez justamente por isso, na verdade não come qualquer coisa, mas escolhe a própria comida, com critérios ligados tanto às dimensões econômicas e nutricionais do gesto quanto aos valores simbólicos de que a própria comida se reveste. Por meio de tais ‘percursos, a comida se apresenta como elemento decisivo da identidade humana e como um dos mais eficazes instrumentos para comunicá-la” (MONTANARI, 2013, p. 15-16 – Emphasis by the author).

⁷ In the original: “[...] a palavra de ordem atual é cozinhar por prazer, por opção e também pela possibilidade de inserção em determinados grupos sociais que hoje são identificados como formadores de opinião”.

Such knowledge, initially passed on orally and/or acquired through practical experience, earns its formal record with the culinary recipe. “Culinary knowledge is a sphere of direct, empirical knowledge, but it also has its theory, whose most concrete forms are recipes”⁸ (CARNEIRO, 2013, p. 9). The earliest kitchen recipes were identified around the year 1500a.C. in Southern Mesopotamia, carved in clay, in cuneiform symbols (FRANCO, 2010, p. 21). Many centuries later, the record of the knowledge consolidated through the culinary recipe was made in the family manuscript notebooks, perpetuated from generation to generation, as an inheritance. As an offshoot comes an extensive range of cookbooks. Ashley et al (2004) state that the first cookbook was “Kuchenmeisterei”, published in 1485 in Nuremberg (northern Bavaria - Germany). The authors point out that:

“The advent of print technology assisted in the strengthening of these common culinary traditions. Recipes could now be transmitted more widely as a set of prescriptive, culinary rules. At the same time, however, as Mennell [1996] points out, printed cookbooks also helped to usher in a process of change, allowing improved or improvised versions of traditional recipes to be passed on more rapidly” (ASHLEY et al, 2004, p. 154-155).

Following this line, since the last century cooking courses have been offered by specialized schools or companies in the industry, as well as booklets and labels of food products. Culinary television programs, whether on television or pay-TV, are a segment with a loyal following and represent an important space of spreading recipes and gastronomic knowledge. “More than learning to cook, watching these gastronomy programs is part of an entertainment that has, to some extent, an identification with the social and moral reality in which we live”⁹ (LAVINAS, 2017, p. 74).

Internet has intensified this process, with websites that post tips and recipes. According to Oliveira (2013, p. 159), it is “[...] one of the main media for the dissemination of recipes - the gratuitousness, the image representation of the step by step of the recipe (in photos or small movies) has facilitated, streamlined and brought companies closer to their consumer audience”¹⁰.

With the Internet, we also go beyond the private limits of cooking, with the dissemination and spectacularization of food. It is common for people, in addition to wanting to try new recipes, to show their culinary experiences on online social networks, building scenarios and dishes for photos. More than eating, you need to show your tastes and your skills. “Food on a computer or tablet screen may be more desirable than real

8 In the original: “O saber culinário é uma esfera de conhecimento direta, empírica, mas também tem a sua teoria, cuja forma mais concreta são as receitas” (CARNEIRO, 2013, p. 9).

9 In the original: “Mais do que aprender a cozinhar, assistir a esses programas de gastronomia faz parte de um entretenimento que possui, sob certa medida, uma identificação com a realidade social e moral em que vivemos” (LAVINAS, 2017, p. 74).

10 In the original: “[...] um dos principais veículos de divulgação de receitas – a gratuidade, o fato de demonstrar em imagens o passo a passo da receita (em fotos ou em pequenos filmes) tem facilitado, agilizado e aproximado as empresas de seu público consumidor”.

food, and is consumed with even greater voracity on the screen”¹¹ (JACOB, 2013a, p. 7 – Emphasis in original).

Internet turns out to be a space for congruence between television shows and culinary bestsellers. TV plays a relevant role in mediating how we understand food, in turn, contributes importantly to contemporary television, as an attraction that arouses more and more interest from the public. In this scenario of flourishing media products related to gastronomy, chef Rita Lobo appears, with her website Panelinha, which also has the namesake channel on YouTube. Rita Lobo is author of several culinary books and host of the program *Cozinha Prática* (Practical Kitchen) on the cable TV channel GNT, as well as having profile on various online social networks to publicize her work and keep in touch with her audience.

Ashley et al (2004) point out that, with a keen interest in TV cooking, with chefs running audiovisual programs¹² and reality shows, many chefs have gained celebrity status and have turned themselves into a brand with an image that differs from their peers, whether by their clothing, identification with a nation, a type of cuisine or an accent, for example. They represent a lifestyle, not just their recipes. According to the authors’ categorization, Rita Lobo fits into the category of “TV chefs”. For them (ASHLEY et al, 2004), television cooking shows often reinforce a voyeuristic relationship in which the viewer likes to see the dish made, but does not intend to recreate it at home. They also point out that contemporary cooking shows tend to hybridize audiovisual genres by combining them with travel programs, documentaries or reality shows. In Chef Rita Lobo’s case, this hybridism seems to be linked to “lifestyle” programs, as will be further explored in the topic of analysis.

In order to analyze the universe created by chef Rita Wolf, involving its various media inserted, we turn to the context of media convergence, explained in the next section.

Mediamorphosis and transmedia

In order to analyze the Panelinha site and its media products, it is necessary first to look at the concepts of mediamorphosis and transmedia, from the perspective of media ecology, which regards the media environment as a biological metaphor. Scolari (2015) considers media ecology to be a transmedia and generalist approach, since it is not linked to a historical period or a particular medium. According to Fidler (1998), three major revolutions mark the evolution of the media environment: the emergence of spoken language, followed by the recording of this language through writing and also the press, culminating in the outbreak of digital language. Of the three, the author highlights the spoken and written languages, which led to the development of society. Fidler (1998) believes that the emergence of new media

11 In the original: “*A comida da tela de computador ou de tablet pode ser mais desejada do que a real, e é consumida com voracidade ainda maior na tela*” (JACOB, 2013a, p. 7 – Emphasis by the author).

12 Cooking was first introduced to British TV in the 1930s and Phillip Harben was said to have been the first television chef in the 1950s. He built his brand with a distinctive visual style invested in a butcher’s apron, expanded his acting by writing a cookbook series and even launched a brand inspired by its name: Harbenware. In this sense, he created a model for later celebrity chefs (ASHLEY et al, 2004).

does not result in the elimination of old ones. Using the ecological perspective, the author considers that the media environment allows the cohabitation of the media, which adapt to new configurations whenever a new element enters space.

Shirky (2011) points out that the communication environment is directly affected by technological development and community life. It indicates the Internet as an inducer of the main evolution of the media, since the emergence of the telegraph, with the low cost of production and transmission of data, words, images, videos and voice. Scolari (2015) points out that a new medium affects others and the communication environment, but is also affected by them. For Levinson (2015), in agreement with Fidler (1998) and Scolari (2015), a new medium is more likely to survive and evolve in the media environment when it carries with it established or mass media characteristics. Castells (2002) believes that in electronic communication, media absorb traditional cultures, corroborating the view of media ecology.

Fidler (1998) uses the term “mediamorphosis” to designate the transformation of media in the communication environment with the arrival of a new element, when new technologies seek familiarity with previous ones to be better received by the consuming public. As an example, we have photography, which is linked to painting; the cinema, which seeks theatrical performances; television, linked to radio language. The evolution of the media, according to the author, is motivated by the needs of society, by pressure from the public power or by technological innovations, which may act in isolation or together. Such a phenomenon can be explained by coevolution¹³, convergence¹⁴ and complexity¹⁵.

When two or more media work together, we have what Jenkins (2009) calls media convergence. The concept, developed in the 1970s, is used by the author to describe the way media react to the Internet as “[...] a transformation both in the way they produce and consume the media” (JENKINS, 2009, p. 44), highlighting the migration of the public among various media in search of contents that please them - the author emphasizes that a medium that satisfies its audience is consolidated in the media environment. For Carvalho and Barichello (2013), convergence alters both the relationship between the media and the functioning of the media industry and the form of content consumption, with more public participation. That is also emphasized by Martino (2014), when he indicates that media connections are made by the public.

Participation, characteristic of the culture of convergence, changes the way media content is worked. According to Shirky (2011, p. 25), “To participate is to act as if your presence matters, as if, when you see or hear something, your response is part of the event”¹⁶. Jenkins, Green and Ford (2014) point out that, in the culture of convergence, the public is

13 We understand coevolution when new media influence old media, with two or more related media or even with the media and the subjects in relation (JENKINS, 2009).

14 We understand convergence, from the same author, when two or more media and technologies come together in the digital environment or outside, in a process and “[...] not an end point” (JENKINS, 2009, p 43).

15 Chaos, considered by Fidler (1998) as necessary for the transformation of the media environment.

16 In the original: “Participar é agir como se sua presença importasse, como se, quando você vê ou ouve algo, sua resposta fizesse parte do evento”.

primarily responsible for the spread of media content produced by the media companies or the active audience itself. The authors emphasize that consumers emotionally involved with media products are more loyal and form the so-called “niche community” (JENKINS; GREEN; FORD, 2014, p. 48), where they meet to share information, knowledge, impressions and productions of their own, generating engagement.

With Panelinha, the emergence of the site and, later, the other channels, it is possible to illustrate what Shirky (2011) calls the fluidity of media: “All media can now slide from one to another”¹⁷ (SHIRKY, 2011, p. 54). To keep her audience engaged and loyal, Rita Lobo explores different channels with tailored content, generating the potential to incorporate transmedia storytelling techniques. For Jenkins (2009, p. 49), the transmedia narrative is “[...] a new aesthetic that emerged in response to the convergence of the media [...]”¹⁸, requiring engaged consumer behavior and can only exist in a symbiosis relationship.

Among the challenges of this fluid scenario is understanding the role of content marketing and its possibilities. As Hardy (2017) points out, this mapping will allow us to identify how long-term relations between media, agencies and marketers are placed today. For this, he observes actors, actants and processes that operate in this complex relationship, whether they are the marketers themselves, the intermediaries, the platforms, the automated processes or the media and communication services. Content marketing covers, according to the author’s classification (HARDY, 2017), three areas of activity: the spaces of the brand itself, the already traditional paid content and the material produced or hosted by publishers. This variety of fields of activity and narrative organization of content creates challenges for communication and the audience. Hardy (2017) argues that brand extension in non-commercial spaces widens the disparity of power in communicative processes. “This links to the critique that such branded content undermines, or threatens to undermine, the integrity of channels of communication” (HARDY, 2017, p. 83). In complex objects such as what we call in this article “the Rita Lobo universe”, transmedia narrative and content marketing touch each other, enhancing the fluidity of relationships and processes. For the audience, the expansion of the brand’s presence in the various circulation spaces present in its daily life naturalizes it and brings it closer, acting on its identity, its practices and its lifestyle. Content marketing, then, “[...] is the idea that all brands, in order to attract and retain customers, need to think and act like media companies” (PULIZZI, 2012, p. 1).

This multiplicity of narrative spaces dialogues with what Scolari (2013) characterizes as transmedia narrative: a story that is present in various media, spreading over them with the help of the public. According to the author, media participation must always be differentiated. Martino (2014) argues that each medium should bring new elements to the initial plot, while Jenkins (2009) points out that each medium draws its own expertise. Shirky (2011) emphasizes that transmedia narrative is characterized by radical

17 In the original: “*Toda mídia agora pode deslizar de uma para outra*” (SHIRKY, 2011, p. 54).

18 In the original: “[...] *uma nova estética que surgiu em resposta à convergência das mídias [...]*”.

intertextuality and multimodality; Both characteristics are present on the Panelinha website and its derivative products.

Thus, the public of Panelinha can consume content on different platforms, and the range of products offered is broader, suitable for each media. According to Martino (2014), the transmedia narrative cannot be detached from its economic character, since among its objectives are to retain and expand the consumer portfolio. Thus, the transmedia narrative establishes itself as a business model that expands the user experience by presenting different forms of content consumption.

The creation of narrative universes is one of the characteristics of the transmedia narrative listed by Jenkins (2009), because it allows the content to be taken to other media besides, in the case of Panelinha, from the original site. Although narrative universes are more closely linked to fictional texts, as pointed out by Eco (1994), the transmedia narrative of non-fictional entertainment also enables multiple events to be derived from the original line, with effective public participation. Thus, while in fiction the authors create stories that do not end in a single work, new channels for exploring non-fictional content are created and experimented. As Jenkins (2009) points out, the narrative universe is necessarily larger than the original work in order for the narrative to expand and the commercial success of the product to be achieved. It is important that the universe can be perceived by the consumer as such. In fictional plots and entertainment products like Panelinha, art direction is essential for platforms to connect with viewer perception. Narrative universes are used in transmedia storytelling to “[...] develop their worlds of fiction, to build backstory or to explore alternative viewpoints, all in the service of enhancing the main narrative, the ‘mother ship’, and finally, the intensification of public engagement”¹⁹ (JENKINS; GREEN; FORD, 2014, p. 178). The created worlds, as seen, are not just fictional.

Rita Lobo Universe

Chef and host Rita Lobo left her modeling career to devote herself to the world of food. She has a degree in gastronomy from the Institute of Culinary Education (ICE) and began writing about it in the newspaper Folha de S. Paulo in 1995. A fan of “real food”, she seeks to escape from gourmetization²⁰, ultra-processed foods and fad diets into an appreciation of home cooking.

In 2000, she created the Panelinha website, which focuses on teaching cooking recipes simply and practically, revealing cooking tricks. It calls itself the first tested and photographed recipe site exclusively for the Internet. The purpose is to offer the public

19 In the original: “[...] desenvolver seus mundos de ficção, para construir histórias de bastidores ou para explorar pontos de vista alternativos, tudo a serviço da melhoria da narrativa principal, a ‘nave mãe’, e, por fim, da intensificação do engajamento do público” (JENKINS; GREEN; FORD, 2014, p. 178).

20 *Gourmetising* is to improve the look of a product without changing its essence, thus charging more for it. The term began to be used with new presentations for food products such as gourmet chocolate.

efficient cooking with fast results. “In this language the recipe has to work and the pleasure of making and eating should be quick, simple and immediate”²¹ (JACOB, 2013b, p. 72).

The site brings together three blogs (Blog da Rita - Rita’s Blog; Alimentação Saudável - Healthy Eating; and Pitadas - Pinches), tabs on the creator’s latest projects and links to all Rita Lobo’s social networks. In addition to the recipes, it consists of tips, suggestions, menu ideas and stories from the chef herself, in a lighter and more direct language to the public.

Following this line, Rita Lobo maintains a namesake YouTube channel²² with more than 230,000 subscribers, which has been on this network since July 2008. In it, she inserts recipes, comments, culinary tricks, and the dissemination of other products of her own. Most of the videos are own content created especially for the channel. There are series, courses, basic indications, such as cutting vegetables, even preparing elaborate dishes.

The site project also unfolded in the book “*Panelinha: Recipes That Work*”, whose first edition was in 2010, as a way of celebrating the portal’s 10th anniversary. It became a bestseller by Senac Publishing House and is nominated by the “*Food Guide for the Brazilian Population*” published by the Ministry of Health (2014) - alongside “*Food Rules: A Handbook of Food Wisdom*” (POLLAN, 2010) and “*The Art of Simple Food: Lessons and Recipes from a Delicious Revolution*” (WATERS, 2011). According to the guide, in the three works, selected from a long list of similar publications, “[...] readers will find practical suggestions that will support them in the process of incorporating into their daily life the recommendations and guidelines of this guide”²³ (MINISTÉRIO DA SAÚDE, 2014, p. 143).

The book published by Senac São Paulo, in co-production with Panelinha Editorial, was in its 5th edition, 2012. In hardcover, modern and audacious graphic design and full of photos and illustrations, the work brings 220 recipes of starters, snacks, salads, side dishes, main courses, desserts and other dishes gathered as the best ever published on the site. These are recipes from Rita Lobo herself or from others, but tested and presented by her. Everything is well explained, with detailed walkthroughs, tricks and techniques, plus an opening paragraph or text with a comment or story on the plate. It also presents lists, tips and advice to readers for the activity in the kitchen. In the introduction, the author explains about the site’s design, noting that “working” recipes are her “product”. According to her, in the interval between the launch of the website and the book, “[...] a lot has happened in the kitchen world”²⁴ (LOBO, 2012, p. 13), which gained space and prominence, attracting more and more lovers - whether it is the need to cook for daily food or the gastronomic pleasure.

21 In the original: “Nessa linguagem a receita tem que dar certo e o prazer de fazer e comer deve ser rápido, simples e imediato” (JACOB, 2013b, p. 72).

22 Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/user/sitepanelinha>. Accessed on: 30 jan. 2018.

23 In the original: “[...] os leitores encontrarão sugestões práticas que irão apoiá-los no processo de incorporar na sua vida diária as recomendações e orientações deste guia” (MINISTÉRIO DA SAÚDE, 2014, p. 143).

24 In the original: “[...] muita coisa aconteceu no mundo da cozinha” (LOBO, 2012, p. 13).

For me, in all these years, it has become increasingly clear that cooking should be like reading and writing: one has to know. That is, the subject does not have to publish a novel because he has been literate, nor must he have read all the Russian classics just because he reads. You also don't need to know how to duck confit or unravel a chicken in less than 30 seconds. But to be proud of never having fried an egg, in my opinion, is a bit sad. Eating is the basis of life. And cooking has many benefits. Those who make their own food are more likely to achieve a healthier and more tasty diet. The preparations are lighter, fresher, without frying - who wants to smell fat on their clothes or hair? Ready seasonings are eliminated, purchased frozen foods too. And that alone would be enough to infinitely improve people's quality of life²⁵ (LOBO, 2012, p. 13 – Emphasis in original).

Rita Lobo also has more books published, namely: *“Living kitchen: practical recipes to receive”* (2005), *“Cooking for wellbeing: antiTPM recipes”* (2013), *“Rita’s Pinches”* (2014), *“Practical Kitchen”*(2015), *“What’s in the fridge ”*(2016) and his latest project *“Baby Food ”* (2017), as well as e-books and side projects.

The chef also runs the Cozinha Prática (Practical Kitchen)²⁶ program on the GNT cable channel, which premiered in April 2012. The idea of the program is to present a simpler and faster way of cooking with culinary tricks in light and informal language, in which the presenter talks directly with the viewer. Rita Lobo shows the pleasure of cooking in a relaxed way, telling stories, giving tips and secrets, often called “the cat’s leap”. Menu combinations and set up of dishes are made. “More than recipes, you learn cooking techniques, cooking methods”²⁷.

New versions of traditional dishes of national and international cuisine are made in order to make the preparation more accessible to the public, setting up menus with the use of ingredients and leftovers and with suggestions of side dishes, drinks, plating, readings and utensils suggestions, as well as a soundtrack and stories of the host herself, who eventually also conducts interviews with scholars or professionals related to the field of gastronomy. By presenting basic aspects of cooking and foods that would require more preparation, without forgetting the motto of practicality, the program’s target audience includes beginners of the kitchen and those who already know how to cook.

25 In the original: *“Para mim, nesses anos todos, foi ficando cada vez mais claro que cozinhar deveria ser como ler e escrever: a pessoa tem de saber. Isto é, o sujeito não precisa publicar um romance porque foi alfabetizado nem tem de ter lido todos os clássicos russos apenas porque lê. Também não precisa saber fazer confit de pato ou destrinchar um frango em menos de 30 segundos. Porém, se orgulhar de nunca ter fritado um ovo, na minha opinião, é um pouco triste. Comer é a base da vida. E cozinhar traz muitos benefícios. Quem faz a própria comida tem mais chances de conquistar uma alimentação mais saudável e saborosa. As preparações ficam mais ligeiras, mais fresquinhas, sem fritura – quem é que vai querer ficar com cheiro de gordura na roupa ou no cabelo? Os temperos prontos são eliminados, as comidas compradas congeladas também. E só isso já seria suficiente para melhorar infinitamente a qualidade de vida das pessoas”* (LOBO, 2012, p. 13 – Emphasis by the author).

26 Available at: <http://gnt.globo.com/programas/cozinha-pratica/>. Accessed on: 30 jan. 2018.

27 In the original, one of Rita Lobo’s speeches in episode 6 of Season 9 of Practical Kitchen (2018) on the GNT channel: *“Mais do que receitas, você aprende técnicas culinárias, métodos de cozimento”*.

The show is recorded in studio in the form of a complete, modern and colorful kitchen; in addition to the countertop and the main appliances, utensils, spices, ingredients and crockery are on display forming a decoration that generally varies with each season. The theme also changes, without losing the central motto of a “practical kitchen”. In the 2018 season, it presented the Cozinha Prática Verão (Summer Practical Kitchen), which is intended to be an “intensive cooking course”, consisting of only seven “classes”, with episodes from January 9 to February 20, 2018.

The next topic of this article presents the methodology used for the study of four core products of Rita Lobo chosen for this research, as well as the actual analysis of the objects.

Methodological Procedures and Analysis

For the empirical observation of the universe of digital products created by chef Rita Lobo and the interconnection strategies, we opted for the content analysis (BARDIN, 2011) of the Panelinha site with a qualitative perspective and a focus on the structuring of its content and its editorial organization. Thus, we chose as operators of analysis the organization of content in editorials or sections; the type of material published as posts or recipes; relationships with Rita Lobo’s products in other media (books, TV shows or other digital platforms) and strategies for referring internal links to the site. From proprietary automated collection tools (Stilingue and Keyhole), we take a quantitative look at posting profiles, related term networks, and the reach of these social networks. Thus, the corpus of analysis is made up of the posts between January 25 and February 25, 2018 on the Panelinha channel on YouTube; @RitaLobo and @Panelinha profiles on Twitter; on the Panelinha page on Facebook; and @RitaLobo, @EditoraPanelinha, @CozinhaPanelinha and @AcervoPanelinha profiles on Instagram.

Table 1 – Total user numbers linked to Panelinha / Rita Lobo profiles

Social network website	Affiliates/Followers	Posts in the period (01/25 to 02/25/2018)
Facebook	256 thousand	99
Instagram	1,25 million	230
Twitter	460 thousand	360
Youtube	236 thousand	47

Source: the authors.

The volume of audiences linked to the brand through social networks justifies our choice for an automated collection tool and also reveals the importance of these platforms in the study of our object. It places digital production in an environment conducive to engaging and creating complex narratives.

The Site

Chef Rita Lobo's website is the main tool for articulating her digital media productions. The medium represents the host as a mediatic persona who reproduces a simple lifestyle, has a layout that explores the white space and values the photographs produced from the plates. It centralizes information about Rita Lobo's main projects: "Baby Food", which combines publications in a YouTube playlist with recipes on this theme and a book produced in partnership with nutritionists from the University of São Paulo (USP); and "Practical Summer Menu", which organizes a series of episodes of her television program in a cooking course format.

Also, as stated earlier, it anchors blogs, recipes and links to their digital social networking profiles. Six books of his own are cited on the main page, as well as these projects and some recipe indications. The recipes are one of the main attractions of the site, having a database that can only be accessed by search, which in the advanced version allows the use of filters.

The internal recipe page shows the choice of site associated with criteria such as seasonality or specific themes, for example, meatless recipes or Indian dishes. There are three blogs, one linked directly and two indirectly to chef's actions within both the logic of content marketing and the creation of a transmedia universe. They feature posts on healthy eating, whether with an indication of journalistic content on the subject or with specially developed interviews with partner researchers who talk about it, with special emphasis on the theme of baby food. Pitadas, on the other hand, builds the world of the table, with tips on crockery, napkins, decoration and work. It is linked to a project (implemented on @acervopanelinha profile in 2019) that deals with the creation of a line of dishes signed by Rita Lobo. On Blog da Rita, the main product is the chef herself. The reinforcement of her image - whether through the behind-the-scenes images of the clothes, makeup and other props she uses and her relationship to the products/programs she subscribes to - is recurring.

The internal recipe pages follow the classic genre patterns organized by Nagamine Brandão (2004): a sequence of actions to follow, verbs in the imperative (or infinitive with this value) and specific vocabulary. In recipes, as in the case of "Eggplant Lasagna for One"²⁸, there is a structure separating ingredients from the mode of preparation. This second is presented in the form of serialized steps (from one to five, for example) and with indication of time and number of portions. Terms such as "gratin" and measures such as "cups" and "spoons" that are typical of the culinary environment are employed. This is a recognizable and consolidated structure as a discursive genre, and the chef fits into such a tradition. Recipes are always accompanied by two types of internal links: menu composition and similar dishes.

²⁸ Available at: <https://www.panelinha.com.br/receita/Lasanha-de-berinjela-individual-com-molho-de-tomate-caseiro>. Accessed on: 8 jan. 2019.

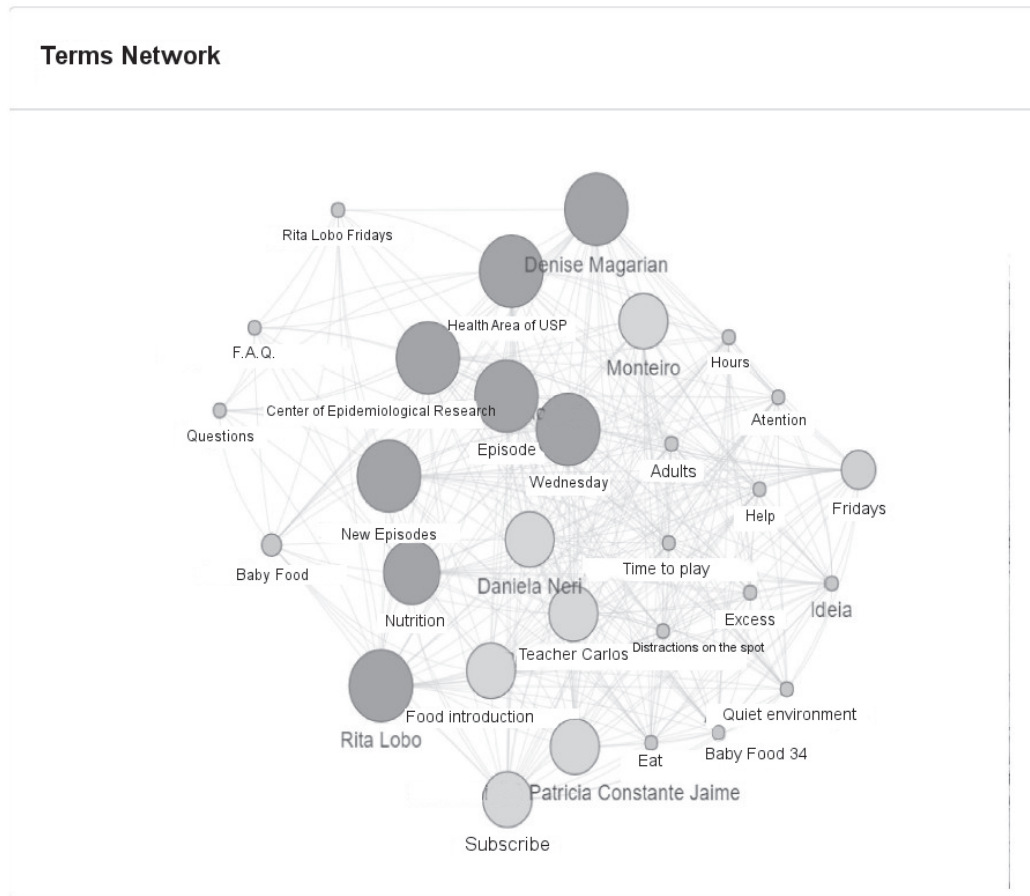
The site acts as a showcase of Rita Lobo's projects on a digital environment and as a reinforcement of her productions in traditional media, either on TV or in her books. From the bias of the transmedia narrative, they represent an expansion of their original works, as in the case of the hypertextuality of the recipes or in interviews that deepen the issue of "real cooking" or healthy eating, which are central to the representation of the chef and add value to her as a brand. Her behavior on social media can point to traits that indicate how site content is exploited, tending to increase its visibility within the spreading logic of Jenkins, Green and Ford (2014).

YouTube

The Panelinha YouTube channel has existed since 2008 and has accumulated over 11.5 million views during this period. It is potentially the most conducive channel for the creation of transmedia narratives because of the platform-specific production and the company's vocation, which also has the role of audiovisual producer and has the infrastructure to make their own content, without relying on mass media. It organizes the production into 24 playlists, being the oldest "Kitchen Reform" of 2009. The reissues of the recipes broadcast on the GNT channel are posted on the channel's page on this platform. Weekly updates are "Baby Food" on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays; and "Rita, Help" on Thursdays.

The emphasis on the "Baby Food" project comes from the frequency of playlist updates, the signature to videos as a Senac and Panelinha partnership, and the editorial option to skip the recipe format and address broader issues such as label reading, ingredient list, food introduction, among others. The project is related to the author's book of the same name, but in a complementary and at the same time autonomous way. The chef's association with doctors and nutritionists reinforces her credibility and the "real food" proposal that characterizes her. This loan demonstrates to the audience that the content circulated under the "Baby Food" seal does not refer to Rita Lobo's position on the theme (or at least not only his own), but of a product built from health research spaces, as the Center for Epidemiological Research, the Health area of the University of São Paulo (USP) and the presence of professors and scholars as sources. In the following graph (Figure 1), this option is clear with the prevalence of a network of terms not only prominent in number, but also in node size, dominating the channel theme in the observed period. The names of nutritionists, as well as "USP nutritionists" and "food introduction", are almost as prominent as "Rita Lobo", "Episodes/New Episodes" and "Baby Food" themselves, which at first seemed to be priority terms.

Figure 1 – Graph of related terms in YouTube posts



Source: the authors, through the Stilingue tool.

The other weekly update playlist has its main source of interactions outside this platform through the hashtag #RitaHelp. Thus, even with a channel based on audience participation, there is no audience interaction relationship with the platform through the feedback response. This relationship could be a way to develop a collective intelligence of users organized by this hashtag, both for sharing experiences with each other and with the chef herself. The combination of proximity to the audience generated by the hashtag and affiliation with science through the constant drive of researchers and scientific entities delimits Rita Lobo's point of view, the defense of ungourmetized healthy food, as the guiding thread of the products that build her universe. Real, easy, everyday cooking is taken up as a lifestyle, shying away from the idea that recipes from a chef's television show are difficult to reproduce and displaced from the reality of the public.

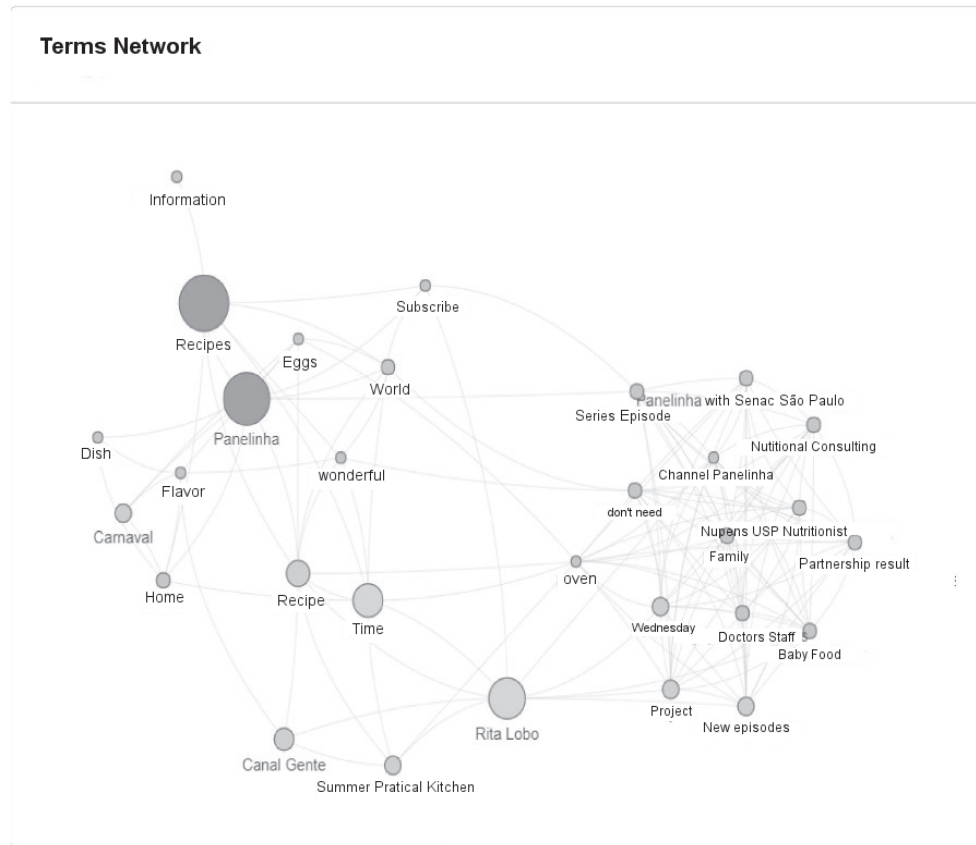
The proximity mentioned above is also related to the perpetuity and ease of access to content, which is built from the use of databases and memory on digital platforms. On the YouTube channel, for example, there is the nearly decade-long collection that has connections with older products on the site. An example of this is the “O que tem na geladeira” (“What’s in the Refrigerator”) series, which originated from a book and has developments on the website and Instagram. Although not systematized as the recipes published on the site, these videos are often embedded in other platforms of the brand and enhance the spread of Panelinha content. This dynamic reinforces the active profile of the contemporary audience, presented by Jenkins, Green and Ford (2014) also in the circulation and recirculation of content, giving new meanings from the intensity of its spreadable character and the new relationships it builds in this scenario. The range of productions expands, taking up spaces that were not previously his own and reviewing his own understanding of who his audience is and what makes up his universe.

Facebook

The Panelinha page on Facebook acts as a disseminator of the site’s content, highlighting the revenues of the GNT channel program. Despite the number of network users who like the page, there is no dialogue with the public, although the volume of posts is consistent. The composite range of posts made on the network reaches a total of 255,400 fans and its effective range is considered average with 24,800 interactions, with nearly 21,000 reactions, 1,100 comments and 3,000 shares. Although it gets a high number of interactions, the weighted engagement of the page, which is measured by relativizing these interactions with the number of fans, is low. The engagement rate is 7%, fitting the stratum defined as weak. We consider that the fact that there is no response in the 36 comments that make up this network sample contributes to the poor engagement of the page.

Regular posting focuses on the recipe theme, but as you can see in the related terms graph of fanpage publications (Figure 2), there are two main themes cores. One is centered on the recipes themselves with terms ‘recipe’/‘recipes’, ‘panelinha’, ‘time’, ‘dish’, ‘eggs’, ‘flavor’ etc., which have greater representation in both the size of the knots and in color (whereas orange means more engagement). The other has more terms and is associated with healthy eating in two axes: the book “Baby Food” and its credibility through the presence of specialists, noticeable by “Nutrition Consulting”, “Nupens USP Nutritionists”, “Doctors staff” or even “Panelinha with Senac São Paulo”. A third identified axis concerns the project’s YouTube channel, which includes the nodes: “New Episodes”, “Series Episodes”, “Family”, “Wednesday”, “Panelinha Channel”.

Figure 2 – Graph of related terms in Facebook posts



Source: the authors, through the Stilingue tool.

Both thematic axes direct the reader to the Panelinha site or to their YouTube channel, with no incidence of exclusive Facebook posts. There is also no use of events or lives, which are popular tools on the platform. Its use, then, does not exploit all the potentials, but dialogues with the strategies designed on the other platforms, delimiting a cohesive positioning. That's because, as said, Facebook is a space for replicating content of the universe, amplifying Rita Lobo's low sense of dialogue with her audience. This dialog is built on the hashtag #Ritahelp or on the videos themselves, but not on the comment fields on social networks. Still, the various spaces that make up the universe are interconnected through links, complexifying the network formed by the projects.

As in other spaces, the recipes and the "practical kitchen" are the flagship of the posts, delimiting the editorial positioning and reinforcing the construction of the media

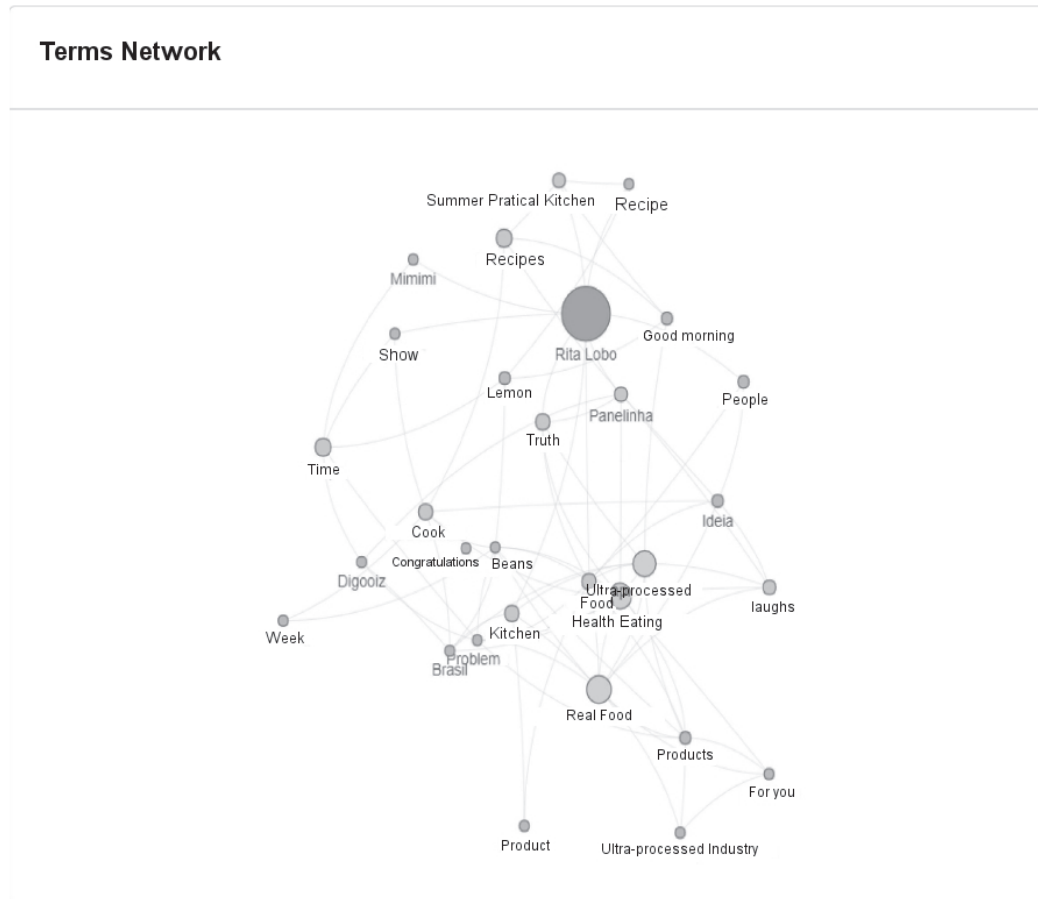
figure Rita Lobo. The other thematic axes can be seen as supporting the central argument, either by its reinforcement, its credibility or its own negation - as in the presenter's line of dishes, characterized by the simple chic, expensive and inaccessible to a large portion of the audience.

Twitter

On Twitter, there is a separation between @RitaLobo and @Panelinha profiles, which mark the publications that reinforce the chef's worldview, as representations of her universe within gastronomy and possible differentials, such as the recipes that always work, the Real food and healthy eating.

This structure can be perceived by the organization of clusters: a smaller one, centered on the terms "ultra-processed", "healthy eating", "real food", "products" and "ultra-processed industry". The other circulates around the largest node of the network "Rita Lobo" with terms such as "Good Morning", "Recipes", "Show", "Summer Practical Kitchen". In fact, Rita Lobo is reinforced through different strategies: on the one hand her personal (and largely professional) positioning in defense of real food and home cooking and on the other the circulation of her productions, which show how to insert the practices of this lifestyle into daily life. Then, when looking at profiles from a relational point of view, it is possible to understand that they make up a coordinated strategy that seeks to trigger the person Rita Lobo in the composition of his media subject. This representation, in turn, reinforces the editorial cohesion of the universe and allows the construction of engagement from an ideological point of view, designed from the identification of the audience with the arguments presented, which can lead to the adoption of practices and the consolidation of strategies. and business models linked to the universe that broadly flirt with content marketing.

Figure 3 – Graph of related terms in @ritalobo's Twitter posts



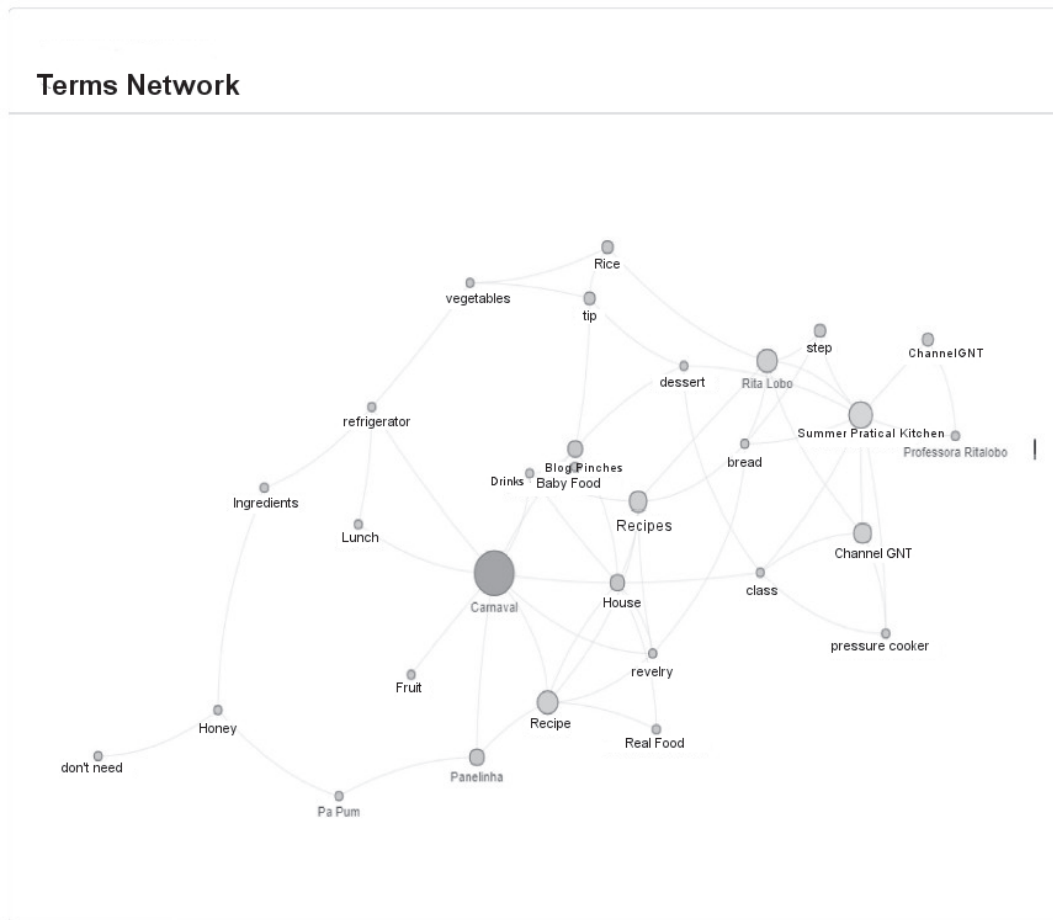
Source: the authors, through the Stilingue tool.

The presence of a network of frugal themes associated with the host is linked to the very nature of the platform, marked as a direct channel between users and their peers to follow the daily events and activities. This prominence of the subjects is marked by the difference in the followers of @ritalobo and @panelinha. The @ritalobo profile has a range of 457,700 fans, considered large for the network. This is the same rating given by Stilingue to network interactions, reaching 25,700. Among these, 23,900 are liked and 1.7 are shares. As with Facebook, no comments have been answered. The average weighted engagement rate, however, is higher but below 15%. The @panelinha profile, however, has a smaller Twitter fan base, even though it is categorized as large. There are 17,700 fans reaching a total of 4,600 interactions, with an effective range categorized as average. There are 4,200 likes and 462 content shares. The pattern of non-responsiveness to comments remains and weighted engagement, even with the reduced fan base compared to previous ones, is weak -below 7%.

Even with the difference in scope of the two profiles, the strategy of dialogue with the public looks the same: the lack of answers. We understand that this option does not directly interfere with the creation of transmedia narratives, but it may be part of the construct for elements of convergence, such as the culture of participation and collective intelligence, which are linked to the motives that make people associate with brands and narrative universes. As with Facebook, the relationship between the @panelinha profile and the themes of the Rita Lobo universe is increasing the visibility of the website and TV productions.

This connection can be perceived through the terms mentioned in the profile. References to other chef productions can be observed, though less intensely than we have seen in previous networks. The citations are identified by the terms “Canal GNT”, “Practical Summer Kitchen”, “Panelinha”, “Baby Food” and “Pinches Blog”.

Figure 4 – Graph of related terms in @panelinha’s Twitter posts



Source: the authors, through the Stilingue tool.

We identified a low representativeness of terms linked to the surroundings of the “Baby Food” project, seen with greater intensity in other networks and that appears in the @panelinha graph. Here, the universe is predominantly made up of recipes for Carnival (since data were collected in a pre-event period), with words related to ingredients and meals. The secondary core is from the “Summer Practical Kitchen” node, whose neighbors are Canal GNT and Rita Lobo.

Instagram

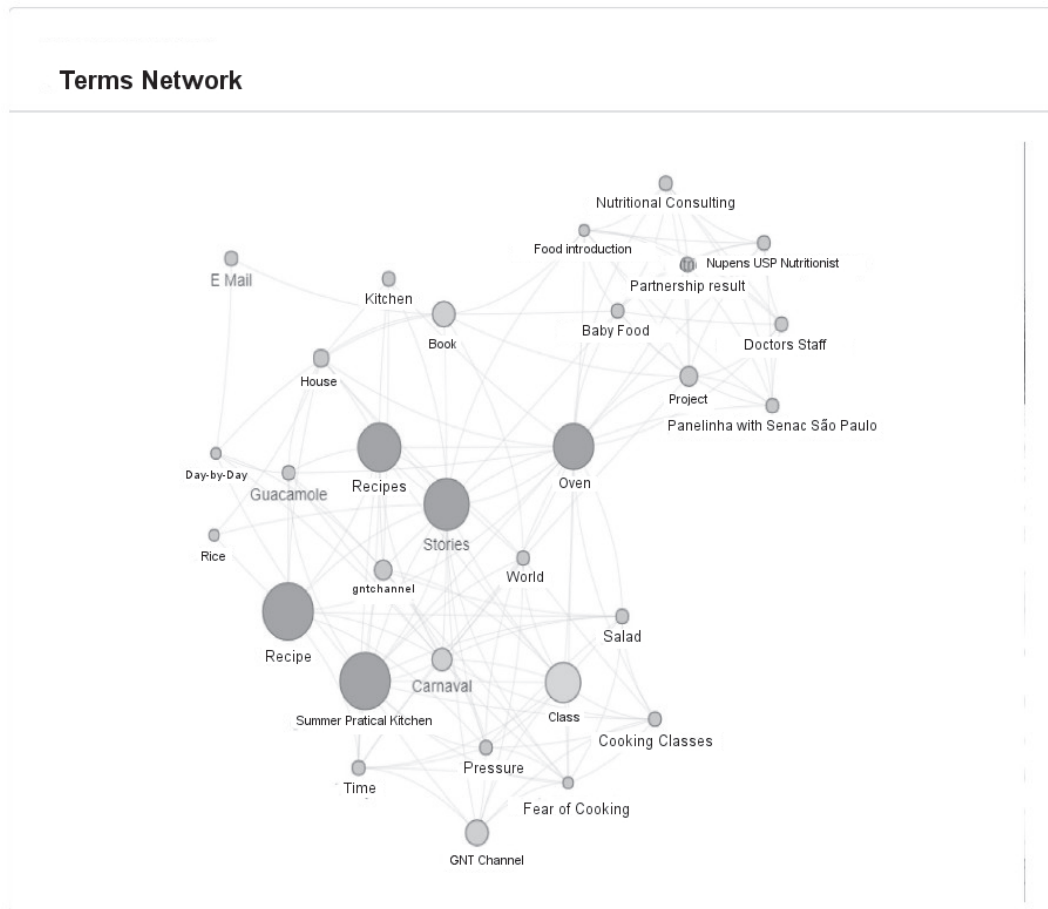
The Instagram platform is the most active of the Panelinha brand, which has four profiles with updates during the data collection period: @EditoraPanelinha, with a more institutional function; @RitaLobo, centered on the chef's media persona; @cozinhapanelinha, which shows recipe test videos before programs; and @acervopanelinha, on the line of tableware launched by the brand in 2018.

The @ritalobo network on Instagram brings the most representative data, with a range of 686,800 fans and 869,500 interactions. Still, the average weighted engagement does not reach 15%. Importantly, however, the average engagement is more than four times higher than detected on Twitter. The @panelinha profile has 324,200 Instagram fans, but the effective range is much lower than @ritalobo (a standard in the networks analyzed). In total, there were 168,200 interactions - none of them answered by the page. The engagement rate is therefore poor, falling into the lower range of the Stilingue rating (below 7%). This reveals the strength of the chef in relation to the audience, characterizing her as central in the composition of the universe, giving her protagonism over content and recipes. The concept of “real food”, which at first unifies the projects presented to the public, only makes sense when represented by Rita Lobo. Thus, if the chef's practical kitchen works as intended, it does not depend on dialogue or interaction, but it is complete in itself. The few interactions performed reinforce this universe by clarifying doubts or deepening the issues presented. Audience circulation by the projects - consuming videos, books, talking to each other, following up on revenue tests, etc. - solves any doubts and allows the host to avoid the interactions that characterize online social networks without generating direct losses to the composition of the projects' universe.

Like Twitter, Instagram has more personality-related engagement than brand. Thus, the number of fans is higher in @RitaLobo than in @Panelinha. This difference is not so great when it comes to the content of publications: both are centered on recipes linked to dish photos. The difference is that @editorapanelinha addresses other brand products such as the newsletter, the books, the TV show, etc. Thus, there is a more homogeneous division in the theme and node sizes of the related term graph. There is no clear separation of clusters as it appears in other networks, even when it comes to the participation of doctors and nutritionists.

featured in the programs, as well as those that make up the line signed and marketed by the chef, deny the essence of the editorial identity of the projects: they are made to look simple but are very expensive. It is the moment when the simple turns into scenario, it is triggered as performance and not as objective. Home cooking and the replicable character of culinary memory and experience are triggered through objects that disguise a gourmetization of simplicity. So even if Rita Lobo cooks simple, picks up childhood recipes, engages with the emotional memory of the audience, uses everyday ingredients, her television chef's role resumes when she uses, for example, an induction-cooker, a luxury cookware (such as Le Creuset) or exclusive crockery to plate. In this luxurious setting, welcomed by the cameras, lighting and performance of the culinary book-quality photograph of the final dish, comfort foods like the Brazilian traditional chicken stew, the chicken with okra or the brigadeiro are presented. This “beans and rice in Le Creuset cookware” organization brings “real food” to the gourmet, editorial, professional level - impossible for the home cook to reach.

Figure 6 – Graph of related terms in @RitaLobo's Instagram posts



Source: the authors, through the Stilingue tool.

The other two profiles can be considered secondary, despite the number of users, because of the number of posts. The @cozinhanelinha test profile has less than 20 posts per month. In the period analyzed, there were 51 posts in the period with an average of 2,345 likes and 64 comments. It has the function of creating an environment of transparency, as it shows the tests of recipes before they are made by chef Rita Lobo on the television show. While not having the main personality in focus, the videos reinforce the concept of recipes that always work, because they are thoroughly tested before being shown to the viewer, information that is constantly presented on the show.

@acervopanelinha is the profile of the brand of tableware launched in 2018 and gained over 30,000 followers in less than 15 days after creation, demonstrating the engagement capacity generated by the brand Rita Lobo and interest aroused by his investment in building his link with lifestyle and reiterating himself as a subject able to recommend and validate indications of products related to gastronomy. In the period analyzed, 15 posts were made with an average of 1,719 likes and 75 comments.

These profiles appear cited as followed by the main profiles of Panelinha on Instagram. @Cozinhanelinha brings some tips in their posts and has a representative amount of comments, but the four profiles follow the strategies of other social networks to systematically not dialogue with the public.

Conclusion

The communication strategies of the Panelinha brand, as we observed throughout the analysis, are rich and complex, respecting the potential of each platform and harnessing the power of two themes of great engagement, which are gastronomy and healthy lifestyle. Added to this, there is the power of a television chef like Rita Lobo, who embodies celebrity aspects with the potential for cook identification. This approach, in our view, would be one of the main explanations for the large number of brand followers across platforms. However, the creation of a Rita Lobo universe as an example of transmedia narrative is not so holistically clear even in a large number of publications. This is due to different strategies that are sometimes on the brink of cross-promotion and content marketing, rather than episodically and independently expanding content on each platform, as the concept of transmedia storytelling predicts.

Such perception may change according to the association that is made in different brand products. For example, Pinches Blog (Pitadas), which addresses the aesthetic aspects of table composition, would be an appropriate extension to both text and video recipes. Still, it has a life of its own and can be consumed independently. However, if we include the launch of the cross-platform, but centered on @acervopanelinha Instagram line of crockery, we have a case of content marketing where the brand produces informative content about a product that it sells.

The ubiquity of “Comida de Bebê” (Baby Food) and “Cozinha Prática de Verão” (Summer Practical Kitchen) on Panelinha’s platforms is part of a cross-promotion strategy to sell products directly, as well as strengthen the author’s credibility with other chefs in the same segment, with regard to healthy eating. “Baby Food”, at the same time, is responsible for one of the brand’s clearest integrations with the triangulation between website, playlist and book in the project. If we consider the creation of the world through cross-cutting themes that complement each other’s brand products, we could focus the Rita Lobo universe on three axes: the idea of “real food”, focused on the effort to present easy recipes with everyday ingredients that anyone can do instead of opting for ultra-processed products; the concept of the cooking course, in which unfailing recipes are presented for the viewer to learn to cook; Finally, the most complex construction, which is that of Rita Lobo herself, which projects a certain simplicity, but also uses costumes suited to casual fashion and, unlike the ingredients, uses high-end equipment and refined dishes.

This construction is part of the universe that touches the world of celebrities and lifestyle/fashion influencers. The polarization between frugal and idealized, of beans and rice in Le Creuset pots may be the hallmark of the Rita Lobo universe. The boundaries between content marketing and transmedia storytelling are not foreseen in this article but may be deepened in other productions.

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