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This study initially arose from the general interest of the author in food, perceived as a deeply-rooted culture-bound aspect of society and hence a potential 'culture bump' in cross-cultural communication and translation practices. Modern society is undergoing dramatic changes in the field of nutrition and culinary discourse, as mirrored in the extensive coverage of food topics in the media. Driven by stark economic and social changes that have occurred in European society from the 1950s onwards, the role of food and food-related practices have gradually freed themselves from their function of mere sustenance, and have taken on many new dimensions, so much so that food consumption has acquired the proportion of a cultural movement and a fashion trend. This is even more strikingly so in a country like Britain, where the average citizen used to have little interest in food and healthy eating, but is now apparently a nation of food experts (Chiaro 2008; 2012). Chefs have achieved the popularity of superstars, as perhaps only pop singers and actors had done in the past. This can be easily explained if we accept that in the new millennium food has become a lifestyle and today Britain is still one of the largest exporters of television celebrity chefs. Moreover, thanks to major technological advances, today's television consumers have unprecedented choice in terms of television content they can access. Audiences can decide when where and with which translation mode they can watch their preferred TV content. TV viewers can use social media platforms to comment upon, share or even produce media content.
This book investigates food television looking at the intersections between language, culture and television over time and from a cross-cultural perspective. By addressing the diachronic evolution of mainly British and Italian television cookery programmes, from the early days of television to the so-called 'noughties' (the 2000s) and up to present day, this book seeks to demonstrate that it is not by chance that Britain has long been one of the strongest exporters of food television discourse and that Italy has absorbed and integrated into its television system many of the programmes and formats of Anglophone cookery culture and tradition.
This volume provides a guide to the features, language and cultural issues involved in televised food-related programmes and looks at their diachronic evolution in connection to the technological and industrial evolution of the medium. The suggestions provided in this book will hopefully appeal to a wide cross-section of scholars and postgraduates in the fields of linguistics, media and food studies as well as screen translation and allow them to look at what are considered unpretentious products, but which are in fact, complex, multi-layered, multifaceted "cultural gateways".

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LINDA ROSSATO
PAOLO LOFFREDO

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FOOD TELEVISION DISCOURSE

A CROSS-CULTURAL DIACHRONIC APPROACH

PAOLO LOFFREDO

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LINDA ROSSATO

FOOD TELEVISION DISCOURSE

A cross-cultural diachronic approach

Volume pubblicato con il contributo del Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Culturali Comparati DSLCC dell'Università Ca' Foscari Venezia.

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Introduction

This study initially arose from my general interest in food, perceived to be a deeply-rooted culture-bound aspect of society and hence a potential 'culture bump' in cross-cultural communication and translation practices (Leppihalme 1997, Chiaro 2008). Driven by stark economic and social changes that have occurred in Western society from the 1950s onwards, the role of food and food-related practices gradually freed themselves from their function of mere sustenance, and took on new dimensions. Modern society is undergoing dramatic changes in the field of nutrition and culinary discourse, as mirrored in the extensive media coverage of food topics. This is even more strikingly so in a country like Britain, where the average citizen used to have little interest in food and healthy eating, but is now apparently a nation of food experts (Chiaro 2008; 2012). Food consumption has acquired the dimension of a cultural movement and a fashion trend. Chefs have achieved the popularity and status of superstars, as perhaps only pop music singers and actors had in the past. This can be easily explained if we accept that in new millennium Britain, food has become a lifestyle as both journalists and commentators have observed: "Londoners used to define themselves by which designers they wore or which music they listened to; today, it's which restaurant they frequent, whose recipes they're trying" (Dolce, 2001). Two decades later, Britain is still one of the largest exporters of television celebrity chefs.

Very early on in media history, television proved to have a strong international vocation. American and British TV products and formats were rarely produced to be consumed solely in their home markets. Exported to Europe, or the rest of Europe (in the case of the Britain), they would be either dubbed, voiced-over or subtitled to entertain non-English speaking audiences. Cookery television initially resisted this internationalization practice and its discourse remained linked to the construction of a national identity discourse until the launch of The Food Network in 1993 in the US and the subsequent flourishing of thematic food channels changed the paradigm and the universe of food television worldwide.

In spite of the general growth of sociological research around food studies and the flourishing of vast literature around the topic of food and/

in the media, little attention has been paid so far to cross-cultural aspects of food television. With the exception of an insightful, cross-cultural overview of early television cookery in Europe provided by Tominc (2022), to my knowledge, diachronic studies on cross-cultural discursive and multimodal aspects of televised cookery are virtually absent, and this study sets out to rectify this.

By addressing the diachronic evolution of mainly British and Italian cookery programmes, from the early days of television to the so-called 'noughties' (the 2000s) and up to present day, using a content analysis and multimodal discourse analysis, I shall seek to demonstrate that it is not by chance that Britain has long been the strongest exporter of food television discourse and that Italy has absorbed and integrated into its television system many of the programmes and formats of the anglophone cookery culture and tradition. Although Italy has made great strides in the field of global food television since the advent of thematic channels, it is still lagging behind in terms of exporting TV cooking shows, despite the fact of being a major exporter of real food.

My study aims to identify trends in modern TV cookery discourse that have crossed the borders of national television production to become globally accessible to international audiences, and hence become global phenomena. It takes into consideration the different modes and genres of food TV series while reflecting upon the possibility that changing social values attached to food may have been mirrored in and driven by television cookery over the past seventy years. In fact, the phenomenon of celebrity chefs in Britain (and in North America) started several decades ago and this study illustrates how TV cookery both in the UK and the US not only belongs to a strong tradition of gastronomic television broadcasting, but that it refers back to an even stronger tradition of food writing and radio broadcasting.

Moreover, my study would like to highlight how the discursive evolution of TV cookery programmes has been largely influenced by the technological innovations of the medium itself. The gradual expansion of cable and satellite TV during the 1990s, the further proliferation of factual channels after the digital switchover in the first and second decade of the new millennium and finally the advent of on-demand video streaming platforms since 2010s have progressively undermined the natural, traditional bond between national television and broadcasting territory (Chalaby 2002). These specifics in turn have accelerated and intensified an ongoing internationalization process of TV institutions, their audiences and television discourse.

If it is true that British culinary tradition has both welcomed and resisted the influences of continental cuisine (Jones/Taylor 2001) and foreign gastronomic traditions, and that British television cookery dominated the global television market especially when food thematic channels were first introduced, then, twenty years later, more peripheral cookery television cultures have started to emerge on the international landscape. This study argues that while national television was tied up with the modernist objective of building the discourse of national identity, the advent of transnational TV channels brought about the opportunity for more peripheral national television and culinary cultures to become more globally accessible. This ongoing phenomenon that continues to influence food television discourse both at global and local level needs further investigation, as I shall argue, first and foremost, because it is challenging the very notions of food related cultural identity and food authenticity.

Chalaby (2002: 459) points out that transnational television networks have a very different relationship in space and time from their traditional counterparts. Back in 2002, pan-European channels such as Euronews, Eurosport and Fox Kids reached between 30 and 56 countries, covering more than 15 different languages. Transnational broadcasters such as MTV, CNN and Discovery Channel that had more global coverage reached around 150 countries (2002: 461). Transnational television is also less time specific than terrestrial TV. Daytime and primetime schedule differentiation loses importance in a global broadcasting landscape. Trans-border television programming is basically operational around the clock in order to adapt to the needs and lifestyles of people living in different time zones on both sides of the globe. These features require channel schedules to be filled up with diverse television contents thus enhancing the production and exchange of television content internationally. A study by Herman and McChesney highlighted the economic aspects of the initial phases of media globalization and its effects on society (1997). Identifying both benefits and drawbacks of the phenomenon, the first observable effects of media globalization were larger flows of cross-border outputs, the growth of transnational corporations, a general trend towards a centralization of media control and the intensification of commercialization of media. Among the positive effects of media globalization there was the widening of options on offer to the audiences, and the challenging of national television monopolies. Among the advantages of media globalization, the authors included the aspect of the rapid dissemination of popular culture, exported from the dominant commercial and cultural centres to the far corners of

the earth, allegedly responding to a larger demand of this type of contents. Conversely, countries beyond Anglophone cultural sphere would thus engage in a dialogue with the dominant cultural values and some sort of global culture would emerge igniting cross-cultural mutual understanding processes. Starting from McChesney's assumption, I hypothesize that the rapid dissemination of British culinary culture in the first decade of the new millennium to the far corners of the earth and to Italy in particular, probably responded to the large demand for this type of television content in some specific television landscapes. Italy displays a large and very active food and catering industry, but its tradition of televised cookery is virtually non-existent. Food-themed channels offered the food industry the opportunity to advertise to specialized niche audiences, but needed to be filled up with appealing television contents which were not readily available in the home country hence huge amounts of cookery shows had to be imported. The tradition of TV cookery is much younger in Italy (1974) than in Britain (1937) where cookery television is as old as television itself. Moreover, Italy does not have a strong tradition of celebrity chefs, as Stefano Bonilli pointed out in the national newspaper *La Repubblica* (Granello, 2009). Bonilli is the former director of the magazine *Gambero Rosso* and founder of RaiSat Gambero Rosso channel in 1999, the first Italian food devoted channel before it was acquired by Sky Italia in 2003. According to him, between Ave Ninchi and Luigi Veronelli (1974-1976, Italy, Rai1) and until the launch of *La Prova del Cuoco* (2000, Italy, Rai1) hosted by journalist Antonella Clerici, there was no television cookery personality on Italian TV comparable either to the American Julia Child, the British Fanny Cradock or the many other BBC television chefs.

In other words, this void created the space for a dynamic process within the Italian broadcasting "polysystem" (Even-Zohar 1990: 45-46) in the field of food related TV series. The empty space in the Italian culinary television described by the former director of RaiSat's food-themed channel might be partly responsible for the overwhelming success of cookery programmes involving British superstar chefs on Italian television. This phenomenon in turn might also have enhanced the market for translated cookery books accompanying the TV series in Italy, despite the fact that Italian cuisine is lauded world-wide.

According to polysystemic approach, translated foreign texts integrate into the target culture in a peripheral role, with respect to autochthonous texts. This occurs in two circumstances: when there is an occasional void in the target culture, or when the target culture is developing its own literature

but has no models to be inspired by in its own tradition. Both scenarios would motivate the target culture to seek inspirational stimuli outside their borders. This is possibly what happened in the programming of the Gambero Rosso Channel at the turn of the millennium, where young Italian chefs such as Simone Rugiati and Laura Ravaioli, undoubtedly took inspiration from British superstar chefs TV cookery programmes. As for cookery in print, Italian cookery books were traditionally more related to seasonal or regional cooking rather than to specific chefs until the phenomenon of *La prova del Cuoco,* presented by journalist Antonella Clerici. The successful daytime programme was again based on the British format of *Ready Steady Cook*, started in Italy in the year 2000, six years after the British version was produced.

Based on a study that involved more than 40 interviews with executives from the television industry over a period of two years in the initial phases of television globalization, Chalaby (2002) argued that cross-border coverage of transnational television networks and their international production operations tore apart the relationship between local territories and television, thus not only adapting to globalization processes but actually shaping a new global order (2002: 457). The concept of the 'deterritorialization' (Chalaby 2005: 8) of television that Chalaby introduced could provide some helpful insights in these matters and describe the puzzling complex relationship between transnational TV and local space. The most commonly used definition of the notion is that of Néstor García Canclini, who explains deterritorialization as 'the loss of the "natural" relation of culture to geographical and social territories' (Chalaby 2005: 8). According to this point of view, culture and cultural aspects would be gradually disembodied from their original territory and lose their connection to a specific place and thus acquire new meanings. Transnational channels' target audiences are multinational and multilingual.

By exploring the connections between food, language and culture and between food and social practices, the first chapter of this volume explores the concept of "deterritorialization" both in terms of food discourse and in terms of food television. After identifying some milestones in the evolution of television technology and observing how these changes in the TV medium affected the content and discourse of cookery shows, the chapter will also deal with the issue of circulation and translation of televised food products over time. The chapter will conclude with some methodological and terminological specifications.

The second chapter will offer a cross-cultural and diachronic overview of

the evolution of British and Italian cookery television respectively, starting from the black and white cookery demonstrations broadcast on national public service television, up to present day globally distributed reality and competition culinary shows that are so popular on international lifestyle TV channels and on-demand platforms. Generic and thematic issues that are deemed relevant for the present discussion will be explored through the use of keywords like: leisure and labour, performance and reality, authentic and exotic.

The third chapter of the book is based on a case study which follows the diachronic evolution of eight UK Television series covering a time span of around fifty years, from the 1960s until the 2010s. It focuses on the crucial years around the dawn of the new millennium, when the first factual channel ever launched in Italy RaiSat Gambero Rosso Channel was acquired by Sky, becoming Gambero Rosso Channel. This pay-TV satellite broadcaster gave British celebrity chefs like Jamie Oliver and Nigella Lawson access to Italian audiences. In turn, Italian audiences discovered a plethora of foreign cookery television shows, formats and chefs who gradually became familiar TV personalities, together with the birth of similar Italian television shows that were more and more influenced by British and international archetypes, but that would be another story and another book.

Chapter One

Food Language and Culture on Television

> All innovation happens at interstices. Great food is no exception, created at the intersection of cultures as each one modifies and enhances what is borrowed from its neighbors. The language of food is a window onto these "between" places, the ancient clash of civilizations, the modern clash of culture, the covert clues to human cognition, society and evolution.
>
> (Dan Jurafsky, *The Language of Food*)

1.1 Food language and culture

Food Studies has many hallmarks of a classic interdiscipline, as its practices and meanings lie at the intersection of various disciplines and need to be tackled from many different angles. Fields like Science, Anthropology, Sociology, Cultural Studies, Aesthetics and Linguistics, have all helped to shed light on different aspects of food production and consumption, food language, culture, tastes, as well as the ways they relate, connect and construct meanings and discourse. While sociologists have mainly investigated cooking and eating habits and the role of food routines in relation to social change (Warde, 1997), anthropologists have examined food as part of the domestic and social organization in different civilizations. Cultural Studies, on the other hand, tends to focus on cultural phenomena and philosophical issues related to food consumption and preferences (Heldke, 2003).

Scholars of Linguistics and Translation have tackled the issue of food from the perspective of food language, food related communication and the translation of food texts, showing how both language and food are culturally dependent and vary according to numerous factors such as gender, age, situational context and even lifestyle (Gerhardt 2013: 3).

Eating and communicating are universal human needs that are deeply ingrained in our nature as social beings, living in organized groups. Throughout history, people have developed rituals and traditions in the ways that they share food together with their family, tribe, or community; thus making meals such a pivotal moment for human socialization and communication. Dinner parties,

wedding banquets, after-funeral receptions, and coffee breaks at academic conferences all share the basic principle that, on specific occasions, food can represent a viable option to share so much more than eating. Furthermore, every civilization has made unique contributions to the processing of food and methods of preparing it, developing ingredient combinations that produce distinctive tastes recognizable in the cuisines of their region.

The meanings of food are manifold. In many cultures certain dishes are associated to religious ceremonies and symbolism: for example *sufganiyot*, a fried donut which is eaten for Jewish Hannukah in commemoration of a miracle associated with the temple oil, or *Pongal,* a dish made with new harvest rice and milk which is prepared during The Tamil Pongal festival as an offering to Hindu deities, then eaten with the family. In the United Kingdom, Christmas pudding is prepared with dried fruits and spices during the Advent season and eaten on Christmas Day, while at Easter, lamb dishes are traditional in Greece and Italy. Food is imbued with meaning for those who carefully select foods for their nutritional impact but also communicates at a more visceral level with its association with life, joy and pleasure or, conversely, disgust and repulsion. Food must satisfy one's taste buds, produce enticing aromas and look beautiful: all qualities that are often culture-bound. That is probably one of the reasons why cooking is often referred to as a culinary art.

Food is deeply ingrained in our cultural identity (Chiaro and Rossato, 2015: 237). How could it be otherwise? However, the idea that food and cultural heritage are strictly linked is now questioned by many food experts. A controversial book recently published in Italy, the home of the *Slow Food Movement*, under the title *Denominazione di Origine Inventata* (Grandi, 2018) literally: Designation of Invented Origin, has questioned the very idea of authentic traditional food associated to a specific geographical area, stating that most of the EU food classifications such as PDO, Protected Designation of Origin and PGI, Protected Geographical Indication have more to do with marketing strategies than with the history of food.[1]

Some linguists have used the etymology of certain food terms like the thread of a spider's web to trace food origins. By following the history of certain dishes, they have been able to understand that globalization is nothing new, as we can tell from linguistic evidence scattered through many different

[1] Since 1992, the EU and UK classify food products and wines produced in specific areas, using defined methods to agreed standards according to following labels: PDO: Protected Designation of Origin, PGI; protected geographical Indication, TSG: Traditional Specialities Guaranteed, CDOG: Controlled Designation of Origin Guaranteed.

modern languages. *Macaroons, macaron,* and *macaroni* for example all descend from the same sweet doughy predecessor which originated when Persian almond pastry intermingled with pasta products of Arabian origin and Sicilian dried durum wheat since Arab and Berber troops landed in the Byzantine Greek-speaking island in the ninth century (Jurafsky, 2014: 130-136). The pronunciation of the name of the sauce which has come to represent American fast-food culture, namely the sweet tomato sauce called ketchup, may be of Chinese origin: a Chinese fermented fish-sauce first exported to Malaysia where it was pronounced /kichap/ and from where it entered the English language, was introduced to Europe in the fourteenth century when it lost its key ingredient, fermented fish, to acquire fermented vegetable and fruit among its components. By the nineteenth century in England there were many recipes for ketchup, eventually one of the most popular ones added tomatoes (Jurafsky, 2014: 2). Likewise maize, regarded as a traditional food in many countries, including the northern regions of Italy, is not an indigenous plant of Europe. Originating in America, it became known as Turkish wheat in Britain and Italy and as 'foreign' corn in Turkey (James, 2005: 374). Nowadays *polenta*, a boiled grounded cornmeal mush, accompanies many traditional dishes in Italy, from Piedmont to Lombardy and the Venetian region. It comes either in the form of a hot fine grind soft cream or in the form of cooled and solidified loaves of *polenta* that are then baked, fried or grilled, such as in *Polenta e baccalà* or *Polenta e osei*, cornmeal with codfish and with spit-roasted birds respectively.

What these stories about the origins of the names of food have in common is that they show that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint the true origins of certain foods or dishes due to constant movement of people and produce around the globe. As sociologist James also pointed out: "Trade, travel, transport and technology have all played their part in facilitating a considerable exchange of consumption practices. This brings into question, therefore, the very notion of 'authentic' food traditions, raising doubts as to the validating role food might have with respect to cultural identity" (James 2005: 374). A diachronic perspective about the language of food, according to Jurafsky, can help us understand the interconnectedness of civilizations and that vast movements of people are not just a recent phenomenon, but something that has occurred for centuries, if not millennia.

Jurafsky also states that cuisine has its grammar, just as language has, and the language of food is not just a clue to read the past but it is a window onto other aspects of society as well. Food language may serve as a sort of code to decipher the present (Jurafsky 2014: 4). Not only are many food

words reminiscent of the meetings of civilizations which shaped our modern world, but the language of food and the way in which people talk about food may also reflect people's tastes, fears, desires and aspirations (Jurafsky 2014: 189). The language of food also reflects human investment on what is considered appropriate, worth having or precious at a given time in history and in a given cultural context. When it comes to text types using specifically the language of food, along the same lines is Nicola Humble's assertion that cookery books are "interventions in the nation's diet, rather than an accurate reflection of its current state: they represent an attempt to popularize new foods, new methods, fresh attitudes. They tell us more about the fantasies and fears associated with foods than about what people actually had for dinner at a particular date" (Humble, 2000: xvi). Floyd and Forster (2003) are convinced as well that the recipe, the food related text *par excellence*, constitutes a textual form which is not exclusively concerned with the production of daily meals, but also sheds light on habits, expectations, fears and fantasies related to food and fashionable lifestyles in a given period and geographical area (2003: 1-2).

Following this line of argument, one could ask oneself: what could the redundancy of adjectives like "fresh", "tasty" or "locally-produced" appearing on today's food packaging say about food fantasies and fears in our globalized world? Why were specific expressions used (and not others) to assemble food television (multimodal) texts at a given time in television history, in a certain country? What could the modern fixation with authentic culinary traditions of so many travelogue cookery programmes have to say about the audience of such programmes and the society that has produced them? Could the use of French names to describe elaborate, deluxe menus (like in Fanny Cradock's cookery TV series of the 1950s and 1960s) betray a desire, typical of the post-war periods to overcome restrictions and food rationing and live a life of pageantry, sophistication and elegance? The overabundance of health-giving ingredients in today's women magazines may reveal an aspiration to have a more healthy, natural life; similarly a fixation with authenticity and the utmost traditional real thing (as in many British travelogue series) might be connected to fears of losing one's traditions and an authentic lifestyle. A TV series promoting an easy, stress-free cooking (as Jamie Oliver's *The Naked Chef*) could betray a desire for both men and women to conduct a more relaxed life, while a series like the the *Chef's Table* may cater for an audience which yearn for a successful, extraordinary and creative life. Starting from these premises, this book attempts to shed light on how the diachronic evolution of food discourse

on television may have reflected also changes in the aspirations and fixations of a rapidly evolving and increasingly globalized, interconnected and digitalized society in the western world since the beginning of food television, with the conviction that food bears a history of cross-cultural interconnectedness that precedes by far the beginning of television history.

The many analogies between food and language within human society had been first identified by cultural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, who saw his research field as a branch of semiotics (1964, [1966] 2008). His work on binary oppositions between the raw and the cooked is often quoted by linguists and anthropologists as well as scholars of many other disciplines revolving around food language and culture:

> If there is no society without a language, nor is there any which does not cook in some manner, at least some of its food (Lévi-Strauss 2008: 36).

Building his hypothesis on some basic foundations of linguistics, and drawing on folk-tales, myths and costumes pertaining to food, Lévi Strauss had noted that phoneticians were familiar with binary oppositions such as 'minimum vocalism' and 'minimum consonantism,' systems of oppositions between phonemes of so elementary a nature that every language supposed them, he theorized the existence of similar binary opposition in the cultural and culinary spheres. As in the case of language phonemes he conceived the concept of "guestemes" that could be analysed in terms of binary oppositions. Lévi-Strauss explained cultural symbolic relations through the concept of the "culinary triangle" (Lévi-Strauss 2008: 37):

> We will start from the hypothesis that this activity supposes a system which is located (…) within a triangular semantic field whose three points correspond respectively to the categories of the raw, the cooked and the rotted. It is clear that in respect to cooking, the raw constitutes the unmarked pole, while the other two poles are strongly marked, but in different directions: indeed the cooked is a cultural transformation of the raw, whereas the rotted is a natural transformation. Underlying our original triangle there is hence a double opposition between *elaborated/unelaborated* on the one hand, and *culture/ nature* on the other (Lévi-Strauss 2008: 37).

Apart from the raw and the cooked, Lévi Strauss conceived the binary oppositions between endogenous and exogenous food, that is to say local versus exotic food, and between central and peripheral food, i.e. main course, versus accompaniment and garnish. For Lévi-Strauss cooking was a metaphor for

the human transformation of nature into culture. More recently, primatologist Richard Wrangham (2009) has argued that it was cooking that made us human in that the discovery of fire by primate forebears provided them with a more energy dense and easy to digest diet which allowed the human brain to grow bigger and thus alter the course of evolution. According to Wrangham, cooking became the basis for pair bonding and marriage, created the household, and even led to a sexual division of labour, and this is how we came to be the social intelligent and sexual species we are today. Not only language, translation also has many things in common with the vast area that encompasses food, as argued by Chiaro (2008: 196) who compares food to language and argues that the interpretation of foreign recipes, that is to say their trans-location, is very close to an act of translation. She goes as far as to describe chefs who draw their inspiration from foreign cuisines as actual translators of different culinary cultures, facing the same transposition problems as translators do and using similar, if not identical, translation strategies:

> In its translocation from source to target culture, changes will inevitably occur in the cook's (translator's) quest for equivalence. Whether we are considering pizza or curry, the trans-creator has choices to make. She must find equivalent or near-equivalent ingredients and thus consider substitution strategies. In the case of the non-existence of an ingredient in the target culture, therefore when faced with un-translatability, omission or compensation with another similar component come into play as viable solutions. […] Significantly, in the case of food, the accommodation of a recipe from culture to culture often appears to involve a process of gross simplification. Thus the concepts of 'quick', 'easy' and 'trouble-free' appear in the Anglicization of otherwise elaborate and lengthy culinary procedures of other cultures (Chiaro 2008: 197).

According to translation and cross-cultural communication scholar Cronin, everything in modern society is bound up to urgent questions of translation and identity. Translation, according to him, is an integral part of how cultures are evolving, and translation can be a privileged tool to enhance both intercultural exchange and the promotion of difference (2006: 140). In an increasingly borderless world, where "culture becomes disembedded from territory and loses its connection to place" (Chalaby, 2007: 76), a phenomenon, as mentioned earlier, that was identified as "deterritorialization" by Garcìa Canclini, that is to say "the loss of the 'natural' relation of culture to geographical and social territores" (Garcìa Canclini 1995: 29), Cronin suggests that translation can be used to deal with differences, in a positive and respectful way. "A feature of the contemporary

impact of informationalism is that the notion of who is our neighbour gets redefined by the communication technology at our disposal. We may have more regular contact through the internet with a friend at the other end of the city or on the other side of the globe than with our physical neighbour in the apartment or house next door." (Cronin 2006: 140). In the context of food translation, it is the fact that translation from other languages and cultures can operate as a bridge, helping the world feel like a smaller place. Translators ensure a reduction of long distances between cultures that would otherwise seem remote or irrelevant (Cronin 2006: 141), and indeed the role of translation is exactly that of safeguarding and promoting linguistic and cultural diversity (Cronin 2003).

1.2 Food and society

According to food philosopher Korthals, the production and consumption of food take place within an extensive network of exchange processes and social relations. Precisely because it is an everyday and repeated activity, food is heavily associated with all sorts of meanings and functions and it is imbued with relational as well as emotional meanings. Food has a particularly strong evocative and symbolic potential exactly because it is embedded in everyday and celebratory practices and it fulfills physical as well as deeply rooted emotional needs, as old as humanity itself. Not only are food preparation practices and food consumption culturally coded, but social events in every society often include gastronomic rituals (Korthals 2003: 17). Through modern lifestyles and the globalization of society these cultural codes have been challenged (e.g. the widespread custom of the aperitif as a social practice outside Italy where it originated, or the diffusion of 'brunch' from 19th Century England to North America, Europe and British colonies in the 20th Century).

Formerly the product of a specific territory and specific cultural cooking traditions, foods are no longer bound to their places of origin due to commercial preservation practices and the global food trade and marketing. As the traditional bond between people and place has been disrupted, so have the links between food and place, and between food and people. Kiwifruit for example which are native to China are grown in New Zealand and are now seen as very much 'national fruits'. On the one hand this caused a progressive deterritorialization[2] of food production and consumption, with

[2] See Canclini (1995) among others.

interesting social and cultural consequences, such as the development of vertical farming in Israel, or the global spread of Japanese sushi restaurants threatening the sustainability of tuna and sword fish stock provision in international waters. On the other, it brought about a reaction to this trend through the emergence of the Slow Food Movement which supports local, sustainable and high quality food production and consumption.

Within the sociology of consumption, food is an instructive critical case study to illuminate changes in social behaviour in many respects. Food, its preparation and consumption, is intricately connected to many other central processes of social life. Food preparation absorbs huge amounts of time: shopping, planning, storing, cooking, serving and cleaning up are all regular activities that are necessary to sustain the habit of eating several times a day. Much of this food related household labour was traditionally performed by women, at least in the home kitchens, while men performed prestigious roles in the professional catering industry. Is that still so? Culinary practices have also represented a means of cultural expression, associated with lifestyles and tastes. Warde argues that a satisfactory explanation of food changing behaviour should entail tackling issues of class, gender identities, domestic power relationships, tradition, migration in connection to changes in food preferences and practices (Warde, 1997: 22-23).

Because of the many functions and aspects of food practices, analyzing change is a complex matter. Both persistence and alteration in food behaviour can easily be exaggerated, so there is considerable controversy over the direction of change in the present period. Enormous numbers of new products are constantly made available by food manufacturers, some of which fail, but others sell. Fresh produce from around the world is routinely available, while seasons and geographical distance are apparently overcome by an increasingly concentrated retail sector (Warde 1997: 23). The very notions of novelty and tradition are central in the food discourse of western societies. According to Warde (1997), novelty is appealing because it promises excitement and adventure, whereas tradition guarantees the comforts of the familiar, the known and the secure. Despite cultural modernization, food habits are difficult to alter because people are attached to food that reminds them of their childhood. There is a risk in exaggerating the extent and degree of change when dealing with food habits, as constant innovation and perpetual change can cause discomfort and disruption (Warde 1997: 57-58). Yet, the appeal of new food trends (e.g. exotic food, superfood or vegan food, gut-friendly food, etc.) is undisputed and reflected in recipe columns of women's magazines, in TV cookery programmes and in food blogs. 'New' is

used to indicate a break with routine, a change. This 'newness' could account for some of the contradictions evident in food discourse on TV, where a constant movement between innovation and return to tradition, as well as between authenticity and reinterpretation can be observed.

Warde explains social changes he has observed in terms of taste and consumption in the UK over a period of more than 20 years, as a discursive confrontation between novelty and tradition, in the constant search for a new balance. As for novelty and tradition representation in the media, drawing on a diachronic study on British culinary magazines, covering the time span between 1968 and 1992, Warde reports that recipes draw upon and discuss diverse and unfamiliar cuisines – national, ethnic and regional. "The appeal to 'foreign' cuisines has been a key element of the magazines, which have introduced more diverse food styles to British readers since the 1960s. Unfamiliar products are examined and the ways of preparing them discussed […] new is used to indicate a break with routine, having things for a change, including alternative ingredients in popular dishes […]. However, the evidence from the recipe promotion devices suggests that in the last quarter of a century the appeal to novelty has declined" (1997: 59-60). Warde points out a decline in the innovating trend of British cuisine in the time span he has taken into consideration and he asserts that this shift has not been compensated by greater attention paid to foreign cuisines. The proportion of recipes where the ethnic origin of a dish is an explicit or implicit part of its appeal did not change significantly in more than twenty years: it was 28 per cent in 1968 and 27 per cent in 1992, but this degree of continuity according to him obscures some real differences, as the 'novelty' that these ethnic cuisines represented was spoken in undertones. This process is described by Warde as the "routinization of the exotic" (1997: 61). Another trend that he observes is the increasingly larger proportion of dishes of non-European ethnic origin. In 1968 and 86 per cent of recipes mentioning geographical origin were British, French or Italian and only 10 per cent were non European. By contrast, in 1992 although Italian cuisine was still the most widely represented 39 per cent of recipes originated outside Europe.

1.3 Television technology and audience

It is evident that TV history was largely influenced by progressive technological improvements, and although these cannot explain in full the evolution of its contents, they have clearly had an impact on them

inasmuch as they have changed the relationship with television viewers. From the invention of the earliest devices for broadcasting pictures, to the development of colour TV, the inauguration of cable television and satellite transmission, up to the digital switchover and more recently the launch of different streaming subscription video on-demand platforms such as Netflix and Amazon Prime, technical innovations needed funding, required new stimuli to respond to audience demand, and necessitated in regulations to govern the implementation of new technology. All these factors were strictly interdependent and drove the development of television technology and content alike. In this respect, just one example could be quoted. The number of satellite dishes rose heavily in Britain in 1996, largely because Sky Television's majority shareholder Rupert Murdoch bought the exclusive rights to football matches (Bignell 2004: 44).

Although the early technological advancements influencing television broadcasting will be briefly outlined in the next paragraphs, for the purpose of the present volume I shall focus on two key aspects of television diachronic evolution, namely its progressive reorientation as a transnational and cosmopolitan medium and the reconfiguration of television relationship with its audiences.

Almost two decades ago now, Chalaby (2002; 2003; 2005) asserted that although early television was strictly linked to the construction of national identity, at the turn of the new millennium globalization trends and the rapid pace of technological innovation were remapping media spaces. Twenty years ago these changes were already shaping new media practices and products and contributed to the emergence of a transnational media order whose key features were, according to Chalaby, *transnationalization* that is to say the intensification of trans-border media flows, *individualization* i.e. users' growing access to international communication tools, *deterritorialization* namely the disconnection between place and culture and *cosmopolitization*, described as the changing relationship between the local and the global (Chalaby 2007: 61). Chalaby also contended that these new media spaces and processes were not only transforming international communication, but also national media systems from within and reshaping them with transnational connectivity (Chalaby 2007: 61).

A few years later, Napoli (2010: 54) argued that the dramatic changes that were occurring within the media environment, such as the rise of social media and the spread of portable devices that were now available to the average user, were providing audiences with more choice and control in terms of when, where, and how they would consume their media. Internet-based

technologies were also providing increased opportunities for audiences to interact with their preferred media, giving feedback, suggestions and even expressing complaints. For the very first time, audiences were provided with communicative tools that enabled them to express their opinion directly to television providers and other TV users across-countries, at a global level. TV viewers were given the opportunity to discuss providers and distributors' choices and hence influence the media contents they were offered or even become producers and broadcasters of their own audiovisual contents through platforms like Youtube or Twitter (Napoli 2010: xi). With the dramatic increase in the offer of TV channels and special-interest contents following the digital switchover (which in Europe has been conducted at different pace in different countries roughly between 2006 and 2018) and the advent of on-demand platforms, these trends have intensified enormously. Audiences have explored a broader spectrum of transnational television issues, including distribution policies, mediation practices and translation issues. Bucaria (forthcoming) sustains that audiences' empowerment and their increased access to television source language in dubbing countries such as Italy for instance, have increased opportunities for audiences to chose their preferred translation mode (something which was not possible with linear television systems) and has led to an increased audience agency in terms of their demand for translation quality. According to Bucaria, Italian audiences, for example, would be more inclined to let their voice be heard now than in the in the past through social media. As a case in point Bucaria presented the surge on social media *battage* about the poor quality of Netflix re-dubbing in 2002 of a cult anime first dubbed into Italian in 1995, namely *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (TV Tokyo, Japan, 1995). It was demonstrated that in that particular case audiences' negative response to poor quality dubbing caused the on-demand platform to provide a new dubbed version of the Japanese animated film, thus also hinting to an increased accountability of on-demand TV broadcasters in comparison to more traditional TV networks (Bucaria forthcoming).

Another layer of developments also contributing to the above mentioned changes in television environment and between television and their audiences, is the booming of new systems utilized by media organizations and advertisers to learn about their audiences' preferences and behaviour, to predict future behaviours and assign value to different segments of the audience (Napoli 2010: xi), but that is beyond the scope of the present volume and will not be explored, although this is a very promising dimension of research on the relationship between food television discourse and audiences.

1.3.1 From black and white television to digital thematic channels

American WRGB claims to be the world's oldest television station, tracing its roots to an experimental station founded on January 13, 1928, broadcasting from the General Electric factory in Schenectady, NY. Later in 1928, General Electric started a second facility, this one in New York City. The two stations were experimental in nature and had no regular programming, as receivers were operated by engineers within the company. The first regularly scheduled television service in the United States began on July 2, 1928, fifteen months before the United Kingdom. While the first British television broadcast was made by Baird Television's electromechanical system over the BBC radio transmitter in September 1929.

What we know as the television era was inaugurated in Britain in 1936 with two competing systems, the Baird system and the Marconi system, broadcasting to only about four hundred receivers in the London area. The BBC began transmitting the world's first public regular high-definition service from the Victorian Alexandra Palace in north London, that therefore claims to be the birthplace of TV broadcasting as we know it today. Early broadcasting ran for two separate hours a day, six days a week and was aimed at a small audience of middle class viewers, who could afford to buy a television set. Crisell (1997) reports that in 1937 the BBC calculated that one hour of television was twelve times as expensive to produce as the costliest hour of radio. A turning point in the history of British television was June 2, 1953 when the BBC covered the coronation of Elizabeth II. 56% of the nation watched the programme and in that year the manufacturing of television sets outdid that of radio sets, two years later television viewing began to exceed radio listening (Crisell 1997: 80-81).

In Britain, television soon developed as a centralised business, since just a few large corporations had the financial resources, to buy the equipment and facilities to produce television programmes, while a small community of highly trained technicians and professionals undertook the making of the programmes (Bignell 2004: 44-45). In the UK, the BBC was conceived as a semi-autonomous public corporation, that aimed at providing a public television service to the nation, an idea which was borrowed from late Victorian industrial conglomerates which had monopolies to supply gas, water and electricity services. Differently, in the USA, television technology and equipment were developed by the industrial clusters behind radio production. Television broadcasting was modelled on radio commercial organisation where local stations sponsored the broadcasting

of programmes. By the time the USA entered World War II, there were thirty-two commercial television stations in the US, broadcasting to the few thousand households provided with a television set. In the early days of television, in the UK "Control of supply and freedom from competition were granted in exchange for a remit to operate for the public good. The BBC took seriously its aims to raise the standards of the entire national audience in terms of sophistication of taste, intellectual appetite and levels of knowledge" (Bignell, 2004: 46).

The most important developments in television technology during the 1940s and 1950s all pertained television's ability to record its own material and to transmit pre-recorded cinematic material. In its early days television was perceived mainly as a medium for live events (Crisell1997: 94-95). The practice of 'telerecording' on tape only became available in the later fifties and it was so expensive that its use was strictly rationed (Thumim 2004: 2). Early cookery programmes were in–studio products, broadcast semi-live, with very little editing involved. As much of the ordinary TV footage of early TV, cookery was not recorded, this is one of the reasons why it is still very difficult to retrieve early cookery television programmes.

In the 1960s the most significant innovation was the gradual introduction of colour in TV broadcasting. Colour television was introduced in the 1950s in the US, in the 1960s in the UK and in the 1970s in Italy. BBC TWO launched colour TV on April 20th, 1964 with the aim of functioning as a test-bed for new technologies. BBC was the first in Europe to introduce regular colour programming in July 1967, but most British viewers were unable to receive it until 1975 because they did not own the required new 625-line television set. It was as late as 1985 when both BBC and ITV stopped transmitting by the previous standard technology. The obvious effect of colour was to make the medium of television immensely more vivid and picturesque: costume dramas and natural history programmes were only two of its more obvious beneficiaries. But there were also negative implications. Those who worried about the social impact of television were not slow to point out that in its representations of violence, whether real or simulated, the blood would now run red (Crisell 1997: 122). As for cookery television, the introduction of television series in colour could only enhance their success and improve the enjoyability of elaborated dishes prepared on screen.

British cook Fanny Cradock's *Colourful Cookery* was on air in September 1968. With this programme television cuisine was "released from its monochrome straitjacket" (Ellis 2007: 99) although most British

viewers only saw Fanny Cradock's cookery programmes in colour much later, as colour television sets were too expensive to afford for the ordinary household. In Fanny Cradock's *Christmas cooking* series (1975), colours had a great impact on the creativity of stage arrangements and programmes' hosts' garments and make up, but also on dish presentation style. Fanny Cradock "was made for colour television", that was "her natural habitat" (Ellis 2007: 99). As announced by Wainwright in the *Evening News* of the time: "the moment when she makes with the Parma violets around a golden soufflé newly drawn from turquoise oven- it's ecstasy" (Ellis 2007: 99).

The next impactful technological step was digital TV during the 1990s, with the development of cable and satellite facilities. As highlighted by Herman and McChesney (1997) and Chalaby (2003) the most evident effects of media globalization in the early 1990s were larger flows of cross-border television broadcasting, the growth of transnational TV and advertising corporations and the intensification of the commercialization of TV. With the era of new digital technology and the flourishing of thematic channels targeting niche audiences scattered all around the globe, cookery programmes underwent a new revolutionary phase. On the one hand, the structure of traditional cookery series was highly challenged, targeting larger and more multifaceted audiences meant a lot of creative work for television networks, entertainment strategies had to be implemented to achieve a more international, or even global appeal. On the other hand, given the strong connection of television cookery programmes with the food industry and business, cookery shows were perceived as potential carriers of promotional campaigns for the food and beverage industry as well as for food processing companies. Targeting larger international markets, cookery programmes were perceived as precious sources of business and therefore attracted investments. The artistic, semiotic and textual aspects of British cookery programmes could not but benefit from these circumstances, which implemented the most modern stylistic and narrative features of television, borrowed narrative patterns and stylistic solutions from fictional products and music video-clips, which made them very attractive. This was a period of experimentation for British cookery television. It was the era of Jamie Oliver's *The Naked Chef* (BBC TWO, UK, 1999) and its jumpy close-up camera work, also noticed for the casual and relaxed style of the young presenter, and of *Nigella Bites* (Channel Four, UK, 1999) which became known for the flirtatious manners of the beautiful presenter who eloquently showed the pleasure she derived from eating the food she prepared, thus integrating the point of view of the eater

in the cookery show. With this new look, cookery programmes entered the international target culture polysystems, interacting with existing parallel television products, if there were any, and inspiring the creation of competitive or similar products if they were absent. The Italian case was the latter as I shall discuss in paragraphs 1.4 and 2.4.

A small study conducted in Italy two years after the digital switchover, showed that foreign cookery shows, unavailable prior to the introduction of digital channels, were among TV viewers' new favourite programmes, that they admitted to watch for leisure and entertainment, rather than to improve their cooking skills (Rossato 2014).

1.3.2 Public service broadcasting and commercial television

The era of independent commercial television began in the UK in September 1955 with the launching of ITV, the first commercial regionally based channel, first in London, and then in the Midlands and North England. Established by the Independent Television Authority after the Television Act of 1954 to provide competition to the BBC, the channel was very similar to the BBC as far as style and programming were concerned, but was deemed to cater for more popular tastes. The ten most popular programmes in Britain in March 1958 were all on ITV (Bignell 2004: 54-55). The 1950s also witnessed the emergence of the television personality, with familiar figures such as the on-screen announcers Sylvia Peters, Mary Malcolm and McDonald Hobley on the BBC, and the hosts of popular programmes such as television cook Philip Harben, gardener Fred Streeter, Annette Mills on the children's programme Muffin the Mule (Bignell 2004: 54).

The role of television as moral and intellectual educator of society was definitely questioned in the 1970s. In those years television production started to differentiate, some channels directed their resources to some type of audiences, whereas others invested on other kinds of programming and therefore of audience sections. Britain's fourth terrestrial channel was launched in 1982. Channel 4 had been conceived as a challenge to other public service channels in that it bought programmes for independent programme makers and its funding derived mainly from advertising revenues. Channel 4 inaugurated independent British productions aimed at exporting programmes to increase revenues to be invested in the financing of its own television dramas. Channel 4 was invited by the Broadcasting Act of 1980 to provide innovative, experimental broadcasts, oriented to minority audience sections, but it attracted criticism for its allegedly left-

wing political orientation and for the bad language it displayed (Bignell 2004: 46-48).

In the mid 1980s two opposite processes gradually began to take place. On the one hand regional and local television networks started to emerge, often supported by pre-existing national broadcasters, and on the other, the first supra-national, pan-European television networks were started up. Many factors contributed to the internationalization of television: large transnational media corporations were funded and an increasing number of channels were transmitted beyond national borders, while the trade of international programmes steeply increased (Chalaby 2002, 2003, 2005). The first cross-border television channels were launched in the 1980s, and 30 years later, hundreds of transnational channels are presently broadcast across Europe. Meanwhile London has become the European centre for transnational television. The British Independent Television Commission (ITC) is a popular regulator based in London, most of the transnational channels are ITC licensed. This regulator's licences are relatively cheap and easy to obtain, on condition that the broadcasters are based in the UK. As ITC has less rigid regulations than those of some of the countries in which the broadcasters would like to transmit, through ITC, broadcasters can easily circumvent censorship, as would be the case, for example, of some Arab channels (Chalaby 2002: 185).

Among transnational channels that are pan-European in scope, we find BBC Entertainment, BBC World, Sky News and Euronews. Deregulation throughout the 1980s and 1990s liberated broadcasting in European countries, which facilitated cross-border media ownership as well as international trading of television contents (Galperin 1999). The integration of the European media market was enhanced in the first place by the European Commission Directive 'Television Without Frontiers' of 1989, which aimed at facilitating the flow of audiovisual products across European space by preventing member states setting up restrictions for television transmissions of other member states, secondly by the creation of the European Audiovisual Observatory in 1992, which collects statistical and analytical information on the audiovisual market, services and policies and makes them available to the member states, and last but not least by the innovations in the field of satellite and cable communication technologies that have made cross-border transmission and reception of television channels actively possible (Collins 1992). The consequences of this situation have been manifold and multifaceted for the contents and discourse of European television.

1.4 Food television and translation

Allen and Hill state that most academic research on television is written by scholars who work and live in English speaking countries and cover TV topics as experienced in that part of the world (Allen and Hill 2004: 21-22). One of the most striking consequences of this 'anglo-centric' approach is that television is often perceived and referred to as monolingual, while the truth is that a very large proportion of television content is adapted and translated in multiple ways and languages before it can reach foreign audiences. As stated by Chiaro and Rossato (2015: 239) in spite of the food mania that seems to have pervaded the post-modern world, with an increased interest in food and gastronomy at a global level and the enormously increased volume of translated food-related texts such as cookery books, television shows, food blogs and websites, the relationship between food, culture and translation remains under-researched. The present study, an Italian diachronic, cross-cultural and comparative research on British and Italian food television, cannot disregard translation to offer an insightful perspective on how these two cookery show systems have changed over time and influenced each other.

When I started tackling the subject of how the discourse of British and global Food Television was influencing the slowly evolving Italian television landscape, only 15 years ago now, there was just one thematic channel devoted to food and wine available on Italian television.

Back in 2006, the Gambero Rosso Channel was a SKY satellite Channel, only accessible to SKY TV subscribers. Most of the food and wine based series broadcast 24 hours a day, seven days a week on the culinary channel, were either American or British, mostly in English with Italian subtitles. This translation mode was not usual as Italian TV viewers were accustomed to dubbed television contents. I knew from experience that this AVT mode and the possibility to listen to the original English language were two key reasons why TV subscribers found SKY TV channels appealing and were ready to pay subscription fees to access these channels. Of course Italian TV chefs hosting cookery shows on Gambero Rosso were also present on the monthly satellite TV programming, but the proportion was really unbalanced, both in terms of quantity and in terms of quality of the programmes. Italian food television still struggled to find its identity, with Italian cookery television formats replicating the successful anglophone originals, and Italian chefs iconically resembling their British and American counterparts (see Rossato, 2010: 132-133). Drawing on Even-Zohar polisysystem theory on translated literature ([1978]1990: 45-46) and applying it to the genre of

Italian cookery shows on television, I argued that, as the cookery TV genre was an emerging text type, translated cookery programmes were used as models to elaborate the new Italian repertoire. Through the foreign cookery series, new style chefs, new features of food TV were introduced into the receiving Italian television system, which did not exist before. The cookery TV texts I therefore chose to observe and analyse were compatible with the new approaches and supposedly, innovatory role they assumed within the target literature (Even-Zohar 1990: 45-46). After 15 intensive years of Italian cookery television and the multiplication of food-based thematic and factual channels, Italian food television has distanced itself from its models and is now exporting as well as importing food television programmes and personalities. Although the TV formats are still mostly of foreign origin, Italian TV personalities have added a national touch to international formats, see for example the overseas success of Alessandro Borghese's *4 Ristoranti* (2015- Italy, Sky UNO) which has reached its seventh season. Broadcast at prime time on pay TV channel Sky UNO and on free-to-air Italian television channels Cielo and TV8 the 7 seasons are now also available on Amazon supported IMDb streaming platform, thus reaching a broader international audience.The monolithic food channel situation we observed until 2009 no longer exists, with the digital switchover (which was completed in 2012 in Italy) and the Italian public broadcast station launch of food and other thematic channels on terrestrial digital TV and on Tivù Sat, a newborn Digital Satellite TV consortium formed by state run TV RAI, and private TV companies, significantly multiplied the offer of cookery shows, a change which affected its contents as well.

As will be illustrated in chapter II, British and American television have a stronger tradition of televised cookery than other western countries even those with a comparatively longer and more distinct gastronomic tradition, such as Italy or France for example. That has to do with many complex industrial, cultural, political factors; and goes beyond the scope of this book. However, one reason, which undoubtedly influenced Anglophone television content, and hence the rest of the world, may have to do with the fact that television, as a commodity, was available earlier in the United States and UK than in the rest of the world. Moreover both the United Kingdom and US could count on two well-established illustrious predecessors: cookery books and radio shows broadcasting respectively, as we will explore in section 2.1 of this book. It goes without saying that British and American television have been and still are great exporters of televised cookery shows and food related contents which are made available to different national target

audiences through multiple mediation practices including re-marketing, adaptation, and of course translation.

Since the launch of the American cable channel Food Network in 1993, the popularity of television cookery shows has grown considerably both in the US and in Europe, mostly via different forms of mediation and translation. Food shows have recently been described as the fastest growing semi-scripted TV genre on US television, with cooking occupying the entire programming of two cable networks, namely the Food Network and the Cooking Channel, that is to say the equivalent of more than 10 per cent of *FOX* prime-time schedule (O' Connel, 2019). Over the last three decades, large numbers of cookery shows and other food related programmes have been nationally and trans-nationally produced, mediated, adapted, translated, and subsequently enjoyed by a variety of audiences. Television viewers from all over the world have come to appreciate (mostly) Anglophone cookery shows in a rich assortment of languages and versions as a result of multifarious TV product circulation patterns, mediation practices and audiovisual translation modes. In the relatively limited time-span of thirty years, culinary topics and cookery shows have filled the schedules of international factual (broadcasting documentary series, and reality Tv shows, as opposed to channels offering mainly fictional products), terrestrial, cable and satellite channels, as well as streaming platforms worldwide, while many new, or hybrid food TV sub-genres have emerged at the same time, confirming the ongoing fascination with food-centered television content.

Once identified as a sub-genre of "factual" or "lifestyle" TV programming (see Rossato 2010: 54) the cookery show has progressively acquired a status of self-standing TV genre and then it has been shaped according to a variety of television sub-genres such as travelogues, combining the excitement of travel shows with the pleasures of cooking outside TV studios (Rossato, 2015: 277; 2020: 54) or reality shows, combining cooking with competitions and game shows (O' Connel 2019). Pioneering British cookery series such as *Floyd on Fish* (1985, UK, BBC TWO), *Jamie's Great Italian Escape*, (Channel 4, UK, 2005) and *Hell's Kitchen* (ITV1, UK, 2004) heralded the rebirth of what was a very traditional format, the cookery demonstration, that had been around for decades and was born with television itself.

Set in exotic locations, involving cooking outdoors and other culinary adventures, the formula of the travelogue has always proved to be very successful. *The Hairy Bikers Food Tour of Britain* (BBC TWO, UK 2009) *Two Greedy Italians*, (BBC TWO, UK 2011) *Gordon, Gino and Fred: Road Trip* (ITV, UK, 2018) are only some of the internationally best known British

food travelogues. Reality shows and competitive cookery shows enjoyed even greater success and inspired similar autochthonous programmes in other countries such as the Italian *Alessandro Borghese - 4 Ristoranti* (Sky 1, Italy 2015), while more recently, prestige food documentary shows like *Chef's Table* (Netflix, US, 2015) featuring Massimo Bottura among others, reached international shores, not to mention competitive cookery shows which deserve a chapter of their own (*MasterChef*, BBC ONE, UK 1990-). Initially produced in 1990 by Endemol Shine UK, the British *MasterChef* format was revived in 2005 for the BBC and then sold internationally by Banijay. The series currently appears in four versions in the UK alone: the main *MasterChef* series; *Celebrity MasterChef*; *MasterChef: The Professionals*, with working chefs; and *Junior MasterChef*, with children aged between nine and twelve. The format and style of the show have been reproduced around the world in various international versions.

These and other unscripted and semi-scripted food TV series have significantly enriched the offer of titles for the libraries of a growing plethora of terrestrial, cable and digital TV channels as well as streaming television platforms. New niche audiences have been successfully addressed and increasing unexpected audience shares acquired all over the world.

1.5 Media texts, multimodal texts and food discourse

In dealing with audiovisual materials, such as TV cookery shows, the meaning of the terms 'text' and 'discourse' and of their different uses requires disambiguation. Research pertaining to the creation, meaning-making and reception of mass media outputs is organized around three major streams: institutions, audiences and texts, also termed contents. Most academic research primarily focuses on one of these aspects while acknowledging the importance and influences of the other two elements in the complex paradigm of media systems. This book focuses on the evolution of cookery television texts, intended as multimodal texts, while also acknowledging the impact of some changes occurring in the television industry and technology at one end, and the increased interactivity of audiences with their preferred television contents at the other. The academic discipline studying all these forms of mass communication is generally known as "communication studies" in the USA and as "media studies" in the UK and Australia (Bertrand and Hughes 2005: 15). For the purpose of this book and to distinguish this field from semiotic communication theoretical frameworks, the British-English label: "media studies" will be adopted throughout.

Configured as media texts, cookery shows have been able not only to stay tuned with the evolution of the surrounding social and cultural contexts throughout television history, but also to adapt to the ever changing requirements of audience consumption. Food television, and hence cookery television texts, have undergone continuous evolution since TV's early days. As discussed above, technological innovations have affected both television contents and the relationship with the television text recipients. Cooking television has registered and kept pace with its audience's appetite to see food prepared and consumed, both as social practice and as forms of creative self-expression. Cookery shows initially filled a programming void in the daytime television schedule of the 1950s, while also responding to the potential demand for guidance on how to put together a decent meal, shopping on a budget, and receiving guests during the post-war years. These shows also provided opportunities for kitchen appliance producers to market their products (Thumim 2004: 5) a space that had been previously exploited by radio broadcasters (Collins 2009: 26). From the launch of the first food-specialist channels in the 1990s (The Food Network in 1993 in the US; Raisat Gambero Rosso Channel in 1999 in Italy) until today, food-centred TV programs have evolved both as media texts and semiotic items. Current food TV offerings have made more languages and translation options available to the end-users than ever before. Food television has managed to recognize and exploit the increased potential for interaction with its audiences that technology developments have brought about. Starting with, official TV chef websites promoting cookbooks and TV series, providing e-commerce sections where to buy branded tableware, to carry on with blogs and social media where pictures and videos of cakes made after the favourite chefs can easily be shared with vast communities of foodies, to end with on demand TV options to consume one's favourite series at one's own convenience, TV food discourse has progressively abandoned instructional, didactic purposes to acquire entertaining and leisure time dimensions. All these dimensions pertain to television cookery series framing them as multilayered and complex media texts. By considering cookery shows also multimodal texts, the object of analysis narrows down to cookery series discursive dimension.

Configured as multimodal texts, cookery television shows employ multiple modes to create meaning while entertaining, informing and instructing audiences or doing all these things at the same time. Drawing on Kress and Van Leeuwen's social semiotic approach ([1996], 2006; 2010) this book examines how the interaction of different multimodal elements (linguistic, visual, aural, spatial, gestural) co-occur and co-deploy to make

meaning and reflect new opportunities for television communication. This book provides an analysis of cookery shows as well as other food related television content that should contribute to a better understanding of the ways in which television food discourse is constructed multimodally, and subsequently contributes to developing applications of multimodal analytical approaches in linguistic, cultural, translation and communication studies.

Since the field of discourse analysis is rapidly becoming a minefield of definitions, in this book I will generally refer to Kress and van Leeuwen's definition of discourse as "socially constructed knowledges of (some aspect of) reality" (2001: 4). By 'socially constructed' I mean that they have been developed in specific social contexts, and in ways which are appropriate to the interests of social actors in these contexts. Contexts can be very broad (e.g. Western Europe) or very specific (e.g. a particular family). Any discourse may be constructed in different ways and is relatively independent of genre, mode or design. Discourse involves both elements of reality and elements of interpretation which may vary according to the context where it is used and the social actors involved. For example, the discourse of food may be developed in different ways according to time period, and organized as a discourse of scarcity or a discourse of abundance, depending on the time-frame around which it is organized, for example in the post-war period or in the 1980s. Food discourse may be presented differently depending on the social context, as part of a tribal society or in modern London upper class-society for example, and dependent upon actors, for instance a restaurant chef may refer to food with a view on its professional discourse while a home cook might refer to the domestic dimension of food discourse.

As for "text", when not differently specified, the term should be read as 'multimodal text' as defined by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2001) in their theory of multimodal communication, where multimodality is to be intended as the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic instance or event, and communication is to be read as the process in which a semiotic event or instance is both articulated or produced and interpreted or used (2001: 20). Multimodal texts are therefore communicative events or instances, making meaning in multiple-mode articulations. These articulations of different semiotic modes, cohere both internally with each other and externally with the context in which and for which they were produced. In an advertising poster, for example, different compositional arrangements or different positions of written text and image all allow different codifications of textual meanings (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 43). Written signs, verbally expressed segments of texts, or oral conversations, can be seen as different semiotic modes of multimodal texts.

Chapter II

Food Discourse in Television History

2.1 Food writing, radio broadcasting and the origins of food television

Anglophone countries have a strong tradition of televised cookery, that particularly in the case of the UK, refers back to a long tradition of food writing. The British Library holds a large collection of manuscripts that offer insights into the practices of cookery and culinary tastes through the 19th and 20th centuries in Britain. Along with a continuing presence of culinary manuscripts among the collections of aristocratic families and estates, a growing number of manuscripts of the rapidly increasing middle-classes appeared in the 1800s. The century saw vast industrial developments across the UK, such as an ever-increasing quantity of food being brought to Britain from across the British Empire. Technological advances in transport, food production and food preservation all contributed to increase the quality, quantity and diversity of food and that was reflected in culinary manuscripts from the time. The traditional manuscript recipe book became less fashionable during the 20th century as popular printed cookery books became increasingly available and cheap to buy.[1]

The now-universal practice of listing ingredients and giving suggested cooking times for each recipe, together with a description of its preparation methods, was invented by one of the earliest British food writers ever, the poet and cook Eliza Acton, who wrote one of the first cookery books addressing the culinary needs of domestic middle class families, *Modern Cookery for Private Families,* published in England in 1845. Alexis Soyer, the flamboyant Victorian chef of the famous Reform Club, one of the most prestigious private members' clubs in London, with a long tradition of employing chefs of quality and creativity,[2] "was the equivalent of the

[1] British Library, collection guides: Culinary manuscripts 19th-20th century. Available at: https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/culinary-manuscripts-19-20th-century# (Last accessed: April 12, 2022).

[2] The Reform Club. Available at: https://www.reformclub.com/ (Last accessed: May, 6th 2022).

modern television chef, with a strong media profile, and a finger in every available pie" (Humble 2000: xv). He was the author of many successful cookbooks *The Gastronomic Regenerator* (1846) and *Modern Housewife* (1850), written in the form of an epistolary exchange between two fictional female characters (Humble 2000: xxv).

The late nineteenth century also saw the flourishing of food columns in women magazines in Great Britain. Founded in 1852, the extremely successful *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* featured cookery advice as well as recipes, paper dress-patterns and instructions for readers to make their own clothes, serialized novels, translated texts, opinion articles, columns on fashion, the management of children, and housekeeping. This formula proved immensely successful and the magazine attained a circulation of 50,000 copies by 1860; reflecting the rapid growth of its middle-class readership, which tripled in size between 1851 and 1871 (Humble 2000: x-xx). Indeed, *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management* was originally published in the form of twenty-four magazine columns in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* from 1859 to 1861 and went on to become one of the major publishing success stories of the nineteenth century, selling over 60,000 copies in its first year of publication and nearly two million by 1868. Regarded as the quintessence of Victorian cookery, it has since been extremely influential beyond its time and space with numerous editions and a vast readership of English speaking foodies all over the world; a direct consequence of a world-wide British influence in the food culture sphere (Rossato 2021: 125). Isabella Mayson Beeton, who happened to be the wife of Sam Beeton, the successful publisher of the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, elaborated on Acton's approach to recipes by listing ingredients before the recipe method and by providing the number of people each dish would serve and its estimated cost. Beeton also improved the style of the recipe description in that she detailed procedures, listed them in logical order and in clear and unambiguous language (Humble 2000: xiv).

Two other food writers who significantly contributed to the shaping of the food writing tradition in the UK are Elizabeth David and Jane Grigson. By the time television cookery shows became popular in the UK in the late sixties, David and Grigson were renowned cookbook and food column writers. They had started their careers at a time when post war food rationing and the techniques of modern food production threatened the pleasures of cooking and the flavours of authentic cuisine. Their cookbooks, which explored the culture of food beyond the instructions for preparing particular

dishes, created a blueprint for many successive generations of food writers. Their books contained annotated bibliographies, lists of historical and literary references, all of which framed food practices within their cultural and historical context (Jones and Taylor 2001: 171). Initially they both focused on forms of continental gastronomy, mainly French and Italian; then they turned to traditional English cuisine in the 1970s, as a remedy against the process of modernization (Jones and Taylor 2001: 171). Their historical trajectory suggested that their response to the drive of modernity was an ambivalent one, and one which could provide useful insights into contemporary food discourse. Although Grigson and David's food writings were published in a cookery book format rather than in the gastronomic literary text of French tradition, there was considerable erudition in their work, as they provided a mix of history and myth. The chapter on pasta in Elizabeth David's *Italian Food*, for example, not only included an account of the origin of pasta, but also lengthy discussions of Marinetti's discourse on futurist cooking, and particularly his aversion to pasta (Jones and Taylor 2001: 174). It was their appetite for the culture of food beyond the confine of domesticity which enabled these cookbook authors to inaugurate the renowned British cookery book tradition, and to provide successful models for food writers and broadcasters to come.

In Italy, the food writing tradition is tightly linked to the nineteenth century gastronome and food writer Pellegrino Artusi and his work *La Scienza in Cucina e l'Arte di Mangiar Bene* (1991 [1970;1891]). Artusi's cookbook, very much like *Mrs Beeton's Handbook of Household Management,* is a founding text of the food writing tradition beyond its country of origin and has been extremely influential since its first publication. Yet, while the fortune of Mrs. Beeton's handbook relied on a vast English speaking readership in times when the British empire represented the most fashionable, must-have life-style; Artusi's book was the expression of a somewhat rustic, peripheral, and only recently united Italy. The enormous success of Artusi's cookbook outside of Italy was almost exclusively based on its many translated versions, which progressively appeared in different languages, including French, English (in four different versions), Dutch, German, Portuguese, Russian, Polish, and recently Japanese (Rossato 2021: 132-133). Artusi wrote about Italian regional cooking using the Italian language at a time when cookery books in Italy were written by French-trained chefs who either wrote in French or were about French cuisine (Ballerini 2003: ix). Artusi's book has remained in print and it has come to be recognized as one of the most significant Italian cookbooks

of modern times as well as a landmark work in Italian nineteenth century literature and culture, still quoted and referenced in many recent culinary works and cookery television shows. The book's relevance is not limited to the gastronomic field, as gastronome and food scholar Camporesi has pointed out (Camporesi 1970; 1991). At the time the book was published, Italy was still fragmented linguistically and gastronomically, not to mention politically and economically. This cookbook helped the nation overcome internal differences and diffidence between regions regarding disparities in terms of socio-economic conditions, as well as cultural and linguistic differences. As cooks around the country began to celebrate dishes of their own region and experiment with those of other regions, the book led to a growing understanding and pride in what has come to be known as "Italian cuisine". Food historians observe that Artusi's text contributed to both linguistic and cultural homogenization in Italy at a time when regional varieties of the Italian language were not mutually intelligible (1970; 1991: x-xi). It was a story of gastronomic unity preceding the political unification of Italy (Capatti / Montanari 2003; Montanari 2013).

In America, the first original cookbook was published in 1796, while food columns began to appear in newspapers and magazines like *Ladies Home Journal* in the mid and late nineteenth century. Yet it was the advent of cooking programmes on the radio, first broadcast in the early 1920s, that enhanced the national sharing of culinary advice. The commercial potential of cooking shows had been long explored and tested by radio broadcasting stations before television even appeared: radio cooking programmes combined the informality of the verbal communication and the formality of the recipe text type (Collins 2009: 15). At the time, as now, the objective of any broadcasting organisation was to sell advertising airtime. Food and kitchen appliance companies figured out that cooking shows were a good way to market their products. Procter & Gamble, for instance, began advertising on the radio in 1923, providing an ideal forum for radio programmes featuring recipes using *Crisco* hydrogenate cottonseed oil (Collins 2009: 20). From 1926 until 1946, the US Department of Agriculture used the radio service to communicate with farmers in various parts of the country. A fictional character called *Aunt Sammy* hosted a popular radio show targeting farmers' wives called *Housekeepers' Chat* and provided advice on pest control, vegetable growing, household management, laundry and nutrition. One of the show's regular segments *What shall we have for dinner?* shared recipes for standard dishes like "scalloped potatoes, broiled chicken, apple turnovers, meatloaf with green beans" (Collins 2009: 14). Another radio

fictional character as well as commercial mascot was *Betty Crocker.* Before this name became synonym with cake mixing worldwide, Betty Crocker was a kitchen confidante who had answers for the many questions that plagued American housewives. Invented by a flour supplier, the Washburn-Crosby Company, to address home cooks' baking dilemmas via friendly letters, the show started on local radio networks in 1924 and only two years later moved to national radio broadcasting. Betty went from signing letters to having a real voice when the flour company began airing a cooking radio show, *the Betty Crocker Cooking School of the Air*. The first voice of Betty Crocker belonged to a home economist named Marjorie Child Husted, the writer and host of the show. In 1951, Washburn-Crosby put a face to the name and the voice when they hired actress Adelaide Hawley to act as Betty on television. Hawley was the first of many women to play the Betty Crocker role on American TV.

Though television sets first appeared in America during World War II, the medium was still a novelty in US households until the 1950s, when only around nine per cent of the American homes owned a television set (Collins 2009: 25). TV broadcasting was initially regarded as a technological achievement, and it took time for its potential for communication and entertainment to be fully realised. The medium was initially exploited to make audiovisual materials such as live concerts, plays or prominent talks, available to the wide audience, although a wide audience still did not exist. Crisell (1997: 108) reports that in 1937, BBC calculated that one hour of television broadcasting was twelve times as expensive to produce as the costliest hour of radio. Radio, was essentially a verbal medium, it was something that its staff with their literary background could handle comfortably, whereas television involved pictures, which were regarded as vulgar, popular, and generally lowbrow. While the coverage of politics remained in the realm of radio for a long period, in the early days of television, frivolous studio quiz and game shows like the American *What's my line?* (1950-1967, US, CBS) or magazine formats comprising a number of topical items obtained reasonable airtime and success within the American and British television market.

Television derived most of its models either from the radio or from the press. Radio news and drama offered a model for genres, while magazines offered precedents for the content and style of factual television programs. Topics of television programming centred on general interests such as nature and science; or hobbies, like sports, gardening or cooking. Documentaries derived from press models were originally developed for radio broadcasting, while cookery segments of around 15 minutes were initially included in

television magazine formats, which in turn derived their structure from women's print magazines, where sequential, unrelated features were presented in a general interest show (Thumim 2004: 5).

In America, cooking shows via radio broadcasting were already a staple for housewives by the time the television emerged (Collins 2009: 2), and food and kitchenware producers had already figured out that cooking shows were a viable channel to advertise their products. As the radio had already demonstrated that cooking shows were relatively cheap and easy to produce and had an audience, television immediately took up the genre (Collins 2009: 26).

2.2 Men, women and the ideology of domesticity

Television broadcasting expanded rapidly after World War II in western society becoming an important mass medium for advertising, propaganda, and entertainment. Hartley (1999: 105) equated the expansion of television culture in the western world since the 1950s with the widespread sales of other electronic appliances for the home, such as refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, washing machines and cookers, putting this phenomenon in relation to new housing policies and the "ideology of domesticity" that was spreading in mid-century USA, UK and Australia (1999: 105). What Hartley refers to by "ideology of domesticity" is the cultural process that brought western societies "to leave dwellings and to inhabit homes." Rather than a generic place to live, the home was a cultural invention with very specific features:

> [The home] was invented as a single family unit, cut off by physical boundaries – walls at least, but ideally space in the form of garden or yard – from its neighbours. It was designed to accommodate just one family, ideally a married couple and their children, with some minor variations, like grannies in the back bedroom. The internal topography 'produced' family functions, with special emphasis on separating sex, hygiene and living – heterosexually conjugal parents in one bedroom, out of sight of their asexual children, who were ideally in single rooms each, or at least sorted by gender into pink and blue areas. Cleaning (surfaces, clothes and bodies) was separated from social living, wet areas from dry, as was cooking and food preparation although many families contradicted planners by living in the workroom – i.e. sitting in the kitchen. So the classic home was born – and it fitted equally well into urban high-rise, suburban sprawl or even rural and provincial cottages (Hartley 1999: 105).

During the Second World War, as men fought abroad, millions of women were encouraged to take up work in factories and elsewhere, including the armed services. After the war, some ideological effort was made by government and commercial agencies alike to persuade women to go back to home duties and domestic life, the rationale being both to enable society to 'return to normal', and to open up job opportunities for returning soldiers (Hartley 2008: 176).

Hartley argues that the purpose of "domesticity" as a cultural discourse was to solve social problems that had begun with the industrial revolution. This rise in machine manufacturing in the late nineteenth century combined with a population explosion and the uncontrolled urbanization of town and city suburbs, created a growing urban working-class that struck fear in the hearts of members of the upper classes. Legislators believed that cultural strategies rather than repressive actions could help to curb undesirable social behaviour. In this operation women were the number one recruits. If women could get men off the streets, cause men to govern their unbridled lusts then there would be no need for direct coercion (Hartley 1999: 106). Persuading women of the necessity to stay home, cook and clean, raise children and be satisfied with these activities would be part of this communicative strategy to go back to normal after World War II. Yet, economic research suggests that sales for electrical appliances used for housework increased at slower rates than those for radio and television. This may relate to the fact that mainly women wanted items such as washing machines, vacuum cleaners and ovens, whereas both women and men enjoyed watching television. It is interesting to note that domestic appliances did not reduce women's working hours, until the introduction of television made large inroads into domestic time budgets (Bowden and Offer 1994: 725).

Between the late 1940s and the 1950s, women became a focus for a number of television campaigns. Advertisers presented an ideal of women as docile homemakers, paragons of temperance, hygiene and domesticity. A mother and wife waiting at home was an alternative attraction to those of the city streets; and the new notion of "the home" was invented to amplify, secure and separate this alternative attraction. Comfort, cleanliness, cooking, security and regular (if regulated) monogamous sex were on offer (Hartley 1999: 105-106). Women were classified as consumers and daytime television was a vehicle for commercial messages. Products promoted included cleaning agents, items and detergents for health, beauty and the home, commodities such as gas stoves, fridges, washing machines and the like. Above all, daytime TV was the conveyor of the idea of the beneficial

powers of domestic life and consumption, and women were actively engaged in this campaign for " domestication of society" (Hartley 1999: 103):

> Classic daytime TV was a by-product of the successful establishment of the concept of 'prime time' especially in the USA during the late 1940s and early 1950s. This was a period when sex-role stereotyping was all the rage (Hartley 2008: 176).

If prime time was the default setting of entertainment programming, daytime shows focused on women and on their role of housewives. In the fifties, the representation of women on screen largely reinforced a somewhat retrograde image of women in society, reflective of the atmosphere of post-war society, prior to the emergence of second-wave feminism (Thumim 2004: 178). Daytime programmes' target audiences were housewives who they assumed would be interested in improving their domestic skills including cleaning, cooking, doing the laundry, washing up, polishing, vacuuming and after that was done, "parenting and performing 'wifely duties'" (Hartley 2008: 176). Daytime TV presumed an audience of lonely suburban housewives, with their children at school and their husband at work, busy with their housework and in need of practical and emotional support. TV networks and advertisers were ready to project and fulfil women's presumed desires. Daytime television offered romantic soap operas, cooking and cleaning demonstrations, advice for stretching the family budget, talk shows, educational, cultural and children's programming. Many women never recognized themselves in the imagined community of daytime TV viewers, even if they watched daytime TV (Hartley 2008: 176-177) and it is no wonder daytime TV attracted the criticism of the resurgent feminist movement in the 1970s. Both in Europe and in the USA, daytime TV was scheduled to mirror the pace of housework and family life as a feminist scholar described (and criticized) at length:

> The tone and format of the game shows and serials fit the daily rhythm of the housewife. The noise of the game shows' shrieks and laughter injects the home with the needed adrenaline for getting up in the morning and doing the heavy chores. The heartbreak and confusion, restrained passion and romance of families in the soaps provides the anaesthesia to fill out the hollows of long afternoons, when children are napping and there is ironing or nothing at all to be done. The morning is geared for energy and hard work, at the same time offering women release through the fantasy of possible TV appearances and free washer-dryer, automobiles and vacation in Hawaii; the afternoon

> reminds us that the real adventures and romances take place inside our families. And all the way through the day, time is dotted through enticements of food, laundry soaps, cleansers, toiletries and shampoos. The synthesis of adventure, love and security inside the family is to be had through cleaning shirts whiter, preparing glistening foods and staying young and lovely with stockings, make-up and shampoo (Lopate 1976: 69-70).

Academic work on gender and cookery has been primarily concerned with the meaning women have brought to cooking practices within family structures, overlooking the role of men in domestic cooking (Hollows 2003: 231). Drawing on interviews conducted with diverse American households between 1982 and 1983, DeVault criticized the fact that women's cooking practices were performed as a way to care for others and was perceived as "recognizably womanly". She highlighted the ways that the "invisible" work of planning, cooking and serving meals could become oppressive for women and effectively confine them to a subordinate position in their households (DeVault 1991: 118). The scant research conducted on male domestic cookery between the 1980s and 1990s showed that while men did cook at home it was usually associated with leisure rather than labour (Kemmer 1999; Roos et. al. 2001).

I will discuss opposite themes like labour and leisure as represented in cookery shows in the section 2.6.1.

2.3 Cookery shows in the anglophone world: a diachronic overview

According to Allen and Albala (2007: 365) the birth of 'food television' was in the UK in 1936, the same year as the first television broadcast by the BBC. It was a cookery demonstration advertising Primus Stoves:

> It featured Moira Meighn (nèe Phyllis Twigg, 1887-?) author of a recipe collection for cooking on a Primus Stove, *The Magic Ring for the Needy and Greedy*. Although Meighn's television appearance was short-lived, and she is therefore rarely cited as the first television cook, the show's dual function of education and product promotion is an important precursor of many modern cooking shows (Allen and Albala 2007: 367).

Commercial cookery demonstrations were a trend that started in the nineteen thirties but continued well into the fifties. The British Gas Council funded Fanny Cradock's first live cooking demonstration in 1955. Later on,

cookery segments were progressively included in TV magazine formats, before acquiring a status as one-off broadcasts or even as complete series (Allen and Albala 2007: 367). The first television programme featuring a professional chef was *Cook's Night Out*, broadcast by BBC in 1937. The show was presented by Xavier Marcel Boulestin, a French restaurant owner with a Covent Garden restaurant who popularised French cuisine in the English speaking world, and is commonly recognized as the first television chef. World War II slowed down the development of the genre, and the next significant British food programme was *Cookery*, broadcast by the BBC from 1946 to 1951 with Philip Harben (1906-1970). Harben had been engaged to run the kitchen of the Isobar restaurant in the Isokon building, an experiment in communal living place, in Hampstead, London from 1937 to 1940. He focused on teaching people how to use their post-war rations. Harben co-presented *Cookery lesson* with Marguerite Patten. His third and last show *What's Cooking?* was broadcast in 1956 (Allen and Albala 2007: 367). In a 2005, during a BBC interview Marguerite Patten recalled her colleague Philip Harben as an "exceptional person", somebody who had "new ways of cooking things"', whereas she regarded herself more as an instructional person.[3]

Marguerite Patten (1915-2015), known as the first "Doyenne of British Cookery" (Allen and Albala 2007: 367) featured in the cooking segment on the BBC first magazine show *Designed for Women*, which ran from 1947 until the early 1960s. The television magazine format, covering a variety of topics across different genres, derived from print media models and was used in radio broadcasting. The model had proved highly successful because it allowed both for novelty and repetition. Topic-specific segments were scheduled within a more general overall container structure, and progressed according to a planned agenda, so that viewers could decide to follow all or just some of the items, according to their specific interests (Thumim 2004: 3).

Another food presenter of the early period of television was Fanny Cradock (1909-1994), co-author of one of Britain's first newspaper restaurant columns: the forthright 'Bon Viveur,' published in the Daily Telegraph between 1950 and 1955. The columns, which acknowledged the contribution of Fanny's partner Johnnie, were "…unmistakably hers in tone and content, and carried housewives from the dregs of rationing to the

[3] The Interview was webcast on *BBC News. Worldwide*. Retrieved on November 20, 2008 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/breakfast/2192345.stm but it is no longer available on that site.

brashness of Thatcher's Britain." (Ellis 2007) Fanny Cradock presented five cookery shows, from *Kitchen Magic* (1955) to *Cradock Cooks for Christmas* (1975), and numerous one-off broadcast episodes, often together with her husband Johnnie. As Allen and Albala note, "The Cradocks, who entertained audiences with their extravagant food and marital barter, also presented one of the first food TV segments for children 'Happy Cooking' on *Tuesday Rendezvous* (1961-1963)" (2007: 367). Fanny Cradock, "the first lady of food" (Walsh 2009) was unquestionably the first British televised celebrity chef. Fanny Cradock had started her career well before the advent of colour television, as the presenter of Fanny's Kitchen, a seven-part series first broadcast in October 1955 on ITV. There had been several TV cooks before her, but she was the first with real celebrity status. For 20 years she was the queen of British cuisine (Walsh 2009). She did not retire, but her contract with the BBC was terminated abruptly in 1976 after what was deemed an ungraceful appearance to a talent show called *The Big Time*, when she was ironically penalized by the bossiness that had made her a TV celebrity in the fifties and sixties (Walsh 2009).

Delia Smith was another TV cook who became a household name in Britain. However, like Marguerite Patten, Smith was more concerned with instructing, rather than revolutionizing. When Delia Smith presented her first cookery series on BBC ONE, cooking at home was declining and people were turning to takeaways, supermarkets and ready-meals. Delia wanted to run basic cookery courses to revive enthusiasm for home cooking. Her TV career started in 1973 with *Family Fare* (UK, BBC). Her no-nonsense cookery and pragmatic perspective are best illustrated through a brief quotation from the accompanying booklet to her first TV series. She writes that *Family Fare* was "devoted to those of us who have neither the time nor the money to spend all day creating in the kitchen, but who at the same time wish to produce imaginative food without a great deal of fuss and within the budget that's available to us" (Smith 1973: 4). Delia Smith's career as a chef has a remarkable trajectory. She left school at the age of 16 without qualifications and worked as a trainee hairdresser before getting a washing up job at the age of 21 in a small French restaurant in Paddington where she later became an assistant cook. It was then that she started reading English cookery books in the Reading Room at the British Museum, trying out the recipes with the family she was living at the time. Her next job was at Carlton Studios in London where she prepared food for studio photography, including the cake for the cover shot of The Rolling Stones' album *Let It Bleed*. In 1969 Delia was taken on as the

cookery writer for the *Daily Mirror*'s new magazine. Their Deputy Editor was Michael Wynn Jones whom she later married.[4] After writing for the *Daily Mirror's* newly launched magazine, she started writing a column in the *Evening Standard* which she was to write for 12 years and later for the Evening News and the *Radio Times* until 1986. In 1971 she wrote her first book: *How to cheat at cooking* (Smith 1971). Her first TV show *Family Fare* launched Delia's TV career in 1973 and was followed by a second and a third series in 1974 and 1975. Delia Smith's Cookery Course (first broadcast and published in three parts between 1978 and 1980) was a great success for the BBC, followed by *One is Fun*! broadcast in 1985. In the 1990s her series *Delia Smith's Christmas* (1990) and her *Summer Collection* (1993) and *Winter Collection* (1995) and the accompanying books provoked national shortages of her favourite ingredients, a phenomenon that was described as the "Delia Effect". In the 1990s her frequent use of eggs on her show for example caused a 10% increase in British egg sales. Smith's recommendation of using skewers to check whether a cake is thoroughly baked caused a 35% increase in sales. By 2001, Smith's impact on the food industry could no longer be ignored, and the "Delia Effect" was added to the Collins English Dictionary. Delia Smith was clearly a food influencer, yet unlike contemporary influencers, she always refused payment in return for featuring products on TV and only began advertising for food companies, such as Waitrose, after retiring from TV. Smith argued that it was because she did not accept to do paid promotion, which she thought lacked integrity, that her opinions were deemed trustworthy and objective (Green 2019). Delia Smith's first TV appearances took place in the early 1970s and her career with the BBC lasted till her retirement from television in 2013. She is the bestselling author of 24 cookbooks.

Another pioneer of 'food TV' was Keith Floyd (1943-2009). An untrained cook and restaurateur, he started his career as a cookery segment host on a local radio before becoming one of the most beloved BBC TV celebrity chefs. He hosted many cookery shows for the BBC and wrote cookbooks. Floyd was the first British televised cook to take cooking shows outside the studio. By the time the BBC engaged him to present his first cooking series *Floyd on Fish* (1984) he had already run several restaurants. Sixteen different series ensued over the next decades, combining cooking with

[4] See Delia Biographical Details (March 2022) *Delia Online*. Available online at: https://www.deliaonline.com/features/2022/03/delias-biographical-details (Last accessed: April 12, 2022).

travel, typically beginning with "Floyd on …", followed by a destination (*Floyd on France*, *Floyd on Spain*, etc.). His eccentric and somewhat chaotic style, which often saw him cooking in unusual locations, such as a fishing boat on rough seas, drinking wine as he cooked, endeared him to millions of viewers worldwide. His cookery programmes associated with travelling foreshadowed the travelogue template format of modern food TV (Allen and Albala 2007: 368; Rossato 2015: 277).

On the other side of the Atlantic, before James Beard's (1903-1985) first appearance in a 15 minute cooking spot on American TV in 1946, just a few promotional cooking demonstrations had been broadcast. He hosted a segment called *I Love to Eat* on an NBC magazine programme. Beard started his career as an actor and a singer before turning to the culinary arts, and in an interview with *Gastronome* magazine in 1980, stated: "Food is very much theatre" (Allen and Albala 2007: 367). This was, an astoundingly modern statement, confirming he had understood the performativity of TV cooking shows. American chef, cookbook author, lecturer and television personality, Beard emphasized American cooking with fresh, wholesome American ingredients to a country first becoming aware of their culinary heritage. From 1947 to 1969, the Philadelphia Electric Company financed the cooking segment *Television Kitchen*, as part of the WPTZ's daytime magazine format *TV Matinee*, but the turning point in the American food TV history came in 1963, with the premiere of WGBH's *The French Chef*, featuring Julia Child (1912-2004). Running for an entire decade, Julia Child's programme was the first educational programme to win an Emmy in 1966. Through her book *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* (1961) she made French cuisine accessible to American cooks. Her warm, funny persona endeared her to legions of fans. By the time Julia Child retired in 2001 she had starred in 12 of her own food series and authored 17 cookbooks. Although Child was not the first television cook in the US, she was the most widely watched and respected (Allen and Albala 2007: 368). Julia Child's stage kitchen is currently on display at the National Museum of American History in Washington and her life has recently become the subject of a film. *Julie & Julia* (Ephron, USA, 2009), starring Meryl Streep, tells the story of Julie who attempts to cook all the recipes in Child's famous French cookbook.

In Australia and New Zealand cooking television emerged in the 1960s, with the inimitable Graham Kerr. Although born in England, Kerr's television career began in New Zealand, where he was chief catering adviser for the Royal New Zealand Air Force. His light-hearted and flamboyant style achieved its greatest success with *The Galloping Gourmet*, a series filmed

in front of a live audience, at one time attracting 200 million viewers in 38 countries (Allen and Albala 2007: 368). Following in the footsteps of Julia Child he showed millions of viewers that cooking at home could be easy and fun. His approach to home cooking and to issues of authenticity and cultural borrowing had more in common with later super star chefs as Jamie Oliver or Anthony Bourdain than with his 1960s contemporaries.

Together, these early chefs from the anglophone world laid the foundations for the genre and showed that personality plays a central role in the success of food TV as a genre. Yet its growth also mirrored that of the television industry in general, where diverse audiences were gaining access to this relatively new medium and demanded a variety of programmes. The next step was cable TV (Allen and Albala 2007: 368).

For nearly seventy years British television has produced a range of kitchen gurus that have inspired international TV landscape: from Fanny Cradock to Graham Kerr; from Delia Smith to Jamie Oliver. Comparisons of their shows reveal the enormous transformation in cooking on British television. In an interview released on BBC TWO early morning time slot programme Breakfast (2002) Marguerite Patten, one of the first TV chefs explained that in half a century, British TV cooking had changed beyond recognition. She recalled being publicly reproached by Winston Churchill in 1954, because her TV Christmas pudding recipe included alcohol. In the years which followed, viewers became used to seeing Keith Floyd and other chefs, grabbing a drink while cooking. In August 2002, BBC TWO broadcast in the prime time slot (at 8.00 pm) a three-part documentary mini-series titled *The Way We Cooked*, with episodes devoted to chef pairs Graham Kerr/Fanny Cradock, Delia Smith/Keith Floyd, and Gary Rhodes/ Jamie Oliver, illustrating the history of British TV cooking through its main protagonists.[5] The same series was also broadcast in 2006 on BBC 4 during a "Fanny Cradock" night.[6] The documentary film opened with: "The story of television cooking has to begin with the two stars that put entertainment into entertaining: The Galloping Gourmet, Graham Kerr, and the one and only Fanny Cradock." Marguerite Patten, who hosted a cooking segment within the very first BBC magazine programme *Designed for Women* from 1947 until the early 1960s, was asked to describe the way the presentation of

[5] (August 2002) The way we cooked. In *BBC News World edition*. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/breakfast/2192345.stm (Last accessed: April 18, 2022).

[6] The first episode of the documentary series is available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=popxjzoQaUI.(Last accessed: April 2, 2022).

food on TV had changed over the last 50 years. She described her own style as instructional and straightforward, whereas in her words, her successors were more colourful and entertaining. According to Patten, Fanny Cradock and her would-be husband, better known as "The Cradocks", as Marguerite explained, added new dimensions to TV cooking, namely colour and glamour. Patten reported that she used to work against grey curtains, whereas "The Cradocks" had beautiful glossy backgrounds. Patten's description of Fanny's style including the word "colour" is interesting, because Fanny Cradock's first series were in fact all black and white. It was only after 1969, just six years before the end of her career as a TV chef, that Cradock's BBC ONE and ITV shows were broadcast in colour. Nonetheless, it is true that Fanny Cradock's food presentation was lavishly elaborate and her approach to cooking extravagant and sophisticated. Her French cooking influences, her glamorous way of dressing, her vivid style, "put elegance into cooking," thus setting the tone of future televised food. Furthermore, according to Patten, the couple's conjugal arguments were entertaining, something the audience looked forward to. As for Graham Kerr, "he took it another step forward". He had an audience in his studio. "Up to then we were inclined to be behind our tables, in our kitchen or where we were, (…) but he had an audience." He sometimes "grabbed the people up and they participated in the food."[7] Kerr's approach was casual and friendly; he was "matey" with the viewers and the food he prepared was radically different. While Cradock drew her repertoire from French classic recipes, Kerr brought a new look, he was inspired by Australian, and New Zeland cuisine and ingredients.

The following era was the one of Delia Smith and Keith Floyd. In Patten's recollections, Delia took people who couldn't cook by their hand and taught them how to cook, while with Keith Floyd, TV cookery was taken out of the studios, and the audience not only heard about the food of other countries, but actually got to see it in its real surroundings. The arrival of Jamie Oliver and of cooking game show like *Ready Steady Cook*[8]

[7] From an interview with Marguerite Patten on *Breakfast*, conducted on August 14, 2002 for *BBC News world edition.* No longer available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/breakfast/2192345.stm (Last accessed: November 18, 2009).

[8] A BBC daytime TV cookery competition programme, first broadcast in October 1994. It was hosted by Fern Britton until 2000 and then by Hainsley Harriott until 2010 when the last original edition was broadcast. The programme features a competition between two celebrity chefs, who are supported by either two audience members or two celebrities, who apart from assisting the chefs in the cooking, they also bring them a bag of ingredients that they have bought to a set budget.

reflected an appeal to people who did not have time to cook. Thanks to these programmes speed and informality were introduced into TV cooking. According to both Mrs. Patten's retrospective reading of fifty years of TV cooking and the BBC documentary (2002) interpreting the way Britain cooked, the common objective of British cooking shows was to get people sit down, enjoy watching food being prepared and have fun.

The years 2000s saw a dramatic shift in food television revolution in this respect. With the launch of the Food Network in the US in 1993 programmers confirmed that the key to commercially successful cooking shows came down to one major thing: the personality of the hosts. Oddly enough on a factual channel devoted to food the content almost became secondary (Collins 2009: 175). After having tested them at home, the United Kingdom exported two distinctive hosts first to American channels and then worldwide, namely Jamie Oliver and Nigella Lawson.

Jamie Oliver, whose first cookery series *The Naked Chef* (1999, UK, BBC TWO), premiered on the Food Network in 2000, was something completely new. His youthful, cheeky style offered a striking contrast to traditional cookery shows. Jamie Oliver, who was raised in a professional catering environment, presented cooking as a casual, simple activity and revelled his cockney accent. Visiting his usual shopkeepers in London on his scooters and having fun with his friends and family, he presented cooking as "Loads of fun and easy peasy" (Collins 2009: 175).

Jamie Oliver was born on May 27, 1975 in Clavering, in north Essex. His parents owned a successful pub-restaurant *The Cricketers*, where he had first started experimenting with cooking. He worked in the family's pub kitchen every weekend until he left school at the age of sixteen, to attend the Westminster Catering College. There he enjoyed a lively cosmopolitan atmosphere and learned the principles of classic cuisine. He spent some time in France at Château Tilques, where he found the enthusiasm that people surrounding him put in every stage of the food preparation, contagious. Once he got back to England, he obtained a job as a head pastry chef at Antonio Carluccio's *Neal Street Restaurant*. There he had the chance to meet his mentor, Gennaro Contaldo, who taught him the secrets of how to make delicious pasta and bread. After a year at Carluccio's restaurant, Jamie Oliver decided to learn more about Italian cooking and insisted on being interviewed by Ruth Rogers and Rose Gray, the well-known owners of the River Café. He finally got a job as a sous chef. In his own words, Jamie's experience at the River Café was unique. The two owners' unconventional and creative style, as well as their constant research for the freshest, finest,

organic, seasonal produce, inevitably inspired his cooking (Oliver 2001: 3-5). It was during the filming of a documentary at the Riverside Café, that Jamie Oliver's enthusiasm for cooking, and his "easy-going, opinionated and knowledgeable" (Andrews 2005) telegenic manners, were discovered by the editors of the programme. Soon afterwards he was signed up by the BBC to present a TV cooking show. This is how it all began. The TV experience changed Jamie Oliver's life forever, but his unpretentious disposition and his enthusiasm were left untouched.

In 1999, the debut of his first show *The Naked Chef* marked a milestone in the history of cookery television, and the series accompanying cookbook immediately became a number one best-seller in the UK, Jamie Oliver was invited by the Prime Minister Tony Blair to prepare lunch at N. 10 Downing Street. His subsequent TV series and cookery books *The Return of the Naked Chef* (2000) and *Happy Days with the Naked Chef* (2001) were rousing successes. As Oliver's fame grew, he expanded his business interests, investing in new media ventures, property, and food companies over the course of ten years. This expansion in his 'empire', could be read either as a well orchestrated, profitable business operation to maximise his personal wealth, or a genuine ambition to explore every means at his disposal to shape and improve his country's eating habits.

In 2002 a five part documentary TV show followed Jamie Oliver as he conceived and established the charity restaurant Fifteen, where he trained 15 disadvantaged young people to work in the catering business. Following the success of the Fifteen restaurant in London, more Fifteen restaurants opened around the world, namely in Amsterdam (2004) in Cornwall (2006) and in Melbourne (2006). The Fifteen Foundation, of which Jamie Oliver is both the inspirational founder and trustee, was created to give an opportunity to underprivileged young people – homeless, unemployed, overcoming drug or alcohol problems – to be trained in a supportive environment, guided by encouraging chefs and real food experts, to build a career in the restaurant business.[9] In 2003, Jamie Oliver was awarded an MBE for his services to the hospitality industry. According to the BBC which covered the event, the 28-year-old from Essex had brought cookery to a younger generation through his unique and relaxed approach to presenting.[10] In 2009 a journalist of the *Times* wrote:

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[9] Information retrieved from the Fifteen foundation website, available online at: http://www.fifteenfoundation.org.au/ (Last accessed: April 20, 2022).

[10] Oliver's pukka life as chef (June 2003). the *BBC News*. Available online at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/2988426.stm (Last accessed: April 20, 2022).

> Ten years ago, just after Jamie Oliver's first series, *The Naked Chef*, I was sitting on a train from Derby to London. A few minutes into the journey, one of the men in front of me produced a foil-wrapped tin from his bag and unpacked a rustic-looking chocolate tart. "It's a Jamie," he announced proudly to the group of tattooed blokes with him. They all heartily nodded their approval. In the space of a few months, Jamie had become a watchword for cooking that even men with tattoos could relate to. I've seen Jamie Oliver on TV so many times since then that meeting him feels almost like déjà vu. He's one of those people everyone has an opinion about, not all of them entirely positive. For my part, I've always thought he seemed like a decent bloke. Even early on, when every dish was garnished with the word "pukka". I think that, directly and indirectly, he has done more than anyone else in a generation to change the way people in Britain eat (Hollweg 2009).

In 2007 Jamie Oliver was turned into an animated character in a comedy cartoon series, made by Ardman Animations, the company behind *Wallace and Grommit*. Miles Bullough from Ardman Animations saw this as an attempt to address small children and pass on a passion for healthy food while having fun. One of the most interesting aspects of this experiment was the use of humour.

> We were thrilled when Jamie approached us to collaborate on an animated project. We quickly agreed that we needed to make a show that was first and foremost a comedy, which would hopefully inspire kids to think positively about good food, even brussel sprouts[11].

What's Cooking? The first video game featuring international cooking celebrity Jamie Oliver, was released at Christmas 2008 on Nintendo DSTM, with Jamie Oliver offering help and inspiration at the supermarket, in the kitchen, at the barbecue, walking players through virtual and real-life cooking situations, from shopping to dressing the dish, and serving up meals. In the game, the main character, Little J, accompanied by several bizarre characters such as a depressed ham and a mad scientist called Eggs Benedict, is a 10-year-old Oliver trying to find the secret to becoming a great chef.[12]

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[11] Jamie Oliver Becomes Cartoon Chef (August 2007). *BBC News*. Available online at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/6955502.stm (Last accessed May 8, 2022).

[12] Jamie Oliver Becomes Cartoon Chef (August 2007). *BBC News*. Available online at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/6955502.stm (Last accessed May 8, 2022).

The brand "Jme" covers an amazingly rich variety of products, including design kitchenware and cookware, seeds and plants, gardening tools, children's cookery and gardening kits and even handwash and creams. Besides, Jamie Oliver has a significant income from advertising, some of which derives from him being the public face of Sainsbury's supermarket. Jamie Oliver also receives royalties from sales of 17 million cookbooks worldwide. Oliver's shows are seen in 50 countries and his books have been translated into more than 25 languages.[13] His spokesperson Peter Berry announced in 2005 that Oliver's most successful overseas markets were Australia, Germany and Holland but that his books and films were becoming global. He was, at the time, in demand in places such as Argentina and Brazil, as well as Hungary and Poland where there was never previously much interest in food and cooking shows (Habershoh and Rogers 2005). Jamie Oliver is one of the most successful young entrepreneurs in Britain, according to Philip Beresford, compiler of "The Sunday Times Rich List". He was already on the list of the richest people under 30 and could make it soon into the main list of the 1,000 richest people in Britain (Habershoh and Rogers 2005).

Unfortunately, in 2019 the celebrity chef's Jamie's Italian eponymous restaurant chain, along with brands Barbecoa and Fifteen, went into administration, putting 1,000 jobs in peril. In an email to staff Mr Oliver blamed "the well-publicised struggles of the casual dining sector and decline of the UK high street, along with soaring business rates," for the company's collapse. In the same year, once seen as competitors to Jamie's, Italian chain Strada was down to just three branches, while Carluccio's was forced to close approximately a third of its restaurants, after losing tens of millions of pounds, while Burger brand Byron, French cuisine chain Cafe Rouge, and pizza outlet Prezzo were not faring much better, a decline partly due to economic consequences of Brexit.

Journalist, food writer, and TV personality, Nigella Lucy Lawson was yet another of Britain's undisputed stars of those revolutionary years at the turn of the new millennium. In contrast to Oliver's casual, blokey energy, Lawson exuded upper class femininity. Daughter of, baron Nigel Lawson, chancellor of the Exchequer during Margaret Thatcher's government, and wealthy heiress of, Nigella Lawson brought a celebration of the sensual pleasures of cooking to TV (Smith 2006: 3-8). Her first television series *Nigella Bites* (2000) was first broadcast in America on the Style Network

[13] These data refer to July 2008.

in 2001 and since then has gained large audiences worldwide. The program typically featured Lawson in her elegant London home, stylish dressed or wrapped in a silky bathrobe, encouraging her viewers, especially women, to indulge with the pleasures of cooking and above all eating (Collins 2009: 179). She also brought a new level of femininity and sexiness to TV cooking, with suggestive glances and a lot of innuendo in her language.

After graduating in Medieval and Modern Languages the University of Oxford, Nigella Lawson embarked on a career as a journalist. She started with book and restaurant reviews, became deputy literary editor of *The Sunday Times* and then she worked as a columnist, food writer and make-up reviewer. She pursued a successful freelance career writing for a range of different magazines and newspapers including among others *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Evening Standard*, *The Observer*, *The Times Magazine*, as well as culinary magazines *Gourmet* and *Bon Appétit* in the US, *delicious* in Australia and a food column for *Vogue* (Vickers 2001).

Her young life was plagued by three tragic events, which explains why the press has often described her as a "tragic heroine" or why she ironically thinks of herself as "Typhoid Mary" (Vickers 2001). Nigella Lawson was 25 when her mother died of liver cancer in 1985, then her sister Thomasina died in her early thirties of breast cancer in 1993 and 8 years later Lawson also lost her husband John Diamond, columnist for *The Sunday Times*, with whom she had had two children. These grievances clearly influenced her approach both to cooking and eating that she describes as a comforting and reassuring, or simply a refuge. In her second book *How to be a domestic Goddess: Baking and the Art of Comfort Cooking* (2001) Lawson admitted that she was neither a chef nor a trained professional cook, but she simply qualified herself as an eater (Lawson 2001: x).

Soon after her first husband died, Nigella Lawson got emotionally involved with art-collector Chaarles Saachi whom she married in 2003. But she became the focus of intense media and public attention after the breakdown in 2013 of their marriage. The divorce was traumatic and she recovered only much later.

Since she published her first cookery book, *How to Eat: Pleasures and Principles of Good Food* (Lawson 1999) in 1999 in the UK and the following year in the US (Lawson 2000a), Nigella Lawson has been teaching her readers about the joys of eating. The success of her first book, which sold 300,000 copies just in the UK, led to the applauded Channel 4 series Nigella Bites. Series 1 consisted of 5 episodes of 30 minutes which were broadcast in 2000, series 2 consisted of 10 episodes and was aired in

2001. The cookery shows placed her in the firmament of Britain's celebrity chefs as one of the brightest stars. Nigella Lawson's second book, *How to be a Domestic Goddess*, mainly a baking book, was published in the UK in 2000 by Chatto & Windus and in the US in 2001 by Hyperion. The book was again a great success in terms of public, but the work was fiercely criticized by some feminists. Mostly attacked were sentences like the following, where a feeling of nostalgia for good old-time kitchen servitude was perceived:

> Sometimes… we don't want to feel like a post-modern, post-feminist, overstretched woman but, rather a domestic goddess, trailing nutmeggy fumes of baking pie in our languorous wake (Lawson 2001: vii).

Nigella defended her work by asserting that her critics failed to grasp the ironic touch of the book and assured that by no means did she intend to send modern girls out of the boardrooms, back to kitchen and that the book was actually about feeling like a domestic goddess, rather than being one (Hollows 2003). *How to be a Domestic Goddess* sold 180,000 copies in four months, and won Lawson the title of Author of The Year at the 2001 British Book Awards. This publication was followed in 2001 by another top-selling book accompanying the second series of Nigella Bites.

Already an international star, in 2006 Nigella collaborated with the Food Network in the US and launched the television series *Nigella Feasts*. Her 2006 BBC Christmas special showed her at her inspiring best. Her series *Nigella Express*, which was also accompanied by a book of the same name, aired on BBC TWO in autumn 2007. She has reportedly sold more than three million cookery books worldwide and her own cookware range, "Living Kitchen", is worth £7 million. Nigella was voted author of the year at the 2001 British Book Awards. Her other books include *Feast: Food to Celebrate Life* (2004), *Forever Summer* (2002) and *Nigella Christmas* (2008).

Gordon Ramsay inaugurated another phase of global television cookery, namely "the culinary combat" (Collins 2009: 197). Former football player Gordon Ramsay is a very influential and truly globally well-known British restaurateur, television chef, food critic and cookbook author. His global restaurant group, *Gordon Ramsay Restaurant*s, was founded in 1997 and has since opened numerous restaurants in the five continents, most of them still running today. Ranging from diners, restaurants, bars, to pub and grills and bistros, the international restaurant group eateries have been successfully established in Europe, North America, South Africa, Quatar, Malaysia, Australia, and many other places, to been awarded 16 Michelin stars overall.

After rising to fame on the British television miniseries *Boiling Point* in 1999, Ramsay became one of the best-known and most prominent chefs not only in the United Kingdom, but also at international level (Christopher 2015: 187). Ramsay's television shows are defined by his bluntness, fiery temper, harsh and aggressive manners, and frequent use of swearwords. He combines activities in the television, film, hospitality, and food industries. He is mostly known for presenting television programmes about competitive cookery, such as the British series *Hell's Kitchen* (2004, UK, ITV), *Ramsay's Kitchen Nightmares* (2004-2009, 2014, UK, Channel 4), and *The F Word* (2005-2010, UK, Channel 4), with the latter winning the 2005 BAFTA Award for Best Feature, and the American versions of *Hell's Kitchen* (2005-present, US, FOX), *Kitchen Nightmares* (2007-2014, US, FOX), *MasterChef* US (2010-present, US, FOX), and *MasterChef Junior* (2013-present, US, FOX), as well as *Hotel Hell* (2012-2016, US, FOX), *Gordon Ramsay's 24 Hours to Hell and Back* (2018-2020, US, FOX), *Master Chef Australia* (2020, Australia, Network 10) and *Next Level Chef* (2022-present, US, FOX).

Collins (2009: 197) argues that the television industry's reluctance to take big risks has led to the current glut of reality shows. These shows also extend in the realm of food, where young chefs, restaurateurs or amateur cooks compete for top jobs or simply for television triumph. *MasterChef*, *Iron Chef*, *Hell's Kitchen* and their various localized, national versions, all count on the same formula: the viewers' appetite for harsh competition, expletive-ridden criticisms and aggressive yelling (Collins 2009: 198).

2.4 Cookery television in Italy: a brief overview

In Italy the tradition of TV cooking shows is much more recent than in Anglophone countries, partly due to the fact that television broadcasting started almost twenty years later in Italy than in the UK and US. On January 3, 1954, RAI, the Italian national public broadcasting company, officially started its activity, opening the day's programming with the news and concluding with a the first part of a weekly programme devoted to sports. That first year there were only 24,000 viewers, but by the following year the audience had exploded to 6 million people. At the time, only 20% of the Italian population could speak a variety of Italian that was intelligible to the rest of the country. Television therefore, contributed to spread the standard variety of the language, unifying its audience through their shared

viewing of popular and high culture. The medium's potential for education and nation-building were immediately exploited by the national television service. Influenced by BBC's Reithian values of acting in the public interest, providing impartial high-quality services which inform as well as educate and entertain, early Italian TV programmes served to bring literacy and cultural contents to the population, with well-known educational daytime programmes such as *Non è Mai Troppo Tardi,* literally it's never too late, (1960-1968, Italy RAI), and entertainment shows like theatre and opera performances and live concerts broadcast as primetime shows.

The first programme devoted to food and wine ever broadcast on Italian television was consistent with RAI's educational brief, to introduce people to what life was like in other parts of the country and to enhance culture and modernity. The early days of Italian television were prone to experimenting with both content and technological means. Only three years after the official start of TV broadcasting in Italy, an innovative show on food and wine was hosted by writer and filmmaker Mario Soldati: *Alla Ricerca dei Cibi Genuini: Viaggio nella valle del Po*[14] (literally 'In search of genuine foods: a journey in the Po Valley') (1957-58, Italy, RAI). In this 12-episode traveling series, filmed outside the TV studios, Soldati visited local inns, *trattorias*, and family-run food shops as well as rural and industrial food production sites, such as cheese-making facilities and processed and canned food factories. Soldati interviewed farmers, fishermen, home cooks, chefs and factory workers with the same apparently casual approach and reported about culinary traditions alongside new industrial processes in a less-than-well known areas of Italy. The programme, with its clearly didactic purpose, contributed to an emerging discourse which aimed at defending Italy's gastronomical heritage from a perceived homogenizing trend which was typical of the rapid post-war economic growth. Nonetheless, the programme acknowledged the importance of emerging industrial production standards for food safety and the modernization of the country (Bondavalli 2020: 2):

> The travelogue embodied television's mission to educate viewers through virtual voyages in unknown lands, even when these uncharted territories were only a few miles away. The format, with frequently changing locations and interviews in public places as well as private homes and businesses,

[14] See Italian public broadcasting company's archive *RaiTeche* available at: https://www.teche.rai.it/2020/11/viaggio-nella-valle-del-po-con-mario-soldati/?doing_wp_cron=1650271647.6469349861145019531250 (Last accessed: April, 18 2022).

> used newly available portable cameras and recording devices to explore a country that was almost unknown to many of its inhabitants. Regional gastronomy was displayed via location shots, illustrated through interviews and voiceover commentary, and clarified in studio segments which bound the various location shots together (Bondavalli 2020: 7).

The programme had a collateral effect of promoting standard Italian language as well as sharing gastronomic culture.[15] The show succeeded in ushering in new norms characterised by an abundance of food choices and an emphasis on food safety, a complete contrast to the meagre diet most Italians experienced caused by centuries of indigence, mass migration and lastly, wartime food rationing:

> RAI television, which started national broadcasts in 1954, was both a mirror and an actor of the changes happening in Italian society during the economic boom. In its first decade of existence it reached increasingly wider segments of the population, stimulating the transformation of rural areas and effecting the linguistic unification of a country where Italian had been for centuries a second language at best for most citizens. Its programming choices reflected both the country's rapid but uneven embrace of modernity and the political and cultural elites' uneasiness with American-style consumerism. Consequently, an "Italianization" of the medium was conducted according to the principles of education, unification, and entertainment (Bondavalli 2020: 5).

The first in-studio TV cookery programme appeared on the small screen much later, *A Tavola alle 7* (1971-1976, Italy, Rai 1) ran under different titles between 1971 and 1976 in the form of a quiz show that involved audience participation through telephone calls that were broadcast during the programme (Dilorenzo 2019). In later versions the programme also included cooking competitions of amateur cooks who prepared typical regional recipes, thus anticipating formats that became so popular on international TV many years later thanks to British shows and international formats like *Ready Steady Cook* and *MasterChef* (Granello 2009). The former actress turned chef, Ave Ninchi, already a celebrity star because of her long career as a theatre, cinema and television actress, presented this small cookery segment together with gastronome and wine expert Luigi

[15] In Italy a unified culinary identity preceded the political unification of Italy, as food historian Massimo Monatanari has aptly and extensively discussed, see in particular Montanari (2013; 2017) and Capatti/ Montanari (2003).

Veronelli.[16] At the time, dish preparation and cooking times were of course much slower than in the modern version of televised cookery and perhaps reflected the comfortable and relaxed pace of life in the seventies and of a more realistic representation of cooking (Dilorenzo 2019). The seventies were also a moment of flourishing for the exploration of exotic cuisines. Giuseppe Mantovano and Sergio Spina, journalists and gastronomes, overcame national culinary boundaries by exploring French, Spanish, Austrian, German, Yugoslavian, Moroccan cuisines, and many more with their cookery series *Il Mondo a Tavola* (the world at our table). This wine and food travelogue series attempted to fill the gap for Italian viewers in terms of foreign gastronomic traditions by visiting foreign restaurants and wine shops and presenting dishes within their social and cultural framework.

In the eighties the competition between state-owned public service broadcasters (RAI) and commercial TV channels emerged. Televised food was associated with the reassuring face of Wilma De Angelis, a former singer, who first presented *Telemenù* in 1979, a cookery segment broadcast at 7.00 pm on the commercial channel Telemontecarlo, the Principality of Monaco's Italian language official network, also broadcasting on Italian territory (1979-1989, Principality of Monaco, Telemontecarlo). This cookery programme explicitly targeted women who worked outside the home and only had a limited time to put together family dinners. The host soon became an icon of quick, domestic, cuisine with an exotic international twist. Wilma De Angelis' culinary programme was so successful that it ran initially as a self-standing series and then as a magazine format segment, for eighteen years, under different titles: *Sale, Pepe e Fantasia*, salt, pepper and imagination (1989-1990, Principality of Monaco, Telemontecarlo), *A Pranzo con Wilma*, Lunch with Wilma (1990-1993, Principality of Monaco, Telemontecarlo). Product placement and sponsored ingredients became a common trend of these private TV cookery programmes, while De Angelis first cookery book *Le mille meglio*, 1000 best, was published in 1988 (Iovane 2021). Although De Angelis was by her own admission not particularly experienced at cooking and had a ghost-chef helping her behind the scene, the programme's format was a precursor of much of current televised cookery in Italy. It provided a format template for many TV chefs to come such as journalist Benedetta Parodi. Her first cookery segment

[16] See Italian public broadcasting company's archive *RaiTeche.* Available at: https://www.teche.rai.it/2017/02/colazione-alle-7-ninchi-veronelli/ (Last accessed: April 20, 2022).

Cotto e Mangiato, cooked and eaten (2008- Italy, Italia 1), was included in the daily news on commercial television network Italia 1. Parodi published her first cookery book in 2009 including the recipes which had appeared on TV and her book was an immediate success with 1,5 million copies sold. After hosting a standalone cookery series *I menù di Benedetta*, Benedetta's menu (2011-2013, Italy, La 7) her popularity increased even further with the introduction of thematic digital terrestrial TV channels, where she was invited to present cookery and talent shows like *Bake-off Italia* (2013, Italy, Real Time). Her approach as a journalist, food-writer, mother and busy business woman was particularly appreciated by an audience of working mothers outside the home who only had a limited amount of time to cook a decent meal for their families. Benedetta Parodi's programmes also inaugurated a season of cooking tutorials which became particularly popular on the internet also triggering emulation phenomena and memes as well as spoof cookery shows.

Meanwhile, state-owned broadcasters in Italy invested in more high-brow food-related programmes revolving around health-and-nutrition like *Che fai Mangi?* (1983-1984, Italy, Rai 2) which mixed informative contents with cooking demonstrations performed by well-known professional chefs like Gualtiero Marchesi and Gianfranco Vissani. In 1981 a weekly food documentary reportage concerned with agricultural and food production issues, *Linea Verde*, green line (1981, Italy, Rai 1) was launched. Still running this day every Sunday at lunchtime, it is appointment viewing for many Italian viewers, and has managed to reflect the evolution of agriculture and food production since the eighties.

State-owned broadcasters only recognized the entertaining potential of televised cookery in the first decades of the new millennium. While in 1990 *Master Chef* was inaugurated in the UK, a format which soon reached 300 million viewers in 200 countries, in Italy cookery was still struggling to find its positioning in public TV programming. Cooking on TV was perceived as something for a niche audience, targeting female viewers who worked at home (De Santis 2019). However, it was the launch of *La Prova del Cuoco*, the cook's test (2000-2020, Italy, Rai 1), a daytime cookery competition as well as cookery demonstration presented by journalist Antonella Clerici which triggered significant shifts in TV cookery in Italy.[17] The successful

[17] De Santis, Antonella (March 2019) Identità Golose Report. La cucina e il cibo in tv: 50 anni di evoluzione. *Gamberorosso.it* Available online at: https://www.gamberorosso.it/notizie/identita-golose-report-la-cucina-e-in-cibo-in-tv/ (Last accessed: April, 17 2022).

programme, based on the Endemol format also underlying the British *Ready Steady Cook*, started in Italy six years after the British version had been successfully launched. The audience success of this innovative cookery show, appreciated by a wide age-range of male and female viewers, proved the entertaining potential of televised cookery shows and persuaded broadcasters to exploit the format.

Another pivotal moment was the launch of the first food and wine thematic channel in 1999 RaiSat Gambero Rosso which became a virtual meeting place for young international television chefs and cookery experts and a landmark event for TV food lovers in Italy. In 2003, the arrival of satellite TV and the foundation of Sky Italy that absorbed RaiSat Gambero Rosso paved the way to a growing number of factual channels devoted to food and reality television which gradually overwhelmed Italian TV. Cookery segments were increasingly inserted into a number of programmes, ranging from magazine daytime programmes to the news and primetime TV. The first international chefs who gained access to the Italian audience via the Italian Sky food-devoted channel were those already popular in Anglophone countries: Jamie Oliver and Nigella Lawson, Anthony Bourdain and Gordon Ramsay whose programmes were subtitled into Italian.

The digital switch-over, which in Italy was completed in 2012, boosted the food mania even further. It brought, among other things, an exponential increase in the demand for foreign TV shows to fill the ever-growing schedules and libraries of special interest channels addressed to niche audiences (Rossato 2020: 277). This process in turn boosted the demand for translation and adaptation of factual and food-related television series. Initially provided with subtitles by satellite channel RaiSat Gambero Rosso, food related series became fertile ground for experimenting with TV genres and translation modes (subtitled TV programmes were followed by a phase of voiced-over cookery shows and then by the experimenting of a new type of dubbing, termed simil-sync, without lip movement synchronisation.

2.5 Cookery shows and the TV genre issue

Generally underestimated by TV archive databases[18] and seldom categorized in Television Studies publications as a standalone category, cookery shows

[18] In the *BFI screenonline* timeline of British television, listing key events, facts, people and programmes in British TV history since 1922, popular cooks as Delia Smith, Nigella

have generally been grouped into broader TV classes of either educational programmes (Rose and Alley 1985),[19] factual programmes[20] or simply as daytime programmes[21]. Interestingly enough, a different kind of attention has been devoted to food related programmes by the food industry and within Food Studies. This suggests that whilst underestimated by Media Studies commentators, the nature of the shows, their scope and subsequent level of success have been influential within the realm of cooking trends and the marketing of food, and this makes them an interesting area of research for language and translation, as well as a genre in themselves. Gary Allen, food writer and historian of food services and Ken Albala, food historian, included the entries: "food television" and "history of the genre of food television" in their encyclopaedia of the food and drink:

> "Food television" refers to the food related programming as well as to television channels entirely dedicated to food. Food TV has grown concurrently with television itself, and as one of the fastest growing sectors of leisure industries, is directly related to the rise of the modern celebrity chef (including related commodities such as cookbooks, DVDs, branded food and cookware). As a genre, food TV broadly designates televised programs with

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Lawson or Gordon Ramsay are not mentioned, whereas other facts as the beginning of *Benny Hill Show* or the first episode of *EastEnders*, or the beginning of Quiz show *Who wants to be a millionaire* are reported. Celebrity chef Jamie Oliver, has one quotation for his 2005 campaigning series *Jamie's School Dinners* (broadcast on Channel 4), for the national debate on children's diet in the UK that the programme triggered. Gordon Ramsay's reality shows have no quotation, nor the popular Ainsley Harriott's *Ready Steady Cook*. In *BFI Screenonline*. Available at: http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/index.html (Last accessed, April 12, 2022).

[19] Classification of TV genres as in *TV Genres: A handbook and reference guide* (Rose and Alley 1985): The Police Show; The Detective Show; The TV Western; Medical Melodrama; Science Fiction and Fantasy TV; Situation Comedy; The Soap Opera; The American Made –for-TV Movie; Docudrama; Television News; Television Documentary; Sports Telecasting; The Game Show; The Variety Show; The Talk Show; Children's programming; Educational and Cultural Programming; The television Church; The television Commercial. Other reference guides have similar, less detailed classifications.

[20] On the BBC website, https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/genres (Last accessed: April 24, 2022) TV genres are listed in the programme section as follows: children's, comedy, drama, entertainment, factual, learning, music news, religion & ethics, weather. Cookery programmes are retrievable in the genre *factual*, under the *food & drink* sub-category.

[21] According to Lacey (2000: 206), the repertoire of elements that serve to identify genres consists of character types, setting, iconography, narrative and style. This definition is well suited to certain types of television products, such as detective and crime forms, but they are less applicable to more medium-specific genres, such as talk shows variety shows and other types of shows, where these categories are not entirely pertinent (Neale 2008: 5).

> content related to food, cooking and eating. It can be transmitted via cable, public broadcast television, or webcast (web-based broadcast). The food TV genre includes several sub-genres: educational ("how-to"), lifestyle, game shows, reality shows, makeover shows, travelogues, and behind-the-scenes programs. Many of these showcases are hosted by celebrity chefs (Allen and Albala 2007: 366-367).

Defining the boundaries of the TV cookery genre as well as pinpointing its salient features might be a thorny issue as this particular TV genre has undergone a radical stylistic, semiotic and discursive evolution as discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, particularly in the last two decades. While in its early days food TV had a predominantly educational aim, when a presenter, a chef or a cook, illustrated the step-by-step preparation of some recipes, with the purpose of demonstrating how to make different dishes with each episode of the show, televised cookery has gradually replaced much of its didacticism with a focus on entertainment and recreation. This trend has increased tremendously with the booming of international cable and satellite channels, and thanks to the flourishing of a plethora of new factual channels devoted to food and drink at the international level these changes can be observed cross-culturally and trans-nationally. Drawing on the evident mushrooming of new hybrid genres of food related programmes, often referred to as cookery sub-genres by audiences and TV industry alike, it seems evident that the cookery show is no longer struggling to 'become' a television genre. It has reached a stage of relative stability of a more mature fluid genre in its own right. And this is true not only in the UK, were the cookery TV genre has a long and robust tradition, but also in Italy, where cookery had started off slowly and accelerated in the last two decades thanks to the new digital television channels devoted to food.

Corner's description of television genres is insightful and so fluid it can conveniently be applied to modern day cookery shows. He has observed that the television's generic system is not a stable and discrete set of categories, but "a changing and increasingly hybridized set of practices, forms, and functions, one in which both cultural and commodity values lie most often in the right blend of the familiar and the new, of fulfilled expectation and shock" (Corner 2009: 44).

Although the relevance of TV cookery shows in terms of cultural, social as well as economic impact on society is generally acknowledged, cookery television programmes have not acquired full recognition in television studies, let alone in cross-cultural and translation research as yet. Cookery

television has not been studied at length as a unique category with its own discursive, semiotic and cultural characteristics. What follows is an overview of some of the main themes from a broad comparative and cross-cultural perspective, while in the next chapter issues about the verbal, visual as well as aural aspects of cookery programmes will be considered in more detail.

2.6 Productive binomial oppositions in television food discourse

There are some thematic oppositions that seem to emerge when looking closely at the evolution of food television discourse. They are topics which are also partly reflected in generic differentiations and classifications of televised cookery shows. Although it is easier to trace their presence in the constellation of British and American cookery television, because of the comparatively larger quantity of products that they have produced, at least in one case, the opposition between authentic and exotic, Italian television seems to have preceded the Anglophone counterparts, namely Italian Mario Soldati's travelogue series *Journey in the Po Valley*. This preceded Keith Floyd's cookery series filmed outside the kitchen studios, suggesting that some exchanges and contaminations might have started long before current global television environment and at least potentially they may have been bi-directional, not only from center to periphery, but also from the periphery towards the cultural centre.

2.6.1 Cookery demonstrations: labour and leisure

According to Hollows, the advent on British television of Jamie Oliver's cookery show *The Naked Chef* (1999, UK, BBC TWO), followed by *The Return of the Naked Chef* (2000, UK, BBC TWO) and *Happy Days with the Naked Chef* (2001, UK, BBC TWO) inaugurated a new chapter in televised cookery and its association to the female sphere. Jamie's casual and easy-going approach to cookery negotiated a new "domestic masculinity". Hollows argues that celebrity chef Jamie Oliver contributed to construct televised domestic cooking as a "recognizable manly" activity through its association with fun, leisure and with a cool lifestyle rather than with domestic labour (Hollows 2003: 237). I shall argue that Jamie Oliver's relaxed, masculine and fun-oriented approach to cookery was also a reinterpretation of a format that had already been explored and developed

in the late sixties by Graham Kerr's the *Galloping Gourmet* (1968-1973, Canada, CJOH-TV) or even earlier, in the course of Fanny Cradock's live cookery demonstration *Bon Viveur* at the Royal Albert Hall (1956). More recent cookery shows, such as *The Chef's Table* (2015-, US, Netflix) still build on the dichotomy of labour and leisure, but they do not rely on the connection to domesticity, they are instead based on the concepts of haute-cuisine, luxury living and artistic creation, so as to associate cookery with the fine arts.

While early TV chefs like Marguerite Patten, or later ones like Delia Smith, insisted on cookery as an easy task, with Delia Smith even welcoming a range of labour-saving pre-cooked ingredients to save time and fatigue and reduce the labour involved in cooking, two television chefs at the turn of the new millennium managed to introduce the concept of leisure into cookery shows, putting the fun into the cooking.

James Trevor Oliver, known to the audiences as Jamie Oliver, was first nicknamed after his debut TV Series "The Naked Chef" for his down-to-earth manners and his informal approach to the screen. He immediately charmed the audiences with his inimitable, unpretentious style, his sense of humour and his colloquial expressions. He became synonymous with words like "pukka", "wicked" and "easy-peasy". Oliver's friendly and enthusiastic approach to cookery, as well as his exotic, colourful use of the English language, easily deflated the novice cook's anxieties. He tended to favour general guidelines over rigorous instructions in his recipes. Instead of naming exact quantities, he used expressions like a "knob of butter," a "handful of shelled peas" or "a big handful of freshly grated Parmesan." His empathy for young people's lack of time and experience on the one side, and his passion for fresh ingredients and high-quality-food-made-accessible on the other, soon earned him a reputation in Britain, yet nobody could have imagined that this "cheeky chap" boy from Essex could become the global icon that he is today.

Commentators tend to either love or hate Oliver. To his supporters, he is "a breath of fresh air, bringing quality food to a mass audience in his own cheerful and unpretentious way"(Walker 2005) while his detractors see Jamie Oliver as a half-baked visionary, a "loud-mouthed mockney" (Walker 2005) and a media phenomenon, who has sold his soul to the media and advertising business. Whatever the truth, there is no doubt that he has made a huge impact.

The other undisputed global icon of cookery television in the cable era, well-known both in her country of origin and abroad, US and Italy included,

a superstar chef who is also the emblem of pleasure and passion for food, is certainly Nigella Lawson. Lawson's attractiveness as well as her intimate, flirtatious and sensual way of presenting food has earned her a reputation as one of the sexiest chefs on screen. Her TV image soon became associated with the "queen of food porn", a definition Nigella is uneasy with, as stated in an interview published in 2006 (Sands 2006). She complained about the fact that every mouthful she took was seen as a sexual signal, every cooking phrase as a a double entendre, but that was not what she intended, and she was uncomfortable at having that projected on to her. Lawson explained that when she started off, she meant to speak to the audience as if she were talking to her sister, therefore she did not mean to appear coquettish:

> I don't want to be some blow-up sex doll in the kitchen in my 50s. That is not what I am about. I am interested in food and writing and I must be able to escape that [sex] image. Women don't think of me like this. But if I happen to catch a man's glance, he will think: 'She really fancies me.' That is what happens with the camera" (Sands 2006).

In an interview with Matthew Stadlen, published on the BBC News Website, Named the "Third Most Beautiful Woman in the World" after pop singer Andrea Corrs and actress Catherine Zeta Jones, after a survey conducted in the year 2000 (Harriet 2000), Nigella Lawson was voted top inspiring body shape by 60% of British women interviewed in a poll of 2000 female respondents conducted in 2009 (Wardrop 2009). Nigella Lawson's florid curves and hourglass body shape have often been named among the key factors of her successful food TV formula. In her cookery shows and books Nigella Lawson often takes the point of view of the eater, rather than that of the chef. She emphasises that she likes eating, that she cooks for her own pleasure and she highlights that cooking has a therapeutic effect on her. Her sensual curvy figure has been both praised and criticized by her audience and by the press, so much so that she has felt the need to address the subject explicitly many times. In an article she wrote for *The Observer*, commenting on Kate Winslet's decision to lose weight:

> When I'm (for me) thin, I'm described as voluptuous and when I'm actually voluptuous, well, there's no polite term for it. […] Dysmorphobia has become the significant feature of being female. And here the feminist perspective is a vexed one, for this is so pointedly a tyranny of the sisterhood. It's not men that women diet for, but the unforgiving gaze of other women. I am not allying myself to those who feel that there is any merit in being overweight.

> If self-destructive dieting is a bad thing, it does not mean that self-sabotage through overeating is good. But there is a relationship between the two. What we find so hard to be is normal; we have lost much sense of what that might actually mean (Lawson 2001).

When in 2007, during the filming of her television series *Nigella Express*, some members of the public expressed horror on the BBC website at Nigella's perceived weight gain, the matter exploded on internet blogs and forums. Nigella is an icon, a role model for her own sex and an object of desire for heterosexual males of all ages (Watson 2007). Nigella Lawson's well-rounded figure supports her credibility as an eater rather than a cook, but it is potentially very disturbing to people who would prefer to stick to common celebrity culture iconography. Her audiences apparently like her because she gives them the permission to raid the fridge, to be messy and clumsy, to enjoy themselves while cooking, they adore her intimate, relaxed and playful approach in the kitchen. US magazine *Gourmet* by reporting the words of a female fan, lining up in a bookshop to get her cookbook autographed by her favourite chef, well illustrates the matter at stake. Nigella female fan liked the fact that she ate and that she enjoyed food. "I know you enjoy food, because you're not like those other cooks who never touch it. You eat and enjoy it and I believe you!" (Dolce 2001):

> Most cookbooks and food shows are about control, precision, and fear of doing something incorrectly. In Nigella's world, the kitchen is not a science lab with rigid rules and formulas to follow. It's a place to play, sometimes with your friends and kids (Dolce 2001).

2.6.2 Reality-style cookery shows: performance and reality

When the Italian professional chef and restaurateur Carlo Cracco, former judge of the cookery talent-show *MasterChef Italia*, left the programme some years ago, in an interview for the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica* he revealed that he was required to play the nasty character by the program producers. Apparently people like watching somebody being bossed around. Chef Cracco admitted it was a sort of role-playing game and he was surprised that TV audiences did not realize that his horrible, unfriendly personality was made up in order to attract more television viewers (Granello 2019). These revelations seem to be saying nothing new. Yet, the issue the Italian chef brought up is not banal. Television scholars investigating the reasons why audiences love reality shows (cookery talent-shows included)

have suggested that much of their appeal might be based on this binomial opposition between the real and the performed-as-if-it-were-real. Although many studies on viewers' perception of factual and reality television are still exploratory and limited to specific social groups, what clearly emerges from existing scholarly literature shows that adult audiences[22] do realize that what happens in reality shows is at least partly "manipulated for dramaturgical reasons" but they simply accept that (Beck et al. 2012: 16). Some Television Studies scholars have argue that in the "post-documentary context" (Corner 2009: 53) TV consumers are not interested in the absolute truth, they apparently enjoy the mixture of the factitious and the spontaneous (Rose and Wood 2005: 286). Empirical research too seems to support this point of view, a study conducted in 2005, based on a survey of 1002 TV viewers, reported that most interviewees admitted they knew reality shows were not real, but they simply did not care (Murray and Oulette 2009: 8).

According to Chiaro (2013: 86) this suspension of disbelief is not only limited to reality-style food shows, but it is also at work in the relationship between superstar chefs and the audiences of more traditional cookery demonstrations. In an interview with *The Guardian* for example, Delia Smith admitted that TV producers would always ask her for another take if something went slightly wrong and so she came out as the perfect cook, but this did not correspond to reality: "If I took a ladle full of jam out of the pot and it dripped a bit, they'd say stop, clean up, do it again. So it all comes across as so perfect because they're making me do it perfect. And that's not how it should be!". In the same interview Smith admitted that while the series were filmed in her kitchen, she forbade the television crew to use her loo. Indeed most of her early series were filmed in the conservatory-kitchen that she had specially built at her home, but according to her "it still felt like a studio", so in later series she included snippets of her life such as Delia going shopping, Delia going to Mass, Delia visiting friends, etc. (Barber 2008).

Even traditional cookery formats include more and more elements of reality. In particular, Chiaro argues, they try to build a sense of connection between the audience and the celebrity chefs who share part of their "true" life with their viewers. While cookery shows used to be recorded in kitchens especially created on set, they are now filmed in authentic locales: "Nigella

[22] Different results emerge from studies on children and teenagers' perception who seem to believe that what happens in reality shows is for real, see for example (Götz 2012).

Bites, for example was shot at the host's London home, and many of Jamie Oliver programs are recorded either in his home or those of his friends" (Chiaro 2013: 87). Chiaro also argues that the undisputed centrality of the host in a cookery show is not only due to his or her cooking skills, but first and foremost to his or her linguistic as well as performative presentation skills, which in turn are strictly connected to television's "personality system", as termed by Langer (1981: 354). Langer maintains that the television personality system differs from the cinema personality system, based essentially on movie stars being out of reach of the general public, in that celebrity television status is based on the construction of "intimacy and immediacy" with the TV audience (Langer in Chiaro 2013: 87). In this perspective, Jamie Oliver's casual style and Nigella Lawson's sensuality could be described celebrity chefs "playing" themselves. The superstar chefs' ability to stage reality-style cooking, often within the setting of his or her own home kitchen, according to Chiaro would be strictly linked to the capacity to break the barriers between the televised chef and the audience, hence rendering the superstar chefs both acceptable and familiar to audiences (Chiaro 2013: 87).

As a consequence, I shall argue, both the chef's fictional performance and the sense of perceived real intimacy created through the staging of the cooking activity are essential, albeit contradictory, components of a cookery show successful mix. Reality and performance could therefore be described as the the two poles of a continuum showcased not only in individual TV cookery series and genres, but also in televised cookery history in general.

When discussing the importance of the celebrity chefs' performance in cookery shows, one cannot disregard the first British "Lady of Food" (Walsh 2009). Fanny Cradock (1909-1994) who appeared in popular TV cookery series from the 1950s to the mid-1970s, is remembered for the extravagant and flamboyant style of both her performance and her recipes. It is not by chance that she is described as the forerunner of today's celebrity chefs. Fanny and her fourth husband, Johnnie Cradock's stage career was ignited when the couple turned a theatre arena into a restaurant. Archival footage documents Fanny and Johnnie Cradock presenting a cookery demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall in December 1956 as a tribute to French chef Georges Auguste Escoffier. Dressed up in an outrageous evening gown and white fur shawl, Fanny Cradock (helped by her husband) cooked vast dishes with elaborate French names that were then served to selected prominent guests. VIP spectators tasted the Cradocks' staged recipes and expressed their appreciation in front of an audience of amused and astonished theatre-

goers. The menu featured onion soup, roast goose, roast turkey cooked in aluminium foil and a large ice sculpture of a swan (Hountondji 2012). At the beginning of the show the couple announced that they would "share as many of the preparation details as possible, though in some cases they would skip the more lengthy cooking times." Examples of what Fanny considered "a touch of sophistication" were included here and there, like the addition of a raw egg and some Port wine on top of a bowl of onion soup, or the decoration of a roasted turkey with real turkey feathers. Humor was also part of the couple's vibrant performance, if for example Johnnie tried to sip some liqueur after he had poured some into the soup bowls, Fanny would reprimand him with mock horror saying "No John, not at the Albert Hall!".

This cooking performance was part of the Cradocks' live demonstrations for the British Gas Council, until they were engaged by the BBC to produce a pilot episode for a TV series called *Kitchen Magic* to cook on a Primus stove. The format proved very successful, but "the Cradocks" were soon recruited by ITV which made a better offer to present the channel's first cookery programme: *Fanny's Kitchen*. Fanny was clearly in charge of the cooking, curtly ordering Johnnie around. Johnnie's character was developed as the compliant husband who obeyed his despotic wife's directions, condescending her innate superiority. Other popular series featuring either both of them, or just Fanny, were *The Cradocks* (ITV, 1959 and 1962), *Kitchen Magic* (ITV, 1963) a fiction film produced by the British gas council,[23] *Adventurous Cooking* (BBC1 1966), *Fanny Cradock Invites you to…* (BBC 1970) and the super classic five episode Christmas series *Fanny Cradock Cooks for Christmas* (BBC1 1975). Each programme was accompanied by a printed booklet that described the steps of the recipe's preparation in detail thus allowing the television chef more freedom and room for manoeuvre in entertaining her audience rather than instructing viewers on how to reproduce recipes exactly. Later in her career, Fanny would simply say "You'll find this in the booklet so I won't show you now", or "there is a lot of bungling and sloshing in good cooking" (Ellis 2007: 64).

Fanny Cradock swapped aprons for jewellery, eye-catching hair-slides, belts and brooches.[24] To the modern tastes she probably appears overdressed

[23] The colour film is particularly interesting because it was featured Fanny and Johnnie in a dream sequence, helping a young wife who wanted to impress her mother in law, with basic cookery notions and modern cooking equipment.

[24] See: Cradock, Fanny. *BFI Screenonline.* Available at: http://www.screenonline.org.uk/people/id/1236606/index.html (Last accessed: April 20, 2022).

and over the top, but her bossy, no-nonsense delivery and her unusual inclination for glamour surely contributed to her mass appeal. Her food looked extravagant, yet with an eye on budget. Sentences like: "you will see how incredibly un-expensive this is", or "this is perfectly economical", "this won't stretch your purse" were her regular refrains. As she got older she put on heavier make-up and wore fancier colour chiffon gowns, her love for vegetable dyed food and French style decorations slowly became old-fashioned, which pushed her programmes to border on farce. If all this were not enough to show how Fanny Cradock was ahead of her times, the way her television career came to an abrupt end after the controversy unleashed by Fanny's rude remarks at a talent-spotting programme *The Big Time* (1976, UK, BBC) should provide enough food for thought to the modern audience, well-accustomed to the verbal excesses of Gordon Ramsay or the temper outbursts of MasterChef's judges. In her very true style, Fanny had simply savaged an amateur cook, Gwen Troake, a housewife from Devon, grimacing at her menu and suggesting she substituted her coffee cream dessert with a very elaborate boat shaped pudding, that in fact did not impress the VIP attendants of the television banquet because it could not be served properly. The programme audience was very upset at Fanny Cradock's interference. She was deemed responsible of having ruined the housewife's potential success, and two weeks later the BBC extinguished her contract and she was never asked to present a television programme again. Although her straightforwardness could be perfectly acceptable for reality TV now, it wasn't at the time. Her originality and her extravagance determined both her fortune and her downfall, but also caused her later rehabilitation. She and Johnnie were parodied by Benny Hill and by Betty Mardsen, who caricatured her as Fanny Haddock. Fanny's life was the subject of two theatre plays *Doughnuts like Fanny's* by Julia Darling and *Fear of Fanny* by Brian Fillis, which was also adapted for a BBC TV drama and broadcast in October 2006 on BBC4. Fanny was one of the first, and most original, TV food personalities ever, well ahead of her time, she set the tone for future generations of TV cooks, as reported by journalist John Welsh:

> Delia Smith said her career was inspired by the Cradock's TV shows. Jamie Oliver confessed that she was the inspiration behind Jamie's Dinners. (…) Gordon Ramsay has nominated her as his dream dinner-date. Fanny Cradock was the prototypical Ramsay. There were TV cooks before her, but she was the first with real celebrity status. She patented the Ramsay style of exasperated rudeness and set the template for the furious, doctrinaire, do-it-my way kitchen tyrant so familiar on television today (Walsh 2009).

At the opposite end of the "performance vs reality" continuum I shall mention British cook Delia Smith's no-nonsense cooking, who despite the plain and down-to earth style of her recipes and TV series, over many decades of television cookery managed to reach the status of one of the most admired and beloved celebrity chefs, at least in the UK. Often described as the patron saint of amateur cooks[25], the girl-next door from Bexleyheath (the town where she went to school), the saviour of hapless cooks from kitchen hell (Stanford 2009), Delia Smith has also been labeled "the Volvo" of British chefs by her colleague Antony Worrall Thompson (Byrne and Morris 2005), one of the first TV chefs to enter the business of reality television. He was clearly hinting at her solid, long lasting reputation as a "real" TV cook, teaching the nation how to prepare British classics step by step. A national icon in the UK, Delia Smith is hardly known in the US or Canada. Born in Surrey on June 18th 1941, she started her career as a British cook and television presenter in the seventies and for almost 40 years she has been teaching basic cookery skills to millions of aspiring cooks, both through her cookery books and television series. She is famous for testing her recipes over and over again, to ensure that each of them is "easy to follow and simple to achieve"[26] *Delia Smith's Summer collection* for example (1994, UK, BBC) is a colourful and fresh series, very much based on seasonal ingredients, especially local ones. Organised in a similar way to her Christmas series (1990, UK, BBC), each episode provides both interesting recipes and information about British seasonal and local produce, food industry delicatessen shops.

Since her first cookery show *Family Fare* (1973, UK, BBC) and her first cookery book *How to Cheat at Cooking* published in 1973, Delia Smith's recipes have become synonymous with simple to cook, but highly effective and tasty. An update of her original best-selling book published in 2008 was again one of the best editorial successes of the year. Still one of the British best-selling cookbook authors, with more than 21 million copies sold of her 24 books (Rimmer 2019), not only has Delia Smith's fame grown to the extent that her first name has become sufficient to identify her to the public, but also some expressions like "doing a Delia", meaning to do something exactly as Delia Smith has instructed to do, or the "Delia Effect",

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[25] See: Delia's Flour Power (November 1998). *BBC News*. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/221711.stm (Last Accessed, April 20, 2022).

[26] See Delia Smith's biography on *BBC Food* accessed on August 27, 2009 from http://www.bbc.co.uk/food/chef_biogs/s.shtml?delia_smith.

used to describe a run on a previously poor-selling product as a result of her recommendation on TV have entered the common parlance as well as the *Collins English Dictionary* in 2001 (Rimmer 2019):

> Few people knew the merits of the humble cranberry before Delia revealed its secrets back in 1995. The result was a national cranberry shortage. Delia power has also worked for lemon zesters and liquid glucose. More recently there has been a stampede for white eggs since they appeared on the cover of her latest book and an omelette pan became an overnight success when Delia gave it her blessing".[27]

Delia Smith herself seems well aware of her power on the audience. She is conscious of the advantages of having a say on the ingredient choice and be able to influence the market offer. In the section "ingredients update" of *Delia's Summer Collection*, a book first published in 1993 to accompany the BBC television series bearing the same title, the celebrity chef self-consciously admits:

> I realise that mentioning a product on television or in a book can create a problem because things then sell out very quickly. But it is only when we build up a demand that suppliers will respond – then absolutely everyone can get whatever it is instead of just the privileged few" (Smith 1993: 194).

The style of Delia Smith's food-talk is straightforward. Her speech delivery is calm, relaxed and fluent. In her TV shows, she speaks in a soothing and reassuring manner, drawing on a rather formal register, but not an excessively ceremonial one. Her use of passive and imperative forms responds to the requirements of cookery instructional style, especially that of cookbooks' written form, that Delia Smith seems to mime in her oral delivery. These features, together with her abundant use of ordinary adjectives like "lovely", "beautiful" and adverbs like "gently", "lightly" or "kindly" that make her style perfectly smooth, denote that her narration is not at all improvised or spontaneous, but that she tries to render it more colloquial through familiar and daily use expressions.

[27] See: (November 1998) Delia's Flour Power. *BBC News.* Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/221711.stm (Last Accessed, April 20, 2022).

2.6.3 Travelogues: authentic and exotic

Philosopher Lisa Heldke explores what could be described as an underlying tension in recent culinary history between the quest for novelty and the pursuit of authenticity that seems inherent to much of the western culinary discourse (2003: 24). When it comes to food, the virtues and values of the tradition are undisputed. In many cultures of the world for example, people eat the same kinds of food for generations, coming to define themselves in terms of their relationship with those traditional, perceived as culturally defining dishes (Heldke 2003: 9). People in some cultures, like the Italians for example, place so much value on the traditional preparation of their food that their members tend to reject any attempt to find new ways of preparing that same food (Rossato 2015: 282). Such aversion towards new food preparation techniques and ingredients may at times have social and political implications as, for example, when a colonizing culture rejects the food of the colonized people or vice-versa, when colonized people refuse to eat the food of the colonizers (Heldke 2003: 10). Yet, the quest for novelty and the appetite for exotic food is also a strong driving force for innovation and renewal in the culinary sphere. Heldke makes it clear that, because of the mobility of people and agricultural produce, gastronomy has always been a fluid space, developing through criss-crossing (Heldke 2003: 32). Mixing and combining ingredients and techniques of different origin has always been the most natural way culinary traditions all over the world have developed. Heldke does not believe that one can sort out what is truly authentic in terms either of what is native, replicable or different; and what is *not* authentic, especially in the global-world kitchen we are immersed today. She criticizes the very concept of authentic cuisine, arguing that the modern obsession for authenticity and tradition may block innovation and borders on destroying culinary culture. Indeed, gastronomy is nurtured by contamination, integration, assimilation, adaptation and translation processes (Heldke 2003: 24).

There is a long-standing tradition of Anglophone food writers and chefs who relied on foreign cuisine from other parts of the globe to inject new life into their domestic dishes. Elizabeth David resorted to Mediterranean food, while Julia Child wrote about French cuisine, which was also a major source of inspiration to Fanny Cradock' theatre and television cookery shows. These are only a handful of the most well-known examples of the Anglo-American fascination with other culinary influences. This trend was also apparent on BBC's cookery TV programming.

After the success of *Delia Smith's Cookery Course*, that focused on traditional British cooking, which was guaranteed the 7pm slot on BBC, British television needed an innovative twist as well as a follow up. It was decided to invest on Indian cookery. Former actress American-Indian Madhur Jaffrey, an accidental cook of Indian heritage seemed to be the right person. With her *Madhur Jaffrey's Indian Cookery*, which premiered in the UK in 1982 on BBC TWO, she paved the way to a varied group of BBC chefs of foreign heritage, including Antonio Carluccio, Gennaro Contaldo and Giorgio Locatelli, of Italian origin.

One of the most intriguing cases of TV cooking, where the fascination of the "exotic other" (Heldke 2003) is clearly observable, and where the mediation and 'translation' of alien food culture always takes place, is the cookery show sub-genre termed travelogue cooking show, which combines culinary and travelling experiences (Rossato 2015; Rossato 2020). It first became popular on UK TV in the 1980s through celebrity chef Keith Floyd who is appropriately regarded as one of the pioneers of food TV, as he gave television cooking a more adventurous twist, taking it out of television studios in search of authentic experiences.

An interesting example of British travelogue series is Jamie's *Great Italian Escape,* a six part travelogue series, first broadcast in the UK in October 2005 by Channel 4. The series follows superstar chef Jamie Oliver as he travels around Italy in a blue Volkswagen van in search of authentic Italian cuisine. The portrait of Italy that emerges from the cookery series is fairly stereotyped and that also serves the purpose of appealing to large audiences worldwide, once the programme is launched on the international TV market (Rossato 2015: 280). Additionally, the cookery programme cannot be said to be representative of the whole of the Italian culinary tradition, as all six episodes are based in the southern regions of Italy and even there they are mainly representative of rural peripheries: a street market, a farmhouse, a monastery, a country cottage, etc. Jamie's attempt to discover real, authentic Italian cuisine is biased and influenced by his interpretation of what he perceives as being authentic Italian. In the first episode of *Jamie's Great Italian Escape* for example, after a 36-hour drive through Europe, Jamie catches a ferry to Sicily. Palermo is the first stop of his adventurous culinary journey, and Jamie explains a few basic concepts about Sicilian food traditions. His approach is didactic, full of passion and excitement, both for the food and for the country: "Sicilian food is probably the most multicultural of the whole of Italy, because the spice trade from Africa used to come via Sicily. They have couscous here,

which is totally Moroccan" he says, and later: "Palermo, the capital, to me is famous for two things: fantastic street food and the mafia". Jamie's introduction attempts to look at the authentic side of Sicily, finding out what lies beneath the surface of a stereotyped pictured offered by guidebooks and foreign travellers, but some of the series multimodal aspects end up reinforcing some of these stereotypes. Once Jamie lands in Palermo, the semiotic features of the episode convey both visually and acoustically the chaotic anarchy of the city's streets. Bird's eye views of traffic jams and close-ups of local people's faces are presented in hectic sequences, so as to convey the impression of strangeness and insecurity someone foreign may experience in the city. Jamie adds that he really feels like an alien there, which in turn reinforces the idea that he is an outsider, immersed in the real, authentic Italian context.

Another interesting travelogue series dealing with Italian cuisine and where the binomial opposition of the "exotic versus authentic" culinary tradition also clearly emerges is BBC TWO's television series *Two Greedy Italians* (2011-2012, UK, BBC TWO), hosted by Antonio Carluccio and Gennario Contaldo, two Italian chefs who live in the UK and are well-known TV personalities there. The series follows them as they travel and cook their way around Italy to find out how society and food have evolved since they left the country. This is an interesting case in point in terms of the binary opposition between authentic and exotic because the two chefs live and work in between two culinary cultures. On the one hand they are UK-based restaurant owners and famous TV personas, on the other hand they are authentic Italians because of their origin. They concurrently embody the observing outsider, and the observed insider who has access to the authentic culinary traditions and food secrets. Their strong Italian accent, and their sometimes inaccurate spoken English, far from being a stigma of their outsider status, seems to be the ultimate evidence of their authenticity as experts of the Italian culinary tradition (Rossato 2020: 54).

And last but not least, I need to mention a very original television product of early Italian TV. As mentioned above, one of the earliest travelogue series ever filmed could be Mario Soldati's *Journey in Search of Genuine Food in the Po Valley* (1957, Italy, RAI). Although traveling along Italy's longest river, from the source of the river on the Alps to the mouth at the Adriatic Sea might not seem exotic today, the Italian travel documentary on the food traditions of the Po Valley hosted by novelist and film director Mario Soldati has recently been compared to Anthony Bourdain's CNN travelogue show *Parts Unknown* (Bondavalli 2020: 3). Soldati guided viewers through a

televised exploration of the country, while entertaining and also educating his audiences.

> The Po valley in 1957 may not sound exotic now, but it might have been unknown to many Italian viewers of the time. And some of the same dynamics that took the CNN host to a fish shack in southeast Asia, or a taco truck in east LA, are visible in Soldati's visit to an *osteria* or an eel festival on the banks of the Po river. Displaying a swagger not unlike Bourdain's, Soldati takes on the role of tour guide, teacher, guest, and host. He confidently shares with the audience his knowledge of Italian cuisine, but he also feigns ignorance as a way to encourage his interviewees to describe their activity to the viewers. He states his likes and dislikes explicitly, and frequently credits RAI for the privilege of travel (Bondavalli 2020: 3).

Chapter III

Fifty Years of British Televised Cookery: a Case Study

3.1 Fifty years of British televised cookery: A multimodal approach

To present a relevant and coherent multimodal analysis of televised cookery shows over the last few decades, this chapter will provide a case study of British TV cooking shows between the 1960s and 2010s. This period encompasses both the era of black-and-white broadcasting and the subsequent colour one, spanning the time of exclusively national television broadcasting and the beginning of the age of satellite and cable TV. The investigation uses a multimodal discourse analysis approach, and shall concentrate on a selection of British cookery shows that were deemed comparable for several reasons that will be described below in more detail. Eight television series were selected that are fairly similar in terms of the food television sub-genre; they namely belong to the genre of classic cookery demonstration, they are all filmed indoors, either in a studio kitchen or at the chef's home kitchen, and they are presented by the chef who is also the host of the series and the sole person to appear on screen. The chefs that were selected were Fanny Cradock, Delia Smith, Jamie Oliver and Nigella Lawson; all of whom are British, of English origin and with British English as their native language.

Not only have Fanny Cradock, Delia Smith, Jamie Oliver and Nigella alike published books based on the TV series which have made them famous, but their popularity and reputation are such that they are often referred to by their first names[1]: Delia, Nigella and Jamie are institutions in the UK, and Fanny Cradock is referred to as the "first lady of food". And last but not least, Jamie Oliver and Nigella Lawson have had quite a few of their cookery books translated into Italian, thus proving a strong connection, at least of commercial nature, to this country: *Jamie Oliver's Jamie's Italy* (2005) was published in Italian by TEA under the title *Il Mio Giro d'Italia* in October 2007, and Nigella Lawson's probably most controversial and

[1] "[Nigella] has also gained an iconic status in the UK, becoming known simply by her first name like the UK's Delia (Smith) and the US's Martha (Stewart)", (Hollows, 2003: 179).

popular cookery book *How to be a domestic Goddess: Baking and the Art of Comfort Cooking* (2000)[2] appeared in Italy in September 2009 under the title: *Delizie Divine: (Come diventare una dea in cucina)*, published by Luxury books.

3.1.1 The corpus

For the purpose of present study, two main themes were selected and examined in order to investigate how the chefs developed them in their series. As the present study focuses on the evolution of cookery programmes, the opposition between tradition and innovation in British cuisine seemed a very productive line of enquiry. This opposition could be well represented by the binomial couple "British Tradition" as opposed to exotic "Italian inspiration". The former was best represented in Christmas-related series, whereas the latter (Italian recipes or Italian influences) were found in general themed series.

Selecting the chefs and the themes to be studied, was only the first challenge. The next problem encountered was finding the audiovisual material or supports that were available for the purpose of analysis. Delia Smith's six-episode Christmas series (1990) was only available in VHS format, and Lawson's *Nigella's Christmas Kitchen* three episodes series (2006) was available on DVD, but unfortunately there were no Jamie Oliver's Christmas series as such. Although he had presented a number of single-episode Christmas specials, namely *Christmas comes early* (1999), *Christmas in New York* (2000), *Christmas Party* (2001), *Jamie at Home Christmas special* (2007), *Jamie Cooks Christmas* (2008), none of them had been released on DVD at the time the study was conducted.

Jamie's Christmas, a DVD, first released in UK in November 2005, is an essential cookery guide to "stress-free Christmas", especially designed for DVD distribution, and has nothing to do with the TV specials. Analogous attempts to find Jamie's TV Christmas specials on the international online markets (German: Amazon.de, Australian: ABC Shop) as well as

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[2] The publication of *How to be a Domestic Goddess* (…) in the UK served to highlight the distance between feminism and cooking, at least within the 'popular'. The book provoked a huge debate in the press about the relationship between feminism, femininity and baking, with Nigella being variously positioned as the pre-feminist housewife, as anti-feminist Stepford wife, as the saviour of the downshifting middle-class career women and as both the negative and positive product of post-feminism." (Hollows, 2003: 180).

on the YouTube search engine and similar tools proved unsuccessful. In consideration of the fact that this DVD was compatible to the other two chefs' TV series, both in terms of content and in terms of length (two and a half hours' cooking), and taking into account that the recipes included in the DVD were British traditional Christmas recipes, and that the material was presented as a sort of pre-Christmas marathon through subsequent cooking steps, it was decided that this material could be used, although it did not perfectly fulfil to all comparability and compatibility criteria, provided that this aspect was taken into account for discussion and interpretation of data.

As for the other component of the small corpus of audiovisual cookery series, namely the general-themed series, the ones that seemed most uniformly comparable and available either on DVD or VHS were *Delia Smith's Summer Collection,* televised in 1993; and *Nigella Bites* series two, broadcast for the first time in 2001; which were both available on DVD. These series were much more recent than the ones that had been taken into consideration initially and that partially reoriented the design of the research, without betraying its overall objectives. Fanny Cradock's *Fanny Cradock Cooks for Christmas* series of the 1975 (five episodes), and Fanny Cradock's *Adventurous cooking* (1966) were retrieved from YouTube, and thus inserted in the research corpus.

3.1.2 Analysis toolkit and parameters

Mainly qualitative methods have been adopted for the analysis carried out in the present study. The investigation of the materials was carried out manually, through a multi-layered contrastive examination of the selected series and a more in-depth multimodal analysis of a few relevant episodes. A hybrid model of analysis, borrowing parameters from a number of different disciplines and their methodological approaches, was developed and applied to the audiovisual materials. The disciplines that largely contributed to the design of our *ad hoc* investigation are Media and Television Studies (Fiske and Hartley 1978; Lacey 2000, Napoli 2010), Multimodal Discourse Analysis, in particular (Kress and van Leuven 1996; 2001, 2010), the Sociology of food, particularly associated with Warde (1997), Audiovisual Translation (Chaume 2004; Chiaro 2007; Chiaro, Heiss and Bucaria 2008), and Food Studies (Heldke 2003; Floyd and Forster 2003) at the intersection with Linguistics and Translation Studies (Chiaro 2007; Chiaro 2008; Gerhardt, Frobenius and Ley 2013; Chiaro 2013; Chiaro and Rossato 2015).

The investigation was carried out in three phases: The first stage was aimed at mapping key elements of the overall structure of the TV cookery series, the second stage dealt with some binary oppositions and dichotomies ruling the narrative development. A genre profile was traced using Lacey's method (2000: 206) to identify character types, setting, iconography, narrative and style, and also drawing on the revisions suggested by Neale (2008) and Mittell (2004a). The third stage of the analysis dealt with a contrastive mapping of salient multimodal features of the series in a diachronic perspective.

3.1.3 The analysis

The first level of the analysis consisted in positioning the series within a British TV timeline and within the programming of a single year. The number of episodes within the series, the duration of the episodes, the overall structure, and the production of accompanying materials were identified for each series. This phase of the analysis in summarized in Table 1. below.

The next step considered the series from a narrative perspective, describing the overall rationale and philosophy of the programme, the selection of recipes, the setting of the series, the iconography of the programme and the characters, the narrative patterns, and the filming style. These features were summarized and grouped according to the series and the hosting chef. These aspects will be discussed in the paragraphs 3.2 and 3.3 below. The third step was dedicated to a more in depth analysis of a selection of scenes within relevant episodes (typically the first episode of each series was considered) from each TV series. I have focused on the semantic-stylistic features of the selected episodes and have taken into consideration visual as well as verbal and aural aspects and their connections and interrelations with particular attention to specific patterns that revolved around the thematic concepts of labour and leisure, tradition and innovation, and of Britishness and Italianness.

Table 3.1 The six series at a glance: overview of the corpus salient features

The six series at a glance (in chronological order)								
Host	**Fanny Cradock**	**Fanny Cradock**	**Delia Smith**	**Delia Smith**	**Jamie Oliver**	**Nigella Lawson**	**Jamie Oliver**	**Nigella Lawson**
Series title	Adventurous Cooking	Fanny Cradock cooks for Christmas	Delia Smith's Christmas	Summer Collection	The Naked Chef	Nigella Bites 2	Jamie's Christmas	Christmas Kitchen

Host	**Fanny Cradock**	**Fanny Cradock**	**Delia Smith**	**Delia Smith**	**Jamie Oliver**	**Nigella Lawson**	**Jamie Oliver**	**Nigella Lawson**
Broad-casting year	1966	1975	1990	1993	1999	2001	2005	2008
Features	Black & White	Colour	Colour	Colour	Colour	Colour	Colour	Colour
Aired on	BBC	BBC	BBC	BBC	BBC TWO	Channel 4	/////////	BBC TWO
Nr. Eds.	7 eds.	5 eds.	6 eds.	10 eds.	6 eds.	10 eds.	1 eds.	3 eds.
Min.	210 min	75 min	175 min	291 min	202 min	104 min + 54 min extras	137 min	87 min
Asso-ciated material	Booklet	Cookery book	Cookery Book and VHS	Cookery Book and VHS	Book and DVD	Book and DVD	Recipe cards	Book and DVD
Website	//////	///////	All recipes on website	All recipes on website	Some recipes on website	All recipes listed on website	Recipes webcast on website	All recipes listed on website

During the second stage of this investigation, cookery shows have been segmented into smaller units, and analysed for both recurrent patterns and specific elements that could be linked to the concepts of either traditional British or "exotic" foreign cuisine.

Elements used by Lacey to distinguish between TV genres, namely "setting", "characters", "narrative", "style" and "iconography"; have been included in our model of analysis, but, as we shall see in the following paragraphs, they have been adapted and further specified as suggested by Neale (2008: 5) and have been included in a wider discursive perspective as suggested by Mittell (2004). According to Neale, theoretical approaches to television genres often derive their models from literature and film studies and have often proved inadequate to work with, given the medium's specific genres, with their lack of clear-cut narratives or fictional bases. As illustrated by the table below, it is impossible to strictly apply Lacey's genre model to modern cookery shows, especially if one tries to include cookery show sub-genres in the picture.

Table 3.2 Adaptation of Lacey's television genre categories (2000)

Lacey's categories	Application of Lacey's categories to the Quiz Show as in (Lacey, 2000)	Cooking Show
Setting	Television studio	a) Studio kitchen; b) Real kitchen; c) on – location improvised kitchen
Characters	Studio audience, 'ordinary' people for contestants and avuncular host	a) A presenter who is also the chef (the contestant); b) other chefs; c) other participants
Narrative	The questions or task must be overcome to win the prizes	The task is to prepare food. The chef, that most often is also the presenter, has to overcome the task of cooking what S/he as a presenter had announced at the beginning of the programme. Generally the prize is both in the pleasure of cooking, of accomplishing the task and sometimes of eating
Style	A high-tech glitzy set	a) Genuine and plain or b) sophisticated, c) hectic, humorous seeming improvised
Iconography	Basic live television including focus on host and segmented structure	Semi-scripted recorded episodes, seeming unscripted live episodes; preparation of food, focus on the host, segmented structure

The two groups of cookery series (four Christmas series and four general topic series) that were taken into consideration in the present case study are basically organized around similar patterns, but they also feature significant differences that will be analysed in detail in the next sections. In all of the series the television chef is both the presenter of the show and the cook. She or he is therefore in charge of the presentation of the programme, and concurrently, the preparation of food (in other food programmes, like *Ready Steady Cook*, for example, these roles are separate); in other words enacting both the television show performance and the cooking performance. The chef is also the conveyor of the discursive rationale of the series, the only narrator, the only character on screen and the protagonist of the programme. Hence the chef must entertain the television viewers as well as instruct them

about how to prepare a certain dish. Despite many overall similarities, the four Christmas series and the four general topic series also feature significant differences that will be analysed more in detail in the following sections. Drawing on some short excerpts from the cooks' monologues in the first episode of each individual series, we will first consider the contents of the series in terms of general topics and discursive features, and then focus specifically on the verbal features in connection to other multimodal aspects of the series: visual and aural features, hand-gestures and body language, prosodic features, like stress and rhythm; performative and other features. Specific attention will be devoted to the chefs' food-talk, trying to connect syntactical and lexical features to the series' visual and aural grammar, and interpreting them in the framework of the overall themes.

3.2 The Christmas series

In all of the series devoted to Christmas cuisine, the rationale and the peculiar angle offered by the programme on the festive season is made explicit in the very first part of the initial episode of each series.

Dressed-up in a pink, silk evening dress, talking from behind the work table of a very basic furnished in-studio kitchen displaying only two gas stoves and one table, Fanny Cradock announces that the objective of her Christmas cooking series is sharing her practical tips to "make life easier for the housewife" who has to cook for Christmas. She speaks like a general talking to her army, explicitly addressing middle-class women and housewives in particular, women who are assumed not to have a professional occupation outside the home. What follows is an extract from the opening monologue of the first episode of *Fanny Cradock's Cooks for Christmas* (1975, UK, BBC):

(1) Welcome to my little series on *Christmas know how*. When I've realized that for over twenty years I've been doing Christmas cookery on television, stage and in national newspapers, I thought that the one constructive thing that I could offer, was a series of items that I have made for Christmas and found out over the years the absolutely easiest and most delicious and successful ways of doing them. And that is what I'm trying to share with you in these five Christmas programmes, starting [she hits violently the turkey which sits in front of her] with Christmas' birds, and of course, we start with the most important of all, the turkey, which is, after all, the British national bird. That is my whole and main object in this programme. To share with you the ways

> that I have found that *make life easier for the housewife*. Because it's my considerable opinion that Christmas is just about *slave labour for the women*.[3]

Conversely, in the opening sequence of *Delia Smith's Christmas* series, the chef stands on the doorstep of her cottage house and presents the programme with mild and caring tones. She refers to the joys of family and friend reunions, but also mentions the religious tradition of Christmas and she is the only one out of the four chefs who does that. Delia Smith states that her objective is to open the kitchen doors of her house in Suffolk to share her own Christmas cooking and to pass on her advice on organisation, along with offering an easy to follow step-by-step plan for the last 36 hours of preparation, up to the Christmas dinner. Delia Smith also mentions the labour involved not only in the dinner preparation, but also in the pre-Christmas cooking, which, according to tradition, should start many weeks ahead of Christmas Day. In her opening monologue she does not address specifically women but a gender neutral audience with: "someone"

> (2) Christmas is said to be only the second most important Christian festival in the Calendar, with Easter being the first. But surely, in terms of eating and drinking, it must be the most celebrated feast of all in the western world. Even if you don't have any religious conviction, you must recognize that there is something deeply special about wine and food being shared by family and friends. That is the good news. The *not so good news is that someone has got to prepare for all that feasting.*

Jamie Oliver's DVD series is presented as a guide for novices who want to cook for Christmas dinner and host a family reunion: instructional, simple, solution-driven and down to earth. In the opening sequence of *Jamie's Christmas*, Jamie Oliver sits casually in the kitchen of his cottage house, next to a decorated Christmas tree. The table is already laid. Candles are lit and twinkling lights, decorations and Christmas cards hanging behind him create a modest, homely, Christmas atmosphere. He introduces his Christmas series by framing it as a response to the letters and e-mails he normally receives just after Christmas, telling him how everything went wrong. In his typical style, Jamie Oliver addresses the audience directly and informally. He has clearly a different audience in mind than the previously

[3] Emphasis added in italics in this and all the following excerpts is my own.

mentioned examples, Jamie namely addresses a younger and more relaxed type of audience that he greets with his customary "Hi guys":

(3) *Hi guys*, welcome to Jamie's Christmas. Over the last few years I've been absolutely inundated with letters and e-mails about some of the *horror stories* that happens to you guys every year when it comes up to Christmas, *loads of stress,* mothers-in-law coming around, you name it, *some awful things have been happening*. So what I thought I'd do is give you *all my top tips and recipes and a bit of love and support about what I do every year*, my top recipes, and you know what, they are not bad, they are pretty good. So happy Christmas and I hope you get some better presents than I did. Thank you Nan! (Jamie Oliver points at his Christmas jumper).

Apart from the use of very colloquial expressions like "loads of stress", "some awful things have been happening", "you name it", another distinctive feature of his talk is the constant use of humor, exaggerations and stereotypes like: "horror stories" and "mothers-in-law coming around" for example. His main communicative strategy seems to be aimed at emotionally connecting with his audience's needs.

Completely different is the rationale and atmosphere which emerge from the first episode of Nigella Lawson's Christmas series. Not only is the opening scene of her Christmas series set outdoors, it is also set abroad, at a Christmas market in Salzburg, a *Christkindlmarkt.* Surrounded by twinkling lights from the market and the sound of a bell from a nearby bell tower, Nigella Lawson appears in an elegant white coat and tight-fitting black dress as a stylish woman enjoying a vacation abroad. The style of her opening monologue is sophisticated and refined, and her lexical choices, cultural references and use of foreign words all contribute to create a classy tone. She seems more concerned with her personal Christmas philosophy and hedonistic lifestyle, than with her audience's Christmas cooking needs. The cookery programme seems to intend to inspire viewers to go beyond the practical demands of Christmas food preparation, to "relish tradition" and "play with" tradition too (italics my own):

(4) There is something for the so-boringly cynical about Christmas. But I just love it. Every last twinkling light. I'm drinking in Christmasiness. I mean, there is the market there, and my *Gluhwein* here, my mulled wine here. And there is something about it, it has the *trifecta* of aromas that it's Christmas: the fruits, the cinnamon, the cloves. And I suppose

> it's this that runs through all my Christmas cooking. Well, if I think really, when I make my Christmas cake, I get the scent of this, and my spiced aromatic ham, as I pour the Christmas colour glaze all over it, that is Christmas, and that is inspired by the mulled wine really. This is what it's all about, not just the smell, but about *relishing tradition but feeling that you can play with it too*.

In the following scene Nigella goes back home, a luxurious flat in London. She describes what she likes about the Christmas atmosphere, the comfort of the home and the cosy smells of Christmas spices. She portrays herself as a woman who likes spending time outside her home, but needs to go back to her kitchen to recharge her batteries. This narrative is, of course, artifice, as most part of Nigella Lawson's professional life as a TV persona and celebrity chef, happens in the kitchen of her London home. Nigella plays with the idea that she can separate her personal life from he professional life, and this is also part of her narration. She portrays herself as a modern woman who relishes tradition but also rebels against it. Her prospective audience is not clearly identified in her opening monologue, and her show could easily address both female and male viewers, who may watch the series to be entertained by this stylish, and sexy woman rather than to learn how to cook for Christmas:

> (5) *You know, as much as I loved that*, and I really did, this for me is where Christmas really begins. It's being at home and filling the house with the smells of Christmas, all those gorgeous spices and everything that does *make you feel cosy and makes your heart lift* and obviously *for me that has to be in the kitchen*. And I'm inspired a bit by the delicious *gluhwein*, but I'm also going to deviate. I'm going to mull some cider.

In these opening scenes three out of four chefs name either the amount of work, or of stress, which are involved in Christmas cooking. Fanny Cradock does it in dramatic tones ("slave labour"), Jamie Oliver in humorous tones ("horror stories" of mothers-in-law coming around) while Delia Smith expresses it rather delicately ("the not-so-good news"). Lawson is the only one who brings a playful dimension to her show. Viewers' attention in the first three series is directed to the cooking whereas Lawson's series is undeniably more pleasure-oriented. From these very first words of introduction one could also infer that the target audiences that these celebrity chefs are addressing, might be very different. Fanny Cradock openly addresses a female viewer, she speaks to the "enslaved" housewife, overwhelmed with

the stress of Christmas cookery. Delia Smith may have a wider prospective audience in mind, she does not explicitly refer to a male or female viewer, although according to cultural norms the "someone who has got to prepare for all that feasting" is most likely to be a woman. Delia Smith speaks to both religious and non-religious people, but the spectator is clearly implied to be somebody who celebrates with their family and friends. Jamie Oliver presents himself as the rescuer of the inexperienced cook, either male or female. The implied viewer is tech-savvy enough to write an e-mail, to accept being addressed as one of the "guys" and to have a disagreeable mother-in-law, who comes around at Christmas lunch. Nigella's model viewer is a little bit more difficult to discern, because she never addresses them directly. She is focused narrating her own very personal experiences of the Christmas pleasures, which is clear also from the opening sequence. Her ideal viewer could be middle or upper-class or may simply aspire to enjoy Nigella's luxurious lifestyle, be well-educated enough to make sense of her cultural references and words like "trifecta", but also playful and modern enough to be willing to "relish tradition and play with it too".

3.2.1 The space: visual features

Each Christmas series is filmed either partially or totally in an indoor kitchen. Fanny Cradock cooks in a studio-kitchen, Jamie Oliver's kitchen is not in his usual flat in London but in a country cottage, perhaps a family house; while Delia Smith and Nigella Lawson are in their own homes. Delia and Nigella's programmes also display some outdoor and shopping sequences, taking place during the Christmas holiday season; while Jamie Oliver and Fanny Cradock are confined to the kitchen and very focused on cookery.

As for the Christmas atmosphere, Christmas decorations are present in all of the series: Fanny Cradock and Jamie Oliver have a Christmas tree on stage, and Delia Smith's setting is decorated with a few Christmas cards hanging in the kitchen and a Christmas wreath on the front door. Nigella Lawson is surrounded by a triumph of glittering lights and candles as a symbol of Christmas, a connection which is also reinforced by her narrative as can be seen from following excerpt:

(6) Christmas is a way of *lighting a fire* in the middle of the darkness of winter. So it is a way of celebrating "winteriness" rather than fighting against it. And for me I would take any day an alpine scene over a Caribbean beach. I adore winter.

Table 3.3 Snapshots of the opening scene of the first episode of the 4 Christmas series

Fanny Cradock cooks for Christmas (BBC, UK, 1975) ep. 1	Delia Smith's Christmas (BBC, UK, 1990) ep. 1
Jamie's Christmas (DVD, UK, 2005) ep. 1	Christmas Kitchen (BBC, UK, 2008) ep.1

These extracts from the opening sequences of the series capture the spirit of each programme. Delia Smith, on the doorstep of her quintessentially British cottage, evokes the nostalgia of Christmas time in the village for viewers, whereas the glittering opening scene of the Austrian Christmas market in Lawson's show welcomes the spectators to a glamorous and modern lifestyle programme, where they can imagine they inhabit a world of luxury and travel with their chic and indulgent friend Nigella. Jamie Oliver's domestic setting, together with his casual and familiar hand-gestures, suggest that the programme will have a down to earth, hands-on approach, while his kitsch Christmas jumper suggests his unpretentious nature and his self-deprecation. All of these signifiers promise a relaxed, stress-free Christmas cooking experience and a fun yet cosy Christmas dinner party with the family. Fanny Cradock's apparently plain studio-kitchen could be misinterpreted as deliberately austere, should we not consider the norms of set design when her programme was broadcast, namely 15 years before Delia Smith's and 33 years before Nigella's Christmas series. The glamour of her pink dress, and her eye-catching make-up carry connotations of the sophistication, appropriate to her flamboyant French-style cuisine.

In terms of Lacey's (2000) category of "characters", Fanny Cradock is mostly alone on screen, although she is helped by an assistant to whom she barks orders. Delia Smith is almost always alone on the screen during the whole series. There are occasionally local shop assistants that she interviews, asking them for advice on how to preserve ingredients; and a wine connoisseur, whom she asks for advice on wines and cocktails for Christmas parties. Jamie Oliver and Nigella Lawson are generous in sharing moments of their family life and family gatherings with their audience. Nigella's children and husband and friends are often visible in the background and participate in the narrative pattern of the series helping to convey naturalism of cooking in the family home.

3.2.2 The sound: aural features

One aspect that has changed a lot over the decades in cookery series is the role of music. In Fanny Cradock's series, music was practically absent. The initial theme was the only piece of music present in the series. There was no music during the episode. In Delia Smith's series, music just accompanies static sequences, such as when the final dish is presented. Jamie Oliver's Christmas series uses limited music, but in his other series music plays a very important role. However, in Nigella Lawson's *Christmas* and in her other series as well, it is all about music. Music has a diegetic function in her Christmas series, providing pace and setting the tone. The theme music is cheerful, lively and jazzy and suggests enjoyment and sophistication. Music acts to reinforce the "posh" setting. Throughout the series, we hear classy dinner party music played on the piano with echos of laughter in the background during party scenes. In Fanny Cradock and Delia Smith's Christmas series there is no background music and the only sounds that are to be heard are those of the simmering pots and the slicing and dicing of knives.

In Cradock and Smith's series, the passing by of time and the approaching of Christmas is symbolically represented by the gradual increase of Christmas decorations in the setting. Conversely, Jamie Oliver and Nigella Lawson's kitchens are already fully decorated when the programme begins, and the narrative crescendo is conveyed through different semiotic modes. The passing by of time is built through an actual count down before Christmas in Jamie Oliver's series, which is structured into sequences, where captions announce the time schedule and the recipe he is going to prepare. This feature, however, could depend on the fact that Jamie Oliver's Christmas series exclusively appeared on DVD.

Within Lawson's programme, the time flow and the approaching of Christmas day are represented through music, which has a diegetic function. When the programme begins, music serves as a sort of off-screen commentary. During the sequence at the market an almost unrecognisably jazzy version of "Jingle Bells" is played on piano. In the following sequence, when the camera pans to the external views of London at night, the music loses its Christmassy theme and becomes even more jazzy. Brass instruments accompanied by an orchestra play a piece of music which is reminiscent of the soundtrack of a 1920s movie, set in America: very elegant and very sophisticated. When Nigella finally gets home and opens the door of her house, the music highlights the presentation of her as a Hollywood film star of the 1920s. The camera seems to wait for her inside the house and behind twinkling Christmas decorations, positioning the viewer as a spy or voyeur, inspiring envy and admiration.

Figure 3.1 Nigella Lawson in her *Christmas Kitchen* (BBC, UK, 2008). The chef comes back home after having spent some time at the Christmas market in Salzburg

During her series, Christmas carols are more and more recognizable, eventually reaching a climax of Christmassy-ness in the last episode of the three-part series, where piano instrumentals of *Jingle bells* and traditional carols are played. Party music accompanies every convivial moment within the series, but towards the end of the Christmas Dinner, there is an orchestral crescendo towards a moment of climax when the music stops, the lights go down and the flambé pudding is brought to the table and we hear a violin solo of "I wish you a merry Christmas". The choice of the soundtrack in Nigella Lawson's series is striking and distinctive compared to the other Christmas series.

3.2.3 Giving instructions: verbal features

Instructions and the indication of quantities are an essential part of traditional cookery programmes and the four chefs in this investigation have their own original style of providing them. Fanny Cradock, for example, tends to be very precise about quantities, temperatures and measurement units in general, although she often reminds her audience that detailed instructions and exact quantities are all "written in the booklet" accompanying the TV series. As for the measurement system, in all her programmes she uses the traditional Imperial unit, that is to say the weight and measure unit of the British Imperial System, which was also the official system in the UK until the adoption of the metric system in 1965:

"Confectioner's custard, if I can remember well, is four ounces of caster sugar, half a pint of milk, and the yolks of three eggs" she explains and at another time, instructs viewers to use "gas mark eight, for something around 12 minutes for the little one."

Delia Smith also provides exact indications of quantities for her ingredients, expressing them in ounces, tablespoons and pints, but she always adds a short comment "or the equivalent," when speaking for example of oven temperatures. Conversely, Jamie Oliver refers to the international measurement system, but he provides conversions into the traditional Imperial units: "I want a 150 ml, which is sort of quart of a pint really", but more often than not, he uses intuitive measures: "a handful of chestnuts," "It's like big lump, half as big lump, and half as big lump again." In keeping with the less instructional nature of her show, Nigella Lawson tends to give very few indications about quantities on TV, however, in her published books she provides a list of ingredients by using the international weight and measure system with the addition of tablespoon and teaspoon for spices and ground ingredients: "60 ml ruby port; 75g soft dark brown sugar; 300 g cranberries; 1 teaspoon ground cinnamon; 1 teaspoon ground cloves; 75 gr currants" (Lawson, 2008: 189).

Measuring systems and conversions can tell a lot about the perspective viewers of the programme: clearly a British national audience in the case of Fanny Craddock and Delia Smith, increasingly international in the other two cases. It should be pointed out that Jamie Oliver and Nigella Lawson were already well-known celebrity chefs outside the UK when the Christmas series under analysis were filmed and thanks to special-interest cable and satellite channels such as the The Food Network in America or RaiSat Gambero Rosso in Italy they had access to many more countries, at least English speaking ones, than their predecessors.

As for cooking instructions, Fanny Cradock provides them in martial tones, using imperative forms and modal verbs like "you must" occasionally interspersed with sensible pieces of advice or funny remarks, that she utters equally peremptorily. The sentences are extremely long and complex and the lexicon she uses is unexpectedly refined, like "erupts" or "rivulets" for example. Her register is very formal, even high-brow at times, as she uses puns and cultural and culinary references to French cuisine, which clashes violently with her rough manners, almost brutal hand gestures and severe facial expressions. In the first episode of the series *Fanny Cradock Cooks for Christmas* she concentrates on "bird cooking". After having violently "stabbed a goose all over" with a fork, she briefly comments "beastly job this" and then continues her preparation with compelling remarks:

(7) *You tip your hands* into thin honey and *you coat your goose* all over. Now what happens during cooking time is that the surplus fat *erupts* over all those little holes and starts running down in *rivulets*, crisping the skin, doing its own basting and you end up with a gorgeously crisp skin which is part of the eating pleasure, but the fat runs down into the baking tin below. Only one word of warning here, that is, I did that, I put this of course into the booklet like everything else, and all the different stuffings that you use for all the different birds, but *I must stress* that at half time of your cooking time *you must empty* your tin of its fat a bit, because if it gets over full, it can be dangerous.

Delia Smith delivers her instructions more gently and the accompanying gestures are also measured, her rhythm of speaking more relaxed and the sentences much shorter. She uses hedging and hardly ever employs imperatives or the modal verb must. Delia Smith prefers describing what she does while doing it. The lexicon she uses is refined, but never too formal and it covers many semantic fields, even pertaining to the religious sphere:

(8) We all know what we want out of a Christmas dinner, at its best it can be unimaginably joyous. At its worst it can be *tear inducing and fraught*. I love this meal. I like it far too much to risk anything going wrong. So I have devised my plan of action, and I use it year in, year out. I am not just enthusiastic about it, I am *evangelical*. My countdown begins at Christmas Eve. With a bucket, several litres of cold water and the turkey. A pad, a pen, a cup of tea, writing a list, of the things you have to do on Christmas Eve and Christmas day.

Jamie Oliver provides instructions as if he were a life coach for inexperienced, clumsy cooks. He presents a persona of being casual and

slightly chaotic, but very friendly; all of which creates an aura of authenticity and naturalness. He normally starts by providing examples from his own experience, using plenty of humorous asides: “this is genuinely my clutter in my kitchen”, listing “pestles and mortars, condiments”, and persuasive reasons to justify his advice : “I’m not saying chuck it out […] just get rid of it.” The lexicon is very informal and his tone is colloquial as can be seen in the italicised sections below:

(9) There are a couple of basic boring things that will make such a difference. Well, I’ve been in hundreds of people’s houses around the country, around the world, and if you look at people’s kitchens they are genuinely some of the most loved and used part of the house. But as soon as a kitchen becomes friendly and homely that means *clutter,* right? So This is slightly *messy*. Mine. But *this is genuinely my clutter in my kitchen*. And on the surfaces and everywhere we have got books and radios, spices all sorts of pestles and mortars, condiments. All of *this is just going to make cooking a real mess*. For you to get the best possible chance of getting the best possible dinner, let’s start with the clutter. *I’m not saying chuck it out* or throw it out or upset your Nan or whoever has given you *some nice little bits and trinkets,* for two of three days of Christmas, to give you a clear head let’s get all of this clutter, let’s put it under the stairs, in the garage, in the basement, just lose it, just get rid of it.” “What do we need?” These [roasting trays] are so cheap, *you can get them for three quid. Get yourself a couple of roasting trays*. See which one you can stretch to. If you can get the good ones, superb.

Nigella Lawson is less focused on her audience than she is on herself and her own experience. She tends to share her sensory impressions of food flavours and smells as she cooks, linking them to personal stories about her life and childhood, thus providing instructions in the form of vivid, self-centered descriptions of things she does and feels while cooking (see the repeated use of the first person singular pronoun “I” and possessive adjective “my”):

(10) It’s not just children who like rituals at Christmas. A lot of my rituals are traditions that *I* have inherited from my mother. In some sense *I*’ve implemented daughterly naughtiness and disobedience because my mother always had cranberry sauce out of a jar, but *for me* a Christmas ritual is making cranberry sauce. My mother always, always made her Brandy butter on Christmas Eve, and although *I* still adhere to the ritual, *I* deviate from tradition a little, another filial rebelliousness in that *I* use Rum instead of brandy.

She creates the image of the "bad girl", maybe a deliberate counterpoint to the good and dutiful housewife' style of TV cook embodied by Delia Smith. For the most part Nigella describes what she does, feels and thinks, yet when she does give instructions she seems to be well-aware of the recipe writing conventions. She started her career as a food-writer rather than a cook, after all. She uses long, complex sentences and also makes use of imperative sentences, but she tends to prefer the modal verbs "should" and "can" to other more compelling type of modal verbs:

(11) *Start off* with some vegetables mixed up in the processor, just a leek, a carrot, an onion and a stick of celery. And *should you have* any goose fat in the house, than *use* that to soften the vegetables in place of the oil. And then when the vegetables are softened, *add* the red lentils, these *lovely* little split ones, about 250 gr and *stir* so that they get absorbed into that soft tangle of vegetables. Then about a liter and a half of water, some vegetable stock, I mean *you can use* whatever sort of stock you want.

Nigella Lawson presents herself as busy absorbing every single moment of her cooking experience and conveys the food's and indeed her own sensuality through evocative language. Through this constructed text she has managed to create a distinctive persona. In order to express the pleasure she derives from cooking and eating, Nigella uses a seductive tone, more akin to that more usually found in the bedroom than the kitchen. She also uses plenty of evaluative language: descriptive adjectives, onomatopoeic verbs, alliterations and metaphors, cultural references ("biblical"). The addition of words like "lovely", "wonderful" and "glorious" work as a sort of filler, as well as intensifiers of her lush sensory-language. Moreover, the rhythm of her speech is unnaturally slow, she seems to indulge in pronouncing alliterations so that even the sound of every single uttered line reproduces the pleasure that she is feeling:

(12) *L*ook the *l*entils have cooked into this *glorious* kind of *yellow sludge* and these lentils are the *original, biblical mess of pottage*, so you know.

3.2.4 The filming: visual grammar

The camera work and editing provide interesting parameters of analysis for the four different cookery series. Fanny Craddock and Delia Smith's frontal position with respect to the camera and use of medium shots, as well as the positioning of the kitchen bench, between the chef and the camera, lock the focus on the cooking itself. The camera retains the position of the observer

who is allowed to follow the food preparation. The chef's hands and the activities of food preparation occupy a central position in the frame, with kitchen utensils at hand. Fanny Cradock is ever the teacher, absorbed in her demonstration of stuffing a turkey or dressing a goose, despite being dressed in an evening gown in a studio kitchen. It is clearly a performance and owes much to the earlier media forms of cooking demonstration.

Delia Smith, in the middle of her own kitchen, surrounded by kitchen utensils, is on the other hand, the prototype of a real cook in a real kitchen. She comes across as a friendly advisor, an expert who is ready to share her knowledge with her audience of novice cooks. As for Nigella Lawson, the focus of the camera is on her beautiful face; and neither her hands nor her stylish modern kitchen are clearly shown as the background is in soft focus. Close-ups and extreme close-ups let the audience feel they can virtually taste what is in the pans, almost smell the kitchen aromas and imagine having a conversation with their glamorous host. The focus of the sequence is on the chef and on the food, not on the practical activities or labour of cooking. As for Jamie Oliver's programme, the visual style of this particular series lies somewhere in between, and the process of cooking and the chef appear equally important.

Table 3.4 Snapshots from cooking instruction sequences of the Christmas cookery series

Fanny Cradock cooks for Christmas (BBC, UK, 1975) ep. 1	Delia Smith's Christmas (BBC, UK, 1990) ep. 1
Jamie's Christmas (DVD, UK, 2005) ep. 1	Christmas Kitchen (BBC, UK, 2008) ep.1

The series *Nigella's Christmas* could be described as "The pleasures of life at Nigella's house at Christmas time". Unusual camera angles behind twinkling lights and Christmas decorations put the viewer in the position of a voyeur, spying on Nigella's enviable family life. We are positioned to desire her food, her home, her life and perhaps even Nigella herself.

Figure 3.2 Nigella Lawson in her *Christmas Kitchen* (BBC, UK, 2008). The chef enjoys a Christmas party with friends and family

This trend is partly reinforced by Nigella directly addressing her viewers when she prepares food in an attempt to create a feeling of intimacy that is clearly constructed. She shares her personal views on cooking and life, she recounts her own Christmas cooking secrets and provides organising tips. Nigella talks about herself as if she were chatting with a friend or a family member, confiding in us trivial anecdotes about her life and tips on how to reuse leftovers. The camera allows viewers to follow her up and down her beautiful London home while she prepares to cook. She is filmed having a little chat while she puts a casserole on the gas stove or takes a jar out of the fridge, which creates such a feeling of intimacy it is as if in a moment or two Nigella might invite the audience for dinner; but then, this cannot happen, and the audience is left wanting:

(13) As far as I am concerned leftovers are just the best part of Christmas. I really don't know why everyone makes such a fuss [Nigella walks

down the stairs]. I love that reassuring feeling of having the house full of food ready to eat at the moment's notice [she tidies up a few things, hangs a bag behind the kitchen door]. And you know, far from dreading that recurring turkey, I live for it. I don't want to make huge production numbers every day. The whole point at this time of the year is that you don't need to. There is always something in the fridge. And this soup is really a standby of mine, it's a lentil and chestnut soup [she lights the gas] that I had the first time at the *Caprice* so many years ago and they have long stopped having it on the menu [she puts a pot on the cooker], but I still make it. […] The whole thing about the soup is that a soup is a sort of *relaxing food*. What I want is just *sit on the sofa, watching television* [she stirs the soup] with a mug of soup with a really fat stuffed turkey sandwich.

3.2.5 Tradition: Christmas pudding

Interestingly, in Nigella Lawson's Christmas series she does not prepare a Christmas pudding. She insists on priorities and Christmas pudding is not a priority for her. Her aim is to avoid stress and panic, so she can relinquish the home-made traditional pudding while she cannot miss a luscious Rum butter:

(14) Much as I *relish the chaos and commotion* of Christmas, I do think it is important, before everything kicks off to snatch *a quiet momen*t, so you can go over what you have done and what needs to be done. And I have come to the conclusion that in order to *stave off panic* you need to *prioritize*. So for me, I would so much rather buy a Christmas pudding and make my own Rum butter, and all you need to do is putting your pudding in a steamer or a saucepan and all that steam coming out is so welcoming that it doesn't matter that you haven't made it yourself.

Conversely, Jamie Oliver retrieves his grandmother's pudding recipe to relish tradition. Unlike Nigella, Jamie prefers to make his own Christmas pudding because, he argues, unless one can buy a very posh one, they are generally not very good. Jamie always has an eye for humour and an eye for budget. He seems to be well aware that his audience is not upper class and that his fans want to have fun when watching his series. The rhythm of his talk is relentless and his tone energetic, this probably adds to the idea that his recipes are also easy and quick to make. His register is always very informal:

(15) Right, Christmas pudding. *Massive, traditional,* English extravaganza. You set fire to it, *beautiful, we love all that*, apart from when it set fire to my Nan's hair, and she had [hair] spray on her and her hair went up in flames […] it wasn't particularly good at the time, but anyway most people buy Christmas pudding from the supermarket these days, and to be honest, unless you get the posh ones, *they are all right*, they are not really super special. My Nan, whose hair got burnt that particular day, when we set fire to it, makes a wicked Christmas pudding. And what I like about it, is that she has fiddled with it over the years with combinations of fruit, and also incorporating breadcrumbs, which lightens it a bit. Because personally, sometimes they are so dense, and dark and heavy, everyone is sort of like happy about the day and the occasion that they don't actually be honest and say it's like a brick, a fruity brick. So, I really like my Nan's recipe and I love it because it is quick and simple and *damn tasty*.

Naturally, Delia Smith not only prepares the traditional Christmas pudding with different types of glazes on top, but also a number of different cakes and desserts, some more traditional, some more unusual. Buying a Christmas pudding is not an option she considers. She suggests a recipe that she calls "How to cheat a Christmas Pudding" instead, because it is very easy and quick to make, and she recommends it even if one has forgotten to buy one. Delia Smith starts by showing how to make the most traditional Christmas pudding. She is very precise about all the preparation phases, she guides the inexpert cook step by step, gives precise quantities and ingredients, in a way that is not to be found in any of the other chefs' series, while a caption scrolls a list of ingredients:

(16) Here it is, the *great classic*, British Christmas pudding, which you *can't find anywhere else in the world*, full of wonderful good things. Because you can't over-stir Christmas pudding, I would think it is quite nice, if you rope in the whole family, from the youngest right up to the eldest, let them all come and have a stir and make a wish. *A nice little Christmas tradition*. Now, one thing you have to remember when you are making Christmas pudding, it's that it's very simple, but there are lots of good things in there, so I think the best thing to do is to start up by making a list and then tip them off as they all go in. I've made Christmas puddings, and then you know, found the almonds five minutes later than they have gone in the steamer, that's a disaster. So if you make a list, tick it off, you can't go wrong. What I'd like to do first of all is to go back and show you just what went into that mixture.

Most significantly, Fanny Cradock's episode dealing with Christmas pudding is entitled "Christmas puddings", in the plural form, because in addition to the traditional "Christmas pud" she also prepares a Christmas trifle. Fanny Cradock's interest in traditions is evident in this episode, although she playfully confesses that her recipes have been so successful, that even if she would like to try something different, she is not allowed to. She recovers a pudding mixture recipe by Escoffier, and suggests how to improvise a home-made mould to replicate old fashion round shape Christmas puddings and bossily announces:

(17) *I want you to revive the round Christmas pudding*. You know how gorgeously they used to look on Christmas cards, the old-fashioned ones, the great, big round, with a piece of holly in the middle? But of course in the days when we did it in this country, it was done in the old copper, but there isn't any copper, so I have done a sort of Robinson invention of mine, that anyone can copy. You take an ordinary sieve, it can be large, small or medium, whichever you like, and you simply bend the handle upwards, and in it goes. And then you stand it on something, on a tall enough base. And then you put an aluminium foil and some waxed paper inside that, and I said waxed paper, and I haven't got to contradict myself, which I hate doing. Now this mixture, of course like everything else is in the booklet. You will hear all about that at the end of the programme, but it is that gorgeous one that I found in the work of Escoffier some years ago, and you have all gone so mad about it, that I can never be allowed to produce any other recipe for Christmas pudding any more.

Like a lecturing school teacher, Fanny Cradock, continuously reminds her audience where to find the written detail of her recipes: "Now I repeat it in case I haven't made my point strongly enough. Everything that I have spoken, every single thing, is written down for you in the booklet."

3.3 The general topic series

The four general series cover a wider range of recipes than the Christmas series and more diverse influences. They present seasonal ingredients as well as exotic ones; and even when the dishes they present are traditional, the recipe might suggest giving an exotic twist to it through some special,

non-traditional ingredient such as particular spices. In general, these series are more "adventurous" than the Christmas ones. Fanny Cradock's (1966) series with the evocative title *Adventurous cooking* divided into seven thematic episodes: Vegetables, Fish, Cheese, Meat, Poultry, Economical dishes, Cakes and pudding 1, Cakes and pudding 2, Fruits, and the Art of garnishing. It is a black and white series and Fanny Cradock in contrast to the Christmas series, wears a simple outfit, yet she delivers her advice in a commanding tone.

Delia Smith's *Summer Collection* (1990) is a colourful six-episode series, that celebrates seasonal, local ingredients. Organised in a similar way to her Christmas series, each episode provides both interesting recipes and information about seasonal and local produce from parts of Britain, including visits to cottage industries and specialty shops. The opening sequence of the series features again an external view of her thatched roof cottage in Suffolk, but this time Delia is her garden, amongst the blossoms of the spring season. From her initial introductory discourse, we can tell that her focus is on the British tradition and British context. Delia seems aligned with tradition and nostalgia for the English village home. She presents her summer series with her usual opening refrain:

(18) "Hello and welcome to summer, or rather a series of programmes about one particular aspect of summer, and that's food. Here at my home in Suffolk, over the next few weeks, what I want to offer you is a whole collection of sunny summer recipes. So that even if *the good old British weather* isn't all it should be, we can still enjoy together the wonder and colour of summer produce, as each part of the season unfolds. Well, here we are in May, which is what I think obviously a prelude to summer. With the first wild salmon just in from the sea, the early rosy stalks of young rhubarb and to start with the first-of-the-season fresh asparagus, now *with that magic label attached to it - "English"*.

Jamie Oliver's first television series *The Naked Chef* (1999) is a breach in the tradition of televised cookery, both from a multimodal discourse point of view and from a purely linguistic point of view. The series are not organized according to the main ingredients (as are Cradock's or Smith's), but they are rather arranged thematically on "occasions to cook" like "Chef's night off", "Hen's night", "Baby sitting", "The band", "Birthday party", "Girlfriend",

"Christmas comes early". The focus shifts from the food to the chef and his life.

Visually, close ups, extreme close ups and details substitute the medium shots of previous programmes. The static, frontal camera angle of previous television cookery is replaced by a much more mobile camera using zooming in on particular details. From the point of view of editing, the programme very much resembles a videoclip, both in terms of the pop soundtrack and the hectic camera movements which alternate between being in focus and out of focus, and for the framing and texture of the pictures. As for Oliver's language, it is much more informal than that of his illustrious predecessors and perhaps reflects the fact that this chef is much younger than the typical television chefs. In an introductory trailer to the series Jamie Oliver answers an invisible interviewer:

(19) Naked is what I call my way of cooking. What I cook in the restaurant isn't what I cook at home. Cooking's gotta be a laugh. It's gotta be simple, it's gotta be tasty, it's gotta be fun. I suppose it is stripping down the recipe to its bare essentials. No way, it's not me – it's the food."

In Nigella Lawson' s *Nigella Bites* the chef is again the focus. Nigella is the chef, who tries her own food. As with her Christmas series, we see her continue to transgress the rules of the traditional cookery programme. Nigella mainly cooks for both the pleasure of cooking and of eating. The recipes are organized thematically, in the chef's subjective order: "Comfort food", "Suppertime", "TV dinners", "All-day breakfast", Slow-cook weekend", "Temple food", Trashy rainy days", "Legacy", "Party girl". From a semiotic point of view, her programme is as innovative as Jamie Oliver's, the background is often out of focus, close ups and extreme close ups are abundantly used, unusual camera angles provide an artistic effect. When presenting the series Nigella announces the rationale for her programme which comes down to her passion for food:

(20) Cooking for me lies in the pleasure of food, and I mean uncomplicated food. It all has to be simple, straightforward, suited to the way I really live, and that is what Nigella Bites is all about. This absolutely is the food I want to eat, the food I love to cook, any time, love to cook."

Table 3.5 Snapshots from the first episode of the general topic series

Fanny Cradock's Adventurous cooking (BBC, UK, 1966)	Delia Smith's Summer Collection (BBC, UK, 1993)
The Naked Chef (BBC, UK, 1999)	Nigella Bites 2 (Channel 4, UK, 2001)

3.3.1 Exotic food: Italian food

All of the British chefs previously discussed have approached Italian cuisine to a lesser or greater extent. Fanny Cradock was certainly more concerned with French cuisine than Italian, but in her series *Adventurous cooking* (BBC, UK, 1966), she also includes some Italian dishes. Delia Smith views Italian food, as well as Mexican, or Greek, as exotic food that she deems "holiday food." Nigella Lawson has a creative approach to Italian cuisine, where she interprets in her personal style Italian dishes as well as other cuisines. She will often draw on an Italian or Asian element to give a twist to a more traditional British recipe. Jamie Oliver is by far the most enthusiastic fan of Italian cookery. The names of the Italian recipes included in his series are normally in Italian, preceded by the label "Jamie Oliver's", that it is to say, that they are his own version of the Italian original, and therefore a re-interpretation of the authentic source. Delia Smith, Jamie Oliver and

Nigella Lawson make use of Italian ingredients that are available in the UK in delis or supermarkets. Fanny Cradock, working at a time where such ingredients may have been more difficult to source, interprets Italian recipes by substituting Italian ingredients with British ingredients. When Cradock introduces Italian recipes, she does not provide any cultural background for them, she simply mentions that they are Italian; she first provides their names in Italian and then translates them into English.

In her *Adventurous Cooking* Fanny Cradock's homage to Italy comprises: *Cozze gratinate* [grilled stuffed mussels], *Spaghetti alla Bolognese* and *Zuppa Inglese* [trifle]. Delia Smith uses *amaretti* biscuits and Italian wine in her cooking because, she says, it is cheaper than the same sort of wines from somewhere else. Prosciutto, parmesan cheese, and sun dried tomatoes also feature in her recipes. Delia is fascinated by the flavours of Italy and associates Italy with going on holiday:

(21) When I first started cooking and writing recipes I soon realised that continental holidays were going to be enormously important. Simply eating out in restaurants in various countries has given me a wealth of ideas over the years. What I've always equally enjoyed is delving around all the food shops and having a look at local wines and the areas where they are produced. I think we are so lucky to be part of a continent as diverse as Europe. No other continent has such a complete change of culture from one country to another as well as a totally different cuisine. You can live off bread and cheese in Europe and never get bored because both the breads and the cheeses will be totally different as you cross the borders.

The way Delia Smith talks about Italian food reminds us that just a few decades ago Italian food was still perceived as exotic. Delia refers to the wedge shape of the "real parmesan" as opposed to a non-authentic rectangular block of the Italian cheese. Ingredients that are now widely accessible were perhaps not so easy to find in the 1990s when the *Delia's Summer Collection* was filmed:

(22) With ingredients there is always something new to be discovered and used for the first time: *saucissons*, salami, cured meats, different types of rice and dried preserved wild mushrooms. I love the shape of *real parmesan*, I always think it looks so beautiful, and *tomatoes dried in the Calabrian sun* and steeped in the very best virgin olive oil. I have to confess that these luscious, preserved tomatoes are making an

appearance in quite a number of my recipes at the moment. Now thanks to the age of communication, all these things have grown enormously in popularity in this country, so *we are no longer forced to suffer the queues and delays of the airports* to sample them all we now need to do is select a recipe, make a shopping list, go to the local Greek, Italian or whatever delicatessen and prepare some lovely *holiday food, without travelling very far at all*.

What Nigella mostly likes about Italian food is probably the lifestyle that she attaches to it, and the fact that it is fairly uncomplicated to cook. Her lifestyle, the furniture in her house and her look are reminiscent of the Italian style of living. In the following excerpt she speaks of her privilege. She comes from wealthy stock and had the opportunity to be mingling with chic Milanese ladies at a young age. In describing this her cooking programme is also offering to middle class women the opportunity to vicariously experience her upper class, well travelled lifestyle and let them in on the entertaining practices of European elites:

(23) Along with this, I'll have another Italian inspired offering: Parmesan chunks. When I was young I went to Milan and I remember being really taken by those chic Milanese ladies. When they had parties, they would just cut up a huge parmesan into wide wedges and chunks and I thought, when I grow up, I'm gonna do that. So I do.

Nigella indulges in describing Italian ingredients and ways of cooking as if they were naturally part of the British staple:

(24) This is *my absolute favourite rice for risotto*, for me the ultimate *comfort food*. You know, it's not just that risotto is comfort food. I think that it's *comfort cooking*. And I know that a lot of people make a fuss about making risotto and worry about, when is it at the right stage? And all this. But I find mindless repetitive activities, this is what it is, just stirring, immensely *comforting*. Use shallots – don't worry you can use the white parts from spring onions if you can find them, and chop them as finely as you have got patience for.

For Jamie Oliver, the quintessential Italian experience is making bread, something that his mentor Gennaro Contaldo taught him. Italian food is certainly a source of inspiration for his cuisine, as he pointed out at the beginning of his first television series. Italy represents both the land of food experts and of good life. He uses humour and anecdotes to generate enthusiasm

for the labour of bread making. He also plays with stereotypes, in this case the stereotype of the Italian man talking about making love to a woman:

(25) When I went to learn to make bread, there was this Italian guy called Gennaro. He made fantastic bread, he told me off when I started mingling the dough, and it was quite funny ‘ cause he said: “no Jamie, don’t do like that. Making bread is very much like making love to a beautiful woman, you have to cherish it gently and be vigorous at the right point,” and this sort of stuff.

3.3.2 Prosodic features and food-talk style

Fanny Cradock’s rather stiff, martial style of instruction is expressed through her use of received pronunciation nonetheless delivered with a theatrical flair. On the other hand, Delia Smith’s delivery is calm, relaxed and fluent. Her style is formal, but not excessively ceremonial. Her use of passive and imperative forms mimics the instructional style of recipes found in the written form. These features, together with her abundant use of ordinary adjectives like “lovely”, “beautiful” and adverbs like “gently”, “lightly” or “kindly” give her presentations a polished, rehearsed feel. In contrast, Jamie Oliver’s delivery is rapid, colloquial and appears more improvisational than Fanny Cradock’s or Delia Smith’s. Oliver’s use of colloquial and slang expressions have become part of his trade mark delivery. A dish might have “a wicked flavour,” be “pukka” [excellent quality]; recipes are often “easy–peasy;” “dead-simple” or “dead-quick”and he frequently exclaims, “lovely jubbly”. Jamie Oliver’s simple explanations of technical aspects in cooking make his recipes accessible for novice cooks. His descriptions are lively, colourful and almost pictorial, he is always aiming for accessibility so even those who know little about cooking will be let into the culinary secrets:

(26) At this time of the year when it’s quite cold, a good tip for any hardy herb, it’s to wash it in warm water. Now if you imagine, like a pukka butter, when it’s really firm, that’s what the oils, which is the natural flavours and goodness in this, that’s what the oils are like now at his time of the year. The reason why it is important to have olive oil in there… [is that] if you just put dry herbs on anything, chicken, fish, you name it, it’s gonna taste of nothing. There will be no chance of meeting of flavours. By dressing the sage in oil, you will not believe the flavour! I mean crispy sage in oil and smoky bacon, and a good old *chipolata* is a great combo! And then visually… I mean look at that. That’s beautiful.

Nigella Lawson articulates her pronunciation as to underline every single word that she says. It seems like she gets pleasure even from pronouncing certain words, by fully articulating consonant and vowels by using all the little muscles in her mouth and face. Her monologues are eloquent, expressive and literary. Her comments are clearly carefully composed and her language is typical of a restaurant critic writing in a food magazine. Her language is not only pictorial, it is sensory; the importance of colours, sounds, textures and smells is fundamental to her enjoyment of food. Her way of describing both food and cooking processes is playful and metaphorical. Like Jamie Oliver, she makes use of personifications and hyperboles. Nigella's flair for creative writing is evident as she makes comments such as"I'm going to adorn my chocolate peanut butter cups with some jewellery, Christmas trinkets." Unlike Delia Smith's prosaic descriptions of the colours of ingredients, Lawson's are full palette portraits. She refers to "glorious golden colours", "smoked paprika [that] keeps everything bright and festive" and the adding of vinegar and spices becomes: "And now a little bit darker in tone, but magnificent in flavours, some cinnamon. Just to counter the sweetness and to intensify the redness, a little red wine vinegar." Food is frequently personified: "The ham can preside over my table" and even the most banal activity, like putting cloves into Clementine becomes a moment of drama as she instructs viewers to "impale [their] Clementine halves". Lawson's monologues are often centered on the first-person experience, as she describes what she is doing, her preferences, tastes and habits: "I do love mulled wine", "I love cold cuts, cold turkey, cold ham, I mean what's better?", "I'm trying to be a little bit artistic." These asides act to create a sense of intimacy with the viewer, as if spectators were privileged guests in her home or trusted friends.

Conclusions

In this volume, I have done little more than open the subject of the diachronic evolution of Food Television touching upon several issues pertaining to multimodal socio-cultural aspects within the the discourse of televised cookery, and in relation to British and Italian TV in general since the 1930s. Of course there is much more that could and should be said about TV cookery shows in terms of their circulation, adaptation and translation practices, as cultural and linguistic phenomena and as economic phenomena. However, for now, this book will have served its purpose if it inspires further studies of televised cookery by scholars in the fields of Linguistics, Multimodal Discourse Analysis, Cross-Cultural and Translation Studies as well as Television Studies. This topic benefits from a multidisciplinary approach that activates synergies between the spheres of Linguistics, Screen Translation, Food Studies and Media Studies to do justice to the complexity of the genre.

Although the book does not deal with the translation of cookery programmes specifically (because dealing with Food Television translation would constitute a specific project in its own right) translation issues and translation dynamics have been observed and discussed. This study has shown how Italian cookery television was particularly prone to absorb influences from foreign television programming of food shows. This was not because Italians have been particularly open-minded in terms of international food traditions, but because Italian broadcasters have a far less robust tradition of food television than their British counterparts. Italian channels are presently very interested in growing such offerings and are therefore eager to absorb more established foreign models. This trend finds its parallel in the polysystem theory (Even-Zohar [1978]; 1990), which describes the negotiation of a new equilibrium between the centre and the periphery of original and translated works in the target culture. The advent of specialty channels with round-the-clock programming schedules needing to be filled up created a demand for content that was not readily available in national television libraries. However, such content was easily accessible from abroad and could be quickly ready for transmission, through relatively inexpensive translation modes such as subtitling or voice-over. UK television has a long

history of celebrity chefs and successful food-related formats that could be imported. British celebrity chefs became immediately popular in Italy when they first became available through satellite channels at the dawn of the new millennium and through digital documentary and lifestyle channels during the following decades. Furthermore, the topic of cross-cultural exchange and cross-fertilization has been tackled from different angles and perspectives. Modern advances in information technology significantly influenced the relationship between the audience and television presenter, allowing and encouraging interactions that were not previously possible. Audiences are no longer addressed as a collective entity, but as a multitude of single viewers. Internet forums and social media, i.e. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, are major tools where viewers share their opinions on their favourite TV shows (Bucaria, forthcoming). Television chefs' dedicated websites, containing recipes and additional footage such as interviews with the chef, and TV on-demand services are all tools that customize the viewing experience and invite viewers to share their feedback on the shows. They are a complement to the television programmes and together with more traditional modes of promoting the TV show, such as book publication and book signings, have contributed to the rise of the superstar chef phenomenon.

While this volume had a defined and limited scope, it is my hope that it will encourage further examination of modern TV cookery programmes, not merely as a popular contemporary genre, but as authentic gateways of cross-cultural encounters which can influence the language we use, the food we choose to cook and eat and our attitudes towards the task of cooking.

It is fascinating to consider that changing social values attached to food may have been mirrored in and driven by television cookery over the past seventy years. This study has highlighted how the evolution of the discourse in cookery programmes on television has also been largely influenced by the technological innovations of the medium itself.

The case study in this volume highlighted that the language of cookery television has undergone significant transformations in the fifty years under scrutiny. What has remained constant is the necessity for individual chefs to have a distinctive and recognizable language and style. Performance, little idiosyncrasies and eccentricity have always been very important ingredients of TV cookery. From Fanny Cradock's militaristic persona to Nigella Lawson's evocative sensory language, presenter's personalities have played a major role to secure audience loyalty and thus enhance the programme's success. Enormous changes have occurred in the visual and aural modes of cookery programmes, progressively removing barriers between the viewer

and the television action. Over time, the viewer has been transformed from generic audience member to intimate and privileged participant in the cooking and enjoyment of the meal.

However, perhaps the most crucial ingredient of successful cooking shows over time, is the entertainment factor. It could be reasonably inferred that cookery programmes have followed the evolution of entertainment tastes in modern society. In cooking shows in the late 1960s and up to the early 1970s, this was conceived and expressed as humour, over the top dressing, exaggeration and political incorrectness, whereas in the late 1980s and early 1990s broadcasters favoured entertainment that drew on scenarios that were familiar, cosy and promoted cooking as an enjoyable or at least achievable task; or associated it with the pleasures of travels abroad. Humour and liveliness returned in the shows of the late 1990s, which also witnessed a significant shift in the target audience, from mainly women/housewives to a wider range of target audiences who may not even watch to learn how to cook but simply for entertainment. Representations of luxury lifestyles and sensory pleasures appear in series in the late 2000s, reality shows and competitive cookery shows have complemented the offer of food related television, particularly in the last decade, to cater for a growing demand for this kind of shows across different television genres.

The suggestions provided in this book will hopefully allow linguists, screen translation and television scholars to tackle what are considered to be unpretentious television products, but are in fact, as we have seen, complex, demanding, multifaceted “cultural gateways”.

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