

Universiteit Antwerpen
Faculteit Sociale Wetenschappen
Academiejaar 2018 - 2019

MASTERPROEF

**THE POWER OF TV COOKING SHOWS:
ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION AND OTHER PERSUASION STRATEGIES USED IN FLEMISH TV COOKING SHOWS**

Steffi Chan

S0173137

Master in de Communicatiewetenschappen – afstudeerrichting Strategische Communicatie

Promotor: Prof. Dr. C. De Backer

Medebeoordelaar: Prof. Dr. D. Antunes

Abstract

Previous studies have found that TV chefs tell stories, use self-deprecatory humor, address the viewer with 'you' and build intimacy with viewers by looking into the camera to create eye contact in order to persuade their viewers. Another persuasive strategy, entertainment-education (E-E), tells information as a narrative to further play on emotions because it makes it harder for the audience to disagree with the embedded persuasive message. These researchers mostly looked at the social and cultural functions of food programs from a linguistic perspective and not from a marketing perspective. Studies on E-E were mainly performed in the medical and health communication sector, but no studies of E-E on TV cooking shows were found. However, these results show that persuasion strategies are present, even if the researchers did not always define them as such. This thesis explores the question 'How do TV cooking show hosts persuade their audience in Flanders?' by performing an inductive qualitative analysis on two Flemish TV cooking shows. After transcribing 2x12 episodes and coding the content, the following results were found. TV chefs mainly educate and entertain viewers. They also use consistency and advertise products implicitly to persuade viewers. The present thesis supports previous findings and confirms that TV chefs have the power to influence viewers' knowledge, attitude and behavior.

Eerdere studies hebben aangetoond dat tv-koks verhalen vertellen, zelfspot gebruiken, de kijker aanspreken met 'jij' en intimiteit opbouwen met kijkers door in de camera te kijken om oogcontact te creëren om hun kijkers te overtuigen. Een andere overtuigende strategie, entertainment-educatie (E-E), vertelt informatie als een verhaal om verder op emoties in te spelen, omdat het de kijkers moeilijker maakt om het oneens te zijn met de ingebedde, overtuigende boodschap. Deze onderzoekers keken vooral naar de sociale en culturele functies van voedselprogramma's vanuit een taalkundig perspectief en niet vanuit een marketingperspectief. Studies over E-E werden voornamelijk uitgevoerd in de medische- en gezondheidscommunicatiesector, maar er werden geen studies van E-E op tv-kookprogramma's gevonden. Uit hun resultaten blijkt echter dat overtuigingsstrategieën aanwezig zijn, zelfs als onderzoekers deze niet altijd als zodanig hebben gedefinieerd. Deze thesis onderzoekt de vraag 'Hoe overtuigen presentatoren van tv-kookshows hun publiek in Vlaanderen?' door een inductieve kwalitatieve analyse uit te voeren op twee Vlaamse tv-kookshows. Na het transcriberen van 2x12 afleveringen en het coderen van de inhoud, werden de volgende resultaten gevonden. Tv-koks informeren en entertainen hun kijkers voornamelijk. Ze gebruiken ook consistentie en adverteren producten impliciet om kijkers te overtuigen. De huidige thesis ondersteunt eerdere bevindingen en bevestigt dat tv-koks de macht hebben om zowel kennis, houding en gedrag van kijkers te beïnvloeden.

Key words: Television cooking shows; Persuasion strategies; Food literacy; entertainment-education; TV chefs.

Word count: 10 571

Table of contents

ABSTRACT	3
INTRODUCTION	7
LITERATURE STUDY	11
HISTORY OF FOOD MEDIA	11
FOOD MEDIA CONTENT	12
POSSIBLE PERSUASION STRATEGIES IN FOOD MEDIA	12
METHOD	17
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	19
ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION.....	19
INFORMATION.....	19
Plan and manage.....	19
Select.....	19
Prepare.....	20
Eat.....	22
Self-efficacy and confidence.....	23
Ecologic.....	23
ENTERTAINMENT.....	25
Interaction.....	25
Parenthood.....	27
OTHER PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES	28
USE OF CONSISTENCY.....	28
Special episode.....	30
ADVERTISEMENT/PRODUCT PLACEMENT	31
LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH	32
CONCLUSION	33
REFERENCES	35

Introduction

During the past 30 years, the amount of food media has increased dramatically (Ketchum, 2005). Many thought it was a temporary hype, but celebrity chefs like Yotam Ottolenghi, who speaks in front of sell-out crowds, prove otherwise. During Ottolenghi's book tour, fans stood in line to get his signature and paid him their money and attention just to hear him talk. Out of all the concerts and events that Vooruit in Ghent organizes, Ottolenghi's reading was the fastest event in history to sell out (Vergeyle, 2019). This goes to show that he has a certain power over his audience. Celebrity chefs, who usually have a television (TV) cooking show, attain this power through creating an intimate relationship with the viewer (Collins, 2009). This master thesis aims to find out which persuasion strategies TV cooking show hosts use in order to influence audience's knowledge, attitude and behavior in Flanders.

Persuasion strategies use human communication that is intentionally designed to change a person's knowledge, attitude and decision-making, including food choices and dietary behavior (Simons, 1976; Verbeke, 2008). Importantly, persuasion only applies when a person voluntarily changes his or her attitude and/or behavior, rather than being influenced by force or misinformation to influence (IJsselsteijn, de Kort, Midden, Eggen, & van den Hoven, 2006).

Extensive research has looked at the use of persuasive strategies in classic television food advertisements targeted at children (e.g. Boyland, Harrold, Kirkham, & Halford, 2011; Hebden, King, & Kelly, 2011; Jenkin, Madhvani, Signal, & Bowers, 2013). The systematic review of Jenkin et al. (2013) found that food companies, retailers and advertising agencies mostly use premium offers (e.g., free gift), promotional characters (e.g., Spiderman), health and nutrition claims, appeals to taste or flavor and fun while promoting non-nutritious food and beverages to children. Another research article stated that the most frequently used primary persuasive appeal in food advertisements targeting teens or adults was taste, followed by health and nutrition claims and then the use of a premium or contest (Boyland et al., 2011). Although extensive research has been carried out on persuasive strategies in classic TV food advertisements, few studies have investigated persuasive strategies in other food related media such as TV cooking shows. Some researchers (Caraher, Lange, & Dixon, 2000; De Backer & Hudders, 2016; Pope, Latimer, & Wansink, 2015) have conducted studies on the influence of TV cooking shows on the audience and therefore had a number of findings on persuasive strategies. However, these results were never the main focus. De Backer and Hudders (2016) and Pope et al. (2015) state that cooking shows may not influence eating behavior that much, but do have a significant effect on people's cooking behavior, which indicates that persuasive strategies are probably present. Matwick and Matwick (2014; 2017) looked at TV cooking shows from a linguistic perspective as opposed to a marketing viewpoint. They found that storytelling is an effective strategy to establish

credibility and create an intimate conversation with the viewer in a fictitious dialogue. Also using self-deprecatory humor, a strategy where the host reveals his or her own flaws in a joking manner, results in enhancing one's likability, popularity, status and influence in food media (Matwick & Matwick, 2014; 2017). Credibility and likability are important aspects for a speaker in order to be persuasive (Cialdini, 1993; Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). Even though these studies have reported persuasive strategies in TV cooking shows from a linguistic perspective, there currently has been no research on the marketing aspect of persuasive strategies used in TV cooking programs to the best of my knowledge. The purpose of the present study is therefore to investigate how TV cooking show hosts persuade their audience from a marketing point of view.

This study uses a qualitative content analysis approach to investigate the persuasive strategies used in two Flemish TV chefs' cooking show, Sandra Bekkari and Jeroen Meus. They are categorized under 'food influencers'. It is necessary here to clarify exactly what is meant by this term. Food influencers are passionate about food and seek to intentionally construct and influence their audience's food choices, knowledge and behavior. The audience also perceives them as having influence over people. In addition to being paid to host the cooking shows, these shows also allow the hosts to fully enter people's private home spaces and reach viewers on a macro level. Based on the definition formulated during the FOOMS meeting (personal communication, December 10, 2018), I can conclude that Sandra Bekkari is a food guru and Jeroen Meus is a food celebrity, however, both are also TV chefs. A guru, as defined by Oxford Dictionaries (n.d.), is an influential teacher or popular expert. Food gurus are then influential persons who teach their audience about food regardless of having an expertise in the food industry. A food celebrity however, is someone who has gained real expertise through completing an educational career. The chefs considered here vary in their expertise. Meus is professionally trained in catering and graduated as a chef (Jeroen Meus, 2013), while Bekkari is a self-taught chef. She has only studied a few courses regarding nutrition, namely 'Nutrition', 'Orthomolecular Nutrition' and 'Nutrition and Health' (Sandra Bekkari, 2018). Meus and Bekkari will be referred to as TV chefs throughout this thesis to avoid confusion.

This work will generate fresh insight into the existing academic literature about persuasive strategies and help other researchers to explore the area of TV chefs. Furthermore, it can help explain how TV cooking shows in Flanders influence food consumption patterns. This is useful for the food industry, health organizations, production teams of the show, as well as both influencers and the audience. This thesis first gives a brief overview of the history of food media and will go deeper into the existing literature about TV chefs and persuasive strategies. The following section goes on to laying out the theoretical dimensions of the research, and looks at how entertainment-education (E-E) and Cialdini's (1993) six principles of persuasion can be possible persuasion strategies used in TV cooking

shows. The next section is concerned with the methodology used for this study. Then the findings of the research are discussed, particularly the three main persuasion strategies with their subcategories that were identified in this research and recommendations and challenges for future research are given. Lastly, the thesis concludes with a summary of the findings.

Literature study

History of food media

Cookbooks are the earliest form of food media. The oldest written recipes with instructions for food preparation date back to 1700 BC. More than a millennium later, ancient Greeks wrote technical cookbooks, of which fragments have survived to this day. By the end of the 17th century, culinary literature in French, Italian, English and German became abundant (Notaker, 2017). Apparently cooks to the royal court wrote most of the cookbooks that were initially created in and for a court culture, but with the invention of typographic printing that caused a revolution in the sharing of all kinds of information (Eisenstein, 1980), it allowed for targeting wider audiences (Notaker, 2017). Later in the 19th century, women's magazines began to boom and achieved large circulations in the 20th century. They created new domestic ideals for middle- and upper-class (married) women (Shapiro, 2009). The magazines shared recipes and cooking methods and advertised foodstuffs and cooking equipment which made them, together with cookbooks, important sources of food information (Caraher et al., 2000). Since the 1990s, the Western world exploded with food television. There is a wide variety of food programs shown on TV (de Solier, 2005), including instructional cooking shows like *Open Kitchen (Open Keuken)*, docu-soaps like *Good People (Goed Volk)*, reality TV shows like *The Best Hobby Cook of Flanders (De Beste Hobbykok van Vlaanderen)*, renovation programs like *SOS Piet*, and game shows like *The Bake-Off Flanders*. Some countries even have entire channels dedicated to food television, e.g. the Flemish 24/7 food network *Njam!*, *Lifestyle Food* in Australia and the *Food Network* in the United States (de Solier, 2005). More recently, digital and social media have taken the food world by storm. Social media is all about conversation and communication and many talk online about food (Rousseau, 2012b). What used to be a place for consulting the validity of information is now a place of generating and spreading new information. Consumers are now producers of information (Winer, 2009) and they can express themselves through various communication outlets, including social network sites, video- and picture-sharing and (micro)blogs (Tinker & Fouse, 2009). Younger generations especially like to post pictures of food to express themselves (Holmberg, Chaplin, Hillman, & Berg, 2016) and results show that even adults feel more confident in healthy eating habits by using social media like Instagram (Zindzi, Bennett, & Wunderlich, 2018). Food influencers play a big role here. Most of them start off with traditional food media, reaching the general audience through their cookbooks (Lim, Radzol, Cheah, & Wong, 2015). However, nowadays food media are used in conjunction with each other. Food influencers show the audience how they cook through TV cooking shows, have a website where people can find the recipes, are active on social media in case viewers have questions and may even organize events to meet their fans in real life. These cross-media strategies are powerful, as they not only induce more positive attitudes and perceived credibility, but

are also more persuasive towards consumption (Lim et al., 2015). Through social media, they have the power to motivate their followers to eat a healthier diet. However, individuals have to be cautious about adhering to the dietary guidelines of food influencers, as most of them are not qualified dietitians or nutritionists (Byrne, Kearney, & MacEvilly, 2017).

Food media content

This leads us to the so-called fad diets that food influencers often promote. Fad diets exclude whole food categories, e.g. gluten-free, dairy-free, carb-free, animal-free, vegan diets. These exclusion-diets guarantee a short-term weight-loss, but they are not necessarily the healthiest long-term strategy. Following the influencers' dietary guidelines without being advised by a professional can impact an individual's health and diet negatively and can lead to a higher risk of nutritional deficiencies (Byrne et al., 2017). Regardless of these health risks, food media have successfully influenced some people to listen and act according to what food influencers say about what not to eat, indicating that persuasive strategies are present. Maybe the way food media communicate can explain its success. So far, most studies researching this topic have looked into TV cooking shows. To further build on the existing literature in this domain, the present thesis will conduct its research on TV cooking shows as well. In contrast to studies about social media (Eckert et al., 2017), the study of TV cooking shows allows for a more predictable data sampling of consistent episodes. What is known in the field of TV cooking shows is that celebrity chefs don't sell these exclusion-diets as a diet, but rather as a lifestyle (Johnston & Goodman, 2015; Rousseau, 2012a). As Naccarato and Lebesco (2013) argue: TV cooking shows appear to be "less about how to cook and more about how to live" (p. 48). Food influencers associate values and ideals with these lifestyles and make them appear accessible and achievable through informal communication with the audience (Eriksson, 2016). Cookery programs initially taught the audience how to cook step-by-step, but as that technique lost its appeal, they redirected their focus on entertainment instead (Adema, 2005; Ketchum, 2005; Nathanson, 2009). TV chefs present cooking as having fun with food (Adema, 2005; Collins, 2009; Eriksson, 2016). How they talk to the audience contributes to the relationship they have with their viewers.

Possible persuasion strategies in food media

In TV cooking shows the chef can use storytelling, a communication technique, to establish credibility and create an intimate conversation with the viewer in a fictitious dialogue (Matwick & Matwick, 2014). The chef can strengthen his or her authority through showing sympathy by answering viewers' questions, giving helpful tips and tricks and sharing perceived values, such as how to save time and money and maintain a healthy diet. Offering solutions to everyday problems in life can also appeal to viewers (Adema, 2005; Matwick & Matwick, 2014; Nathanson, 2009). The host can make the

difference in status smaller by addressing the audience with 'you', referring to friends and family and talking in a more conversation-like style (Ketchum, 2005; Matwick & Matwick, 2014; Rousseau, 2012a). Addressing the audience informally and laughing at difficult culinary terms that might scare the amateur cook, can make the host appear more approachable (Adema, 2005). Another way to stay authentic and appear more ordinary is by using self-deprecatory humor. When the show host reveals his or her own flaws in a joking manner, it results in enhancing one's authenticity, likability, popularity, status and influence in food media (Matwick & Matwick, 2017). Besides what the host says, the way that the set is furnished and decorated, the lighting and colors that are used and how the food is displayed, can also persuade viewers to obtain a certain kitchen or make certain foods (Ketchum, 2005). When the camera films at chest level, it creates the feeling that the viewer is sitting across from the chef and that they are connected. This intimacy between the host and viewer remains even when the host or camera moves, because the host continues to address the viewer. He or she can do that by looking into the camera, so that the viewer feels personally addressed (Adema, 2005; Eriksson, 2016; Ketchum, 2005). Shows like *Come Dine with Me (Komen Eten)* diminish the cooking part and zoom in on all the surrounding features to turn these shows into humoristic entertainment (Harbridge, 2013). Cooking then becomes more associated with festivities and weekend entertainment and less with health and budget (Eriksson, 2016). Even though the food and cooking content may not seem as important as the entertainment factor, bits of information may still carry over, which makes these shows fit into the genre of 'edutainment' (de Solier, 2005). The conclusion of scant research on this topic is that TV cooking shows mainly play on emotions. Interestingly, a more recent study on food bloggers also concludes that emotions play the biggest role in the analyzed blog posts. The second most commonly used method was logos, which is a strategy that can be used to provide readers with information (Clarissa, 2017). Ethos, logos and pathos were key to Aristotle's theory of persuasion (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). Ethos refers to the credibility of a speaker and includes three dimensions: competence, trustworthiness, and dynamism. Competence is the perceived expertise of a speaker in relation to the topic being discussed. The content of the speech and the personality of the speaker result in the perceived trustworthiness. Dynamism is the extent to which we perceive the speaker to be charismatic (qualities that make the speaker attractive) and energetic (how enthusiastic the speaker talks about the topic). Speakers use logos, which refers to the reasoning or logic of an argument, when they present credible information as supporting material and verbally cite their sources during their speech. When they present two sides of an argument, it has the most persuasive power. And finally, pathos refers to emotional appeals. However, emotional appeals should not be used excessively, otherwise it is not convincing (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). These persuasive strategies have not been researched yet in the context of TV cooking shows. So, it is not known if and how these strategies are used in TV cooking shows.

Aristotle's theory of persuasion has similarities with entertainment-education (E-E) or 'edutainment' as mentioned before. The combination of informative and emotional appeals is central to E-E, which is a persuasive strategy that provides health and other educational information in popular entertainment media with the goal of positively influencing awareness, knowledge, attitudes and/or behaviors toward health-related issues (Brusse, Franssen, & Smit, 2015; Moyer-Gusé, 2008). Some researchers have argued that when educational messages are embedded in entertainment media, it has a potential of persuading its audience on changing certain behaviors because it is less obvious than traditional advertisements, resulting in less resistance to the message (Brown & Walsh-Childers, 2002; Slater & Rouner, 2002). The reason why E-E media is so effective is because of how the information is portrayed. The information is told as a story, a narrative. Narratives in health communication often take the form of anecdotes, testimonials, personal and other stories (Hinyard & Kreuter, 2007). Meta-analyses have also reported that narratives used in health communication interventions had small, but significant effects on persuasion, as measured by changes in attitudes, intentions, and behavior (Noar, Benac, & Harris, 2007; Snyder et al., 2004; Shen, Sheer, & Li., 2015). Shen et al. (2015) found that narratives delivered through audio and video were more likely to have a stronger persuasive effect than print media. A possible explanation for this could be that when viewers watch an E-E program, they are immersed into the storyline and feel involved with characters, which makes it harder to disagree with or dispute the embedded persuasive message (Moyer-Gusé & Nabi, 2010). This process of being absorbed into a story, losing track of your surroundings and feeling a part of the narrative world, is called transportation (Gerrig, 1993; Green & Brock, 2000). E-E also makes involvement with characters easier through identification, wishful identification, similarity, parasocial interaction and liking (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). During identification, a viewer forgets his or her own identity and reality and takes on the emotional and cognitive processes of the character instead (Cohen, 2001). Wishful identification however, means that the viewer desires and imagines him- or herself to be like the character (Giles, 2002), but is still aware of his or her own perspective (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). Similarity indicates how much an individual perceives him- or herself to be similar to a character in the sense of outer appearance, demographic variables, beliefs, personality, or values (Eyal & Rubin, 2003; Hoffner & Cantor, 1991). Parasocial interaction is defined as "the seeming face-to-face relationship between spectator and performer" (Horton & Wohl, 1956, p. 215). This phenomenon is also known as pseudo-relationships. It is like a traditional interpersonal relationship, except that the media character does not respond to the interactions (Giles, 2002). Liking a character simply means that an individual evaluates him or her positively (Cohen, 2001; Giles, 2002; Hoffner & Cantor, 1991). This last construct can also be found in Cialdini's (1993) six key principles of persuasion. His theory says that if we like or are familiar with someone from the group we want to belong to, we tend to say yes to their requests. Especially when someone with recognized authority gives us information and instructions on how to

act in a certain situation, we will listen to their advice (Cialdini, 1993). This could be translated into TV cooking shows. If the chef is someone we like and if he or she has perceived authority, we are more likely to accept their tips and tricks on how and what to cook. In general, the model of Cialdini (1993) is an interesting model to study the potential persuasion strategies that could be present in TV cooking shows, however thus far, it has not been applied to any TV cooking show to the best of my knowledge. Reciprocity, consistency and commitment, social proof, and scarcity are the other four principles of Cialdini (1993). Reciprocity means we should try to repay, in kind, what another person has given us. Consistency and commitment refer to the desire we have to be and appear consistent to what we have already done in the past (Cialdini, 1993). This aligns with the cognitive dissonance theory as a persuasive strategy, which predicts that influence happens within one's self. When new information contradicts our current attitudes and behavior to an extent that creates tension or mental discomfort, we fix it by changing either our beliefs or our behaviors (Dainton & Z Kelley, 2005; Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). This is also relevant for TV chefs; responding to consistency, they should portray the same type of persona in each episode. Following this train of thought, each cooking episode has to have elements of repetition, but to my knowledge, this has not been studied yet. Cialdini's social proof means that we tend to believe that an action seems more appropriate and right when many people are doing it (Cialdini, 1993). This evokes our need for belonging and inclusion in a group or community (A Primer on Communication Studies, 2012). However, it is not clear if and how this strategy could be used in the context of TV cooking shows. Lastly, we seem to be more motivated to perform a desired action when we know that we are losing something rather than gaining something of equal value (Cialdini, 1993). This ties in with the persuasive strategies of positive and negative motivations. These strategies try to convince us that we will be rewarded if we listen to the message and make us believe negative consequences will follow when we reject the message of the speaker (A Primer on Communication Studies, 2012).

In sum, the studies about TV cooking shows mainly focused on the social and cultural functions of food programs from a linguistic perspective. Sometimes, persuasive strategies were discussed as a side result or authors wrote about persuasive strategies but did not explicitly define them as such. Hence the reason I want to look at TV cooking shows targeted at adults is to find out if show hosts use any form of persuasive strategies and if they do, which ones they use and how they do this. In addition to the general question 'How do TV cooking show hosts persuade their audience in Flanders?' that forms the common thread of this thesis, there are a few other sub-questions:

1. How do TV chefs apply aspects of entertainment-education in their TV cooking shows?
2. How do TV chefs apply ethos, logos and pathos in their TV cooking shows?

3. How do TV chefs apply the six principles of persuasion by Cialdini in their TV cooking shows?

The findings will contribute to the existing academic literature about persuasive strategies and help other researchers to explore the area of food influencers. Furthermore, it can help explain how TV cooking shows in Flanders influence food consumption patterns. This is useful for the food industry, health organizations, production teams of the show, as well as both influencers and the audience.

Method

The purpose of this research is to study the different persuasive strategies used in Flemish cooking programs. An inductive qualitative content analysis was conducted of two Flemish cooking programs because little to no previous studies have dealt with the phenomenon (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The two cooking shows are *Open Kitchen (Open Keuken)* with Sandra Bekkari and *Daily Food (Dagelijkse Kost)* with Jeroen Meus. *Open Kitchen* airs daily, except on weekends, from 6:00 to 6:15 p.m. on the commercial broadcaster VTM and *Daily Food* airs from 6:15 to 6:30 p.m. on weekdays and on Sundays, a recap episode of the week takes place at around 6:10 to 6:58 p.m. on the public broadcaster Eén. These two programs are instructional cooking shows that take place in a kitchen, primarily with a single host. Each episode averages 13 to 15 minutes. All of Bekkari's episodes are available on VTM's website <https://koken.vtm.be/open-keuken-met-sandra-bekkari>. Meus' episodes disappear from Eén's website after a designated period, but are still available at the VRT headquarters. I went there and consulted their database to watch Meus' episodes. Watching the episodes online allowed for replaying, transcribing, and selective viewing.

Bekkari and Meus both have cookbooks as well. Bekkari's first edition of her cookbook 'Never Dieting Again' (*Nooit Meer Diëten*) ranked number one among the best-selling books in Flanders of 2017. Her second and third editions were respectively fifth and second place. The second edition of 'Daily Food: Cooking with Common Sense' (*Dagelijkse Kost: Koken Met Gezond Verstand*) by Meus was eleventh on the list (Jaarcijfers Boek.be 2017, 2018). Both chefs are passionate about food and seek to intentionally construct and influence their audience's food choices, knowledge and behavior. Consequently, the TV chefs can be categorized under food influencers. The audience also perceives them as having influence over people. In addition to being paid to host the cooking shows, these shows also allow the hosts to fully enter people's private home spaces and reach viewers on a macro level. Based on the definition formulated during the FOOMS meeting (personal communication, December 10, 2018), I can conclude that Sandra Bekkari is a food guru and Jeroen Meus is a food celebrity. A guru, as defined by Oxford Dictionaries (n.d.), is an influential teacher or popular expert. Food gurus are then influential persons who teach their audience about food regardless of having an expertise in the food industry. A food celebrity however, is someone who has gained real expertise through completing an educational career. The chefs considered here vary in their expertise. Meus is professionally trained in catering and graduated as a chef (Jeroen Meus, 2013), while Bekkari is a self-taught chef. She has only studied a few courses regarding nutrition, namely 'Nutrition', 'Orthomolecular Nutrition' and 'Nutrition and Health' (Sandra Bekkari, 2018).

My data consisted of twelve episodes per program. According to Stempel (1952), increasing the sample size beyond twelve does not produce significantly more accurate results. Riffe, Lacy and Fico (1998) say that constructing two artificial weeks work better than one to effectively predict the population mean. So, I chose Monday in week one, Tuesday in week two, etc. until I reached twelve episodes. Then I transcribed all episodes using the verbatim technique in order to convey the exact tone, so data reliability would not be jeopardized (Neuendorf, 2002). I analyzed the transcriptions, as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). After transcribing, I read the transcript again to acquire greater familiarity with the data. Next, the coding process began. Through interpretation, codes were linked to recurring themes that related to the study's research objectives. I did this by adding comments in the Word document. The transcript with open codes and codebook can be found in the appendix. Subsequently, the first draft of open codes with similar themes were drawn together from different cases with the help of NVivo, and placed in the data category to further support analysis. Glaser and Straus (1967) founded this technique known as the grounded theory. The selected quotes in the discussion were translated literally from Dutch and exemplify the persuasion strategies. This study did not involve human participants and therefore no ethical approval was required.

Results and discussion

Entertainment-education

Information. TV chefs use different kinds of information to persuade their viewers to take certain actions. It only became clear, after analyzing the results, that the findings about information could be categorized into the food literacy model by Vidgen and Gallegos (2014) and Perry et al. (2017). Food literacy means that 'knowledge, skills and behaviors are required to plan, manage, select, prepare and eat food to meet needs and determine intake' (Vidgen & Gallegos, 2014, p.54). Therefore, the results will be discussed according to their categories.

Plan and manage. TV chefs suggest when viewers can cook or eat the dishes.

And a quiche, that's nice to have in your fridge, huh. If you are a little hungry. Or you can make it in the morning and have it for lunch in the afternoon.

(Meus, episode 5/10/18)

Besides, that is also very nice for the morning, if you like a hearty breakfast. Like an omelet with vegetables. A Sunday morning, ideal. (Bekkari,

episode 27/09/18)

Planning out when and what to cook and eat can ensure that these actions will take place, regardless of someone's circumstances or environment (Vidgen & Gallegos, 2014). When TV chefs give advice about planning and management, they are helping their viewers to make life easier. Viewers do not have to think too much about what to make for breakfast, lunch or dinner, they could just follow the chef's advice and recipes.

Select. TV chefs tell viewers in what kind of stores they can buy certain ingredients, e.g. in organic supermarkets or at the butcher's. They also give instructions about how to preserve ingredients if they are not completely used up and suggest alternatives in case viewers do not have certain ingredients at home.

If you have feta left, you can keep it perfectly in the fridge, but then in the moisture. Most of the time it is kept in salted water. If the moisture is already gone, add a little water and some salt and then you can certainly keep it for a few

more days. (Bekkari, episode 11/09/18)

The chef explains what is typically found in a dish and where it came from.

What is a chowder? That is actually a creamy soup that they often serve in the United States, often with fish in it. (Meus, episode 11/09/18)

Furthermore, the chefs also give tips on how to judge the quality of food.

We start with pineapple. It is a good one. You can know that by smelling it at the bottom. I always stand there, smelling the pineapples in the store. It must smell really sweet. If it smells of nothing, it is not ripe yet. And sometimes you also have a vinegar-like, slightly alcoholic odor and then it is overripe. (Bekkari, episode 19/09/18)

If you buy balsamic vinegar, look at the bottle, because normally it should only contain grape must. Sometimes that is also mixed with a little wine vinegar, but preferably no dyes and caramel. There is a lot of difference in that. (Bekkari, episode 19/09/18)

Prepare.

*I'm going to cut that à vif, that's right behind the skin. Bottom off.
[Camera zooms in on technique]. (Bekkari, episode 11/09/18)*

That's actually just a puree of fish, a brandade. (Meus, episode 3/09/18)

Sometimes, the chefs use specific culinary terms to explain to viewers what they need to do or to describe a dish. However, not everyone is an expert at cooking and can understand professional jargon. So, chefs explain culinary terms as they go in more understandable everyday language so viewers know what to do and this way the cooking process seems less daunting (Eriksson, 2016). Removing social and language barriers while presenting intricate foods like this can keep viewers with different culinary backgrounds interested (Adema, 2005). In so doing, they make themselves appear more approachable and like 'one of the neighbors' (Chaney, 2002, p. 109). Throughout the cooking process, chefs give many tips on how to cook. This information can help the viewers have a higher chance of succeeding in making the recipe.

If you want to make them at home and they might break a little, you can always add a little bit of breadcrumbs, then they will bake nicely. (Meus, episode 27/09/18)

The chefs describe what the outcome of the cooking process is expected to be like. This can help the viewers as they have a reference point that they can hold on to.

That is going to come up nicely. That is going to get like a beautiful crack and that will also collapse a little bit. (Meus, episode 23/10/18)

They also give tips on how to handle multiple steps at once, so viewers can learn to multitask while cooking. Sharing this perceived value of saving time and offering solutions to everyday problems in life can appeal to viewers and strengthen the chef's authority (Adema, 2005; Matwick & Matwick, 2014; Nathanson, 2009). Authority is one of the key principles of persuasion from Cialdini's (1993) theory. According to him, when people with recognized authority give us information and instructions on how to act in a certain situation, we will listen to their advice (Cialdini, 1993). So, when TV chefs share perceived values with their viewers, it can make them more persuasive.

Here you have some hair spray for in the oven. So. That is ... actually fat in a spray form instead of using butter. (Meus, episode 23/10/18)

When chefs use a new, rather unfamiliar ingredient, they compare it to recognizable things from everyday life. This way, viewers can remember these ingredients better and whenever they see these in the store, they can link them to the chef. Cooking shows obviously revolve around cooking and food, so information about ingredients is inevitable. Chefs give nutritional information and tips about ingredients, e.g. celeriac.

And I will immediately add some lemon, because that's a vegetable that discolors very quickly. So, then it stays pretty white. (Bekkari, episode 15/10/18)

The chefs also try to portray cooking as a fun and easy activity and claim that their own recipes are easy, fast and delicious. In so doing, they try not to intimidate the novice (Eriksson, 2016).

This is the example of a dish that really only takes ten minutes, actually not even ten minutes and you have a nice meal. (Bekkari, episode 19/09/18)

Meus, who is a real chef, often downplays his expertise and cooking skills just like Emeril Lagasse did in America (Adema, 2005). After giving an enumeration of steps in his recipe, he says:

We're actually just making a soup, huh. (Meus, episode 11/09/18)

The chefs often make claims about food. They say that the ingredients they use and the food they have made looks, tastes and smells amazing, although they cannot prove the taste and smell through television. In my research, claims about taste were made the most, accounting for almost 8%

of coverage according to NVivo for both of the chefs combined. That is more than claims about aesthetics (3,08%) and smell (0,88%). Making these claims can influence and persuade viewers to follow the chefs' recipe and make it at home. This way, they can see if the chefs are being truthful.

*Then you have a nice taste of the sea that is added to it. (Meus, episode
3/09/18)*

Two systematic reviews (Boyland et al., 2011; Jenkin et al., 2014) stated that appeals to taste and flavor were one of the most used persuasive strategies in TV food advertisements targeted at children and adults. And the young participants in the study by Vidgen and Gallegos (2014) made it clear that being able to cook well was linked to how good the food tastes. Cooking programs show how raw ingredients turn into a stylish dish. De Solier (2005) calls the narrative structure of this make-over: 'transformative aesthetic' (p. 467). Cooking shows display the food in a way that is pleasing to the eye, so it can stimulate and educate viewers (de Solier, 2005).

Eat. Bekkari is known for trying to influence her viewers to eat and cook more healthily. She does that by making health claims about ingredients.

*It's an orange fruit, and everything that is orange in nature, carrot, pumpkins, but also mango. It contains a lot of beta-carotene. And that is a plant substance that your body can convert into vitamin A. And vitamin A is an important vitamin for resistance, for immunity, and therefore also for health.
(Bekkari, episode 11/09/18)*

*Pineapple is super good for digestion. Contains a lot of bromelain and an enzyme that aids in the digestion of proteins, for example, of meat. So, if you've eaten too much meat, pineapple can help digest. [...] Now the rest of the fruit, bananas. [...] Lots of magnesium in it, good for the muscles, also good for the heart. That is also a muscle. Ideal snack too, especially for athletes. It contains a lot of sugars, but also a lot of fiber, which then provides long-lasting energy.
(Bekkari, episode 3/09/18)*

By making health claims, Bekkari can persuade her viewers to change their attitudes about food and health. This can lead them to adjusting their behavior and follow the chef's advice and style of cooking. Bekkari tries to convince her viewers that they will be rewarded with good health if they listen to the health claims and eat the foods she claims to be good for the body. At the same time, she makes viewers believe negative consequences will follow when they reject her message (A Primer on

Communication Studies, 2012), however she never explicitly says it like that. Unlike Bekkari, Meus rarely makes claims about health. Moreover, he uses a lot of butter and cream and says things like:

A good knob of butter. You can take that literally. (Meus, episode 11/09/18)

Once, he advised viewers to eat raw ginger if they suffer from burping, but quickly after that he reassured the viewers that he is not an herbalist of any kind. This confirms our definition of food gurus. Bekkari pretends that she is a health expert, while she is not, and makes health claims about food in order to educate her viewers. Meus on the other hand makes clear that he is just a chef and puts a disclaimer when he gives health advice.

Williams (2015) found that consumers like health claims on food labels, because it is useful and helps them interpret difficult nutritional information. Consumers in the study admit that health claims influence their attitudes (Williams, 2015).

Self-efficacy and confidence. Chefs have their own recipes and instruct viewers step by step on how to make them, but their recipes are not always fixed. They give viewers suggestions and the freedom to add other ingredients or take out ingredients they might not like. Giving the viewers a sense of control and power over their own food can make them feel empowered and like a chef themselves. This can persuade viewers to cook the recipes with their own twist.

The chefs keep it real by being honest about using shortcuts to cooking. They say they are using this kitchen appliance or this ingredient because it is easier and faster. Saying and doing this gives the viewers the feeling of approval. If the chef is using this shortcut, then the viewer can do it too.

We're going to make crab cakes. I made it easy for myself, and I bought crab meat from North Sea crabs. And that is also possible with crab meat from a can or something. There are also good qualities in that. (Meus, episode 8/11/18)

This category was defined by Perry et al. (2017) and it stands for people's ability to perform the desired action regardless of their situation. When TV chefs encourage their viewers, and make them believe they are capable of cooking a good-tasting meal, it can cause the TV chefs to be more persuasive and well-liked.

Ecologic.

In the Netherlands, they often make that with a combination of sweet and sour apples. [...] In the Netherlands they make that with mixed minced meat, or sometimes with black pudding. (Bekkari, episode 27/09/18)

And they eat that very often in Costa Rica. Now there too, they move a lot, they often garden, they also swim a lot. (Bekkari, episode 11/09/18)

When chefs are cooking a traditional dish with their own twist added to the recipe, they give information about the origin or characteristics of the traditional dish. If the dish comes from another food culture, they will give information about that country. So, viewers not only learn about cooking, they also receive education about other cultures.

Look, I still have a piece of cabbage here from not too long ago. You cut that in there, it can't hurt. (Meus, episode 31/10/18)

I have some chocolate left over here, but we are not going to throw that away. That would be a real shame. You can simply let it solidify again and maybe mix it with granola, or make it into student oats. (Bekkari, episode 23/10/18)

Meus and Bekkari seem to value food waste reduction, because they give tips on how to use (leftover) ingredients in multiple ways and tell viewers how they can recycle leftovers in new dishes. Viewers could share this value with the chefs and consider the chefs as having more authority because of this (Adema, 2005; Matwick & Matwick, 2014; Nathanson, 2009).

They are delicious flavors. Mmm ... Poor people's flavors, actually. Basic flavors, but so tasty. (Meus, episode 11/09/18)

Meus made an interesting comment, claiming that leek, celery, potato and onion are vegetables that poor people eat. His comment agrees with results made in previous research. Those results indicate that TV cooking shows in the past were used to make class distinctions based on culinary taste (de Solier, 2005). However, my research shows that cooking shows still do so today.

This ecological category of food literacy was also defined by Perry et al. (2017). In addition to the previous categories, food choices also rely on socio-economic and socio-cultural influences. People's income level and socio-economic status determine which foods they eat and depending on where they live, they will have different values and norms about food and will interact differently with their food systems (Perry et al., 2017).

In general, when TV chefs communicate knowledge obtained from (perceived) expertise and educate their viewers, they are using information to persuade viewers. This whole section could also be categorized under logos, which refers to the reasoning or logic of an argument when TV chefs present credible information as supporting material (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). In cooking shows, this knowledge includes giving information about planning and management, selection, preparation,

eating, empowerment and ecology. Instructional cooking shows fit into the genre of entertainment-education (E-E) (Caraher et al., 2000; de Solier, 2005) and we know from Brusse et al. (2015) that this genre is a persuasive strategy in itself.

Entertainment. After having discussed the education part of entertainment-education, it is now time to argue about the entertainment aspect of this persuasive strategy.

I can also take these blocks, hey. Have you seen that yet? [points to his stomach] That is not normal what kind of blocks I have. Really. Magnificent. Well hidden. I isolate that well. It is winter. (Meus, episode 31/10/18)

TV chefs appeal to their viewers by letting them know in a joking manner that they too have flaws. This way, viewers can see them as ordinary, authentic people and this results in them being more well-liked (Matwick & Matwick, 2017). Likability is a key principle of persuasion (Cialdini, 1993). Cialdini's theory says that if we like or are familiar with someone from the group we want to belong to, we tend to say yes to their requests. So, when chefs use self-deprecatory humor, viewers may like them better and whenever the chefs request something of the viewers, they are more likely to fulfill it. Matwick and Matwick (2017) have found that self-deprecatory humor in TV cooking shows serve to entertain, build solidarity, and create authenticity. Another way of entertaining the viewer and keeping them alert, is using wordplay. In an episode where Meus is cooking chowder, he has this conversation with his producer Kathryn:

Jeroen: Chowder. Baby chowder. That's what they do nowadays, huh. It's coming to us. Baby chowders. Kathryn: a baby shower. Jeroen: Baby shower? Ah yes, sorry. I don't know it. (Meus, episode 11/09/18)

At the end, he closes off by saying, "Chow-chowder.", which sounds like 'Ciao ciao'. Whether Meus was genuinely unaware of what a baby shower was, is unclear. However, his comment is funny and by apologizing for his ignorance, it does seem as if he really did not know. Apologizing also shows that he can admit his mistakes. Meus also sings sometimes, which makes the show a bit more lighthearted and fun to watch. These entertainment strategies lead to higher likability, which in turn can result in more compliance from the viewer.

Interaction. Meus shares more personal information (14,57% coverage according to NVivo) than Bekkari (3,60% coverage) does, but both chefs interact with their viewers. In the episode where Meus is making chowder on the eleventh of September, he recalls one of his past trips to the United States and tells about his experience. He goes on to say:

Everybody knows where he was on the 11th of September. (Meus, episode 11/09/18)

And then shares the story of where he was and what happened to him on that day. Using this storytelling technique, chefs establish authority and simultaneously present themselves as equals to the viewers by being relatable and ordinary. The viewers know so much about the chefs' personal lives and have become so familiar with the chefs that it results in them by calling the chef by their first name (Barnes, 2014). In addition to storytelling, whenever the chefs look directly into the camera and create eye contact with their viewers, they strengthen their credibility. It creates intimacy and connects the two parties (Matwick & Matwick, 2014). Having authority and being credible is important for a speaker (Cialdini, 1993; Stiff & Mongeau, 2003), because credibility, also known as ethos, establishes perceived expertise, trust, charisma and energy (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003), and authority gives the speaker the power to persuade his or her audience (Cialdini, 1993). Another way to appear ordinary is by acting out situations or telling the viewer situations that are relatable, e.g. when opening a box of cookies and then this happens:

We are going to ... Ai, one is broken ... Unfortunately [sarcastic]. [Eats the broken cookie]. (Meus, episode 16/11/18)

The TV chefs communicate with the viewers by addressing and greeting the viewers just like they would in face-to-face conversations, even though no concrete interaction is possible (Tolson, 2006). Meus talks to the viewers as if they are cooking simultaneously with him.

Watch out that the milk is not going to overboil. (Meus, episode 3/09/18)

Bekkari dedicated two episodes to answering viewers' questions. Although the questions are virtual and asynchronous, Bekkari creates a dialogue with the viewer by addressing them by their names (Matwick & Matwick, 2015).

I have a good solution for that, David, we're going to fry that sole in olive oil with lots of vegetables. (Bekkari, episode 8/11/18)

This is done to reduce the imaginary distance between performer and spectator (Adema, 2005). The chefs often address the viewers with 'you' to strengthen the intimacy and equality (Matwick & Matwick, 2014).

*Had a good weekend? Went on a fresh walk? Made good food? Enjoyed?
(Meus, episode 19/11/18)*

Meus asks many rhetorical questions. He does not expect an answer, but does this to engage his viewers (Adema, 2005). Also, Meus talks with his producer who is invisible to the viewers. Her name is Kathryn and she sits behind the camera from where she interacts with Meus. Her perspective can be interpreted as an at-home viewer. Therefore, the comments she makes and questions she sometimes asks are relevant for the viewer and give the viewer the feeling of them talking to Meus. It seems like the conversation is ongoing, because there is no clear distinction between when the chef is interacting with Kathryn and when he is addressing the viewer. This agrees with claims made by previous research (Eriksson, 2016).

Interacting with the audience is one of the strategies that can be used within entertainment. Parasocial interaction, the fictitious relationship between two persons (Horton & Wohl, 1956), is a way to involve the spectator with the performer (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). The performer narrates personal stories, anecdotes or testimonials to make E-E effective (Hinyard & Kreuter, 2007) as a persuasion strategy. This technique can be called storytelling or narrative and was found in my research as well.

Parenthood.

And now you just have to roll it into balls, always fun too, to do this with the kids. Like, if they come home from school, an extra treat. (Bekkari, episode 23/10/18)

Bekkari refers to kids nine times during the twelve episodes and even has a whole episode dedicated to two recipes that are child-friendly. She mentions cooking activities that would be fun to involve the kids in and reminds the viewer that the kids are still on a break or that Wednesday is coming up, so viewers can use this opportunity to cook together with their children. She also talks about what kids like or do not like to eat and gives tips, for example, on how to hide vegetables in kids' meals so that they will still get the nutrients in. Viewers who can relate to times when they had to trick their own children into eating vegetables will really appreciate the tips. They will find themselves to be similar to Bekkari. Similarity is a way of applying E-E and indicates how much an individual perceives him- or herself to be similar to a character in the sense of outer appearance, demographic variables, beliefs, personality, or values (Eyal & Rubin, 2003; Hoffner & Cantor, 1991). Using this strategy to persuade her viewers will only be effective when the viewer is a parent like herself. However, when viewers do feel involved with Bekkari, it makes it harder to disagree with or dispute the embedded persuasive message (Moyer-Gusé & Nabi, 2010).

I found it interesting that only Bekkari made references to children and Meus did not. This observation led me to gender roles that are often portrayed in cooking shows. Women are traditionally seen as the caregivers and comparing these two cooking shows, it can once again be confirmed that

this stereotype is still present. Women are encouraged to be selfless and Bekkari confirms this common conception by telling her viewers that her recipes will certainly please others (Ketchum, 2005), assuming that women who watch her show will cook these recipes for others.

Other persuasive strategies

In addition to the different persuasive strategies that can be used within E-E, there are also a few strategies of Cialdini's (1993) six principles of persuasion that were found in the two Flemish TV cooking shows.

Use of consistency. It was expected that consistent behavior would be present in the episodes. Consistency can be expressed in different ways. TV chefs have to be consistent in their character and actions, in how the cooking show is recorded and produced, in their values, likes and dislikes, etc.

And of all the tasks in the kitchen, I find breading the least fun. But yes, we have to go through, hey. I like to do everything, hey, ultimately. But you get those breaded fingers from that. I don't really like that. (Meus, episode 3/09/18)

What don't I like to do? Breading, hey. (Meus, episode 31/10/18)

Sometimes, the chefs will tell viewers what they consistently do.

Red bell pepper. I will, according to good habit ... and tradition, we will peel it. (Meus, episode 31/10/18)

In the meantime, we will make breadcrumbs. I already have a part here and I always make it myself. So those are just old sandwiches that are toasted and then mixed. (Bekkari, episode 31/10/18)

The chefs connect themselves to a particular way of cooking and acting, so people can link them to certain traits and recognize their trademarks. Meus' studio is located in a small street in Leuven. The address is available on his website and he invites people to come by and take a look. Passers-by can look through his windows and if they are lucky, they can catch him cooking and filming for his cooking show. When Meus is cooking, he waves to fans who walk by and sometimes even interrupts his cooking to talk with some of his fans. A few conversations are shown on the cooking show, which makes him seem approachable and ordinary. It gives the viewer the feeling of being able to have a chat with him and to treat him as a friend.

[Opens the door and chats with a passer-by who has a broken arm]

Jeroen: Well? Had a good holiday?

Passer-by: Yes, not so good.

Jeroen: No, it seems [laughs].

Passer-by: Went to watch football.

Jeroen: You watched?

Passer-by: Yes. Do you know it?

Jeroen: Watching football is very dangerous, isn't it?

Passer-by: Yes [laughing].

Jeroen: Did you drink something? No?

Passer-by: Uhm, no. My bike refused to go.

Jeroen: Ah yes yes, like that. So, here you go [signs plaster].

Passer-by: We are from West Flanders, eh, we.

Jeroen: Yes, I can tell. But you couldn't do anything about that, hey.

[laughs]

Passer-by: No [laughing].

Jeroen: No, no. My family is from there, I'm just joking.

Passer-by: Thank you so much.

Jeroen: Get well soon!

Passer-by: Thank you!

[Jeroen returns and closes the door.] (Meus, episode 3/09/18)

Bekkari and Meus often give traditional recipes their own twist to make it more special and their own (Eriksson, 2016). With these techniques, it seems that the chefs try to persuade their viewers to follow only them and their values. Meus jokes about 'light' versions of products and is known for using a lot of butter and cream.

Jeroen: We could also go for the light version. But don't panic, we're not going to start with that. Kathryn: laughs. Jeroen: Yes, once in a while, but...

Kathryn: I know what you mean. Jeroen: You know what I mean. We're not suddenly going to [throws his arms up in the air] No no. We're not going to be crazy, huh. (Meus, episode 3/09/18)

Meanwhile Bekkari only uses olive oil and on the one occasion where she uses butter, she uses clarified butter and tells viewers that they can buy it in an organic store. She also cooks with a lot of vegetables, which means that she values health. These values contradict each other and give the feeling of only being allowed to like and follow one of the two chefs.

Cialdini (1993) considers consistency and commitment as a persuasion technique. It refers to the desire people have to be and appear consistent to what they have already done in the past. This technique aligns with the cognitive dissonance theory as a persuasive strategy, which predicts that influence happens within one's self. When new information contradicts people's current attitudes and behavior to an extent that creates tension or mental discomfort, they fix it by changing either their beliefs or their behaviors (Dainton & Zelle, 2005; Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). So, when chefs' consistent behavior contradicts viewers' behavior, it can lead to changes. For example, it can be surprising to some people that Meus peels his red bell pepper because that is something that they have never done before and have never seen anyone doing. They can either change their beliefs, thinking that Meus is doing it wrong. Red bell peppers are not supposed to be peeled. Or they could change their habit of not peeling the bell pepper into starting to peel it, because Meus is a real chef with real expertise, so what he is doing and saying should be the right thing to do.

Special episode. Half of Bekkari's episodes revolve around cooking in a certain theme. These themes will go on for a whole week. In one of the episodes, she invited a Flemish celebrity who is the ambassador for the charity action 'Red Nose Day (*Rode Neuzen*)'. This is an initiative of VTM (the commercial broadcasting station on which Bekkari's show is airing), Qmusic and Belfius. They are cooking for this cause to raise awareness around mental health problems and motivate viewers to collect money for the charity.

So you can also make and sell this for Red Nose Day. (Bekkari, episode 27/11/18)

Using her show to promote this charity can persuade viewers to do good and donate money to the cause. The themes she uses also demonstrate what she wants to stand for and can strengthen her authority and credibility. Another example is her budget week. Bekkari wants to show her viewers that it is possible to cook healthily and well for little money. This perceived value of saving money can help strengthen her authority (Adema, 2005; Matwick & Matwick, 2014; Nathanson, 2009). Only Bekkari makes use of this strategy. Her show has not been around for as long as Meus'. Meus has been hosting

his show since 2010, while Bekkari just started two years ago in 2017. This might indicate that she still needs all the support that she can get, relying on themes to make it easier to cook something creative and make it more entertaining for the viewers. Cooking in themes could be considered as a strength that sets her apart from Meus and in a way, it represents consistency on her show. However, Bekkari also invites other famous Flemish people to accompany her on the show. The presence of another person can reduce the pressure of entertaining the viewers on her own, but it could also be considered a danger, because it interrupts the consistency of one person hosting the show and makes her become dependent of other people. Nonetheless, this strategy is still acceptable. It can make the viewers curious about what the chef and guest will be talking about. And with the help of another person, the cooking process seems more appealing and fun. This can encourage viewers to keep coming back and watching her show.

The principles of likability and authority are interwoven with strategies from E-E, so those have already been discussed in previous sections. Reciprocity will be discussed with the following persuasive strategy.

Advertisement/product placement

The chefs explicitly advertised products or restaurants only six times. However, cooking shows consist of a lot of product placement. Product placement means that brands or products are intentionally included into a TV show or movie to positively influence viewers' product beliefs and/or behaviors (Balasubramanian, 1994). Whenever TV chefs use ingredients, kitchen appliances and utensils, they endorse it. In the question and answer section of Meus' website, a lot of viewers ask for the brand of kitchen utensils Meus used during the show and he responds with the exact brand. These viewers have the intention of buying and using those products. Abbots' (2015) research proves that chefs indeed have influence over their viewers. They successfully convince viewers to buy certain kitchen appliances that they endorse or use, even if the viewers do not need it (Abbots, 2015). TV chefs do not only advertise materialistic things, they 'sell entire lifestyles' (Rousseau, 2012a, p. 70). Bekkari does this by selling weekly Sanaboxes. Sana is a method she designed to guide people toward healthy eating patterns and a healthy lifestyle (Over Sana, 2019). These boxes consist of four meals and arrive at people's doorstep. For people who buy this box, it can feel like buying a healthy lifestyle. Viewers may be willing to buy whatever the chef is endorsing, because they believe they are giving something back to the chef. Cialdini (1993) has identified this phenomenon with his persuasion principle of reciprocity. It means we should try to repay, in kind, what another person has given us (Cialdini, 1993). The media shifted towards giving attention to the customer instead of demanding it. That can be beneficial for those in the food industry (Rousseau, 2012b). So, when TV chefs give attention to the viewer by answering questions and teaching them how to cook, viewers can feel kind of obligated to

do something in return. The causal effect of viewers buying what chefs endorse can be called the '[chef] effect' which refers to a peak in sales after the chef has promoted certain foodstuffs (Abbots, 2015).

TV chefs do not only advertise other products and brands, they also promote their own brand. When TV chefs instruct their viewers step by step, they do not always give exact measurements of all the ingredients they use. If viewers want the exact measurements of the recipes, they need to consult the chefs' websites that they often refer to during the episodes (Adema, 2005) or buy their cookbooks.

Um, a little bit of thyme, maybe a sprig of rosemary now that it's standing here, or a little laurel. [...] I'm going to leave the rosemary anyway. Just a few leaves of laurel. (Meus, episode 3/09/18)

Limitations and future research

The reader should bear in mind that the study is limited to only two Flemish food influencers and only verbal instructions were studied. Due to the interpretive nature of the method used, the results are subjective and not exhaustive. It could be that there were more persuasive strategies used with visual techniques, but those fell out of the scope of my research. The episodes of Jeroen Meus are not available online anymore, however it can still be consulted at VRT. Future researchers could study more food influencers and food influencers from different countries to see if they use the same or different persuasive strategies. It would be interesting to know if these persuasive strategies really are effective in influencing viewers to take certain actions or not. If that is the case, to what extent do viewers listen to the chefs? What do they think of these strategies? Which strategies are most important for the audience? What actions do they take after watching cooking programs? Which persuasive strategy is most effective? Do these persuasive strategies have an effect on food consumption patterns? Do different genders combined with persuasive strategies have different effects on viewers? Does a male or female food influencer use certain strategies that the other gender does not use? These are some suggestions that future researchers could look into.

Conclusion

TV chefs use multiple persuasion strategies to influence their audience to change their knowledge, attitude and/or behavior. My thesis has found that Flemish TV chefs put a strong emphasis on different components of the food literacy model and mainly educate their viewers about planning and management, selection, preparation, eating, empowerment and ecology. So, they primarily use information to persuade their viewers. However, they also entertain their viewers by telling jokes, laughing about their own flaws and using wordplay. Furthermore, they interact with the audience by narrating personal stories, anecdotes or testimonials to involve the spectator with the performer (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). TV chefs talk to the viewers as if they are having an ordinary conversation with them and share relatable situations, like how to involve kids in cooking or making them eat vegetables, to make themselves appear normal and to create intimacy between the two parties. Moreover, downplaying their expertise can minimize the difference in status, which can strengthen this pseudo-relationship even more. When TV chefs tell stories, they play on the viewers' emotions, which Aristotle defined as pathos (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). To conclude the first persuasive strategy; TV cooking shows can be categorized under the genre of entertainment-education (E-E). However, in Flanders it is more fitting to call it education-entertainment, because information prevails.

The different strategies within E-E and the six principles of persuasion by Cialdini (1993) were intertwined and therefore, could not always be discussed so black and white. Elements of Cialdini were found in E-E and vice versa. For example, TV chefs can share perceived values like how to save time and money and how to eat healthily through giving advice and making health claims, which belongs to information. These techniques should increase the TV chefs' likability, authority, credibility and trustworthiness, which in turn can make them more persuasive. Likability and authority are two of Cialdini's (1993) principles, whereas credibility and trustworthiness are defined as ethos by Aristotle (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). Social proof and scarcity, another two of Cialdini's (1993) principles, were not found in the Flemish TV cooking shows. However, this does not guarantee that they were not present.

Lastly, TV chefs implicitly advertise products during the show to influence viewers to buy those goods. This research proves that TV chefs have a degree of power over their viewers. Producers of cooking shows can use this information and work together with the government to promote national dietary guidelines. This could change the food environment and support healthier choices and reduce the incidence of obesity and related diseases.

References

- A Primer on Communication Studies. (2012). Retrieved from <https://2012books.lardbucket.org/books/a-primer-on-communication-studies/>
- Abbots, E. J. (2015). The intimacies of industry: Consumer interactions with the “stuff” of celebrity chefs. *Food, Culture & Society*, 18(2), 223-243.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2752/175174415X14180391604323>
- Adema, P. (2000). Vicarious Consumption: Food, Television and the Ambiguity of Modernity. *Journal of American Culture*, 23(1), 113–123. doi:10.1111/j.1537-4726.2000.2303_113.x
- Balasubramanian, S. K. (1994). Beyond Advertising and Publicity: Hybrid Messages and Public Policy Issues. *Journal of Advertising*, 23(4), 29-46. doi:10.1080/00913367.1943.10673457
- Boyland, E. J., Harrold, J. A., Kirkham, T. C., & Halford, J. C. G. (2012). Persuasive techniques used in television advertisements to market foods to UK children. *Appetite*, 58, 658–664.
doi:10.1016/j.appet.2011.11.017
- Brown, J. D., & Walsh-Childers, K. (2002). Effects of media on personal and public health. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 453–488). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Brusse, E. D., Fransen, M. L., & Smit, E. G. (2015). Educational Storylines in Entertainment Television: Audience Reactions Toward Persuasive Strategies in Medical Dramas. *Journal of Health Communication*, 20(4), 396-405. doi:10.1080/10810730.2014.965365
- Byrne, E., Kearney, J., & Macevilly, C. (2017). The Role of Influencer Marketing and Social Influencers in Public Health. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society*, 76(OCE3).
doi:10.1017/s0029665117001768
- Caraher, M., Lange, T., & Dixon, P. (2000). The Influence of TV and Celebrity Chefs on Public Attitudes and Behavior Among the English Public. *Journal for the Study of Food and Society*, 4(1), 27-46.
doi: 10.2752/152897900786690805
- Chaney, D. (2002). *Cultural change and everyday life*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Cialdini, R. B. (1993). *Influence: Science and practice* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Harper Collins.
- Clarissa, I. (2018). Persuasion in Indonesian Food Blogs. *K@ta Kita*, 5(2), 53-59.
doi:10.9744/katakita.5.2.53-59

- Cohen, J. (2001). Defining identification: A theoretical look at the identification of audiences with media characters. *Mass Communication & Society*, 4(3), 245–264.
https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327825MCS0403_01
- Collins, K. (2009). *Watching What We Eat: The Evolution of Television Cooking Shows*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Dainton, M., & Zelle, E. D. (2005). *Applying communication theory for professional life: a practical introduction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- De Backer, C. J., & Hudders, L. (2016). Look who's cooking. Investigating the relationship between watching educational and edutainment TV cooking shows, eating habits and everyday cooking practices among men and women in Belgium. *Appetite*, 96, 494-501.
 doi:10.1016/j.appet.2015.10.016
- De Solier, I. (2005). TV Dinners: Culinary Television, Education and Distinction. *Continuum*, 19(4), 465-481. doi:10.1080/10304310500322727
- Eckert, S., Sopory, P., Day, A., Wilkins, L., Padgett, D., Novak, J., . . . Gamhewage, G. (2017). Health-Related Disaster Communication and Social Media: Mixed-Method Systematic Review. *Health Communication*, 33(12), 1389-1400. doi:10.1080/10410236.2017.1351278
- Eisenstein, E. L. (1980). *The printing press as an agent of change: Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62(1), 107-115. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x
- Eriksson, G. (2016). The 'ordinary-ization' of televised cooking expertise: A historical study of cooking instruction programmes on Swedish television. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 13, 29-39.
 doi:10.1016/j.dcm.2016.01.001
- Eyal, K., & Rubin, A. M. (2003). Viewer Aggression and Homophily, Identification, and Parasocial Relationships with Television Characters. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 47(1), 77-98. doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem4701_5
- Gerrig, R. J. (1993). *Experiencing narrative worlds*. New Haven, CT: Yale University.
- Giles, D. C. (2002). Parasocial Interaction: A Review of the Literature and a Model for Future Research. *Media Psychology*, 4(3), 279-305. doi:10.1207/s1532785xmep0403_04
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.

- Green, M. C., & Brock, T. C. (2000). The role of transportation in the persuasiveness of public narratives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79*(5), 701–721. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.79.5.701
- Guru. (n.d.). In English by Oxford Dictionaries. Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/guru>
- Harbidge, L. (2013). A recipe for comedy: Come Dine With Me, incongruity and the observational voice-over. *Comedy Studies, 4*(1), 71-82. https://doi.org/10.1386/cost.4.1.71_1
- Hebden, L., King, L., & Kelly, B. (2011). Art of persuasion: An analysis of techniques used to market foods to children. *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health, 47*(11), 776-782. doi:10.1111/j.1440-1754.2011.02025.x
- Hinyard, L. J., & Kreuter, M. W. (2007). Using Narrative Communication as a Tool for Health Behavior Change: A Conceptual, Theoretical, and Empirical Overview. *Health Education & Behavior, 34*(5), 777-792. doi:10.1177/1090198106291963
- Hoffner, C., & Cantor, J. (1991). Perceiving and responding to mass media characters. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Responding to the screen: Reception and reaction processes* (pp. 63–101). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Holmberg, C., Chaplin, J. E., Hillman, T., & Berg, C. (2016). Adolescents' presentation of food in social media: An explorative study. *Appetite, 99*, 121-129. doi:10.1016/j.appet.2016.01.009
- Horton, D., & Wohl, R. R. (1956). Mass communication and para-social interaction: Observations on intimacy at a distance. *Psychiatry, 19*(3), 215–229. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00332747.1956.11023049>
- IJsselsteijn, W., de Kort, Y., Midden, C., Eggen, B., & van den Hoven, E. (2006). Persuasive Technology for Human Well-Being: Setting the Scene. In W. A. IJsselsteijn, Y. A. W. de Kort, C. Midden, B. Eggen, & E. van den Hoven (Eds.), *Persuasive Technology. PERSUASIVE 2006* (pp. 1-5). Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer.
- Jaarcijfers Boek.be 2017. (2018, 14 February). Retrieved from <http://www.boekenvak.be/nieuws/verkoopcijfers-boekenmarkt-2017-bekend>
- Jenkin, G., Madhvani, N., Signal, L., & Bowers, S. (2014). A systematic review of persuasive marketing techniques to promote food to children on television. *Obesity Reviews, 15*, 281-293. doi: 10.1111/obr.12141
- Jeroen Meus. (2013). Retrieved from <https://www.jeroen-meus.com>

- Johnston, J., & Goodman, M. K. (2015). Spectacular foodscapes: Food celebrities and the politics of lifestyle mediation in an age of inequality. *Food, culture & society*, 18(2), 205-222.
<https://doi.org/10.2752/175174415X14180391604369>
- Ketchum, C. (2005). The Essence of Cooking Shows: How the Food Network Constructs Consumer Fantasies. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 29(3), 217-234.
 doi:10.1177/0196859905275972
- Lim, X. J., Radzol, A. R., Cheah, J.-H., & Wong, M. W. (2017). The Impact of Social Media Influencers on Purchase Intention and the Mediation Effect of Customer Attitude. *Asian Journal of Business Research*, 7(2), 19-36. doi: 10.14707/ajbr.170035
- Matwick, K., & Matwick, K. (2014). Storytelling and synthetic personalization in television cooking shows. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 71, 151-159. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2014.08.005
- Matwick, K., & Matwick, K. (2015). Inquiry in television cooking shows. *Discourse & Communication*, 9(3), 313-330. doi:10.1177/1750481315576629
- Matwick, K., & Matwick, K. (2017). Self-deprecatory humor on TV cooking shows. *Language & Communication*, 56, 33-41. doi:10.1016/j.langcom.2017.04.005
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Moyer-Gusé, E. (2008). Toward a Theory of Entertainment Persuasion: Explaining the Persuasive Effects of Entertainment-Education Messages. *Communication Theory*, 18(3), 407-425.
 doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2008.00328.x
- Moyer-Gusé, E., & Nabi, R. L. (2010). Explaining the Effects of Narrative in an Entertainment Television Program: Overcoming Resistance to Persuasion. *Human Communication Research*, 36(1), 26-52. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.2009.01367.x
- Naccarato, P., & Lebesco, K. (2013). *Culinary Capital*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Nathanson, E. (2009). As Easy as Pie: Cooking shows, domestic efficiency, and postfeminist temporality. *Television & New Media*, 10(4), 311-330. doi:10.1177/1527476409332394
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2017). *The content analysis guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Noar, S. M., Benac, C. N., & Harris, M. S. (2007). Does tailoring matter? Meta-analytic review of tailored print health behavior change interventions. *Psychological Bulletin*, 133(4), 673-693.
 doi:10.1037/0033-2909.133.4.673

- Notaker, H. (2017). *A history of cookbooks: From kitchen to page over seven centuries*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Over Sana. (2019). Retrieved from <https://www.nooitmeerdieten.be/over-sana/>
- Perry, E. A., Thomas, H., Samra, H. R., Edmonstone, S., Davidson, L., Faulkner, A., . . . Kirkpatrick, S. I. (2017). Identifying attributes of food literacy: A scoping review. *Public Health Nutrition*, 20(13), 2406-2415. doi:10.1017/s1368980017001276
- Pope, L., Latimer, L., & Wansink, B. (2015). Viewers vs. Doers. The relationship between watching food television and BMI. *Appetite*, 90, 131-135. doi:10.1016/j.appet.2015.02.035
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. G. (1998). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Rousseau, S. (2012a). *Food media: celebrity chefs and the politics of everyday interference*. London: Berg.
- Rousseau, S. (2012b). *Food and social media: You are what you tweet*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira.
- Sandra Bekkari. (2018). Retrieved from <https://www.nooitmeerdieten.be/over-sana/sandra-bekkari/>
- Shapiro, L. (2009). *Perfection salad: Women and cooking at the turn of the century*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Shen, F., Sheer, V. C., & Li, R. (2015). Impact of Narratives on Persuasion in Health Communication: A Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Advertising*, 44(2), 105-113. doi:10.1080/00913367.2015.1018467
- Simons, H. W. (1976). *Persuasion: Understanding, practice, and analysis*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Slater, M. D., & Rouner, D. (2002). Entertainment-Education and Elaboration Likelihood: Understanding the Processing of Narrative Persuasion. *Communication Theory*, 12(2), 173-191. doi:10.1093/ct/12.2.173
- Snyder, L. B., Hamilton, M. A., Mitchell, E. W., Kiwanuka-Tondo, J., Fleming-Milici, F., & Proctor, D. (2004). A Meta-Analysis of the Effect of Mediated Health Communication Campaigns on Behavior Change in the United States. *Journal of Health Communication*, 9(Sup1), 71-96. doi:10.1080/10810730490271548
- Stempel, G. H. (1952). Sample size for classifying subject matter in dailies: Research in brief. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 29(3), 333-334.
- Stiff, J. B., & Mongeau, P. A. (2003). *Persuasive Communication* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Guilford

Press.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Technique* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, London: Sage.

Tinker, T., & Fouse, D. (2009). *Special report: Expert round table on social media and risk communication during times of crisis: Strategic challenges and opportunities*. Washington: APHA (American Public Health Association).

Tolson, A. (2006). *Media talk: Spoken discourse of TV and radio*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Verbeke, W. (2008). Impact of communication on consumers' food choices. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society*, 67, 281-288. doi:10.1017/S0029665108007179

Vergeyle, J. (2019, February 11). Culinaire superster Yotam Ottolenghi op tournee in ons land: "Laat mijn recepten maar voor mij spreken. *VRT NWS*. Retrieved from <https://www.vrt.be/>

Vidgen, H. A., & Gallegos, D. (2014). Defining food literacy and its components. *Appetite*, 76, 50-59. doi:10.1016/j.appet.2014.01.010

Villani, A. M., Egan, T., Keogh, J. B., & Clifton, P. M. (2015). Attitudes and beliefs of Australian adults on reality television cooking programmes and celebrity chefs. Is there cause for concern? Descriptive analysis presented from a consumer survey. *Appetite*, 91, 7-12. doi:10.1016/j.appet.2015.03.021

Williams, P. (2005). Consumer Understanding and Use of Health Claims for Foods. *Nutrition Reviews*, 63(7), 256-264. doi:10.1111/j.1753-4887.2005.tb00382.x

Winer, R. S. (2009). New communications approaches in marketing: issues and research directions. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, 23, 108-117.

Zindzi, G., Bennett, J. & Wunderlich, S. (2018). The relationships between Instagram use and fad dieting: feelings of self-efficacy and confidence in nutrition knowledge. Poster presented at the 2018 American Society for Nutrition conference, Boston MA, June 9-12 2018.