Topologies of power and moments of possibility
a critical analysis of celebrity governance in food and humanitarian campaigns in the UK

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Thesis abstract

This thesis explores the ways in which celebrity and the media have the possibility to exercise power in two key sites: celebrity chefs and their impacts on food consumption and the governance of public emotion within celebrity-charity relationships. This recognises that in moving beyond and blurring the boundaries of entertainment and politics, celebrities can work across society in ways that are meaningful and matter in important ways. Drawing on geographical concepts of power and governance and research on cosmopolitan celebrity, agro-food issues, responsibility and care, this study offers a novel perspective on celebrity governance, celebrity authority, expertise and power. Celebrities are conceptualised as creating moments of possibility: a change or shift in public discourse, within which they may exercise a soft form of topological power, deeply embedded in the everyday, seeping into our knowledge, practices around food and care in multiple, complex and contradictory ways.

The research examines each stage of the celebrity campaign: campaign production, campaign materials, and their reception and dissemination by audiences. A mixed methodology of interviews, cultural discourse analysis, and survey is employed. A large-scale audience survey (n=600) is the first of its kind and offers new and crucial insights into the ways that audiences- and thus society more broadly engage with celebrity and using (or not) the knowledge, information and guidance they offer through moments of possibility.

What emerges is a highly organised media-celebrity production system anchoring the 'work' of celebrity within entertainment, and the various social spaces it cuts across. This

simultaneously uses the celebrity as a well-known figure to draw in wider audiences and also works to 'hide' the elite and celebrity status of these individuals within their powerful narratives. The relationship between audiences and celebrities is complex and problematic, endowed with multiple meanings and values, negotiated through ever changing relations of trust, familiarity and authenticity. As a result of this, celebrities within food and charity campaigns open up spaces of simultaneous possibility and resistance for audiences, and for society more broadly. Conceptualised as opposing 'moments of possibility' these allow media focused campaigns and their chosen celebrities to play powerful and important roles in governing public understanding and behaviours in landscapes of food and care, but also to resist these mediated actors and their interference in our lives. Far from being dismissed as trivial entertainment, celebrity and media represent key governance figures, supported by capital-intensive, cultural processes that exercise new forms of topological power within broader neo-liberal landscapes of care and responsibility.

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Chapter One. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Why do we listen to what George Clooney has to say about Haiti, what Jamie Oliver wants to feed our children and why is it that we just 'have' to eat at the newest celebrity restaurant? What is it about celebrities—and indeed, 'celebrity' itself—that makes us pay attention, care about and trust what they say and want to be associated with them, at least for a moment, in a number of different ways? In short, celebrity is playing an increasingly important role in shaping how consumerist-oriented, neo-liberal society is constructed along the lines of taste, fashion and image (e.g. Turner, 2013) but also in shaping how, why and where we care, where and in what ways power flows and, fundamentally, the organisation of both space and place (e.g. Boykoff and Goodman 2009; Goodman 2010; Littler 2008; Marshall 1997; McNamara 2009). This influence has rapidly grown against a wider social backdrop of mistrust and disengagement with the state and more traditional politics and political structures (Weiskel 2005) in which a wide range of non-state actors, now including celebrities, are informing and outlining social, economic, environmental and political issues (Rutherford 2007). It is imperative to explore the rise of celebrities and the operation of celebrity as powerful nodes in new modalities of contemporary governance: where and how are they situated, who are the key 'actors', where and how do they operate, and how do they gain and exert their influence and power and, importantly, to what societal, individual and spatial effects?

The phenomenon of celebrity and celebrity culture continues to grow with no signs of slowing (Marshall 2010); in fact it is now almost impossible to avoid engaging with celebrity in some form on a near daily basis, infiltrating our lives in every conceivable way from

consumption to politics as well as a continual entertainment stream. New media outlets and opportunities to produce, represent and consume celebrity are continually emerging, and mainstream media coverage increasingly includes celebrity coverage both as entertainment and news, as well as politics (Boykoff and Goodman 2009). The production of celebrity exists as an industry in its own right, working within neoliberal norms that commodify and sell valued individuals. It is not a fixed or static industry such as manufacturing, but highly dynamic, fluid and changeable, dependent on local contexts, media technologies, audiences, and most importantly the celebrities themselves (Hesmondhalgh 2005; Turner *et al*. 2000). A key facet of this industry is to render itself invisible, so that the finished celebrity product emerges complete and naturally occurring (Hesmondhalgh 2005). While celebrity culture has had a long history and is geographically differentiated, here the focus lies on the rise and power of a distinct and heavily mediated, Western model of celebrity observed at the present and within the UK (Driessens 2013). Celebrity culture, driven by mass media and facilitated through complex interactions between celebrities and their audience, creates opportunities for celebrity to directly and diffusely influence society in diverse and previously unexpected ways (Boykoff and Goodman 2009; Brockington 2009; Littler 2008). Celebrity is now being taken seriously as a social structure, laden with cultural value, proving its capacity to attract attention, drive consumption, and influence multiple aspects of daily life. Recognising that celebrity exists beyond mere spectacle, with opportunity for both (and often simultaneously) financial return and political impetus, opens up celebrity to new, significant and valuable avenues of academic enquiry (Turner 2010).

It will be argued that celebrity now plays an indisputable role in the governance of neo-liberal political economies, offering affective authority (Thrift 2006; Connolly 2005) in place

of declining traditional forms and processes of political decision making (Weiskel 2005). Charismatic celebrities hold forms of authority and trust within public and private spheres allowing them to shape how, what, when and where we care, with important spatial, social and epistemological consequences (McEwan and Goodman 2010; Turner 2013; Littler 2008; McNamara 2009). Building on Marshall's work (1997) in both direct and indirect ways, power is understood to be held and deployed by celebrities and used to influence society in a number of different ways. Here, mass media plays a fundamental role in manufacturing and controlling celebrity, their public image and exposure (Evans 2005). Thus, celebrity governance and the governance of celebrity/celebrities are highly mediated processes that raise important questions not only about who is shaping contemporary societies, but the media contexts this is being done through and the ways in which celebrity power then, in turn, affects and constructs these media and, to a certain extent, their audiences. Integral to an understanding of modern celebrity culture is a recognition of its constructed and manufactured nature: the way celebrity is produced and consumed has an important influence on the shape and role of media industries as well as wider social impacts on those who consume celebrity. In other words, the specific ways in which celebrity is practiced are embedded in the materialities which both create celebrity and how this praxis then grants them a (political) voice within society (Goodman and Barnes, 2011).

This thesis examines the possibility of celebrity power within new and beyond-the-state assemblages of governance, working across social spaces to construct knowledge and narratives that govern public understanding and behaviour (Swyngedouw 2005). This study will conceptualise celebrity power and investigate the ways that celebrity may act as a *tool of governance*, highlighting the emergence of celebrity as a new and unexpected actor in contemporary landscapes of humanitarian and food governance. Geographical work on

power and governance will serve as the overarching theoretical framework for this thesis and thread the case studies together. This recognises governance as made up of multiple state and non-state actors that present new ways of analysing and exercising power in society that include celebrity. It will employ an understanding of power and governmentality as laid out by Michel Foucault, defining power as a social relation working through multiple micro-centres and the assemblages of state and non-state actors and practices that seek to govern populations (Foucault 1984, 1991, 2001; Rose and Miller 2008). Additionally it will analyse the characteristics of expertise, credibility, authenticity and authority in celebrity politics. The distinction between 'expert' and 'non-expert' within science and politics, and the application of concepts of credibility and authority, provides a valuable point of comparison for celebrity and opens up space to explore the characteristics that define different forms of celebrity power and governance.

Celebrity influence on the 'cultural politics' (Boykoff and Goodman 2009) of food and charity will be explored through theories of lifestyle expertise (Lewis 2010), care (Lawson 2007), responsibilisation (Shamir 2008) and commodification (Goodman 2004). Understanding these particular relationships is important to not only gain insight into their specificities in the deployment of power by celebrities and the constructions of celebrity in the UK, but these cases work to facilitate the important understanding of how the powerful social and mediated forces of celebrities—in the form of their bodies, politics, discourses and socio-economic power—influences what and how we care about others, what we eat and the spaces/place we go and engage with. In addition, these new 'locations' of governance in the form(s) of celebrities/celebrity must be engaged with in terms of the relationalities of race, class and gender between the celebrities and their consuming audiences/publics; all of these areas of proposed study, especially those related to the

forms of celebrity governance highlighted above, remain unexplored and under-theorised in the inter- and cross-disciplinary fields this proposed work will contribute to. Both socially and academically this work is important in its contributions to understanding the governance of public understanding, relationships and behaviours across landscapes of food and care, and the celebrity actors who are taking on these roles.

1.2 Aims and Objectives/ Research questions

Through the examination of two distinct forms of celebrity-occupied social spaces this thesis will define celebrity power and explore its practice empirically: celebrity chefs and their engagement with food and its wider politics, and celebrity charity advocates and their engagement with issues of charity, development and humanitarianism.

This aim will be achieved through seven specific objectives:

1) Analyse the rise of celebrity and celebrity culture, and the growth of celebrity politics;

2) Conceptualise and define celebrity power, paying attention to the ways celebrities are blurring the boundaries and moving across social spheres;

3) Critically examine the nature and operation of celebrity power, with a focus on normative appeals towards social change and governance of the self;

4) In doing this, consider the impacts of celebrity power and the possibility to participate and/or resist this creates for audiences;

5) Consider the contribution to geographical understanding of power, food and care through a critical lens of celebrity and media;

6) Investigate audience engagement with politicised celebrity and their exercises of power, exploring the impacts of engagements with and through these powerful forms of celebrity;

7) Map the production of celebrity media to explore the ways that celebrities not only frame topics, programmes and TV shows, but also if and how this allows them to produce particular cultures around food and charity.

At a broader level these objectives will contribute new ways of understanding and theorising celebrity and celebrity power in contemporary society. Examination of these case studies allows the changing role and manifestation of celebrity and its possible power exercises to be mapped, generating an innovative, interdisciplinary approach to celebrity studies. Drawing on concepts of governance (Dean 1999), cosmopolitan celebrity caring (Littler 2008), moral economies (Jackson *et al*. 2009), geographies of responsibility (Noxolo *et al.* 2012) and science and technology studies (Hilgartner 2000), this study will offer a unique perspective on celebrity power and governance, as well as engaging in debates about celebrity authority and expertise. It seeks to engage the audience research work within media studies, particularly Hall's (2006) 'Encoding/Decoding' concept, to inform an understanding of the ways that audiences create meanings from media texts. In doing so it pays particular attention to television as the medium through which these mediated celebrity power exercises are enacted. Television retains a prominent place as the most significant cultural industry, vital in creating, sharing and consuming ideas and values across society (Hesmondhalgh 2013; Tinic 2009). The thesis also contributes to geographical literature on power, governance, food and care arguing that both the media and celebrity have the possibility to play important roles in shaping how society functions, and more importantly how it is negotiated and made sense of by the public. It argues that celebrity should be taken seriously as a social influence, cultural phenomenon and that greater

attention be paid to the relationships of power and knowledge forged as celebrity permeates politicised spaces beyond celebrity and entrainment.

Situated within and contributing to an inter-disciplinary mix of geography, sociology, media and cultural studies and the growing cognate field of celebrity studies (e.g. Marshall 1997; Redmond and Holmes 2008), this project aims to investigate two different and novel forms of celebrity governance in the UK: 1) celebrity chefs and their impacts on food consumption and food politics, 2) the governance of public emotion and caring through the growth of celebrity-charity relationships. These particular case studies have been chosen due to their role in influencing society and their prevalence, rather than as merely an element in popular culture. Methodologically the thesis draws on qualitative approaches emerging and justified through Geography's cultural turn. The research examines each stage of the celebrity campaign: media production, campaign materials and media products, and their reception and dissemination by audiences. Using a mixed methodology this study draws on semi-structured interviews with key senior staff at case study organisations, cultural discourse analysis of the material output of celebrity programmes and its surrounding media, and audience survey. A large scale audience survey (n=600) is the first of its kind and offers new and crucial insights into the ways that audiences- and thus society more broadly- are actually engaging with celebrity and using (or not) the knowledge, information and guidance they offer.

1.3 Thesis structure

In exploring celebrity power within the context of changing governance structures across society that are inclusive of non-state and non-science actors, as well as the expansion of

celebrity culture into serious spheres of society the thesis is structured as follows. Chapter two provides a literature review that sets out the overarching framework for the thesis as a whole, identifying broadly what its intellectual contribution will be. Engaging with geographical literature around cultural economy (Jessop and Oosterlynck 2008), celebrity culture (Turner 2013), social studies of knowledge and expertise (Collins and Evans 2002) and governance (Dean 1999), the chapter lays out the conceptual debates that this research at its broadest seeks to contribute to. This draws on the work of Foucault (1991) around power as an immanent force working across social relations. In setting out in broad brushstrokes the themes of the thesis, the spaces through which celebrity power may work and be supported are described. Before turning to the empirical research, chapter three lays out the methodology of the study. This chapter describes the methods employed in the research as well as the case studies, their selection and justification, and the rationale for the research overall. As well as describing the research that was carried out, it will also reflect on the wider politics and issues in conducting this research including access to celebrity organisations, and the use of survey data as a research tool.

Chapters four, five, six and seven analyse the empirical case studies and work to examine celebrity power at each stage of the celebrity media supply chain, so to speak. This approach emulate the work by du Gay *et al.* (2013) on *circuits of culture:* the interrelated processes of representation, consumption, identity, production and regulation that must be analysed to fully understand the meanings around any given object. Across the chapters, I define celebrity power, then focus on the spaces of food and care and the different exercises of power and audience engagement with each, and the production of these mediated celebrity products and the reach of power within them. Celebrity chefs and celebrity charitable relations form the two examples examined as sites of celebrity power

and governance. Within these chapters the research focuses on celebrity chefs Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall and their associated companies and media production enterprises, chosen for their prominent celebrity status within food media as well as their engagement in food campaigning far beyond teaching audiences how to cook. Likewise, charitable relations with celebrity are examined through UK charity Comic Relief, selected for its unique fundraising model organised around televised celebrity entertainment.

Chapter four titled 'New topologies of power? Mediated governance in celebrity spaces of food and charity' offers theorisation around the concept of celebrity power. The extension of celebrity beyond spaces of entertainment and their participation and commitment to a variety of political, economic and cultural issues has been increasingly recognised by academics who are taking seriously their role in meaning making and identity. Celebrity literature has not yet fully addressed issues of celebrity power beyond nebulous assertions to the influence of this group as a collective. This chapter aims to conceptualise and define celebrity power and think about its potential to govern particular areas of social life. It firstly reviews recent literature on geographies of food and agro-food studies (Goodman 2002), and geographies of care, affect and responsibility (McEwan and Goodman 2010) to assess the ways that power is thought about within this work. Although power is considered across these fields of study, it is done so only in a general way to describe a vague force at work and this fails to capture the specificities of power as it works differentially across each space. Moreover, media and celebrity are not considered within this previous work. I thus argue firstly, that celebrity and media be included within this research, recognised as important mediating actors in shaping the landscapes of food and care. Secondly, I argue for a definition of celebrity power that is mindful of the detail and difference in power exercises. Drawing on the work of Foucault (1991, 2001), theories of power within

geography (Allen 2003, 2011b), and literature on celebrity and power more broadly (Marshall 1997), the complexities and particularities of celebrity power will here be defined.

At a general level celebrity power is understood to operate across mediated social relations of everyday private and public spaces through dispersed micro-centres. Moreover it is argued that the type of celebrity, the individual celebrity, and the spaces across which they work all matter greatly in the forms that celebrity power may take- or the lens of power through which they may be analysed. Two examples of celebrity space will be examined to consider empirically the specificities of celebrity power. Firstly celebrity chefs will be considered through a frame of topological power that works to (re)connect the public with food though mediated performances of branded food knowledge. This analysis examines the different ways that Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall have used their celebrity to construct food knowledge that encourage audiences to conform to their branded narratives of 'good food'. Secondly, celebrity advocates will be defined as exercising forms of biopower which seek to control the lives of both the Others in need and of the participating public. Those who Comic Relief's fundraising seeks to help are defined in this thesis as Others, and includes those in need both in the UK and internationally but whose lives are distinct from the public who donate money to the charity in terms of either experience distance, and/ or spatial distance.

In chapter five, 'Mediating good food and moments of possibility with Jamie Oliver: Problematizing celebrity chefs as talking labels', explores the powerful and mediating role of celebrity chefs over audience relationships with food through an analysis of Jamie Oliver and his recent series *Save with Jamie*. The chapter firstly situates the role of celebrity chefs

theoretically, defining them as 'talking labels' who may act both as knowledge intermediaries and boundary objects to connect audiences with food in multiple ways. This draws on the work of Sally Eden and colleagues around the 'sense-making' that consumers do via knowledge intermediaries highlighting the importance of trust in negotiating understandings around 'good food' (Eden 2011; Eden *et al*. 2008). The active construction and mediation of discourses around 'good food' by celebrity chefs is here considered. As trusted, credible, well-liked public figures, chefs step into our private home spaces through our televisions to convey food information in a charismatic, entertaining and accessible way. Like traditional food labels, chef's words can be 'sticky' and take hold in public imaginations in a way that goes far beyond the capacity of food products labels. Yet the relationship between chefs and audiences is far from straightforward and so the paper also aims to explore how these talking labels are understood and 'used' by audiences in their everyday food practices. Drawing selectively from the audience survey as well as the series, *Save with Jamie*, this paper reveals the different ways that audiences 'talk back' to chefs both positively and negatively to create moments of simultaneous possibility and resistance for audience relations with food. This revealed complex relationships between audiences, chefs and food. It also suggests that the powerful work on celebrity chefs functions as part of a new mediated mechanism within food governance. The changing relationships between audience and chef are examined through Jamie Oliver's use of social media as an extension of the *Save with Jamie* campaign, offering direct communication between chef and public.

Chapter six, 'The Power of Laughter: Comic Relief, celebrity and performances of care', address the relationship between charity and celebrity through an examination of UK charity Comic Relief. The relationship between charity and celebrity is not new, nor is it

unusual; in a crowded charity market celebrities are often used to draw public attention to a campaign or issue. Yet within geographical literature on care, the media, and celebrity have received little attention either conceptually or empirically (Lawson 2007). This chapter seeks to redress this, considering televised celebrity fundraising by UK charity Comic Relief as a mechanism for extending care over distances in meaningful ways. In 'selling' charity to us and seeking donations or other behaviours, celebrities are altering the practices, organisation and politics within landscapes of care in the UK today in important and at times problematic ways. Comic Relief differs from other charity-celebrity relations in that their entire fundraising model is organised around celebrity, using high profile annual telethon events to capture the public attention and donations through celebrity entertainment. Whilst the positive work Comic Relief do to connect audiences to global humanitarian issues and fund aid and development projects is applauded, the tensions around the process of 'othering' by and through Comic Relief's fundraising will be considered.

Drawing on geographical literature on care, power and celebrity the performances of care by celebrity in Comic Relief will be conceptualised as a topological form of power working to dissolve distance to foster relations of care over space. The extension of care over distance has been widely problematised within geography (Milligan 2000) and this case study offers a practical mechanism that sees the reach of caring actions extended through the interface of celebrity. The performance of care by individual celebrities matters greatly to the success of these connections, revealed through empirical analysis of interviews with senior directors at Comic Relief and analysis of films of celebrity performance of care in the place of projects. The chapter then has three aims: firstly it seeks to consider the specific practices of power by celebrity within Comic Relief. This is defined as a form of topological biopower that has the possibility to connect audiences to Others in need, and then to

govern their lives in different ways. Secondly, drawing on interviews with senior staff at Comic Relief, it pays attention to the performances of care by celebrity, the relationship between Comic Relief and celebrity, and the particular narratives around care, responsibility and citizenship they weave. Thirdly it considers the performances of specific celebrity individuals to discuss the characteristics that contribute to successful and powerful celebrity performances. The chapter reveals that while the knowledge and understanding of issues by celebrity is important, what overshadows this in the context of 'care-full' power exercises, is their ability to demonstrate that they themselves care about the issues.

Finally, chapter seven, 'Producing the mediated governance of care and food: behind the scenes of celebrity media space', turns the gaze behind the scenes to analyse the way that celebrity television is developed and produced. Chapter four, five and six have explored and theorised the exercise of power by particular celebrities in the context of food and charitable care, examining the new or shifted cultural discourses they have created and their impact through the engagement by audiences both with celebrity and the issues they transmit. In doing this I argue that celebrity, in particular forms and particular spaces, has the capacity to enact mediated forms of governance. Yet these celebrities do not work alone. Teams of people work to orchestrate the media space in which celebrities act working to position these stars so they can perform their own branded knowledge and narratives to us. From development producers, editors, commissioners, brand managers, artist liaison, script writers, film crew, stylists, and so on the list of people involved in constructing the celebritized media spaces discussed above is long. In looking behind the scenes at the media production industries an understanding will be developed of the organisations, people and practices that work to construct the spaces through which

celebrity power may work. From development of ideas to airing on television, this chapter considers how celebrity media is constructed, the input of celebrity into their television production, and therefore the extent that celebrity power can be seen to be reaching 'inwards' into their own media platforms.

The production of mediated governance is considered in three ways: Firstly drawing on work around cultural economy (Gibson 2005), the production of culture by and through the media will be considered broadly and then in the context of food and charity specifically. Secondly ideas around media power will be used to analyse the work done by production companies, charities, and chef organisations internally *and* externally to enframe space through which knowledge is constructed and celebrity power is exercised (Couldry 2003; Mitchell 2002). Thirdly the role of technology and social media in changing media production as well as its consumption and engagement by audiences will be considered (Thomas 2014), pulling out some of the differences between food and charity programming. The chapter concludes by thinking briefly about what the production of mediated spaces means for the power and governance performed by celebrities.

The thesis is concluded in chapter eight. Here the academic contribution that this research seeks to make to the geographical literature on power, food and care, and to the growing multidisciplinary field of celebrity studies in raising questions of celebrity power and, more importantly, of audience engagement with celebrity. The dissertation's key findings will be outlined and linked back to the wider literature they sit within. Here the limits to this research will also be briefly discussed. It will finish by offering suggestions for future research emerging from this project, looking to running focus group interviews with

audiences to open up in depth a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between
audience and celebrity, thinking, in particular, about the impact of celebrity on audience
understandings and behaviours in relation to issues with public consequences at multiple
scales from individual bodies to the global.

Chapter Two. Situating celebrity power within Geography: cultural geographies, governance and celebrity

2.1 Introduction

This thesis at its broadest argues that celebrity and the media have the possibility to govern public understanding and behaviour across particular social spaces and in doing so shape the socio-cultural landscapes they work across. In doing this it firstly takes seriously celebrity and its evolving function across social spaces as it blurs the lines between entertainment and politics, education, government, economy and so on. Secondly it conceptualises and defines the notion of celebrity power thinking about the specific ways that these mediated actors may work across the public in meaningful ways that matter. Thirdly two empirical case studies are examined to explore how celebrity power is exercised in practice. Here the public facing spaces of food and charitable care are taken to task and the role of celebrity to govern these spaces is examined. In examining these celebrity media spaces through the proposed framing of celebrity power the engagement and response to these celebrity spaces by audiences are opened up, as well as considering the construction of the programmes by the media and production companies. Before approaching questions of celebrity power this chapter will provide a review of the literature that informs and provides the context against which this research is set.

It is worth reiterating here that the power and governance that celebrities are conceptualised as exercising and/or contributing to is focused on the public and changing their understandings and behaviours in particular ways. This is not to imply that celebrities do not work within the private sector, or influence policy and decision-making in important ways. There are clear examples of celebrities taking part in the existing policy making

process and working within formal government and governance systems. Celebrity chef Jamie Oliver successfully lobbied the UK government to increase funding for school meals; rock star Bono has worked as an adviser to the US government on the spending of their AIDs budget in Africa; and actor Arnold Schwarzenegger sat as the Governor of California between 2003 and 2011. Some of these will be discussed within this thesis, most notably the work of celebrity chefs. Here, however, the concern is with the influence of celebrity across the public as they engage through key everyday and private spaces. This influence is understood to be at once more mundane and smaller in scale, but at the same time with the capacity to alter the actions and knowledge of the public in ways that matter in their own lives as well as collectively across society.

In taking seriously the work of celebrities and seeking to conceptualise their powerful actions beyond the confines of entertainment this chapter firstly reviews literature from the growing field of celebrity studies. This will examine the ways that celebrities' functions may (or may not) be changing and how this is being address and reflected within celebrity research. This body of work recognises the importance of celebrities and the media spaces they work through in influencing society culturally and more broadly. The concept of 'celebritisation' is used here to analyse the blurring of celebrity culture and traditionally non-celebrity spaces including climate change, charity, politics and conservation (Driessens 2013). Subjects beyond celebrity studies have taken up this concept to question the social and cultural extension, embedding and embodiment of celebrity (e.g. Boykoff and Goodman 2009). Secondly drawing on the work of, and relating to Michel Foucault, the concept of governmentality is deployed and utilised, providing a theoretic frame through which the concept of celebrity power can be contextualised and defined. At the same time as informing theorisation around celebrity power, selective governance literature will be

used to consider the ways that celebrity may work as an important actor/agent in mediated forms of governance. Power and the possibility of celebrity power are mentioned briefly here, but the majority of the discussions around power and celebrity power are reserved until chapter four.

Broadly this thesis is situated within four distinct, though overlapping sets of literature that will inform the analysis of the case studies throughout my empirical chapters. This chapter will briefly review each of these in the context of this research and thus provide an overarching framework within which celebrity power is conceptualised and the examples of celebrity chefs and charity ambassadors explored. Within each empirical chapter the specific literature relating to each case studied is focused on; literature on the geographies of power and Foucauldian power informs the conceptualisation of celebrity power in chapter four, work on food labelling and knowledge intermediaries contextualises the analysis of Jamie Oliver in chapter five, scholarship on the geographies of care and responsibility is used to think about the power of celebrity to extend the reach of care through Comic Relief's campaigns in chapter six, and finally literature around the media power provides a foundation for the analysis of the production of celebrity media in chapter seven.

In setting the scene for the focused analyses of celebrity power this chapter has three broad aims. Firstly it draws on research emerging in the wake of the cultural turn to understand the ways that culture, and its influence on social, economic, and political life, is being taken seriously within the discipline of Geography (Crang 2013). The function of celebrity as meaning maker in modern life makes them well suited to analysis within cultural

geographies. Moreover the qualitative methodological approaches encouraged by the cultural turn are relevant for the investigation of celebrity power at hand here. Recognising the interrelatedness of culture and economy, a cultural-economy approach is used to inform the analysis of celebrity as a driver of both cultural meaning and economic production. Cultural economy recognises the complex relationships and tensions between not only culture and economy, but also their relationships with (and thus impacts on) society, politics, environment, non-market institutions and knowledge (Gibson 2012). Celebrity is a cultural sign for meaning making and identity but is also an economic commodity (Marshall 1997). The embeddedness of culture and economy in constructing materially bound meaning and values, as well as sets of norms and practice that determine how the economy and society works, is I argue a rational position to begin opening up the work of celebrity and the blurred, entangled cultural-economic relations they may now embody.

Secondly, I draw on the growing body of literature around celebrity studies to chart the historical rise of celebrity culture before turning to consider the shifting function of celebrity as its extends across more than entertainment spaces. Multidisciplinary interest in celebrity sees work from Geography, Sociology, Anthropology, Cultural and Media Studies critically engaging celebrity and its culture in a variety of historical, social and geographical contexts. Celebrity, as stated above, can provide an important mechanism through which meanings, norms, and identities are guided across society (Rojek 2001). The possibility of celebrity power emerges from the extension of celebrity beyond entertainment into the realms of politics, science, advocacy, and business (Driessens 2013). Here then the blurring of boundaries between celebrity and other areas of society will be examined, considering the space this opens up for celebrities to construct knowledge and

narratives that govern the public in different ways. The relationship between celebrities and their audience is critical to the possible exercises of power and governance by celebrity. Traditionally this 'para-social relationship' has involved one way, unreciprocated communications between celebrities and their audience, creating a false sense of intimacy and familiarity though their performances (Turner 2013). Media technologies, particularly social sites such as Twitter and Instagram, are changing these relationships in important ways as well as altering the control celebrities have over their own public image (Marshall 2010). Drawing on these changing celebrity forms and relations with audiences frames the analysis of celebrity power and governance in the spaces of food and charitable care.

Thirdly, work from the social studies of knowledge and science will be used to develop an understanding of the way expertise and credibility work within technical decision-making. Public facing scientific issues such as Ebola, GM crops or nuclear power involve a large element of public debate conducted through the media and sees decision making negotiated by a range of actors - both expert and non-expert (Poortina and Pigeon 2004). The changing structure of technical decision making to include non-state and non-scientific voices is important in understanding the perceptions of expertise, broadened to include non-technical, and lay knowledge holders (Collins and Evans 2002). In looking at the ways that science and politics have opened new ways of thinking about expertise and then 'doing' decision-making is useful for the analysis of celebrity power. I argue that the opening up of scientific decision making and the re-establishment of epistemological knowledge hierarchies that do not centre on science signal a wider shift in social decision making that is increasingly open to non-state actors including celebrity. More importantly what this discussion highlights is the importance of performance to the expertise, authority and credibility of science and politics (Hilgarter 2000). The analysis of the charismatic and

cultural authority embodied by celebrity can thus be extended in meaningful ways by looking to the performances of expertise within science.

Lastly then, this chapter briefly reviews geographical work on governance to inform at a broad level the detailed conceptualisation of power that is set out in chapter four. Defined by Swyngedouw (2005) as 'governance-beyond-the-state', this section explores the increased role in the decision making and implementation of policy by both private actors embedded in the economy and to public bodies and communities. Considering this through the example of environmental governance (Bulkeley 2012) the inclusion of non-state actors in changing governance structures are discussed. Analysis of non-state governance draws on Foucault's (1991) concept of 'governmentality' to think about the actors and process that govern society in the everyday and private spaces and the role of knowledge production within that. Linking back across literature of culturally and economically embedded meaning making, changing celebrity functions, renewed understandings, and the central role of non-state actors in modern governance assemblages, celebrities are positioned as important tools of governance that have the possibility to work across society in the everyday, through mediated and meaningful exercises of power.

The chapter proceeds as follows: firstly it reviews Geography's cultural turn and the research emerging from a cultural economy approach, suggesting the relevance of this method for analysing celebrity. Secondly a review of celebrity culture is offered highlighting the historical rise of celebrity, the extension of celebrity into politicised roles, and the media technologies that are changing celebrity-audience relations and celebrity itself in important ways. Following this, expertise, credibility and authority as characteristics central to

possible celebrity power are considered through a discussion of these issues within science. Lastly, literature on governance is reviewed to frame the practical ways that celebrity governance may be seen to be working as part of wider shifts in governance regimes to include wide participation of non-state actors.

2.2 Geography's 'cultural turn' and cultural economy

Geography's so-called 'cultural turn' in the late 1980s saw culture taking centre stage within many human geography research agendas and is associated with the rise of qualitative research methods within the discipline:

> By the 'cultural turn', it was implied that the accumulations of ways of seeing, means of communicating, constructions of value, senses of identity should be taken as important in their own right, rather than just a by-product of economic formations (Shurmer-Smith 2002:1).

This period saw not only culture being taken seriously but also the rise of new fields of cultural geography and the incorporation of cultural analysis across a range of existing geographical sub-disciplines including economic, historical and environmental geographies (Crang 2013). An important part of 'the turn' has seen a rejection of the dichotomy between the economic and the cultural instead analysis the meaning, cultural and social practice, and identity making that emerge across and between economy and culture (James 2006). It is not 'the economy' or 'the culture' as fixed or finished objects that are under investigation but rather the practices, processes, meaning and values that contribute to each of them as ongoing projects (Gibson 2012). Cultural Geography examines the way meanings are negotiated across space and place and so is a good place from which to examine the production of media and knowledge with cultural influence (Crang 2013; Gibson and Kong 2005). At its broadest level this research is interested in the ways meaning,

identity and everyday practices are governed by and through the media and celebrity. The conceptualisation and analysis of celebrity power within this thesis is deeply rooted in the social and cultural and so an understanding of what is meant by 'culture' is pertinent here. In recognising culture as a process in which we all participate, Crang describes culture in this way:

> The culture, then, concerns the meaningful mapping and one's position in it. It concerns practices of identity, meaning and signification- practices which are not inevitably closed around the assigning of an aesthetic sign, but which also always, at the same time, have the potential for involving moral-ethical attribution of significance….Cultures as things are the starting point of analytical endeavour, not the end point. In and of themselves they explain nothing (1997: 5).

Therefore it is the activity, practice, process, and things happening within culture that matter and are meaningful rather than culture existing as an 'object' in and of itself. At the same time this highlights the need for critical attention to be paid to how culture is deployed in the economic. Jessop and Oosterlynck (2008) argue that the research emerging from political and economic geographies following the cultural turn could be improved by employing a 'cultural political economy' approach to produce a "distinctive post-disciplinary approach to the analysis of capitalist social formations" (1155).

A cultural-economy perspective draws on the understanding of economy and culture as related and the culturally rooted registers that drive economic life. Cultural economy describes the influence/role of culture in shaping economic processes and patterns recognising the 'hybrid entanglements' between culture and economy and the powerful effects they have over the way life today works (Amin and Thrift 2007). It takes into account the complex relationships of the economic paying particular attention to the roles of non-market institutions, moral values, knowledge, trust and power (Gibson 2012; Gibson and

Kong 2005; Hudson 2008). Taking culture seriously this approach highlights the interrelatedness of culture and economy: "the economic is understood as embedded in the cultural…represented through cultural media of symbols, signs and discourses" while the cultural is "materialized in the economic" (Crang 1997: 4). Complex systems of meaning and practice work across the cultural and economic in ways that affect the conduct, norms, and values across society (Gibson and King 2005; Gibson 2012; James 2006; Jessop and Oosterlynck 2008). Celebrity as an important marker and sign in society is widely recognised in its value in meaning-making and identity formation as well as existing as a commodified product, fitting readily into a cultural-economy perspective. The strength of this approach is that it considers culture as the product of many influences, activities and organisations and how that then goes on to constitute governance mechanisms. Various forms of creative media produce and reproduce cultural ideas "actively shaping interactions in and with places according to various cultural norms" (Crang 2013: 81).

How has cultural economy shaped work within Geography then? A wealth of research agendas that embrace on one had the signs, symbols and meaning that seep from culture into the economic to give value, and on the other to the cultural industries that increasingly drive economies (Amin and Thrift 2007). McFall suggests that:

> Cultural economy works best when it is thought of, not as a label or a description, but as a means of connection, a nexus through which the analysis of economic and organisational life can be brought together to try out new ways of thinking about old problems alongside old ways of thinking about new problems (2008: 233).

Cultural economy is therefore well placed to analyse new objects of social science research including branding, advertising, corporate governance and media. A prominent stream of research has focused on the way the urban is connected and shaped by cultural-economy

in the everyday giving rise to new understanding or interpretations of the urban economy. The rise of the creative industries are driving forms of economic activity deeply embedded in the cultural, from media, architects, theatre, film and engineering. Florida (2012) perceives this as being mobilised through a creative class whose work practice and lifestyle choices have far reaching consequences across the economy. In a different vein Christophers (2012) has analysed the ways that creative industries in the UK have been used as a political tool by the UK government through the production of powerful geographic knowledge in defining and then mapping these industries in ways that extend their regulatory power and simultaneously see their political goals achieved. What this body of work reveals is new forms of urban economy driven by creative and cultural cities, actively produced by and through culture and the systems of production embedded within it (Scott 2000, 2010).

Cultural-economy approaches have much to offer other areas of geography, and can be productively employed in areas that see a meeting of environment and human science. Gibson (2012) argues that climate change debates could be moved beyond the 'empty rhetoric of sustainability' by employing a cultural economy approach that opens up the cultural construction of the economic tools that have determined how climate change has typically been (mis)managed across the economy as a whole. Global Production Networks theories could be enhanced by a cultural economy reading that gives attention to the political, semiotic and material relations between economy and culture (Hudson 2008). This is useful in that it highlights the recognition of branding, marketing and advertising as economic entities that produce meaning and identity and have an attached monetary value. At the same time consumers also produce meaning and values through the cultural 'work' they do interpreting and finding meaning in culturally and economically constructed

knowledge (Hudson 2008). Lastly and in a related vein, the relationship between food production and consumption is considered, examining where power lies in these systems (MacDonald 2013). Dixon (1999) argues that a cultural economy approach offers the possibility of studying the interrelatedness of production and consumption whilst also taking into account the uniqueness of food as an embodied commodity. Cultural meanings, values, knowledge and trust are entwined throughout the food economy as well as throughout consumer relations to food. Here then the meaning making that is negotiated between consumers, producers, retailers and brands can be explored.

Rather than working to define culture and/or economy in particular dichotomous ways, much cultural-economy work focuses on the "role, production and dispersal of meaning across markets" (McFall 2008: 234). As commodified products who also work to construct meaning and identity across society (Marshall 1997) it is easy to see how celebrity would fit within this analytical framework. Indeed a cultural economy approach has been employed by several scholars exploring celebrity as a cultural commodity with value in its meaning as well as economically. Traflet and McGoun (2008) chart the rise and fall of celebrity fund managers and the extent to which these financial stars drove media and public's interest in this sector. Thrift (2008) considers the cultural economy of celebrity and glamour and its relationships to modern capitalist consumption, an area with clear relevance to the concepts of celebritization and celebrification perceived as drawing the values and practices of celebrity more broadly across society Driessens (2013). In a different more culturally embedded social space Smart's (2005) research analyses the way the world of sports, and its cultural economy, has been changed by the rise of celebrity sportsmen and women.

Littler (2007) discusses the celebrity CEO whose image is intimately linked with their company's brand but has also seen them personally enjoying a rise to fame and includes individuals such as Richard Branson, Alan Sugar and Anita Roddick. Their cultural-economic context and the media culture they work across can allow CEOs to pursue celebrity. Linked to power and the "neoliberal cultural-economic discourse of meritocracy" this affords personal opportunities to celebrity CEOs at the same time that they achieve new business success through their elevated public personality (Littler 2007: 239). Thinking about the celebrity CEO in the context of 'tabloid culture' (as entertaining, sensationalist and intimate forms of journalistic reporting and communication), Littler argues can open up ways of thinking about the "forms of social and cultural mobility" CEOs are required to demonstrate, turning 'fat cats' into media friendly 'cool cats'. It is easy to understand how this mobility is usefully employed by celebrities in other cultural-economic spaces and blurred social boundaries such as in the charitable campaigning or food programming examined here.

Emerging from the cultural turn within Geography has been a research agenda that pays attention to the interrelated connections between culture and economy, and their mutual impact on meaning and practice across every aspect of contemporary social life. It is virtually impossible to unpick where one starts and the other ends. Drawing on geographical work on cultural economy this section has sought to demonstrate the relevance of this approach to questionings of celebrity culture. Celebrities, and the celebrity and media cultures they exist within, are both cultural icons and commodified economic products. They contribute to the ongoing projects of meaning making within civil society, and work as sign to help us negotiate our way through everyday life. At the same time their branded

public figure, along with the multiple products they may put their name to, are very much for sale and celebrity culture clearly contributes to the economy in direct and indirect ways. This, I have suggested, ideally places them to be analysed within a cultural economy framework as is done in chapter seven. In the following section a broader context of celebrity culture is discussed to map out the rise of celebrity culture and to examine the changing functions of celebrity that may permit celebrity power to be mobilised.

2.3 Celebrity culture: charting the rise and changing nature of celebrity

Celebrity culture continues to grow, along with our interest in it, which shows no signs of slowing. Celebrity and celebrity culture have not yet reached their limits. But what is it about celebrity that continues to fascinate us (Marshall 2010; Turner 2010)? What indeed is celebrity? While celebrity is seemingly inescapable, and though it is often clear the types of people we describe when we speak of celebrity the term can be difficult to define (Brockington 2014). Modern forms of celebrity, however, are very different due in part to the more ambiguous definitions of fame and notoriety as well as the guiding force of the media which has only become more pervasive with new media technologies, particularly the internet (Schickel 2000; Marshall 1997).

Boorstin (1960) famously stated that "the celebrity is a person who is well known for their well-knowness", while Rojek defines "celebrity as the attribution of glamourous or notorious status to an individual within the public sphere" (2001: 10). David P. Marshall defines celebrity as "a *system* for valorising meaning and communication" (2010:x, emphasis original), while Chris Rojek defines it as the "attributions of glamourous or notorious status to an individual within the public sphere" and whom accumulates capital in the form of attention on their self (2004: 10). Though there are multiple definitions of

celebrity these commonly include the following characteristics or attributes: a distinction between fame (being well-known) and renown (having achieved), a high media/public profile, a separation between their private and public self, a related high degree of interested in their personal lives, as embodiments and representations of values, and finally as a highly commodified product and cultural industry (c.f. Gamson 1994, 2007; Marshall 2010; Turner 2010, 2014; Rojek 2004). Drawing from scholarship from the field of celebrity studies, this section seeks to chart the historical rise of celebrity as well as consider the changing ways that celebrity as a subject has been dealt with over time, in order to more fully consider celebrity in its current form.

The pervasive nature of celebrity has seeped into everyday life with ease over the past decade or so. No longer confined to dedicated formats, celebrity is now regularly found right across the media spectrum (Turner 2010). The ever-presence of celebrity reflects changes in how media is produced and consumed but also the enduring public interest in celebrity and celebrity culture. Celebrity is, of course, an commodity that is consciously and actively produced within neoliberalised economies that see individual characteristics, images and bodies commodified, to be bought and sold by the public (Hesmondhalgh 2005, 2013). At the same time there has been increased academic attention to the phenomenon of celebrity; the last five years have seen the emergence and rapid growth of the field of celebrity studies, a dedicated *Celebrity Studies* journal and conference, as well as publications on celebrity from disciplines including Media Studies, Sociology, Medicine, and Geography. The rise of interest within the academy is representative of what I argue is a shift in celebrity culture, now recognised and taken seriously for their cultural influence and extension into different realms of social life. No longer is celebrity confined to entertainment, dismissed as frivolous and superficial distraction; celebrity culture has permeated politics, conservation, development, sports, charity, and climate change (e.g.

Brockington 2009; Boykoff and Goodman 2009; Littler 2008; Marshall 2010; Redmond 2010).

While the presence of celebrity is not being disputed, it is worth mentioning here how celebrity may be defined and how its current incarnation has been very much informed by its historical evolution. As Inglis argues "celebrity is everywhere acknowledged but never understood" (2010: 4). van Krieken similarly argues that we still have limited understanding of what celebrity actually is, what it means, or how it has changed over time resulting in a treatment of celebrity that as 'frothy and insubstantial' that misses their deeper significance for our everyday lives, identities, as well as more broadly across society (2010). Contemporary celebrity is not a twentieth century phenomenon, it has long roots that can (and indeed need to be) traced back to the eighteenth century if not before. The rise of celebrity is bound with modernity of course, but also much earlier shifts around the theatre, performance and spectacle of life as will be discussed below (van Krieken 2010).

Alongside the historical rise of celebrity as an entity, there has also been a historic change in the ways that celebrity has been examined and understood as a subject. The result of this, as stated above, has been a shift within academic readings of celebrity that take seriously the work and influence of these individuals and the culture they operate within. Early readings of celebrity in the 1930s were highly critical of celebrity and its 'vulgar' links to consumer culture. This was closely aligned to Marxist critiques of mass society, entertainment industries and the passive citizens it creates (Horkheimer and Adormo 1944). Critical readings of celebrity may be seen emerging from the Frankfurt School whose critique of popular Western culture as a form of domination that seeks to control society according to market interest, extending and deepening their critique of capitalism (XXXX). For those subscribing to the Frankfurt school of thought, then, celebrity is an icon of false

power and meaning that not only negatively shifts societal values but also "serves to placate the individual into the acceptance of the modern (unsatisfactory) condition" (Marshall 2010: 10). The 1970s saw the deployment of psychoanalysis to study the film experience, with films and their stars working as mirrors to the selves we (the audience) desire to be. The power at work here is to draw the audience into the film spectacle through representations of reality that are purposely detached from reality. Though not widely used to examine celebrity directly, Marshall references the work of John Ellis who describes the way audiences use notions of closeness and distance to stabilise the image and identity of a celebrity within a film (Marshall 2010). These historical analyses of celebrity have influenced greatly the understanding of celebrity historically as well as the direction of research into celebrity. What such critiques fail to grasp, however, is the ways in which audiences use popular culture to make meanings and sense of the world, which will form a central strand of this thesis.

Modern celebrity has been characterised by a rapid growth both in the number of celebrities as well as the media and cultural industries surrounding them since the 1950s, and particularly since the 1990s. The expansion of celebrity culture during this period can be read in the context of post-Fordism and the cultural turn with which it is associated. Cultural and social transformation emphasises entrepreneurialism, consumerism, individualism, expanding personal choice through consumption, and the creation of new creative industries and identities (Amin 1994; Littler 2008). The transformation of cultural and lifestyle activities into cultural industries not only commodify aspects of everyday life but also highlight the consumption-driven avenues through which meaning and value are pursued. Participation is driven by individual fashions, preferences and concerns, reorganising the 'rules' that guide and organise social life (Amin 1994). Shifting focus on

cultural identity, individualism and consumption clearly creates space for celebrity and celebrity culture to expand and take root. Celebrities, as larger than life signs of our ideal aesthetics, values and lifestyles, mirror the themes of aspiration and consumerism heralded by post-Fordism (Littler 2008) as well as, crucially, operating as key sites though which culture can be made sense of as well as bought and sold.

In blurring the boundaries between entertainment and more 'serious' avenues of life the way that celebrity functions shifts in ways that matter both for celebrity and celebrity culture but also for the meaningful and powerful ways that they can influence the public and the spheres they work within. Conceptualising celebrity power and seeking to understand the way that it may work across society necessitates first an understanding of celebrity culture, its historic rise and function in society. It is worth mentioning at this stage that the focus on celebrity throughout this thesis is on the UK, and therefore the celebrities and literature engaged here largely fit into the Anglo-American celebrity model (Driessens 2013). Following a brief review of the history of celebrity and celebrity culture this section will consider the shifting structure and function of celebrity culture and argue that this shift allows celebrity to take up new roles that permit a possible exercise of power across society. In developing this argument attention will be paid to the importance of individual celebrity as well as critiques of celebrity culture, and establish what the limits of celebrity power may be.

Celebrity must be understood as a social construction resulting from cultural processes though ultimately media driven, led by entertainment media but expanding into other more formal outlets including news (Evans 2005). Expansion of celebrity culture has been

dependant on an association firstly with neoliberal capitalism where celebrity is a vehicle for the commodification of the self, and secondly with democracy where celebrities represent accessible culture. Celebrities can now act within an expanded public sphere as "new forms of public representations outside of the classic metaphors and symbols of power and influence", as well as articulating value within society and magnifying the significance of popular culture (Marshall 1997: 6). Acting as cultural signs or icons which mark desirable characteristics or attributes, celebrity increasingly shapes the way cultural identities are formed and helps make sense of modern society (Turner 2013).

For Inglis (2010) the shift from being renown, where recognition falls back to the office or job, to fame, where recognition falls on the individual, is the key distinction of celebrity. Through practices of spectacle and ritual learned from the past, celebrity emerges from changing social forms: from Royalty, religious figures and noblemen in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, through the English nobility where individuals claimed fame in the nineteenth century, to the twentieth century forms of celebrity we now witness (van Krieken 2010). Though not the focus of discussion here, Inglis draws valuable comparisons between historic celebrated figures such as Lord Byron, Joshua Reynold, and Edward VIII, and today's celebrity's such as David Beckham, Damien Hurst or reality TV start Jade Goody (2010). Broder changes in society support these changes in fame, and their history plays a strong role in the changes recorded in celebrity: urbanisation, consumer culture, court society, individualisation and, of course, the rise of the media (Inglis 2010). Ideas around self-hood and individuality emerge in the eighteenth century and. Feelings and emotions, Inglis suggests, occupy a very different space in society, as well as our social identities, today than they did 200 years ago. Emotions are not only felt in a different way but they are also highly differentiated by socio-economic factors including class, gender, and education.

During the eighteenth century emotional changes worked hand in hand with the social changes described above, rendering life itself a spectator sport. The nineteenth century societies pushed this further still, bringing together 'emotion, evaluation and self-reflection'. In relation to the rise of celebrity, this firstly opened up the private and emotional as spaces of judgement but also placed merit and attention on the individual in a way never before seen (Inglis 2010). Neoliberal capitalist systems made it possible for individuals bearing particular moral sentiments and values to be circulated globally, commodified, adored and judged, creating and catapulting celebrity into our everyday lives (van Krieken 2010).

Richard Dyer's work on films, often cited as the origin of the field of celebrity studies, defines stars as 'signs' rather than real people who we only know in their product as media text (1998). The sign value of celebrity linked to Baulldriard's work on sign values. Multiple 'signs' can be attached to something at any one time, and detached or reattached changing the sign value over time. At the same time as they are the containers for favoured values and representations, celebrity is also a commodity bound within capitalist modes of production and commodity cultures (Gamson 1994). Celebrity inherently involves a separation of the private and public self (Rojeck 2001) but more often it is the private lives of 'stars' that sell celebrity to the public (Turner 2013). This is partly about getting to know the 'real' person behind the celebrity facade, yet this private persona is simply another construction or party to play, adding to the (false) personality the public have come to 'know' and value (Gamson 1994). Authenticity is then central to connecting audiences and maintaining celebrity (Hinerman 2006; Tregoning, 2004).

2.3.1 Celebrity-audience relationships: changing para-social relations

Two factors are particularly important in ensuring the continuing success of celebrity culture: the sign of celebrity as they embody certain values and characteristics, and their relationship with audiences. Firstly celebrities are objects of desire, representing value in modern life; behaviours, ideas, aesthetics, physical characteristics, or personality traits deemed desirable are represented through celebrity. Moreover these are values that can be articulated by an individual (Marshall 1997). Celebrity culture can therefore be understood in the context of neoliberal individualisation heralded as a positive promise of what we could become and achieve (Dyer 1998; Littler 2008). Celebrity is a peculiar form of a social and cultural elite that represents and signifies that which is valued. There is an intense focus on the celebrity individual both in their controlled public personae but also, and often more so, in their private lives as a way of getting to the 'real' person behind the celebrity (Marshall 2010; Redmond 2010; Schnickel 2000). The focus on the private lives of celebrity individuals see the narratives of desire and icons of representation shift to another side to celebrity culture that takes delight in celebrity downfall. Cross and Littler's (2010) work on celebrity and *Schadenfreude* analyses the negative reading of celebrity undertaken by audiences as they are examined in micro-detail across the pages of celebrity media. The act of 'pushing celebrities off their pedestals' (Cross and Littler 2010: 5) has given rise to swathes of new media outlets whose main aim seems to be to name and shame celebrities who do not perform their celebrity part perfectly. This reveals not only the unstable nature of the celebrity sign at an individual level, but also speaks to the complex and tension filled relations between celebrity culture and audience (Marshall 1997).

The relationship between audience and celebrity is perhaps the most important element of celebrity culture. Work within media studies has been particularly important in theorising

how audiences create meanings from the media and bears relevance for this discussion. Hall's (2006) 'encoding/decoding' paradigm has been foundational in audience research, arguing that rather than existing as passive recipients, audiences play an active role in decoding media messages according to their (individual and collective) identities and socio-economic contexts. His model argues that media communication is structured and circulates through encoded messages, articulated through signs and language that reach a range of audiences. Messages are encoded in their production and decoded in their consumption and reproduction by audiences. In order for meaning to be taken up, and communication to be effective, the discursive forms of communication must be translated into practice (Hall 1993). Moreover, his work articulated the difference between forms of media and their encoding/decoding practices: television sign and associated meanings described within this thesis are created within the institutional practices of television production and consumption (discussed in chapter 7).

Audiences can decode media messages in three distinct ways: first, 'dominant-hegemonic readings' sees audiences take the meaning directly from the encoded message, understanding messages exactly as the producer intended. The audience is located within the dominant viewpoint and there is little or no misunderstanding of the intended message (Hall 1993, 1997). Secondly, under negotiated reading audiences understand media messages comprehensively and accepting their hegemonic position, yet decodes and draws meaning in a more localised way that simultaneously accepts and rejects elements of the message. Lastly, in a minority position, some audiences may understand the encoded messages but choose to reject them, instead drawing a different set of meanings that intended from their own interpretative framework. The position of the audience and

reading that they take of media messages, Hall argues, is tied to their socio-economic position.

 A key application of the encoding/decoding thesis is offered through two studies of television programme 'Nationwide' by David Morely (1980) and Charlotte Brunsdon (1978). They examine the effect of social class on reading and meaning making from this television text, acknowledging audiences as active agents of meaning making (Morley and Brunsdon 1999). Despite evidence that the position from which audiences drew meanings did, to some extent, align with Hall's hypothesis, the study concluded that decoding of media messages cannot be solely accounted for by socio-economic status. Bobo (2003) examines Black women's responses to the film *The Colour Purple,* as well as representations of race in North American media more broadly. She found that, contrary to popular reviews of the film, respondents drew meanings based on their own lived experience as black women but which countered dominant hegemonic readings of the text. Other work has also demonstrated the links between decoding, meaning-making and practice, positioning audiences as active agents with the capacity to make multiple, nuanced and even resistant readings to media-cultural texts (Fiske 2010, 2011; Lewis 2013; Liebes and Katz 2003; Livingston 2013). This body of work is crucial for this thesis in conceptualising how audiences not only take an active role in meaning making but also the differences in how they do this.

Coming back to celebritized media, generating and sustaining the circulation of celebrity, individually and collectively, is facilitated in a large part by the public who consume celebrity. As embodied representations of identity and meaning, the relations celebrities

hold with audiences can create a false sense of intimacy. They are charismatic and attractive, and perform to audiences in entertaining and engaging ways that foster relationships with audiences, even if only fleetingly (Redmond 2010). Turner defines the celebrity-audience interaction as a 'para-social relationship', "'real' emotional attachments with figures they know only through their representations in the media" (2013). A sense of false intimacy is created between celebrity and audiences when we feel like we know celebrities. The production, reproduction, and representation of a celebrity's public personae and private lives in the media can give the public access into all sorts of details about how they live and what they are like. For audiences, this can make us feel like we know the celebrity, feel emotionally attached and invest time and effort into these relationships as Schickel describes:

> Thanks to television and the rest of the media we know them, or think we do…we have internalized them, unconsciously made them part of our conscience, just as if they were, in fact, friends (2000: 4).

Mass-media becomes the interface for this form of relation, bringing celebrity into our everyday lives. Para-social relations describe a form of relationship established by and through media technologies where an individual is made 'available' to those physically distant to them (Moores 2007). The interaction between audience and celebrity is conducted through the media, replacing direct and face-to-face meetings (Rojek 2001). These are not hollowed out versions of real relationships, but new and mediated forms of social interaction that can be important in establishing belonging, identity, and even companionship. Moores (2007) for example perceives mediated interactions offered by celebrity as representative of a shift in the way that social relations now work in modern life. Marshall (2010) too suggests that part of this shift that sees the media and celebrity drawing increasingly on the everyday and the ordinary in constructing celebrity narratives. At the same time the way the public present and represent themselves is changing:

> Through social media, the public self is presented through a new layer of interpersonal conversation that in its mode of address bears little relationship to its representational media past (Marshall 2010: 41).

Although the tone or content of communication flowing from celebrity to audience can appear intimate and conversational (Moores 2007) para-social relations have so far been one sided, with no dialogue between celebrity and audience directly. Celebrity performances of personal interactions combined with the access to their private lives through celebrity media makes the celebrity individual available to the public, facilitated by media technology. It has been highly unusual to have any direct contact or communication from the celebrity themselves. However these relationships are changing in ways that matter for the celebrity and the audience.

The media, and new media technologies including the internet and social media particularly, have been integral to creating greater outlets for self-promotion, multiple opportunities to consume celebrity, and more extensive access into celebrity's private lives (Marshall 2010; Turner 2010). Marshall argues that the social media spaces of Twitter, Instagram and Facebook becomes important tools in the "performance of the self", and that this is a performance that is "highly conscious of a potential audience as much as it is carefully preening and productions of the self" (2010: 40). What this means for the modern and media savvy celebrity is greater control over their public image and their embodied representations. However, and crucially, this for most celebrities does not reveal any of the 'real' personality of the celebrity. These are still highly mediated and constructed celebrity personae but ones that are put together by the celebrity themselves (as well as their publicity people), rather than celebrity media and paparazzi images. This self-control allowed by social media can be really important in how audiences perceive and engage,

drawing audiences and fans closer. Thus these media technologies can become an important tool in the exercise of power by celebrity over their own image and representations. The media spaces of Twitter, Instagram, Facebook and so on that allow 'ordinary' members of the public to carve out media representations of themselves, their own micro-form of public personality, at the same time offer celebrities an opportunity to take control of their own public image. So while the public can use social media to become their ideal version of themselves, recorded and laid out for all to see, celebrities use the same technologies to *seem* more 'real'.

Secondly, and here more importantly, these new media forms change the way the interactions between celebrities and audiences work (Thomas 2014). Previously far beyond the reach or access of ordinary people, we can now hold a direct line of communication to our favourite stars through social media. We can Tweet the boys in One Direction, comment on the holiday photos of Beyoncé, and follow the Facebook updates of The Rolling Stones. No longer an unattainable, untouchable figure, social media and Twitter primarily, give audiences direct and seemingly unmediated access to celebrity (Muntean and Petersen 2009; Turner 2013). For both fans and celebrities these platforms may offer the opportunity for the 'real' and 'honest' voice of the celebrity to be heard and seen: "tweeting has been equated with the assertion of the authentic celebrity voice" (Muntean and Petersen 2009: 4). 'Realness' here does not necessarily bring the public closer to seeing or knowing the true celebrity self, but the representation of the star in their own words and images adds an authenticity to their voice that cannot be replicated by paparazzi or conventional celebrity media. They can take us into their private lives, their homes, holidays, nights out, as well as providing insights behind the scenes at work, sharing pictures from film sets, tour buses and rehearsals.

Celebrities are reaching huge audiences through these direct lines of communication; 57 million people follow pop star Justin Bieber on Twitter, 21 million follow Beyoncé on Instagram. Not all celebrities use social media to strive for authenticity and realness (Thomas 2014), for some these new media technologies provide simply another promotional vehicle for their commodified self. Tom Cruise, for example, is very open in acknowledging his Twitter is managed by his publicity team and is used to promote his latest movies, photos of him with fans at premiers, and behind the scenes clips of upcoming features. The different ways social media is used by celebrity not only works to change the access and control celebrities have over their public façade, their own private lives, but fundamentally changes their relationship with fans if they choose as Turner suggests:

> Communicating via Twitter or Facebook, fans now can actually engage in visible and public exchange with their favourite celebrity; they can receive responses to their questions and comments (Turner 2013: 76).

This changing celebrity-audience relationship is examined in chapter five analysing the use of Twitter by Jamie Oliver as part of his power exercise to promote his 'good food' narratives and its use by audiences to share both positive communication and a 'talking back' that hold the chef to account within his celebrity role. This 'talking back' to celebrities by audiences takes the *Schadenfreude* described by Cross and Littler (2010) even further; no longer confined to the pages of celebrity tabloid media, audiences can at an individual level pass judgement on a celebrity's every move, comment or outfit to the celebrity themselves. This can be positive, or critical if a star breaks the boundaries of their established representation or sign. Of course social media does not offer a conventional form of social relation, it does not make celebrities our friends, or change the controlled and artificial representations of celebrity the public are offered. At the same time celebrity

culture is not important for everyone, and changing our access or the function of celebrity will be unlikely to change that (Driessens 2013). That said, social media changes the nature of the celebrity-audience para-social relationship in important ways. No longer is this a one way flow of communication; it is now possible for more two-directional flows of dialogue. This is not to suggest that there has been any fundamental shift in the structure of celebrity culture, but that the ways that celebrity is 'practiced' through social media changes the construction of celebrity representations and the relationships between audience and celebrity in meaningful ways.

2.3.2 Celebrity authority: authenticity, distinction, ordinariness and liquid personality

Emerging from this discussion of celebrity and social media is the importance of authenticity and credibility for celebrity culture. This is true of celebrity and their representations more broadly, but is brought to the fore as celebrities themselves increasingly take control of one stream of their public representation. This is an ongoing process whereby the celebrity persona is continually reworked to maintain celebrity status, and commodified through self-promotion and branding, to ensure media attention and cementing their role in capitalism's modern discourse (Boorstin 1978; Marshall 1997; Turner 2013). The celebrity sign is not fixed, it is ever changing and shifts readily across different celebrities as tastes and values change, and individual stars rise or fall out of fashion/favour (Marshall 1997). Authenticity is established in part through the charisma of celebrity developed through their public persona and their embodiment of desired values. Getting to the 'real' celebrity is an important part of the circulation of celebrity media and of the relationship audiences hold with celebrities. In appearing real and authentic celebrities can work to form continuity across their celebrity and its wider brand. This is important in securing audience trust in a celebrity. One key way that celebrity authenticity

is established is through performance of their public self that makes them seem more ordinary and approachable. Narratives of 'we're just like you' combined with the increased access the public now have to stars, make celebrity culture more democratic or at least appear so (Bennett and Holmes 2010; Thomas 2014).

Traditionally celebrity status has relied upon a distinction that separates and elevates particular individuals within society: privileged, wealthy, beautiful, and elite, modern celebrities are desired for the lifestyles and success they enjoy and the characteristics they embody. They act as objects of desire and aspiration for their fans and the wider public. However there is increasingly a desire for celebrities to seem 'ordinary' and not so far removed from the everyday lived reality of their audiences. The idea of 'ordinary expertise' (Lewis 2010) is particularly important within in the celebrity examples under investigation here. As will be demonstrated throughout the empirical analysis, a tension exists between the celebrity status of these individuals and their desire to appear ordinary in the knowledge they perform as their possible power exercise. Television stars have long been constructed around characteristics of ordinariness and authenticity that allow them to forge intimate and familiar relationships with their audiences across their everyday lives (Bennett and Holmes 2010; Lewis 2010). Positioned as 'lifestyle experts', television celebrities can guide us through everyday life, and the tastes, morals and values that shape our consumption choices (Bell and Hollows 2011; Powell and Prasad 2010). Television as a cultural medium is able to foster a sense of shared community at multiple scales through the narratives it produces (Tinic 2009). The work celebrities do within television thus complements and builds upon this and the cultural practices it manifests in. It is now not only television stars who do this, celebrities across the spectrum are embracing the ordinary and performing it publically for all to see. Social media, as already described is a key

mechanism for doing this, letting the public see the everyday lives of the celebrity on their own terms. Of course the 'real' portrayed on social media is highly mediated and filtered to show the star in their best light.

What is important though, is that the private (ordinary) and public (celebrity) lives of celebrity are increasingly offered up for all to see and consume. Where once celebrity performances of the self were extraordinary, they are now often also *extra-ordinary* (Goodman and Barnes 2011). Ordinary and everyday activities become recast by celebrities and as they seek authenticity their activities become new celebritized spaces of meaning and value. Why though does this matter? It is important firstly in the changing accessibility to celebrity and the simultaneous representation of their public and private self. It matters also in the context of the capitalist mode of production that celebrity exists within, their brand is not only their performance it is also a narrative bound by commodified products. Celebrities have selling power; if celebrities share their everyday life, the makeup they buy, what they have for lunch, or where they buy their kids clothes, audiences too can buy into this too and seek out the same products as their favourite star if they want. So then the second impact of the extra-ordinary celebrity figure is the opening up of new opportunities for the public to buy into celebrity and celebrity lifestyles. The third way that this ordinariness matters is in the blurring of public and private space, and the material and relational impacts this has.

It is not only the blurring of private and public space that has been done by celebrity. Increasingly they are moving beyond the confines of celebrity and entertainment into a range of public spaces including politics, sport, development, food and the environment. As

the boundaries between celebrity, politics, science, and social life become ever more blurred and porous, celebrities can be seen to give voice to a range of issues. In doing so they offer a connection between these issues and the public who act as audience for the politicised celebrity figure. Within each of these spaces they may act as 'knowledge intermediaries' (Eden *et al*. 2008) between audiences and socio-political issues. Their spectacular performance bound by an embodied, familiar and trusted celebrity persona informs and connects the public through the mediated interface of celebrity. This will be explored throughout chapter five and six.

Goodman (2010) has termed this trend 'celebritization' and within the context of development considers the spectacular performances common in the cultural politics of development. A number of public facing space and issues are being performed by and through celebrity; the values embodied by celebrity and performed through their narratives exercise particular forms of power that (re)work, build knowledge, and connect people to the spaces of climate change (Boykoff and Goodman 2009; Boykoff *et al*. 2010; Prudham 2009), charity, care, humanitarianism and global health (Littler 2008; Mostafanezhad 2013; Richey and Ponte 2008), politics (Weiskel 2005), and conservation (Brockington 2009; Sullivan 2011). At the same time public figures across a range of spaces are becoming celebrities including politicians, sportsmen and women, artists, entrepreneurs and fashion designers, all figures not historically associated with celebrity culture. What we see here therefore that it is not that celebrity is moving 'out' from celebrity culture but that public figures are also moving 'in' to celebrity, trying to emulate and associate with their famous contemporaries (Street 2004).

The relationships between celebrity and more serious and politicised public spheres has been condemned by some who see this as a distraction, tarnishing the serious work being done (Street 2004; Weiskel 2005). Others view these relationships in a more positive light and suggest that the relationships being built with celebrities offer new forms of democracy and space for public debate) as well as a way to reach otherwise disengaged publics (Turner 2013). More recent analysis does not view the work of celebrity in this dichotomous way, instead understanding the nuances through which celebrity contributes in particular, mediated and material ways to cultural politics (Boykoff and Goodman 2009). The rise of celebrity culture continues to rise unabated (Marshall 2010) and it seems that no cause is complete without a celebrity ambassador. Littler has argued that "offering support for global charities has become both practically part of the contemporary celebrity job description and a hallmark of the established star" (2009: 238). The need for celebrities to be seen to be doing good or giving back in some way has been paramount in driving these relationships, as well as personal interest on particular issues for some celebrities. Yet there is more going on here than simply a desire for celebrities to give back in ways that somehow try to (or not) offset their privileged lives.

Boykoff and Goodman (2009) see celebritization as the point of convergence between media, politics and science. Their case in hand is climate change, but the bringing together of celebrity and global issues is what defines this process for them. They argue that the process of celebritization is important for understanding the cultural politics around climate change (Boykoff and Goodman 2009) and this can readily be extended to the cultural politics surrounding other issues. Driessens like Boykoff and Goodman argues that celebritization signals the "societal and cultural changes implied by celebrity" likening it to other meta-social changes such as globalisation (2013: 643). Importantly he acknowledges

that the process does not indicate or necessitate that all celebrities within a 'social field' participate in a changing role. Change at an individual level of people into celebrities is described as celebrification (Driessens 2013). So then the shift and permeation of social spaces to associate with celebrity culture does not mean that all celebrities become involved in that politicised endeavour nor that all actors within that space become celebrities. For example, the celebritisation of climate change does not mean that all climate scientists become celebrities or that all celebrities become involved in climate change campaigns; either scenario seems ridiculous. Instead what this means is that celebrities are becoming increasingly important in the cultural politics of climate change.

Moving between spheres in this way has impacts too for the celebrity, their public persona and the meanings they embody. Redmond (2010) argues that this is made possible due to the liquid nature of celebrity and the 'runniness' of their meanings:

> The celebrity ambassador...will be seen trying to help, assist and transform the degradation (of whatever kind and magnitude it is) into something hopeful. However, again, the incongruity between this persona (the hands that will get dirty, do-gooder, who can do good things with their fame and wealth) and the glamorous celebrity life from which they have come and to which they will return, are decidedly liquid in form. While celebrities have always combined a life of glamour with visits to see a sick child at a hospital or to support the troops, and so on, the self—reflexive and ironic ways in which celebrities view themselves and are viewed today...means there is a spilling-over and constant shattering of persona (Redmond 2010: 89).

The liquefying or shattering of persona allows a celebrity to move across social spheres and re-establish their meaning and identity within that new space. Spectacular celebrity performances can create a 'sublime experience' for audiences and fans, building a collective experience that feelings, experiences, values and responses can be shared through

(Redmond 2010). When these performances take place beyond designated celebrity spaces of entertainment they have the possibility of making spectacular the issues, events and sites they move to. Even though the meaning of a celebrity is 'liquid', temporary and continually changing, it is bound and anchored by materialities that work to construct the embodied meaning and identity of such celebrity activists (Goodman and Barnes 2011). Photographs, television, computers, mobile phones, social media and so on are the material and everyday things through which the discourses and narratives of the celebrity activist are constructed:

> …the performances of development celebrities are as much about everyday events, materials, technologies, emotions and consumer acts as they are the spectacles construction of the stars who stump for development (Goodman and Barnes 2011: 73)

Here again we are reminded of the importance in the everyday both as the site of consumption of celebrity, but also for its construction and circulation as it seeps beyond the boundary of entertainment. It is these material objects then that work to establish the solid form of political celebrity. These temporary 'roots', as Redmond (2010) describes, come with the promise of possibility; a possibility of new or extended forms of celebrity who's liquid forms have seeped into different non-celebrity public spaces, solidified in the material moments of their construction. Through spectacular performances of climate change or development for example, celebrities can at once secure their political/activist identities temporarily as well as celebritizing the spaces they work across. The 'runniness' of celebrity means that their politicised meaning exist temporarily, only as long as the performance lasts and is present in public view before returning back to their original celebrity identity.

What this also means is that the power and governance capacity of celebrity too exists as, what I call in this dissertation, *moments of possibility* for the public as they consume these new celebrity forms. These moments see audiences engaging in mediated celebrity narratives in ways that change their understanding, relationship and/or behaviour towards and issue, and recognises that these connections are created only in the 'moments' that celebrity narratives present in audience's lives. Moments of possibility then create the opportunity for a shift or change in public discourse around a given issues through the construction of more engaged and reflective audiences in relation to both the issue at hand and the celebrity presenting it. Material cultures, practices and objects embed and solidify the meaning of the 'liquid' celebrity in its extended political forms and therefore construct the politicised celebrity. Defining the politicised celebrity identity as moments of possibility therefore works in two distinct ways: it firstly extends the reach and alters the identities of particular celebrities as the boundaries between celebrity and other politicised public spaces become blurred. In doing so new or re-worked celebrity identities are constructed, and through these celebrities can construct powerful narratives that sees them speak for the Other in various guises and exercise power across their audience influencing their understanding and/or behaviour as a mediated governance mechanism.

Secondly then, moments of possibility describes the opportunity of audience engagement with celebrity in meaningful ways that may result in increased awareness and knowledge, connection to global issues or changed behaviour. However, the relationship between celebrity and audience is not straightforward or assured. There are two important caveats to the possibility of celebrity governance. Audiences will not all engage with celebrity discourses in ways that enrol them into celebrity power exercises, some may watch only for entertainment, some may engage partially and learn something but not change their

behaviour, and some may be turned off all together by the celebrity presence. Those that do engage can do so in different ways, and so the second caveat is that the moments of possibility for audiences may be positive or negative drawing links back to Hall's different forms of decoding by audiences (2006). Some may take up celebrity calls to action in a positive and approving way, driving forwards their powerful discourses. This is examined in chapter four as audiences of Jamie Oliver take up the knowledge he provides around 'good food' and make changes to their everyday food practices and relationships with food. At the same time, however, audiences may also utilise these moments to resist the work and power of celebrity, often played out through the talking back over social media described above. In short 'moment of possibility' recognises the potential for celebrity power to be exercised across the non-entertainment spaces they now occupy contributing to the governance of that space, but that firstly audience engagement is uncertain and secondly audience engagement may be positive or negative. Defining the power and governance practices by celebrity as a possibility pays attention to the negotiation, tensions and uncertainty in the practices of power.

The extension of celebrity beyond the confines of entertainment, celebrity and tabloid culture (Littler 2007) has seen new relationships open up between celebrity and politics, science, business and more. This blurring of social boundaries, defined by Boykoff and Goodman (2010) as 'celebritization' is increasing, allowing celebrities to permeate 'serious' areas of social life and alter public engagement with them. This 'permeation' is the focus of the empirical research within this thesis, conceptualising the possibility of these politicised celebrity relationships to allowing exercises of celebrity power to be manifested in particular spaces and particular celebrities.

New media technologies, particularly those of social media, have permitted a greater degree of control by each celebrity over their public image for those who participate. At the same time this has also altered relationships between celebrity and audience in significant ways that alter the functioning of para-social relationships. No longer out of reach and inaccessible, it is now possible for audiences to directly communicate with their favourite starts and even, if they are lucky, be responded to by the star. The control this grants celebrities is important in the context of thinking about celebrity power: individual stars can perform their governance credentials to audiences, building trust and maintaining constant communication. Of course not all celebrities use social media in this way, and many do not use it at all. Here I do not wish to suggest a universal trend across celebrity culture, but that, for those who choose to participate, social media is changing the very nature of their celebrity in ways that matter. In the next section, I turn to consider the characteristics that support celebrity power and governance: credibility, authority and expertise. Drawing on literature from the social studies of knowledge and science the changing understandings of expertise within science's technical decision making will be used to consider the reinterpreted definitions of expertise that include non-scientific and 'lay' knowledge makers. Reflecting on this the cultural credibility and charismatic authority of celebrity will be established as a mediated form of expertise that gives rise to the possibility of celebrity power at work.

2.4 Expertise and credibility: from science to celebrity

Considering the moments of possibility constructed by celebrity as they move beyond the confines of entertainment has highlighted the importance of authenticity and charisma in establishing a secure and stable celebrity image. In anticipation of the conceptualisation of celebrity power in chapter four, this section will consider issues of expertise and authority.

Drawing on literature from science and technology studies and social studies of science and knowledge, analysis of traditional forms of expertise within science will be used to inform an understanding of celebrity and its changing roles as more politicised agents. The value and logic of expertise and celebrity have traditionally been seen to be markedly different, occupying distinct public spheres and imaginations with expertise associated with high culture and rational knowledge while celebrity is linked to popular culture and consumption (Lewis, 2010). However this is now changing with the culture of authority and expertise increasingly organised around celebrity. Looking to science and technology studies to explore how expertise within science develops can help foster an understanding of both expertise within science and the potential of celebrity expertise. Science occupies a prominent and superior cultural position and in this is highly valued and trusted as a knowledge maker; those seeking to act as knowledge makers may therefore seek credibility by following the examples laid out within science and/or projecting claims towards the realms of science (Gieryn 1999; Wynne 1992).

Although they may outwardly seem worlds apart there are some similarities between science and celebrity that may offer fruitful ground in conceptualising the possibility of celebrity power and governance. Most significantly performance and the media are integral to both groups as they transmit their message across society. Hilgarten (2000: 6) has suggested that the scientific expert has a mediated persona which "they construct...managing information and appearances in complex ways". For science this is about ensuring firstly information is conveyed in novel and interesting ways which attract media attention, and secondly ensuring that it may be easily understood and accepted by the public (Hilgarten 2000; Gieryn 1999). The connection here to celebrity is clear. Performance is integral to celebrities and the construction of their public image and the

relation they build with the public. An individual star may be re-worked by the media and the public to fulfil particular social values and meanings, so modern celebrities may therefore be seen as an elaborate representational system of society in general and the attributes and characteristics valued most highly (Marshall 1997; Schickel 2000; Turner 2013). Explored through the example of climate change, the work done at the boundaries of science, media, policy and public highlight the spaces that celebrity power may work. Celebrity will be defined as a form of boundary object (Star and Griemenser 1989) that allows politicised celebrities to cross the boundaries between science, health, governance, entertainment and consumption with ease to relay complex political or scientific information in easily understandable and demotic ways. Thinking about celebrity as occupying a boundary position informs an understanding of both the extension of celebrity into the realms of science, politics, and beyond, and in turn how their exercise of power may work across society through the media.

Emerging from a second, and possible third wave of science and technology studies, a growing body of work is concerned with the relationship between science, politics and society, particularly in terms of decision making and expertise (Collins and Evans 2002; Forsyth 2013; Wynne 2010). Changing understandings of expertise in knowledge making and decision making has important consequences for the possible governance role of celebrity. The ways that scientific and political knowledge is communicated to the public is crucial and is increasingly performed through the mass media (Boykoff 2011) and clearly resonates with celebrity and the way that they will be conceptualised to exercise power in chapter four. Decision making is increasingly done at the borders of science, politics and society, recognising not only the ways that these previously distinct sectors are increasingly overlapped and the rise of boundary organisations that span these spaces (Gieryn 1999)

but also the public spaces in which information is debated. For example debates around nuclear power, GM crops, the safety of British Beef, or more recently Ebola, take place in the public eye and often in the media. Collins and Evans (2002) question the way that 'technical decision making' should be done. This is defined as "those points where science and technology intersect with the political domain because the issues are of visible relevance to the public" (2002: 236). In highlighting the tension in maximising the political legitimacy of decision-making they analyse the way scientific knowledge is valued in relation to non-scientific, expert or lay knowledge.

Including the public in decision making, and therefore having a faster and more democratic process, is at odds with using expert knowledge to reach scientific consensus but that may take a very long time to achieve. This they describe as the tension between extension and legitimacy (Collins and Evan 2002). Drawing on literature from the sociology of scientific knowledge they pursue alternative forms of expertise as valid trust makers who play a vital role in technical decision-making. They argue that much more nuanced understandings and definitions of expertise should be used, considering the way that each form of expertise contributes to decision making. Not all forms of expertise involve a qualification, and specialised knowledge (such as that of a farmer or NGO) is integral to decision making (Collins and Evans 2002). This approach has been heavily criticised by Wynne (2003) for its assumption that there is a problem with alternative forms of 'experts' accessing the decision making process. Instead he suggest the problem lies with how issues are framed in the public, and thus how meanings are made around particular issues, through the domination of science in meaning making and agenda setting. What Wynne argues for is for more research on the boundaries between social spaces and a focus on the practical practices of decision-making (2003). What matters here is less the debates around science

and boundary making, but the acknowledgement by social studies of knowledge and science and technology studies that 'real expertise' may be both scientific and non-scientific. Shifting perceptions of the role of non-scientific knowledge opens up space to consider the role of celebrity in decision-making processes.

Climate change is an excellent example of decision-making at the borders of science and policy making. The issue of climate change has seeped into our everyday lives, permeating public, political, economic and environmental discourses to "become a defining symbol of our relationship with the environment" (Boykoff 2011: 1). Climate and society are intimately linked, nowhere more so than climate change. Multiple actors across the realms of science, politics, NGOs, media and civil society all stake a claim in the decision making and agenda influencing the representations of climate change discourses being deployed and the way that decision making works (Hulme 2008). Over time and as climate change's prominence grows, climate discourses have increasingly occupied public imaginations largely through representations in popular culture and mass media (Boykoff 2011). Governance of climate change, although still largely managed through global institutions and nation-states, is changing in ways to include the multiple actors taking up different aspects of governance work (Bulkeley and Newell 2010). New 'sites' of climate politics, decision-making and implementation have seen climate change drawn into the mainstream. Non-state actors, especially NGO's, have been central to the changing climate governance regimes operating across public and private negotiations and in shaping public understanding of climate change through the media (e.g. Boykoff 2007; Bulkely and Newell 2010; Forsyth 2013; Newell 2006).

The opening up of a global issue to such a diverse multiplicity of actors signals new possible directions in decision-making and governance, and one that is highly inclusive of the media. This issue offers a particularly interesting point of analysis for celebrity governance in part due to the involvement of celebrity campaigns but also because of the importance of the media in representations and debates around climate change and decision-making (Boykoff and Goodman 2009). Indeed Boykoff (2011) has argued that celebrities are an important non-state actor in the field of climate change and are becoming icons for climate change as a form of 'charismatic megafauna' much like the polar bear. Vanity Fair's 2010 Green Issue was adorned with A-list actor Leonardo DiCaprio floating adrift on an iceberg while a polar bear cub looks up at him. And Leo is not the only one: Cate Blanchett has campaigned for a carbon tax in Australia, Mark Ruffallo for climate initiatives relating to sea level rise, Scarlett Johansen for tougher targets for wealthy nations in the Kyoto accord. This matters as celebrities are now able to act as spokespersons for climate campaigns, making some very serious political demands relating to climate abatement. Who speaks for the climate is a source of great tension within climate negotiations (Boykoff 2007; Hulme 2009).

So within the changing governance structure operating around climate change there has been a rise in organisations and institutions operating at the overlapping borders of climate politics, science, culture and economy. Guston defines 'boundary work' as an "array of contingent circumstances and strategic behaviour" that work to blur the lines between science and politics, rather than intentionally separate them, in ways that are productive for policy and decision making (2001: 399). Such work delimits the boundaries between science and society in ways that ensure the continuing legitimacy of science and its authority as a truth discourse (Eden *et al*. 2006). New governance approaches counter this strategy to retain science's authoritative voice by including a range of expertise and

stakeholders, public and private, state and non-state, in climate debates and decision-making. One valuable way of conceptualising this is through the concept of boundary objects, those actors and things that work across the overlapping spaces of science, politics, and society to create temporary lines of communication understandable to all audiences, no matter what their level of expertise, (Slocum 2004). Boundary objects were originally conceived by Star and Griesemer (1989) who define them as:

> …an analytic concept of those scientific objects which inhabit several intersecting social worlds…and satisfy the informational requirements of each of them. Boundary objects are objects which are plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites (1989: 393).

These can exist both as objects, and as collectives of multiple boundary objects and organisations in large-scale boundary infrastructures (Bowker and Star (1999). A boundary organisation's or object's strength is in its ability to speak to multiple audiences, 'used' by different groups to translate information and communicate across different worlds, ways of thinking, and levels of expertise (Guston 2001). Slocum (2004) examines the role of climate boundary objects in 'stabilising' knowledge so it may be used in (publically approved) policy; for example figures around the acceptable range of global temperature increase of 1.5-4.5C become normalised and built into policy. The performance of knowledge by a boundary organisation or through a boundary object projects authority and works to normalise certain ideas, understandings or values (Guston 2001). It is not only climate that may be analysed using the concept of boundary objects; Eden (2011) has conceptualised food labels as a form of boundary object that works across 'worlds of food' and is used in the processes of sense making performed by consumers when negotiating food choice, offering a mediated form of connection between consumers and food. At the same time the information contained within labels also used by nutritionists, policy makers,

retailers, NGOs and more to communicate information. Eden describes the usefulness of boundary objects for the analysis of labels in this way:

> Boundary objects are adaptable, often precisely because they are unfinished, flexible and capable of multiple interpretations so that different actors can exchange information between their worlds and put their knowledge to work (2011: 181).

The unfinished and adaptable nature of the label boundary objects Eden (2011) describes has clear relevance for celebrities, with their unfixed meaning and the 'runniness' of their public identities (Bauman, 2013; Redmond 2010). This is explored in more detail in chapter five in the context of celebrity chefs. Here I want to suggest that when thinking about the possibility of celebrity as tools of governance, that considering them as boundary objects can usefully inform an understanding of their knowledge construction, the connection they provide across social realms, and the temporary lines of communication they provide are collectively described here as moments of possibility. The 'expertise' of celebrity is clearly distinct from that of science, or politics. It is deeply rooted in civic life through their cultural and charismatic authority and embodiment of desired values and meanings and played out through performances of mediated knowledge. The 'liquid' state of the identity of the individual celebrity (Redmond 2010) means that the expertise of the celebrity is far more fragile and contingent than that of science. While it may not be as robust as traditional forms of expertise, celebrity expertise is valuable for its ability to cross social spheres and speak to multiple audiences operating as a form of boundary object.

As boundary objects celebrities may be able to construct knowledge and reach multiple and wide reaching audiences through their elevated position and cultural authority. Conceptualising them in this way gives a material function to the permeation of celebrity

across social realms and demonstrates the specific ways that celebrity can connect and communicate different forms of information. The 'runniness' of celebrity identity is particularly well suited to this as it allows a star to shift between their celebrity identity into a new role, solidifying and garnering new meanings that are laid out for audiences to follow. How though does this function of celebrity fit within geographical work on governance? In the following section literature on governance within Geography is reviewed to map out the ways in which power and authority work through a wide variety of state and non-state, public and private actors. In doing this the scope for celebrity to work as part of modern governance assemblages will be considered.

2.5 Situating celebrity governance: Foucault, power and the rise of non-state assemblages of governance

A central focus of this research is concerned with celebrities, understood as non-state actors who are now able to govern aspects of everyday public life. Governance, defined as "where power and authority are horizontally decentralised and devolved to broader members of society" (Harrington *et al*. 2008:200), recognises the opportunity for a range of non-state actors to directly engage and influence decision making, public conduct, and more formal political and government processes. This shift exists as part of a globally recognised trend in hollowing out of the state and emerging power of non-government actors, communities and non-government organisations in particular (Liverman 2004; MacLeod and Goodwin 1999). Such representative governance is necessary in order to include a complete range of interests and values in decision-making processes (Harrington *et al*. 2008). Despite this the state remains the principal actor in decision making and policy

making, and while extending networks to non-state actors certainly changes the way governance in everyday life is 'done', this does not suggest it would seem diminished state control or power (Reed and Bruyneel 2010). What this then implies is that the rise of power networks of non-state actors may be effectively used to shape public opinion and behavior, and may make real, but that policy making at a national or global scale relies on effective engagement with formal government institutions. In light of this Bulkeley (2005) suggests that rather than viewing government and governance as opposite systems, we should instead understand governance as interacting systems of governing, where both state and non-state actors have (differing) roles to play allowing new actors and governing processes to operate at a variety of scales (Reed and Bruyneel 2010).

In recognising the opening up of government practices to a number of non-state actors recent geographical research has investigated a range of social and environmental agendas including climate change (Bulkeley 2012), water management (Bakker 2010), food labelling (Guthman 2007) and a urban governance (Jessop 2002). It is understood that these processes and assemblages of governance enable actors to work more effectively and to 'good governance' standards as well as working to empower communities and individuals to self-govern (Swyngedouw 2005). These are not straightforward processes and multiple tensions and contradictions must be negotiated before finding points of consensus that define the way governance structures are shaped and operate. Critics have argued that taking the govermentality approach too far risks the politics being lost within these processes (Swyngedouw 2014).

Recent work on environmental governance within geography has demonstrated not only the rise of multi-actor networks participating in environmental management regimes, but also the limits to this approach (Bulkeley 2005; Harrington *et al*. 2008; Liverman 2004). In the changing structure of environmental governance regimes community participation and non-government organisations playing active roles in governing environmental change and policy. Yet for all the opening up of participation that these new systems promise, they can disempower as many governance institutions and actors as they raise up, and this is not a problem specific to governing the environment, it can be witnessed across all forms of new governance (Swyngedouw 2005). Participation then can become a terrain full of tension within innovative governance systems; the inclusion of non-state actors at multiple scales is widely seen a positive thing in debate and decision making that forms policy. However the unofficial or unauthorised status of many of these institutions in formal practices of policy making and enforcing can result in serious tensions and conflicts between actors all seeking to stake their claim over the governance of certain areas. Struggles over authority, agenda setting, values, legitimacy, power and accountability can become rife (Harrington *et al*. 2008; Swyngedouw 2005). This is important to remember in the analysis of the possibility of celebrity governance as it works across existing spaces of governance. Indeed some of these tensions will be highlighted through analysis of celebrity governance in spaces of food and charity.

The new forms of what Swyngedouw (2005) has termed 'governance-beyond-the state' see an increased role in the decision making and implementation of policy by both private actors embedded in the economy and to public bodies and communities. Such assemblages operate through dispersed networks of power that comprise tangled arrangements of state, private and civil institutions. These innovative forms of governance are becoming

increasingly widespread and are influencing decision-making, the establishment of rules and norms, and their implementation at scales from the individual to the global (Allen and Cochrane 2007; Swyngedouw 2005). Ideas around governance assemblages and innovations beyond the state reflect changing forms of Foucault's notion of governmentality (Walters 2012). Governmentality is defined by Foucault as the:

> …ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population (1991; 102).

Born from Foucault's conception of power as the 'conduct of conduct' (Foucault 1991), governmentality embraces the range of practices and spaces that in complex ways work to control and steer the conduct of individuals and populations (Brökling *et al*. 2010). It recognises that governance is widespread and not confined to the state, operating at scales from individuals and families to the global. At the same time it understands governing practices can be exercised both on the self, over our own conduct, and over the conduct of others (Walters 2012). So controlling the behaviour of your family within the home is an act of governing, just as managing the business practices of the banking sector or healthcare are. Broadly then governmentality refers to the rationalities, processes and techniques that guide and control human behaviour allowing practices of government to be exercised (Rose *et al*. 2006). The State, for example, has been a key technology of governing representing one technology of governing, one part of the 'ensemble'. Governmentality pays attention not only to the range of institutions and rationales that determine how the conduct of society is governed, but also analyses the changing role of the state and its associated governing techniques under neoliberalism (Swyngendouw 2005). The changing

relationships between civil society, state, and 'beyond-the-state' actors can thus be fruitfully explored through a governmentality approach.

Governmentality is also important for understanding the way that power works in society, examining the different ways in which knowledge is "produced though social, cultural and political practices" (Dean 1999; 27). Foucault's understanding of power defines it as an immanent practice that works across social relations rather than something centrally held by particular institutions (Foucault 1991). Power for Foucault is everywhere, dispersed and embodied by the discourses, knowledge and practices it works through in establishing the 'regimes of truth' that normalise and control conduct (Foucault 1984, 1982; Rose 2001). In shifting focus away from a state-centred perception of power as something centrally held, power in everyday life is made acutely visible (Allen 2003). Concepts of power are opened up more fully in chapter four but here what is important is the recognition that the assemblages of institutions addressed by a governmentality framing contribute to the power relations working to govern social life. It encourages analysis of the rationalities that determine the techniques of government practices, as well as recognising the social, everyday and indeed individual relations that ensure the continual circulation of power (Foucault 2001). If a variety of beyond-the-state institutions are constructing knowledge that seeks to make and control subjects in particular ways this signals the distinct strategies and technologies offered to the techniques of governmentality and power (Foucault 1991). Indeed Rose *et al*. argue that what is significant about a governmentality approach is its drive to understand how we are "governed in the present" and in this they call for greater analysis of:

> ...the mundane business of governing everyday economic and social life, in the shaping of governable domains and governable persons, in the new forms of

power, authority, and subjectivity being formed within these mundane practices (2006: 101).

Closely linked to ideas around governing the present, a governmentality approach can also inform Foucaldian ideas around self-governance as the technologies and relationalities of government work to make subjects who are able to conduct their own conduct (Rose *et al*. 2006). Practices of responsibility and self-governance are particularly important to the governance techniques offered by celebrity as they work to responsibilise the pubic for their actions through the provision of knowledge. The spaces and social relations that celebrity power is perceived to work though are deeply rooted in the everyday; the home, television, shopping, and entertainment all become (re)worked as sites of governance. Everyday, mundane spaces and practices are important in determining how daily civil society functions, as well as establishing new sites and technologies of power and governance (Mitchell and Rose 2008; Rose *et al*. 2006).

Neither governance nor governmentality are coherent, finished projects. Foucault's project of governmentality was unfinished at his death in 1984. The concept of governmentality has nonetheless been taken up enthusiastically by scholars across a range of disciplines and applied in numerous contexts (Philo 2012; Walters 2012). As a result of this there has been criticism of the appropriateness or relevance of governmentality approaches to so many diverse agendas. One widely praised application of Foucault's original governmentality approach is Timothy Mitchell's work on post-colonial rule in Egypt (Mitchell 1991; Walters 2012). Through an examination of the forms of rule during the twentieth century are examined offering a rich empirical analysis the detail of the techniques of rule as well as the tensions and inconsistencies of governance exercised are discussed. This includes

considering the way that techniques of governing including conflict, water, or malaria come to work across Egypt in powerful ways leaving influence and legacy that has shaped the country and its modern government system (Mitchell 2002). One of the most important concepts to come out of Mitchell's work is his concept of 'enframing', which draws explicitly on Foucauldian positions on the complex links between power and knowledge.

Flows of "governance knowledges" in their existing forms are interesting for what they reveal (and hide) but also for what forms their representations take to represent reality in particular ways. 'Governance knowledges' include the theory, policy and practice which govern spaces of television and media (Christophers 2009: 88). The distinctions between these representations and reality are an end result of the power exercise Mitchell describes as 'enframing' (1991, 2002). Knowledge within or presented by the media does not exist in isolation. It travels. As knowledge flows, changing the way the media are enframed, and by extension how the knowledge transmitted through the media is enframed to and by geographically distinct/ differentiated audiences:

> The constraints, understandings and powers that frame the economic act, and the economy as a whole, and thus make the economy possible, at the same time render it incomplete.....Their purpose is to exclude, to keep out of the picture all these claims, costs, interruptions, and misunderstandings that would, make the act of exchange, and thus the economy itself, impossible to complete. To achieve this 'enframing', the rules, procedures, institutions and methods of enforcement are thought to have a special status. Just as a frame seems distinct from the picture it enframes, and a rule is supposedly an abstraction in relation to the concrete action it governs, institutions that enframe the economy are imagined to have a different, and extraeconomic nature (Mitchell 2002:291-2).

Enframing makes subjects 'available' to power exercises and control through the mechanisms that categorise and delimit them (Mitchell 2002). Representations, through enframing, create a separation from the real world as an effect of power that serves

particular political agendas. Christophers has used this concept to demonstrate that the mapping of the creative industries by the UK government in the late 1990s not only created these industries through their representation in 'maps', but in doing so rendered them open to control in ways that served government agendas at that time (Christophers 2007). The concept of enframing is employed in chapter seven to consider the ways that media space is produced in ways that open them up as a platform for possible exercises of celebrity power.

Drawing then on Swyngendouw's (2005) notion of 'beyond-the-state' governance and Foucault's governmentality approach the possibility of viewing celebrity as a new technology of government will be considered. Operating through the everyday sites and social networks of media, entertainment, home and social relations celebrities can now influence the way civil society works in meaningful ways. By constructing and performing around particular issues celebrity can contribute to the discourses and embodied knowledge that power is exercised through. Existing in a strange position that is both private and civil, individualised and institutional, relations between celebrity, governmentality and power are indeed complex. Moreover, celebrities who have the opportunity to participate in governance often do so in collaboration with more formal non-state institutions such as charities or NGOs. Therefore in considering their function as a technology in governmentality's ensemble, celebrity will be suggested as a *tool of governance* in chapter five that works both independently and collaboratively to participate in the making and implementation of knowledge, rules and norms.

Though not conceptualised fully in this dissertation, the possibility of celebrity operating as an important non-state actor in contemporary governance assemblages, as well as their mediation role within public facing knowledge exchanges, runs throughout this thesis. Celebrity chefs for example contribute to the governance of foodscapes through the food knowledge they provide audiences. Working across the everyday spaces of television, home, shopping, cooking and eating, people's relationships with food can be reworked in ways that make them 'better'. Likewise, celebrity charity ambassadors in conjunction with the NGOs or charities they work with can govern public relations of care across space, as well as the governance of spaces of development. Both of these examples, explored in detail throughout this thesis, have the possibility to govern public conduct. A governmentality framework considers the opening up of governance beyond the state in innovative ways, as well as the importance of the everyday in practices of governing and relations of power. A particular strength of this approach is its creativity in examining the changing ways social life is governed and directions this takes us in. This creativity is used here to analyse and take seriously the governance work being done by celebrity and consider the ways that these mediated actors operate as mediated tools of governance.

2.6 Conclusion

Drawing on the literature on Geography's cultural turn and associated cultural economy approach, studies of science and knowledge, and governance collectively have demonstrated on the one hand an academic and social structure that takes seriously the meaning making and governance work done by and through culture (particularly in the everyday), and on the other hand governance structures that utilise a multiplicity of non-state, state, public and private governance actors and institutions that embrace renewed understandings of expertise within knowledge making, public debate and decision making.

What this has revealed is a clear justification for the inclusion of celebrity in discussions about new formations of governance. Research agendas that embrace the interconnection relations between cultural and economic practices readily acknowledge meanings, norms and values established through the media, and by extension celebrity. Collectively this reveals an academic and social setting from which the cultural work of celebrity can fruitfully be explored.

At the same time literature on celebrity studies highlights the extension of celebrity as it seeps out of the confines of celebrity culture to permeate 'serious' social-cultural spaces including food, development, politics and conservation. A nuanced reading of this extension, whilst recognising the tensions it raises, is supportive of the new role of celebrity as entrenched in the broader cultural politics around an issue. This is more than an act of redemption by celebrities; the narratives and knowledge they both construct and transmit I argue throughout this thesis has the possibility of influencing public understandings and behaviours in significant ways. As governance assemblages open up to include diverse non-state agents, celebrities (in particular forms and in particular moments) become authorised to speak 'for' issues and groups. The particular forms celebrity power takes are examined in chapter four. Environmental governance and climate change campaigning have provided examples both of the ways that 'beyond-the-state-governance' may operate in practice, as well as demonstrating the way celebrity may be included in the debates and decision making for issues that sit across the boundaries of science, politics, and society. Before coming to the definitions of celebrity power and empirical case studies, the following chapter describes the methodological approaches undertaken in this research including its sample selection, data analysis and limits.

Chapter Three. Methodology and Research Design

3.1 Introduction

This study considers the work of celebrity chefs and celebrity charity ambassadors as two examples of celebrity power. In doing so, it aims to explore the possibility of the celebrity as a tool of governance, shaping public engagement, understanding and knowledge around good food and care. Existing research on celebrity has tended to focus on the construction of their public personae (Marshall 1997; Rojek 2001; Turner 2004). More recent work has opened up space to explore more politicised extensions to the 'work' of celebrity in various forms as discussed in chapter two (Nunn and Biressi 2010; Boykoff and Goodman 2008; Littler 2008), but again this has focused on the celebrity and their outputs (in the form of magazine or newspaper articles, photos, knowledge, TV programmes etc.) rather than the ways that audiences consume, engage, understand and find meaning in the celebrity and the information discovered. In fact audience studies are notably absent from most work around media and celebrity, with the impact of celebrity often assumed by the organisations and academics engaging with them, something this research hopes to begin to redress. Part of the aim of this research, then, is to address this lacuna and explore audience-celebrity interactions. It also looks behind the scenes at the production of celebrity media that have also thus far been absent in discussions of celebrity media particularly around ordinary expert figures such as chefs.

This research looks across the case study examples in their entirety as a media product, from their development and production, the programme itself, and their consumption and engagement by audiences. In doing so, I want to examine the exercise of celebrity power in the narrative they construct within the television and media content, the engagement and

impact of this by audiences, and finally the extent of the involvement of the celebrity in the production of the media they work within. This holistic analysis across the production/supply chain of celebrity media allows an in depth analysis of each case study to inform an understanding of how celebrity power works in these particular spaces as well as to reflect more generally on the possibility of celebrity power and governance. Employing a mixed methodology of survey, interviews and discourse analysis allows each stage of celebrity media to be explored in depth, developing a detailed understanding of the structural organisation of each celebrity media space, but also audience engagement with each example as active agents of meaning making from celebrity media (Hall 1993). This offers a greater depth of analysis of the particularities of celebrity power as it is practiced, rather than offering a more diffuse reading of celebrity culture in its broader understanding.

Theoretically this thesis employs a Foucauldian understanding of power as an immanent social relation (Foucault 1984). Rather than being centrally held within particular institutions or government bodies, power works through everyday relations and micro-centres, through assemblages of state and non-state actors. The merits of this approach, as described in chapter two, lie in the critical understanding of the plurality of actors involved in governing life, and the relations between knowledge and power. The danger of this approach is in perceiving power as existing and operating through the micro-capillaries of everyday life, it is understood as being everywhere and can therefore end up being nowhere. If taken too far, the sharp edge of power becomes blunt and its exercise loses its force, impact and potential influence. This is nowhere more true than in thinking about celebrities who are only just beginning to be taken seriously academically. Questioning celebrity power must be done with care to avoid either overstating the possibility of that power or making (false) assumptions about its reach. It is not the intention of this PhD to

suggest or imply a definition of celebrity power as a catchall term applied or occurring across celebrity culture as a whole.

Not all celebrities have, or make use of, the 'liquid celebrity' Redmond (2010) describes to move between and populate alternative social realms and extend their role or social influence. Many remain happily within the entertaining realms of celebrity actors, singers or even just as well-known individuals. Likewise there are plenty of celebrities who participate in philanthropic endeavours but out of the public eye. That is not to say that celebrities who do not move out of the confines of celebrity do not have cultural power: celebrity and celebrity culture continues to have the power as cultural sign and meaning maker described by Marshall (1997). One only has to think of celebrities such as the Kardashians, David and Victoria Beckham, or even the Duchess of Cambridge, to see that celebrity sells. This research, however, is concerned with the smaller group of celebrities who permeate social, political, and economic realms in ways that see them actively working to govern those spaces. What this means is that the power analysed within this research will not apply to all celebrities. Rather, in recognising and taking seriously the 'celebritization' of certain spaces (Driessens 2013), and the prominent role of particular individuals and institutions within that process, this thesis considers the possible exercises of power by celebrity chefs and charity ambassadors as non-state actors in the governance of landscapes of food and care across civic and everyday life in the UK.

After describing the rationale and providing a broad overview of the case studies the research is focused on, the chapter considers the validity of surveys, discourse analysis and elite interviews both as research methods and as tools to answer the research questions

set out in chapter 1. This section also reflects on the research experience of this PhD and raises any limits and issues experienced within the project. It finally describes the recruitment process for each research stage and the ethical considerations put in place before concluding.

3.2 Research design

The micro-nuances of relationships of celebrity power are not only interesting and matter greatly to the power and governance possibility of particular individuals but by focusing on particular societal spaces, and specific celebrity media forms within these, I aim to tease out some of these relations of power at play. Here the most significant contribution to Geography and the study of food, care, celebrity and media more broadly, is the focus on and conceptualisation of celebrity power laid out in chapter four. Empirically then the chosen case studies allow a detailed account of practices of celebrity power to be drawn out across the production and consumption of media beyond just the celebrity and their media content itself. The finished media product serves as a starting point for analysis; cultural discourse analysis of the television programmes and wider (largely online) media content are the finished product of the exercises of celebrity power and offer the narrative discourse constructed by celebrity around food or care. These branded, mediated constructions provide the container for the knowledge celebrity's present audiences with. The way that these knowledge and discourses are performed matter in terms of how audiences engage and respond to each celebrity. The second stage in the research was interested in understanding audience engagement with celebrity culture broadly, and then in connection to each case study. The final stage looked behind the scenes at the organisations that make the programmes examined here, and sought to map out the development process and organisational structure in order to assess the input of celebrity

into the media products they work within. Designing the research in this way allowed in-depth analysis of a small number of case studies. Given the specificities of celebrity power described above, and the aim of this research to assess the role of celebrities as tools of governance within particular networks. The focus on the spaces of food and charity celebrity media allowed two particular forms of celebrity power to be mapped out whilst also permitting some reflections on celebrity power more broadly.

3.3 Research rationale: Case studies and sample selection

Before turning to describe in detail the methodological approaches used here, I will first introduce the case studies and the sample selection employed in the audience survey. This describes the rationale for the selection of each case study as well as the audience sample. Celebrity chefs and charitable ambassadors have been chosen due to their role in knowledge making and governance around the politicised issues of food and humanitarian care within society, and their prevalence within this, rather than being merely an element in popular culture. The increased recognition of celebrity politics and forms of celebrity power signals a need to theorise celebrity power and governance, marking the relevance of celebrity politics as a research field. Other examples of celebrity governance and political work could have been chosen, such as celebrity politicians, product endorsers or sports personalities, but these have been discounted due to their lack of connection to knowledge making and behaviour changing agendas, and the more limited comparison this would have allowed. There is much scope for future research to engage with different celebrities, organised around different issues. Here, however, the focus lies on celebrity as a tool of governance in terms of food and charitable care.

The distinction between 'expert' and 'non-expert' celebrity campaigners and the application of concepts of credibility and authority of celebrity provides a valuable point of comparison between each case, opening up space to explore the characteristics that define different forms of celebrity governance. Understanding these particular relationships is important to not only gain insight into their specificities in the deployment of power by celebrities and the constructions of celebrity in the UK, but these cases work to facilitate the important understanding of how the powerful social and mediated forces of celebrities—in the form of their bodies, politics, discourses and socio-economic power—influences what and how we care about others, what we eat and our relationships with ourselves, our bodies, friends and family, and distant Others. These areas of proposed study, especially those related to the forms of celebrity governance highlighted above, remain unexplored and under-theorised in the inter- and cross-disciplinary fields this proposed work will contribute to. Both socially and academically this work is important in its contributions to understanding governance today and the new and unexpected celebrity actors who are taking on these roles with as yet unclear outcomes.

A number of key celebrity figures lie at the heart of each case study including chefs Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall as celebrity chefs involved in food politics and actors David Tennant and Bill Nighy as central in Comic Relief's telethon campaigns. While this list is by no means exhaustive of the stars who will be a part of this study, it is indicative of the gendered and classed aspects drawn out in this analysis of celebrity power. Issues of class (Bell and Hollows 2011; Piper 2013), gender (Hollows 2003) and race (Slocum 2011) have been raised in research relating to geographies of food and have relevance for the 'good food' narratives constructed by chefs and the ways they are received by their different audiences. While these themes are not the focus of the research here it is important to

acknowledge that there is a clear gendered and classed aspect to celebrity power within these case studies, dominated by white, middle-class and middle aged men. This, of course, is not the extent of celebrity power and chapters five and six will demonstrate a broader range of actors participating in celebrity power exercises. There is plenty of scope for future research to open up these issues, particularly in understanding how audience engagement may change as a result.

Similar types of celebrity offer easier comparison across and between the spaces these actors occupy and influence, and the forms of knowledge they generate and 'govern', rather than comparing between different forms of celebrity. It is then the spaces they occupy and the 'work' they are doing which offers a valuable point of comparison. Thus I want to explore the different spaces of governance in which celebrity operates, comparing these to draw out the distinct formats and common features this may take, and the reasons underlying this. Comparisons will then be drawn between the issues rather than between the celebrities, although the characteristics, personae and expertise of individual celebrities is likely to affect their success as governance actors. Different ways in which knowledge and care around each issue is constructed, the role celebrity and performance play in each instance, and the role of expertise and authority will be examined within and between each case.

3.3.1 Celebrity chefs

Chefs have become some of the UK's best known and liked television personalities and, indeed, celebrities. Hand in hand with this is the booming food media industry feeding our fascination and seeming confusion with food, diets and eating. Celebrity chefs are now

rarely off our screens or bestseller lists; entire TV channels are dedicated to providing us with culinary inspiration; newspaper supplements and celebrity magazines show us the latest celebrity diet, workout or detox to whip us into the shape of our favourite stars; social media allows us to tweet, Instagram or blog every morsel that passes our lips as well as offering a direct line of communication to our favourite chef. Celebrity chefs, like celebrity itself, is not a new concept and famous chefs have existed for centuries (Rousseau 2012). What is different now is the prominence of celebrity chefs and food media, and the seeming shift in celebrity chef discourse that has seen a move from teaching us new recipes to broader engagement with our relationships with food and food politics more broadly. Gone are the days of educational, recipe-based shows of Delia Smith or Martha Stuart in the 1970s. Food television is now much more about entertainment and excitement as it is about the dishes being prepared. At the same time this has seen a democratisation of food culture, increasing accessibility to food information and cooking; food and food media is no longer just for 'foodies' (Johnston and Baumann 2010). The plethora of food media has created space for and given rise to the figure of the celebrity chef. Celebrity chefs are not only experts on cooking, but also draw wide audiences through their charismatic and entertaining performance of food.

Why then does this matter? Why does it matter if Jamie Oliver tells us our diets are killing us? What difference does it make if Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall encourages us to buy free range chicken, or sustainable mackerel? And crucially are we (the audience) listening and acting upon what they say? Or simply sitting back to be entertained by our favourite TV chefs? While the main aim of celebrity chef programmes is to entertain they also have a very real impact on Britain's 'foodscape' (Goodman *et al*. 2010), particularly when they turn their (and our) gaze towards politicised food issues. With the power to alter what we buy

and eat, our understanding and relationship with food as well as the politicised food issues and causes we engage with, celebrity chefs cannot be dismissed as mere entertainment and require a more thoughtful and critical analysis. Celebrity chefs position themselves (and are positioned within the media) as the solution to our broken diets. As experts on food they morph into experts on other aspects of life, doling out lifestyle advice and working on our relationships with food in multiple ways. The authority and power of chefs, as Rousseau puts it, come from their "promise to make us better: better cooks, better carers for our families, better shoppers, better entertainers" (2012: xxii). This feeds into broader scale ideas around good citizenship and the ethical and moral relationships of our eating practices. Celebrity chefs thus play an important role in shaping the narratives around food, defining 'good food' in distinct and branded ways, and helping audiences on a 'better' and more reflexive food path. This has important consequences not only for the chefs who see their brand grow and succeed through their programmes, but also the retailers and food products whose sales alter if a chef suggests particular ingredients or products (the Jamie effect, or Delia effect before that), and on the relations between health, bodies and diets of the consumers who watch chefs and are influenced by what they see.

Audience figures for celebrity chef fronted programmes indicate interest in watching these programmes, likewise sales figures for celebrity chefs cookbooks indicate that people are buying into celebrity chef culture in a big way. Jamie Oliver's book Jamie's 30-minute Meals is the UK's biggest selling non-fiction book of all time selling in excess of 1.5 million copies (BBC News 2010). At the same time celebrity chefs have garnered increasing academic interest that addressed both the rise of the figure of the celebrity chef and its impact on foodscapes (Rousseau 2012). With the notable exception of Piper's (2013) research on Jamie Oliver, work around audience engagement with chefs has been sorely lacking with

the impact of chefs on audiences and consumers often assumed or not addressed. This thesis seeks to address this through the audience survey to understand how audiences are engaging with food media and celebrity chefs and what impacts (if any) it is having on their food practices.

Celebrity chefs can help audiences negotiate food choices, sorting out between 'good' and 'bad' food, and arming them with the information and skills that allows them to act as more reflexive consumers (Goodman *et al*. 2010). By taking on this role they place themselves as powerful players in modern neo-liberal landscapes of food governance. At the same time certain chefs are stepping out of the kitchen into other and more politicised food spaces, engaging in the governance of foodscapes more broadly. This includes not only actively 'interfering' (Rousseau, 2012) in people's diets and lifestyles but also campaigning and raising awareness around issues such as animal welfare or sustainable fishing, influencing government policy on school meal provision, and providing an increasingly normalised set of rules to responsibilise audiences (as citizens) and help us make 'better' food choices. Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall's *Fish Fight* or Jamie Oliver's *School Dinners* provide examples of celebrity chefs campaigning around food issues outside of the kitchen in ways that have tangible political and policy impacts. The blurring of boundaries between the entertainment of celebrity chefs and foodscapes more broadly will be examined, considering the ways that celebrity chefs may exercise power through the construction of branded 'good food' narratives.

The focus of the study is on UK based chefs and food programming and there is something specific about celebrity chefs in the UK. Versteegen states that since 1984 the UK has

launched more food television programmes and more new formats than any other country. This rise of food media has seen a rise of food television that has also seen celebrity chefs become established as prominent cultural icons (Versteegen 2010). The media and television are important not only for celebrity chefs and the food information; they construct, charities to make use of televised formats as a platform to engage audiences with humanitarian issues. In the following section the charity case study of Comic Relief is presented, describing their history and long running relationship with celebrity.

3.3.2 Comic Relief

Comic Relief is one of the UK's largest charities and has 'become something of a British institution' (Comic Relief 2014). Set up in 1985 by film producer Richard Curtis and comedian Lenny Henry, Comic Relief emerged in response to the Ethiopian Famine. Having seen the incredible response to the BBC coverage of the famine and then Bob Geldof's Live Aid single, Richard Curtis saw an opportunity to do something using the network of comedians he knew through his television writing and directing. (CR2). From the outset Comic Relief has been organised around celebrity and entertainment and describes its mission as "to drive positive change through the power of entertainment" (Comic Relief 2014).

The charity has three functions: to raise money, to spend that money, and to use its brand to raise awareness (Comic Relief 2014; Gilly and Silk 2000). Fundraising is organised around two major live televised fundraising events: Red Nose Day launched in 1988 under the tag line 'doing something funny for money', and Sport Relief launched in 2002. Their impact within the charity landscape is huge. Red Nose Day in 2013 raised £100 million, while 2014's

Sport Relief raised £70 million (Comic Relief 2014). Unprecedented media access and celebrity support draws wide audiences and high public awareness, but also sees their reach increasing into institutions from schools, offices and supermarkets (Gilly and Silk 2000). Their unique fundraising model, discussed more fully in chapter six, operates through a short lived campaign culminating in an annual telethon alternating between Red Nose Day and Sport Relief events. The scale of the event sees the day of the telethon work as a form of quasi-holiday in the UK with schools, offices and businesses taking part in various fundraising activities. Although there is a wider fundraising context to the work of Comic Relief, this research is focused on the annual television events and the performances of care by the celebrity within this.

Charity and fundraising is now big business. In the UK over 154 000 charities raise £62.5 billion annually (Charities Commission 2014) through public donations, corporate partnerships and government funds. 1000 of these charities now register an annual income of over £10 million, highlighting the influence these large players can have over the issues they affect. What this means is that the charity market is becoming increasingly crowded and organisations look to new ways in which to distinguish themselves to potential donors. One result of this is that the biggest charities run like businesses, developing strong brands, slick campaigning, and innovative methods to encourage fundraising (Sargent 1999). One way this has been done is by using celebrity ambassadors to draw public attention, 'selling' campaigns and encouraging caring behaviours (Kapoor 2013). Celebrity charity relationships are not new: the UN have deployed celebrity 'Goodwill Ambassadors' since the 1950s, but what has changed is the scale of celebrity engagement (Cooper 2008). Many large charities now employ a full time artist liaison team to manage these relations. It can seem no campaign is complete without a celebrity face, providing photo opportunities and

valuable media space through which campaigns can reach the public (Littler 2008). There is increasing cynicism of these relationships with some arguing that celebrity involvement tarnished and distracts from serious issues (Wieskel 2005). Critics argue that celebrity participation in charitable work serves more as a vehicle for self-promotion, rather than being born form any genuine concern for those in need. Yet this need not always be the case. The impact of celebrity on the landscapes of care is important and can have impacts on both how global issues are understood, and where help is seen as necessary. Comic Relief represents an ideal case study through which to examine celebrity power over landscapes of care, as well as the relationships between celebrity and charity.

Comic Relief is clearly a successful fundraiser and has tapped into the power of celebrity as a campaigning tool. Yet there is more going on here than a system of public donations to charity. The inclusion of celebrity within these programmes, and the narratives around humanitarian care and development that they construct have important impacts on public understanding and engagement, how Others are represented and given voice, as well as their place within broader public and political agendas. Landscapes of care are thus being permeated by celebrities in ways that have impacts on both those in need, whom Comic Relief help, but also on the public who donate money in the UK as they become drawn into narratives of good citizenship.

3.4 Methodological approaches

This research employs a mixed methodological approach that includes survey, critical discourse analysis and interviews to investigate celebrity media development, products and reception by audiences to assess the possibility of celebrity power. Before describing the

design of the research conducted, this section will analyse the different methods used as research tool and discuss their relevance to answering the research questions of this PhD.

3.4.1 Survey as method

Gamson (1995) has argued that an understanding and awareness of who the different forms of audience are is a necessary part of researching celebrity. Yet for the most part audiences relationships with celebrities are unaccounted for, and those that exist have focused on only one specific celebrity example (Piper 2013). Engagement with audiences is lacking within geographical research more generally, and within the small body of work on celebrity in Geography only one study to date exists (Piper 2013). In seeking to address this gap a large scale audience survey has been conducted addressing a range of celebrity forms and engagements. Before discussing the recruitment to the survey I will first review the merit of survey as a tool for answering this research question. In controlling the questions and survey design a standardised research approach which avoids bias and confusion may be achieved (Cloke *et al*. 2004). McLafferty states that "[s]urvey research is particularly useful for eliciting people's attitudes and opinions about social, political and environmental issues", making it ideally placed to research questions of audiences around celebrity political engagement (2007:88).

A standardised approach allows hypotheses to be tested against large data sets, as well as ensuring consistency and reliability of the data (Schoenberger 1991). This research employed a mix of open and closed questions in order to map broad trends in engagements with celebrity culture and media as well as more detailed responses and opinions related to each individual case study. The mix of qualitative and quantitative data more effectively

supports the analysis of trends emerging from the data while simultaneously providing detailed insights into individual engagements with celebrity (Cloke *et al.* 2004). Though there are a number of recognised limitations to this method including failure to adequately address causality and issues related to meaning and understanding (Schoenberger 1991), it is hoped that by adopting a multi-method approach this research can avoid some of these.

Despite their widely recounted limitations surveys continue to be used widely within geographical research to gain data about people's characteristics, behaviours, awareness and opinions (Miller *et al*. 1998; Parfitt 2005). It is particularly useful in researching large samples and drawing trends that may be applied readily to larger populations. Parfitt (2005) classifies survey data into three main types: data that classify people such as age or income; data related to people's behaviour such as how they travel to work or how much they recycle; data related to opinions and attitudes. He suggests that surveys seeking to collect data related to respondent's behaviour and/or attitudes, which is an important aspect of understanding audience engagement and relationships with celebrity, may face difficulties for a number of reasons. Firstly there are issues in the gap between expressed and actual behaviour which may not be overcome without direct observation, though this gap is highly dependent on the nature of questions being asked. Secondly, in collecting data related to attitudes and opinions issues related to false answers (either due to lack of knowledge, or giving an answer to please or fulfil expectations) can be problematic and affect the quality of data collected. Bias is also an inherent problem related to the wording and ordering of questions that can lead respondents. Reliability and validity are essential to effective survey techniques and researchers must work to minimise errors in sampling and research design that may influence these.

Others, however, are more optimistic of the scope of surveys suggesting that it is an effective method for gaining insight into people's attitudes and opinions about social, political and environmental issues as well as understanding complex social interactions and behaviours (McLafferty 2010). McLafferty is in agreement with Parfitt that effective surveys must be based on a robust set of research questions/objectives and a well-designed, appropriately sampled questionnaire. Open-questions may allow better representation of respondent's true opinions as they are able to craft their own responses, in their own terms. The survey will use a mix of open and closed questions to provide classification data in qualitative forms and detailed and rich insights into behaviours and opinions. What this broadly suggests is that a survey approach may be useful in understanding how audiences engage with celebrity but is perhaps less well equipped to address why. A large number of the questions of the survey are focused on how respondents are engaging with celebrity to ascertain both awareness of celebrity culture, as well as their engagement with it. For example, questions that asked respondents to name celebrities they were aware had been involved in charitable campaigning, or being asked to select from a list of celebrity chef cookbooks they owned, have been used to illustrate behaviour and awareness (Appendix 1). Thoughtfully designed open-ended questions were used to build on these closed questions and understand the ways and motives around these engagements.

Ethical issues of confidentiality and anonymity must also be taken into account; questionnaires were completed online and anonymously and so it is not possible to identify respondents from their responses, nor were participants identifiable to the researcher at any stage during or after the researcher. In addition, I was the only person with access to the data set and completed surveys during the research period, ensuring confidentiality was maintained. Unfortunately due to the anonymous nature of the survey it was not

possible to withdraw an individual's responses once a completed questionnaire had been returned. This and the nature of the research more broadly were explained to participants in an information sheet provided before completing the survey. Returning a completed questionnaire implies informed consent and willingness to participate in the study. Further details of the recruitment process to the survey and its ethical considerations are discussed below.

The major strengths of this survey are the broad sample size and breadth of questions asked, developing a wide understanding of audience engagement with celebrity culture and celebrity activists. The survey was not, at the outset, particularly interested in the demographics of its respondents. It asked questions of age, education level and location in order to assess how widely it was snowballed beyond its initial transmission to students at King's College London, and to what extent respondents were young students, likely to be both engaged and critical of celebrity culture. The survey did not ask questions of class or income so it is not possible to infer how these factors may affect respondents or who, within these boundaries, the survey respondents were. Here there is clearly great scope for future research to analyse audience relationships with celebrity in the context of class, income, and gender groups and explore how who the audience is impacts both their relationship with celebrity and the possibility of successful celebrity power exercises. In short, while this project reveals the complex relationships audiences hold with celebrity and the multiple and nuanced motivations and impacts celebrity media has on them, it does not reveal whether there are particular groups for whom celebrity (and their exercises of power) matter more or less.

In analysis of the survey data I was interested in drawing out key trends from both qualitative and quantitative responses. Qualitative responses were codified and analysed, while quantitative responses were transferred and analysed in Excel. The design of some of the qualitative questions allowed respondents to select more than one response (i.e. 'tick all that apply' responses) and as a result part of the analysis was of questions that could have multiple answers from the same person (see appendix one). In part this helped open up and analyse the complexity of audience-celebrity relationships, but at the same time this adds complications to the analysis and may weight some responses too heavily. Nonetheless these responses remain indicative of the trends within audience-celebrity relations, and it is this that has been the principal concept of the survey.

The survey was conducted online, which has the advantage of being low cost to administer, and allows responses to be automatically coded into computer-readable formats as they are completed. It allows a high number of recipients to be reached and also offers the opportunity for the survey to be 'snowballed' through social networks. This was particularly useful as it offered a way to reach audiences actively engaged in the world of celebrity, and the work of chefs and Comic Relief whom I would never be able to find or access in person. Research positionality is less of an issue in this distance based research method, allowing participants to respond in their own time and without being under the gaze of the researcher (Balch 2010). However, disadvantages to this approach include low return rates in a world of growing junk mail and suspicion of virus laden email, limited control over survey layout, and biased survey sampling by including only those who have internet access. Furthermore, standardisation of questions can make it difficult to assess the most important factors to respondents by having to design questions that are applicable to the majority of respondents- i.e. as a blunt instrument it can seem to offer only superficial

coverage of complex issues. It is clear then that a survey will provide data on large-scale trends in public engagement in celebrity media related to my case studies. It has also been possible to gain some insight into individual opinions and relationships with celebrity for large numbers of participants, although on the whole engagement with open questions was more limited with fewer participants fully completing all of these questions. However there is of course a limit to the level of detail which may be gained through open questions on participants' engagement, perception and behaviour around celebrity engagement and alternative methods are necessary to explore these ideas more thoroughly.

3.4.2 Researching elites: access and research in celebritized organisations

This research focuses on celebrities, a group that comprises a cultural elite who as a research subject can be elusive, guarded and inaccessible. Though none of the interviews conducted as part of this thesis are with celebrities (though not for lack of trying), interviewees working within the selected case studies are not only elites by the nature of their job but work within celebritized organisations and roles that have implications for the ways that research was carried out. I will reflect on some of these in this section. A range of geographical literature discusses the methodological implications of interviewing elites. Smith (2006) has defined elites as those holding positions of authority which allow them to control knowledge, financial resources and social power. It can also refer to the relationship between researcher and research subjects (Stephens 2006). Several authors have also worked to problematise the concept of 'elites' as a research subject, with clear implications on the positionality of the researcher and the type of information that is gathered (Cochrane 1998; Leech 2002; Savage and Williams, 2008). Here elites are defined as such not only for the senior roles they hold within the operational and decision making structures

of the chosen organisations, but also for their association and operation within celebritized spaces of media production working for or closely with celebrity.

As well as issues in gaining access to these figures, there are issues linked to asymmetry in power relations between interviewee and researcher which may cause 'unstable relations' and result in restrictive access to information and difficulty for the researcher to maintain control of the interview itself (Pile, 1991; Rice, 2010). In collaborative knowledge building the interview process may in fact serve to reinscribe these power relations throughout research (Rice 2010). Researching 'up' involves a complex set of power relations between researcher, interviewees and the information collected (Cormode and Hughes 1999). Gender, of both researcher and researched, can play an important role on the dynamic, power relations and information gathering within these interviews (McDowell 1998). The nature of research that demands the interviewing of elite subjects tends to be as part of understanding a particular event or process and thus tends to focus on a few interviews, with individuals holding specialised or expert knowledge (Desmond 2002). My positionality as a young and inexperienced researcher interviewing elites also demands reflection. This can be particularly relevant when there is a large age gap between the researcher and elite and determine how seriously they are taken within the interview (Stephens 2006).

Elite interviews, unlike their 'standard' counterparts where the researcher defines the questions and problems within the boundary of their own research agenda, Dexter suggests that in elite interviewing "the investigator is willing, and often eager to let the interviewee teach him what the problem, the question, the situation, is" (2010: 19). This may be in part due to the specialised knowledge held by the interviewee determining the content and

structure of the interview, but may also be a means of negotiating the power relations of this research dynamic (Woods 1998). Though not of relevance on to the interviewing of celebritized elites, its relevance here drives a semi-structured interview approach that allowed me to investigate the organisation, practices and influencers that shape celebrity media without assuming cause or outcome. The use of semi-structured in-depth interviews allows researchers to examine events and processes they did not participate in within collaborative processes of knowledge making and sharing (Rubin and Rubin 2005; Valentine 1999). As one of the most commonly used methodological tools within human geography (Longhurst 2007) it is a more informal interview technique that encourages a more conversational tone offering scope to explore a range of topics which may only come to light within the in the interview situation, yet within a predefined framework (Longhurst 2007). Not only can respondents help fill in detail but also actively participate in constructing knowledge about the meaning tied to these processes throughout the interview itself, demanding attention to be paid to the dynamic and subjective quality of responses (Cloke *et al*. 2004). As will be discussed in the following paragraph, this approach successfully allowed me to develop a trust and rapport with interviewees necessary to extract information.

In addition to these issues of interviewing elites there is also a set of considerations and implications of interviewing elites embedded within spaces of celebrity and media. Here I found the work of Joshua Gamson (1995) on interviewing celebrity agents, publicists and managers within Hollywood particularly informative. All those I interviewed worked either directly for or closely with celebrities. Their embeddedness in celebritized media space brought with it a set of considerations for both the way that I accessed interviewees and how interviews were conducted. The most serious challenge in researching the worlds of

celebrity is that of access (Ortner 2010). These industries can be incredibly closed and restrictive, with little interest in engaging with academics with seemingly little to offer in exchange. Celebrity, media and entertainment industries, although spatially dispersed, have a strong sense of boundaries (Ortner 2010). Even finding out the addresses or contact numbers of these organisations can be difficult. Organisations can be disinterested or defensive at academic interest into their work. Therefore the researcher must negotiate a fine line between academic outsider, but also knowing enough (people or information) to be 'worthy' of being granted interview as Gamson describes:

> Presenting as an outsider in Hollywood helps shift the lens, to keep the rules of the information management game from kicking in: I am just a researcher, I just want to understand how things work (Gamson 1995: 87).

Within my interviews I found explaining clearly my research project and its aims the most useful way of fostering a sense of trust and openness with participants. It was important to demonstrate that I did not have an agenda in seeking to criticise the work they were doing, and that my principal goal was to understand how their organisations or campaigns work and how their relationships with celebrity work. Moreover I received no hostility from my position as an academic researcher, in fact I found that participants were interested and even flattered by academic attention in their work and the different perspectives thinking about what they do. This idea of 'I am just a researcher' worked well for me.

Celebrity and entertainment media are businesses are driven, to a large extent, by personal connections and relationships. Without these it can be very difficult to access. As Gamson states:

> …an outside researcher who does not tap into a relationship network, and one with a powerful individual at its centre, is going to have terribly restricted access to the higher-ups in the industry elite (Gamson 1995: 86).

There are several reasons for this. In part this is about the competitive nature of the entertainment and media industries and their desire to keep private and quiet ideas in development, as well as the stars they work with (Ortner 2006). In positioning these industries as closed access becomes even more difficult for those who do not want to let 'outsiders' in and see what goes on behind-the-scenes and loose its magic or creativity (Gamson 1995). In this research I initially found it very difficult to access interviewees. In the end I made use of a personal connection where a friend who knew someone employed in a very senior role at Jamie Oliver was able to act as gatekeeper and put us in contact. Once the interview had taken place they put me in contact with other useful staff within the different sectors of the business that otherwise I would have been unlikely to ever be able to contact on my own. This also proved useful when arranging interviews with other production companies and chef organisations; to be able to say I had already conducted several interviews within the closed ranks of Jamie Oliver Limited Company seemed to open doors elsewhere. Beyond issues of access I found interviews could be logistically difficult to arrange taking a long time to negotiate meeting within the busy schedules of my participants finding interviews would often be rescheduled late in the day.

Once I was able to access people and arrange interviews I found them very forthcoming in their response. Several have argued that there can be issues with the 'honesty' of responses from elites, often boiled down to rehearsed soundbites that toe the line (Cormode and Hughes 1999; Desmond 2004; McDowell 1998; Woods 1998). Interviewing within celebritized institutions and the additional layer of secrecy and celebrity can mean that a

conscious 'spin' or performance even of information gives away only what the interviewer wants to reveal (Driessens 2014; Ortner 2006). In this way the interviewing of these elites can be highly reflective of the celebrity systems they associate with. Gamson (1995) has described the 'slippery' responses he received when interviewing a celebrity publicist who seemed to treat the entire event almost as a game. Unlike the negative warnings contained within this literature I found my participants to talk freely around their jobs, relationship with celebrity, working environments and so on, providing interesting and novel celebrity anecdotes to me. I was not asking them to reveal any sensitive or financial information but wanted to understand the processes of their celebrity media production.

Two aspects relating to my position as researcher are relevant here. The first is the insider/outsider issue of celebritized interviewing Gamson describes in relation to 'talking the talk' as a celebrity researcher (1995). Part of my interview preparation included making sure I understood the basic processes and language relating to the organisation I was going to be interviewing, be it television production, charitable fundraising or food media formats. This ensured I was taken seriously as a PhD student interested and engaged in their worlds of work. The second element to this is being able to distinguish and recognise the merit in 'good' versus 'honest' answers (Driessens 2014). Describing the processes of television production and the input of celebrity are relatively straightforward to ascertain and can be confirmed through interviews across each organisations. Anecdotal celebrity stories told and recounted by interviewees are not only subjective but also will have their company spin on, most likely to present the celebrity in the best light and bias toward their organisations. This, however, does not diminish the research value of this information as I was more interested in understanding how the organisational structures of each institution functioned, and the role of celebrity within it, rather than assessing their 'success' in any

way. On the whole I did not find that interviewees were guarded or closed, if anything I was surprised by their openness and candor. For example, at both Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnely-Whittingstall's production companies staff were openly talking to me about programmes in production that had not been publically announced yet. Only once did I experience an interviewee self-edit themselves; when describing the type of content they are able to develop one interviewee spoke in a fairly stereotypical way about who the audience of their commissioning channel is.

Reflecting on my own interview experience, I think an important distinction can be drawn from the types of 'elites' I interviewed. Literature on the methodological approaches to elite interviewing comes with warnings around positionality, gender, information validity and power relations. These were not things I found to be problematic or present in my research. This may be due to the types of organisations within which I was conducting research: media, food, charity and production companies with relaxed and relatively informal working environments and a high proportion of young staff resulted in a very different experience than if I had been interviewing political or industry elites, for example.

3.4.3 Critical discourse and critical visual analysis

In-depth study of the campaign materials and programmes related to case studies one and two enables an examination of the detailed and complex constructions of meaning around good food and care respectively. This will also allow comparison of the different ways celebrity is used between the two cases. The visual and interactive nature of these materials warrants the employment of both critical visual methodology and cultural discourse analysis to map these construction by mediated celebrity actors *and* the

organisations/issues they represent in terms of the mediated cultural and political meaning, practices and behaviours in which they are embedded and promote in audiences as consumers (Banks 2001; Rose 2001; van Dijk 1993). Such a methodological approach argues that the interpretation of visual and discourse materials must be addressed within their socio-political context and explore their cultural meaning and power to successfully respond to issues, and it is their *critical* application that allows this to be achieved (Hall 1997; Mills 1998; Thwaites *et al*. 2002).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) explores the role of text in its broadest sense including written, spoken and visual matter, as a component in the social processes. It goes beyond simple analysis to cast a critical eye over social processes, identifying and exploring often hidden connections between language and social structure including power organisation and identity (Mills 1998; van Dijk 1993). It is critical in its commitment to progressive social change making transparent the connections between language and social structure and process, revealing the power relations and ideologies it may shape (Mills 1998). This approach draws on Foucault's conception of discourse and informs an understanding of the role of power, knowledge and meaning making through discourse. Discourse is understood here as practice which creates the objects that they speak about: representations produce culture and the meanings and practices around them with effects that play out through knowledge, truth and power (Mills 1998). Paying attention to everyday micro-practices can reveal much about changes in culture and public discourse, but can also be sites that work to shift and transform culture (Hall 1997). Analysing the forms cultural representations take, and the discourses at play can reveal much about the understanding, meanings and practices around civic society and public life. The media works as a key site through which public discourse can be debated and changed though everyday and micro-practices. Thus

CDA uses semiotic materials to explore and/or resolve social issues here in the form of the textual and interactive websites and campaign materials and television programmes to map the construction of good food and care through celebrity in these case studies.

Both case studies rely heavily on images to carry or sell their messages to audiences, requiring analysis to interpret their meaning within the campaign and their broader cultural meaning. Critical visual methodologies will be employed to examine the image based semiotic meanings constructed within the chosen campaigns (Mills 1998; Rose, 2001). Through this an understanding will be developed of the use of images and media texts to create particular knowledges about good food and care and the politics associated with these often-contentious issues. Both campaigns take place on television, with linked interactive websites and social media sites, which visually engage audiences actively and reflexively in constructing meaning (Banks 2001). Moreover, Banks (2001) draws attention to the power of television to convey both educational and political messages to audiences in a range of formats from public service announcements, to soaps, to documentaries. In stating "the audiencing of an image...appears very important to its meaning and effects" Rose highlights the significance that the spaces and places in which audiences view images can have on the (reworked) semiotic value of an image (Rose 2001:25). A critical approach also takes into account the positionality and subjectivity of the researcher when organised images.

3.5 Exploring celebrity power: research design in practice

Having described the different research methods in the section above and their appropriateness in answering the research questions laid out in the introduction, this

section now turns to address the design of the research carried out in this thesis. It describes the participants and recruitment process, details of the survey and interview questions asked, and addresses the need to adhere of ethical research practices. Problems and limits that arose during the research, related both to these methodological approaches and the research more broadly, are also addressed here.

3.5.1 Audience survey design and ethics

In seeking to fill a gap in research around celebrity influence, and in the context of questioning the possibility of celebrity power and governance, an audience survey was conducted. Analysing and understanding the ways audiences engage and respond to both celebrity culture and their campaigning efforts is vital to assessing how celebrity may inform knowledge around particular issues and indicate the success of such relations. Of paramount importance is to ascertain whether academic accounts of celebrity culture and celebrity fronted campaigns align with the views of those 'consuming' celebrity and to more fully to map out the possibility of celebrity power and governance within these spaces. Furthermore this research hopes to explain how celebrity orientated knowledge is translated and understood by the public, raise questions around the credibility, expertise and authority of celebrities, and explore the impact celebrity may (or may not) have on the politics of those engaged with celebrity in these specific cases of celebrity chefs and food politics, and celebrity charity ambassadors and the geographies of care. In order to achieve this a large scale social survey will be carried out. Before describing the detail of the survey I will first briefly mention how and why the survey sample was chosen.

The survey was conducted online during 2013-2014. It asked three sets of questions: firstly broad questions about engagement with celebrity culture and celebrity activism, secondly questions about celebrity chefs and food practices, and thirdly celebrity and Comic Relief. Questions sought to assess participant's awareness, engagement and response (in terms of knowledge, feelings and behaviour) to celebrity in each of the celebrity typologies. A full list of questions can be found in Appendix One.

Details of the survey, the wider PhD projects and the ethical approval from KCL were provided in an introductory page to the survey. Returning of a completed survey implied consent and willingness for data collected to be used in the thesis. There were no issues of participants withdrawing their data from the survey. Several prizes were offered in exchange for participation. Participants completed the survey anonymously. An email address was required to register for the website and to enter the prize draw; this personal information was stored online separately to the survey data and I did not have access to this until after the survey was closed and the prize draw took place. There were some complaints about the need to register for the survey with an email address; this was due to the design of the survey software used to host the survey. If I redesigned the survey I would use a format that did not require registration to maximize participation.

A theoretical sampling approach was used to reach targeted audiences, this has been defined by Glasser and Strauss as "the process of data collection or of generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his data...in order to develop his theory as it emerges" (1967:45). The approach developed out of Glasser and Strauss's grounded theory that creates theory from analysis of quantitative data in social research.

This allows a sample to be chosen that would provide substantive data on which to base my research, in other words this sampling method allows groups to be targeted for questioning who are likely to be engaged in celebrity culture and the political endeavours chosen as case studies. Glasser states that the researcher will "go to the groups which they believe will maximise the possibilities of obtaining data and leads for more data on their question" (1978:45). As such it is important to know where to sample in order to examine issues where they exist and gain desired results (Coyne 1997). Following a pilot study conducted in January 2013, the full questionnaire was sent to staff and students at King's College London as part of their research recruitment system, reaching an initial population of around 18 000 people. It was also posted within the online communities of celebrity chefs, and through my own social media network. This, in theory, allowed it participation to be snowballed as it was passed through social networks.

Six hundred completed surveys were returned, surveys with less than 75% of the survey completed were discarded. The response rate was much lower than I anticipated and resulted in the survey running for an additional three months in order to increase participant numbers. The original aim had been to have a thousand completed surveys, but this was not possible within the research period without a significant effort to advertise or promote the survey which I was not able to do. Additionally 20% of surveys returned incomplete alongside the 600 completed, a likely consequence of the length of the survey questionnaire. Despite the low conversion rate, this gave me a large enough sample size to analyse and establish an understanding of broad engagement with celebrity culture and the case study I have focused on. The survey produced the first (and only) data set of this kind.

3.5.2 Interview recruitment and ethical considerations

In order to map out the development and production of celebrity television content within food and charity programming, semi-structured interviews were conducted at the case study organisations. Access was the main issue for this stage of the research, and was the main influence in determining the case studies I was able to research. The initial interviews at both Jamie Oliver Limited and Comic Relief were organised through personal connections of mine who knew someone working at these organisations. These then snowballed within those organisations as interviewees would put me in touch with other colleagues. Interviews at other organisations including Keo Films, Save the Children, Children in Need and Craft Strategy Media Consultants were arranged through cold contacting organisations via email. In this recruitment process I was interested in and therefore targeted staff who were directly involved in the development and running of celebrity media campaigns. Interviews were conducted across the organisations with artist liaison officers, operations directors, marketing directors, brand managers, creative directors, development producers, social media creative and media consultants. A full schedule of interviews conducted is available in appendix two. Providing intensive rather than extensive data, interviews provided an alternative perspective and complementary data set to the survey data to this thesis and its exploration of celebrity media across the production and dissemination of celebrity media.

Interviews were semi-structured and as described above the nature of the elite participants and my research agenda required a very loose interview structure that was conversational in approach and directed by the elite; a sample of questions can be found in appendix three. This format allowed a rough interview structure to be established, that allowed diversion and conversation to be led by the interviewee which was particularly important in exploring

celebrity based anecdotes from respondents that may not have been divulged if asked directly. This approach also allowed me to develop an in-depth understanding of the development and production process of celebrity media and the input of celebrity into that. Conducting multiple interviews within each organisation allowed these processes to be corroborated. Each interviewee was given an information sheet and asked to sign a consent form (appendix four). Interviews were recorded and transcribed before being codified and analysed. At the request of the participants, interview data is presented anonymously although the organisations are identifiable. As described above, a number of ethical and research issues are raised in the interviewing of elites, and this is particularly true of those working with or for celebrities. The largest impact this has on my research was the difficulty in accessing organisations and arranging interviews. In some cases it took over a year to conduct interviews because staff are busy and work in dynamic environments that can see them unavailable at short notice. The celebrities themselves fronting these organisations are completely out of reach to researchers. Moreover, the television channels and commissioners were not able or willing to participate in this research. Now that I have access to some of these organisations, future research involving these organisations would be much easier.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has set out the research design of this thesis describing the methodological approach taken to empirically answer questions about celebrity power and governance in the spaces of food and charitable care. The unique approach of this research is to examine not only the cultural product of celebrity media through a critical discourse analysis but to look behind the scenes to its production and to its reception and dissemination by audience. In taking the two specific celebritized media spaces of food and charity as examples I have

been able to map out the possible exercises of celebrity power though the development and production of ideas, the performance of celebrity constructed knowledge and the influence of celebrity on audiences in a governance context. More broadly it has sought to contribute to some key areas of methodological discussion around celebrity research and elite interviewing in particular. There is very little academic work around the interviewing of elites in celebritized institutions, and empirical research into these types of organisation and celebrities more generally is lacking (Brockington 2009; Driessens 2014). This research offers insight into the research of those working for or closely with celebrity and reflects on the methodological implications of researching these difficult to access organisations. Those working within celebrity entertainment, charity and media industries may be considered elites in terms of their job role, relation to the researcher, and their association with the cultural elites of celebrity. At the same time the nature of the work environments as informal and creative workspaces raised a different set of issues to the gendered, politicised and professional workspaces of political or business elites would have done. Here the major issues have been in gaining access to interviewees.

At the same time this research also takes up Gamson's (1995) methodological call to include analysis of different forms of audience when interviewing celebritized elites and the information they offer. Though a large scale audience survey the engagement with celebrity will be addressed. Very little empirical research has been conducted on audience relationships with celebrity from an audience perspective, and existing audience studies within geography have been narrowly focused on one programme from a single celebrity chef (Piper 2013). Taking a much broader view, this research is interested in the engagement with celebrity culture and celebrity activism, as well as celebrities within case studies of food and charity. Although surveys are not the most methodologically robust tool

in gathering data, particularly in drawing out the micro-nuances of opinion, cause or motive, it has been demonstrated as an appropriate approach used as part of a mixed methodological approach. Data collected in the survey is used alongside interview and discourse analysis, and corroborated through examples pulled from publically accessible audience post on social media. In seeking to add rigor to the research in its current form future research would include focus groups to complement the survey data adding depth and opening up the motives and engagements by individuals.

Having described the methodological approaches to the research, the following chapter turns to conceptualise celebrity power. Drawing on the literature on the geographies of power, food and care, and on celebrity studies, this chapter firstly identifies gaps within existing literature suggesting that a consideration of the specific exercises of power at play within landscapes of food and care has much to offer these areas of geographical research. It then theorises celebrity power, defining the specific forms of celerity power. In doing so, a theoretical framework is provided through which the empirical case studies will be analysed.

Chapter Four. New topologies of power? Investigating mediated governance in celebrity spaces of food and charity

4.1 Introduction

Celebrity culture has not yet found its limits, and there are increasing instances of celebrities stepping out beyond the confines of entertainment to participate in a host of socio-political and business projects. In taking seriously both the rise of celebrity culture and its extension into social life, a range of academic research critically investigates celebrity and its societal influence in multiple and complicated ways across a range of disciplines. There is now little doubt that the 'giving back' done by celebrity contributes to and alters the cultural politics around different issues as well as offering new forms of public debate and decision making (Brockington 2014; Boykoff and Goodman 2009; Littler 2008). If celebrities are influencing society in meaningful ways then it is necessary to understand and critically analyse how this is being done. Taking forward these existing discussions, this chapter defines celebrity power in order to set out the theoretical framework that will inform analysis throughout this thesis.

The power of celebrity has been discussed by several scholars (e.g. Cooper 2008; Marshall 1997; Nayar 2009), however much of this has offered only a generalised and diffuse account of celebrity power. Little attention has been given to the nuances of power exercises by and through celebrities, or the differentiated ways in which these exercised of power may (or may not) work across society. This chapter conceptualised celebrity power in a more detailed way, grounded in both theories of power and empirical examples of celebrity chefs and celebrity charity ambassadors. In defining and critically

engaging questions of celebrity power I will consider the mechanism employed by celebrity to shape knowledge, public behaviour and political decision-making.

Broadly this chapter has three aims: firstly to define celebrity power and the topological connections made possible to audiences through its exercise. This draws on literature on the geographies of power to consider celebrity as an important non-state actor in contemporary governance assemblages and suggests the ways that connection and participation may be fostered over space in particular *moments of possibility* with scope to alter public discourse in important ways. Secondly I argue that the concept of celebrity power has much to offer geographical research around food and care. Examining these literatures reveals a lack of engagement with either power or celebrity, both of which are demonstrated as crucial in the governance of these landscapes particular in term of public engagement with, and relationships to, food and care. Thirdly, the chapter considers celebrity power in practice through a brief discussion of two empirical examples: celebrity chefs and celebrity charity ambassadors. This considers the moments of possibility constructed by celebrity and the opportunities and tensions that manifest within them.

Theoretically this chapter draws on the work of Michel Foucault to consider the way that power, as an immanent relation, is exercised across and through everyday spaces and social relations. Foucault's work, particularly that around power, has been widely used within Geography to explore a diverse set of research agendas (e.g. Philo 2006; Rutherford 2007; Rutherford and Rutherford 2013). Foucault defines government as the 'conduct of conduct', analysing power as a dispersed immanent force exercised through society (rather than over it) with a focus on the micro-practices and knowledges which

establish everyday forms of rule (Ekers and Loftus 2008) reflecting well the way that celebrity power is here defined to work across mediated everyday spaces and social relations. The forms of power that Foucault describes are steeped in everyday relations, actions and practices, that affect individuals and their identities, and lay out normative governance frameworks (Philo 2012; Rabinow and Rose 2003; Rose 2001). Self-governance is encouraged through the provision of knowledge and guidelines towards idealised conduct to which individual subjects should conform (Foucault 1982).

Self-governance is particularly relevant in the context of celebrity power: through powerful performances, celebrities work to responsibilise, develop and promote the choices and actions of audiences at an individual level. Choices are shown to matter, affecting bodies, health and well-being, and social relations at multiple scales while also having consequences for many state and non-state agents who are affected by their impacts. For example Jamie Oliver shows how cooking his recipes can help us simultaneously save money, be healthier, and care more for those we cook for including our selves. Choosing his recipes and his choice ingredients are shown to positively affect our lives in several ways. Similarly celebrities in Comic Relief show how our choice to donate money affects the lives of those it helps at a global scale.

At the same time it is important to acknowledge the limits to celebrity power. The aim here is not to suggest that celebrities are the principal or only way that the public learn about or engage with issues of food or care. Multiple sources of information contribute to an individual's understanding in overlapping ways, often in contradictory or negotiated ways. This phenomenon is captured in Gramscian ideas of 'common sense', which refers

to the sets of commonly held ideas, values and world views prevalent in society at a given moment: "Every philosophical current leaves behind a sedimentation of 'common sense'" (Gramsci 1971:626 n5). This means that every current power exercise that seeks to form/contribute to 'common sense' must do so against the layers of historic and existing information. In short, what people already know matters, and those seeking to change norms or values should bear this in mind. Exercises of power celebrity are not assured, they must negotiate and compete with other powerful discourses, deal with tensions between conflicting agendas and ideas, and demonstrate credibility and authority to audiences before they are established as trusted voices. Celebrity power is not in continual circulation: it is present only at the time celebrity programmes occupy our screens and media.

The power exercised by celebrities creates *moments of possibility* for audiences. As defined in chapter two, moments of possibility see audiences engage actively with the celebrity narratives and change their understanding, relationship and/or behaviour towards both the issues and celebrities that are presenting. Audiences are drawn into the celebrity narratives through celebrity exercises of power and understands them as doing more than passively watching television. Linked to neo-liberal economies of 'care for the self', these moments create opportunities for audiences to make changes to their understanding, relationships and practices and can result in simultaneous positive and negative audience engagement with each instance of celebrity power. At the same time audiences may watch and not engage with the celebrity power at all. Here, television as the principal medium of consuming celebrity is important and effect the ways that audiences decode and translate the information they receive into their own practices (Morley 1999). The outcome of celebrity power has impacts on audiences that creates the

possibility for a deeper and more active level of participation at the same time as they are being entertained. Within these moments audiences may engage in both positively and negatively in celebrity power, either to change their behaviour or to resist the influence of celebrity itself. More broadly these moments work to change or shift the public discourse around these issues, paying attention to not only the media texts which are created but the social conversations, and practices that exist around these.

Overall celebrity power is a 'soft' exercise. By this I mean a power which is persuasive, attractive and encouraging rather than coercive, forceful or restraining. This is framed by ideas around freedom and choice. Coined by Joseph Nye in the late 1980s to describe the attractive and co-optive influence of the United States to shape the preferences of both individual and policy makers through foreign policy, culture and political ideology (Nye 2004). The concept has been criticised as merely another façade to the influence of either direct force or financial incentives, and for the inherent difficulty in identifying and separating out different exercises of power (Ferguson 2004). What this concept usefully offers a reading of celebrity power is the mechanisms though which power can utilise cultural forms in non-forceful ways to encourage change whilst also recognising their political impacts. Celebrity as the powerful embodiments of food and care, attempt to get us to 'work on ourselves' by becoming more knowledgeable, better, and healthier in various ways. Celebrity power is conceptualised as providing both topological connection to celebrity, audience and issues across space, and as biopolitical seeking to control the lives and well-being of those at both ends of a campaign. Topological connections that dissolve physical space and forge connections for audiences, are an integral mechanism of celebrity power. Here, we are being asked to connect and/or re-connect to our food or to others in need through different processes and with different effects—and as importantly, different

affects. In these topologies of food or care that are slightly different from the supposed 're-connecting' done in 'alternative food networks' (cf. Kneafsey *et al*. 2008). Indeed, this point gets at one of the key contributions of this chapter: the need for the growing field of agro-food studies within geography and geographical work on care and responsibilistion to consider the crucial role that shifting 'mediascapes' (Appadurai 1990) of food and care have in the broad context of politics and everyday geographies in the UK and beyond. While media power is an important facet related to celebrity power, discussed in chapter seven in the context of the production of celebrity media space, it is not discussed as part of the celebrity power defined in this chapter.

The chapter is structured as follows: firstly I review recent work on agro-food and care within Geography, analysing how power has been discussed within these fields. Secondly a brief review of geographical literature on the geographies of power will provide a theoretical framework in which celebrity power will be analysed. As well as drawing on Foucauldian concepts of power, the chapter will develop a spatially focused understanding of power. In this regard the work of John Allen will be used to discuss topological approaches to power and how its exercise can work across space. Here I define celebrity power both as topological, connecting celebrity, audience and issue across space, and as biopolitical seeking to control the lives and well-being of those at both ends of a campaign. Thirdly I will discuss how power within celebrity studies has been considered in the context of celebrity. Finally, the chapter defines celebrity power in practice through empirical examples of celebrity chefs and charity ambassadors. This discussion considers the way that topologies of power are practiced by celebrity. It also considers the moments of possibility constructed in the media to facilitate these

connections. The chapter concludes by reiterating the definitions of celebrity power and its contribution both to geographical and celebrity research.

4.2 Looking for power: geographies of food and care

4.2.1 Agro-food geographies and power

Geography has a long history of food research covering a range of issues and actors along the supply chain from farm to fork, at a variety of scales (Friedberg 2004; Guthman 2003, 2008a; Mansfield 2011 2012; Watts *et al.* 2005; Winter 2003). Answering David Goodman's (2002) call that consumption and its cultural specificities be considered, recent research has begun to address a range of consumer-based issues, increasingly thinking about the relations between production and consumption rather than as discrete entities (Smith and Jehlička 2007). Such research looks at the ways food, in its production, governance, processing, and consumption, affects environmental, social, economic, and political practices. Considering the interactions and implications of global processes (such as climate change, or global recession) on how food is supplied, as well as the politics around food consumption, have been particular strengths within geographical work around food, placing it at the forefront of mapping contemporary landscapes of food.

While Geography has brought consumption to the fore, questions remain about how 'ordinary' or conventional consumers navigate choice or relate to food. Likewise power, though frequently mentioned, remains under theorised within the geographies of food literature. Throughout this research the complexities and politics of these relationships are highlighted. The power of particular actors to perpetuate dominant food discourses is challenged throughout agro-food studies work (Friedberg 2004; Guthman 2008b).

Guthman (2007) for example, problematises food labelling as neo-liberal resistance by arguing they support and extend the very systems they seek to oppose. Friedberg (2003) has critically analysed British supermarkets and their attempted 'ethical turn' with respect to their supply and production chains rooted in Africa, arguing that the turn itself is a fetishized act which ensures supermarkets' ongoing power. Such work questions the limits of globalisation, and the powerful actors that work to ensure the current system endures (Winters 2004). Power is a recurring theme within this literature, though in an abstract way to describe powerful, dominating actors and the force they exert on food systems and consumers, rather than specific consideration of power exercises analysed here. Additionally, while a range of food actors are reflected in this work, the media celebrity or their powerful influences are not suitably included within these discussions.

A second major stream to agro-food literature focuses on alternative food networks as a challenge to industrialised food systems, and although forming only a small percent of food market they are important as a site of resistance and the politics these purport (Barnett *et al*. 2005; Watts *et al.* 2005). From here the partial, classed and gendered aspects of this form of food provisioning have been investigated. Power here is to a large extent embedded in rhetoric around consumer choice (Jackson *et al.* 2009; Watts *et al*. 2005). Here power is placed firmly in the hands of the consumer to make different, and better, decisions around what and how to eat. A central argument around ethical consumption, not only of food, is that it allows connection over space between consumers and producers fostering a sense of responsibility for the impacts of our consumption (Barnett *et al.* 2005; Goodman *et al.* 2010; Popke 2006; Eden *et al.* 2008). This is clearly relevant in the context of the topological connections and in the possibility of extending care over distance.

More recently Goodman (2010) has described the trend towards the 'celebritization of development' occurring within fair trade as well as other neo-liberal development spaces. Tied into the commodification of development and the multiple ways that we can now shop to 'save the world', celebritization is changing who is able to speak for the global poor and the 'brokering' role they can play between the public and various actors involved in development politics. In terms of power this again speaks to consumer power to choose products that buy into development in some way, as well as the power of those celebrities who are increasingly speaking for those in the global South. Goodman acknowledges that "celebrities have, embody, and deploy particular forms of power" but this is focused on the star power that a celebrity can bring to a campaign rather than the specific forms of power celebrities are argued to exercise here.

In a similar way, Morgan *et al.* (2006) directly engage questions of power in their book on the 'Worlds of Food'. Here they challenge what they see as binary thinking that dominates the agro-food literature (e.g. global vs local, alternative vs conventional). Within this binary they suggest that power has largely been discussed in the context of conventional, industrialised food systems, while place and provenance are located more in alternative food literatures. Power is understood here as "a capacity to mobilize, control, and deploy resources- be they economic, political, cultural, or indeed moral" (Morgan *et al*. 2006: 4). This goes further to distinguish between hard power and soft power, the former dominating conventional food systems and functioning through forceful or coercive practices, while the latter is more prevalent in alternative food systems and works through more persuasive, or inspirational means (Morgan *et al.* 2006). This suggests that adopting a moral economy approach will redress some of these binaries and help embrace the responsibilities and moral values present throughout our economic and social lives, and consider new ways that

power can work across food beyond a narrow economic focus (Jackson *et al.* 2009). Goodman (2004) also uses the concept of moral economy in his analysis of fair trade foods although does not discuss power beyond the empowerment that Fairtrade can offer producers. What is missing from these debates however, is a discussion of food, media, and power as a set of interlinked influences.

This brief and partial discussion of the agro-food geographies literature reveals that although a large body of work has addressed the complex, highly political and contentious nature of modern food systems, this work has not adequately addressed questions of power. At the same time it has missed, or ignored, the important role of the media in encoding, informing, transmitting and connecting the public (as consumers) to food issues. The media plays a huge role in contemporary foodscapes, employed by numerous actors from supermarkets to policymakers, and thus is due greater consideration. Moreover, it will be argued here that celebrity has much to offer the negotiation of 'good food' debates, particularly those that are public facing. Beyond the work of Piper (2013), there is little within Geography that explicitly engages issues of food, power and celebrity. Celebrity chefs combine an expertise in cooking with a familiar and trusted public persona that allows them to reach wide audiences and the possibility of governing foodscapes through their powerful performances of good food. These performances connect audiences to food, and inform their food relations in ways that matter to our health, bodies and well-being. In the following section I turn to discuss the literature relating to care and power before coming back to consider the specific ways that power may be exercised by celebrity chefs and charity ambassadors.

4.2.2 Geographies of care and power

Geography has critically engaged questions of care at a variety of scales from the local and individual, to the global and collective. Recent writing on the geographies of affect and care are important in providing a theoretical understanding of care and responsibility as well as informing the ways in which geographical research is engaging with emotion more broadly (Pile 2010). Through this work a number of important examinations of power relations imbricated in care and responsibility have been raised (Parr and Philo 2003). These will be briefly discussed to understand how the geographies of care literature has so far dealt with power, and provide a context within which celebrity-charity care may be positioned. Celebrity-charity relationships and their power relations can inform geographical research around care, particularly in the ways that care may be extended over distance through celebrity fostered connections, and also in consideration of the forms of power that run through caring relationships beyond the power asymmetries of cared-for and care-giver (Milligan 2003).

A central theme to work on care within geography pays attention to the unequal power relations present within modern care practices (Noxolo *et al*. 2012). Emerging from feminist work on ethics of care Fisher and Tronto define care as a:

> …species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment (1990: 40).

In understanding care as a fundamental, necessary social relation rather than a set of rules, feminist geographers have problematised the systems of care currently in operation, particularly where these practices are increasingly commodified. Neo-liberal

and privatised care provisioning is challenged throughout this body of literature

questioning the marginalisation of care that privatises responsibility (Lawson 2007). This

shift from care as state-provided, to individualised and private responsibility for care not

only results in changing power relations across care spaces. It also creates unequal care

burdens being felt in gendered ways for those who cannot afford to participate in

privatised care systems (England 2010). It is disproportionately women who bear the

brunt of increased care work, and do so in informal ways within the home that do not

allow this work to be recognised or accounted for in meaningful ways (England 2007). The

power relations around these forms of care work to hide much of the care work being

done to the advantage of politicians and private care industries but to the disadvantaged

of the individuals left with the responsibility to provide that care.

At the same time power relations are present within the practice of care-giving, be that by

family members, the state, or privately employed carers. In an analysis of paid domestic

childcare Cox (2010) has shown that the emotions associated with care-work are not always

positive, particularly when you are not able to provide care for your loved ones yourself,

and can include guilt, anger and anxiety. Care-work in this case can become an exercise in

power with both parent and carer holding power over each other in different ways

(McEwan and Goodman, 2010). The blurring boundaries of private and public care spaces

means that informal and formal care agendas increasingly overlap, resulting in conflict and

issues of power. The knowledge that defines how care is administered can be fraught with

contestation, specifically between the 'expert' knowledge of professional carer's and the

personal, experiential knowledge of the informal carer, as well as between institutions of

care (Milligan, 2003). The cultural differences in landscapes of care must also be attended

in order to embrace the specificity that informs how care is practiced.

Emotion plays a key role in the power relations imbued with care. In their discussion of the geographies of care and responsibility McEwan and Goodman state that the "social relations produced through emotion and emotional connections are also understood as sites of power" (2010: 103). Practices and relations of care are bound by emotions: understanding the care ethics, emotions and power relations that work across these spaces is crucial for understanding how the world works (Lawson 2007). This can be particularly important as many care practices are conducted in everyday spaces - often the home - and can blur the boundaries between paid and unpaid, formal and informal, care-giving (England 2010). Thus the context in which care is practiced and experienced matters greatly and affects the relations of emotion and power that are felt at individual and collective scales (Bondi 2003). Within Comic Relief's fundraising, the performance of care and need by celebrity within every day, private home spaces of audiences becomes important in seeking donations and connecting them to those in need in meaningful ways, bound by power relations that include celebrity. At the same time care is also publically displayed through the public pledges made by the donating public from within their private spaces as the product of the moments of possibility fostered by celebrity power. Charitable work has been dismissed by feminist geographers as a form of care because of the distance between donor and recipient (Tronto 2013), however here I hope to demonstrate that the power exercised by celebrities has the possibility to motivate care in audiences, and to establish donating or knowledge-seeking behaviours that are underwritten by feelings of care.

A second strand of geographical care research problematises the extension of care over space. Caring practices and relationships are strongest between our immediate friends

and family (Massey 2004), but there is also a need to provide care at broader scales as well. Parr and Philo (2008), for example, have examined the geographies of 'community care' in rural Scotland and the impacts of place on the understanding, provision and power relations of care over space. Ethical consumption is considered the principal means through which a practical extension of care over distance may be achieved. This is particularly useful to the analysis here because it conceptualises ways that care may be extended beyond the local. Everyday consumption acts of ethical products work as points of connection between consumers and distant producers and are permeated with the possibility of caring feelings, connection and responsibility for those far away from us (Cox 2010). Again this literature makes clear reference to the power relations involved (Goodman 2010) but does not detail the forms of power at play. Ethical consumption is clearly relevant to the care performed and power exercised by celebrity, whilst at the same time foster collective responsibility in terms of good citizenship. Celebrity power here works to responsibilise the choices of individuals and the impacts they have over Others.

Another perspective still brings together ideas around caring for distant strangers with notions of cosmopolitanism. Naussbaum (2002) defines a cosmopolitan citizen as one not committed to state or economic power, but instead to humanity and community. This sense of global citizenship, she argues, should override any sense of patriotism in the way that societies are ordered. Caring thus becomes extended through the social relations we feel to distant others through a shared sense of humanity and human rights, but also through a 'cosmopolitan education' (Naussbaum 2002). Though criticised for its dichotomous treatment of cosmopolitanism and patriotism (Papastephanou 2013), the sense of moral value and obligation cosmopolitan citizenship brings to our relations to

distant strangers is important here. Similarly, Vertover and Cohen (2002) argue that cosmopolitanism offers a (re)newed path to 'global democracy and world citizenship' that is particularly relevant in global issues in which we all have a shared risk such as climate change. Barnett and Land (2007) suggest a different way of considering caring over a distance that does not problematize partiality within care for distance strangers. Generosity, they argue, allows us to recognise that partiality is in fact a necessary condition for car over distance. Through 'institutionally mediated practices of generosity' allow new forms of spatial relationship to be created that extend care over distance in partial and meaningful ways (Barnett and Land 2007: 1073).

Distance, in this work, emerges as a key theme in caring for distant others. Although it is necessary, as this thesis will argue, that distance needs to be overcome in order to facilitate caring feelings towards those far from us, it is also important to maintain some of this distance within effective campaigns. This tension is highlighted in Silverstone's concept of '*proper distance*' which refers to the:

> degree of proximity required in our mediated inter-relationships if we are to create and sustain a sense of the other not just for reciprocity but for a duty of care, obligation and responsibility, as well as understanding (2006:47).

The ethics of care he suggests begins by recognising unknown or unfamiliar others as sharing a common humanity. Distance is therefore not only a geographic measure or social relation, but also a moral category announced clearly though its ethical claim as 'proper' (Silverstone 2004, 2006). In order to achieve this, he argues, representations of the other are bound within this notion of proper distance- acknowledging both a 'shared identity' (i.e. we are all human) and our differences. Silverstone's (2006) notion of 'common humanity' mirrors the conception of care as a social relation from feminist

geography. By examining the mediated relationships through which we engage the other, and the ethical and moral norms they produce, we can analyse not only representations of the other and their humanity but also the changing and negotiated ways in which these are defined (Chouliaraki and Ograd 2011). Although not emerging from Geography, these ideas resonate closely to this research, particularly in accounting for the role of the media in influencing public imaginations, discourses and meaning making.

In order to recognise responsibility and enact a duty of care some distance is required: we can be oblivious to need that is right by us as easily as we can to that which is distant and out of sight (Silverstone 2004). What then is the place of *proper distance*? Silverstone argues that despite striving to achieve representations of others that facilitate care and responsibility, the tendency of the media has been a failure that falls into two camps. The first represents others as so different from us, the audience, that we cannot relate to them at all- the move beyond humanity and become too strange to negotiate towards. The second sees others brought so close to our own reality and lived experience that we cannot tell them apart from ourselves and in refusing to accept their differences we embark on an exercise of 'cultural neo-imperialism' (Silverstone 2006). Rather we should seek representations that are both close and far:

> Proper distance is the critical notion that implies and involves a search for enough knowledge and understanding of the other person or other culture to enable responsibility and care (Silverstone 2006: 172).

The representations of others through the media place responsibility not only on those producing mediated texts but also on the audience, also present in these public spaces of moral representations of the other, who take up responsibility as they consume and take meaning from the texts. This again clearly links back to Hall's ideas of decoding and the

work audiences do to generate meaning from media texts. Here however there is a clear moral sentiment to the reading being done. Boltanski's book *Distant Suffering* (1999) confronts a number of these issues in examining the forms that compassion towards distant others may take. A number of points are worth recalling here in the context of media engagements of distant others. The first is the role of the media in fostering trust from audiences and reducing the distance to others. The second is the active role of the audience as they negotiate the multiple messages and representations of suffering within the media. Chouliaraki (2008) draws on Boltanski's work to examine the representations of suffering (to events such as the 9/11 attacks) within transnational media. The most positive account of these representations is the creation of 'cosmopolitan citizenship'. This disposition, she argues, takes two forms: "indignant denudation against the injustice inflicted upon the sufferers by their persecutors, or tender-hearted empathy with the misfortunate and the pain of the sufferers" (Chouliaraki 2008: 331). This not only mediated how we engage with distant others but also shapes our moral and ethical agency and imaginary. Their engagement, a form of 'politics of pity' to draw on Ardent's term, can take multiple forms but most importantly the action can take the form of reporting about what they have seen and how they have been affected by it. Here the act of speech is an emotional response to suffering that is bound by the possibility of action (Boltanski 1999). The spectacle of distant suffering involves a tension between feelings of altruism, guilt, anger, resentment, gratitude, caring, as well as the possibility of action (Boltanski 1999). In order for audiences to take action they must trust the representations of distant suffering they see, agree that they are unjust, and finally commit to action- be it through speech or more direct actions.

Littler, in her work on charity-celebrity relations, suggests that the "communicative cultural flows" circulating between celebrities and Other, as well as representations of

each, work to not only ensure that dominant ideas around global issues maintain their

position, but also reveal the power relations at play. This has implications on the way that

global issues are 'imagined' and whether or not they make it to agendas that demand

change (Littler 2008: 246). In extending their brand to include charitable endeavours, the

'doing good' that celebrities contribute to reflect back onto their own personal brand as

well as onto the charity. What is key in Littler's work is the attention given to the celebrity

intervention in global issues through charities, and what this may mean for power

relations- both of the celebrities and the institutions with which they engage. While work

on care within geography pays attention to the complex power relations involved in

prevailing neoliberal carescapes (Appadurai 1990), it does not go far enough in

conceptualising the specific exercises of power that work across care practices. In the

remainder of this chapter I consider in detail the particular forms of power celebrity's

exercise in and through charity campaigns.

In summary, although both geographical literature on food and care discusses power as

an important aspect of relations between food, consumers and producers in the first

instance and carers, care recipients and caring practices in the second, it does so without

focus on the forms or geographies of power. It has been discussed in an amorphous way

that describes power as a vague, but important, force. In the following section I draw on

literature around the geographies of power to consider how a more focused and specific

conception of power may inform both these literatures and the possibility of celebrity

power.

4.3 Geographies of Power

In this section, celebrity power will be linked to *topologies of power* and *biopower* through a Foucauldian conception power and geographic work that develops these ideas. Foucault describes power not as a centrally held, dominating force but as an immanent force working across and through everyday spaces and social relations (1984). The micro-practices of the everyday become sites through which power can work, establishing the circulation of power throughout society as opposed to held by particular people (Foucualt 1982). For Foucault these forms of power operate through techniques or technologies, the groups that aspire to control conduct in particular ways with desired outcomes and the apparatus and knowledge that give rise to particular systems of governing and control (Foucault 1982; Rose and Miller 1992). Knowledge is deeply rooted in power relations circulated through these everyday sites and relations. Foucault sees knowledge and power as intimately bound; power therefore has a positive and productive epistemic role:

> …the exercise of power creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information. One can understand nothing about economic science if one does not know how power and economic power are exercised in everyday life. The exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power (Foucault 1991: 51/2).

The relationship between power and knowledge is vital to the exercises of power by celebrity, working to control populations and normalise acceptable behaviours through celebritised knowledge discourses, circulated through everyday media space.

A Foucauldian perspective rejects the state as the principal focus of power, opening up opportunity for the investigation of alternative, non-state circulations of power. For

Foucault power and governance are embedded in social relations. This means multiple

actors exercise power and influence our behaviour:

> …instead of seeing any single body- such as the state- as responsible for managing
> the conduct of citizens, this perspective recognises that a whole variety of
> authorities govern different sites, in relation to different objectives (Rose *et al*.
> 2006: 85).

Although perhaps an unconventional application of Foucaldian power, here it will be

argued that celebrity and the media now exist as important sites through which

knowledge is produced and power circulated across particular areas of society. Defining

governance as the 'conduct of conduct' implies that society requires management in

various ways, framed in ways that places responsibility on individuals or certain

behaviours (Miller and Rose 2008). This, as will be shown below, is highly relevant for the

ways that celebrity power works and can be positioned well by Foucault's discussions

around governing the self (Foucault 1982).

4.3.1 Topological power and the geographies of connection

Celebrity power will firstly be considered as forging topological connections to issues,

people and places across space. Geographical work on topological power

reconceptualises space to understand it as relational rather than defined by fixed scales

and distances (Allen 2011a; 2011b; Eden *et al.* 2008a; 2008b). Topological perspectives

allow a less rigid conceptualisation of space that allows those that are physically or

experientially distant from us to be folded into our everyday lives, extending powers

reach across space (Allen 2011a; Massey 1992). Conventional topographic conceptions

view space as a fixed geometry over a flat landscape of physical space with relations only

developed by bridging physical distance to connect different groups. Topological space, on

the other hand, is seen as a continuous network of social relations which may be dissolved to forge connections with those far-away from us, overcoming physical distance (Allen 2011b). Topological power then offers an understanding of power "sensitive to the diverse geographies of proximity and reach" (Allen 2003:93). It goes beyond the socially embedded networks of everyday power and the bounded confines of the institution to consider the spatiality and relationality of power. Allen (2003) places his work on topological power within a Foucauldian framing that considers both the immanent, relational and networked materialities of the circulation of power, within topological understandings of space which refocus attention on the *geographies* of power.

Distance in this reconceptualisation of space is measured not in physical distance but in terms of social relations involved in overcoming the gap between the 'here and there' of power (Allen 2011). Power is exercised over space, through everyday social relations and connections, extending its reach as well as including a wide range of non-state actors (such as celebrity and media) previously unrecognised within power networks (Massey 2005). Topological power clearly reflects Foucault's conception of power and its circulations through social relations. Spaces, meanings and identities are actively constructed and reproduced as power relations work through them (Massey 2004, 2005). Topological framings of power here will demonstrate mechanisms of (re)connection between audience and food or Others in need, and the various relations and spaces this links to. This involves thinking beyond the confines of institutions typically charged with governing these spaces. This approach conceptualises power techniques as working in ways that encourage self-regulation: by responsiblising individuals and recruiting them to regimes of self-governance, certain knowledge and behaviours become normalised in ways that make it difficult to behave outside these boundaries (Allen 2003). Celebrities can be seen to be

constructing narrative discourses that normalise certain behaviours or ideas that have the possibility to work across and affect the way the people behave in relation to those issues.

Informed by a topological framing, celebrity power provides spatial connections, fostered through knowledge that works to change the way audiences understand, negotiate meanings, and act around issues. This is a 'soft' form of power rooted in the everyday private spaces of the familiar, and those of entertainment, which provides consumers with tools through which they can take responsibility for their own biopolitical self-governance. This is about much more than what we watch on TV or what we put in our shopping baskets and has the potential to alter how and by whom civic life is governed. Trust is crucial here, and the complex and fragile relationships between celebrity and audience can work to support and resist the power of celebrity in what is defined in this thesis as moments of possibility.

In the context of food, topological framings have been used by Eden *et al.* (2008a; 2008b) to think about the role of 'knowledge intermediaries' in connecting consumers to food at the point of consumption. In problematising distance and connections within food consumption, they extend work on ethical and alternative foods to consider the 'sorting out' that consumers do when making food choice, and the different agents who aide this process, including 'mucky carrots', talking to farmers and labels (Eden 2011; Eden *et al*. 2008a). Knowledge provision is the power technique which facilitates reconnection, creating informed consumers able to make reflexive choices. Knowledge overcomes the physical distance along food supply chains to instantly connect a consumer with producers and methods:

> We call this a 'knowledge-fix' to the distancing of consumption from production, because such topological reconnections explicitly go beyond a 'spatial fix' of geographical reconnection by including diverse topologies of knowledge gathering, evaluating and contesting, topologies which depend not upon physical relationships of proximity but upon more precarious and complex links of trust (Eden *et al.*, 2008a: 1046).

The reconnection they describe is topological, dissolving distance to fold food qualities (production, ethics, labour) into the meaning and value of the product as it is bought and eaten. Celebrity forms topological connections, forged through the familiar and trusted interface of celebrity and the powerful information narratives they perform, dissolving or bridging the gap between 'here' and 'there'. Public trust is a key factor within celebrity power and exists as a highly contentions and fragile relationship (Poortinga and Pigeon 2004): those seeking to govern food or carescapes must carefully manage their relationship with consumers to ensure trust is maintained. A related process of 'sorting out' is conducted by the public as they negotiate information presented to them, alongside what they already know about a given issue. Celebrities must compete with multiple sources of knowledge that may contradict or complement their narratives. This links back to Gramscian ideas around common sense that see people's practices shaped by cumulative knowledge from multiple sources over time in 'sedimented' layers (Loftus 2013).

Recognising the 'sedimented' nature of knowledge has implications for those wishing to use knowledge as a way to govern the spaces of food and care. The existing knowledge and complex relations of trust that shapes public practices, must also be negotiated by those seeking to govern particular social spaces. Celebrity power is defined as a 'soft' form of topological power rooted in the everyday spaces of the familiar, private and entertaining, which provides consumers with tools through which they can take responsibility for their

own biopolitical self-governance. The entertainment formats of televised celebrity led programming are crucial to this form of power exercise, fostering trust and familiarity through the charismatic personality of the star. It also exercises power within the already established norms and rules. By operating within such existing boundaries celebrities can provide knowledge around issues in ways that do not put audiences off or challenge them in ways that cause them to disengage.

By engaging theoretical work on power within Geography, this section has sought to conceptualise celebrity power in specific ways suggesting that it has the possibility to exercise a form of topological biopower. Operating across and through social relations, this dissolves space to connect people over physical and experiential distances. Through these connections and the narrative discourses constructed by celebrity, there emerge moments of possibility in which celebrities work to exercise power over the lives and well-being of audiences and those at the other end of the campaign.

4.3.2 Biopower, self-governance and celebrity

Considering the specific ways that celebrity power may be exercised I draw secondly on Foucault's concept of biopower that considers the vital characteristics of human life, death, and well-being, and how these may be managed and controlled. This positive form of "power is situated and exercised at the level of life" (Foucault 1991: 260). Biopolitics describes the techniques and strategies which problematise and intervene in human life, and the contested knowledge, authority and intervention which are deemed legitimate and successful in managing different aspects of human life and well-being (Foucault 1991; Rabinow and Rose 2006; Rose 2001).This works on two levels, or along two poles: that of

the individual body and that of the population but always focused on the management of various aspects of life (Foucault 1984). For Rabinow and Rose (2006) employing a biopolitical framework as a mode of critical enquiry must always be tied to vital areas which contain 'truth discourses' around an aspect of life with authoritative agents who hold legitimated voices; strategies which intervene into life to manage populations; and most importantly:

> modes of subjectification through which individuals are brought to work on themselves, under certain forms of authority, in relation to truth discourses, by means of practices of the self, in the name of their own life or health, that of their family or some other collectivity or indeed in the name of the life or health of the population as a whole (Rabinow and Rose 2006: 197).

A biopolitical framework considers here how the positioning of celebrities as authoritative voices, and the knowledge discourses they construct, seeks to manage the lives of populations at both individual and collective scales. A key aspect of celebrity power works to responsibilise people for their choices and behaviours as forms of self-governance. A key issue of biopower is the decision making done about life and death (Duffield 2007): in distinct ways the mediated intervention of celebrity in what we eat and how we care encourage audiences to make decisions with life and death consequences. What we eat affects our health, our bodies, our lives, as well as those we cook for and feed. Celebrity chefs, through their televised cookery programmes and related media content, produce branded (and celebritised) knowledge around food that defines 'good' food in ways that can shape the ways people relate to food, cooking and eating. If successful, these powerful knowledges can work to normalise particular food discourses with material impacts on our bodies, health, well-being, as well as economically, environmentally and socially. Humanitarian development and aid has life and death implications for those who receive help- and importantly those who do not. Celebrity charity ambassadors performances of

knowledge around global issues has the possibility to shape and control the lives, livelihoods and well-being of Others in need, through donations, at the same time as working on the donating public as their acts of 'doing good' become written into narratives of good citizenship. In short both these instances demonstrate the ways that celebrity performances of knowledge can be used as exercises of power that attempt to control life, responsibilising audiences and enrolling them in self-governance. In the following section a brief review of literature on celebrity power from celebrity studies is provided. This literature explores celebrity and their social and cultural impacts beyond entertainment but has not yet provided a detailed account of their power.

4.4 Celebrity power in celebrity studies

Despite increasing engagement with celebrity as a field of study, very little research has conceptualised the forms of power nor examined public engagement with celebrity to examine what the possible effects of this power may be. One notable exception to the latter is Brockington's (2014) recent work on celebrity advocacy, discussed in detail below that provides empirical study of public attitudes to celebrity. This section will review debates around power within celebrity studies which inform the conceptualisations of celebrity power within this chapter.

David Marshall's seminal work on celebrity and power (1997) has until very recently been one of the only texts to address celebrity power. Much early work on celebrity dismissed notions of celebrity power due to its lack of institutional and decision-making capacity (Gamson 1994). Marshall argued that celebrity held a different form of power that provided ways of configuring meaning and identity within society, containing the "tension

between authentic and false cultural values" (1997: xi). He sought to end the vague ways that celebrity power was discussed and present a unifying description of power that could be used across the entire celebrity system. Celebrity power involves organising and legitimating meanings, a power that is activated "through cultural 'investment' in the construction of the celebrity sign" (Marshall 1997: 57). Drawing again on Foucauldian concepts of power, the power of celebrity is understood as privileging particular knowledge and discourses of the individual across culture. Their power is discursive, embedded in terrains of affect which negotiate personal identities, emotions and value in civic life. Although Marshall differentiates celebrity and political power, the overlap between these realms in the establishment of public personalities opens up new avenues for understanding the way that celebrity power relations can work. For Marshall:

> …the public personality or celebrity is the site of intense work on meaning of both individuality and collective identity in contemporary culture. It is the capacity of these public figures to embody the collective in the individual, which identifies their cultural signs as powerful (1997: 241).

Of particular relevance to this thesis is Marshall's discussion of the television celebrity. Unlike film stars, whose celebrity relies on the distance between the screen and audience, television celebrity is constructed and maintained through notions of familiarity. There is an active construction of television celebrity's personalities that are encoded- to follow Hall- to appeal to different audience groups. In creating television personalities there is a clear focus on fostering familiarity between celebrities and audiences as a means to maximise effective decoding, reinforced through the domestic settings in which they are viewed and consumed on a regular basis. A second key feature of the television star is their relationship to the images and texts that surround their text such as adverts or other programmes which can disrupt the celebrity television character. Marshall describes this as a reduction in the 'aura of the television celebrity' due its close relationship to

consumer capitalism (2010). Different forms of television celebrity perform in different ways to audiences according to the messages they seek to covey. News presenters will have a very different sort of performance than soap stars or talk show hosts, yet all involve familiarity to guide audiences through the representations and meanings contained within a media text. Oprah Winfrey is used to analyse the way she is positioned (by herself and the programme she presents) as a cultural intermediary or interpreter form whom the audience have the right to know. The boundaries between reality and fiction become blurred enabling Oprah to act as a close friend and trusted confidante to her audience. Familiarity, authenticity and ritual weave together and allow Oprah to act as a lifestyle expert whose narrative is readily taken up by audiences (Marshall 2010). It is in this capacity that the celebrity's analyses in this thesis are considered.

Celebrity power lies in its discursive capacity to define and express ideas socially and in negotiating meaning and significance across and between public and private spheres. Celebrities negotiate value and meaning across public and private spaces: this remains integral to their power, yet in the eighteen years since Marshall's book was published much has changed in the way in which celebrity culture works, demanding renewed conceptions of power which pay attention to the blurring of celebrity and other areas of society. This is not to suggest that Marshall's work is no longer relevant, but that in paying attention to the specific forms of power exercised by/through particular forms of celebrity, a greater understanding of the possibility of celebrity power and governance in society may be generated.

The movement of celebrity in political spaces has provided an avenue through which to think about new forms of celebrity power. This works in two ways: firstly as celebrities show support for political parties or politicised issues, and secondly as political figures

work to become more like celebrities both of which blur the boundaries between entertainment and politics (Weiskel 2005). The election, and indeed presidency, of Barack Obama is a clear example of both forms of political celebrity with support and endorsement from a seeming endless list of A-list supporters including Beyoncé, Tom Hanks, Denzel Washington, and Bruce Springsteen, to appearances on celebrity chat shows as part of his campaign trail (Street 2012). Critics argue that this blurring is a distraction, symptomatic of public disengagement with politics, while others argue that this matters and informs new ways that politics are now being done (Street 2012; Weiskel 2005). This research considers the power of charisma, performance and entertainment (Redmond 2010) but pays little attention to the specific exercises or effects of celebrity power.

Dan Brockington's recent book *Celebrity Advocacy and International Development* (2014) discusses the possibility of celebrity power from a different perspective. Rather than consider the exercises of power by celebrity, or position himself alongside meta theories of power, Brockington describes a 'belief in celebrity power' that is responsible, he argues, for the use of celebrity in many advocacy projects. The corporate and NGO elites that employ celebrity to their causes have a:

> …strong belief in the power of celebrity to speak for the people and to mobilise large numbers of people to speak with them. Celebrity begets popular voice, begets legitimacy. Celebrity motivates governments to act because of the connection they are perceived to have with their populace (Brockington 2014: 126).

Similarly, my interviews and survey data reveal a similar relationship between the public and belief in celebrity power: even where people may claim not to be interested in celebrity culture there is a widespread belief in celebrity power particularly as something

other people value. Brockington's (2014) study reveals that a perpetuating belief in celebrity power by both elites and the public ensures their continual use and circulation, even though few are actively engaged with projects of celebrity advocacy. Belief in celebrity power is hugely important for understanding how and why celebrity advocacy continues to hold a prominent position in public and corporate discourses of advocacy. What Brockington's work does not address is either the forms of power celebrities have the possibility to exercise, nor the importance of particular celebrity individuals within these systems.

In working towards a more focused analysis of celebrity power, Partzsch (2014) examines the advocacy work of Bono and Heike Makatsch through theories of power. She uses Weberian and Arendtian theories to differentiate between 'power over' and 'power with', how the two interrelate and what this means for their exercise of power. The distinction between power with, as cooperative practice, and power over as a coercive or manipulative force, is important, alongside her analysis of specific celebrities. However I would suggest that Partzsch's (2014) conceptualisation of celebrity lacks nuance: defining celebrity as one group misses the specific exercises and effects of their power in different celebrity spaces. Individual celebrities matter greatly to the possibility of celebrity power and governance. Not all celebrities are equally able to engage audiences in their powerful discourses and so attention must be paid to celebrity at a more individual level as well as to the particular spaces they work across.

Although celebrity studies is beginning to think about power and celebrity in meaningful ways much of this is still vague and abstract. Missing is a more detailed consideration of

celebrity power in terms of the form it may take, what it seeks to do, and how it may work across audiences and space. Different types of celebrities exercise power in different ways with different and targeted governance goals. In the following section I consider celebrity power through the examples of celebrity chefs and Comic Relief's celebrity ambassadors, and the different power techniques and governance offered over landscapes of food and care.

4.5 Celebrity power in practice: topological power and moments of possibility with celebrity chefs and charity ambassadors

Having defined celebrity power as facilitating topological connections over space between audiences and an issue, this section works briefly through two empirical examples of celebrity chefs and Comic Relief's celebrity ambassadors. Drawing on brief, anecdotal examples this section discusses celebrity power in practice, and the mechanisms that create topological connection and moments of possibility. These case studies will be examined in greater detail, drawing on empirical research, throughout the chapters that follow. This explores these exercises of power in practice and the moments of possibility they work to create.

4.5.1 Celebrity chefs and topologies of 'good food' 1: sorting out food knowledge

Through their media platform and celebrity status many chefs have worked to position themselves as saviours to our so-called broken diets (Rousseau 2013). They encourage us to think not only about what we cook, but also about our bodies, feelings, and well-being, as well as the wider impacts of our food practise including animal welfare, environmental impacts and producers. In doing this they move beyond an entertaining television

personality into an active participant in foodscapes. Watching what you eat (cf. Collins, 2009) now takes on a dual meaning signalling not only concern with diet and health but also the full time spectacle of food media, and celebrity chefs, performing good food to audiences and making their mark felt on the food-scapes of the UK. The direct intervention of food media into our lives seeks not only to connect and inform us of what and how to eat, but also promises to make us better in multiple ways: better cooks, better social lives, better at caring for friends and family, better lifestyles and well-being, better homes, better connected to food and those producing it, better global citizens even.

Despite the sensationalist and theatrical approaches of some food programming, the content of food media works across contemporary foodscapes of the UK, attempting to inform the 'sorting out' processes consumers do in order to navigate food choices (Eden *et al*., 2008a; Guthman, 2003). One crucial element of this sorting out is the ways food media work to construct what has colloquially become known as 'good food' within society, agro-food studies and food geographies (e.g. Goodman *et al*. 2010; Guthman 2008; Johnston *et al.* 2011; Sage 2003). Chefs, their narratives, and the programmes they operate within work to encode messages around good food in particular ways. As Hall (2006) has argued, encoded messages are only one part of the story: as these messages are decoded by audiences they can take on both their intended and new meanings. The result is numerous definitions, readings and meanings around good food. Multiple categories make up the 'good food' umbrella that are often not discrete and may overlap and shift as people's positions, tastes, locations and lifestyles change. Good food is created in different moments and can mean different things to different people: tasty, healthy, fresh, seasonal, nutritious, local, of a particular place (*terroir*), homemade, caring, sociable, interesting, low fat, balanced and so on. Price as well as moral, ethical and environmental values can also go

into defining food as good. Often 'goodness' for those buying, cooking, and eating food is deeply personal and reflects the values and choices available to individuals. In performing and defining 'good food' to audiences in mediated and branded ways chefs can exercise topological power revealing the process of food production, the impacts on our bodies and health, or the ease with which homemade meals can be cooked. The result of which is to connect us to the food we eat and our relationships with food more broadly.

As well as the topological connections to food offered by celebrity chefs, their power also exerts biopolitical control over audiences. In seeking to change our relations to food, what and how we cook and eat through the topological connections they facilitate, chefs seek to control the bodies, health and well-being of their audiences in what can be read as a biopolitical power exercise. Their power exercise is inherently partial and will reach only the audiences actively engaged with their performances and decoding them within what Hall (2006) terms the dominant hegemonic reading of media texts. The topology of power proposed here considers the relationalities created by and through food media. Mediated celebrity discourses work around foodscapes across the new spaces, places and embodiments of power that food media now produces around good food. This account of topological power is relevant here for several reasons: firstly, attention to details of 'tangled arrangements' of power highlights the multiple actors and forms of power simultaneously circulated throughout social relations. Celebrities, with wide social reach and presence, are ideally placed to exercise power across and through their already existing audience networks and relations. Secondly, this conceptualisation of power has clear application for how care for distant Others may be motivated over space. Additionally considering celebrity power as a form of biopower takes seriously the impacts chefs can have on our bodies,

health, and lives by controlling - or more accurately encouraging us to control - what we put in our mouths.

If the aspirations of celebrity chefs are getting us to eat 'better' in various ways (Rousseau 2012), the key mechanism for achieving this is through performance of food and cooking that encourage the audience to 'have a go'. This involves showing audiences how and why they should cook more: as an act of love and caring, as an enjoyable leisure activity, as good for your children, as easy to do after work, as possible to do on a budget. Entertainment is a central part of chef's food performances, and place their ideas of 'good food' the realms of what we already know rather than seeking radical change. Effort is seemingly actively made to encode food messages in a way that strongly appeals to and comforts audiences, so that they may more directly decode and engage with the content and the practices they promote (Bobo 2003). Characteristics of authenticity, expertise and approachability are used to perform information about food to audiences and connect them to the food the buy, eat and cook and support change within their individual food practices. The topological power of chefs works through entertaining, familiar and charismatic performances to connect audiences to food in different ways.

There is a near endless list of ways celebrity chefs build a narrative around 'good food' and 'having a go' becomes a crucial mechanism through which chefs can get audiences to take action and employ branded 'good food' ideas. A successful exercise of celebrity power sees audiences 'having a go', be it buying the cookbook, trying new recipes, or adapting chefs food messages into their own food practices. This then is the action that gets people to actively engage in chef's good food narratives, and exists as a successful topological

connection to food and cooking. Providing information about what and how to eat equips audiences with the tools to change their food relations and practices in the everyday. 'Having a go' is one possible and positive actionable outcome of celebrity chef's moments of possibility that sees audiences go beyond being entertained.

A number of celebrity chefs now regularly work across UK food media, and each has their own ideas of good food, and their own unique and branded ways of performing them to the public. Jamie Oliver through his 'mockney' language has created a character with mass appeal and whose food discourse is built around getting everyone, no matter how young or old, rich or poor, excited and interested in food at having a go (Hollows 2003). Nigella Lawson's performances of food are all about pleasure and she is frequently linked to ideas of food porn through her sexualised performances. In a very different performance the Hairy Bikers draw heavily on ideas of nostalgia and/or in their approach, connecting audiences to forgotten foods and cooking. Heston Blumenthal employs a highly technical approach, often with a warning not to try this at home. Gordon Ramsay similarly adopts a highly professionalised approach to home cooking, re-establishing an identity as a celebrity chef through spectacular performances. Less about changing everyday eating these types of performance embed the professional, highly specialised and skilled forms of cooking as an elite endeavour (Hollows and Jones 2010). Two specific examples of celebrity chefs are examined in the following section, considering their definitions of good food and critically analysing their power exercises through cookery programmes, politicised food campaigning and travelogues.

4.5.2: Celebrity chefs and topologies of 'good food' 2: Hugh Fearnely-Whittingstall and Jamie Oliver in action

Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall offers a narrative around 'good food', but one that differs from those described above and that I will open up here in more detail to consider his exercise of topological power more fully. Hugh's television career focuses largely on the programme *River Cottage*, a farm where Hugh and his family shared their experiences as small holders. Across ten series, 'good food' is defined as ethical, local, home-grown and seasonal. Audiences are actively encouraged to buy higher welfare, organic and local ingredients through a narrative that connects audiences to how food is produced in conventional and alternative systems. This serves both as a topological connection that reveals the relations and impacts of food production, and a form of biopolitical self-governance, as audiences are encouraged to make reflexive food choices that are 'good' for themselves as well as more broadly. This clearly links to notions around moral economy (Jackson *et al*. 2009), with Hugh placing food integrity at the heart of his performance, and recipes. Hugh also exercises power that is targeted at health and bodily impacts of what we eat. His two most recent books, *River Cottage Veg Everyday!* and *River Cottage Light & Easy* both explicitly seek to change our diets. In an article in *The Telegraph* Hugh described the aim of the latter book, the recipes of which are all wheat and dairy free, and focused on vegetables:

> Exploring and extolling the life-enhancing effects of cooking and eating great food is what I do. And I'm increasingly convinced of a couple of things. Really delicious, satisfying food doesn't have to be time-consuming and complicated. And it certainly needn't be rich and laden with fat. What's more, healthy food doesn't have to be ascetic, restrictive or centred on denial…I want to encourage a change in your cooking- and the phrase 'light an easy' pretty much gets to the heart of the matter (Fearnley-Whittingstall 2014).

Hugh's exercise of power, and the moments of possibility he creates through this are focused on changing the way we eat in line with his vision. The knowledge he provides

demonstrates the importance of eating this way, showing the impacts of both good and poor diets. Providing recipes and cooking skills, bound by Hugh's celebrity brand, arms audiences with the information that could allow them to make these changes. Audiences are responsibilised for their own food choices and encouraged to self-govern their food choices with respect to both their bodies and wider moral impacts. Topological connection is thus used to provide connections to food and its modes of production in distinctly normative ways. The overriding message of Fearnley-Whittingstall is of the value of eating with integrity, choosing local, seasonal and high-welfare products where possible. His food values are deeply classed and the audience who are willing and able to engage with Hugh's niche 'good food' vision (Bell and Hollows 2003). Thus it may be likely that audiences engaging with his programmes decode his messages through negotiated or oppositional readings rather than fully embracing into practice Fearnley-Whittingstall's ideas around good food (Morley 1980). This sits against some of the ideas Jamie Oliver has promoted through his demotic good food discourses that claim eating well on a budget is a ready possibility. This is one example of where audiences may have to negotiate, or 'sort out', what their own food values are in deciding which chef's narrative to follow, if any.

Celebrity chefs are not only concerned about what the public eat, they have also pursued possible changes to food policy in a more direct act of food governance. Jamie Oliver's *School Dinners* programme and its associated *Feed me Better* campaign in 2005, for example, resulted in a £280 million funding commitment from the Labour government to fund healthier school meals, and contributed to the changing regulations by the School Food Trust around school meals (Boffey 2011; Kahn 2009). Not only did policy around school meals and their funding change, but there has been a measurable impact on the performance of school children eating Oliver's new diet. Belot and James (2009) identify

positive impacts of the *Jamie Oliver Feed Me Better Campaign* on the performance of pupils recording an average 6% increase in Science and English performance and a 15% reduction in 'authorised absences' attributed to health. Here then we see evidence of the biopower of Jamie Oliver. In a similar, though less well evidenced example, Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall's Fish Fight lobbied the EU parliament around fisheries and discard policy resulting in a ban on discards under EU fisheries policy reform coming into effect in 2015 (Grey 2013). Major UK supermarkets changed their fish sourcing policies. The campaign saw a huge level of audience engagement: 870 000 people signed the Fish Fight petition, the Fish Fight television programme was watched by 3 million people each week, and social media engagement was high. It also had significant impacts on the consumption habits of UK consumers with some supermarkets reporting 150% rise in the sale of undervalued fish species including mackerel, gurnard and river cobbler (Fish Fight 2014). Here again the power of Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall has generated campaign support that has impacted both food policy as well as what the public are eating.

In a quite different way travelogue programmes form a more explicit topological connection across space, transporting us from our sitting rooms, kitchens or dinner tables to the different places the chef visits. The physical spaces between here and there dissolves as audiences can be instantly transported to anywhere in the world and given the chance to take part in these culinary adventures through the recipes provided as well as the personal stories of the chef and the people they meet along the way. Both Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall have taken audiences on their travels: Jamie to the USA, Spain, Italy, Morocco, Greece and Sweden, while Hugh, who is newer to this form of programming, has toured Scandinavia. Both offer travel experiences, cultural connection and recipes from the places they visit. Power through these types of programmes is thus less about food in

relation to health and the body (i.e.biopower), and more about connection across space to food and producers (i.e. topological power).

Jamie Oliver has a diverse range of programmes including 'chop and chat' cookery shows, politically focused campaigns and travelogues. At the heart of all of his shows lies a core message that demonstrates food knowledge as the most powerful tool in eating and living better aimed at the everyday, 'ordinary' eater. 'Good food' for Oliver is closely bound with knowledge about food, cooking, and its effects on our bodies. At the same time 'good food' is defined as home cooked, nutritious and tasty. Throughout his career Oliver strives to make cooking fun, accessible and something that we want to have a go and try. His demotic and charismatic personality, his appeal to a broad demographic, and his relaxed informal approach combined with unique cockney-esque language to encourage audience to try his recipes. This broad appeal to everyday, ordinary people means that audiences may be more likely to decode Oliver's messages through a dominant-hegemonic readings, where good food messages are fully understood but also frequently translate into practice (Brundson and Morley 1999). In Jamie's 15 Minute meals, for example, the chef connects audience to the importance and ability of cooking fast, nutritious home cooked food.

> We all want food that's healthy, gorgeous and super quick, so I'm going to show you a whole new way to cook....Big flavours fast. Meals without the guilt: balanced, tasty and good for you. Healthy food that you can eat everyday (Jamie's 15 Min Meals Ep 1).

There are two forms of connection here: one to the feelings associated with eating and cooking well and badly, and one to the possibility of achieving home cooked food every day through the skills and recipes that Oliver provides. The health and nutritional qualities of these meals, described as healthy everyday options, clearly tie into biopolitical exercises

targeted at life. If audiences are changing from a reliance on fast, processed food, to home cooked meals designed or inspired by Jamie Oliver, this matters both in terms of the power of Jamie Oliver, and (perhaps more importantly) on the diets and health of the audiences who make those changes. Jamie Oliver's most recent programme *Comfort Food* (2014), does what it says on the tin. Audiences are offered delicious, rich versions of classic meals that aim to be as pleasurable to cook as to eat. This is not about everyday balanced eating, but treats that 'make us happy'. Again connection is made to food and feelings, linking to our own well-being. At the same time audiences are encouraged to think about where their food comes from: recipes across his work call for free-range eggs and the highest quality welfare meat you can afford, peppering recipes with mini moments of connection as audiences cook Oliver's food at home. In an act of justifying the rich and calorific meals in Comfort Food, Jamie Oliver produced a set of healthy living tips titled '10 easy tips to live by' that offer another example of mechanisms that seek to exert biopolitical control over public relations with food. Here then we see another example of a moment of possibility created by Oliver, one that works across both his new Comfort Food series and book, and that creates space for new 'healthy' information to be wrapped up in the Jamie Oliver brand. Audiences are offered simultaneous luxury through the 'bad' recipes in Comfort Food, and then offered ways to resist or counter them in the healthy tips.

During the 2014 World Cup Jamie Oliver offered up recipes from each of the participating countries on his website. A recipe for Ghanaian Jollof Rice met with huge criticism, largely from the West African community members objecting to Oliver's take on the recipe taking it as cultural slander. The recipe now comes with a 'warning' on the website that states: "This is Jamie's twist on West African Jollof Rice inspired by the world cup. We've had lots of comments so we want to hear your authentic recipes" (Jamie Oliver 2014). This example

demonstrates ways that the topological power chefs seek to achieve can sometimes backfire, and the possibility created is one of resistance rather than one of positive change. The media that opens up spaces for audiences to positively engage and share information and experiences is here being used to criticise the work of the chef. In seeking to connect audiences to Ghanaian culture and cuisine, audiences with their own experience of these question his authenticity and credibility. This backfiring of Oliver's power is discussed more fully in chapter five.

The moments of possibility that chefs create have the power to connect people to food in positive ways, but can also backfire and see audiences resisting the information being given to them as the above example illustrates. In this section the exercise of celebrity topological power and biopower has been illustrated through the work of celebrity chefs Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall. This demonstrated the mechanisms and performances of 'good food' that are mobilised in different ways by chefs though different programme formats to create powerful moments of possibility. Within these moments audience have the opportunity to engage in the mediated food discourses constructed by the chef and, if engaged/affected/influenced by it, can apply the knowledge in their own lives. Responsibilising audiences in this way encourages self-governance with regard their relationships with food, a self-governance encouraged or even facilitated by the celebrity chef. In the following section a different form of celebrity is considered; that of the celebrity charity ambassador. Here their performance of care will be considered an exercise of topological power that connects audiences to Others and a form of biopower that seeks to control the donating public through narratives of doing the right thing.

For chefs the branded knowledge they construct around 'good food' is closely tied to their public image as well as the ways they define and perform food. Seeking to make audience's relationships and practices towards food 'better' through connecting us to different aspects of food production, preparation and consumption, chefs can have a biopolitically and topologically powerful impact on our bodies, health and well-being. Turning now to discuss celebrity charity ambassadors I consider the connections to Others in need that can be made through celebrity performances of care and the biopolitical impacts that this can have on both Other and audience.

4.5.3 Comic Relief and powerful performances of affect

Relationships between charities and celebrities are not new. In fact such is the extent of the relationship that it seems that no cause is complete without a celebrity face to accompany it, and that 'giving back' through charitable works is increasingly expected of contemporary stars (Littler 2008). Within Comic Relief's fundraising programmes celebrities, and the charity-media spaces they are couched in, deploy new, highly mediated exercises of topological power and biopower. Operating at both the level of the body and the population, exercises of biopower work to control life: in the context of charitable care the life being governed is that of Others in need, their lives, health and livelihoods, but also of the public who donate money in acts bound within the rhetoric of good citizenship. At the same time, audiences are connected across space to those in need through a celebrity interface who witness and report the need if Others on our behalf. Through these celebrity generated connections care for experientially of distant Others may be generated in audiences, both as feeling and as action, in donating money and so extend the reach of care over space in practice. Here the topological and biopolitical power exercises that are carried out by celebrities will be examined through

their performances of care within the short film vignettes in which celebrities visit projects 'on-the-ground' in places of need around the world.

Like celebrity chefs, Comic Relief's celebrity ambassadors also exercise power within moments of possibility. Here these are clearly defined by the short-lived live telethon, televised over one evening; within this the celebrity film vignettes represent even smaller, more fleeting moments of possibility. Lasting for only three or four minutes, these moments are arguably the most important means to connect audiences to those in need, transporting us through a celebrity into the lives of Others in need. Complex issues including development and humanitarian aid become distilled and encoded through these celebrity performances and narratives. Messages must be clear, simple and visual in order to be quickly decoded and understood by audiences in meaningful ways. These moments of possibility are also crucial for fundraising efforts that appeal for donations. Successful 'moments' result in donations and then can have biopolitical impacts that control the life of Others, as well as audiences themselves. These moments of possibility can go further to influence the political agendas around the issues Comic Relief raise: Littler (2008) argues that the presence of celebrity in charitable campaigns can impact agenda setting and indeed how ideas around need and development are portrayed and understood by the public. In determining how or what we care about through these films, there is the possibility for celebrities to be guiding, at least in part, what the public care about or not. If celebrity power creates moments that can direct public donations of money and caring to particular people, projects or issues, this matters hugely to what and how caring at a distance is being done by the public with very real consequences for those in need. Comic Relief determines how each of their affiliated projects are funded, but in terms of public understanding about care and need celebrities can be highly influential.

In the first instance topological power dissolves or overcomes physical and/or experiential distance to create connections between audiences in the UK and those in need close and far from us. Like the travelogues of celebrity chefs, these films instantly transport audiences to distant or different places, but in this case to places of need. Through a celebrity interface the audience can be connected to those in need: taken instantly from our living rooms into the daily lives and homes of those in need, a form of face-to-face interaction that facilitates care is provided. With a celebrity as our guide audiences are introduced to individuals and families, their personal stories and hardships, and the Comic relief funded projects and staff who work to provide care and support. Powerful images, celebrity narratives and their personal- and often emotional- responses to their experience foster connections between audiences and the distant Others in need. Through connections that establish awareness and understanding of need, particular forms of caring feelings towards distant Others may be generated within audiences (Richey and Ponte 2011). The topological connections forged in these moments invite audiences to compare their lives with the lives of Others as a way to highlight need. At the same time celebrity narratives connect audiences to issues of humanitarian development through the personal stories of those in need imparted through celebrity narratives.

"Tangled arrangements of power" play out through social relations producing degrees of proximity along a scale (Allen 2003), so that when celebrities guide us through the lives of people in need, be it in Kenya or Manchester, we can feel connected to them through the narrative and familiarity provided by celebrities. Discourses of self-governance, responsibilisation, celebrity, development, care, and welfare all get tied up throughout the short videos. At times the disconnect between audiences and those in need is played

upon, as a call to arms of sort (Rickey and Ponte 2011): David Tennant in a 2014 video

says "This is your chance to help people you will never meet but who desperately need

you". Both the possibility and responsibility of each of us to participate and do our bit is

emphasised in two key ways, firstly by stating that every donation, no matter how big or

small, makes a difference. Messages from key Comic Relief celebrities including Davina

McCall, David Walliams, John Bishop, Cheryl Cole, Russell Brand, and Lenny Henry have all

asked us to 'please give what you can' over the past two years. Personal stories are placed

centrally within the videos with celebrities making pleas for either the people they have

met, or to help people like them. Showing what £5 can do, or how much it would cost to

change the life of someone by sending them to school or providing vaccines for example,

can encourage audiences to donate as they can see how even the smallest donations can

help. These technologies act as a rhetorical device of sorts that attaches a tangible

product to a specific donation amount: £5 buys a vaccine, £10 buys 5 mosquito nets, £100

buys a well and so on. This connects a product to the celebrity, the video and the people

in need in the imaginations of audiences, even if this does not reflect the reality of

charitable grant making or development projects.

A second form of celebrity power is exercised in the form of biopower, controlling the

lives of those donating money as well as those in need. Caring at a distance has been

defined above as an exercise of biopolitical governance: we choose to take actions that

have impacts on the lives, development, and livelihoods of Others unknown to us. Within

both the live show and videos, celebrities couch public giving within a narrative of good

citizenship, doing the right thing, and giving back: in the moments of possibility created by

celebrity, audiences are made to feel they are being good citizens by donating money.

Clearly there are normative claims attached within these, but the call to collectively reach

for our wallets is a powerful one, and one that reflects positively back onto those who donate.

Celebrities here act as the interface that introduces and connects viewers to particular people and recount their stories. Sometimes this really is an issue of life or death, such as aid following a natural disaster or famine. Even if not directly about life and death, Comic Relief and their celebrities create a narrative that portrays their work as invaluable to those in need, with real impacts on their livelihood, well-being, education, development and so on. From the platform of a powerful and care-full performance, a celebrity actively seeks donations from the public as a form of caring behaviour. Thus the act of donating to Comic Relief can be seen as an action underwritten by care but one that is tied to complex feelings of guilt, responsibility and concern. The money the public donate, encourage/facilitated through the power exercised within celebrity film vignettes, claims real impacts on the lives of Others in both positive and negative ways. Care becomes as much a form of self-governance (Dean 1999) within frameworks of 'good citizenship' as it does about care for the unknown Others in need. Engaging charity-celebrity-care relations from a biopolitical perspective can not only shed light on the forms of power, knowledge and connection celebrities provide, but also problematise their authority, drawing attention to the strategies they utilise (Rose and Rabinow 2006).

Celebrity's biopolitical exercise also extends over the lives of audiences as they are encouraged to perform a form of care for the self through the charitable giving and fundraising actions they accomplish. At an individual level celebrity power can work on audiences to encourage a form of care for the self. Here engaging in charitable caregiving

for Others becomes a mechanism/technique to becoming a 'better' citizen. This links clearly to Foucault's ideas around self-governance whereby individuals are assumed/recognised as being able to monitor their own conduct in various ways. This act of caring occurs in the moments of possibility celebrities create. Everything we know about the people we help is provided by celebrities through their performances of care, and the witnessing they do on our behalf. Yet even this self-government is influenced and controlled by governing bodies who "presume to know, with varying degrees of explicitness and using specific forms of knowledge, what constitutes good, virtuous, appropriate, responsible conduct of individuals and collectives" (Dean 1999: 19). Such exercises of authoritative power open up moral questions around how individuals are made responsible for their own actions as well as the impacts on self and identity (Dean 1999).

Exercising authority though familiar celebrity forms these stars help construct ideas around citizenship where 'goodness' is in part made up of caring feelings and practices. Celebrity-charity relationships are further complicated as celebrities participating in charity comes to be expected by the public as a way of giving back (Littler 2008). This is reflected back to audiences: celebrities 'doing good' shows us a path to being better by caring for Others. In its most explicit form we are asked to donate by celebrities – either by putting them in the place of those in need to witness on behalf of audiences, or as recompense for celebrities doing something challenging/embarrassing in the name of fundraising for which we should sponsor them. But all the activity by celebrities works on people to encourage them to care for particular groups of people and in particular ways. Care becomes as much a form of self-governance (Dean 1999) within frameworks of 'good citizenship' as it does about care for the unknown Others in need. Engaging charity-

celebrity-care relations from a biopolitical perspective can not only shed light on the forms of power, knowledge and connection celebrities provide, but also problematise their authority, drawing attention to the strategies they utilise (Rose and Rabinow 2006).

Unlike chefs who are experts in cooking and food and seek to exercise power over broader foodscapes, the celebrities with whom Comic Relief work are not 'experts' on the issues they speak. Instead their authority to give voice to those in need comes firstly, from their credibility as celebrity and secondly, in their ability to perform the need for care effectively and affectively to audiences. The lack of expertise of celebrities working with charity campaigns has often been problematised (Goodman and Barnes 2011; Littler 2008; Wheeler 2011). Within Comic Relief however, this is not perceived as a problem, or perhaps even relevant. According to one interviewee at Comic Relief the task of becoming an expert in, say, 'development' is huge and insurmountable for celebrity ambassadors. Instead what matters is their ability to understand a discrete issue or project on a personal level such that they are able to perform their experience in an intellectually intelligent and powerful way (CR4). This is crucial in understanding celebrity power and means that the individual's credibility and popularity as a star outside the campaign, and their ability to effective perform care, matter more in their exercise of power than their knowledge of a development issue. This really gets to the heart of how celebrity power works.

In a similar way this can be seen in working to overcome cynicism toward celebrity from the public and again this can be achieved through the performances of celebrities, who can convey the affective need for care so strongly that in the moment of viewing it can

outweigh other sources of knowledge and overcome, or at least push to one side, their cynicism. This is a clear benefit of working with celebrities whose day to day job demands performance. Not all celebrities are successful at this, not all can convey information in powerful, meaningful, articulate ways. Particular celebrities (actors are particularly good at this, as well as some charismatic comedians) are able to create intense moments of connection between audience, celebrity and Other within these videos through a powerful performance. Consideration of individual celebrity performances as successful power exercises will be examined in chapter five and six. Such 'affective performance' outweighs any other knowledge, cynicism or influence *in that moment,* and in doing so conveys a need for help/care through complex connections and power exercises which result in donations. The 'affect' here is on the viewers who respond to celebrity performances emotionally, intellectually and by donating within the moments of possibility and connection that has been facilitated between audiences and Other. So here then the moment of possibility created also becomes about the possibility of overcoming cynicism. Like celebrity chefs, the celebrities involved in Comic Relief's campaigning can be seen to exercise a celebrity power that is both topological and biopolitical in its exercise. Audiences can be connected over distance to those in need and drawn into regimes of good citizenship and self-governance through care-full acts of donating.

Through the medium of television, celebrities are able to form powerful topological connections between audiences in their private homes and the spaces of food and humanitarian care. These connections are constructed through the performances of care and food, making use of mediated and branded narrative discourses, displays of their own celebrity persona, and reveal spaces that would otherwise be out of sight. Putting celebrities on our screens with politicised content or messages does not guarantee

successful exercises of celebrity power. In recognising this, the following section turns to consider the moments of possibility that see celebrity power realised.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that a clearer definition and critical analysis of celebrity power is required to assess the increasing influence of celebrity across civic life. Geographical literature on power in recent years has shown a renewed interest in the spatial characteristics of power (Allen 2003). Within a broad Foucauldian definition of power as an immanent force working through and across social relations, celebrity power is conceived as operating across mediated everyday spaces and social relations through dispersed nodes or micro-centres. More specifically celebrity power was argued to operate in two distinct modes. Firstly, drawing on the work of John Allen (2011), celebrity power works topologically to dissolve or overcome distance (physical or experiential) to connect the public to different issues. The platform of the media allows audiences to be instantly transported into another place where celebrities can provide knowledge and encourage changed behaviours. Secondly celebrity power was defined as a biopolitical exercise. Drawing on Foucault's concept of biopower (1984) celebrity power has the possibility of controlling life in different ways and at scales from the individual to populations. This is closely linked to ideas of self-governance whereby celebrity power works to responsibilise the public in different ways and provide them with the knowledge and other tools that allow them to govern their own choices and behaviour.

Celebrity power was then contextualised through two examples: celebrity chefs and celebrity charity relations. Not only do these represent established and prevalent examples of celebrity blurring the boundaries between entertainment and politics in meaningful ways but they also form the case studies that will be examined in greater depth in the following chapters within the framing of celebrity power laid out. Both examples were demonstrated to work across audiences to connect them to food or to those in need, and then to govern life through either relations to food and health or through care and development. These examples also allow issues of expertise and credibility to be raised. Chefs, as experts in cooking and food, draw directly on that experience when exercising power. Celebrity charity ambassadors meanwhile are not experts in the issues they speak for and their credibility as a celebrity and ability to perform was shown to be more important in their powerful performances.

Across both examples the knowledge and discourse around an issue that celebrities provide creates moments of possibility for the governance of everyday life by celebrity. The decoding of celebrity messages by audiences recognises the possibility and reality of a range of engagements and meanings being drawn from these celebritized media texts (Hall 1993). This recognises that the power of celebrity is not a certainty and will not work across the public equally. Some audiences may positively engage with celebrity power in those moments, taking on board their narratives and applying them in their own lives to make positive changes to their behaviour. Others may resist celebrity power, or the intervention of celebrity into non-entertainment spaces or on their lives. Some may not engage with celebrity power at all, instead using these media celebrity spaces for entertainment. Without studying the engagement of with celebrity it is not possible to state the impacts of celebrity power. So while celebrity may construct powerful discourses

around public issues, their successful exercise of that power must not be assumed. Audience engagement with celebrity and their responses to what is here defined as exercises of celebrity power is addressed explicitly in this research. Relatedly, and something that will be followed throughout the next chapters, is that individual celebrity matters. Celebrity power is not exercised in the same way by all celebrities. Each celebrity chef, for example, defines good food in different ways that overlap but also compete with each other: for Jamie Oliver it is about cooking from scratch as a caring and social activity, while for Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall traceability, locality and ethically sourced food. Likewise in Comic Relief, not all celebrity film vignettes will draw the same reaction from audiences- some celebrities will be 'better' at exercising power through their performances of care than others.

Despite these differences and the importance of the individual celebrity that will be demonstrated in the following chapters, the forms of celebrity power conceptualised here can be applied across genres of celebrity and spaces of celebrity 'work'. Celebrity power, it is here argued, is exercised through topological power and biopower and this could be applied to many different celebrity power examples. For example, it would be easy to see how celebrities campaigning around climate change (Boykoff and Boykoff 2007) could be seen to exercise power that connects the public to climate change issues over space (i.e. topological power), and in doing so seek to generate either understanding, support or changed behaviour in the public that works to protect our future lives, environments, and planet (I.e. biopower). The focus in this chapter has been on the possibility of celebrity power to govern public understanding and behaviour across different social spaces. However it must also be noted that celebrity influence and thus power also works across other actors and institutions, including policy makers, corporations and NGOs

(Brockington 2014). In these relations the forms of power at work are likely to differ to those working across audiences, though this is not addressed here.

In the following three chapters I analyse the practical application of celebrity power defined in this chapter through the two empirical case studies introduced here. The next chapter considers celebrity chef Jamie Oliver and his recent foray into austerity cooking in his series *Save with Jamie*, and the simultaneous moments of possibility and resistance that are created though his exercise of power. Chapter six then considers Comic Relief and its relationship with celebrity, examining the performances of particular celebrity individuals and their impacts on the landscapes of humanitarian care and charity. What both of these chapters will highlight are the complex relationships that exist between audience and celebrity, revealing celebrity power as simultaneous sites of action and resistance.

Chapter Five. Mediating good food and moments of possibility with Jamie Oliver: Problematising celebrity chefs as talking labels

This chapter has been published as a paper in Geoforum (ref GEOF 1715). The full paper is attached in its published format in Appendix 5

5.1 Abstract

This paper explores the powerful and mediating role of celebrity chefs over audience relationships with food through analysis of Jamie Oliver and his recent series *Save with Jamie*. The paper firstly situates the role of celebrity chefs theoretically, defining them as 'talking labels' who may act both as knowledge intermediaries and boundary objects to connect audiences with food in multiple ways. Here chefs actively construct and mediate discourses around 'good food'. As trusted, credible, well-liked public figures, chefs step into our private home spaces through our televisions to convey food information in a charismatic, entertaining and accessible way. Like traditional food labels, chef's words can be 'sticky' and take hold in public imaginations in a way that goes far beyond the capacity of food products labels. Yet the relationship between chefs and audiences is far from straightforward and so the paper secondly aims to explore how these talking labels are understood and 'used' by audiences in their everyday food practices. Drawing selectively from a large scale audience survey (n=600) as well as the series, *Save with Jamie*, this paper reveals the different ways that audiences 'talk back' to chefs both positively and negatively to create moments of simultaneous possibility and resistance for audience relations with food. This revealed complex relationships between audiences, chefs and food. It also

suggests that the powerful work on celebrity chef's functions as part of a new mediated mechanism within today's food governance.

Keywords: Celebrity chefs, labelling, power, knowledge, audience.

5.2 Introduction

Jamie, Nigella, Hugh, Gordon, Heston, Delia. In the UK, many television chefs are so familiar to us that their first name is all we need to think of them. Their cookery shows, recipe books, and their warm, welcoming personality are all designed to provide an hour or so of entertainment. Yet, as scholars in cultural and media studies have articulated, celebrity and television chefs are so much more than just entertainment (Salkin 2013). For example, Joanne Hollows and colleagues detail the ways that celebrity chefs such as Jamie Oliver offer a particular form of 'domestic masculinity' that works to disavow cooking as a form of labour (Hollows, 2003). This also speaks to the ways in which he has been legitimated as a 'moral and social entrepreneur' with the authority to fix the ills of 'broken Britain' through the responsibilisation of individual eaters (Hollows and Jones, 2010). Slocum *et al.* (2011) —also focusing on Jamie in the context of his US-based, healthy-eating series *Food Revolution* that aimed to '...change how America eats, one lunch at a time' (178) — critically assess the ways that the programme not only shamed and ridiculed the poor and their diets, but that it failed to even mention, let alone confront, the structural inequalities institutionalised in the foodscapes of the US. Related research on Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall (Bell and Hollows, 2011), a key purveyor of the 'campaigning culinary documentary' in the UK (Bell *et al.*, this issue), critiques the 'inevitably classed' aspects of ethical consumption that is produced through Hugh's various desires to get us to eat more

ethically. Thus, celebrity chefs and their embodied 'figures' enter fully into our private home spaces through television, cookbooks and the internet to construct and mediate knowledge around food, at the same time they seek to influence and disciple our food choices and practices, most notably around the debatable notions of 'good food' (Abbots, forthcoming).

Building on this recent cultural studies scholarship, this paper works to not only take celebrity chefs seriously, but to further analyse their roles as key figures that mediate our relationship to food. In this, the paper works to contribute to current debates about the ways our 'worlds of food' (Morgan *et al.*, 2006) are governed in contemporary societies (e.g. Friedberg 2004; Guthman 2003; Guthman and Mansfield, 2013; Mansfield, 2012). To do so, I focus on the powerful mediating and governing role of the media, here in the form of celebrity chefs, on society-food relationships. While only beginning to be touched on in geographical scholarship (Piper, 2013; Slocum *et al.*, 2011) and often done so only in passing (e.g. Goodman *et al.*, 2010), it is my hope that this paper, in conjunction with the rest of this special issue, begins to highlight the importance of critical scholarship on the role of the food media in shaping the complex, situated and multiple ways of being with, relating to and eating food.

Overall the paper has two key aims. First, I wish to conceptually situate celebrity chefs within the work of Sally Eden and colleagues (Eden 2011; Eden *et al.* 2008a and b). This influential work has usefully employed empirically-grounded discussions of food labels to show how they work to mediate information between food and consumers. In drawing on this work, I suggest that celebrity chefs are a form of 'talking label' similar to food labels; as

such, they act as both a cultural intermediary and boundary object to construct knowledge around choosing/shopping, cooking and eating and connect audiences to food and themselves. Traditional food labels and chefs have points of overlap in their provision of branded knowledge to consumers. What contemporary celebrity chefs uniquely offer though, is a conveyance and translation of large amounts of complex food and nutrition information in a living, breathing 'package'. The 'talking label' attempts to be understandable and accessible to the public, and ideally serves as a familiar, engaging and trusted figure allowing a more human connection than labelled goods siting on a shelf. Yet unlike an inanimate label, the 'talking label' is more vulnerable to inconsistency and contradictions, especially given their capacity to engage with their audience in real-time formats through platforms such as Twitter.

Yet, what do audiences actually think about these interventions and the things that celebrity chefs are saying to them about food? This then is the second aim of this paper: An exploration of how these 'talking labels' are understood, 'used' by audiences and, thus, in effect, talked 'back' to in different ways and formats as audiences use them both to change their diet but also to resist these 'better' ways of eating. This is explored through two different research encounters and empirical contexts: the first involves the responses to an online survey that asked audiences about their engagements with celebrity chefs. While part of a much larger survey on the 'celebritisation' of society (e.g. Chouliaraki, 2013; Goodman, 2010, Kapoor, 2013; van Krieken, 2012; Wheeler, 2013), I pull selectively from this survey to analyse responses to the specific questions asked of audiences in terms of their engagements with celebrity chefs, their programmes and the information they aim to provide.

Conducted in 2013, a theoretical sampling approach (Glasser and Strauss 1967) was used to target respondents likely to have an existing broad awareness and engagement with celebrity culture. The survey was conducted online and sent to staff and students at King's College London as well as other online celebrity-chef related networks, all of whom were asked to 'snowball' the survey within their own social networks; six hundred (n=600) completed surveys were returned. A mixture of open and closed questions was used, permitting the collection of in-depth qualitative data. Both Channel 4 and its food programming are particularly strong in reaching ABC1 (i.e. upper/middle class, high income) groups, with an average monthly reach of 86.9 percent, performing particularly well with 16-34 year olds (Channel 4 Sales 2014). This viewing profile fits well both the survey cohort as well as the audience of celebrity culture more broadly (Turner 2004). Jamie Oliver's audience is of course wider than the survey respondents, but this data provides novel empirical insight into audiences who are aware of Jamie Oliver and his brand and who have watched his shows and others relating to celebrity chefs and food programmes on UK television. While there are limitations to survey methods, particularly in differences between reported and actual behaviours, empirical research into the ways that audiences engage with celebrity culture is lacking (Turner 2010). This survey provides valuable data to address this, revealing audience perceptions and engagements across a range of celebrity chef, food programme and audience encounters for the first time.

The second objective of this paper involves the specific analysis of one of Jamie Oliver's latest TV programme and campaign called *Save with Jamie* and specifically that related to the Twitter hash-tag #savewithJamie. Focused on 'austerity cooking' designed to help audiences cook cheap healthy meals, the associated programme *Jamie's Money Saving Meals* and surrounding media became rife with tension that opened up, but also

complicated the relationships between the audience and the chef. Specifically, Oliver and, by proxy, the *Save With Jamie* campaign garnered negative publicity in the run up to the airing of the TV programme in 2013. This controversy was in large part catalysed by comments Oliver made around food and poverty in Britain. In an interview to UK television magazine the *Radio Times*, Oliver said he found it "difficult to talk about modern day food poverty" because "seven times out of ten, the poorest families in this country choose the most expensive ways to hydrate and feed their families. The ready meals, the convenience foods" (Daly, 2013). In other words, the 'talking label' of Oliver said the 'wrong' things about the connection between poverty, food and cooking and a major backlash ensued. Yet despite this controversy, *Jamie's Money Saving Meals* was well received by audiences and critics, while the *Save with Jamie* cookbook topped bestseller lists (The Guardian 2013). The tension between Jamie's controversial comments and vast book sales remains and speaks in part to the endurance of Oliver's appeal as a celebrity chef. It is argued that Oliver's campaign opened up 'moments of possibility' that simultaneously involve instances of both resistance and approval which I track and analyse across #savewithjamie and other media responses to his comments and programmes.

The paper continues as follows: First, I briefly explore the ways that celebrity chefs work to 'perform food', particularly around defining 'good food'. Secondly, I move to analyse the ways that celebrity chefs are first boundary objects, but also 'talking labels' that act as 'live' knowledge brokers between people, food and eating. Thirdly, I explore the ways that celebrity chefs do 'work' on audience understandings and engagements by analysing several *moments of possibility* facilitated by both old and 'new' media platforms. I conclude briefly with a few short statements about taking this research forward.

5.3 Celebrity chefs as Talking Labels

> *Food programming works on many levels, it has evolved from being more than just*
>
> *'how to' TV from the traditional formats such as Delia's How to Cook, to shows that*
>
> *entertain and inspire, such as Heston's Feast or Jamie's Ministry of Food* (Food on
>
> 4, 2010).

Food TV and associated media now is not only for so-called 'foodies' (Johnston and Baumann, 2010). No longer do these shows seek to merely educate us in terms of 'how to' prepare and cook food. Today, food television emulates what other successful genres do, and what more generally TV is good at: it works to entertain, inspire and create desire (Skeggs and Wood, 2012). Active and direct intervention by food media into our lives seeks not only to connect and inform us of what and how to eat, but also promises to make us better in multiple ways: better cooks, better socially, better at caring for friends and family, better lifestyles and well-being, better homes, better connected to food and those producing it, better global citizens even (Rousseau 2012). With chefs rarely off our screens or bestseller lists, there is ample opportunity for them to be placed, and place themselves, as powerful players in neo-liberal and responsibilised landscapes of food governance (Goodman *et al.*, 2010; Guthman, 2007, 2008b, 2011). Increasingly mediated governance regimes open up space for a range of new actors to influence what we know and understand about food, how we relate to it, and what food we choose to buy, cook and eat. Displays by chefs of authenticity, familiarity, approachability, and a form of charismatic ordinariness put viewers at ease, developing trust that then places their privileged celebrity status to one side and, crucially, makes them complicit in important forms of food governance (Bennett and Holmes, 2010; Bonner, 2003; Lewis, 2010).

Within networks and spaces through which 'good food' is performed chefs not only work to transmit and translate diet, health and cooking information, but also take an active role in constructing normative knowledge about what is 'good' and 'proper' to eat by (re)connecting people 'back' to their food (cf. Kneafsey *et al.*, 2008). So, celebrity chefs work to establish intimate and emotional 'para-social relations' (Turner, 2004) between audiences, celebrities and the audiences' food. Para-social relations describe a form of relationship established by and through media technologies where an individual is made 'available' to those physically distant to them. Moores (2007) considers the rise of mediated interactions as a new or at least shifted way of relating to others in modern life. Yet, as will be demonstrated here, even these new forms of social relations are changing, as new media technologies create space for audiences to communicate 'back' to celebrities.

To understand how this 'talking' works across chefs, audiences and food, I draw on Eden *et al.*'s (2008a and b) work on the relationalities of consumers and food labels. In their critical exploration of the politics and consumer engagements with alternative food labels in the UK, they propose that food labels act as form of 'knowledge intermediary' connecting consumers to food and its production at the point of consumption. For them, this knowledge provides a crucial part of a topological connection that works to 'stand in' for more face-to-face, farm-to-plate and/or consumer-to-farm spatial (re)connections between food and those eating it. Intermediaries instead form complex interactions of trust, assurance, and evaluations of information:

> We call this a 'knowledge-fix' to the distancing of consumption from production, because such topological reconnections explicitly go beyond a 'spatial fix' of geographical reconnection by including diverse topologies of knowledge gathering, evaluating and contesting, topologies which depend not upon physical relationships of proximity but upon more precarious and complex links of trust (Eden *et al.*, 2008a: 1046).

This has extended work on ethical and alternative production practices, focusing on the ways knowledge is evaluated and understood by consumers seeking assurances around food quality (Cf. Barnett *et al*., 2005; Goodman, 2004). Thus, there is recognition in this work that consumers interpret and utilise information at an individual level in efforts to determine their own definitions of 'good food' and healthy eating.

Celebrity chefs act in some ways like food labels in that they offer a novel form of knowledge intermediary that works to create this knowledge-fix between people and 'good' food. In part this is developed through these para-social relations between chef and viewer that attempt to foster familiarity, assurance and trust. As intermediaries, chefs work to connect people with food across media space in a personal(ised) and engaging way that pays due to the multiple and dynamic meanings and values individuals place on food. Their words- like labels- can be sticky, taking hold in the public's imagination to redefine discourses of good food through a lens of media and performance. For Eden at al. (2008b) this part of the knowledge-fix occurs at the point of consumption, directly through assurance schemes and/or labels. Chefs, on the other hand, tend to act both pre- and post-consumption and in the private, domestic cooking spaces of our homes, although their reach is rapidly gaining ground in retail and other media environments.

Celebrity chefs are key actors in what I see as a new form of mediated food governance that seek to influence public relationships with food as well as policy makers and food's wider politics. These work alongside other sources of food information, contributing to food governance in different and overlapping ways. Consumers use many forms of food information, often at the same time, making sense of these within their own individualised

situation, values and constraints. Food labels, government guidelines, branding, advertising and so on can all be read as 'knowledge-fixes' which provide food information and connections to food. Like chefs, many of these sources also do more than simply supply food information, selling their own products and food stories to us. Chefs, though, are a different form of knowledge-fix because they are *people* - talking, interacting, celebritizing, and performing food information across media platforms in entertaining ways engaging audiences in ways other formats do not or cannot. The cultural spectacle of celebrity grants chefs an embodied form of power to construct new branded food narratives/dialogues which explicitly aim to change what and how we eat. Of course, they are also trying to sell their brand and products. Celebrity chefs then are offering a different 'knowledge-fix' and one that crosses the boundaries of celebrity, cooking, consumption, health, government, and nutrition. In other words, celebrity chefs have a diffuse form of cultural power and when turned to 'knowledge-fixing' can be a powerful instrument in new mediated forms of food governance.

Food media is not the only place that celebrities have acted or been positioned as knowledge intermediaries. Recent work on the knowledge and practice of celebrity within the context of both environment and development may be similarly read through the lens of the celebrity knowledge intermediary. Shifting narratives of ethical consumption which increasingly see celebrity speaking on behalf of the global South, connect consumers to distant others and the wider impacts of the food we choose (Goodman and Barnes 2011). Goodman (2010) has termed this trend the 'celebritization of development', drawing attention to the spectacular performances of development politics. But it is not only development which is being performed: "[C]elebrities have, embody and deploy particular forms of power" (Goodman 2010: 108) which is used to (re)work, build knowledge, and

connect people to the spaces of climate change (Boykoff and Goodman 2009; Boykoff *et al*. 2010; Prudham 2009), charity/care, humanitarianism and global health (Littler 2008; Mostafanezhad 2013; Richey and Ponte 2008), politics (Weiskel 2005), and conservation (Brockington 2009; Sullivan 2011). This body of work has been collectively important in understanding the new ways celebrity is doing work on knowledge and practice within society.

Yet, what this suggests is that, like food labels, celebrity chefs can, at a more theoretical level, be thought of as 'boundary objects'[1] that can be 'used' by different groups to translate and communicate across different worlds and ways of thinking. Drawing further on Eden's (2011) work on labelling and boundary objects, this position allows chefs to easily cross the boundaries between science, health, governance, entertainment and consumption to relay complex food and nutrition information in readily understandable and demotic ways. Successful chefs—conceptualised here as 'talking labels'—are then able to speak to, and hopefully inform, a whole range of audiences, from the 'lay' public to more 'expert' figures such as policy makers or scientists all at the same time (Eden 2011). These conceptualisations are particularly pertinent in the context of celebrity chefs, not least because food is deeply personal and embedded with multiple meanings and values by different people: chefs occupy shared media space, occupied and accessed/used by multiple social groups. The 'here' and 'there' brought together are audiences (in their

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[1] The concept of 'boundary objects' originates from within Actor Network Theory, considering the way in which different objects can translate information to different user groups across social worlds. Introduced by Star and Griesemer (1989) who considered the ways in which museum displays compress and simplify complex information so that it may be understood by the untrained eye, but crucially remain recognisable and relevant to more expert users. This concept has been usefully applied to a range of objects from presentations of climate data to politicians as a means through which the discursive and material networks of 'here' and 'there' may be brought together across shared space (Star 2010).

private homes spaces) with food and cooking (and therefore their kitchens) and the interactive, entertaining and personable format this takes—as opposed to the static and limited labels on food—will likely appeal to a wide audience and sets of social groups. With chefs placed in and developing this boundary object position as 'talking labels', they work to connect audiences with the food they eat as well as laying out a path which allows them to do this in a 'better' way through relationships to 'good food'.

Suggesting that this process is formed here through celebrity chefs, however, serves to reveal great complexity in the relationship between chefs and audiences, particularly with regard to information flows and issues of trust and authenticity. In some very real ways, chefs thus hold the potential to play a significant role in the 'sorting out' (Bowker and Star, 1999) process between good and bad foods in the politicised realms of public health and nutrition (Lang and Heasman 2004; Rayner and Lang, 2013). Rather than merely making information accessible about food from other 'expert' sources, they have become experts in their own right (Lewis 2010; Powell and Prasad 2010). The massive media coverage and exposure of celebrity chefs clearly plays a key role in their co-creation as new contemporary food experts, who, given their celebrity status and elevated voice within society, have access to many elite food actors to influence knowledge and decision making at a variety of scales.

I turn to now explore both audience reactions to celebrity chefs in general—and Jamie Oliver in particular—but also the ways and implications of the 'talking back' to celebrity chefs through an exploration of Jamie Oliver's *Save With Jamie* campaign and its engagements on Twitter through #savewithjamie.

5.4 Talking labels and audience/media encounters

There are three different 'encounters' through which celebrity chefs are explored as 'talking labels'. The first involves selective responses to an online survey where I explore what audiences 'do' with chefs and the knowledge-fixes they attempt to provide as 'talking label's. One of the most interesting findings here is that although chefs are one of a number of places that people get information about food, they are engaged by audiences in ways that get people to not only cook more, but to think more about what they are eating as well. Second, I turn to explore a series of media and audience responses to Jamie Oliver's comments on the relationships of (un)healthy eating, food choice and poverty. This episode illustrates not only the indeterminacy of the 'talking label' of the celebrity chef, but also a particular moment of resistance in the form of media and commentator 'push-back' to his comments. Third, I analyse a series of Tweets in the context of the *Save With Jamie* campaign to show the ways that audiences talk back and forth with the 'talking label' of Jamie and so set up a situation where a chef's mediation of food information is further mediated by those 'fans' in a new form of para-social dialogue that create possible moments of approval and reception across technologies, society and geographical spaces of the public and private.

5.4.1 Complex survey engagements: Sorting, cooking, caring and knowing with Jamie

Jamie Oliver, celebrity chef extraordinaire, has not only enjoyed massive success and influence as a celebrity chef but is now known as much for his campaigning as his cooking. Since his discovery in the kitchen of London's prestigious River Café in 1997, Jamie Oliver has enjoyed an enormously successful career which has amassed him a personal fortune of £150 million, and becoming the fastest selling non-fiction author of all time for his book.

Jamie's 30-Minute Meals. His celebrity was born from *The Naked Chef*, a popular entertainment cookery show, placing the practice of domestic cooking at the heart of a desirable and trendy way of living as well as challenging the gender roles within home cooking (Hollows, 2003; Piper, 2013). His programmes have included travelogues (*Jamie does Italy, Jamie's America*), aspirational lifestyle programming (*Jamie at Home*) and more political campaigning (*School Dinners*). Over the past 15 years his brand has grown, extending from TV programmes and cookbooks, to include a production company, bakery, catering services, food and home products, as well as numerous digital and print media productions. At the heart of the Jamie Oliver brand ethos is a desire to inspire interest and enthusiasm in food and cooking (Jamie Oliver Food Foundations, 2013).

Figure 1. Jamie Oliver- 'loudmouth campaigner' (Lewis 2013).

Crowned in 2013 one of The Observer's 'Chef's of the Decade' (alongside Heston, Hugh, Gordon and Nigella) he is pictured standing in a pile of kale brandishing a megaphone (figure 1) reflecting the public image of 'loudmouth campaigner' (Lewis 2013). A long engagement with food campaigning began in 2002: his first restaurant '*Fifteen*' provided chef training for disadvantaged young people in London; '*Ministry of Food*' provided cookery lessons to the poor; '*Jamie's Food Revolution*' sought to overhaul our diets; a focus on animal welfare was found in '*Jamie Saves our Bacon*'; while '*Jamie's School Dinners*'

successfully campaigned the UK government to invest in and change policy around school meal provisioning (Jamie Oliver website 2014). This social crusading arm of 'brand Jamie' speaks to an 'ethics of care' played out by the chef through his commitment to the public 'good' (Piper 2012) and constitutes the 'interference' in the ways we eat that Rousseau (2012) speaks of. What is unusual about Jamie Oliver is the way in which he balances campaigning and commercial ventures, achieving almost universal success in everything he has done. This is not to suggest that he has some sort of golden touch, or has remained unscathed from criticism throughout his career. We do not have to think far back to the images of mums pushing the fish and chips through the school gates in Rotherham while Jamie was inside whipping up healthy lunches during his school dinners campaign (Jamie's School Dinners 2005). However his straightforward, demotic attitude and charismatic personality have played a significant role in Jamie cementing himself as a 'national treasure' of sorts.

His latest campaign, *Save with Jamie* (2013), his first foray into 'dealing with' austerity, seeks to teach audiences "how to cook tasty, nutritious food on a budget". Aired in summer 2013, the television show received acclaim from both audiences and critics alike for its approach and recipes. Compared to his other successful series *30* and *15 Minute Meals*, criticised by users for their unrealistic goals for everyday home cooks, *Save with Jamie* was heralded within the media as a return to what 'Jamie is good at' (Time Out 2013). This campaign in particular is useful to highlight both the powerful mediating role of chefs within foodscapes, but also the different ways audiences use of social media to encourage audience participation that I see as unique to this campaign and Oliver's exercise of power here.

Audience responses to celebrity chefs are nothing if not complex as this analysis of the survey shows. To begin with, of those who answered the survey, over 48 percent of people said they had watched either a chef-related programme or a dedicated chef show, with most predominant engagement through the medium of TV. And, when asked to directly name a celebrity chef, over 88% named Jamie Oliver. Indeed, when asked to explain if and how particular celebrity chefs have influenced their feelings toward what or how they eat, Jamie was repeatedly cited across a range of issues as one of the most predominant and recognisable celebrity chefs in the UK:

> Jamie Oliver has done well with his 15/30 minute meals in showing that you can cook and eat healthy fresh and good tasting meals without spending the whole day in the kitchen.

> Jamie Oliver's school meals programme made me aware of what goes into fast foods and made me less likely to eat as many processed foods, I might think about buying fresh veg more often to cook with.

> Jamie Oliver has influenced me to care more about where my food comes from.

Furthermore, in the survey Jamie was named most frequently as the most trusted chef and the one who is perceived as using his celebrity status to 'do good' in the most effective but also the most genuinely motivated ways. This is not simply about getting people to switch on their TVs or buy a new cookbook, but more fundamentally altering the way they know, learn and think about 'good' food. These findings were reflected in the answers to the survey question that looked to explore if audiences thought celebrity chefs should do more than simply teach people how to cook different and novel recipes. Here, 52 percent said that yes, celebrity chefs should be doing 'more', i.e. speaking out about food and food politics, while 27 percent said maybe and 19 percent said no. Jamie, again, was mentioned the most:

Jamie Oliver is an example of how chefs can use their positions and status to educate people about food. He may be a little annoying sometimes as he is constantly promoting/advertising foodstuffs but he really does care about helping society to improve their eating habits and their health, which is a great contribution to society in my opinion. More chefs should take note from him instead of thinking they are these high status individuals who are superior and elitist in their knowledge, which is sometimes how top chefs come across.

More generally, the responses leaned positively towards chefs participating more widely in food politics, and it is their combination of knowledge and interactive charisma, which marks them as different to more traditional food campaigning as the following quotation highlights:

Absolutely, yes. They have an in-depth knowledge of their subject, a great deal of passion about it, and sharing that passion and knowledge can educate people in a way that dry data on leaflets cannot.

This not only speaks to the idea that celebrity chefs should be fulfilling these more socio-political roles, but also says something about Jamie Oliver himself. This comes back to Eden *et al*. (2008a) and their concept of 'knowledge intermediaries' in aiding consumers to 'sort' between good and bad food choices. The personality and characteristics of individual chef's matter for how information around good food is framed, and more importantly the extent to which audiences trust, engage and act upon that information. Jamie Oliver may be read as the most powerful 'talking label' of all in the UK, with a power and reach that extends arguably further than any other chef who defines 'good food' in particular ways. And, yet, there was also a sense of resistance here. For those who think chefs should not be doing more than teach cooking, their interference in public diets stirs strong negative feelings against the work these chefs do:

I am not impressed by celebrity chefs so I don't think they should be doing more. However I think Jamie Oliver did a good job encouraging those in lower

demographical societies (sic) to cook for themselves at home and not buy fast food all the time.

So in this instance an understanding of how the information provided by chefs is affecting everyday food practices is crucial. Interestingly, drawing on the survey questions (see appendix one) 61 percent of the responses indicated that audiences who watched celebrity chefs and food programmes were encouraged to cook more, with 53 percent saying that chefs cause them to think more about what they eat, 36 percent saying they were encouraged to eat less processed foods and ready meals, 26 percent encouraged to buy more local food. They were also encouraged to think more specifically about what they ate, with several responses indicating that audiences were encouraged to eat more healthful food at the same time purchase foods which have 'better' qualities, such as fresher, ethical or more environmentally friendly.

Similarly, Jamie was mentioned as the key chef encouraging audiences to cook more but also think more about their where their food comes from; this was indicated in several of the qualitative responses on the survey, for example:

> I think Jamie Oliver is an example of a chef that has done his utmost to not only teach cooking skills but also change public attitudes to the way we eat in order to reduce the fast-growing obesity epidemic.
>
> Jamie Oliver has made me aware of what goes into fast foods and made me less likely to eat as many processed foods, I buy fresh fruit and veg more often to cook with now.

Thus many respondents are using the information provided by chefs and the media to positively change their everyday eating, cooking and shopping habits for the 'better'.

Turning away from fast and highly processed foods, replacing them with more homemade food and fresh fruit and vegetables, are most often cited as the instilled changes which will have important economic consequences as well as impacts on our health, lifestyle and wellbeing.

5.4.2 Save with Jamie moments of possible resistance 1: 'Talking label' indeterminacies

The *Jamie Oliver Food Foundation* (2013) bills itself this way: "Everything we do is about sharing our passion for food and inspiring people of all ages to make better food choices, for life". Thus, in times of austerity, Jamie is here for us through his *Save With Jamie* campaign and accompanying cookbook, providing information to help our health and wallets through more "informed choices." (Save with Jamie, 2013: 9).

Yet, in the run up to the launch of the campaign, cookbook and the tie-in TV show *Jamie's Money Saving Meals*, Jamie courted controversy with what seemed like an off the cuff performance that clearly demonstrates the indeterminacies and contingencies of chefs as 'talking labels' as well as the differing ways they can be talked back to. In an interview about his new campaign to television magazine the Radio Times, Oliver noted his frustration at the reliance many people—particularly the poorest—have on fast food and takeaways:

> I'm not judgemental, but I've spent a lot of time in poor communities, and I find it quite difficult to talk about modern day food poverty. You might remember that scene from the *Ministry of Food*, with the mum and the kid eating chips and cheese out of Styrofoam containers, and behind them is a massive fucking TV. It just didn't weigh up. The fascinating thing for me is seven times out of ten, the poorest families in this country choose the most expensive ways to hydrate and feed their families. The ready meals, the convenience foods (Jamie Oliver quoted in Daly, 2013).

This gaffe—although, perhaps, more of a careless statement than anything —garnered untold media attention as it was splashed over all sorts of media outlets. Media, NGO's and audiences alike reacted with horror and anger to the seemingly flippant and naive way in which Oliver spoke about food poverty issues. The story made the front pages across newspapers with headlines including: "Jamie Oliver you haven't tasted real poverty. Cut out the tutting." (Andreou 2013); "Jamie Oliver sparks poverty row after he attacks families for eating junk food and buying expensive TV sets" (Millward 2013); "Jamie Oliver criticizes working class families' diet: Chef criticizes families who don't eat cheaply by cooking from scratch" (Daily Mail 2013). The media backlash provided critique of the chef's comments, very much in the public realm, ensuring maximum awareness of the blunder, but this also worked- as the media do - to sensationalise the story, with a knock-on effect of stirring outrage and discrediting Oliver's work.

Yet it was not only journalists who have criticised Oliver's flippant comments on food poverty, several non-governmental organisations raised concerns about the controversial way in which he spoke about such a serious and complex issue. UK food bank charity The Trussell Trust acknowledged Oliver's point that healthy eating on low incomes is important, but those living in poverty may not have any food choices available to them:

> Cooking healthy food on a low income is really important but obviously there are lots of factors that make life easier or difficult depending on where you live, what access you have to different kinds of food (Hodson quoted in Goldhill 2013).

The UK Faculty of Public Health's Vice President Dr John Middleton also raised concerns that Oliver had oversimplified food poverty issues, placing undue blame on individuals rather than looking to the factors restricting food choices:

Jamie Oliver has done a huge amount of good in improving children's diets. However, his comments give weight to a common misconception that most people on a low income can afford luxuries like huge TVs. The reality for most people in this situation — including those in low-paid work — is that every penny counts. Rather than blame individuals, we need to look at the reasons why some people don't eat healthily on a low income (Middleton quoted in Goldhill 2013).

These statements can be read as a push-back against Oliver's efforts to motivate financially restricted cooks into their kitchens- not against the idea but against Jamie Oliver's particular approach that this time he got very wrong. The *Save with Jamie* publicity train opened up space for people to criticise not only Oliver's comments on the poor but also to resist Jamie Oliver and his brand at a broader level.

Audiences too have 'talked back' to Jamie Oliver, and it is on social media such as Twitter that talking back to and talking with celebrity chefs comes into its own. Jamie Oliver is an active social media user; 4 million people follow his Twitter account; his Facebook page is liked by 2.7 million people so the audiences he is reaching via social media are substantial (although of course there is no guarantee that people will be reading what he tweets). The *Save With Jamie* campaign has its own Twitter hash-tag of #savewithjamie that is used by audiences in part to publically resist and criticise Jamie Oliver. This space creates a direct line of communication between audience and chef, but one which can also be seen by anyone following #savewithjamie. The public can hold Jamie to account for these comments, and simultaneously resist other work he is doing as these tweets- sent both directly to Jamie Oliver as well as placed unanchored in the public domain- demonstrate:

Nothing quite like a lecture on poverty from a multimillionaire

Jamie the reason you 'cannot understand modern day poverty in Britain' is because you are NOT POOR

Millionaire mockney cockhead Jamie Oliver doesn't understand poverty, eh? Piss off back to Sainsbury's you clueless t**t

(Comments in response to Jamie Oliver's poverty comments on Twitter 2013)

Damage limitation took the form of a public and heartfelt apology of sorts and allowed Oliver to win back public favour:

Look...first of all, honestly and truly, I've been doing this for fifteen years, you know. I've always got the general public's best interests at heart. I was talking from the heart and from personal experiences, but you know the thing about big TV's....What I was trying to do was talking about prioritisation of feeding your families and other luxuries. But to generalise like that was probably very short sighted of me and I shouldn't have done. I should have known better actually....So you know I am sorry but you know....I say the truth too much and sometimes I say it wrong (Jamie Oliver, The One Show, 29th Aug, 2013).

At the same time this controversy allowed Oliver to highlight the good intentions with which he acts—even when misplaced or controversial—as well as justifying and legitimating his role as cultural intermediary and active agent of change. He appears to almost feel duty bound to 'save' the public, and perceives himself as best placed to do this. In an interview with The Observer, both interviewer and Oliver himself describe his ability to raise more controversial food issues:

Oliver is aware that such good deeds have not led to universal approval, but-as his recent comments [around UK poverty] prove- he has given up trying to please everyone. "If I don't say these things, no one else fucking will," he declares. "The government doesn't like to say stuff like that because they're chasing votes. I'm in the slight luxury of not being able to get myself fired. The public are my first boss" (Lewis, 2013).

5.4.3 Save with Jamie moments of possible resistance 2: Jamie shames the poor and gets

talked back to

I now want to turn to consider a different instance of a resistance in the moments of

possibility that celebrity chefs create. This has presented one of the most serious challenges

to Jamie Oliver's credibility as self-entitled voice of the eating public and has come from the

blogger turned celebrity cook Jack Monroe. Her experiences of food poverty were

catalogued through her austerity food blog 'A Girl Called Jack' sharing a mixture of

emotional experience, practical advice and recipes from her life as a single mother living on

only £10 a week. Through this Jack has experienced her own rise to celebrity- or at least

celebrated- cook with a newspaper column, cookbook, and television appearances, all

coming her way in 2014 alone.

Angered by Oliver's comments on food poverty, Monroe proceeded to talk directly back to

him and resisting him as her fellow 'talking label' in the UK's Independent newspaper:

> Jamie's stint in the television series Ministry of Food does not qualify him to talk
> about poverty. He is a poverty tourist turned self-appointed tour guide, and his
> comments are not only out of touch but support dangerous and damaging myths
> that "poor people are only poor because they spend their money on the wrong
> things", rather than constrained by time, equipment, knowledge, or
> practices…..When I was living on £10 a week, because of mistakes with housing
> benefit payments, I didn't need a hug. I needed a fiver, just to have a little bit more
> to eat. I didn't need to be transported to Sicily to see how the street cleaners ate, I
> needed someone to point out that the 21p can of kidney beans could be the staple
> ingredient of a nutritious meal. I needed practical advice about what to do with the
> tins of food given to me by the food bank (Monroe, 2013).

This highlights feelings that Jaime Oliver is not in touch with those who are really in need.

Oliver's role as poverty 'tour guide' and then saviour hits a real nerve with the class politics

that underlay foodscapes and food media alike (Bell and Hollows 2011), and it is against this

class politics and Jamie Oliver's approach to this that his critics resist. What is offered here is a different form of talking back than that provided by media, audiences or NGO's, a resistance from within the very social class Jamie aims to speak both for and to. Her own and very personal experiences of food poverty give Monroe's resistance credibility. A 'talking label' in her own right, Jack Monroe provides authentic and practical advice to those in need. It is not just about providing commentary but being in a position where she can speak for those in poverty- something that Jamie has tactlessly shown he is unable to do. She offers something different and appealing than many other forms of 'talking label'; as a woman, a mother, someone who had been in need, and most importantly she is not afraid to say what she thinks and use her voice (something she shares in common with Jamie). In criticising Oliver's comments and approach as misguided and damaging, even because they come from a middle class understanding and experience of austerity, Monroe explicitly brings class debates back into food politics and programming. This not only undermines Oliver's influence and power over those facing food poverty but also draws attention to a lack of appeal or relevance to some in food media more broadly (Rousseau 2013), though there is enormous scope to unpack these class issues further.

The suggestion here is not any kind of inevitable demise of Jamie Oliver, but that his career has not been without criticism. For the most part these have been minor wobbles, which have been overcome or absorbed into his public persona. Controversy around the *Save with Jamie* campaign, I would argue, represents the most serious threat to his credibility- particularly as voices such as Jack Monroe emerge from the very groups he seeks to work with to speak with greater authority.

5.4.4 Save with Jamie moments of possible engagement and approval: Jamie gets us to try something new

Importantly, constructing what I have called here moments of possibility are not only the instances of resistance as described above, but also those instances of approval and reception that drive forward the messages Jamie Oliver promotes, and see people actively participate in knowledge making as well as making real changes to their own everyday practices. Some media coverage praised his willingness to tackle difficult issues (Lewis 2013). A 'return to form' was commended in a series that encouraged us to have a go and cook. 'Good food' is, for Jamie Oliver, always tied to nutrition, taste and home-cooking. Key for him is making people excited about food, armed with the education and the confidence to cook and make better choices. 'Goodness' in *Save with Jamie* is about changing your food practices to cook more *and* save money. This approach was well received in the press:

> Never scared to court controversy, Jamie's been in the news for his views on cooking and poverty. This has distracted attention from what he's really good at: motivating unskilled cooks with thrilling recipes. The latest recipe book from his enormous team builds on the huge success of his recent good-meal-in-a-rush volumes – but eclipses them. Gone are the overpriced packets of supermarket herbs, plus the unrealistic timelines. In its place are recipes made with leftovers and store-cupboard essentials that are simple to make, but very appetising to both read about and eat. 5 stars. (Time Out, 2013).

The first example of these instances of approval and positive possibility—which is more about the ability of 'talking labels' to speak directly to their audience—sees Jamie Tweeting cooking tips and other sources of food-related information, as if coming directly from the man himself. Here, Jamie tweets basic information about how to cook rice:

> @jamieoliver: TIP Cooking rice 1 mug of rice 2 mugs of boiling salted water. Put the lid on, turn down and cook until water has disappeared #savewithjamie (Jamie Oliver twitter, 2013).

A second example of a positive force within these moments of possibility involves the ways that audience members, or those embedded in the multiple other parts of the campaign Tweeted about their own 'doings' with respect to the campaign for other audience members, followers and even Jamie to see:

> @deanowilk: For the last 3 weeks I haven't had a frozen supermarket ready meal for my dinner at work thanks to @jamieoliver #savewithjamie #inspiration

For the *Save With Jamie* campaign this sort of engagement was fundamentally supported by Oliver and those involved in his campaign through the dedicated Twitter portal connected to #savewithjamie where audience 'tips' could be easily Tweeted, posted and shared by audience members and with the wider social media savvy public (see figure 2).

Figure 2. 'Get Involved #savewithjamie.' Twitter portal and tweet sharing on the Save with Jamie website. (Save with Jamie website, 2013).

A third and incredibly interesting instance of approval is when celebrity chefs like Jamie work to mediate their own 'talking label' mediations through what can only be described as utterly 'dialogic' food sharing encounters. This is encapsulated in figure 3, where Jamie Tweets the following message to his followers: "It's Friday! Here are my favourite foodie pics from you guys from #savewithjamie this week I just love your work" (Jamie Oliver Twitter, 2013).
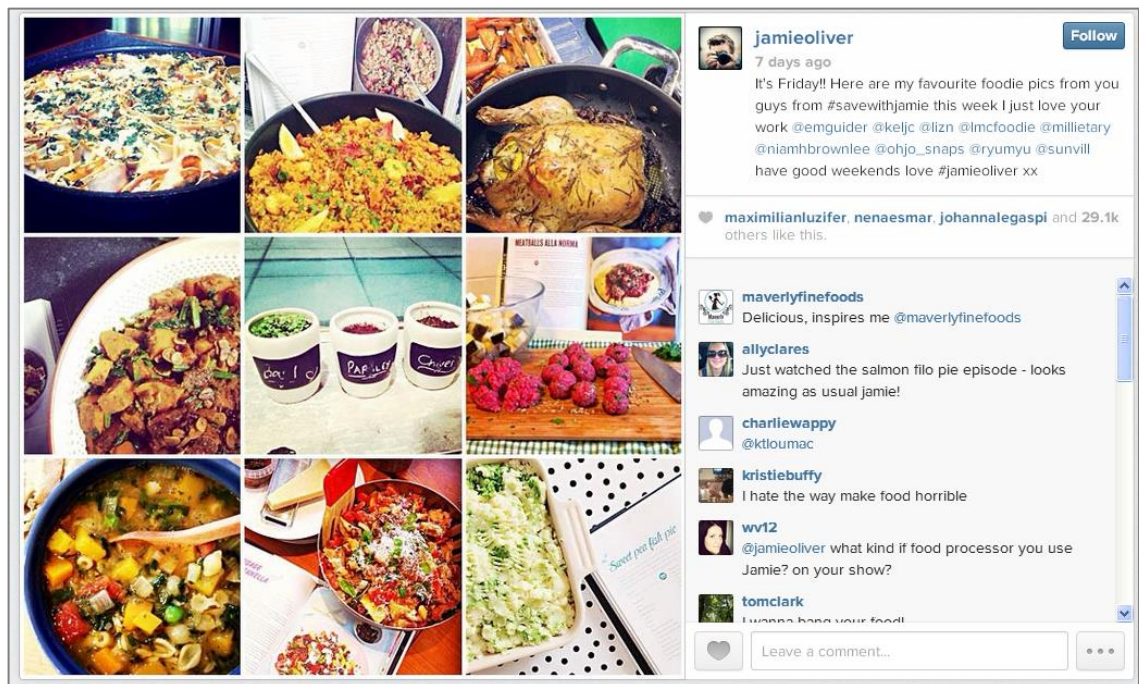
Figure 3. "It's Friday!" Jamie Oliver chooses his favourite food pictures, Tweeted by his audience (Jamie Oliver Twitter, 2013).

Taking a series of previously Tweeted photos of the meals his followers have made and repackaging them into his 'favourite foodie pics', not only works to mediate audience mediations on Jamie's and others' recipes but here he does his own 'listening' to the audience and does his own speaking back to them as—but also beyond—his role as 'talking label'. Gathering together his favourite images of people cooking his recipes he can

recognise the efforts of individual home cooks, like a teacher giving a pupil a gold star. It also proved a way for Oliver himself to demonstrate he is interested and paying attention to what audiences are doing with his food information, rewarding them with praise and attention from the chef. Within these technologically-facilitated boundary spaces Jamie uses his embodied celebrity power to act as a key node on constructing the current foodscapes, adding new knowledge to the 'brand Jamie' definitions of 'good food'. Not only that, but the spaces opened up by Jamie as a 'talking label' - working simultaneously as a boundary object and knowledge intermediary - change how people engage food information and translate it into their own lives as moments of possibility that can form both acceptances and resistances by various audience members. This impacts how the para-social relations between celebrity and audience can work, particularly as social media opens up two-way communications between and amongst food, audiences and celebrity chefs.

5.5. Celebrity Chefs: Offering up moments of possibility and resistance

This paper has argued that food media and celebrity chefs need to be taken more seriously within geographic work on food to recognise the impact they have on foodscapes, but more importantly on the ways in which the public now learns about, practices and relates to food in the everyday. Celebrity performances of food create powerful new discourses around contested ideas of 'good food' and lay out paths for consumers to follow in order to become better food citizens. The individualised food governance possibilities which chefs have the potential to set in motion, speaks to everyday, ordinary eaters providing an important insight into (mediated) consumer-producer-food relations which can complement the work being done within geography around alternative foods. This sits against wider ideas within geography that consider the ways food and our relationships to it are governed (e.g.

Goodman and DuPuis 2002; Johnston and Bauman, 2010; Lang 2004; Marsden 2000; Nally 2013). Recognising these important mediated actors and their influence on everyday food consumption practices will add to how geographers may think about the relationships between consumers and food as well as their links to food policy and governance structures.

Specifically, food media and celebrity chefs have been considered in three ways in this paper. Firstly celebrity chefs were conceptualised as 'talking labels' building on the work of Eden *et al.* (2008a) to demonstrate how chefs work as knowledge intermediaries to both construct and mediate knowledge between consumers, producers, and food. Chefs are powerful and their words have the distinct possibility to stick and take hold like labels on food. Through televised food programmes chefs perform discourses of 'good food' to audiences in entertaining and interactive ways, conveying far more information than a traditional food label would be able to. Occupying this boundary position allows chefs to cross the boundaries between science, health, governance, entertainment and consumption with ease in order to relay complex food and nutrition information in easily understandable and demotic ways. 'Talking labels' and the knowledge and information about food they attempt to provide to and enthuse audiences with offer here a glimpse into the ways that these programmes and chefs work to responsibilise consumers. As they enter the private spaces of the home through our televisions they encourage audience to work on themselves, connect us to the food we eat and to become 'better' food citizens in multiple ways (Rousseau 2012).

Secondly, in recognising the importance of the audience in the work of food media and chefs, the paper drew on results from an audience survey to think about the ways audiences are actually engaging and using (or not) the information chefs perform. This revealed a complex and at times contested relationship between chefs and audiences. The power of chefs to influence the everyday, mundane food practices of audiences is dependent on their ability to put their elevated position of celebrity to one side and play instead on their charismatic and approachable presence which can open up dialogues with audiences. These relationships are built on trust, familiarity and authenticity, but the individual audience member's context matters greatly to how they perceive chefs in that instance. For some viewers Jamie Oliver is inspirational, showing them a path to better eating in manageable and delicious ways. For others, however, his interventions were unwelcome, and met with resistance and even hostility. This analysis also revealed vulnerability and inconsistency threatening the success of chefs as 'talking labels'. This dual impact of chefs was defined as moments of possibility and resistance, functioning often simultaneously as audiences interpret and use chef's food discourses in highly individualised ways which may change often over time.

Thirdly, Jamie Oliver's recent austerity campaign provided a case study to think through these opposing 'moments', focused around his controversial comments on poverty made during the campaigns promotion. Technology, particularly social media, provides an important mechanism through which audiences can enter a 'dialogue' with other audience members as well as the chefs themselves, creating a collaborative project of knowledge sharing. Moments of possibility create and were created by the positive change people make in their diets and cooking as a result of watching the show or following recipes. Jamie Oliver for many serves as an inspiration, who crucially makes that possibility seem

achievable, something we are willing to try. But, importantly, these moments of possibility are often countered with resistance that reveal these potential moments of food governance as tension-filled and in which the seemingly indeterminate boundary objects of celebrity chefs get talked back to and critiqued in ways that begin to question their efficacy as knowledge intermediaries and fixers. Negative press was widespread towards Oliver's comments around food poverty, as audiences pushed back against these comments and the series as a whole, turning the issue of responsibility back toward Jamie Oliver as he is held to account for the comments he made, with austerity-blogger-turned-celebrity Jack Monroe mounting the most serious challenge.

It is also important to remember that chefs do not work alone- there are teams of people behind the scenes commissioning and producing their shows, orchestrating details of cookbook design, or testing recipes, managing social media, or making sure the chef maximised their publicity. They work to make sure Jamie Oliver is in the best possible position to 'sell' his 'good food' vision to audiences, to create desire and to act as lifestyle experts (Lewis 2010). An under-explored set of 'behind the scenes' practices and norms perform a wealth of cultural and affective work that constructs both powerful celebrities and the audiences that want to consume them and will form the core of forthcoming outputs.

Having opened up the 'talking label' of celebrity chef and the moments they are able to create for audiences to engage or push back against good food discourses, tensions remain which have not been reconciled. Moreover, it seems that these tensions- to the public at least- are overshadowed or pushed to one side by the mega force of brand Jamie Oliver

who continues to succeed, topping best-seller lists and occupying a firm place on out TV screens. Factors such as class and gender while hinted at through Jack Monroe, will likely be revealed as important for audiences at an individual level. This paper has focused on the individualised ways audiences 'consume' and use food media narratives and the way that certain mediated individuals act as powerful agents in food governance. More work is needed to delve deeper into these tensions and to think about the effect that these have on the work of food media and more importantly audiences and their relationships with food. Having addressed the celebrity chefs power though the specific example of *Save with Jamie,* the following chapter turns to analyse celebrity power within humanitarian charitable fundraising in the context of Comic Relief's telethon events.

Chapter Six: The Power of Laughter: Comic Relief, celebrity and performances of care

6.1 Introduction

Comic Relief is one of the UK's largest charities and its televised fundraisers have—according to one of my key interviewees—'become something of a British institution' establishing a firm position in public perceptions of charitable care (Interview CR1). Their fundraising appeals are focused around biannual Red Nose Day (RND) and Sport Relief (SR) events, high profile, fun and entertaining telethons which employ hundreds of celebrities. Comic Relief describes its mission as "to drive positive change through the power of entertainment" (Comic Relief 2014). The charity has three functions: to raise money, to spend that money, and to use its brand to raise awareness (Comic Relief 2014; Gilly and Silk 2000). It operates a unique fundraising model which places celebrity and entertainment at the heart of its fundraising. Individual celebrities provide entertaining content, but more importantly they provide a connection to the places and people in need and the projects working to help them. In doing this, celebrities create the possibility to exercise mediated forms of power that govern how care is being practiced publically in the UK through celebrities and audiences. This is important to explore through a critical lens, as I do here in this chapter, because Comic Relief and the celebrities who front their programmes can work to define care, development, well-being and responsibility in meaningful and far-reaching ways in light of transnational and national development and inequalities.

More specifically, in seeking to conceptualise the power of celebrity to govern mediated care spaces, this chapter has three broad aims. First, broadly, this chapter will consider the ways that care may be extended over physical and experiential distance. The work of Comic

Relief and its celebrity partners will be situated within geographical work on care, drawing particularly on feminist scholarship on the ethics of care (e.g. Fisher and Tronto 1990). Building on this work it will aim to demonstrate that media and celebrity can offer a valuable mechanism through which the public may be connected with- and motivated to act upon- multi-scale humanitarian issues across geographical distances. Conceptualising charitable donations as a mediated form of care, and understanding donations as underwritten and motivated by caring feelings reveals ways in which care is practiced over distance. Distance here is a key mechanism through which the 'spectacle of suffering' is experienced by audiences and, crucially, is a necessary condition to caring for distant strangers (Boltanski 2004). Through distinctly mediated encounters, Others are created in ways that ensure and maintain a 'proper distance' that fosters moral obligations by drawing those in need within our gaze whilst still highlighting their difference to us (Silverstone 2006). Effective campaigning, therefore, must continuously reify distance to acknowledge simultaneously difference and shared humanity.

As describes in chapter four, celebrity power facilitates topological connections that may enable both caring feeling and actions within audiences that reach across space. What this analysis does not mean to imply is that Comic Relief or the media are the only or most important voice in the creation of what Bowlby *et al.* (2010) have called the 'care-scape', or that they work across audiences in a universal way. The care that they define and provide is of a particular form and will always be partial and negotiated, variously taken up by audiences at an individual level and acted upon differentially in the context of audiences' and individuals' understandings and values. Framing the relationships between charity, care and celebrity in this way also has relevance for geographical research on care,

contributing to debates around the extension of care over distance (e.g. Barnett and Land 2007; Cox 2010; Conradson 2003; Massey 2004).

Secondly, the ways that celebrity works to connect audiences to those in need and extend a particular form of an ethics of care over space will be examined. Celebrities will be defined as exercising a mediated form of what, in this thesis, I have called *topological biopower*. This power exercise has two functions: firstly, topologically, it connects audiences to those in need across space, fostering caring feelings and behaviours; and secondly, biopolitically, it works to shape and control the lives of those in need in terms of welfare, livelihoods and development, and then across the lives of donors whose acts of 'doing good' are ultimately couched in rhetoric's of good global citizenship. As a biopolitical exercise, celebrities are involved in decisions around life and death both through their engagement with audiences but also the impacts of celebrity and their campaigning on the lives of poor and marginal Others (Duffield 2005, 2007). By considering the particular ways in which celebrities exercise power, the negotiated connections between audience and Others can hopefully be more clearly understood and critically analysed. Topological biopower provides a new and valuable lens through which to understand the powerful extensions of care that impacts on the lives of those at both ends of the campaign, and how celebrities work to negotiate that care through the media and across audiences. This research thus seeks to contribute to literature within geography on power, considering the ways that power may work across and through social relations through the mediating force of celebrity and media. It also employs the conception of celebrity power established in chapter four across a detailed empirical example to think about the moments of possibility created within Comic Relief's celebrity campaigning.

Thirdly, the performance of care by celebrity within Comic Relief's fundraising will be examined, considering the affective and emotional performances by specific celebrities, and how these work as part of their exercise of power. Taking specific examples from recent Red Nose Day and Sport Relief events, the possibility of mediated exercises of power by specific celebrity individuals is discussed. This aims to map out the specificities of celebrities' exercise of power, in other words, what it is they are doing—and provided the space to do—to get audiences to care. This is important in the context of the partial and contingent nature of celebrity power, and speaks to the individuals and the characteristics that deem them successful within Comic Relief.

Finally, and relatedly, Comic Relief's relationship and use of celebrity will be examined within the context of wider celebrity activism and philanthropy. Comic Relief is, of course, not the only charity that employs celebrity in their campaigning. Similarities and differences between Comic Relief and other forms of celebrity activism and ambassadors will be considered to highlight the unique model Comic Relief operates. This will draw on literature on celebrity advocacy (Brockington 2014; Littler 2008; Wheeler 2011) and geographical work on philanthropy and charity (Hay and Muller 2014; Rabbitts 2012). Here it will be suggested that celebrities within Comic Relief enact particular forms of power that do much more than encourage audiences to simply donate money. An integral part of this is that through their performances of care and need, which work to mask or put to one side their celebrity status, allow audiences to connect to those in need.

Empirically this analysis is grounded in interview data with Marketing and Operations Directors, and Artist Liaison Officers at Comic Relief, analysis of Comic Relief's media

content, and specifically, films of celebrity visiting projects shown as part of the wider Red Nose day and Sport Relief telethon events. These short celebrity vignettes sit within the entertainment focused programme and work to convey serious and emotional messages and calls for donations through celebrity narratives and what I am here calling *performances of care*. Drawing on multiple sources of empirical data allows the possible power of celebrity to be tracked more in-depth across this charity case study. This helps develop an understanding of why and how relationships between Comic Relief and celebrities work, how care is being performed as part of a mediated power/governance exercise within the telethon events themselves, and how audiences are engaging and acting upon both the celebrities and the issues they present. Following the processes and production of humanitarian celebrity through the Comic Relief 'production chain' permits new theorising around the mediated and celebritized governance of care but also, and more importantly, considers how and in what ways audiences are engaging with celebrities, programmes and the Others they seek to help. Like the Save with Jamie example in the previous chapter, I want to think about how moments of care performances are produced for audiences by and through celebrity. This builds on the conceptions of celebrity power in chapter four, thinking in more detail though this empirical case study of Comic Relief and the care it seeks to produce through celebrity. The power that celebrities seek to exercise is not a 'given': it is a possibility because they may have either (or both) positive and negative effects across audiences as viewers are drawn in or resist the knowledge and exhortations offered by celebrity. In the context of care for Others it is also one fraught with tension as these privileged elites provide the voice of the global poor (Goodman and Barnes 2011). Although this analysis is focused on one charity with a specific model of celebrity fundraising, the findings relate to the third sector more generally and provide valuable insight into how audiences are 'using' these forms of information and what impacts they may now have across carescapes.

The chapter proceeds as follows: a brief review of geographical literature around care and affect provides the context in which Comic Relief's celebrity work is analysed. Secondly, drawing on ideas of power topologies the exercise of power by celebrities that work to open up moments of possibility with audiences within Comic Relief will be detailed. This argues that power is at once connecting audiences to those in need, and simultaneously seeking to control the lives at either end of the campaign in interesting and different ways. Thirdly, the performance of care within RND and SR events will be examined to explore the role of emotion and affect within this power exercise and the ways celebrities work to put aside their celebrity status in order to effectively govern mediated spaces of care.

Overall, this chapter examines the role of celebrity within contemporary landscapes of care, considering the power they have to influence both what audiences care about and the lives of those in need. Such neoliberal 'carescapes' (Bowlby 2012) are changing the way in which care is being 'done' as society is being called to do its part to make a difference, in the context of the wider discourses of global citizenship and responsibilisation (Massey 2004; Sadler and Lloyd 2008; Shamir 2008). Geographical research on care draws attention to the complex spatiality of care concerned increasingly with how caring relationships for different and/or distant Others operate. Feminist geographers promote an ethics of care in which caring is a way of relating to others rather than an activity or practice (Lawson 2007). Geographers have focused largely on either individualised, local scale practices of care giving such as hospice care or childcare (Popke 2006), or on 'care at a distance' with a focus on ethical consumption (Barnett *et al.* 2005; Bryant and Goodman 2004; Goodman 2010). Everyday spaces are emphasised as key sites though which connections and relations of care can be made across space within already existing norms and values. If, as the saying

goes, charity begins at home, then where better place to extend the reach of care than from our living rooms?

6.2 Geographies of care

Before analysing Comic Relief and its celebritized performances of care, I present a brief discussion of the literature around the geographies of care and affect to contextualise more broadly the empirical work discussed here. This chapter seeks to give attention to the role of the media and celebrity in shaping and governing spaces/landscapes of care in mediated ways. Within geography, the media is largely absent in work on care and affect (e.g. Bondi 2008; Conradson 2003; Cox 2010; Lawson 2007; Milligan 2003). Yet media, it will be argued, plays a central role in extending the reach of care across space (Boltanski 1999; Silverstone 2006), something that has been frequently problematised within this set of literature. The spatial complexities of relationships of care, and their impact on shaping the spaces through which they work places Geography in an ideal position within debates on care. Care is not only a personal, private relationship but is present throughout public, political and social spaces at scales from the local to the global. Care ethics reveal as much about relationships of inequality, power, and politics as it does about connections (Cox 2010). Here the two dominant strands of geographical research on care will be reviewed briefly - feminist ethics of care and ethical consumption as caring at a distance - before suggesting the place of the media in this work.

Feminist geographers work on the ethics of care frames care as a social relation, shaping the way we act in the world as central in scrutinising the spatialities of care and the inequalities in care access that this perpetuates (Cox 2007; McEwan and Goodman 2010).

While feminist geographers define the ethics of care as a way of relating (Lawson 2009), in reality research necessarily focuses on the specific sites, relations and practices of care across scales and spaces (Conradson 2003; Milligan 2003). Partiality is a major problem within care-work and values such as responsibility, empathy and concern are most readily motivated in places and people well- known to us (Lawson 2007). This 'Russian doll' model of care dictates that we naturally care first and foremost for those closest to us, starting with family and friends, extending and diminishing from there (Massey 2004; Milligan 2000). The increasing neo-liberal privatisation of many care giving practices, from care for the elderly to childcare, commodifies care and increases this partial and fractured carescape, mark it with deep inequalities (Cox 2010; England 2010). One important outcome of this is the increasing responsibilisation of the individual for both their actions and their impacts on the lives of Others, couched in discourses of global citizenship (Noxolo *et al*. 2012). So, in questioning the practices of care giving, the ethics of care of feminist geographers argues that care be placed at the centre of social relations. These relations are mutual, built on trust, and recognise the power relations that flow through and shape them. This perspective also gives valuable attention to the often neglected personal and private care giving spaces of the home (Popke 2006). Attention to the power relationships involved in an ethics of care can help draw distant Others into our daily lives (Milligan and Wiles 2010). Again, both charity and the media are notably missing from this work. This chapter will seek to build on feminist geographer's ideas of care as an everyday social relation, embedded in private home spaces to consider the media as a possible way to extend networked relations of care over space.

The second key theme of geographical work on care is the possibility of caring at a distance, of extending the reach of care beyond the local. In practice, this has largely been considered

through ethical consumption that provides consumers the means to not only connect with the distant Others producing their goods, but also heralds the promise of 'doing' development in various way through the things you buy (Goodman 2010). Everyday acts of consumption thus become embedded in the networks of care ethics that extend and move across space in ways not bounded by place or physical connection (Goodman 2010; Popke 2006). This approach provides a way of thinking about the extension of care beyond the confines of the home and care practices in terms of direct care giving. Multiple positive forms of care are considered within ethical consumption as everyday acts of shopping become imbued with the possibility of feelings of care, connection and responsibility for those far away from us (Cox 2010). Distance becomes integral to thinking about how and why we care for distant strangers. As discussed in Chapter 4, maintaining 'proper distance' between the audience and those in need is important both to highlight difference as well as a sense of shared humanity, both of which are required in creating a sense of moral obligation and duty of care (Silverstone 2006). Mediated encounters with distant strangers create what Boltanski (1999) terms a 'spectacle of suffering' that direct our attention and call us to action.

Drawing on these ideas, the extension of care and connections to Others over distances (both physical and experientially) by Comic Relief will be discussed. Unlike ethical consumption, that seeks to take forms of care giving outside the home, here this care at a distance is brought back into the home to reveal how everyday spaces and acts of watching television can be transformed by charity and celebrity into the new ways of 'doing development' as Goodman (2010) describes. In doing so, the possibility of relationships between audience and the Other as mediated by celebrity will be considered as a possible way for motivating care-full feelings.

In chapter four, the power of 'possibility' exercised by celebrity within spaces of food and care was analysed and discussed. Building on this analysis, Comic Relief, through the mediating figure of celebrity, exercises a form of biopolitical power which seeks to control both the lives of distant Others (through projects that impact their livelihoods, wellbeing and development) and the lives of donating audiences (as they are made into 'good global citizens' though acts of caring and doing good). This exercise of biopower relies on forging connections between audience and Other in ways that allow care to be extended across space on the one hand, and on the other to step into, influence, or even control the lives of poor and marginal Others at the campaigns focus. Though not the focus of this analysis it is important to acknowledge that perhaps the most significant (and indeed biopolitical) outcome of the relationship between celebrity and charity is upon the lives of Others. Through mediated, celebritized, and spectacular representations of their lives, hardship and suffering, audiences are drawn inti decision-making framed by narratives of life and death. The way that these issues and decisions are represented and made has fundamental impacts on the people in need. At the same time it is worth reiterating that the knowledge, care and connection provided by Comic Relief and their celebrities is always partial and negotiated against wider social settings in which multiple information sources, from family to government policy, determine at an individual level what and how we care. The strength of these connections is, to a large extent, determined by the performances of care by celebrity. In turning towards the performances of care by celebrities and Comic Relief, I now turn to consider the ways in which celebrities within Comic Relief can "develop a topology of power sensitive to diverse geographies of proximity and reach" (Allen 2003: 338).

6.3 Commitment and connection: topologies of power in action

Fundamental to Comic Relief's success as a fundraiser and then grant maker is fostering a sense of connection to those in need, in order to generate interest, support and donations both from celebrities and the public. Key to this is the exercise of topological power which works to break down the physical and/or experiential distance between those in need and those providing support, to reach the proper distance Silverstone (2006) speaks of where enough knowledge and cultural understanding are provided to allow moral obligation, duty of care, and enabling action. Allen (2003) has argued that power is an inherently spatial exercise and greater attention needs to be paid to the differences geography can make to the exercise of power. Clearly reflecting Foucault's ideas around 'immanent power', Allen develops a relational view of power that is focused on topological connections: power works through and across social relations to overcome physical distance. The relationships that tie things together are thus more important than the distance between them (Hinchliffe *et al.* 2013), and this understanding is crucial in conceptualising power within Comic Relief.

This account of topological power is relevant here for several reasons: firstly, attention to details of 'tangled arrangements' of power that cross each other highlights the multiple forms of power simultaneously being expressed throughout social relations. Celebrities, with wide social reach and presence, are thus ideally placed to exercise power across and through their already existing social networks and relations. Secondly, this conceptualisation of power has relevance for connections and power over distance, with clear application to thinking about how care for distant Others may be motivated over space. Thirdly, celebrities within Comic Relief's fundraising efforts demonstrate well that power is not a universal nor monopolised exercise: it is partial, contested, and made up of

multiple powerful agents working dynamically across social relations. As Allen (2003: 339) states "not all places are saturated with power". This means that within Comic Relief, celebrities will be one of a number of groups influencing audiences around issues of development, poverty and so on. This may include other charities vying for donations, other news and media sources, institutions, NGOs, governments or even friends and family. So while celebrity represents an important a novel mode of power, particularly in constructing those moments of care with those in need, they are not the only actor; indeed, for many they may not be the most important or important at all.

There are two key ways in which topological power forges connections for Comic Relief; firstly in establishing commitment from celebrity supporters as they are physically taken to the places in which Comic Relief works. Secondly, audiences are connected from their own private, everyday home spaces to those in need far away through witnessing the performances of care by celebrity as part of Comic Relief's television programming. Each of these will be discussed in turn. Comic Relief's project films therefore provide a possible connection between audiences and distant Others and it is across these relations that celebrity power works. This exercise of celebrity power will be defined as a *topology of care-full power*, seeking to connect and forge relations over space that have care for Others at their core. Both Comic Relief and celebrities can be seen to be attempting to shape audiences into global citizens though the powerful exercises performed in film vignettes. Through the relationalities of care laid out by celebrity, attempts are made to shape audiences into good global citizens. This is forged as a collective sense of identity and participation in 'doing good', mirroring ideas around shared humanity and cosmopolitan citizenship (Naussbaum 2004; Silverstone 2004). The 'global' element of this citizenship rhetoric fosters a sense of solidarity among audiences that can work as powerful and

positive feelings of collective action. This process sees celebrities construct narratives that can contribute to the making of global citizens through the moments of possibility they create.

Importantly, entertainment is a fundamental part of these exercises of power. Comic Relief successfully utilises this central celebrity function to engage audiences on difficult, complex, emotional, or political issues. As described in chapter four, celebrity power is thus a 'soft' exercise of power couched in entertainment, familiarity and trust; celebrities walk a thin line between discipline or control, and guiding (or manipulating?) free citizens to make particular choices, here in the context of how and whom to care about. Entertainment can make these difficult ideas and images more palatable, and the different forms in which celebrities entertain us in these televised fundraisers generates multiple avenues through which audiences can engage with these issues. Here, of course, the reading of celebrity narratives around humanitarian development by audiences matter greatly. Comic Relief must ensure that their content (in its productions and semiotic encoding) appeals to as wide an audience as possible in order to maximise the audience who read, understand, and practice the intended messages of the film.

The film vignettes discussed here are, of course, not the only way that audiences can participate in fundraising. A host of opportunities exist along a spectrum of participation; watching television and texting a donation for example requires much less active effort or participation than running a bake sale, or taking part in a sponsored run. This again ties back to the soft power exercised by celebrity, allowing audiences to participate from the comfort of their own homes without even leaving their sofas. The organisation of fundraising in RND

and SR, the focal point in Comic Relief's fundraising calendar, around celebrity is important as this is the principal way that audiences engage with the charity. More importantly, as will be discussed in detail below, the powerful performances of care by celebrity throughout Comic Relief's fundraising and specifically through the in-place film vignettes work to change how the public understand and engage with issues of care and global development in important ways. In the following sections the power of celebrity to provide possible topological connections will be discussed, firstly in connecting and establishing commitment from celebrities themselves to the work that Comic Relief and their partners 'on the ground', and secondly in connecting audiences to the places and people in need who are far away from them.

6.3.1 Topological connections 1: establishing celebrity commitment

Celebrity and entertainment are used as an interface to connect the UK public to distant Others, bridging space though complex relations where knowledge and trust play a key role. While this lacuna may not- and indeed should not be- ever be fully overcome it brings the Others-in-need and audiences closer together. At the same time as audiences are transported across space into the lives of Others and made to connect and care through relations provided by celebrity, the differences between 'us' and 'them' are highlighted as a way to demonstrate the seriousness of need and why we should give (Silverstone 2006). Before this happens though, Comic Relief must recruit celebrity supporters. The charity has worked with a huge number of celebrities, many of them making a long-term commitments to the organisation. Not only that but many celebrities have realised this commitment by taking part in visits or challenges that place them well out of their comfort zone. Getting their celebrity supporters to experience projects on the ground is imperative to getting celebrities committed to the charity and participating in their fundraising:

You absolutely have to take them out. They all go out at some point and see it first-hand. That makes such a difference, as soon as you get them out there and they see it first-hand they're committed. They see it and that's it, they'll do anything for you (CR1).

I asked one interviewee if the purpose of the visits was to establish commitment:

Yes. They've expressed an interest, and that's it. Take them and then they're on the hook. Because how can you not want to help when you see the slums outside Jo'burg or some of this stuff in Sierra Leone and the need that's around. When you do take them out there they're doubly committed (CR3).

Yet this is not only about providing footage for the video clips that are used as part of the telethons. It is also about engaging celebrities with Comic Relief's work and the change they claim to make: meeting the people who are desperately in need in different ways, those who are helping, and how Comic Relief's funding enable projects to make real change to people's lives:

We don't film everything involved on those visits because some of it's about the celebrity's private involvement, private engagement with the issues (CR4).

Within visits to projects Comic Relief staff take a relatively back seat role, and although they are the one's doing the filming they are not there to teach or educate celebrities about the work they fund:

They will always have someone from Comic Relief with them but we let the projects themselves do the talking (CR1).

Thinking about this in terms of topological power, the distance between celebrity and CR's projects is not a barrier to their participation. In fact, it is through taking celebrities out to projects that forms the powerful topological connections and relations of care between audience, celebrity, and beneficiaries are established. The understanding and experience

that celebrities gain during these visits form the affective performances that work across audiences as the possibility for new mediated forms of governance in care. The experience then not only cements the commitment of the celebrity but also provides each celebrity with a direct and personal connection to the project they have visited. This knowledge and understanding, albeit superficial or shallow, gives celebrities credibility and authenticity to speak about these issues or projects. Not only do these visits create commitment to Comic Relief as a charity, but it also makes the celebrity care about the people, projects and issues in the specific places they visit. This sense of 'caring about' the welfare of those they have met informs how they appeal to audiences and the narratives they construct. In other words, establishing feelings of care for those they meet impacts the ways that celebrities exercise power and work to govern spaces of care. In doing this Comic Relief is not seeking to educate celebrities, nor to make them experts, but to provide enough exposure to an issue that they understand is important and can reiterate the need to do something. Thus, as another interviewee put it,

> So when you're asking celebrities to be part of it they absolutely intellectually have to engage to a certain level but it's a complex thing. The issues are complex, there's no simple answer, they're multi-faceted. We want them to understand the work that they are seeing, with a backdrop to the bigger issues, but there's a reality check about how does international development work, how is change going to come with women's rights in Ghana. Some engage very deeply and are very engaged with the issues, and some people they spend a couple of days, they get it they are moved by it they are passionate about it but intellectually do the understand everything? No (CR2).

This quote reveals a key point about the working relationship Comic Relief has with celebrities and how much they want or expect them to know about the issues they speak about. For Comic Relief it seems that what is more important than a deep understanding of an issue or project is that they are able to perform care in an intellectually intelligent, passionate and authentic way. The relationship between charity and celebrity has often

been criticised as a distraction from the real work of charities, particularly around the lack of expertise celebrities hold in the issues they give voice to (Boykoff and Goodman 2009; Goodman and Barnes 2011; Littler 2008; Weiskel 2005; Wheeler 2011). However, as this interviewee describes it, this is not important or necessarily relevant for Comic Relief and the celebrities they work with.

Performance and intellectual intelligence are instead the characteristics that matter most in what the majority of celebrities bring to the charity. Learning about an issue or project in depth is important for some celebrities but this is a personal choice: Individual celebrities may become engaged with an issue, project or person that they meet during an in-country visit, choosing to learn more because it matters to them. For others, these visits move them and establish commitment to Comic Relief but that is it: No broad or detailed understanding of complex global development issues is forged. This will be true for the majority of celebrities that support Comic Relief. They understand the project, they see that there is an urgent need for care and action, and they can articulate in ways that move the audience. This is what matters to Comic Relief. In allowing celebrities to speak as the voice of the Others in need and the Others doing work on the ground, the charity does not want or need celebrities to understand the nuance of an issue. They are not seeking to create experts. This speaks very clearly to the celebrity power at work here. Celebrities get a sense of projects and issues through their in-country visits. Then through their intellectually attuned performances of care within film vignettes, they can connect audiences to poor and marginal others, and global issues around development and well-being. As described above, this topological power overcomes distance to bring audiences closer to those in need, taking them into their everyday lives and homes. In providing this connection and sense of closeness the similarities and differences between our lives and their lives are highlighted

to give urgency to this need- in short seeking to achieve 'proper distance' (Silverstone 2006). These short films thus become the moments of possibility of the exercise of celebrity power- it is within these vignettes that celebrities have a platform and the possibility to govern what audiences know about care and development, and how they act.

What Comic Relief is not doing is parachuting celebrities into projects to act as a face, or having them speak about issues in which they are not interested or know nothing about. Here then the matching or 'casting' of celebrities to projects matters greatly. At the same time, however, what this interview quote reveals is an awareness by Comic Relief of how much it is feasible or necessary for their celebrities to know about the complex issues they are involved with. Unlike celebrity chefs then, who have genuine expertise in 'worlds of food', CR's celebrities are not experts on development, global health, and so on nor do they at all have to be. What is most interesting here is that in forging a topological connection, expertise or in depth knowledge is not necessary. This is not to say that some individuals do not or may not form deeper understanding through long-term relationships with Comic Relief or particular projects. Comedian Lenny Henry, for example, co-founder of Comic Relief has been on multiple project visits in sub-Saharan Africa and in doing so has developed a deep understanding of the complexity of development (CR2). Part of the reason that expertise is not such a vital issue for the celebrities working with Comic Relief is that they are a fundraiser and grant maker. As one interviewee explained:

> It's not the same here because we don't do advocacy, we're not a campaigning charity so it's not the same. Yes Lenny has been to the slums quite a lot because he was a founder so he knows a lot about those things. But because we're not a campaigning role, we don't have an advocacy role, we play our part in influencing through action with partners. You don't have that same thing of Bono becoming an ambassador (CR3).

Unlike chefs, celebrities within Comic Relief operate more as an ensemble cast rather than individual celebrities exercising power. It is the collective action of celebrity that is powerful and has the possibility to influence audiences. However, below the performance of individual celebrities will be discussed as almost self-contained 'moments' which work on audiences, and here the individual celebrity can matter a great deal. First though, the powerful topological connections between audience and those in need will be discussed.

6.3.2 Topological connections 2: connecting audiences to those in need

In being sent to visit the projects and people with whom Comic Relief work, celebrities are provided with experience and knowledge with which to credibly speak about the need for care. I argue that the performances that relay these experiences provide topological connection for audience to those in need and to the work that Comic Relief do in spaces far from us. They also signify the most important mechanism through which celebrity power can be exercised and their governance is made possible as particular (mediated) narratives of care and good global citizenship are performed. Much literature on the ethics of care discusses the difficulties of moving away from Russian Doll models of care, where we care first and foremost for those closest to us, to extend care over distance in meaningful ways (Massey 2004). Geographical work on care, particularly that by feminist geographers, understands care as a way of relating that shapes the way we act in the world at a variety of scales and spaces (Lawson 2004). However, at the same time this work also focuses on caring in practice (England 2010; Fischer and Tronto 1990) and in doing so problematises the possibility of extending care over distance. If caring is, or needs to be, 'done' in person, how can care over distance be reconceptualised? Geographical work on ethical consumption has been one particularly fruitful way to think about extending the reach of care over distance (c.f. Guthman 2007; Barnett *et al*. 2005; Goodman 2004; Popke 2006;

Eden *et al*. 2008). This body of work is useful not only in its empirical application of care ethics but also in the multiple and positive forms in which care is acted out by people:

> …discussions of food production/consumption have been particularly productive in showing care to exist beyond the private home and intimate relations, making links between care ethics, the natural environment and non-human others, as well as thinking about caring relations with distant and unknown others (Cox 2010: 117).

Thus literature on the geographies of care reveals ways in which visual media may offer connection to those in need will be conceptualised as a means to extend care over distance, whilst retaining a critical distance that allows effective morality and responsibility to be supported.

While the entire telethon is designed to fundraise for Comic Relief, it is the short films of celebrity visits to projects within the shows that connect audiences to those in need and represent a powerful mechanism in governing the extension of care. Most people watching will never be able to visit the projects Comic Relief funds, or meet the people they help. Without watching RND or SR, many of the people, issues and need would likely remain unknown. From the comfort of our own home spaces we can be instantly transported into the lives and homes of those in need all over the world, from a family living on a rubbish dump in Sierra Leone to an elderly man in Hampshire coping with the daily care of a wife with dementia.

Acknowledging that the 'Russian Doll' mentality pays attention to the everyday spaces from which care and responsibility are first enacted. Massey (2004) has paid critical attention to the dichotomies of meaning between place and space, local and global, identity and responsibility, and while these questions remain crucial to problematising the geographies

of responsibility they offer little in terms of how such responsibility may be enacted across space. However, examining these dichotomies sheds valuable light on questions of identity, place and responsibility and how each of these is constructed and reworked through personal relations of care and also the territoriality that can run through these relations (Massey 2004). Place, especially at a local scale, matters greatly to people in terms of meaning and identity making, social relations, and care (Rabbitts 2012) -charity for many still begins at home. Here then, everyday home spaces can be utilised as part of an extension of care by Comic Relief.

Celebrity films work very hard to connect audiences to those in need in meaningful ways that overcome physical and/or experiential distance that may otherwise act as a barriers to care. Mediated encounters with distant Others occur within the everyday private spaces of the homes, already established as key sites of both caring and meaning making (Massey 2004). Within home spaces, the everyday, mundane act of watching television can become reworked as an activity of caring, connection and action, while at the same time retaining its function to entertain. One key feature of modern media is the ability to transmit information near-instantly at a global scale, and the connectedness this affords. Digital, social and mobile media allow connections to be made over space, time and information at increasingly fine and personal scales (Couldry and Curran 2003). At the same time, the media allows, through mediated representations of place and the connections this permits, the possibility of 'doubling of place', and for audiences thus to have the 'possibility of being' in two places at the same time: broadcasting "permits a 'live witnessing of remote happening that can bring these happenings experientially 'close' or 'within range', thereby removing 'farness'" (Moores 2004: 21). Here then Comic Relief's programming connects

audiences to distant Others in need through their mediated and celebritized representations of different places and people.

Topological conceptions of space, as discussed in chapter four, are understood as suggesting a continuous set of social relations in which distance is not measured in kilometres, but in the social experiences, interactions and relations and the gaps between these. This connection dissolves physical space, overcoming it to fold the lives of distant Others into our own everyday lives (Allan 2011b; Massy 1992) at the same time that the differences between our lives are highlighted to stimulate care and donations. Drawing on Allen's (2003) argument that geography matters greatly to understandings of power, understanding power as working across and through topological space allows the normalising force of celebrity within Comic Relief's care-full narratives to be meaningfully examined. Most importantly it provides a frame to examine the exercise of celebrity power through everyday media spaces and relations, and the topological connections this can forge across space to foster caring practices. How then are such topological connections made in practice through celebrity film vignettes?

Through television screens we can be instantly transported to places of need around the world. This is not unique to Comic Relief- many forms of media do this. What is distinctive about Comic Relief and it's celebrity filled telethons is the way that connections across space are harnessed and used by celebrity to exercise power across spaces of care. At its simplest, celebrities provide connection to particular people in need, provide some information about an issue more broadly, demonstrate how change can be made, and appeal to the public for donations to achieve this. Through the interface of celebrity

performance, the audience, and the needs of those witnessed, we are made to care about the individual Others, the issues more generally and the celebrity, are shown how to help, and then encouraged to act. So while television allows the connection to distant places, celebrities and the power they exercise allow the possibility of caring relations to emerge from audiences. There are three key points to make here.

Firstly celebrities within Comic Relief's film vignettes provide a form of face-to-face encounter between audiences and those in need. As a form of para-social relationship (Moores 2007) established through the interface of celebrity (and the already established para-social relations audiences hold with them (Turner 2013)), the relationship between audience and Other becomes mediated and indeed celebritized in important ways. Thus audience encounters with those in need is always one-way and mediated: as we look into the experiences and hardships of the everyday lives of those in need, they are unable to look back at us and in fact will never know of the people or fundraising that may reach and help them. Here then celebrities act as an interface between the audience and people in need, in a distinct form of para-social relation and mediator (Moores 2007). This is about doing more than 'taking' audiences to these places, it is about connecting and engaging audiences in emotional relationships with those in need via their relationship to the celebrity. Celebrities experience an actual face-to-face exchange with the people and projects they meet. Audiences then experience, through their screens, a mediated face to face interaction with celebrities and by proxy those in need. The relationship between audience and celebrity is always necessarily mediated, occurring through visual and print media and operates through audiences watching/viewing the lives of celebrity rather than any direct contact or dialogue. In these films, celebrities speak directly to the audiences in their appeals. In a similar way to the shifting para-social relations opened up by Jamie Oliver

through social media, here the direct and engaging calls from celebrity to audience may strengthen the relationship with the possibility of greater engagement from those audience members who respond particularly strongly. More importantly than changing the relations between audience and celebrity, these films provide the opportunity for audiences to experience a form of face to face encounter with the people and projects Comic Relief works with. Celebrities introduce us to individuals and their stories, giving the viewer an insight that they may otherwise not get. Here then celebrities provide the lens through which audiences can have a face to face encounter with the moving and personal stories which can inspire caring feelings. One interviewee at Comic Relief describes the importance of face to face encounter through celebrities as a mechanism of connection:

> It's a weird thing because I've done lots of project visits with people generally and it's a spectrum isn't it. If you can see the work yourself there is nothing like it- you can watch it on every TV show, you can watch it on the news and you can be very intellectually aware of it, but when you see it and you meet people whose lives it is, it's totally different. So what we try and do I suppose is say the celebrity is the vehicle for bringing alive this project into someone's living room or in a digital space, they try and convey some of that reality from a flat descriptor on a news programme they try and adding some emotion and colour to what ultimately is the experience (CR2).

This comes back to the broader function of Comic Relief as a fundraiser and grant maker. In this capacity they are not seeking to educate people about issues, they do not 'do' advocacy in this sense. What they do want to do is maximise their fundraising within a short window. Rather than a focus on the big picture of malaria mortality rates in children in Africa and the overwhelming and impersonal facts and figures which tell that story, these films focus on personal stories and experiences that can powerfully and emotionally capture and express the difficulty of dealing with these issues day to day. However, at the same time they are aware of their responsibility for the powerful, and potentially problematic, representations they construct.

So in seeking to bring to life projects in our homes, the second key function of celebrity within project films is their performance of care. In part their role is as witness - to experience and report back publically on their own experience of some of these issues, need, and care. They can introduce us and guide us through the daily experiences of those they meet, and the projects working to help. This is achieved by taking audiences into the homes and everyday lives of the individuals and families whose stories we hear. In doing this, as the audience sits in the comfort and security of their own homes, the juxtaposition between our lives and the lives of the people on our screens is made starkly visible (CR2). Being taken into people's homes, hospital wards, or schools and seeing how difficult everyday life can be, or how different children's lives may be to your own children's all provides important points of comparison through which the need for care is highlighted. They show us the desperate situations people are in, but also that there is hope through Comic Relief.

Directly related to this act of witnessing is the construction of narratives around care, development, welfare and good citizenship. Celebrity performances are not scripted by Comic Relief, adding to the authenticity and credibility of celebrity reactions:

> It's not scripted, and most of it you couldn't really script anyway. When there's kids dying from malaria it's not about reading a script, crying out sort of stuff it's just about the response that person is having. If you tried to script it, it just wouldn't work, you'd watch it on television we'd go no, they've learnt to cry. But these are real honest reactions (CR4).

The narratives that run through celebrity films may thus be read as a powerful exercise in crediting their voice to speak about these issues, through their experience visiting projects,

and in constructing celebritized knowledge around development, welfare, care, and good global citizenship. The specificities of these celebrity performances will be examined in detail below, but here what matters is that celebrities use performances of care to connect audiences to the people and issues Comic Relief engages. Emotional performances connect audiences to both particular individuals in need as well as the wider issues, drawing out emotional responses that have the possibility for engendering donation, underwritten by care.

Thirdly, in performing and representing some difficult and upsetting stories, many of which do not have happy endings, celebrities can provide reassurance to audiences. An important part of their performative role is to demonstrate hope through their para-social interactions with audiences, and to make claims around the difference donations can make to people's lives. Here then the form of face-to-face interaction you get with and through a celebrity is recognised by Comic Relief as important in helping engage audiences on issues which can be difficult and upsetting:

> It brings them in to you, because you have someone you're familiar with who you trust who's talking to you about someone who lives a long way away and lives a very different difficult life. And they bring those people into your world in a way that you feel reassured about (CR3).

Celebrities then not only comfort those they meet 'in place', but also audiences who may be upset, or even turned away by the shocking things they see. Thus they provide a performance of care to audiences, reassuring them, encouraging them to stay watching and stay engaged, and showing how money they donate can help through tangible development products such as vaccines, mosquito nets or wells. This speaks directly to the 'soft' forms of power described in chapter four rooted in the everyday and the familiar,

facilitated through para-social communication with celebrities who provide a voice for distant Others. 'Soft power' connects people topologically through continual networks of social relations, making palatable difficult issues through the charismatic and emotional performance of care by celebrity and also the entertainment that makes up the majority of RND and SR programmes. Through their exercise of soft power celebrities provide the knowledge and tools for audiences to take responsibility for the biopolitical care for Others as well as for themselves as good citizens. The representations of Other within Comic Relief's work, and their voicing by celebrities, are not addressed within this thesis, but are problematic. Future research could critically analyse the representations of Other within these campaigns, and the impact of celebrity within them. In the following section the model of Comic Relief's fundraising and operation is briefly considered before thinking about the relationship between the charity and celebrity in terms of producing powerful film vignettes.

6.4 Comic Relief: doing something funny for money

Comic Relief is of course not the only charity to work with celebrity. However they operate in a novel way that is not only dominated by celebrity and entertainment, but has a clear understanding of what celebrity brings to them and what they expect from celebrities. As described above they do not expect the celebrities they work with to become experts in the issues they voice, but instead to be able to understand and communicate issues in engaging and affective ways to audiences. This bypasses many of the existing critiques of celebrity-charity relations. This section briefly describes the relationship between Comic Relief and celebrity at its broadest, and how they work to capture celebrity performances. Establishing how Comic Relief perceive it's relationships with celebrity is important in analysing how celebrity power may work within their fundraising activity.

Comic Relief operates a unique fundraising model, with a short-lived public presence once a year, focused around an annual televised fundraising event through which almost all their donations are raised, organised to a large extent by and through celebrity. Celebrities both provide content for the live night of entertainment, and facilitate connections between those in need and the giving public. One interviewee described the importance of this approach to the fundraising work:

> We're an interesting brand in that respect, because we do have people, we do have a regular 365 email that goes out, but one of the things our supporters really like about us is that we come and we go. We don't hassle them all the time, every month- we're back more money more this more that. So we have a gentle feedback process, where we're taking about how the money is being spent, what differences are being made, but our big priority is to refresh the campaign and make people re-engaged every year. So we do have people obviously who have supported us over a lot of years, and we track them. Ultimately though it's about making every campaign really creative and really fresh, getting people back on board (CR2).

Focus on content, creativity and innovation is emphasised here as a means to reignite and refresh audience interest in Comic Relief's efforts. The content and creativity of the live shows is provided and driven by celebrity artists, concentrating largely on comedy based entertainment. Their model of short lived intense fundraising again relies heavily on and takes advantage of celebrity allowing Comic Relief to 'use' and work with the most current and popular stars at the time.

Comic Relief harnesses the power of entertainment and celebrity to raise money and address issues (CR1). Creative and entertaining content draws audiences, and provides a fundraising platform, as well as space to connect the public with various issues. This approach takes explicit advantage of the entertainment realm in which celebrities exist and

use it to the advantage of Comic Relief's fundraising. This is different to many other charities, who seek to play down the entertaining and un-serious side of celebrity. Goodman (2010) has analysed how Fairtrade has undergone a 'shifting embodiment' through its association with celebrities, particularly Coldplay singer Chris Martin. Yet it is not only the campaigns that undergo this shift; celebrities too undergo change as they embody campaigns and charitable work. This is hinted at by Littler (2008) as she describes the changing portrayal of Angelina Jolie, from sexual icon to maternal political activist, in the media, as well as the film project she works on, as she has taken up more and more charitable work. This can also be seen on a micro-scale within the Comic Relief live show as celebrities can switch between entertainers, to emotional and serious displays in film vignettes. Balancing entertainment with the serious issues, Comic Relief highlights is a huge challenge to the live RND and SR shows, but one which is critical to their continued success. In thinking about not all celebrities being equally effective fundraisers, I asked staff at Comic Relief about how successful films are organised and put together:

> We think long and hard about things and we know that the stronger the film, and by strong I mean perhaps the edgier, the harsher the film, the better response because people really understand and see. But there's no formula to it. You can't say to a celebrity, do that and it will work: It's down to that individual, what relationship he or she has with audiences (CR1).

In practice this means that it can be very difficult to plan celebrity performances, even when using celebrities who have 'worked' in the past. This is not to imply that celebrities at times do not work for Comic Relief, but that the relationships are not necessarily straightforward. There is no blueprint to making successful films that audiences will respond strongly to, for ensuring the 'right' kind of response or performance from celebrities as they witness places of need. As the following quotes from two interviewees explain, capturing the perfect performance can almost come down to luck:

In a way it's sort of a perfect storm: you have to have the right issue, you have to have the right celebrity in the right mood, with the right script, with the right production people, with the right director and you get that golden moment. And it can be any bit of that mix that is off: the project doesn't quite come across as something interesting, emotional or passionate, a celebrity wakes up with a bit of a headache so delivers but not with that passion, it can be miscasting. It's all these things coming together really. You never get it wrong- you never don't raise money, but you can only ever really tell when you get it perfectly right, there are moments where there have been perfect storms (CR2).

So it's the right issues, poignant issues, tough issues, the right casting the right moment on the day- you know sometimes it's just that moment on the day and you just get it right or get it wrong and it doesn't quite happen- and then you put it out there and you see what happens (CR3).

Yet trips to projects are not only about making celebrity film vignettes. As previously mentioned, they are initially about establishing commitment from celebrities to Comic Relief and their work. As described above, not all celebrities are able to translate their experiences effectively to camera, and so not all celebrity visits become films used for fundraising. There are lots of ways that celebrities participate in fundraising beyond these performances of care, as will discussed in detail below. In light of the seeming uncertainty of capturing powerful celebrity performances during these visits I asked staff whether there had been instances where film vignettes or particular celebrities had not worked as well as the charity hoped or expected:

Yeah. Not responded as well as you might have hoped. Almost always you get a response, there is almost always a response, but you might say that's a strong film and a strong celebrity but for some reason it hasn't quite sparked. You've got to look at it then. For us on the night, and why it's so difficult to judge- the anchor on the night might have done something leading in, not been funny, or just by saying something flippant going into the film, and you can't script all of that, they do what they do, can all impact on the film. Analysing cause and effect can be incredibly difficult to do. Sometimes there are films though that just don't do as well as we expected (CR1).

> I think it's harder to say not worked, because they all worked to a certain degree. Yeah there have, and it's not from any bad intent at all (CR4).

Here then we see that even where celebrities have not provided the performance desired, or audiences have not had a strong response to, there is always some benefit to the charity, and some donations that are generated. In the following section the performance of care by particular celebrities is examined, and it is suggested that the characteristics and celebrity at an individual level matter in terms of their possible power. At the same time though, the above quotes reveal that celebrity performance in almost any form tends to garner attention and donations for Comic Relief.

Although they can be difficult to capture, finding these 'golden moments' or 'perfect storms' of celebrity performance can be incredibly lucrative for Comic Relief in terms of fundraising. Those celebrities who are particularly strong performers can put aside their celebrity status, hide their wealth and privilege, and foreground the projects and people they give voice to. Nowhere is this more relevant (or indeed problematic) than when privileged celebrity voices speak for or on behalf of the global poor, a relationship that has been widely criticised for its hypocrisy (Brockington 2014; Goodman 2010; Littler 2010). Successful performances of care then will also 'perform away' an individual's celebrity status. Overcoming audience cynicism is paramount to Comic Relief's successful fundraising each year. One key way this is achieved is through the performances of celebrities, who can convey the affective need for care so strongly that in the moment of viewing it can outweigh other sources of knowledge and overcome, or at least push to one side, cynicism. This, as will be demonstrated below, is a clear benefit of working with celebrities whose day job demands performance. Not all celebrities are successful at this, not all can convey

information in powerful, meaningful, articulate ways. Particular celebrities (actors are especially good at this, as well as some charismatic comedians) are able to create intense moments of connection between audience, celebrity and Other within these videos through a powerful performance. Such 'affective performance' outweighs any other knowledge, cynicism or influence *in that moment,* and in doing so conveys a need for help/care through complex connections and power exercises that result in donations.

6.5 Celebrity performances of care

Celebrity performances, as described above, are one key way that topological connections of care are forged over space between audiences and those in need. Not only do they provide information about issues near and far to us, such as homelessness in the UK or malaria in Malawi, but they also draw out emotional responses to the personal stories of the individuals in need, and the response of the celebrity as well. In this section, the performances of specific celebrity individuals within film vignettes will be examined to analyse firstly, how their narratives are constructed to represent the Other in ways that establish the need for care and action; secondly examine the interaction between celebrity and the Other; and thirdly, to map out how staff at Comic Relief understand their relationship with particular celebrity individuals. This pays attention to the characteristics, intellectual intelligence, and ability to perform that certain celebrities possess. This recognises not only the value placed on individual celebrities as cultural signs and meaning makers within celebrity culture (Turner 2014), but also the ability of celebrity power to work across audiences in different ways. Here the engagement by audiences is not investigated. Instead the response by audiences are discussed anecdotally through interview data, where Comic Relief note audience response according to the volume of donations they see following a particular vignette being aired.

Reflecting on the exercise of 'soft' topological power in spaces of care, this section will consider what it is about particular celebrities that makes them successful in fundraising for Comic Relief. Not all celebrities are equal: celebrity culture is not a democracy, as Marshall (1997) highlighted. Within celebrity culture there exists a hierarchy, a social structure of sorts that marks the success of celebrity, from A-list to Z-list (Gamson 1994; Rojek 2001). The literature within the rapidly growing, multi-disciplinary field of celebrity studies has highlighted the contested and highly individualised nature of celebrity, and its fragile status (Redmond 2010). This is mirrored in realms of celebrity advocacy: not all celebrities make good advocates, spokespeople or campaigners. Brockington's (2014) recent work on celebrity advocacy and international development casts a critical eye over the relationship between celebrity and advocacy, particularly in its capacity for public engagement. He highlights the complex and disputed relationships between celebrity, elites, politics, advocacy, and development (Brockington 2014). Although many empirical examples of celebrity advocacy are drawn upon, what it not addressed within such work is the specificities of what makes successful celebrity advocacy possible in terms of the individual celebrity. In examining specific examples of celebrity within Comic Relief, some of these will hopefully be drawn out.

As described above, one key way of doing this is through project films which connect audiences with those in need. Celebrity fronted films have the possibility to both forge meaningful relations of care between audience and Other, as well as to construct powerful mediated knowledges around issues of care, development, welfare, and citizenship. In this section three examples of vignettes from individual celebrities will be examined to consider how the particularities of celebrity performance can work to raise donations for Comic

Relief, and what it is about those individuals or those performances that enables them to do that.

6.5.1 Finding golden moments: David Tennant and Bill Nighy

> A fiver buys a mosquito net - a fiver! Twenty-five quid, would buy five - we could sort out this whole section! That's because a net can reduce the rate of infection by 50%. It's an incredible statistic. And here's another one: The majority of people who watch Red Nose Day don't donate money. That's shocking. Is that you? Are you the person sitting there whose thinking nah I'll do it later? Don't. Don't be that person. Please don't be that person, because look - there's stuff your money can change. (Camera pans round ward of ill children, and as he starts to speak again his voice breaks) It's been quite a shock to be here today. It's so important, please…Don't be the person who sits there and doesn't bother. Don't be that person (David Tennant for Comic Relief, 2011).

In 2011 actor David Tennant visited a Comic Relief funded community clinic in Uganda treating children with malaria. He was visibly moved and overwhelmed by the scenes: beds each with three or four infants, children convulsing, doctors and nurses unable to help everyone, mothers holding their dying babies. As he walks round the ward, we - the audience - are able to get a view inside the hospital introduced to individual families and their suffering as the phone number to Comic Relief rolls along the bottom of our screens. This video triggered one of the highest peaks in donations in Comic Relief's history (CR3). Another interviewee described the reaction behind the scenes, watching the phones light up and donations pour in as the film was shown:

> If we go back to '11, it was doing well, better than before. And then suddenly David Tennant came on and did his piece and the thing went absolutely mental. And it was *one* person. You can put it down to the moment when he turned to the camera and said 'don't be the one who doesn't do anything' and his eyes are welling up, 'don't be the one who doesn't do anything'. And you're getting the usual response until that point and then it just lit up. Very interestingly straight after that Adele did her song which is a bit of a tearjerker, so it went straight from David Tennant to

Adele and it just stayed massive for quite a long time. But it was really down to whatever David Tennant managed to do, he struck that note and said just the right thing to cause that reaction (CR1).

What this moment taps into is ideas around good citizenship and doing the right thing. Tennant implores audiences to not be the one who does not act - joining in is positioned here as the right thing to do. This film was so successful that Comic Relief used it again the following year, something that is very rarely done with project visit films, and saw it meet with continuing success:

What's interesting, we repeated the video again this year later on into the evening, we showed the same film again this year and it had the same response this year too and yet another very strong film by a very good celebrity hadn't hit the same response and we might have expected it to (CR1).

Speaking of his more recent 2014 trip to Sierra Leone for Sport Relief, another member of Comic Relief staff describes what it is about David Tennant and his performance and tone that resonates so strongly with many members of the public.

Yes, yes he has and it worked brilliantly again. Because he's really respected, I think he's seen as having a lot of integrity as the celebrity David Tennant, nothing to do with Comic Relief, and that's important. He's very articulate, because it's interesting the difference between a lot of sports people and a lot of comedians and actors- he can absolutely deliver stuff. Look down the eye of a camera and say something in a really passionate and meaningful way. He's super bright so he understands all the issues, so intellectually he's very robust and he has a lot of integrity because he walks the walk and talks the talk (CR2).

What this suggests is that firstly, there are particular characteristics and forms of performance that the public respond strongly to. This speaks to both the credibility of a celebrity as a celebrity and of their ability to perform in meaningful, coherent and affective ways. Secondly, as a tool of topological power and connection, David Tennant seems to be a success, guiding us through the issues, places and people in need in ways that inspire

caring action from the public signalled by the spike in donations that follows his films. Of course, establishing cause and effect within these performances is incredibly difficult, and detailed audience questioning would be required to establish what triggered audiences to donate. However, surges in donations clearly indicative of a relationship between David Tennant's powerful narratives and the public giving money. The existence of this relationship is further cemented in the recounting of this experience by Comic Relief as an example of one of their most successful celebrity relationships. The extent to which David Tennant could be said to connect audiences with those in need in caring relationships cannot be claimed here without further research. What can be said, however, is that there is something about Tennant and his performance that inspires and encourages people to donate - an action that is underwritten by care and doing good.

Comic Relief demonstrate a clear understanding of the importance of working with celebrities who are credible within their day jobs, and the direct link between their ability and credibility as an actor, comedian, musician or presenter, and their ability to successfully perform care within these films. The emotional intelligence of a celebrity also matters greatly in articulating the issues, and the need for care, in ways that engage and affect audiences without turning them off. Another celebrity who has proved successful for Comic Relief is actor Bill Nighy:

> Bill isn't someone we have worked a huge amount with, but he is so brilliant on camera. He can just deliver. And he's not about melodrama or emotional pleas; he is very matter of fact and that for him really works. I guess in a way he's a bit like Davit Tennant, that same kind of emotional intelligence- you know, moved but not weeping and wailing? And you see it in the public responses to him, those spike in donations (CR3).

In 2013 Bill Nighy travelled to Kenya with Comic Relief to visit some of the poorest children in the world. What is of particular interest here is the way his dialogue explicitly references the power and care involved in these actions, in the work of the charity but more so in the actions of the public as they donate:

> Two million children died last year because they didn't have enough to eat, and another 2 million will die this year unless they get help. If that isn't a crisis, if that isn't the most urgent thing in the world then the world's gone mad. And let's face it the world has gone mad for the most part. But in the middle of all that madness *let's do something kind and powerful* (Bill Nighy for Comic Relief 2013).

In a second film, Nighy visits a hospital and meets two year old Victor who is suffering from acute malnutrition and dies during the visit. Victor's family cannot afford to have his body stored in the morgue and so the nurses store him in the laundry, wrapped in a blanked until his parents can take him and bury him. These are powerful and upsetting scenes. Standing in the laundry, with the boy's body wrapped behind him, Nighy makes a direct appeal for our help. Like the above quote, what is interesting about the dialogue that Nighy constructs is that it is calm, articulate, and intelligent, and demonstrates a remarkable level of understanding of the power of these films and of celebrity itself:

> I'm not telling you this to upset you really- it's just what happened and it's completely unnecessary. It was preventable. They just didn't have the simple things that we take for granted. These people didn't ask to be poor, they didn't volunteer. We got lucky, they didn't, and it's kind of that simple. And they're not asking you for money. They're not asking you for money. I am (Bill Nighy for Comic Relief 2013).

Nighy performs an act of witnessing, introduced and connected to issues of development and malnutrition: audiences are guided round these difficult scenes, reassured by Nighy in a way not to be upset, and then appealed to for donations. Nighy, like David Tennant, links his narrative to ideas around good citizenship, doing the right thing, and the power of the

public to enact change. He makes clear that the one's making changes are the public, placing responsibility firmly in our hands: "Now you know how to help the rest is up to you" (Bill Nighy for Comic Relief, 2013). His impassioned narrative connects audiences to the need occurring in Kenya, and seeks directly the public to engage with powerful acts of caring.

This example illustrates the unique fundraising model of Comic Relief organised around celebrity, entertainment, and those in need. At a broader scale it highlights the affective power of celebrity to guide what and who audiences care about, with very real consequences for development, poverty, and welfare both internationally and in the UK.

6.5.2 Riding the wave of pop culture with One Direction

In 2013 boy band One Direction worked with Comic Relief. They travelled to Accra, Ghana with the charity, visiting a children's hospital and school, and meeting teenagers who make a living scavenging on a rubbish dump. Their trip was filmed was used during the live shows and the band also recorded a charity single for Comic Relief and took part in the live telethon. One Direction are a global celebrity phenomenon with a global and dedicated fan base, so their working with Comic Relief was a enormous accolade for the charity. Footage of their trip to Ghana sits amongst Comic Relief's most viewed videos on YouTube, with films of them in a children's hospital viewed over five million times each. Despite the popularity of their content, One Direction were not particularly successful in translating their project visit into donations on the night (CR1). In part this may be due to One Direction's core audience being too young to have credit or debit cards and so be unable to donate to the telethon itself. However they were enormously valuable to Comic Relief's

fundraising in other ways. Here I will examine both the project films and their broader contribution to Comic Relief to think about this particular genre of celebrity, who their audience are and in what ways they appeal to them.

Comic Relief has certainly been very happy with their relationship with the band, in terms of both fundraising and awareness, as one interviewee described:

> You learn things, we love One Direction and if we can work with One Direction again we will if it fits and works for them. They seem very happy with their relationship with us…but we got a lot out of One Direction because of their huge global fan base who went on the website looking about what is this about, and decided they wanted to give (CR1).

Whilst in Ghana the band visited children living in slums, working on rubbish tips to survive and a school funded by Comic Relief that takes kids from the slums and provides them with an education. At the children's hospital they meet patients dying from easily treatable diseases and their families. The trip is emotional for the boys, and we watch them struggle to cope with overwhelming scenes of hardship. Unlike David Tennant or Bill Nighy, here emotion is at the surface and the boys struggle at points to speak through tears. This demonstrates their ability (or lack of) to deliver emotional information in a way that articulates the need for care in these places, instead such messages become lost in One Direction's own emotional experiences of these places. The film's narratives are also focused heavily on the personal experiences of the band, they repeatedly say 'I've never seen anything like this' and beg the public to make donations. Their performance is clearly affective and emotional but perhaps speaks to the 'bleeding heart' performances other successful Comic Relief celebrities have avoided.

In what other ways then can young pop celebrities meaningfully contribute to Comic Relief? First and foremost, they can help Comic Relief reach young audiences and in ways that other celebrities such as Bill Nighy or John Bishop may not. In doing so they help keep the Comic Relief brand relevant and popular among young audiences:

> We were lucky that when they were absolutely at their peak, but when they were super-hot they did our single. So not only do we raise money but it says something that we're relevant to that young audience, because that's one of your biggest fears, that you become less relevant to people. Less interesting. Those sorts of artists, all their brand, all their credibility, all their kudos steps into your brand (CR3)

Schools and young people do a huge amount of fundraising, and often have some teaching that addresses the global issues Comic Relief targets. So while the fan base and audience of One Direction may not donate large sums of money on the night they contribute in other important ways. One Direction's Comic Relief single 'One way or another (Teenage Kicks)' topped the charts in 63 countries and has raised almost £2 million in sales, all of which is donated directly to the charity (Comic Relief 2014). The films and other media content for One Direction and Comic Relief can inspire audiences to find out more information, or encourage them to participate in activities their school may be running. When asked in the context of One Direction about how different celebrities appeal, or how ability to donate differs across audiences, one interviewee described the relationship in this way:

> No they're not, but they give in different ways. Last Red Nose Day One Direction was our single and it raised the most of any single, so although they don't donate they bought the single. And that raised I can't remember over £1m maybe even £2m. So I think what we do on TV is part of the campaign but we're a very broad church. We do a lot of activities in schools, 60% of UK schools take part in red nose day in some way shape or form, and education is really important for us. Lots of those schools do a lesson plan or at least an assembly where they talk about some of the issues so it's a chance to bring the issues and fundraising together. Raising awareness is really important for us. So even on the night for people who don't donate, we want them to be entertained and feel part of our brand, But also we want them to learn a little bit- and listen we don't want to be too grandiose about that- but just a bit more information about what's happening in the UK, what's

happening in Africa, what's happening internationally. Learning and awareness is also really important for us for our campaign, particularly for young people (CR2).

In short, and as Comic Relief see it, even if One Direction (or indeed others) do not bring in the big money on the night of the telethon itself, they can be tremendously important on the one hand in engaging particular groups of audience and on the other hand play a part in fundraising taking place beyond the television show itself.

> In an ideal world all our activity works towards encouraging brand loyalty over time, and I suppose when you look at young people, no one lives in isolation. They might have done something really fun in school, they might have had a really moving assembly, then they've seen some oneD stuff. You need to be pulling them in at every level, using celebrities where appropriate. But also young people are very smart and switched on and even with that celebrity culture there, they believe that in changing the world as well, and they do give a shit a lot of the time. It's treating them as an entity where they live in different worlds and do different things so it's all of these things coming together and oneD plays a part but it's not the whole finished piece (CR3).

The use of celebrities, such as One Direction, speaks to the awareness of Comic Relief of working with celebrities who are 'hot'. Thinking about One Direction in the context of topological connections, it would appear that they have not been as successful in fostering caring feelings or actions to the extent seen by David Tennant or Bill Nighy. A cursory glance at comments on One Direction's trip to Ghana reveals a fan base who appear to be more concerned for the emotional welfare of the band that the people in need they have met. This reflects both on the performances of care by the band as well as how their particular audience responds to them. Turning now to consider a different form of celebrity, Comic Relief's original celebrity partner of comedians and the physical challenges they undertake will be explored.

Comedians represent a third form of celebrity used within Comic Relief's fundraising, and one which has been central to their operation since their inception in 1985. The entire concept of 'doing something funny for money' is based on comedians providing funny and entertaining content. In current shows, comedians and comedy actors/entertainers continue to provide the majority of the live show's content (CR1). As described above, the balance of serious issues and entertainment can help provide reassurance and ease audiences into serious global issues. Comedians do not only provide content, some also take part in project visits and challenges shown as part of the live telethon.

In 2012 comedian John Bishop undertook a 290 mile triathlon between Paris and London to raise money for Sport Relief. Though at the time relatively little known by the general public, his efforts captured public and media attention and saw him raise over £4 million- having originally only set out to raise £800,000.

> And sometimes things you never expected to do so well just take off. So if you take John Bishop doing SR Week of Hell that just was amazing. I don't know how well John Bishop was known before? So there is something about what he did, and that fact that he was in bits when he was trying to row across the channel, having not really anticipated how long it would take to cycle from Paris to Calais. He was really late and he only had a couple of hours sleep before he started rowing. I went down on that last day, when he was going to come into Trafalgar Square, I got there about half an hour before he was due in with the most up to date total, and when he saw that he just broke down in tears. I think at that stage he had raised £1.6 million, and he was hoping he would raise about £800 000 or maybe a million but he'd gone way over that. In the end it was over £4 million. That was a phenomenal response to *a* particular individual. And there's something about, particularly for SR but also for RND, when we do the challenges, when we do those things, David Walliams swimming the Thames, Eddie Izzard doing his 40 odd marathons in 53 days. There's something about them putting themselves under extreme pressure, people see that and they respond to it, and react. When you compare it to celebrity chefs and their brand, I don't know if people there are responding to the need or...I think Comic Relief is so big a brand that people understand it's about giving the money

away, and then they focus on- sure they focus on mosquitos and vaccines and all those things we're using as our hook that year, but to an extent then it's about what that celebrity is doing and having to do for it and what they're prepared to put themselves through to raise the money (CR1).

Not only does this example reveal the individual nature of celebrity power, but also highlights the mutual benefits to star and charity. John Bishop is now a household name, with an enormously successful comedy career and rising television profile. He was of course a successful comedian before working with Comic Relief, but the exposure he has experienced through Comic Relief has not hurt either. John Bishop's effort is also an example of the levels of commitment Comic Relief sees from some of their celebrity supporters. His 'Week of Hell' demanded a year of training, as well as the week of the event itself, and if you have watched any the event you will see this was far from an easy week for him. This commitment to the charity, demonstrated through physical exertion, works to give credibility to the visits he makes to projects, travelling to Sierra Leone in 2013, and to various UK projects in 2012 and 2014. Within films of in-country visits, he speaks with compassion and intelligence, but also as a father and someone who audiences can relate to.

It's impossible for any parent not to be here and have your heart ripped out because there's no parent who I can imagine seeing this and not wanting to help (John Bishop for Comic Relief 2013).

His narrative invites viewers with children to imagine this is their life, and what they would be willing to do to help. Having established himself as a likeable and credible fundraiser, prepared to go to incredible lengths through physical challenges, he is perhaps more readily listened to within project videos. By positioning, and proving himself as committed to the work of Comic Relief, and holding a strong connection with audiences, Bishop is able to forge topological connections between audience and those in need. Establishing himself as

a serious and dedicated campaigner via his 'Week of Hell' challenge, before films of his project visits were shown, added credibility to his voice within these films by developing a public profile which had at its heart his dedication to charitable work. Thus the physical challenges undertaken by the comedian may be read as a form of power exercise that works to set the star up as a legitimate and credible campaigner in the eyes of the audience. What again the example of John Bishop has shown is that the actions of an individual can trigger significant reactions within the public that in turn translate to donations.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to do three things. Firstly, in the context of geographical literature on care it was argued that the media should be considered as an important mechanism for extending the reach of ethics of care over space. This drew upon work by feminist geographers to consider care as a social relation, problematising the spatial and partial ways in which care is now often provided in commodified landscapes of care. This work highlights the problems of extending care over distance in practice and the importance of private home spaces in care giving. Secondly, literature on ethical consumption provided insight into the practical possibility of extending care over distance (Goodman 2010; Barnett *et al*., 2005). Ethical consumption is important, not only in its capacity to extend care, but also in the new ways of doing development it can offer through everyday acts of shopping. Building on these two sets of literature, and work on geographies of power (Allen 2003), the role of media and celebrity in fostering caring connections was considered through every day and private acts of television consumption practices.

The second aim of the chapter then was to define the role of celebrity within Comic Relief's fundraising as an exercise in topological power. Through films of celebrity visits to projects in place, audiences can be instantly transported into the everyday lives of distant Others and, through performances of care by celebrity, encouraged to develop, and act upon, caring feelings towards those we see. Celebrities in these films provide the possibility of connection in three key ways: in providing information about an issue, through acts of witnessing that recount their own personal experiences of the visit, and in providing reassurance in watching and responding to difficult issues. Throughout these films the stories, lives, and emotions of individuals are crucial to developing connection. This is in terms of both the individual celebrities, whose emotional responses reflect back onto audiences and guide their reactions, and the Others in need whose stories provide context and insight into the difficult realty of their everyday lives. Although not explicitly addressed in this thesis, the problematic representations of Other and development issues by Comic Relief were acknowledged, particularly where they include celebrity in a role that sees them giving voice to those in need.

Thirdly, the performance care by particular celebrities was examined to start to think about the characteristics and influences that can make certain celebrity performances powerful and successful in engaging audiences and motivating donations. This drew briefly on literature from celebrity studies and more detailed information emerging from interviews with senior Comic Relief staff. This analysis reveals that the individual performances of care by celebrities matter. Successful performances are linked not only to their ability to perform care in articulate, measured and emotionally controlled ways, but also to their credibility and success as a celebrity in and of itself. Determining or predicting successful videos is near impossible and there is no straightforward or simple formula for getting a good

performance from an artist. The example of One Direction demonstrates the importance of choosing to work with celebrities who are 'hot' to show their cultural relevance as well as to appeal to world-wide audience. Additionally this revealed that these films exist as part of a wider set of caring practices carried out by audiences, which link up across activities mediated by celebrities. So while One Direction may not have brought in huge sums of money on the night they work to engage their younger audiences in Comic Relief's work through singles, school fundraising and more that can engage audiences in meaningful ways.

Through these vignettes, mediated representations of, and narratives around, Others, humanitarian aid and development are constructed. Imbricated by ideas of distance, power, shared humanity, citizenship and commodification, this model is not without problems or critique. Important questions about celebrity as the voice for the global poor are not engaged here but need to be recognised, particularly in thinking about the impact of celebrity and their campaigning efforts on the Others they give voice to. As a biopolitical exercise these relationships are embroiled in making decisions about life and death of distant strangers (at least in their framing) and demand greater attention. Though not the focus of this thesis, there is scope for future research to open up these representations and processes of othering in much greater depth.

This chapter and the previous chapter have taken the idea of celebrity power laid out in chapter four and applied it across two empirical examples, celebrity chefs and Comic Relief and their celebrity ambassadors. The moments of possibility created in the food and charity media by celebrity create space that celebrity power may be able to work across to influence audiences and govern their understanding, behaviour and relations to food and care. Celebrity power was defined as a form of topological biopower that works to both

connect the public to issues across space and/or to control our lives, health, well-being and

bodies. But celebrities do not work alone or create singlehandedly the media spaces they

work within. The next chapter then turns to consider the production of celebrity media and

the influence or possible power celebrities have to influence the wider media industries in

each of these case studies.

Chapter Seven. Behind the scenes: Celebrity power in the production of television media

7.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have explored and theorised the exercise of power by particular celebrities in the context of food and charitable care, examining the discourses they have created, and their impact through the engagement by audiences both with celebrity, and the issues they transmit. Celebrity, in particular forms and particular spaces, has the capacity to enact mediated forms of governance. In producing mediated knowledge around, for example, good food or development, public relationships to these issues can be altered in meaningful ways, and with far reaching consequences, from our own bodies, to the livelihoods of those far away. In making this case I have focused on particular individuals as successfully constructing their own exercises of power through their capacities to act as tools of governance. Yet these celebrities do not work alone. Teams of people work to orchestrate the media space in which celebrities perform to position these stars so they can perform their own branded knowledge and narratives to us. The list of people involved in constructing celebritized media spaces is long and extensive: from development producers, editors, commissioners, brand managers, artist liaison, script writers, film crew, and stylists, Beyond getting television programmes, and their related celebrity, on our screens, the work this group of media production actors does, on the one hand seeks to maximise audience desire and engagement with programmes so that powerful celebrity narratives can be exercised to greatest effect. On the other hand, the nature of television culture as a business enterprise demands that shows appeal to commissioners, producers, and advertisers—in addition to audiences—in order to be successful and commercially viable.

Television companies, chefs, and charities actively and intentionally produce spaces where exercises of power and governance are made possible. At the same time the process of production creates the messages which circulate meaning and information through a television format (Hall 1993). The 'circuits of production' that celebrity media exists within must be fully explored, analysing their production, representation, identify, regulation and consumption in order to fully understand the meaning, practice and indeed discourse they create (du Gay *et al.* 2013). Exploring how and why programmes are produced will help contextualise and more fully understand the form of celebrity power I have begun to describe and conceptualise in this thesis. Thus, this chapter examines behind-the-scenes aspects of celebrity fronted television programming and its associated media in two particular forms: First, celebrity chefs and food media, and, second, Comic Relief's annual telethon celebrity fundraisers. In doing this I want to highlight the media structure that underpins celebrity media; the people who develop, construct and produce the shows that enable celebrities to exercise power. This will not simply provide a description of how television media is produced, but will consider the details of how and why these powerful celebrity actors come to be on our screens. It will also consider differences in the media spaces of food and care across their development, production and broader social functions and influences. In line with the preceding chapters, the exercise of power by celebrities is understood as working within *moments of possibility*. In the context of media production these can still be considered as *moments,* recognising that the work and power that celebrities exercise in the production of television programmes gives them a platform to exercise power across audiences but also the uncertainly of that power, even as its media spaces are constructed.

In investigating the way that mediated spaces of food and care are produced, three main points will be made. Firstly, situating the social realtionalities of the media within literature around Cultural Geography will allow the contribution of the media to the ongoing projects of cultural production to be analysed. The function of culture in normalising cultural practices and ideas will be used to explore how celebrity discourses work as governance tools. A cultural economy perspective (Du Gay and Pryke 2002) will be used to think about how celebrities produce both particular forms of cultural understanding, and practice around food and humanitarian care, at the same time as creating commodities around their media products. Secondly, media power will be conceptualised as a force that works within the media as an internal set of power relations, but is also used by actors external to media industries as a mechanism to reach across society. It will be argued that the institutional organisation and structure of celebrity media utilises both internal and external media power in ways that maximise celebrity's powerful governance work. Geographical work in media power and will be drawn on to think through media's power relations (Couldry 2000; Christophers 2009) and contextualise the examples of food and charity. Mitchell's (2002) concept of 'enframing' works to situate the case studies as a way to examine how the production of television, as a form of cultural authority (Lotz 2009), delineates space and defines social values, as well as providing a platform through which celebrity power may be exercised. Empirical material will demonstrate how media power has been used to produce culture and in what specific ways. Thirdly the influence of technology on how media is both produced and consumed will be explored. Here differences between chefs' food media and charities' fundraising become more apparent, made visible by looking at how new media technologies and social media have been used to produce content and interact with audiences.

This chapter draws on data from interviews to add some empirical meat to the theoretical bones laid out above. Interviews were conducted with senior staff at Comic Relief, Save the Children, Jamie Oliver Limited, and Keo Films between 2012 and 2014, including Marketing and Operations Directors, Creative Directors, Production Developers, Digital Platform Producers, Digital Strategists and Campaign Managers. Conducting a number of interviews within each case study organisation allowed the production of celebrity media to be tracked and analysed in depth. This was particularly important for these case studies as the programming of all three - Jamie Oliver, Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall and Comic Relief - are produced in-house, with a significant input and control over the production by celebrities themselves. Following the production of celebrity television programming through each case study allows examination of the role of particular celebrities in the production of their media. For chefs this is about the input of particular individuals - Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall - in the development and production of their food programming and the food cultures that this works to produce and govern. For Comic Relief this considers the input of the collective body of celebrities with whom they work, the input they have to the live Red Nose Day and Sport Relief shows, but also to the in-country film vignettes, and the cultures of humanitarianism and care that this feeds into.

By tracking and analysing the role of celebrity at the production stage of media, this chapter works to examine the extent that celebrity power reaches behind the scenes to shape the media they work across, or if it is limited to the performance we see on screen. Although in-depth analysis is provided across each case study, it also has a narrow focus on only three celebrity media institutions which may influence how the possibility of celebrity power has been analysed. This analysis suggest that there is a high degree of differentiation and individualisation in how celebrity power works in the production of media across different

genres and celebrities, and there is therefore much more about celebrity power that can be learned by investigating different case studies. The research could also have been strengthened by accessing interviews with commissioners at broadcasting channels. However, despite these limits, this analysis provides important insights into the role of celebrity within these institutions revealing the power of celebrity within the production of particular media spaces.

The chapter proceeds as follows: Firstly, I discuss the production of culture by and through the media more broadly and then in the context of food and charity specifically. I examine the particular forms of mediated food and humanitarian cultures that these mediated and material celebritized practices contribute to. Secondly, ideas around media power will be used to analyse the work done by production companies, charities, and chef organisations internally *and* externally to enframe space through which knowledge is constructed and celebrity power is exercised. Thirdly, the role of technology and social media in changing media production, as well as its consumption and engagement by audiences, will be considered, pulling out some of the differences between food and charity programming. The chapter will conclude by reflecting briefly about what the production of mediated spaces means for the power and governance performed by celebrities.

7.2 Media power: Enframing spaces of food and care

If we accept Crang's aphorism that "global media are part of an ongoing evolution of the forms of power in society" (2013: 94) it is important to look 'behind-the-scenes' at the organisational structure of the media that governs aspects of our daily life. Key here is how and in what ways information flows have been changed by the media. In this vein, I draw

on literature on media power (Christophers 2009; Couldry and Curran 2003; Couldry and McCarthy 2004) to provide theoretical support to this empirical investigation of the influence of particular media institutions, and in turn particular programmes and celebrities, over social life. Television is the medium of principal analysis here, although 'new' media formats, especially social media, are becoming increasingly important in the power circulation of individual celebrities. Literature from television studies highlights the ways in which television as a media text and platform may be used to share cultural meanings and understandings through mediated, collective communities (Lotz 2009; Olsen 2004). The production of television is important: skilfully done production ensures that encoded messages are understood in the dominant reading Hall defines. Yet, this is not a certainty and the negotiations through which meanings are forged are highly complex (Olsen 2004). Television remains the most significant cultural industry and grants consumers (at least superficially) control over their cultural consumption (Hesmondhalgh 2013).

Media power is understood here in two ways. Firstly, following Christophers (2007), media power is understood as operating within media industries, and informs how power relations within the media shape its structure and wider function. Secondly, the power *of* the media is considered, where the media acts as a door through which external organisations can extend their reach (Couldry 2000). Considering both the power in media, and the power of media, I will analyse the influence of the practices and institutions that produce media, construct knowledge, use talent, and the produce agenda-setting programmes that influence audiences as citizens and consumers. In short, the process of developing, commissioning, and broadcasting television programmes can alter their content or style in ways that change their powerful celebrity governance in meaningful ways. Understanding

these processes considers the complex and tangled arrangements of media power that chefs and Comic Relief must negotiate before they can hope to exercise power or govern society in any way.

Development of the television programmes examined here involves an active participation of celebrities. The branded knowledge produced within these become a central act in the exercise of power by these celebrities and will here be considered though Timothy Mitchell's (2002) concept of enframing, which has been usefully employed in geographical research to consider how particular concepts or problems gain credibility through their definition (see for example Demeritt 2001; Christophers 2007; Sparke 2003). Enframing is rooted in analysis of the economy, and the ways that rules and norms are used to 'frame' particular areas of the economy and society, rendering them controllable. Each act of enframing is unique, made up of contested negotiations that must be dealt with to establish its own set of rules, norms and boundaries. Many forms of social practice structure and enframe social relations and thus the way social, cultural and economic life work. In particular the household and family provide alternative rules to those of the market. The networks they provide in order to structure life "put to work all the powers of loyalty, affection, discipline, and compulsion on which such relations depend" (Mitchell 2002:293). Like economic forces these networks require constant attention to maintain the frame. This is not a grand restructuring, but small mundane, everyday relationships which bind many aspects of how society functions, linking closely to the forms of power defined by Foucault.

Christophers (2007) employs Mitchell's concept of enframing to discuss 'creative industries' in the UK, arguing that through the production and mediation of knowledge by the

government, these industries have been defined and then controlled in a way that support state agendas. Enframing therefore becomes an important practice that allows areas of the economy- and society more widely- available to power, and to being governed. The practice of enframing makes distinctions between representation and reality through objects (maps, data, and even TV programmes) that ensure certainty. This reflects the relationship between knowledge and power that Foucault describes, and the truth effects that this can produce. Effective frames imbue their representations with a certainty that reflects back onto reality. So in the same way that mapping has created in a sense the 'creative industries' as we know them (Christophers 2007), the narrative around poor diets, good food and cooking created by chefs, or care, development and global citizenship by charities, has the same effect. Rousseau (2012) has made a similar argument to describe how chefs have ensured their enduring success in guiding the way we eat by positioning themselves as our food saviours through the truth claims they make about food.

The work of celebrity fronted media can thus valuably be explored through this lens of enframing, and the ways that language and power are being used by celebrity to carve out mediated spaces that they may be able to control and govern. This chapter then looks at how this 'enframing' may be 'done' in practice, and how it gets into the practice of media production; the development, actors and networks, power, discourses and materialities that go into the making of celebrity television programme. In doing so, this contributes to debates around enframing and power, by demonstrating that the multi-actor assemblages working to produce media, including production companies, commissioners, channels, advertisers, celebrities and charities, go beyond questions of language and power. The context of the media places these framings in public domains of society, but also within the private home spaces (or private personal spaces if viewed on mobile technologies) through

which programmes are watched. In this way the powerful framing by celebrities, and their behind-the-scenes organisational structure, construct new, or alternative, dialogues around food and care which infiltrate the household. By targeting life in its everyday spaces and sites, the power of the media can work across important social relations, from the individual, extending to global reach. Mitchell himself advocates the role of the nonmarket groups in the practice and function of enframing:

> …the attempt to enframe the economy occurs alongside other forms of structuring and network making, including those of the household or family large corporations, and nation-states all in interaction with one another (2002: 299).

'Enframing' speaks also to projects that manufacture and maintain desire, as well as of the role of authority and expertise in initiating and sustaining enframing projects (Mitchell 1991, 2002). Issues of expertise, credibility and authority are central to the successful exercise of power and mediated governance by celebrities, and are also highly relevant in the production of these programmes. Expertise helps frame and organise the "forms of knowledge needed for nonmarket institutions" (Mitchell 2002:295) as a parallel to scientific expertise. This positions the economy as an alternative to the market:

> The practices that attempt to frame the economy are not only those that regulate the act of the market exchange. They include other forms of social network, powers of desire, technologies of control, and modes of government (Mitchell 2002:296).

Recognising that these 'other forms' of knowledge can be used to enframe allows this concept to be applied to the mediated spaces of celebrity power and media production. In the following section the work of celebrity chefs and Comic Relief in producing media and practising enframing will be examined within the broad context of cultural geography and cultural economy.

7.3 Producing media, producing culture: television programming and meaning making

Geography's 'cultural turn' shifted research focus towards meaning, cultural and social practice, identity making, and it's associated qualitative methodological approaches (Crang 2013). Cultural Geography examines the way that meanings are negotiated across space and place and so is a good place from which to examine the production of media and knowledge with cultural influence (Bryant and Goodman 2004; Cook and Crang 1996; Massey 2004). Thus, at its broadest level this chapter is situated within Cultural Geography, interested in the ways meaning, identity and everyday practices are governed and enframed by, and through, the media, with celebrity as both cultural intermediary and commodified product. In exploring the ways meanings are constructed within media texts and then read in different ways by audiences, this chapter is also informed by media studies scholarship around encoding/decoding in television and its implications for audience engagement (Hesmondhalgh 2013; Olsen 2009).

Within Cultural Geography there has been growing recognition of the role of the media in producing and reproducing culture and social life that may be usefully analysed through a cultural-economy lens (Couldry 2012; Du Gay and Pryke 2002; McRobbie 2002). A cultural-economy perspective draws on the understanding of economy and culture as related and the culturally rooted registers which drive economic life. It pays attention to the circulations and flows of capital in its various forms and their interactions with people, society, the environment and so on, in ways that shape these spaces and the meanings and values attached to them (Hudson 2008). Moral values, knowledge, trust and power are crucial in analysing the impact of culture on the economy (Amin and Thrift 2007; Gibson and Kong

2005; MacDonald 2013), linking to the production of culture through celebrity media. Various forms of creative media produce, and reproduce cultural ideas, "actively shaping interactions in and with places according to various cultural norms" (Crang 2013: 81). I argue that the media and celebrity have the power (in particular ways) to work to rewrite these norms and values, and the ways we interact with them, to create new narratives and frames to social life and the way we live through their power of enframing.

The production of television shows also works to produce specific forms of culture around food and charitable care that have impacts on the wider landscapes of food and care, and the cultural power of celebrity. Analysing the production of celebrity programmes through a lens of cultural economy and enframing develops an understanding of how enframing is an integral part of the exercises of power by celebrity, but also reflects on how particular cultures of food humanitarian care are being produced by celebrities and the media assemblages they work within. The media products produced by and through celebrity therefore exist both as cultural materialities anchored in the specific spaces of food and care, but also as commodities that contribute to the economy and the celebrity's brand values. This is in part an exercise in understanding the practices and actors involved in making television and in part about understanding and analysing how this production creates spaces within which everyday life can be governed by exercises of celebrity power.

The prevalence of modern media has blurred the lines between everyday life and the media (Rosati 2007). One obvious reading of this is that the media, now accessible everywhere we go, have become increasingly enmeshed with our daily lives. The pervasiveness of media in the everyday means that those producing media have the possibility for continual and

extended influence across society. Exploring the 'production of culture' by chefs and charities though television media reveals a clear internal organisational understanding of their cultural production, as well as the role of individual celebrities in this. This investigates the extent to which power can be attributed to individual celebrities, or how much of it is the product of the organisations and media practices through which celebrity programmes are produced. Firstly, I will consider chefs and the production of particular food culture through analysis of Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall and their respective production companies. Secondly, I will consider the production of cultures of care and development by Comic Relief and the associated role of celebrities.

7.3.1 Producing food media: good chefs and good food?

Jamie Oliver Limited has grown over the last fifteen years into an enormous business empire that includes restaurants, catering companies, food products and a charitable foundation. It also includes two television production companies, in-house creative teams providing design, PR and advertising (JO1, jamieoliver.com). Oliver's company is unrivalled in scale as well as in the control it gives him over his work, public personae and exercises of power over audiences, other food media producers, and foodscapes more broadly. Jamie Oliver appears to have an explicit understanding of the power he has, and the way his business works supports it. This has influenced the way that his businesses are run, including how his television programmes are put together, to create new branded forms of food culture that have the potential to change the way people relate to food. Interviews reveal that Oliver sees knowledge as the most important tool in changing the way the public eat, and endeavours to arm people with information wherever possible:

One of the things Jamie has been really strong about in the last few years is, it's not about how much money you have in your pockets it's how much knowledge you have, because that is the most powerful thing you have (JO2).

The power of chefs is not repressive or dominant; it is a persuasive and soft form of power which sits within existing norms and values so as not to scare or turn people off. In doing this programmes and their chefs do not tell people what to do in the sense of providing rules. Instead they provide information in a way that appeals to audiences in such a way that they choose to act on it: "By educating people around food you do encourage change in their behaviour" (JO3). What celebrity chef food media has done particularly successfully is to draw them into a (sense of) shared community where everyone is encouraged to 'have a go'. Igniting interest and excitement in food, and then providing the knowledge and skills to utilise that knowledge, is central to the power celebrity's exercise. Jamie Oliver Limited's core brand values of "Better food for a better life" run through every aspect of their activities:

Anything else that we do its just about whether or not it's a commercially driven thing, it's about educating and empowering people underpinning it. You might be going into a restaurant and what it's doing is you're having a really lovely meal, but you might be inspired to learn a bit more about Jamie if you have a great meal at a Jamie's Italian. That might lead you to go onto jamieoliver.com where you can find out loads of other information and that leads you into what he's doing in the campaign area. It's all quite interwoven (JO2).

Even with the chop and chat, he's still inspiring and educating people. Even if it's something that's on in the background…And you watch him, and the mouth-wateringly beautiful food, and it excited you enough to go 'I'd love to try that, I think I could do that'. And you go onto a website to get a recipe or into a bookshop to buy a cookery book. If that gets one person cooking then that's been a success (JO1).

While this is almost certainly an understatement of how Jamie Oliver's company would measure his success, the sentiment is admirable, and illustrates that both Jamie and his staff have genuine interest in how the public eat and relate to food. This authenticity is integral to his exercise of power. It is not only through TV that Oliver's power is exercised: his business is made up of multiple strands with different structures, operations and goals, but all fall within a universal set of brand core values:

> Each area of the businesses has a very distinct identity. Even though they are part of the same company and they are all Jamie they do have very different looks and feels which has been done deliberately so each of them in what they do and how they communicate to a consumer, there is that consistency but how they look and feel are very different….. but it's all about Jamie and his tone of voice and what it is he, what values he had as a person that people resonate with (JO4).

Across such a big and diverse company this is no small feat and demonstrates the scale of the operation to orchestrate and roll out the 'brand Jamie' message in many formats. In this it would be easy to see how over time brand values may be diluted or altered from Jamie's initial conception of these values, or moved away from as the business has grown and become more commercially driven. I asked one member of his staff how much of the brand identity and values come from Jamie Oliver:

> All over it. The brand values have…I see the brand values as coming from the values that he has as a person. He wouldn't, we wouldn't, be able to do as much as we have done if they were separate. If Jamie the person on TV was a completely different person to how he is in real life I don't think we'd be able to do as much or be in as many different areas. I think because he really does have that authenticity and that level of trust that people know that; 'ok I'm watching him, he's telling me something and I know he's not going to lie to me, I can trust what he's saying'. Even in the past few years one of the things that we've seen and it comes up in reports and surveys, is that he is *the* most trusted celebrity brand ambassador out there which is fantastic! We are hugely privileged to be in that position. But we are very conscious that it is for a reason so we have to maintain that integrity and trust and accessibility as a person and as a brand (JO2).

That the brand values originate from Jamie Oliver matter for the specific forms of food culture he produces and enframes around 'good food' and food politics. The branded food knowledge and culture are produced predominantly by one individual, giving him a huge amount of power within media and broader 'worlds of food' (Morgan *et al.* 2006). As I will be argued below, this position also allows Jamie Oliver to define and frame the way the public should be consuming, relating, and knowing about food. It also gives authenticity and credibility to the work that the staff at Jamie Oliver Limited, at Jamie's command, do. In addition, Oliver and his company recognise that they have a responsibility for their actions because of the trust placed in Jamie by the public.

Oliver is actively involved in all aspects of his business, from developing ideas for apps, the layouts of restaurant menus, or latest foundation project in schools. What's more he is hands-on in the physical production of the television programmes themselves:

> It comes from his love of design and photography. With the TV production he's learnt to really, really understand and appreciate and love how television is made. He'll know more than we all know. He knows about camera angles, about cameras, about lenses. It must be unbelievably frustrating for the cameramen (laughs) because he's asking 'are you using this camera lens? How about we try it like this, or with this lighting?'! Which is great and it's amazing and inspiring to be around (JO4).

> With the books he is literally there writing it with his team. He has a team working with him but he writes every word. He has the final sign off. He loves writing cookery books (JO3).

It is of course not only Jamie Oliver who does this; other chefs and food media also work to produce food culture through food media. Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall operates a similar, though smaller-scale business model to Jamie Oliver, running his own production company, Keo Films, which produces the River Cottage series and its associated products (books,

DVDs, websites, apps). Here, the operation of Keo Films will be analysed in the context of its cultural economic production (Gibson and Kong 2005; James 2006; Jessop and Oosterlynck 2008; Power and Scott 2004), but also in comparison to Jamie Oliver Limited. Unlike Oliver's companies that were set up after Oliver found fame, Keo existed as a production company first, with Hugh's rise to fame coming later, and has always been deeply embedded with the chef's core values:

> It's quite different to other TV companies because it is run by Hugh, and he owned it before he was a celebrity chef. He and his friends set it up because they wanted to set up a production company and it just happened that the first show they did was River Cottage and it was happened to be really successful. Then he went on to be Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall off the telly. But it was all founded on his strong ethical principles, and there's still a lot of Hugh's principles running through the company. So we're not allowed hand towels in the loo, everything's got to be eco – the soap and cleaning things. We can't get the milk from Tesco's because Hugh's had a fight with Tesco's so we go to Waitrose. All the chairs and furniture are sustainable- the chairs are all made from recycled Coca-Cola bottles. All the wood in the office is reclaimed, for doors and desks, everything. It's taken a really long time to source it all and get this finished. All of the campaigns Hugh does have a life off the telly as well, so it's quite fun to work here because it's not just making TV shows, there's a whole campaign side to it was well (Keo 1).

The morals of Hugh have spilled into the everyday business practices of Keo that they affect even their social activities:

> We struggle to find a place to have the Christmas party every year because of it. The scallops have got to be hand dived; everything has to be organic, sustainable. Last year we found a place and it was outside. They had all these patio heaters which are really bad for the environment. Hugh went round turning them off, making the place put them out and it was freezing cold. Everyone was huddled round one fire and went home about 11 because it was so cold! That is quite unusual; we're not typical in that way! (Keo 1).

The moral values of Fearnley-Whittingstall affect the organisational structure and practices of his business, in a similar way to how Oliver's values shape the direction of his business ventures. That Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall's power determines where his staff buy milk, or

where the wood for their desks is sourced, reflects an institutional culture built entirely around his own personal beliefs and ideals. This is more unusual given that they reflect alternative and ethical values which are deeply classed (Barnett *et al*. 2005; Bell and Hollows 2011). These principles extend beyond the Keo workplace, spilling into the food knowledge he creates through television programmes and the ethical food culture he works to contribute to. This is, like Jamie, motivated by Hugh's own personal interests and beliefs around food:

> He genuinely feels really passionately about food provenance and sustainability (Keo2).

This is evident particularly in the River Cottage series, which not only launched Fearnley-Whittingstall's television career, but also clearly laid out the values around quality, welfare, seasonality, local and home grown food. River Cottage now stands alone as its own business and includes online, television and print media, canteens, a cookery school, as well as the cottage itself. As Keo's hallmark project it has become synonymous with Hugh's core values and brand identity, and has been the springboard for his other projects. Like Jamie, Hugh has also become a passionate food campaigner, particularly around animal welfare, challenging supermarkets and governments to change their welfare regulations and practices. Most successfully he has campaigned around fish discards: his Fish Fight Campaign was a landmark programme in terms of its political impact, becoming a key lobbying force leading to changes in EU policy on fisheries quotas and discards. The programme was clearly organised around a campaign, and as such laid out explicit objectives that construct a new culture around fish consumption:

> Fish Fight when it stared had two objectives. The first was to highlight discards and the fact that up to 50% of fish was being wasted overboard due to catch quotas of certain fisheries in the North Sea. So our first objective was to change that, stop that entirely, and we wanted to do that politically using public pressure. The second

objective was to get people to eat a wider diversity of fish. Initially we concentrated on getting people to eat mackerel because essentially it's a healthy alternative almost identical to cod or haddock. But we quickly realised that was a dangerous proposition just concentrating on one species of fish. So we immediately changed that to all types of sustainable fish that we promoted, things like dab and turbot really because that's the healthiest, most sustainable way to do it. To get people to eat a diversity of fish rather than the big three – tuna, cod and haddock (Keo 2).

In setting these objectives, the campaign makes a clear project of changing the culture around fish consumption towards more sustainable practices. This changes what we, the public, know about fisheries practices and fish species, and therefore what we choose to eat. The forms of culture this produces are intimately tied up with Hugh's brand and image, and the ethical food culture he works to produce, through his entire media portfolio.

Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall is not only a celebrity spokesperson for the campaign, but has also been its instigator and driving force. He has provides the public with the information around policy, practice, supermarkets, recipes and what to buy. For most of the public, this will be all they know about fisheries politics, and Hugh's role in defining this, determine what and how information is provided, is very important and feeds into the cultural politics around this important issue (Boykoff and Goodman 2009). According to his staff Hugh has been closely involved with the campaign at each stage:

You might be surprised but he is properly involved and has been all the way through, I can't say who came up with the idea but Hugh has certainly been involved all the way through. When we first started making this show about fish he massively got into it. He's always loved fish. There's the TED talk he did about mackerel, have you seen that? So you can see he's genuinely into it. He writes consistently, because his background is in journalism, so he has been heavily involved in everything that has been written. On the website, every blog, every email, he's been behind it. I was quite shocked how much he was involved (Keo 2).

The construction of content by Hugh ensures that he is in control of the knowledge he and his team are constructing. Interviews with his staff reveal a level of commitment and involvement that allow the culture produced around food to be attributed almost completely to this chef. Like Jamie Oliver, Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall's passion and interests in food have produced particular cultures both within the Keo workspace and for audiences who consume his knowledge. Fearnley-Whittingstall is able to determine and control both the media outputs of his production company as well as the institutional structure and work culture and thus shape the cultural economy around his forms of food culture. This is a different form of power that the celebrity power exerted over audiences: it seeks to 'enframe' the media spaces and company values through which chefs work, in ways that make them controllable, and open to celebrity power. So in defining the parameters of what, and how, programmes are produced, Hugh marks out the media space that he operates within, according to his own personal food values. This signals a different form or direction for celebrity power, one that has been turned inwards to work across chef's media empires, not only their performance on television.

7.3.2 Producing charity and care 1: harnessing the power of entertainment

How then might the work of charities differ in terms of producing culture? Charities and chefs clearly operate in different ways, and will 'produce', or contribute to, different forms of culture, discussed here in relation to humanitarian and caring cultures. A recipe for using up leftover roast pork, for example, demands a hugely different performance and cultural context than describing the need for vaccines for children in Tanzania. The enframing practices done by Comic Relief and it's celebrities define global issues in ways that contribute to humanitarian and caring cultures more broadly. Comic Relief is an independent charity, and although it has close ties with celebrity that shape their media

power in important ways (as will be shown below), the culture produced around fundraising has much more to do with the charity itself and its wider institutional setting.

Rosati (2001) in his work on MTV describes two aspects of social life which are performed by and though culture: the spectacular and the mundane. Both, he suggests, are an "outcome and strategy of power" that work to represent and provide a sense of reality (p558). This distinction is relevant here in considering how the spaces of food and charity media work to represent and (re)produce different aspects of culture. Food, as an everyday, necessary activity, may be considered part of everyday, mundane, practices that are negotiated and moulded in part though chef media. Charity work and fundraising on the other hand may be read as more spectacular mediation, connecting us to events and people far removed from our everyday lives. Certainly, the celebritized fundraising programmes of Comic Relief are spectacular performances of need and care that represent these issues in ways that create enchantment and desire (Du Gay and Pryke 2002). The types of desire, and therefore cultures, created are a different form than those of food in that they create a desire to care, help and to 'do good' for Others rather than ourselves. 'Doing good' in the context of Comic Relief's fundraising thus creates caring and humanitarian cultures that re-enchants ideas of good citizenship, care and charity through a mediating lens of celebrity. Here this production of humanitarian and caring cultures by Comic Relief will be analysed, considering the role of celebrity within this.

Like chefs, Comic Relief have an internal creative team who produce all the project films[2]:

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[2] These vignettes feature short 3-5 minute films of a celebrity visiting a Comic Relief funded project on location. Within films celebrities meet individuals and families in need, and the projects and staff working to help. Celebrities act as a guide to these places and people, and appeal to audience for donations by recounting their own personal experiences of these places. See Chapter six for more.

> Having an in-house creative team means we can make our own films ourselves and do a lot of our own copy- which an awful lot of places don't, they outsource that (CR1).

This gives them control over the content of the films and allows these organisations control over their discourses and narratives (CR1). A key difference however is that Comic Relief is not a production company, so while elements of their media can be produced internally the majority of their programming is produced collaboratively with the BBC, including Red Nose Day and Sport Relief live telethons. As a public service broadcaster, the BBC is bound to several government regulations that restrict the programming they make and air. This means that the content of Comic Relief's fundraising must fit within the BBC remit, giving some control to the broadcaster over the formation of Comic Relief's cultural production. One senior staff member at Comic Relief described the impact their relationship to the BBC has on their operation:

> Yes to an extent. Naturally it has to fit with the BBC guidelines. We have a very close relationship with their editorial policy team, who will dictate what can and can't happen. There are very tight guidelines about how you would interact with under 16s and all that stuff. There is an involvement. They don't dictate how stuff done; it's very much a partnership. We work with the same BBC team; they know us, and we know them very well, and therefore it's a very good relationship, a partnership in that respect. And you'll get stuff out of the BBC where they might suggest this might work for us this time, or we didn't think this worked for you, what do you think, and so on. They don't define it but we do work very closely with them (CR1).

Comic Relief, and to a lesser extent the BBC, are responsible for the cultural production around their fundraising. They determine the themes and core messages of each campaign and of the charity itself. This then is different to chefs and the direct and powerful influence they have on the operation of their companies and reveals practices of enframing being done not only by the charity but by an assemblage of actors including the BBC, commercial partners and celebrity. Although celebrities are providing the content that fills the live

fundraising programmes, and the performances of care within the film vignettes both of which are crucial to generating public donations on the night, the work of celebrity is exercised from the existing platform of the charity. This means that the media production, as well as the institutional operation and culture, are controlled by the charity rather than celebrities. This results in a more complex arrangement to untangle when thinking about cultural production that Comic Relief and their celebrities contribute to. Celebrities provide the entertaining and affective performances that make up Comic Relief telethons and fundraising. Yet at the same time the larger scale themes, narrative and knowledge are provided by Comic Relief, as are the production and technical capabilities which enable films and the telethon itself to be produced, as well as the multiple technical mechanisms that allow donations to be processed, collected, distributed, and spent. This all operates against the wider backdrop of charity, and the institutional practices, ideas and regulations that govern them.

Celebrities have a far more tangible impact of the workplace culture at Comic Relief, determining how they operate. Although the celebrities with whom Comic Relief work have been enormously committed (CR2), logistically it can be difficult to achieve this:

> There are challenges to it, it's always to get the time of artists, its challenging to get them at the times you want them, and what that does to an organisation like ours is that you've got to be pretty flexible and if you're the sort of person who wants to know what you'll be doing day to day, Comic Relief is not the place for you simply because tomorrow afternoon an artist might come to you and say 'hey I've got a week, I'd like to come and do some stuff with you are you interested?' And you don't tend to say no, you just say great and let's go (CR2).

For many staff, then, their day to day work schedule is organised around celebrity. Firstly, they manage existing long-term relationships with artists (CR2). Comic Relief here have regular contact with artists, their management and PR to maintain relations but also to find

opportunities to 'use' them more directly, to send them on trips, to meet those involved and running projects. Secondly, the team are continually looking for new artists to work with. Thirdly, there is the practicality of booking celebrities for the live show and sending them overseas on project visits, often making arrangements (flights, visas, hotels, cars and so on) at short notice as artists become available.

There is also a wider media context which is important to Comic Relief. This is less about them producing culture and more about them 'piggybacking' existing popular media culture as a fundraising tool. There is now dedicated content aired on the BBC between January and March, from commissioned documentaries focused on that years key themes, to takeovers of established shows such as The Great British Bake Off with built in fundraising mechanisms (CR2). The donations given by the public contribute to the charity's cultural economy, ensuring the business of charity keeps its momentum and establishes discourses of good citizenship at the same time. Yet the story is more complicated that this: public understandings of the urgency for care and need in the different contexts of UK and international fundraising differs widely, and raises tensions that will be discussed in the following section.

7.3.3 Producing charity and care 2: international versus local focus

Comic Relief funds projects in the UK as well as internationally. Despite the fact that half of the money Comic Relief raises is granted to UK based projects, international campaigns are often where the public perceive the charity to principally work (CR2). Comic Relief must therefore work within a complex public understanding of care that both understands that 'charity begins at home', but also tends to prioritise the need for care internationally,

particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. The differences surrounding public imaginations of UK and international care can reveal tensions surrounding ideas of care and need. Comic Relief must walk a fine line in order to negotiate normalised, normative ideas about who needs care.

> People still give money more to overseas. Although they want to know about the UK charities as well. I don't know if that's a perception of relative need, because what's poor in Lambeth or Glasgow juxtaposed to poor kid in Africa there's a difference and people can see that difference. I don't know whether that's why. It's still very important for our supporters that we're seen to be doing things in the UK, and that we do do things in the UK and that actually for every Red Nose Day 40% is spent in the UK, so actually is a 60/40 split, reversed for Sport Relief. Generally I think the overseas tend to do better, there's definitely something in the psyche that says they need it more than we do- we should be able to do more ourselves for our own. Whether that's true psychologically or not that's the sense I get (CR1).

> We have a certain narrative in Comic Relief in that our supporters have to understand that we fund in the UK because many of them believe that charity begins at home (CR2).

In explaining the tensions in supporting both UK and international projects, one interviewee describe the judgements the public can make around care and need in the UK:

> We did a fantastic film around missing persons, a mum whose teenage daughter had gone missing, a very sad story. And she had the most amazing nails, really sculptured, painted, super-duper nails- and I can't tell you how many complaints we got. Judgmentally about- she's broken hearted, she's distraught, but she's obviously spent two hours in a nail salon somewhere. People are incredibly judgmental in the UK (CR3).

This illustrates the tensions arising between the provisioning of care at home in the UK and internationally, and the negotiation of these through celebritized performances of care is an important facet of the enframing of humanitarian and caring cultures by the charity.

Turning now to more specific questions of media power, the practices of knowledge production will be more closely considered across these organisations.

7.4 Negotiating media relationships

7.4.1 Negotiating media relationships: chefs, commissioners and television production

The internal power relations of food media is determined to a large degree by the development of programmes by production companies and commissioning by broadcasters. The process is ruthless, with 9 out of 10 pitched ideas being rejected by commissioners (Keo 1). At its simplest the development of first time television programmes works in two ways: either ideas are developed internally and pitched to broadcasters, or commissioners invite pitches from production companies around a brief:

> It goes one of two ways. Either we have a briefing from the commissioner who will say 'We've got a season coming up about India, or property in Britain and they invite you, invite any company to pitch. Keo, who have a background in food, will think about what we can do around food that fits in with that season or that briefing. Or we will meet someone who's an amazing new chef, or someone will go on holiday to Scandinavia and come back and say 'I went to this amazing restaurant' or 'they've got this amazing food fad that does this' or shall we do…And then it's more brainstorming and coming up with an idea that we think is good for a show. Then we take that and pitch it to the channel. In that case we will work it up a bit more, do some filming with the chef or whatever we are filming and then pitch it to the channel and see if they get interested (Keo 1).

> When it comes to talent led things we tend to be really collaborative when we come up with the idea because there's no point pitching and idea that someone's not on board with. You can tell when they just don't care when they've just been parachuted in as a face of a programme. (Keo 2)

This collaborative development runs even deeper with Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall. I asked Keo if the development process works differently when working to develop programmes

with or around Hugh, who is a much bigger talent as well as a brand than many other people they work with:

> Yes. Because he's been doing it for a long time he's got a very clear idea of what he likes doing and what he's interested in. He's quite involved with the creative process. You would never be able to pitch a show to him that he didn't want to do. He's got his own ideas about future shows too. He's got a new series- I think this has been announced- on Scandinavia, just because he's interested in Scandinavia. He's been out there diving for sea urchins and scallops for friends and he came back and just said 'They've got it right, they seem so happy. They have the right balance of nature and city and stuff, I really want to go out and do a show there'.

> At the same time there was probably a bit of thinking about repositioning him, because he's always just been at River Cottage and we can grow him so he becomes someone who travels and becomes a bit like Rick Stein. So it was quite good for us that we got commission because it was obviously something he was personally interested in but is was also a good way to branch him out into new, literally new, territories (Keo 1).

This quote is revealing for two reasons. It firstly demonstrates the active involvement of Hugh in the development of his own programmes. Although there are teams of people who develop and the commission and produce these programmes with and for Hugh, that the ideas are his, and driven by his concerns (for himself and how the public eat) signalling his power to produce culture himself through the media. He has not been 'parachuted in' to be the puppet of the channel or production company: he is producing television that allows him to perform the food issues which really matter to him and which he thinks we should also care about. This will be returned to below with respect to Jamie Oliver. Secondly, this is interesting in that it throws light on the active repositioning of Hugh and his brand beyond River Cottage. Both the Keo Films team, and the broadcaster (Channel 4), see the potential to expand what Hugh does beyond River Cottage. He has already shown his ability in more politically orientated, campaigning food programming, and interest in travelogue programming. This shift in direction from River Cottage, an aspirational lifestyle cookery

programme, to a show with as much focus on travel and culture as cooking was not easy to sell to commissioners as one interviewee described:

> Anything that is a change is harder but they were equally interested in how they could grow Hugh. The channels are quite careful with their talent in that they want to keep them happy (Keo 3).

The benefit of 'growing' Hugh is mutual. Hugh is happy and gets to make show that interest him, and Channel 4 are happy because they keep Hugh with them, and get new programming with a popular presenter that will draw viewers (Keo 1). This links back to the multi-actor assemblages that work collectively to enframe the mediated good food cultures produced through these types of television programmes.

Jamie Oliver has also been on the lookout for ways he can expand his brand and continue to push the boundaries of his food media empire. Over the past ten years his teams have been:

> Looking at ways in which we could build in the awareness as a brand of Jamie but also moving him into other areas whereby we could maximise him in different areas. Underpinning that was the whole message about how we can engage and empower and educate people to get back into the kitchen, to get back cooking, to respect and love great food, and share that knowledge with other people (JO3).

Jamie Oliver himself understands the importance of getting commissioners on board with his ideas, and getting him onto our screens to make change possible:

> If I'm used properly, I'm a brilliant, brilliant weapon, and I can really scare the s*** out of companies and governments (Oliver quoted in Moran 2014).

This is very important. Jamie Oliver himself is acutely aware of the potential power that he has. More interestingly, the language he has used demonstrates his understanding not only of his own embodied power, but how he can be used by others (including his own company). In talking about himself in this way, almost as a pawn or puppet, he appears to shift responsibility onto those who 'use' him. This is not only as a celebrity chef, using his charm and charisma to influence the way audiences feel about food and cooking, but also as a force that can change other food spaces- politically, environmentally, economically, morally- by lobbying governments, policy makers, producers, supermarkets, and so on. His *School Dinners* campaign had demonstrated he is a force to be reckoned with, contributing to policy change. *Save with Jamie* showed he is not scared to speak his mind or court controversy (or indeed apologise if he gets it wrong). Next in his sight are Hillary Clinton and the proposed EU-European Trade Agreement, and the impacts on EU animal welfare standards and farming industries it would imbue (Moran 2014). This is no small challenge for Jamie, but international trade policy is not exactly headline grabbing. That, says Oliver, is the problem:

> And the thing is, it's not as dramatic as a few caps being popped in someone's ass, or Brazil getting thrashed 7-1 by Germany- so how do you even compete? It's one of the things I'm spending a lot of time thinking about- how to talk to people, how to talk about it, how to present it to people. The angle. You need an angle. I'll find the angle eventually, I'll get it (Oliver quoted in Moran 2014).

Oliver understands that he is influential and how his power works- not in an academic sense necessarily, but certainly in a 'getting things done' way. In understanding how his power works, Oliver also demonstrates an understanding of where its limits lie. In an interview with The Times Jamie Oliver was asked who he would like to work with:

> 'David Beckham,' he says instantly. 'There's kids who would never think of cooking, who, if they saw David doing it, would suddenly be in. Beckham. His power is extraordinary.' (Moran 2014).

This demonstrates a clear understanding of Jamie's level of awareness both of his own power, the wider power of celebrity, and how best to use it to make change.

The power of these chefs within food media is thus not only about the possibility of engaging and then governing audiences relationships with food. Interviews have revealed that they exert significant influence within their own production companies in terms of what, and how, programmes get developed, and how their businesses run more broadly. Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall have been revealed here to have a close hand in many detailed aspects of the work their companies do. At the same time the complex relationship amongst celebrities, production companies, and television commissioners works in complex assemblages to produce food cultures, but also programmes and media products that are bought and sold within the wider cultural economy of food media. Both Jamie and Hugh play an active role in developing and controlling the content and design of the programmes developed by their production companies, what is being commissioned by broadcasters, and how their social media is being developed and used. That they are influencing what television media is being produced is hugely significant in understanding the power they have within foodscapes. The relationship between chef and commissioner will be examined further below, analysing the technological developments and platforms that are changing these relationships in significant ways. Before this, however, I turn to Comic Relief, their relationship with the BBC and the different actors working together to produce both their programmes and the cultures of care they work across.

7.4.2 Negotiating media relationships: Comic Relief and the BBC

It is not only chefs who must negotiate relationships with commissioners and broadcasters. Comic Relief works closely with its broadcast partner, the BBC, and must fit with their public service remit. The relationship with the BBC is longstanding and results in a close working relationship with many of the interactions and negotiations between the BBC and Comic Relief based on personal relationships. The BBC, according to Comic Relief, " embrace us, embrace our artists and everything we do….We now have a phenomenal amount of programming hours on the BBC, and they think it sits brilliantly with what they do" (CR2). The close relationship with the broadcaster also provides them a primetime Friday airing which maximised their audience reach (see chapter six). The live show itself involves a takeover of BBC1 on a Friday night: occupying this premium, primetime slot maximises audience exposure, peaking at an accrued audience of 25 million in 2013 (CR4). As the centrepiece of their annual fundraising efforts Red Nose Day and Sport Relief draw together all manner of public, corporate and celebrity fundraising into an entertaining night of live television which raises £100m a year (CR2).

This wider media context can matter greatly. This was demonstrated in Save with Jamie as news and popular media alike rounded on the chef to chastise him for his comments on food poverty. Charities do not escape this critical scrutiny and in 2013 Comic Relief fell foul of the press following a *BBC Panorama* programme *All in a Good Cause* which questioned their investment practices which held funds in tobacco, arms and alcohol companies. The negative press that Comic Relief received surrounding this was enormously damaging to their reputation:

> To be honest for us it was absolutely horrific. We did pre- and post- research, and the thing for us is trust in our brand is really important for us, all the words that describe trust…we had taken an absolute hit (CR4).

Comic Relief took this very seriously and following an internal investigation changed their investment practices, joining the *UN Principles for Responsible Investment* and becoming more transparent in their reporting (CR4). By February 2014 public trust "levels have bounced back" and this was followed by an enormously successful Sport Relief during which time was spent talking about how money is spent. Much like the Jamie Oliver poverty episode, the reputation of Comic Relief has come out of this scandal relatively unscathed. Yet the point remains that the wider media reporting can pose a serious threat to the reputation and power of these organisations (Klein 2010).

The use of celebrity by Comic Relief is a powerful way to enframe development, welfare and poverty but also provide many audience members with the only information they may have about these issues. The way these are presented and defined can have implications for audience engagement with these issues, but also enframes the norms around charitable giving and care. Audience's decisions to give money can be entirely based on the 'performance' of a single celebrity within a video (CR1 and 2) and it is here then that the power of celebrity comes to the fore. Part of this is orchestrated by Comic Relief, taking them out to projects and having them experience their work first-hand:

> They will always have someone from Comic Relief with them, but we let the projects themselves do the talking. Because we give the money, we make a grant to those charities on the ground, it's allowing the projects to explain to the celebrities what they're doing on the ground (CR1).

The voice here is of local people and local charities, transmitted through celebrity- Comic Relief sees itself more as facilitator, putting celebrities and projects together. Enframing becomes a collaborative project between celebrity, charity and the projects they fund. Yet, the relationship with celebrity is not without problems. Not only can it be, practically, very difficult to organise celebrity visits to projects and organise the live shows themselves, but there is a risk with working with celebrities in that they may not work successfully:

> Yeah. Not responded as well as you might have hoped. Almost always you get a response, but you might say 'that's a strong film and a strong celebrity' but for some reason it hasn't quite sparked. You've got to look at it then. For us on the night, and why it's so difficult to judge- the anchor on the night might have done something leading in, not been funny, or just said something flippant going into the film, and you can't script all of that but it can all impact on the film. Analysing cause and effect can be incredibly difficult to do (CR1).

> In a way it's sort of the perfect storm. You have to have the right issues, you have to have the right celebrity in the right mood, with the right script, with the right production people, with the right director and then you get that golden moment (CR2).

Alongside the entertaining content, the in-country celebrity vignettes are integral to Comic Relief's work, fundraising, and connecting audiences to those in need and fostering caring feelings/actions. Real voices within these films matter for allowing those in need to speak for themselves (CR3). Being taken into their homes, work, lives, hospitals and so on, guided by a celebrity, we are made to understand that these are real people, and that this could happen to you (Green and Silk 2000). The juxtaposition between our own lives and the lives of those in need becomes then an important mechanism for motivating giving. Awakening feelings of guilt, confusion or helplessness within audiences has the potential to see people turning off their TV's rather than picking up their phones if the images are too shocking, graphic or upsetting. The careful and strategic use of celebrity by Comic Relief can help overcome this, so the juxtaposition between our lives as we sit at home, and the lives of

Others often in desperate need, is mediated by celebrity and becomes something positive and motivating rather than jarring and off-putting.

Understanding the industries and production processed behind celebrity media is hugely important in examining the product that ends up on our TV screens (Turner 2010). This analysis has revealed the enormous power of commissioners, determining not only what ends up on our screens, but its content, tone and style. Their control over content is exercised more forcefully in new shows or new formats, making it difficult for chefs to really push the boundaries in what they do. Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall are in privileged positions in that their value to their broadcaster Channel 4 allows them more freedom to make programmes they want. In this more relaxed and informal discussions with commissioners and producers develop ideas that work for the chef and the commercial viability the broadcaster requires. Comic Relief must also negotiate relationships with broadcasters, and ensure that their programmes fit within the public service remit of the BBC. Longstanding relationships and personal interactions work to produce a show that works for both. So while commissioners and broadcasters carry huge weight there is room to manoeuvre and negotiate, particularly for the big players in television. The enframing done by chefs and charities is therefore contributed to by a range of actors including commissioners and production companies. Despite this, new trends in television production by chefs in particular has seen them embrace new technology and media platforms as a way to bypass this all together.

7.5 Technology and changing media consumption

Couldry's (2000, 2004, 2012) work on media power, and specifically that on contesting media power, raises questions about how media power may change what individuals do with media. One impact, he suggests, is that it changes how media is consumed. If media power is having impacts on how media is consumed by audiences, how are the media in question here either leading this change or responding to it? Two key trends will be examined here. Firstly the use of social media including Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram by chefs and, to a lesser extent Comic Relief, to change the way that celebrities and their companies interact with audiences (Marshall 2010; Muntean and Petersen 2009). Secondly, I examine the shift by Jamie Oliver, and more recently Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall, to publishing video content on YouTube as a way to bypass commissioning and broadcasting processes, and extend their power. Technology offers new opportunity for these organisations to have greater control over their work, and new ways of reaching audiences (Thomas 2014). Keeping up with new technologies and innovating will ensure that celebrities can maintain their cultural relevance and sustain their business success.

Chefs and food media are currently at an important juncture that sees changes to both their power and that of the media. This is due to changes in celebrity chef and food media culture organised to a large extent by technological innovation rather than fundamental changes to how audiences consumer food media. Jamie Oliver, for example, has been a leader in using technology within his business particularly in audience-facing media. From interviews with Jamie Oliver staff, it seems that it is Jamie himself who is leading these technological advances that he has a real interest and eye for technology, and is something that he personally uses. He recognises the capacity for these technologies, particularly social and mobile media, to change his business and engagement with audiences. A range of apps and

social media technology allow audience access to Jamie branded information wherever they go, and these are widely used by the public. Not only that but his website, FoodTube channel, and apps have all won awards for their design, content and function indicating the technology focused eye to his business:

> One of his big passions is for tech, and new was of broadcasting- his YouTube channel, FoodTube, already has over one million subscribers, and was partly set up to encourage young people to start cooking, and share their own recipes. He's borderline evangelical about the democratisation of communication (Moran 2014).

For Jamie then technology is used to make accessible the knowledge he sees as crucial to empowering the public to change their relation to food and cook more. His personal interest in technology and knowledge provision has influenced his business too. His 2013 book *Save with Jamie* was given free to every library in the country, hundreds of his recipes are published on his website and his use of social media distributes that information further and in forms that are accessible to many different audience groups. Jamie and his company thus use social media to different ends but in ways that complement one another:

> Jamie the person uses social media as a way to talk to people and then we as a company use it in a more commercial way. That balance, and which platform you use to talk to which audience, and how you do talk to them is important (JO2).

One member of his creative staff describes how involved Jamie Oliver himself is in social media production:

> Tweeting, yes he does his own. Facebook is more part of our online side. But he's very active, and he has an amazing following and he's really savvy when it comes to the next thing in terms of digital and social media. He's telling us 'have you seen this, have you checked that out?' He was on Instagram quite early. Using that- he was very visual and techy lead. And it's a way for him to have a direct relationship with people. He's not just talking, he's asking the, for their opinions and to share stuff with him. He's even used it a few weeks ago for the new book that we're just about to finish and he asked them what order to chapter the book: 'I want you guys to tell me, I want you to be involved with it. You're my boss' if you like. He works

for the general public he says, and he does and he says he does. He believes they are his boss. Why wouldn't he ask them for their opinions- they're the people who are going to be buying his books (JO3).

Several things need to be unpacked here. Firstly, Oliver's personal use of social media means that the 'voice' we hear looking at Jamie Oliver's Tweets and pictures, is his own. Over four million people follow him on Twitter, almost two million follow him on Instagram: audience that Oliver himself is reaching is substantial. In providing social media content himself, he is constructing and performing his own version of 'good food culture' to his audience. One of the promises of social media is the opportunity for everyone to become the producer of their own public image and persona. As described in chapter two, for celebrities who choose to make use of social media this can offer both greater control over their image and brand and also an extended reach to audiences in powerful ways (Marshall 2010; Muntean and Petersen 2009). As well as single-handedly (re)constructing and (re)producing 'Jamie Oliver' branded ideas around food, cooking, eating, lifestyle and more, social media platforms allow him to have direct and two-way contact with the public. Secondly, this reveals Jamie Oliver's personal interest in social media and technology for his own life as well as, crucially, how it can drive his business forward.

Much like the passions, values and interests that dictate how his televisions shows are produced, and the direction of his business more broadly, the social media content put out by Oliver is driven by his own life, values and experiences. That he has a personal interest in new media technology has arguable ensured that he and his business have been leaders in their field and changing the way food media is produced and consumed. These technologies are both economic commodities and cultural products: their cultural economy sees the food culture and knowledge Oliver produces entwined completely with his

commercial enterprises. Lastly the notion of the public as Oliver's boss is important, particularly (as shown in chapter five) in the way that new media technologies allow audiences to hold him to account in ways never before possible. That he positions himself like this in relation to the public signals his willingness to respond to what they say. This is not only done through social media. Online community spaces within jamieoliver.com are used by staff "as sounding boards when we're about to launch something or test something because we care about what they think" (JO3). Jamie's involvement in projects and strive for innovation is known beyond his company. Staff at Keo described the way he is perceived: "I get that impression about Jamie, definitely. That he literally has got a hand in every one of his projects, which is so good and so rare these days" (Keo 2).

Food Tube, Oliver's YouTube channel, draws together his interest in technology and accessible information to push his business in new directions. Short videos produced by Oliver's production company, Fresh One, are freely available and provide recipes and cookery skills by Oliver and other energetic hosts. One million people now subscribe to the channel, demonstrating audience interest in this type of media. Yet here again we see that the content being produced both online and on television is to a large degree driven by what broadcasters are willing to commission. His most recent television show, *Comfort Food,* was only produced after Channel 4 rejected Oliver's idea for a vegetarian based series (Moran 2014). Even Oliver was surprised at the channels decision, and has responded by taking the vegetarian ideas to his FoodTube channel where he gets to make and do what he wants:

> Although Oliver himself was surprised- 'The public, more than ever, really want to eat more veg'- his final reply belies someone with a fortune of £240 million and one million subscribers in FoodTube. 'It's fair enough' he shrugs. 'Channels have got their own thing to worry about. And you know what, if I did 130 five-minute veg videos over the course of a year [and put them on FoodTube], that's probably what

I'll do. I was gutted,' he adds, 'but I've done most of the hard work, and I'll happen at some point. The book's on top of a cupboard somewhere. Waiting.' (Moran 2014).

In one way then, Food Tube provides Jamie Oliver a way to bypass the commissioning process and make the programmes he, and what he thinks his audience, really want. At the same time it allows Jamie to be everywhere at once- his audience is global, and moving online means he can reach those audiences effectively. It also means the turnaround time on production is far shorter than it would be on television, allowing him to respond to trends and current affairs quickly. What this also provides, linking back to Save with Jamie, is the capacity for forms of dialogue between chef and audience, with information flowing in two directions. In these new media structures, the audience is far from passive, actively contributing to shared knowledge projects. The scope for this project is huge, as are the implications for Oliver's exercise of power, creating entirely new models of media production and consumption around food. Food Tube, mobile and social media are a long way from replacing traditional food media formats of television and cookbooks, but that represent interesting innovations that have the capacity to change food media in fundamental ways.

Jamie Oliver's development of new media technology, and proactive use of social media to engage audiences, signals an interest by Oliver in placing new media technology at the centre of his business model. This way of communicating through social media and new mobile technologies are potentially game-changing in the way we learn about food and cooking, but also how we share that information. Technology plays a crucial role in changing how food *and* media are consumed by the public. Jamie Oliver recognises this, and in conjunction with his strong beliefs and values around food, recognition of his internal and

external media power, and interest in technology and new ways of broadcasting have encouraged him to pursue new ways of producing video content that also allow him much greater control.

Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall and Keo films, on the other hand, have not yet been so technologically driven. Their development of social media as a way to engage audiences has for the most part been slow, taken up in response to Jamie Oliver's efforts – for example his joining Food Tube. In comparison to Jamie Oliver's website, the River Cottage website- despite containing a wealth of information- is relatively difficult to navigate and use (River Cottage 2014). Hugh doesn't himself use social media- no Facebook, Twitter or Instagram. River Cottage has only a small social media profile. Interviews with his staff suggest that he is following, rather than leading, this change within food media. This probably says more about differences between Hugh and Jamie than it does anything else, but it is interesting to see how differently they have made use of changes in media technology. Despite an apparent lack of interest in social media, there are examples where Hugh has embraced social media and the changing patterns of audience engagement it allows. Hugh's Fish Fight Campaign has a huge online presence, making particular use of its website and Twitter to engage audiences and ask them to pressure MP's, supermarkets and so on. For both Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall social media has been an important mechanism for measuring their impact and gauging public perceptions.

Comic Relief, perhaps unexpectedly for an organisation that ostensibly runs the same type of fundraising year on year, is incredibly focused on the future: "Innovation is really looking out beyond the horizon at what's new out there, what's coming up in all sorts of ways: in

fundraising, in technology, in how people are donating and making money all" (CR1). In fact, it is precisely this long term template that pushed Comic Relief to continually innovate and maintain public interest. Part of Comic Relief's desire for innovation has involved the integration of technology. This has two key functions. Firstly it has changed the way their campaigning works from a production stance. Secondly it has offered new ways to collect donations, focused to a large part in making it as easy as possible for the public to donate money.

Technology has enabled hugely detailed data gathering in real time by the organisation:

> We have live intel on the night. All the phone money, all the digital money. We know at any one time how much people are giving, and from where in the country they're giving (CR2).

This means that Comic Relief is able to know and track how much money they are making and where. This can be hugely important, for example, during challenge events where celebrities have a target in mind and knowing they have met it can be hugely motivating for them. One interviewee described the impact fundraising totals had on comedian John Bishop, who's 'Week of Hell' saw him complete a gruelling and physically exhausting 290 mile triathlon:

> I went down on that last day, when he was going to come into Trafalgar Square, I got there about half an hour before he was due in with the most up to date total, and when he saw that he just broke down in tears. I think at that stage he had raised £1.6 million, and he was hoping he would raise about £800 000 or maybe a million but he'd gone way over that. In the end it was over £4 million (CR1).

Comic Relief staff acknowledge that "technology enables the business to a huge extent" (CR1). Mobile technologies have been crucial in boosting public donations. Donations via

text have been a really successful method. You don't even have to speak to anyone now: from the comfort of your sofa you can send a text that donates £5 offering an easy way to give money. There of course are problems raise by these forms of donations in terms of the caring connections formed through donations that demand so little effort and participation. While there is clearly an argument to be made for this, I would suggest that the feelings that motivate the donation are more important than the method of giving.

Technology also makes a difference in the production of the live show itself. Live tracking data allows Comic Relief to watch as donations come in and make editorial changes to the show in real time if particular films have performed well (or not):

> It actually helps us finesse the second part of the show as well. We do make amends. If we had two films from somebody and the first films is maybe ok but not brilliant we might push that one a bit later so we're not missing a peak audience, and someone who delivered brilliantly we've got a second film for so let's put it in a bit earlier (CR2).

Tracking the show as it happens also allows them to track the performance of celebrity and audience response to them. This can impact which celebrities are used in the future and in what ways:

> We can literally see the response to a film in real time as it happens, because of all the technology. And we will change the order of things according to responses. But if we go back to '11, it was doing well, better than before. And then suddenly David Tennant came on and did his piece and the thing went absolutely mental....then it just lit up. (CR1).

Here we see differences between charity and chef's media power as well as celebrity power. Interviews with Comic Relief imply that changes to aspects of their media production, particularly around how they seek donations, have been led by changes in

audience consumption of their programmes. They have used technology to make it as easy as possible to get people to donate. You do not even have to pick up the phone now- a text is all that is needed. This reflects wider trends in both media and charitable sectors where lessening audience attention spans have led to greater use of bite size chunks of information and an approach that is present only in short, spectacular moments, rather than seeking big attention or long term commitment. In a similar way Comic Relief have done something similar in their use of social media where some aspects of the media production process have shifted focus slightly to listen to audiences more. Chefs on the other hand have used technology much more centrally in their exercises of power, using them to bypass the commissioning processes and take greater control over the food cultures they work to produce. This use of technology by both chefs and Comic Relief signal the extension of their cultural economy, further entwining their branded cultures of food and care with commodified media products. At the same time it provides mechanisms for celebrity power to be extended, enframing these spaces in ways that render them more available to governance that influences the public.

7.6 Conclusion

Building on the previous chapters that conceptualised and empirically analysed celebrity power, this chapter turned the focus from the celerity television media content and audience engagement with it, to the media industries that produce them. As the site of message construction, it is important to explore the production of media as well as its outputs in order to more fully analyse the meaning making done by audiences with media and celebrity texts (XXXX). While celebrities may now hold the possibility of exercising power in ways that govern, or contribute to the governance of public landscapes of food and charitable care, celebrities do not work alone. This chapter then analyses the

production of celebrity media, looking behind-the-scenes at the organisations, people and practices that are creating the television that celebrity power has the possibility to work through. The organisations considered here are of particular interest because celebrities have a significant input into the media production across both case studies, and also in that celebrity media is produced in-house by each organisation. Following celebrity media through its development and production reveals the input celebrities themselves have over the media they work within, and thus to what extent their power extends internally to influence mediascapes more generally.

This chapter followed the production of celebrity television media though its development, commissioning and production to consider the input that celebrities have to this process, and the extent that their power reaches into the production of media space. Drawing on interview data, the chapter tracked the production of media across the production companies of Jamie Oliver, Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall, and Comic Relief. Situated within geographical work on cultural-economy and media power, Mitchell's (2002) concept of 'enframing' provided a lens to the analysis informing the ways that food and humanitarian landscapes are rendered controllable by those (celebtrities) defining it. Thus, the act of defining what and how television is made according to the values, interests and beliefs of a celebrity becomes an exercise in enframing that creates spaces across which they may realise their possible exercises of power. Within a cultural economy context, the relationships that celebrities have with their media production reveal the interconnectedness of culture and economy, and pay attention to the specific forms of culture produced in each example: food cultures by chefs and humanitarian and caring cultures by Comic Relief. The cultural sign of celebrity played out within food and humanitarian cultures signals to the public the normalised values and practices relating to

these landscapes. Sign values are anchored to the commodified materialities of celebrities, as well as to the media economies attached which the construct and are inherently bound. In short the meaning-making that is done by celebrities can and does occur at the same time as they make money.

In different ways food media and Comic Relief both see celebrity contributing to the production of their media in ways that shape both the media product, and the organisational culture of the institution itself. Not only that, but a complex relationship between celebrity, production companies and commissioners is revealed, adding a further layer of analysis to this process. Celebrity chefs have an active and detailed participation in the production of their media. Their influence is not only on how media is produced, but how their businesses run, all organised around their own personal interests and values.

Interviews with Jamie Oliver's staff reveal that although huge numbers of people work with him to roll out the numerous products that his business empire offers, the ideas, brand values and knowledge are seemingly generated by Oliver himself. Not only that but that he has a close hand in seemingly every aspect of his business activity. The design of his business, specifically the in-house production and creative companies, ensure that Oliver maintains control over the enframing and output of his branded knowledge around food. His personal interest in food ensures that Jamie Oliver Limited maintains its place as an industry leader, continually looking at new ways to transmit media and interact with audiences. The use of mobile and social media works as key mechanism driving forward his business, and looking for new ways to reach and engage audiences. More fundamentally, his shift towards online video content through his Food Tube channel alters the very media

industry within which he works. Bypassing broadcaster's and commissioner's altogether, this shift is important for Oliver's power within the media industry, allowing him to maintain much greater control over the content of his programmes. Culturally, this means that Jamie Oliver is able to enframe food knowledge in the way that he wants, without fitting to a channel's briefs or schedules. Currently Food Tube represents only a small portion of Oliver's media empire, but when seen in the context of his wider business operation and brand values it is easy to see why this is a logical step for the governance he provides over food.

In a similar vein staff at Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall's production company, Keo Films, reveal the impact the chefs own interests have on both the media that is produced but also on the way the working environment of the firm functions- even down to where staff can buy milk. Like Jamie Oliver, the personal interests and values of one individual determine the business practices of the entire organisation. This is a shift in the celebrity culture described in previous chapters but a significant one in that these celebrity chefs, through self-owned production companies, can take control of a large segment of their celebrity, celebrity power and business. The negotiations and relationships with commissioners were highlighted at Keo in revealing the desire and plans to 'grow' Hugh into new non-River Cottage ventures. So the production of 'Scandilicious' was enabled by a combination of Hugh's own interests fitting with the plans of commissioners. While celebrity chefs have power to determine what they produce within their own companies, if they want it to end up on television they must develop strong positive relationships with the commissioners who can allow that to happen, and grant the creative freedom for chefs to do that.

Celebrity lies at the heart of Comic Relief's programming but in a different way to the individual control wielded by chefs in food media. Comic Relief maintains control over the material production of their television programming, with a large proportion produced in-house. They also determine the charity's goals, brand, and agenda. Celebrities then fit into this existing framework and support the fundraising that Comic Relief do. Celebrity power over the production of Comic Relief's programming is more limited than that of celebrity chefs. However, celebrities provide the content, entertainment and support for almost all of Comic Relief's work and without them the telethons would not exist. Despite the backseat role that celebrities take in the production process, there are still a number of challenges facing the charity through producing celebrity focused media. Within the show, and particularly because it is live, much of the enframing is done by celebrities, guided by the broader narrative of Comic Relief. There are also a number of logistical difficulties working with celebrities, particularly around filming the in-country vignettes. There are no rules or blueprint to follow in producing successful celebrity performances of care and it almost becomes a game of chance if they can capture the 'golden nuggets' of performance that the audience really respond to. As with chefs, Comic Relief must also work with commissioners. Comic Relief must adhere to the public service remit of their public service broadcast partner the BBC throughout their programming. Comic Relief have a long and very positive working relationship with the BBC that has resulted in an almost collaborative project of editorial control over the details of the live show.

In the following and final chapter the analysis of celebrity power offered across these chapters are drawn together. I offer some conclusions across the case studies and across the thesis as a whole, reflecting on the empirical and theoretical contributions as well as opportunities for future research.

Chapter Eight. Conclusions: Reflecting on celebrity power and governance in practice

8.1 Introduction

The pervasive nature of celebrity culture makes it difficult to ignore these actors as they seep even more into our everyday lives. Rather than reaching a point of saturation or slowing, celebrity culture continues to grow seemingly unabated. Celebrity orientated content, notes Turner (2010), now lies at the heart of our news media, and has changed the way we engage with information in a fundamental way. The circulation of celebrity is a fundamental feature of the information we engage with in modern Western life. At the same time, it has refused to stay bound by the confines of entertainment and celebrity, and an increasing number of stars are permeating serious social spaces of politics, science and humanitarianism. The blurring of the boundaries of various spaces of social life by celebrity is understood as occurring through processes defined as 'celebritization'. Celebritization pays attention to the prominent positions of celebrity in everyday life, as well as the changing functions of celebrity individuals, and the social spaces they migrate across and become embedded within (Driessens 2013).

Academically celebrity is beginning to be taken seriously, recognising the effects of celebrity on social life in range of meaningful ways. Historically it has been treated as a distraction that taints serious public debates and political decision-making (Weiskel 2005). However, the attitudes that describe celebrity as either vacuous entrainment, or damaging to political processes, are now giving way to more nuanced readings of celebrity and their

contributions to the cultural politics within different areas of society (Boykoff and Goodman 2008). While this small, but growing, body of work has made valuable pathways into understanding the impacts of celebrity across society, it has not yet fully conceptualised the possibility of celebrity power or its impacts across audiences. Within the context of this thesis' focus on celebrity chefs and celebrity humanitarian fundraisers, I have argued that the inclusion and analysis of celebrity has much to offer geographical work on food, care, and humanitarian development, particularly in understanding the factors influencing public relations and engagement with these issues in multiple ways.

This thesis has sought to contribute to understandings and theorisations around celebrity power through the examination of two key sites of celebritization: food media and charity fundraising. In doing so I have followed celebrity chefs and celebrity charity ambassadors through their media cycle, analysing the development and production of their programmes, the television and media content itself, and its reception and engagement by audiences. As will be elaborated below, this has relevance not only for research on celebrity, but also within geography in the context of agro-food studies, care and the non-state assemblages working to govern these spaces. In short, celebrity power matters, and is now able to operate as an important non-state actor in the governance of food and humanitarian care. In theorising the possible exercises of celebrity power by particular actors across these spaces, I have offered empirical case studies that explore the knowledge and narrative discourses constructed by and through celebrity, and analysed how these may work to govern public understanding and behaviours. In doing so, it takes seriously Graeme Turner's (2010) call for great theorisation and empirical research around the effects of celebrity as well as the power relations it embeds, both as cultural formation and commodity.

The research set out seven key research aims in the introduction that have been addressed throughout this thesis. Firstly, I aimed to analyse the rise of celebrity and celebrity culture, the growth of politicised celebrity figures, and the blurring and embedding of social spaces with celebrity culture, it's modes of operation and values. This was done in chapter two's literature review, discussing the rise of celebrity culture in Western societies, but also in the shifts that have seen the boundaries between celebrity and other social realms become blurred. As social spaces, such as food or charity, become celebritized and imbued with the values and structures of celebrity culture and performance (Driessens 2013), opportunities arise for particular celebrity individuals to adopt new politicised roles. In recognising these shifting roles of celebrity, the blurring of boundaries between celebrity and other social spheres and the opportunity for celebrities to extend their cultural influence, the second aim of the thesis was to conceptualise celebrity power and the blurred social boundaries they move across. This was addressed specifically in chapter four, drawing on the work of Michel Foucault, and his conception of power and governmentality, as well as more broadly on literature on the geographies of power (Allen 2003), to define celebrity power as a soft form of topological power that work to govern through the mediated forms of knowledge it constructs and performs.

In understanding this meta celebrity-cultural process that opens up society to possible exercises of celebrity power, the thesis thirdly aimed to critically examine the nature and operation of such celebrity power, with a focus on normative appeals towards social change and governance of the self. This drew on the definitions laid out in chapter four, and examined the empirical examples of celebrity chefs and Comic Relief through a lens of celebrity power throughout chapters five, six and seven. Central to this analysis of celebrity power in the context of governance of the self, and the more collective impacts on society

of celebrity power, has been the analysis of audience engagement with celebrity and celebrity media. This worked to understand the multiple and at times contentious relationships between audience and celebrity and the wide range of possible impacts celebrity's power exercise may have.

Like the liquid celebrity described by Redmond (2010), celebrity power is not in continual circulation as a constant presence: rather, it works within the particular moments that their programmes and surrounding attention are present in the media and able to capture public imaginations. At the same time, celebrity power does not work on audiences in a universal way. Empirical analysis revealed the ways that celebrity is used by audiences in ways that simultaneously resist and embrace the information narratives laid out by celebrity. In defining both the impacts, and operation, of celebrity power as *moments of possibility*, the thesis' fourth aim was to respond and pay attention to the mediated everyday spaces and practices that provide both the platform and the limits to forms of celebrity power, as well as its governance capacity.

As stated above, a key argument of this thesis is that the notion of celebrity power has much to offer not only celebrity studies, but also geographical research on food, care and power. Reviewing geographical literature on food, care and responsibility throughout chapters four, five and six revealed only a nebulous engagement with power and the media. Likewise, chapter four demonstrated that geographical work on power has not engaged the possibility of the power of celebrity and media in its discussion of governance structures currently at work. Analysis of the empirical examples of chefs and charity ambassadors in chapters five and six revealed ways that these areas of Geographic research could be

valuably enhanced through the critical lens of celebrity and media, as well as a more focused and nuanced definition of power. This addresses the research's fifth aim by taking seriously the work of celebrity and working to understand its cultural effects across food and charity landscapes, as well as contributing to research on the geographies of power. The research's sixth aim to investigate audience engagement with politicised celebrity and their exercises of power, was achieved through the audience survey that for the first time provided a broad data set giving insight into audience engagements with celebrity culture, celebrity activism and the two case studies of food and charitable care. Audiences, in multiple and complex readings, draw meanings from media texts that shape their understanding and practices in important ways (Hall 1993; XXXX). The findings of the survey are drawn on in chapter five, as well as through the understanding of celebrity power as *moments of possibility* across the thesis. Understanding audience engagement with celebrity is a key facet to understanding celebrity power and its capacity to govern everyday aspects of social life, without which the possibility of celebrity power in these spaces can only be assumed. Finally, the project aimed to map the production of celebrity media to explore the ways that celebrities not only frame topics, programmes and TV shows, but also if and how this allows them to produce particular narratives, knowledge and cultures around food and charity. The production of celebrity media was analysed in chapter seven, which drew on interviews with staff developing and producing celebrity media across different roles to assess the how much influence celebrities have over the media they perform within. The programme they develop and produce serve as a platform for possible exercises of celebrity power described throughout the thesis. This revealed the close hand celebrity has across the development and production of their media, but also (in the case of chefs) across the working culture within their organisations.

Having summarised the analysis within empirical chapters and related them to the research aims laid out in the introduction, I now turn to think across the thesis as a whole, first summarising the definition of celebrity power, and its implications in spaces of food and charitable care. This section will then consider more broadly the contributions of this study to Geography as a discipline, highlighting the importance for the fields of food and care to include more nuanced understandings of power as well as the relevance of media and celebrity to both these areas of research. This is followed by reviewing the definition of exercises of celebrity power occurring as moments of possibility. This sets out the limits to celebrity power within the media, but more importantly it pays attention to the different ways that audiences engage and use the information offered by and through celebrity. Taking a step back, the following section considers the key findings across the thesis as a whole. In synthesising the research findings four key themes emerge:

(i)   the tensions between celebrity status and ordinary expertise;

(ii) the different forms of topological connection produced through celebrity and the role of expertise in creating these;

(iii) the highly organised celebrity-media structures and organisations that work to produce celebrity programmes and the complex power arrangements within these; and

(iv) the changing relationships between audience and celebrity as a result of social media technologies.

Methodological reflections both on the limits of this research and insights into researching celebrity more generally are then discussed. This includes possible directions for future

research building upon both the theoretical and empirical foundations laid out in this thesis. Finally the chapter concludes by summarising the key findings and contributions of the thesis, and reiterates the importance of this project both academically as well as more broadly.

8.2 Defining celebrity power: theoretical contributions

This thesis sought to conceptualise and define celebrity power paying attention to the ways celebrities are blurring the boundaries and moving across social spheres in ways that matter. It did so not only in analysing the cultural product of celebrity and the media they work within, but by following celebrity and their possible exercises of power right through the media cycle, from their development and production, as a material media object, and in their reception and dissemination by audiences. Taking two key social spaces that have both a long research history within Geography, and significant engagement with celebrity, this thesis focused on celebrity chefs and their engagement with 'good food' discourses, and celebrity charity ambassadors and their engagement with issues of care and humanitarian development. In doing so it aimed to offer an understanding of celebrity and power that has relevance for the cultural landscapes of food and care as they are worked across, and governed by these mediated actors and their mediated performances of knowledge. This also then seeks to contribute to geographical scholarship around power, food, care, and humanitarian development, suggesting firstly that adopting more nuanced definitions offered by geographical research on power, recognises the geography of those power relations as well as their impacts across the spaces of food and care (Allen 2003). Secondly, it has been suggested that celebrity represents an important non-state actor who is playing an increasingly prominent role in the assemblages that govern everyday civic life, but that these mediated actors have been almost entirely overlooked within existing

geographic literature. Inclusion of celebrity will illuminate a key avenue through which public facing aspects of these spaces may be governed, and the ways that knowledge around these are translated to the public via the media and celebrity.

The knowledge constructed and performed by celebrity, aims to normalise and establish branded ideas and narratives around food and humanitarian care in particular ways. This works as a cultural economic materiality that simultaneously governs the public facing landscapes of care and food, and also sells commodified celebrity products to us. That these things can happen together is not necessarily a bad thing: 'doing good' can take place at the same time as doing well and being successful. The ways that the knowledge discourses are constructed and presented by celebrities differs across the social spaces they occupy: the narratives around food, and the way they are presented by individual chefs, is distinct from the assemblages of celebrities who collectively create celebrity narratives around charity and care. In the case of the celebrity chefs, commercial success is an expected facet of their business and celebrity: being financially successful is an important aspect of the cultural authority and possible power of chefs.

For the celebrity ambassador, this research revealed that in the case of Comic Relief the mutual benefit to charity and star is openly recognised and encouraged in their relationships. The charity recognises that there are benefits to the celebrity through the television platform and exposure, but that these are matched, if not outweighed, by the creative content and entertainment they provide, and the extensive fundraising they bring in. If celebrity constructed knowledge becomes normalised in public imaginations, this has significant impacts on the cultural landscapes of care and food, how they are understood

publicly and in turn where these issues lie on political agendas. Chapter seven highlighted the way that specific cultures and cultural ideas are 'produced' and contributed to by celebrity media. This is not to suggest that celebrities are producing new forms of culture or causing some fundamental shift in the way that society works, it has not been my intention to overstate the possible impacts of celebrity power. Rather, the point is that celebrity in these examples has been demonstrated to be working in ways that impact the broader landscapes and social spheres they exist within and are able to shape how, what, when and where we engage and care about different issues.

More broadly this investigation was set against an understanding of governance structures that work 'beyond-the-state' to include assemblages of state and non-state actors in decision-making processes (Swyngedouw 2005). Celebrity has already been recognised as an important non-state actor in the cultural politics of climate change (Boykoff and Goodman 2009). Such research reveals the potential of the blurring of social boundaries and the celebritization of particular spaces as productive sites of public governance that works through new forms of power relations in sites of the everyday. The analysis of celebrity power presented here drew on Foucauldian concepts of power and governmentality to think about the actors and process that govern society within everyday life, and the private spaces and practices that become key micro-sites of governance, knowledge production and meaning making. These forms of power, and the assemblages of actors who govern, are often discussed in conceptual terms rather than examining their practical applications. This thesis has offered an empirical exploration of the mediated exercises of power at play in the everyday to consider how celebrity may be working to govern and shape the landscapes of food and care. In doing so, this contributes to academic scholarship on power, adding empirical case studies to the already well established

theoretical understandings of power. Understanding this novel, non-state actor, and its capacity to work amongst social relations of power, also has bearing within Geography.

The contribution of this thesis is not limited to literatures on power, it also contributes to geographical research on the broader thesis interests of food and care. As demonstrated in chapter four, literature on food and care within geography has, to date, not included the media or celebrity in its discussions. I have argued that this is perhaps short-sighted and that these actors have much to offer this work, particularly in thinking about the ways that public participation and debate are motivated and how information is transferred in society today. The public facing spaces, understandings, and relations to care and food in different ways has implications for their social landscapes, how policy is made, and how they are governed more broadly. This recognises celebrity and audiences engaged in collaborative projects of knowledge and meaning, making celebrities offer up branded and mediated narratives around food and/or care that are adopted by audiences in individualised ways that suit their own lives and values. At the same time the interactive, two way relational dialogue between audience and celebrity (largely through the internet and social media), permits knowledge sharing and making in much more collaborative ways. Audiences are not passive recipients of information but often critically reflect on the knowledge they receive.

One of the key arguments and contributions this project has aimed to make, is to highlight the need for the field of agro-food studies and other food research within Geography, including work on care and responsibilistion, to consider the vital role that these shifting 'mediascapes' (Appadurai, 1990) of food and care have in the broad context of politics and

everyday geographies in the UK and beyond. The extension of care over distance, for example, has been problematised within both food and care research in Geography, and could be usefully extended through the inclusion of celebrity and the media as a tool to extend the reach of caring feelings towards distant Others. Celebrity also has clear relevance to the field of Cultural Geography, and its focus on both the meaning making practices in social and cultural life, but also their interrelatedness with the economy. These mediated actors, and their permeation into multiple social realms, can widely inform the changing ways that information is constructed, performed and circulated in society, how public debate and decision making can work, and the variety of actors involved in the governance of everyday life. A review of geographical research around food, care and responsibility revealed a lack of nuance in discussions around power within these literatures, and that more importantly they had not included media or celebrity in their work. Literature on the geographies of power has so far not spoken deeply to the geographies of food and care, and vice versa. By bringing these research agendas together I have demonstrated the value to both in thinking about specific forms and exercises of power in the context of the multiple and complex relationships of power that run through these spaces at multiple spatial and temporal scales.

It is worth mentioning what areas this thesis has not covered. This thesis has not tried to claim that celebrity power is part of a fundamental shift within celebrity culture or that celebrities as a social group universally exercise power. Neither is it suggesting that celebrity power is, or is going to become the principle site of governance in society. The possibility of celebrity power is and likely will remain partial, incomplete, and contested, negotiating a balance between celebrity entertainment and cultural authority and

expertise. This thesis does however offer the inclusion of a new and mediated actor within assemblages of state and non-state governance. Defined as tools of governance the impact of celebrity across society is taken seriously. Though this idea has been only introduced within this thesis, the possibility for celebrity to govern aspects of social life in particular ways has been suggested throughout the project. Here celebrity narratives and discourses shape both the landscapes of food and care their work across and seek to govern the understanding, behaviour, relations and even bodies of the public. These are closely tied to ideas around self-governance and responsibility as celebrities seek to responsibilise audiences in ways that see them making 'better' and more reflective choices.

More broadly, this research has purposefully not engaged with the important wider debates around the spaces of food and caring. For example, I have not discussed the debates around charitable donations, and charity itself, as a development mechanism, or the role of the state in providing food information. This research did not analyse or problematise the representations of development or Other by Comic Relief, nor open up debates around celebrity providing the voice to those in need in any depth. Instead my interest and concern has been how the performances of care circulated by and through celebrity constructs particular narrative and understandings of good food or humanitarian care and in turn their wider cultural politics and indeed cultures.

8.3 Celebrity power: moments of possibility and resistance

Analysis of the practices of celebrity power reveals, perhaps unsurprisingly, a complex relationship with audiences as they interpret and disseminate the information offered by chefs and translate it into their own lives. These complex relationships demand attention

to the negotiation that audiences do as part of the 'sorting out' (Bowker and Star 1999) of choices people make around what and how to eat or care. As demonstrated throughout this thesis, the topological connections made possible through exercises of celebrity power rely on practices of knowledge gathering, contesting, and trust by audiences (Eden *et al.* 2008a). At the same time I have described the partiality and instability in the possibility of celebrity's power exercises. The power exercises and governance potentials occur only while celebrities are present within the media and public imaginations. Thus celebrity power has been defined as occurring within *moments of possibility*: fleeting or short-lived engagements with celebrities create simultaneous feelings and actions of opportunity, approval and resistance within audiences. Audiences respond to celebrities in highly individualised ways according to their own personal ideas, opinions, values and identities, resulting in a wide variety of opinions emerging towards an individual celebrity or programme. This was demonstrated most fully in chapter five through the analysis of news and social media responses to Jamie Oliver's attempts at austerity food. While some audiences enjoyed a positive relation with the chef and his show making changes in their diet for the better, others demonstrated deep resistance and hostility to the narrative Oliver constructed as well as to the chef personally.

Under celebrity's more 'positive' impacts, audiences engage in ways that increase their understanding and feelings and behaviours towards issues, and allow feelings of care to be developed and practiced. The instances of celebrity power explored here are rooted in the everyday, and the changes that they have the possibility to make are also everyday and small changes. Seeking change in small, manageable ways that do no upset people's lifestyles is a key aspect of the 'soft' exercises of power at play here often framed as 'having a go' or 'doing your bit'. Small changes should not be dismissed as insignificant: the changes

to diet made possible through celebrity chefs can have substantial impacts on the health, bodies and well-being of audiences. Likewise, changes to how we care and donate can have significant impacts on the lives, livelihoods and well-being of the Others donations help, or at least be claimed by Comic Relief. I am not suggesting that any sort of fundamental or revolutionary social change will happen through these celebrities, but that the everyday behaviours of people, be in eating less ready meals or donating to charity, can have significant impacts at both an individual and collective level. Examples of these positive impacts and engagements with celebrity have been demonstrated throughout chapter five and six. The possibility comes into being through successfully forged topological connections, the powerful social relations developed between the here and there of landscapes of food and care. This is closely tied into ideas of good citizenship, and doing the 'right' thing, so at the same time knowledge and connection can be made through positive feelings, these relationships and connections are also bound by other complex feelings of guilt, anxiety or responsibility. These have opened up here and there is scope for future research to explore more deeply the feelings that motivate audience participation in these celebrity fronted endeavours.

Audience-celebrity relationships are highly contested, and result in active audience resistance towards both the celebrity and the information they perform. Social media in particular has been used in ways that see the public directly commenting on and criticising the 'work' of a celebrity that seeks to govern public, in acts of what I have called 'talking back'. This sees individual members of the public raising negative criticism on personal social media pages, news and website comments, or even directly at the star themselves again via social media. Public shaming in these forms provides a mechanism through which celebrities may be held to account for their actions, but also acts as a form of *Schadenfreude*

that sees public delight in knocking celebrities from their pedestals (Cross and Littler 2010). The accountability of celebrity power also works through more traditional forms of media: newspapers, television shows magazines and so on. Comic Relief, for example, saw their work heavily criticised through a *BBC Panorama* television programme that questioned their investment practices and brought these issues to light in a very public way and resulted in huge loss in trust in their brand. This is not only about audiences in the form of the public: chapter five, for example, demonstrated the public 'talking back' done to Jamie Oliver in the wake of his contentious comments about poverty in Britain. This saw a range of more official voices from food poverty NGOs and public health officials criticising his misplaced comments. Most seriously was the reprimanding he received from fellow food personality Jack Monroe whose rise to fame was based on a blog of her own experiences of living in food poverty.

What the analysis of these examples of possible exercises of celebrity power reveals though the analysis of audience engagements, is that resistance and approval can occur simultaneously throughout each moment of possibility. This speaks to the complexities of audience engagements with celebrity as revealed by the audience survey; the nuances and particularities mean that it is not possible or useful to speak of audience response in generalised or universal ways. Moreover, celebrity images and power in the examples considered here has seen celebrity power and signs that are stable and strong enough that these public instances of resistance and/or criticism of their work has not threatened their image or (economic) success in any serious or lasting way. While there are increasing opportunities for the public to 'talk back' (positively and negatively), as well as hold celebrities to account for their performances, this does not yet pose any significant threat to the powerful and enduring sign of the celebrity.

8.4 Key research findings: exploring celebrity power in practice

I now want to draw out some of the key findings from the empirical research, thinking across the research as a whole as well as between the case studies in order to offer some more holistic and synthesised conclusions. Although distinct, these four points speak to the key themes emerging from this research.

8.4.1 Key finding 1: balancing celebrity, ordinariness and expertise

Firstly, an important part of the work of celebrity in their possible exercises of power is to negotiate between their status as both celebrity and 'ordinary' citizen. In very different ways, performances by celebrities in the spaces of food and care have both required these individuals to mask, or push aside their celebrity status, as a necessary part of the topological connections they seek to construct. For chefs this is about developing their function as 'lifestyle expert', a role that demands performances of ordinariness so that they may connect with audiences and is grounded in the mundane sites of everyday life: the supermarket, the kitchen or the sitting room (Lewis 2010). Taking us into their homes, kitchens, and lives these celebrities can make it seem like they are 'just like us', who have forms of expert knowledge around our everyday food consumption and cooking practices. Demotic performances of everyday activities are made spectacular and exciting through celebrity performances that seek to make audiences want to watch and try themselves. Narratives that encourage audiences to 'have a go' remove the exacting standards of professional kitchens and professional chefs, replacing them with a relaxed and informal approach to home cooking that sits at odds with the specialised cooking skills that caused chefs to rise to fame. Part of the topological power of the celebrity chef demands that they

put aside the professional attitudes and precision that grants them expertise, authority and celebrity in the first place, and be able to relate and speak to the needs and abilities of the everyday home cook.

Celebrities are entertaining and charismatic and through their performances they can inject excitement and enchantment into routine, everyday practices. Yet for all they may work to appear ordinary and 'just like us', celebrity chefs and charity ambassadors enjoy privileged lifestyles distinctly different from the daily lives of their audiences or the Others they seek to help. This tension between privileged celebrity lifestyles and ordinariness tends to be successfully managed by celebrity chefs but can be seen to bubble up in particular moments, such as Jamie's comments on food poverty or Hugh's classed definitions of 'good food' that can reveal their celebrity and that they are not as 'in touch' with everyday ordinary life as they would like us to think. Charismatic and entertaining performances of authenticity, familiarity, and approachability work to simultaneously mask the privilege of celebrity status and put viewers at ease, developing trusting relationships with audiences that help their exercises of power and governance be successful (Bennett and Holmes, 2010; Bonner, 2003).

In a different way, celebrity charity ambassadors too must put aside their celebrity status in their performances of care. As part of the film vignettes that see celebrities witnessing the lives and need of 'Others' in the places and projects they visit. As described in chapter six, these celebrities are an important mechanism in providing topological connection that facilitates the extension of care over distance. Here celebrities must put aside their celebrity status so as not to jar or distract form the serious messages being delivered around

humanitarian care with their glamorous appearances or sensational public personas. Performances that make celebrities seem 'one of us' (the audience) allow them to act as our guide and interface to need that exists far away in ways that do not scare or alarm audiences. They compare the lives of the 'Others' they meet to what we have in our own lives, but importantly not to their celebrity lives. There is a much greater tension at work here between celebrity and the people in need they meet, whose lives often could not be further apart, than with celebrity chefs. Celebrity offering the voice for the global poor is in itself highly contentious (Goodman and Barnes 2011), and one that has not been opened up in this project. These tensions can be negotiated through the celebrity performance. What the celebrity wears and how they look is important, as well as through the topological connections they may be able to develop. What is most important here is that ordinariness becomes central to the performance and possible power of celebrity chefs and charity ambassadors. They must retain an intimate and familiar communication with audiences but at the same time mask their elite, privileged social status.

8.4.2 Key finding 2: Topological connection and its specificities

Secondly, and related to these performances of ordinariness, the topological connections that may be made through powerful celebrity performances of knowledge narratives work in different ways in different social spheres and through different forms of celebrity. While there is clearly something more generally to be said about a broader shift in celebrity culture, and the rise of politicised celebrity, the particularities of celebrity power also matter greatly. In the same way that it has been argued that the moments of possibility created for audience by celebrity are responded too in ways that demand attention to the individualised and differentiated audience responses, so too must attention be granted to the specific exercises of power by particular celebrity individuals and types and the nuances

these are bound by. Within the chosen case studies here, both sets of celebrity have been demonstrated to exercise forms of topological power that have the possibility to connect audiences to different issues. However, this has also revealed some important distinctions, particularly around the role of expertise. Both the celebrity and power of chefs is anchored by their expertise and credibility as cook (though not always in a professional capacity). In order to be able to speak with authority about wider food issues, chefs have demonstrated that they are highly skilled cooks and well informed about 'good' food, cooking and health. Comic Relief's celebrities on the other hand are not required to be experts in the issues that they speak, in fact this is almost explicitly not a requirement. Instead what is important, beyond a superficial understanding of the project and issue, is that the celebrity is able to perform these issues in an interesting and emotionally intelligent way. These case studies reveal not only the different forms of expertise at play by celebrity, but also the different ways the cultural authority of celebrity is negotiated throughout their power exercise. More generally this signals that the forms of topological connection made will depend both on the type of celebrity being used, the issue they speak, and how much overlap there is between the two. No matter what form the topological connection takes it will always be mediated by and through celebrity, as will the information and behaviours performed within it.

8.4.3 Key finding 3: media production and celebrity power

Thirdly analysing the organisations 'behind the scenes' of celebrity media revealed highly organised celebrity-media production systems and partnerships that anchor and bind the work of celebrity. This granted an important insight into the ways celebrity media is developed and produced. Most significantly this revealed the extent that celebrities are directly involved in the production process shaping and determine how and why ideas are

developed, programmes content and even the material ways the programmes are made and filmed. This is not a case of the celebrity just standing in front of camera with a script, there are examples here of individual celebrities who are deeply, and actively, involved in the production of the media they perform through signalling the extent to which their possible power is tied to them as an individual.

Like the topological connections described above, there are differences between Comic Relief and chefs in the ways that celebrity power is enacted through media production. Celebrity chefs exert a much more direct control across every aspect of their media production and also have a close personal connection with those producing and broadcasting their content. Their input extents to creative control over the design and filming of their shows and their media production is an important branch of their business empire. Both Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnely-Whittingstall draw on their personal interests and values to drive what and how their programmes are made, taking a keen interest in the development, production, filming and social media associated with the shows (see chapter seven). These chefs are going far beyond providing recipes and cooking in front of a camera. Comic Relief meanwhile retain the majority of development and productive control over their shows. The charity is responsible for deciding the overarching themes of the telethons and organise the physical filming of the programmes. While celebrity may not exert the control over the development and filming of Comic Relief's fundraising shows they play a vital and powerful role in other ways. Most importantly celebrities provide the content of the programmes including comedy sketches, entertainment, music, and of course the vignette films analysed in chapter six.

Across both examples two key thematic points can be made. Firstly this analysis mapped

out the media production industries revealing the complex networks of actors involved in

the production of celebrity media. While this is not revolutionary in and of itself, it is

important here because it unveils the assemblages of multiple media actors involved in the

development, production and broadcasting of celebrity television programmes and the

wider media politics this exists against. Within this, commissioners and broadcasters hold

significant influence and editorial control over the production, content and tone of

programmes. It is important to acknowledge their role in controlling the style and content

of the programmes, as their role is entirely hidden within the finished programmes yet has

important consequences for the possibility of celebrity power. Though the possible power

exercises are driven by the interests and values of individual celebrities, there is the

potential that this could be curtailed by commissioners who do not adhere to the same

values. This, however, was not seen to be occurring at the organisations examined within

this research. Instead, what was witnessed was that the relationships celebrities and their

production staff hold with their associated commissioners can grant them trust and

freedom in the making of their programmes. So while a strong structural hierarchy exists in

the television industry that has the potential to impede the powerful reach of celebrity,

these may be overcome or worked around through relationships that grant freer reign.

A second important facet to celebrity media production is the way that technology is being

used to change the way that these forms of media are physically produced, and that in

doing so a new order is being re-established that places celebrity in maximum control of

their own media content. Taking advantage of the mobile and internet developments,

media platforms including mobile apps, websites, and social media are being used by both

individual celebrities, and their associated organisations, to develop and extend their

brands in new ways. Both celebrity chefs and Comic Relief have been demonstrated to be using these media technologies as a core innovation strategy for the work they do. Across both case studies, these technologies are vital to the continuing success of each organisation as brand leaders in their field, as well as in engaging audiences in creative and contemporary ways.

8.4.4 Key finding 4: Technology and changing mechanisms of celebrity power

As well as driving the innovation and commercial success of these organisations, technology has two other important impacts on celebrity power: on celebrity-audience relationships, and on the power of celebrity as a media producer. Firstly then, and tied to the changing power of celebrity though technology, an altered relationship between audience and celebrity is being established through changing media technologies. On a micro-scale this can be seen through social media sites such as Twitter and Instagram that give celebrities much greater control over their own public image. Social media technologies are changing celebrity culture in important ways. On the one hand it presents an opportunity for celebrities to take greater control over their public image, and generates the idea audiences are getting closer to the 'real' celebrity through insights, photos and videos into their private lives (Marshall 2010). Of course the persona we are presented with is not necessarily any more real, and is highly controlled and edited by the celebrity, but is important nonetheless in the control it offers stars over their own image. On the other hand these spaces impact on the relationships between audience and their favourite stars: the open access Twitter, Facebook and Instagram profile of celebrities offer fans and audiences the chance to have a direct line of communication to celebrity.

As well as determining what and how the public access the private lives and thoughts of celebrity, these forms of media also changes the rules of the para-social celebrity-audience relationship in fundamental ways allowing the public to talk directly to, and often to 'talk back' at, celebrities (Moores, 2007; Turner 2013). Typically one sided, and bound by a false sense of intimacy, celebrities make audiences feel close to them through conversational and familiar styles of communication (Schickel 2001). These styles of communication are not changing, but the ways that they are conducted are. This works not only to add authenticity and authority to the celebrity voice (Muntean and Petersen 2009), but also allows the possibility of two way communication that sees audiences given access to directly contact out of reach stars, and the possibility (even if it is remote) that celebrities will reply. This was demonstrated in chapter five where Jamie Oliver is tweeting fans and sharing images from audience members who have contacted him.

On a larger scale, some celebrities are using media technologies to extend their business as well as their reach and influence over audiences. Mobile apps, social media, video sharing, and interactive websites offer audiences access to celebrity and (for some) their knowledge discourses wherever they go. This has been demonstrated clearly by chefs, but has the capacity to be applied in multiple celebritized spaces. Pioneered by Jamie Oliver, technology increasingly places power over media design and content directly in the hands of the celebrity, allowing them to bypass the restrictive, controlling hand of broadcasters or commissioners. Oliver's YouTube channel, FoodTube, has been used explicitly by the chef to produce the kind of content his television broadcaster Channel 4 is not interested making, as well as to develop new talent. Over a million people subscribe to his channel, signalling public demand for these forms of food programming. At the same time as this takes power from the broadcaster, it also extents the possibility of celebrity power and its

function as a tool of governance, as celebrities are able to produce narratives according only to their own interests and values. If the knowledge produced by, and through, celebrities appears in a less dilute and unedited ways through these new media platforms, it can extend the reach of the possible power exercises by those celebrities, spreading their 'word' and brand far and wide. Through the micro-practices of everyday social and entrainment media, technology is providing mechanisms that have the potential change media production in fundamental ways.

Although there are many nuances and specificities to the exercises of celebrity power and the governance they may offer, this section has sought to draw out some of the common themes emerging from this thesis as a whole. These four points highlight the great complexity within the exercises of celebrity power and the media they work through. However, they also demonstrate the great potential these mediated actors have to act as tools of governance within different social spheres today and speak to broader shifts in the way society today works and is being governed.

8.5 Methodological reflections and future research possibilities

Here I reiterate Graeme Turner's (2010) argument that the study of celebrity must move beyond discursive analysis of the cultural text of celebrity and work to "establish a stronger base for the study of the industrial production of celebrity" (15). This thesis has responded to this call in two specific ways: firstly through examination of the effect of celebrity on media production and in their shift beyond entertainment industries and secondly, in its focus on celebrity as a 'cultural formation' and its effects. In addition it offers contribution to these meta-themes through the empirical analysis of specific celebrity case studies. This

thesis offers an empirical study of two distinct forms of celebrity and analyses their cultural effects along their entire media cycle including the media production and audience engagement. At the same token this also offered qualitative data of celebrity and their power in practice, contributing to geographical understandings of celebrity, power, food, care and audiences. Bold in its claims, a focus on the specific celebritized spaces of food and care, and particular celebrity organisations within them, narrowed the scope of the research. The multi-disciplinary approach chosen allowed to follow in depth the chosen case studies and the way celebrity power is constructed and exercised by celebrity chefs and then their impacts across audiences and society more broadly.

There are challenges to researching celebrity, not least accessing these incredibly private and hard to access networks of media and celebrity (Driessens 2013). I was fortunate in having a personal connection who was able to act as gatekeeper, and provide me with access to Jamie Oliver Limited. Without this, the research presented here may not have been possible. However, my experience of these celebritized organisations and the staff whom I interviewed were welcoming, forthcoming and interested in my research. This research has also shown the possibility of researching celebrity without the need to access the celebrity themselves. Looking behind-the-scenes at celebrity media organisations not only gave insight into the inner workings of the companies supporting the work of the celebrity, but also the way celebrities work to produce particular and mediated forms of culture around food and humanitarian care and the interactions between this and the wider cultural politics they impact.

There are some specific limitations to the research carried out within this project, most notably in the small sample that I have focused on. In addition, there are implications in the choice of celebrity space I have researched in how power is analysed. If different types of celebrity had been chosen or these had been analysed within different social spaces then a different set of topological connection and forms of power exercise may have been revealed. Although I worked to provide in-depth analysis in the case studies is provided, the focus on only three celebrity media institutions lacks breadth. This may mean it is not possible to generalise from these case studies about how celebrity power works in the production of media. In part this was a question of access, but it was more a decision about how the entire research was set up. It was more important to follow examples of celebrity across their entire mediated operation. As Turner (2010: 14) suggests, looking at the cultural text of celebrity is no longer enough and it needs to also be considered as "cultural effect" with a "social function". Thus in designing research that firstly considered the cultural text of celebrity, then its reception by audiences, and finally its development and production within the media industries forced a focus on depth rather than breadth of analysis. There is clearly great scope for future research to take up different examples of celebritized celebrity space. In a similar vein, this research has focused on the UK and the Western Anglophone representations of celebrity and celebrity culture this embodies. Research in non-Western and non-English speaking nations is necessary and lacking and would identify the different ways that celebrity is achieved, understood and engaged with (Driessens 2013).

Related to these case studies specifically, this research did not consider in any detail the problematic representations constructed of those in need as Others within Comic Relief's campaigns. These problems are furthered by the addition of celebrities, and the voice they

give to people and issues. Although this was highlighted in chapter six, little critical analysis of these representations or tensions were offered as the focus was on the power of celebrities. Future research would engage these tensions directly, analysing the representations of those in need in greater detail, as well as considering what this may mean for the power of celebrity to incite caring feelings within audiences.

The audience survey produced a novel large scale engagement with audience-celebrity relations. Although it offered a wealth of data, limits in both its function as a method and with the design of this survey itself, both discussed in detail in chapter three. There is a tension in this approach between wanting to have a large number of participants and the detail lost through this approach. It is also possible that in employing a strategic sampling technique the responses are therefore altered. This has been justified in wanting to reach an audience that were aware and engaged with celebrity culture and the specific case studies discussed here. There is scope then for future research to ask a similar set of questions to different sets of audience and to address issues of class, gender, age, and income that have not been addressed here but are likely pertinent to the way that celebrity is consumed and used. Data from the audience survey revealed interesting facets that requires more attention, particularly in the disconnect that seems to exist between attributing celebrity as a trigger for action and attributing a change in feelings and understanding around an issue. For both food and charity, the audience in the survey report that celebrities have not caused them to change their behaviours, but that they have caused them to understand or feel differently (in a positive way generally) towards the issue. Future research would build on this through firstly a shorter and more focused survey, rolled out across a wider sample group to address some of the gaps in the current survey. Secondly to conduct focus group interviews to open up audience engagements with

celebrity in greater detail, in particular dig deeper and understand the feelings, motives and behaviours facilitated by and through celebrity. This will help provide a level of qualitative detail and exploration not possible through questionnaire surveys.

However, despite these limits, this analysis provides important insights into the role of celebrity within these institutions revealing the power of celebrity within the production of particular media spaces. The definition of celebrity power I have set out in this thesis is new and so these case studies offer and important first step into thinking about the practices and possibilities of celebrity power in society today. The case studies chosen are key sites of celebrization that demonstrate the blurring of boundaries between celebrity, entertainment, and the political in ways that impact public lives in the everyday, in their private lives as well as the public facing choices they make as consumers. Moreover the understanding of celebrity power will have wider relevance than these focused examples and may be used to explain the changing role of celebrity in contemporary society and civic life, as well as the way (and indeed by whom) our lives are being governed.

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Appendix 1. Audience survey transcript

Welcome to the Celebrity Survey.

King's College London REC Reference number: REP (GSSH)/11/12-19

Thank you for taking part in this survey as part of a PhD research project in the Geography Department at King's College London. The results of this first-ever time audience survey will form the core data for the PhD and your participation and completion of the survey are key to achieving this. This anonymised questionnaire explores your knowledge, understanding and relationship to the growing importance of celebrity activists in the UK. It is divided into three sections: 1) general questions about your awareness and engagement with celebrity culture and activists, 2) questions about celebrity chefs and food politics, and 3) questions about celebrity charity ambassadors and care.

If you complete and submit your answers, which should take around 30 minutes, your details will be entered into a prize draw for one of the following:

1) An Ipod touch
2) An Ipod nano
3) Two £25 Amazon vouchers
4) Two £25 Itunes vouchers

Please take your time to complete the questions. The survey does not have to be completed in one go- you can log in an out and your progress will be saved, allowing you to fill in the survey at your convenience. There are 60 questions in total, the majority of which are multiple choice. None of the questions are compulsory. Upon completion you will have a chance to see the results to date of you're an others responses, and asked if you will be willing to take part in short interview and/or focus group sessions after the survey.

By submitting a competed survey you are giving permission for your responses to be used as part of this PhD research. All questionnaires are completed anonymously so if you participate it will not be possible to identify you by name in the thesis. If you agree to take part you will be asked whether you are happy to be contacted about future studies. Your participation in this study will not be affected should you choose not to be re-contacted. Details kept for the prize draw will be stored separately from the other survey information and will be destroyed following the prize draw. This research has been granted ethical

approval by the King's College Ethics Committee Geography, Social Science, Health and Medicine Panel, study reference REP (GSSSHM)/11/12-19.

If you have any further questions about this research or your participation you can contact the researcher at King's College London, Christine Barnes at Christine.barnes@kcl.ac.uk

Thank you again for your participation and click on the link to begin the survey.

Celebrity activism

1. Please name up to ten celebrities you feel might be considered activists or philanthropists, who have fronted charity campaigns or causes or may have spoken out on a particular issue.

2. Out of the following list, who are you aware of having advocated or spoken out for a cause, charity or issue? Please tick all that apply.
   - Bono
   - Bill Gates
   - Angelina Jolie
   - Brad Pitt
   - Leonardo DiCaprio
   - Scarlett Johansson
   - Chris Martin
   - Joanna Lumley
   - Cheryl Cole
   - Matt Damon
   - Thom Yorke
   - Annie Lennox
   - Lenny Henry
   - Helen Mirram
   - Sting
   - Ricky Gervais
   - David Walliams
   - Gwyneth Paltrow
   - George Clooney
   - Jack Johnston
   - Lance Armstrong

- Judi Dench
- Stephen Fry
- Kate Moss
- Vivienne Westwood
- Dermot O'leary
- Davina McCall
- Oprah Winfrey
- Hugh Fearnely-Whittingstall
- Jamie Oliver
- David Beckham
- Roger Federa
- Colin Firth
- Jon Bon Jovi
- Elton John
- Madonna
- Justin Bieber
- Simon Cowell
- Bob Geldof
- Dawn French
- Jennifer Saunders
- Other

3. Rank your top 5 activist celebrities and explain why you have ranked them in this order and why they are your top celebrities.

4. Please name any celebrities you feel are now known for their activism more or equal to their status as a 'typical' celebrity. Please explain why you feel this way in the space provided.

5. Please name up to 5 charities, issues or causes you know or believe use celebrities in their campaigns.

6. Of the following list, which charities have used or do use celebrities in their campaigns? Tick all that apply.

- Oxfam

- Fairtrade

- The Red Cross

- Unicef

- Action Aid

- Comic Relief

- Children in Need

- PETA

- UN

- Save the children

- WWF

- Shelter

- Greenpeace

- Friends of the Earth

- Cool Earth

- Christian Aid

- Make-a-wish foundation

- The Salvation Army

- RSPCA

- NSPCC

- British Heart Foundation

- Make Poverty History

- Rainforest Alliance

- Amnesty International

- Stand up to cancer

- Other

7. Please rank your top 5 charities and provide a reason or reasons why you have ranked them in this way.

8. In what ways do you engage with or have you been exposed to celebrity activist or celebrity fronted campaigns? Tick all that apply
    - In an advertisement for a product or service
    - In an advertisement for a cause, issue or organisation

- A news story
- In a magazine
- TV
- Radio
- Internet
- Specialist websites such as looktothestars.com or ecorazzi.com
- Facebook, Google plus or other social media
- Twitter
- Directly from the charity (newsletter/website/event)
- Hearing the celebrity at an event
- Meeting the celebrity at an event
- Though working or volunteering at a charity
- Other

9. What do you think about the motivations of celebrities in fronting so many causes, charities and issues? Tick all that apply.
   - It is a way for celebrities to promote the products they endorse
   - They have a concern for the cause or issue
   - They have a concern for the charity or organisation
   - It enhances the celebrity's publicity
   - It enhances the charity's or causes publicity
   - It is a way for celebrities to recover or fight against negative publicity
   - They may have been encouraged by their celebrity friends to take up these concerns
   - Celebrities care more now than in the past
   - There are more opportunities for celebrities to front campaigns and issues than in the past
   - There is an expectation that celebrities will front causes, issues and charities
   - Other

10. What do you think motivates causes and charities to use celebrities so much now? Please tick all that apply.
    - To distinguish themselves from other charities, issues, campaigns and organisations

- To increase their media coverage

- To increase their public awareness

- To increase their donations

- To reach new and/or different audiences

- There is now an expectation of the use of celebrities by causes or charities

- This is the only way to gain media attention in the current media climate

- This is the only way to raise public awareness in the current media climate

- To make causes and issues more 'fashionable' or 'trendy'

- To attract the attention of younger members of the public

11. Who or what are the main driving forces of growth of celebrity activism and celebrity-fronted campaigns? Please choose up to three options.
    - The celebrities themselves

    - The media

    - Social media

    - The charities/organisations

    - Society

    - Audiences

    - Donors

    - Other

12. What do you think about the relationship between celebrities and causes, issues and or charities? Please tick all that apply.
    - The relationship make complex issues easier to understand

    - The relationship makes charity, concern and care just another product to buy

    - The relationship provides information in a different format

    - The relationship makes charity a short lived trend

    - The relationship allows engagement with an issue or charity by people who wouldn't otherwise engage with those issues

    - The relationship can make you want to avoid an issue you care about because you don't like the celebrity fronting the campaign

    - The relationship provides a forum for the public debate of important topics

    - The relationship is now one of the only ways that charities have to act to get media attention

- The relationship provides greater media access to the campaign or issue
- The relationship is now the new norm for charity and issue campaigning
- The relationship is a way for celebrities to promote the products they endorse
- The relationship is now an established part of the political process
- The relationship brings in greater donations
- The relationship is a necessary part of 'getting the message out there'
- The relationship provides opportunity for celebrities to use their popularity and voice for a good cause
- The relationship the relationship is a way for celebrities to promote themselves
- The relationship trivialises issues
- The relationship makes causes more popular
- The relationship makes engagement with causes more fashionable
- The relationship makes it easier to identify and relate to causes
- The relationship distracts from the real (political) issues at hand
- Other

13. What do you think other people think about the relationship between celebrities and causes, issues and/or charities? Please tick all that apply.
- The relationship make complex issues easier to understand
- The relationship makes charity, concern and care just another product to buy
- The relationship provides information in a different format
- The relationship makes charity a short lived trend
- The relationship allows engagement with an issue or charity by people who wouldn't otherwise engage with those issues
- The relationship can make you want to avoid an issue you care about because you don't like the celebrity fronting the campaign
- The relationship provides a forum for the public debate of important topics
- The relationship is now one of the only ways that charities have to act to get media attention
- The relationship provides greater media access to the campaign or issue
- The relationship is now the new norm for charity and issue campaigning
- The relationship is a way for celebrities to promote the products they endorse
- The relationship is now an established part of the political process
- The relationship brings in greater donations

- The relationship is a necessary part of 'getting the message out there'
- The relationship provides opportunity for celebrities to use their popularity and voice for a good cause
- The relationship the relationship is a way for celebrities to promote themselves
- The relationship trivialises issues
- The relationship makes causes more popular
- The relationship makes engagement with causes more fashionable
- The relationship makes it easier to identify and relate to causes
- The relationship distracts from the real (political) issues at hand
- Other

14. Please elaborate on what you think about the relationship between celebrities, causes, issues and/or charities.

15. In thinking about the characteristics or traits of what makes a suitable celebrity activist, please complete the following sentence: 'celebrity activists should be.....'; name up to 5 characteristics or traits in total.

16. From the list below, what do you feel are the most important characteristics that individual celebrities must and/or should have as activists or the fronts for campaigns/issues? Please choose up to 3 responses.
- Authoritative
- Knowledgeable
- Credible
- Expertise
- Popular
- Experienced
- Authentic
- Believable
- Sympathetic/empathetic
- Likeable
- Someone to emulate
- Reliable

- Trustworthy
- Honest
- Articulate
- Attractive
- Large media exposure
- Long career as celebrity or public figure
- Endorser/advocate
- Known for charity work
- Powerful
- Other

17. How important is the credibility, trustworthiness and expertise of the charity, cause or issue that celebrity activists front?

   -Very important

   - Important

   - Neither important or unimportant

   - Not important

   - Not at all important

18. Are celebrities able to become more credible, trustworthy or expert on an issue through their association with credible charities? Please explain why or why not below.

19. How does the use of celebrity activists affect the credibility of charities, causes and issues?
   - It makes charities, campaigns and celebrities more credible
   - It doesn't make charities, campaigns and celebrities more or less credible.
   - It makes them less credible
   - Changes to the credibility of a charity, cause or issue depend on the celebrity fronting a campaign
   - Other

20. On the whole do you feel you make more attention to celebrity fronted campaigns than other campaigns?

- Yes
- No
- Depends
- Depends on the celebrity

21. On the whole do you feel other people pay more attention to celebrity fronted campaigns than other campaigns?
    - Yes
    - No
    - Depends
    - Depends on the celebrity

22. Please elaborate on whether you feel you and others pay more attention to celebrity-fronted campaigns than other campaigns and why that might be the case.

23. Do you think that celebrity fronted campaigns are making you more informed about the issues they are fronting?
    - Yes
    - No
    - Depends of the specific campaign
    - Depends on the celebrity

24. Has a celebrity activist and/or celebrity fronted campaign made you care more about a cause, concern or issue?
    - Yes
    - No
    - Depends on the charity
    - Depends on the celebrity

25. If so in what ways have you acted on this caring emotion?
    - Donated money to a charity or campaign fronted by a celebrity
    - Looked for more information on an issue
    - Looked for more information on a charity
    - Looked for more information on a celebrity

- Donated money to a similar charity, issue or campaign

- Donated to a cause recommended by a celebrity

- No action taken

- Other

26. Do you think celebrities should have this elevated voice in society to talk about issues and causes in the ways that they do? Why or why not?

27. What other ways should issues and campaigns either continue or further publicise their concern to the public?
   - Traditional campaigning methods e.g. flyers, advertisements and/or events
   - Use images and statements from those they are trying to help
   - Social media
   - Internet petitions
   - Use experts from the field
   - Public service announcements
   - Phone calls and canvassing
   - Street fund raising
   - Use news media more
   - Other

Food

28. In general where do you most regularly get your information about food i.e. what and how to eat? Please choose 3 and explain why below.
   - Television
   - Newspapers
   - Food labels
   - Friends and family
   - Government
   - Internet
   - Government
   - Non-governmental organisations and campaigns
   - Food brands and supermarket advertising

- Food programmes
- Other

29. Who do you trust to inform you about what and how to eat? Please tick all that apply.
  - Television
  - Newspapers
  - Food labels
  - Friends and family
  - Government
  - Internet
  - Government
  - Non-governmental organisations and campaigns
  - Food brands and supermarket advertising
  - Food programmes
  - Other

30. Please name up to 5 celebrity chefs you are aware of.

31. Which of the following food programmes have you ever watched? Please tick all that apply.
  - Jamie's 30 minute meals
  - River Cottage
  - Gordon's Kitchen Nightmares
  - Hugh's Fish Fight
  - The Great British Food Revival
  - Masterchef
  - Heston's Feasts
  - Rachel Ray
  - Saturday Kitchen
  - Iron Chef
  - F-word
  - Fabulous Baker Boys
  - Hairy Bikers

- The Delicious Miss Dahl

- Nigel Slater's Simple Suppers

- Man vs food

- The Great British Bake Off

- Jamie at Home

- Nigella Express

- Jamie's Food Revolution

- The People's Supermarket

- Supersize vs Superskinny

- You are what you eat

- Cooker School

- How to cook like Heston

- Come Dine with Me

- The Food Hospital

- Cook yourself thin

- Dispatches: School Dinners

- Food Unwrapped

- Nigellissima

- Hugh's Chicken Run

- Jamie Saves our Bacon

- Gordon's Great Escape

- Other

32. For the shows you watch regularly, tell us why. Please tick all that apply.

- Information about food

- Entertainment

- To learn to cook new dishes

- Just happened to be in

- Like the chef or presenter

- To learn about particular food issues

- To learn more about diet and health

- Interest in food and cooking

- Had seen the show advertised in the media

- You always watch the shows of that chef/presenter

- Encouraged to watch by friends or family
- Other

33. When thinking about food and cooking in the media, how do you predominantly engage with celebrity chefs? Please tick all that apply.
    - Television
    - Newspapers
    - Magazines
    - Cookbooks
    - DVDs
    - Magazines
    - Chef's websites
    - Other food websites
    - Social media
    - Food blogs
    - Chef branded food products
    - Chef branded kitchen or lifestyle products
    - Other

34. Please name up to 5 celebrity chef cookbooks owned by you, or anyone in your household.

35. Do you or anyone is your household own any of the following celebrity chef cookbooks?
    - Delia's Complete Cookery Course
    - Jamie at Home
    - Jamie's 15 or 30 Minute meals
    - Jamie's Ministry of Food
    - Jamie's Italy
    - Jamie's Great Britain
    - Delia Smith's Christmas
    - Delia's Complete How to Cook
    - Cook with Jamie
    - Lorraine Pascale's Cooking Made Easy

- Lorraine Pascale's Baking Made Easy

- Hugh's Three Good Thing's

- River Cottage Everyday

- River Cottage Veg Everyday

- Yotam Ottolenghi Plenty

- Heston Blumenthal at Home

- Nigella Express

- Nigellissima

- Nigella Christmas

- Gordon Ramsay's Ultimate Cookery Course

- Gordon Ramsay's Healthy Appetite

- Ramsay's Best Menu

- Gordon Ramsay F-Word

- Nigel Slater Appetite

- Nigel Slater Kitchen Diaries

- Paul Hollywood How to bake

- Mary Berry's Baking Bible

- The Fabulous Baker Brothers

- Gok Cooks Chinese

- Hairy Bikers Cookbook

- Other

36. How often do you cook from a celebrity chef's cookbook?

- Never

- Daily

- Once or twice a week

- Twice a month

- Once a month

- Once or twice a year

- Only for special occasions such as birthday, Christmas, dinner party

- Other

37. Are there any particular chefs you feel have directly influenced your knowledge or understanding about food or food issues.

38. How do chefs affect your feelings about food? Please tick all that apply.

- Encourages you to eat less processed food

- Makes you think more about what you eat

- Makes you think more about what your family and friends eat

- Makes you think more about where you shop

- Makes you think more about your health

- Makes you think more about where your food has come from

- Makes you care more about the chef

- Encourages you to cook more

- Make you more likely to read food labels

- Encourages you to learn more about food issues

- Encourages you to watch more similar food programmes

- Other

39. Do you care more about what or how you eat, or a particular food issue as a result of watching a celebrity chef? Please elaborate in the box below.

- Yes

- No

- Maybe

40. How has your behaviour around food changed as a result of watching celebrity fronted programmes? Please tick all that apply.

- Change the way you eat

- Encourage you to cook more

- Encouraged you to eat out more

- Changes the places you shop for food

- Changed the type of food you buy

- Encouraged you to eat less processed food and ready meals

- Encouraged you to buy local food

- Changed your menu or meals you cook

- Encouraged you to buy more organic food

- Encouraged you to buy more Fair Trade food

- Encouraged you to avoid particular foods

- Encouraged you to avoid particular brands
- Encouraged you to pay more attention to food labels
- Other

41. Do you think chefs should be doing more than teaching people how to cook? For example should they be speaking out about the food we eat, food politics and policy? Please elaborate in the box below.
    - Yes
    - No
    - Maybe

42. What do you think motivates celebrity chefs to participate in food politics (i.e. getting governments to change food policy and become involved in debates around food beyond cooking?? Please tick all that apply.
    - Personal concern over an issue
    - Commission from a TV channel
    - To join in with other chefs
    - Audience demand for this type of food programming
    - As a way to raise their public profile
    - As a way for them to make more money
    - As a way for them to expand their brand
    - Wider social concern
    - To be seen to be giving back and doing more than just cooking
    - Other

43. Do you think they are knowledgeable of, or could be considered an expert in food politics?
    - Yes
    - No
    - Maybe

44. Does a celebrity chef's expertise in cooking food lend them greater credibility in speaking out on food related issues? Please elaborate in the box below.
    - Yes

- No
- Maybe

45. Who do you consider to be an expert in food politics and why?

46. Which characteristics do you think are important in allowing chefs to speak out on food issues? Please tick up to 3 options.
    - Knowledgeable about food, health and cooking
    - Expertise about food, health and cooking
    - Trustworthy
    - Charismatic
    - Credible
    - Popular
    - Entertaining
    - Authoritative
    - Genuine interest or concern in issues
    - Caring
    - Skilled as a cook
    - Experiences in food politics and campaigning
    - Knowledge about food politics, issues and campaigns
    - Other

Charity

47. Which of the following televised charity fundraisers have you ever watched?
    - Red Nose Day
    - Sport Relief
    - Children in Need
    - Other

48. Which of the following televised charity fundraisers do you watch regularly?
    - Red Nose Day
    - Sport Relief
    - Children in Need
    - Other

49. Why did you watch these televised fundraisers?

- Interested in issues around child poverty and/or international development
- Media advertising
- Entertainment
- Wanted to donate money
- To learn more about a particular issue
- Just happened to be on
- To watch your favourite celebrity
- Something you always watch
- Other

50. Did you donate money during any of these events? If so how much?

- No
- £0-£5
- £5-10
- £10-15
- £15-20
- £20-30
- Over £30
- I bought a product that made a donation
- Other

51. If you donated what in particular prompted you to give money? Please choose one answer.

- A particular issue
- A video of those in need
- Personal experience of an issue
- A video of a celebrity emotional response
- Prior knowledge of an issue
- Celebrity based entertainment
- Other

52. Does it make any difference if the focus of the campaign is UK or internationally based? Which are you more likely to donate money to?
    - Much more likely to donate to international campaigns
    - Slightly more likely to donate to international campaigns
    - Focus of campaigns makes no difference
    - Unlikely to donate to either
    - Slightly more likely to donate to UK based campaigns
    - Much more likely to donate to UK based campaigns

53. How have celebrities affected your feelings towards issues around international development, poverty and children's welfare? Please tick all that apply.
    - They have made me care more about these issues.
    - They have made me care more about the celebrities involved in these campaigns
    - They have made me care less about these issues
    - They have made me more likely to engage with other charities and campaigns
    - They have no impact on my feelings towards these issues
    - Other

54. How have celebrities in these charity campaigns affected your knowledge and understanding towards a particular issue? Please tick all that apply.
    - I have been made aware of an issue I was previously unaware of
    - I now have a better understanding of an issue
    - I am more confused about an issue I thought I understood
    - I have or will look for more information about an issue as a result of a celebrity in a campaign
    - My understanding of an issue has increased but not because of a celebrity
    - I only watched the programme/campaign because of the celebrity involved
    - Other

55. Do you trust celebrities within these televised fundraising events as a source of knowledge around issues of international development and/or child poverty? Please elaborate in the space below.

56. How much does the particular celebrity matter within these campaigns? How important is it that you like the celebrity fronting a particular campaign?

- Very Important. I will only listen if it's a celebrity I like
- Quite important. I listen more if it's a celebrity I like
- Neither important or unimportant
- Quite unimportant- celebrities catch my attention but it doesn't need to be someone I like
- Very unimportant. I will listen to campaign messages whoever fronts them, a celebrity makes no difference
- Don't know

57. What do you think celebrities bring to these types of charity campaigns and fundraisers? Please tick all that apply?

- Raises public awareness about an issue
- Increases donations to charities and campaigns
- Raises the celebrity's public profile
- Helps reach new and/or different audiences
- Makes causes seem more fashionable
- Increases media attention for charities and campaigns
- A distraction from the real issues at hand
- Provides a forum for public debate around these issues
- A necessary method for charities to get their message 'out there'
- A way for celebrity to use their voice for a good cause
- Transforms charity, care and concern into another product to buy
- They make complex issues more accessible
- They trivialise serious political issues by turning them into entertainment
- They help promote celebrity's personal projects and brands
- Other

58. What do you think motivates celebrities to participate in charity campaigns and projects such as Children in Need or Comic Relief? Please tick all that apply.

- Personal concern over an issue
- Wider social concern over an issue encourages celebrities to participate

- Commission from a TV channel
- To join in with other celebrities
- To be seen to be doing more than being celebrities, as a way of 'giving back'
- Audience demand for this type of fundraising
- As a way for them to raise their celebrity profile
- As a way for them to expand their brand and/or promote their products
- Personal experience of an issue
- They are considered experts in the issues they speak out for
- They feel like they are able to reach wider audiences
- Demand from charities to use celebrities in their campaigns
- Other

59. Often these campaigns take celebrities to the places of those in need and use their emotional responses as a way to demonstrate a need for care. How does watching these types of celebrity emotional response affect your feelings towards an issue? Please choose one answer.
- Makes me have an emotional response
- Makes me care more about the issue
- Makes me care more about the celebrity
- Encourages me to donate money
- It depends on the celebrity involved
- Makes me care less about an issue
- Makes me focus on the issue at hand
- Makes me focus on the celebrity rather than the issue
- Turns serious issues into entertainment
- Makes me laugh at the celebrity
- Other

60. Have there been times when you have had an emotional response to a charity or campaign without a celebrity? If so please elaborate in the box below.

61. Do you find it a problem that celebrities with typically rich and luxurious lifestyles are increasingly providing the voice of the global poor and those in need?
- Yes

- No

- Depends on the celebrity

- Depends on the charity or campaign

- Other

Demographics

62. What is your gender?

    - Male

    - Female

    - Prefer not to say

63. What is your age?

    - Under 18

    - 18-21

    - 22-25

    - 25-30

    - 31-40

    - 41-50

    - 51-60

    - 61 or over

    - Prefer not to say

64. What is the highest level of educational qualification you hold?

    - GSCE or Standard Grades

    - A-levels, Scottish Highers or equivalent

    - Bachelor's degree

    - Master's degree

    - Doctorate

    - Other professional qualification

    - ONC/BTECH

    - Prefer not to say

    - No qualifications

    - Other

65. Are you currently enrolled as a student?

- Yes (undergraduate)

- Yes (Masters)

- Yes (PhD)

- No I am in full time paid employment

- No I am in part time paid employment

- No I am currently unemployed

- Prefer not to say

- Other

66. Please tell us which country you currently live. If you live in the UK please enter the first part of your postcode.

Thank you for taking part in this celebrity survey. Please enter your email address in the box below if you would like to be entered into the prize draw.

Appendix 2. Interview schedule

Organisation	Role	Date
Media Consultant Agency	Director	7/3/13
Media Consultant Agency	Director	21/3/13
Jamie Oliver Limited	Creative Director	17/1/13
Jamie Oliver Limited	Marketing Manager	30/1/113
Jamie Oliver Limited	Publishing	28/5/13
Jamie Oliver Limited	Digital Production Manager	4/6/13
Keo Films	Development Producer	8/11/13
Keo Films	Development Producer	8/11/13
Keo Films	Multiplatform and Development Producer	11/11/13
Comic Relief	Operations Director	26/8/13
Comic Relief	Marketing Director	20/8/13
Comic Relief	Artist Liaison Officer	12/6/14
Comic Relief	Sport Relief Developer	23/6/14
Save the Children	Head of PR	1/10/13

Appendix 3. Example questions for semi-structured interviews

<u>Background</u>

- Can you tell me a bit about your career?
- Can you tell me about your current role working at X?
- Can you describe the role and aims of your organisation?

<u>Understanding celebrity relationships in charities</u>

- Can you tell me about your organisations relationship with celebrities?
- Why do you use celebrities in campaigns?
- How important are they to the work you do and your brand?
- What do you get from working with celebrities?
- Practically, how does the relationship work?
    - Do you have a list of people you want to work with or do they approach you?
    - How do you decide which campaigns use a celebrity, and which celebrity to use?
    - How important is it to take celebrities to see the work you do?
    - Logistically how do you arrange celebrity visits?
    - Do they always have someone from your office with them?
    - Who provides the information about the projects to celebrities?
    - Are you looking to develop long term relationships with particular artists?
- What are the differences between celebrity entertainment and celebrity fundraising in your shows? How do you balance these?
- How much input do celebrities have into the content, either in films of project visits or live show? (i.e. are they scripted)
- How do you assess the impact of celebrity in your campaigns? Do you measure awareness and donation?
- Are there any examples of celebrities that have worked particularly well for you in terms of fundraising? Can you explain to me why in a bit more detail?
- What do you think it is about that person that people respond to?
- What makes a strong celebrity performance from your perspective?
- Do you want or look for an emotional response from celebrities?
- Do you track or monitor responses to individual celebrities?

- What role does social media play? Or mobile/internet technologies?

- Has technology changed the way you fundraise? Or interact with your audience?

- How much impact does the wider media and/or charity landscape have on your work?

Celebrity chefs

- What are the core brand values of the company?

- How involved is the chef in the brand values?

- How much influence do they have on the direction of the business? And the working culture/environment?

- How much input does he have in to different projects?

- Different types of food programming and what they want to do.

- How important is it to educate audiences?

- Balancing education and entertainment?

- Where does the interest in more campaigning projects originate?

- What is your relationship like with your broadcaster?

- How much does the broadcaster determine the programmes that get made?

- Is the chef bound to a contract with the channel, if so how does this work?

- Role of social media for what they do.

- How much of the social media/ website/newsletter content is provided by the chef?

- How is it used in the campaigning that you do? (e.g. Fish Fight)

- Technology, especially mobile apps, changing what they do how?

- Can you tell me a bit about the relationships between chef, the company and audiences?

- How are websites and/or social media used to change relationships with, and engagement of audiences?

- What are you wanting or hoping audiences do?

- Assessing impact- what are people doing with the information they receive?

- Difference between chef's public image and 'real' self?

- What is their presence like beyond the UK?

- How aware of their influence and power do you think they are? How does that impact what they do?

- Do you measure their impact at all?

- What impact do you think this chef has on food culture in the UK?

- Impact of celebrity chefs more generally?

Celebrity chef media production

- How does the development process work?

- Do your shows tend to be developed in house or commissioned?

- How many ideas are successfully developed?

- How much input does the chef have to the development of programmes?

- Is the process different working with a celebrity chef (as the owner of the company and biggest name)?

- At what stage do the talent become involved in the development of an idea?

- Relationship with broadcaster and commissioner?

- What is the role of the chef in the production of programmes as they are being filmed? How much input do they have over they style, filming, script etc.?

- Who retains the final say and sign off on the content and style of programmes as they are being filmed?

- To what extent are celebrity chef's programmes driven by their own interests and ideas?

- How well are the chef's personal food ideas and values represented through the programmes?

- What impact do the chef's ideas and values have on the working environment at the company more broadly?

- Influence of wider media and/or food issues on what gets developed?

- Influence of what other chefs are doing?

- Do you know who your audience are and does that affect what or how you make programmes?

- What impact does technology, especially the internet, have on how you are producing content?

- Do you do any audience research once the programmes have been broadcast?

- How similar are different chef production companies in the way they operate?

- How important is commercial viability of a show when you are developing ideas?

- How much input or control do the broadcaster have on the websites that run alongside television programmes?

Appendix 4: Information sheet for interview participants

REC Reference Number: REP(GGS)/11/12-19

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

<u>Celebrity Governance: Exploring sites of celebrity power in the UK.</u>

We would like to invite you to participate in this postgraduate research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. If you decide to take part you will be given a copy of this information sheet and asked to sign a consent form.

<u>Research Aims.</u>

This research aims to investigate the rising power of celebrity to influence public behaviour in particular ways. This will be achieved through three specific aims;

1) Mapping the historical rise of celebrity culture, and the growth of celebrity activism and politics.

2) Critically examining the nature and operation of celebrity authority.

3) Investigating what the rise of celebrity tells us about the nature of governance and authority in contemporary political economies.

This project aims to investigate three different and novel forms of celebrity governance in the UK:

1) Celebrity chefs and their impacts on food consumption and food politics.

2) The governance of public emotion and caring through the growth of celebrity-charity relationships.

This research explores the shift of celebrity away from entertainment based roles to participate in more political and activist activities. It is important to explore the new and unexpected ways celebrities may hold power to influence public behaviours and how then celebrity may be used in the future by different groups to promote certain issues.

Research Process.

This research involves interviews with programming, press and marketing officers at selected TV production companies, charities and bars/restaurants. Each representative will be contacted by email, and provided with a copy of this information sheet (on email and at the interview). I will conduct the interview, which will be semi-structured, and participants will be provided with a list of themes/areas to be addressed prior to the interview, if they decide to participate in the research. The aims and objectives of the research will be outlined at the beginning of each interview. In addition, the participant will be asked to sign a consent form, which I will discuss with them at the beginning of the interview. If you agree to take part in this study an interview will be arranged at a time and location of your convenience and are expected to take an hour. Interviews will be recorded, subject to your permission. Recordings of interviews will be deleted upon transcription. Transcription will be conducted solely by the researcher and data will not be accessible by any other party beyond the final report. Upon completion of the Phd participants will be provided with a summary of key research findings. It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw without giving a reason. In addition to withdrawing yourself from the study, you may also withdraw any data/information you have already provided up until it is transcribed for use in the final report on 1st August 2014.

Ensuring Anonymity and Confidentiality:

The aims and objectives of the research will be outlined at the beginning of each interview. In addition, participants will be asked to sign a consent form at the beginning of the session. If you agree to take part in this study an interview will be arranged at a time and location

of your convenience and are expected to take an hour. Discussions will be recorded, subject to your permission. Recordings of interviews will be deleted upon transcription. Transcription will be conducted solely by the researcher and data will not be accessible by any other party beyond the final report. Upon completion of the Phd participants will be provided with a summary of key research findings. It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw without giving a reason. In addition to withdrawing yourself from the study, you may also withdraw any data/information you have already provided up until it is transcribed for use in the final report on 1st August 2014.

Contact details of researcher:

If you have any further questions about this research or your participation you can contact the researcher at King's College London using the details below:

Christine Barnes,

PhD Researcher,

Environment, Politics and Development Research Group,

Department of Geography

King's College London

Strand,

London,

WC2R 2LS

Email: Christine.barnes@kcl.ac.uk

If this study has harmed you in any way please contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information:

Dr Mike Goodman, Senior Lecturer, Environment, Politics and Development Research Group, Department of Geography, King's College London, Strand, London, WC2R 2LS

(Michael.k.goodman@kcl.ac.uk).

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: Celebrity Governance: Exploring sites of celebrity power in the UK.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref:_ REP(GGS)/11/12-19

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

- I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to the point writing up is completed on 1st August 2014.

- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.

- I consent to my interview being recorded.

- The information you have submitted will be published as part of a PhD thesis and you will be sent a summary of research findings.

Participant's Statement:

I _____

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed   Date

Mediating good food and moments of possibility with Jamie Oliver: Problematising celebrity chefs as talking labels

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the powerful and mediating role of celebrity chefs over audience relationships with food through analysis of Jamie Oliver and his recent series *Save with Jamie*. The paper firstly situates the role of celebrity chefs theoretically, defining them as 'talking labels' who may act both as knowledge intermediaries and boundary objects to connect audiences with food in multiple ways. Here chefs actively construct and mediate discourses around 'good food'. As trusted, credible, well-liked public figures, chefs step into out private home spaces through our televisions to convey food information in a charismatic, entertaining and accessible way. Like traditional food labels, chef's words can be 'sticky' and take hold in public imaginations in a way that goes far beyond the capacity of food products labels. Yet the relationship between chefs and audiences is far from straightforward and so the paper secondly aims to explore how these talking labels are understood and 'used' by audiences in their everyday food practices. Drawing selectively from a large scale audience survey ($n = 600$) as well as the series, *Save with Jamie*, this paper reveals the different ways that audiences 'talk back' to chefs both positively and negatively to create moments of simultaneous possibility and resistance for audience relations with food. This revealed complex relationships between audiences, chefs and food. It also suggests that the powerful work on celebrity chefs functions as part of a new mediated mechanism within today's food governance.

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Introduction

Jamie, Nigella, Hugh, Gordon, Heston, Delia. In the UK, many television chefs are so familiar to us that their first name is all we need to think of them. Their cookery shows, recipe books, and their warm, welcoming personality are all designed to provide an hour or so of entertainment. Yet, as scholars in cultural and media studies have articulated, celebrity and television chefs are so much more than just entertainment (Salkin, 2013). For example, Joanne Hollows and colleagues detail the ways that celebrity chefs such as Jamie Oliver offer a particular form of 'domestic masculinity' that works to disavow cooking as a form of labour (Hollows, 2003). This also speaks to the ways in which he has been legitimated as a 'moral and social entrepreneur' with the authority to fix the ills of 'broken Britain' through the responsibilisation of individual eaters (Hollows and Jones, 2010). Slocum et al. (2011)—also focusing on Jamie in the context of his US-based, healthy-eating Food Revolution working to '…change how America eats, one lunch at a time' (178)—critically assess the ways that the programme not only shamed and ridiculed the poor and their

diets, but that it failed to even mention, let alone confront, the structural inequalities institutionalised in the foodscapes of the US. Related research on Hugh Fearnley–Whittingstall (Bell and Hollows, 2011), a key purveyor of the 'campaigning culinary documentary' in the UK (Bell et al., this issue), critiques the 'inevitably classed' aspects of ethical consumption that is produced through Hugh's various desires to get us to eat more ethically. Thus, celebrity chefs and their embodied 'figures' enter fully into our private home spaces through television, cookbooks and the internet to construct and mediate knowledge around food, at the same time they seek to influence and disciple our food choices and practices, most notably around the debatable notions of 'good food' (Abbots, forthcoming).

Building on this recent cultural studies scholarship, this paper works to not only take celebrity chefs seriously, but to further analyse their roles as key figures that mediate our relationship to food. In this, the paper works to contribute to current debates about the ways our 'worlds of food' (Morgan et al., 2006) are governed in contemporary societies (e.g. Friedberg, 2004; Guthman, 2003; Guthman and Mansfield, 2013; Mansfield, 2012). To do so, I focus on the powerful mediating and governing role of the media, here in the form of celebrity chefs, on society-food relationships. While only beginning to be touched on in geographical scholarship (Piper, 2013; Slocum et al., 2011) and often done so only in passing

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(e.g. Goodman et al., 2010), it is my hope that this paper, in conjunction with the rest of this special issue, begins to highlight the importance of critical scholarship on the role of the food media in shaping the complex, situated and multiple ways of being with, relating to and eating food.

Overall the paper has two key aims. First, I wish to conceptually situate celebrity chefs within the work of Sally Eden and colleagues (Eden, 2011; Eden et al., 2008a, 2008b). This influential work has usefully employed empirically-grounded discussions of food labels to show how they work to mediate information between food and consumers. In drawing on this work, I suggest that celebrity chefs are a form of 'talking label' similar to food labels; as such, they act as both a cultural intermediary and boundary object to construct knowledge around choosing/shopping, cooking and eating and connect audiences to food and themselves. Traditional food labels and chefs have points of overlap in their provision of branded knowledge to consumers. What today's celebrity chefs uniquely offer though, is a conveyance and translation of large amounts of complex food and nutrition information in a living, breathing 'package'. The talking label attempts to be understandable and accessible to the public, and ideally serves as a familiar, engaging and trusted figure allowing a more human connection than labelled goods siting on a shelf. Yet unlike an inanimate label, the 'talking label' is more vulnerable to inconsistency and contradictions, especially given their capacity to engage with their audience in real-time formats through platforms such as Twitter.

Yet, what do audiences actually think about these interventions and the things that celebrity chefs are saying to them about food? This then is the second aim of this paper: An exploration of how these talking labels are understood, 'used' by audiences and, thus, in effect, talked 'back' to in different ways and formats as audiences use them both to change their diet but also to resist these 'better' ways of eating. This is explored through two different research encounters and empirical contexts: the first involves the responses to an online survey that asked audiences about their engagements with celebrity chefs. While part of a much larger survey on the 'celebritisation' of society (e.g. Chouliaraki, 2013; Goodman, 2010; Kapoor, 2013; van Krieken, 2012; Wheeler, 2013), I pull selectively from this survey to analyse responses to the specific questions asked of audiences in terms of their engagements with celebrity chefs, their programmes and the information they work to provide.

Conducted in 2013, a theoretical sampling approach (Glasser and Strauss, 1967) was used to target respondents likely to have an existing broad awareness and engagement with celebrity culture. The survey was conducted online and sent to staff and students at King's College London as well as other online celebrity-chef related networks, all of whom were asked to 'snowball' the survey within their own social networks; six hundred ($n = 600$) completed surveys were returned. A mixture of open and closed questions was used, permitting some in-depth qualitative data to be collected. Both Channel 4 and its food programming are particularly strong in reaching ABC1 (i.e. upper/middle class, high income) groups, with an average monthly reach of 86.9%, performing particularly well with 16–34 year olds (Channel 4 Sales, 2014). This viewing profile fits well both the survey cohort as well as the audience of celebrity culture more broadly (Turner, 2004). Jamie Oliver's audience is of course wider than the survey respondents, but this data provides novel empirical insight into audiences who are aware of Jamie Oliver and his brand and who have watched his shows and others relating to celebrity chefs and food programmes on UK television. While there are limitations to survey methods, particularly in differences between reported and actual behaviours, empirical research into the ways that audiences engage with celebrity culture is lacking (Turner, 2010). This survey provides valuable data to address this, revealing audience

perceptions and engagements across a range of celebrity chef, food programme and audience encounters for the first time.

The second objective of this paper involves the specific analysis of one of Jamie Oliver's latest TV programme and campaign called Save With Jamie and specifically that related to the Twitter hashtag #savewithJamie. Focused on 'austerity cooking' designed to help audiences cook cheap healthy meals, the associated programme *Jamie's Money Saving Meals* and surrounding media became rife with tension that opened up, but also complicated the relationships between the audience and the chef. Specifically, Oliver and, by proxy, the *Save With Jamie* campaign garnered negative publicity in the run up to the airing of the TV programme in 2013. This controversy was in large part catalysed by comments Oliver made around food and poverty in Britain. In an interview to UK television magazine the Radio Times, Oliver said he found it "difficult to talk about modern day food poverty" because "seven times out of ten, the poorest families in this country choose the most expensive ways to hydrate and feed their families. The ready meals, the convenience foods" (Daly, 2013). In other words, the talking label of Oliver said the 'wrong' things about the connection between poverty, food and cooking and a major backlash ensued. Yet despite this controversy, *Jamie's Money Saving Meals* was well received by audiences and critics, while the *Save With Jamie* cookbook topped bestseller lists (Guardian, 2013). The tension between Jamie's controversial comments and vast book sales remains and speaks in part to the endurance of Oliver's appeal as a celebrity chef. It is argued that Oliver's campaign opened up 'moments of possibility' that simultaneously involve instances of both resistance and approval which I track and analyse across #savewithjamie and other media responses to his comments and programmes.

The paper continues as follows: First, I briefly explore the ways that celebrity chefs work to 'perform food', particularly around defining 'good food'. Secondly, I move to analyse the ways that celebrity chefs are first, boundary objects, but also 'talking labels' that act as 'live' knowledge brokers between people, food and eating. Third, I explore the ways that celebrity chefs do 'work' on audience understandings and engagements by analysing several moments possibility facilitated by both old and 'new' media platforms. I conclude briefly with a few short statements about taking this research forward.

Celebrity chefs as talking labels

> Food programming works on many levels, it has evolved from being more than just 'how to' TV from the traditional formats such as Delia's How to Cook, to shows that entertain and inspire, such as Heston's Feast or Jamie's Ministry of Food.
>
> [Food on 4, 2010]

Food TV and associated media now is not only for so-called 'foodies' (Johnston and Baumann, 2010). No longer do these shows seek to merely educate us in terms of 'how to' prepare and cook food. Today, food television emulates what other successful genres do, and what more generally TV is good at: it works to entertain, inspire and create desire (Skeggs and Woods, 2012). Active and direct intervention by food media into our lives seeks not only to connect and inform us of what and how to eat, but also promises to make us better in multiple ways: better cooks, better socially, better at caring for friends and family, better lifestyles and well-being, better homes, better connected to food and those producing it, better global citizens even (Rousseau, 2012). With chefs rarely off our screens or bestseller lists, there is ample opportunity for them to be placed, and place themselves, as powerful players in today's neo-liberal and responsibilised landscapes of food governance (Goodman et al., 2010; Guthman, 2007, 2008). Increasingly mediated governance regimes open up space for a range of new

actors to influence what we know and understand about food, how we relate to it, and what food we choose to buy, cook and eat. Displays by chefs of authenticity, familiarity, approachability, and a form of charismatic ordinariness put viewers at ease, developing trust that then places their privileged celebrity status to one side and, crucially, makes them complicit in important forms of food governance (Bennett and Homes, 2010; Bonner, 2003; Lewis, 2010).

Within networks and spaces through which 'good food' is performed chefs not only work to transmit and translate diet, health and cooking information, but also take an active role in constructing normative knowledge about what is 'good' and 'proper' to eat by (re)connecting people 'back' to their food (cf. Kneafsey et al., 2008). So, celebrity chefs work to establish intimate and emotional 'para-social relations' (Turner, 2004) between audiences, celebrities and the audiences' food. Para-social relations describe a form of relationship established by and through media technologies where an individual is made 'available' to those physically distant to them. Moores (2007) considers the rise of mediated interactions as a new or at least shifted way of relating to others in modern life. Yet, as will be demonstrated here, even these new forms of social relations are changing, as new media technologies create space for audiences to communicate 'back' to celebrities.

To understand how this 'talking' works across chefs, audiences and food, I draw on Eden et al's (2008a and 2008b) work on the relationalities of consumers and food labels. In their critical exploration of the politics and consumer engagements with alternative food labels in the UK, they propose that food labels act as form of 'knowledge intermediary' connecting consumers to food and its production at the point of consumption. For them, this knowledge provides a crucial part of a topological connection that works to 'stand in' for more face-to-face, farm-to-plate and/or consumer-to-farm spatial (re)connections between food and those eating it. Intermediaries instead form complex interactions of trust, assurance, and evaluations of information:

> We call this a 'knowledge-fix' to the distancing of consumption from production, because such topological reconnections explicitly go beyond a 'spatial fix' of geographical reconnection by including diverse topologies of knowledge gathering, evaluating and contesting, topologies which depend not upon physical relationships of proximity but upon more precarious and complex links of trust.
>
> [Eden et al., 2008a: 1046]

This has extended work on ethical and alternative production practices, focusing on the ways knowledge is evaluated and understood by consumers seeking assurances around food quality (Cf. Barnett et al., 2005, 2010; Goodman, 2004). Thus, there is recognition in this work that consumers interpret and utilise information at an individual level in efforts to determine their own definitions of 'good food' and healthy eating.

Celebrity chefs act in some ways like food labels in that they offer a novel form of knowledge intermediary that works to create this knowledge-fix between people and 'good' food. In part this is developed through these para-social relations developed between chef and viewer that attempt to foster familiarity, assurance and trust. As intermediaries, chefs work to connect people with food across media space in a personal(ised) and engaging way that pays due to the multiple and dynamic meanings and values individuals place on food. Their words – like labels – can be sticky, taking hold in the public's imagination to redefine discourses of good food through a lens of media and performance. For Eden et al. (2008b) this part of the knowledge-fix occurs at the point of consumption, directly through assurance schemes and/or labels. Chefs, on the other hand, tend to act both pre- and post-consumption and in

the private, domestic cooking spaces of our homes, although their reach is rapidly gaining ground in retail and other media environments.

Celebrity chefs are key actors in what I see as a new form of mediated food governance that seek to influence public relationships with food as well as policy making and food's wider politics. These work alongside other sources of food information, contributing to food governance in different and overlapping ways. Consumers use many forms of food information, often at the same time, making sense of these within their own individualised situation, values and constraints. Food labels, government guidelines and so on can all be read as 'knowledge-fixes' which provide food information and connections to food. Like chefs, many of these sources also do more than simply supply food information, selling their own products and food stories to us. Chefs, though, are a different form of knowledge-fix because they are *people* – talking, interacting, celebritizing, and performing food information across media platforms in entertaining ways engaging audiences in ways other formats do not or cannot. The cultural spectacle of celebrity grants chefs an embodied form of power to construct new branded food narratives/dialogues which explicitly aim to change what and how we eat. Of course, they are also trying to sell their brand and products. Celebrity chefs then are offering a different 'knowledge-fix' and one that crosses the boundaries of celebrity, cooking, consumption, health, government, and nutrition. In other words, celebrity chefs have a diffuse form of cultural power but when turned to 'knowledge-fixing' can be a powerful instrument in new mediated forms of food governance.

Food media is not the only place that celebrities have acted or been positioned as knowledge intermediaries. Recent work on the knowledge and practice of celebrity within the context of both environment and development may be similarly read through the lens of the celebrity knowledge intermediary. Shifting narratives of ethical consumption which increasingly see celebrity speaking on behalf of the global South, connect consumers to distant others and the wider impacts of the food we choose (Goodman and Barnes, 2011). Goodman (2010) has termed this trend the 'celebritization of development', drawing attention to the spectacular performances of development politics. But it is not only development which is being performed: "[C]elebrities have, embody and deploy particular forms of power" (Goodman, 2010: 108) which is used to (re)work, build knowledge, and connect people to the spaces of climate change (Boykoff and Goodman, 2009; Boykoff et al., 2010; Prudham, 2009), charity/care, humanitarianism and global health (Littler, 2008; Mostafanezhad, 2013; Richey and Ponte, 2008), politics (Wieskel, 2005), and conservation (Brockington, 2009; Sullivan, 2011). This body of work has been collectively important in understanding the new ways celebrity is doing work on knowledge and practice within society.

Yet, what this suggests is that, like food labels, celebrity chefs can, at a more theoretical level, be thought of as 'boundary objects'[1] that can be 'used' by different groups to translate and communicate across different worlds and ways of thinking. Drawing further on Eden's (2011) work on labelling and boundary objects, this position allows chefs to easily cross the boundaries

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[1] The concept of 'boundary objects' originates from within Actor Network Theory, considering the way in which different objects can translate information to different user groups across social worlds. Introduced by Star and Griesemer (1989) who considered the ways in which museum displays compress and simplify complex information so that it may be understood by the untrained eye, but crucially remain recognisable and relevant to more expert users. This concept has been usefully applied to a range of objects from presentations of climate data to politicians as a means through which the discursive and material networks of 'here' and 'there' may be brought together across shared space (Star, 2010).

between science, health, governance, entertainment and consumption to relay complex food and nutrition information in readily understandable and demotic ways. Successful chefs—conceptualised here as 'talking labels'—are then able to speak to, and hopefully inform, a whole range of audiences, from the 'lay' public to more 'expert' figures such as policy makers or scientists all at the same time (Eden, 2011). These conceptualisations are particularly pertinent in the context of celebrity chefs, not least because food is deeply personal and embedded with multiple meanings and values by different people: Chefs occupy shared media space, occupied and accessed/used by multiple social groups. The 'here' and 'there' brought together are audiences (in their private homes spaces) with food and cooking (and therefore their kitchens) and the interactive, entertaining and personable format this takes—as opposed to the static and limited labels on food—will likely appeal to a wide audience and sets of social groups. With chefs placed in and developing this boundary object position as talking labels, they work to connect audiences with the food they eat as well as laying out a path which allows them to do this in a 'better' way through relationships to 'good food'.

Suggesting that this process is formed here through celebrity chefs, however, serves to reveal great complexity in the relationship between chefs and audiences, particularly with regard to information flows and issues of trust and authenticity. In some very real ways, chefs thus hold the potential to play a significant role in the 'sorting out' (Bowker and Star, 1999) process between good and bad foods in the politicised realms of public health and nutrition (Lang and Heasman, 2004; Rayner and Lang, 2013). Rather than merely making information accessible about food from other 'expert' sources, they have become experts in their own right (Lewis, 2010; Powell and Prasad, 2010). The massive media coverage and exposure of celebrity chefs clearly plays a key role in their co-creation as new contemporary food experts, who, given their celebrity status and elevated voice within society, have access to many elite food actors to influence knowledge and decision making at a variety of scales.

I turn to now explore both audience reactions to celebrity chefs in general—and Jamie Oliver in particular—but also the ways and implications of the 'talking back' to celebrity chefs through an exploration of Jamie Oliver's *Save With Jamie* campaign and its engagements on Twitter through #savewithjamie.

Talking labels and audience/media encounters

There are three different 'encounters' through which celebrity chefs are explored as talking labels. The first involves selective responses to an online survey were I explore what audiences 'do' with chefs and the knowledge-fixes they attempt to provide as talking labels. One of the most interesting findings here is that although chefs are one of a number of places that people get information about food, they are engaged by audiences in ways that get people to not only cook more, but to think more about what they are eating as well. Second, I turn to explore a series of media and audience responses to Jamie Oliver's comments on the relationships of (un)healthy eating, food choice and poverty. This episode illustrates not only the indeterminacy of the talking label of the celebrity chef, but also a particular moment of resistance in the form of media and commentator 'push-back' to his comments. Third, I analyse a series of Tweets in the context of the *Save With Jamie* campaign to show the ways that audiences talk back and forth with the talking label of Jamie and so setup a situation where a chef's mediation is further mediated by those 'fans' in a new form of para-social dialogue that create possible moments of approval and reception across technologies, society and geographical spaces of the public and private.

Complex survey engagements: Sorting, cooking, caring and knowing with Jamie

Jamie Oliver, celebrity chef extraordinaire, has not only enjoyed massive success and influence as a celebrity chef but is now known as much for his campaigning as his cooking. Since his discovery in the kitchen of London's prestigious River Café in 1997, Jamie Oliver has enjoyed an enormously successful career which has amassed him a personal fortune of £150 million, and becoming the fastest selling non-fiction author of all time for his book *Jamie's 30-Minute Meals*. His celebrity was born from *The Naked Chef*, a popular entertainment cookery show, placing the practice of domestic cooking at the heart of a desirable and trendy way of living as well as challenging the gender roles within home cooking (Hollows, 2003; Piper, 2013). His programmes have included travelogues (*Jamie does Italy, Jamie's America*), aspirational lifestyle programming (*Jamie at Home*) and more political campaigning (*School Dinners*). Over the past 15 years his brand has grown, extending from TV programmes and cookbooks, to include a production company, bakery, catering services, food and home products, as well as numerous digital and print media productions. At the heart of the Jamie Oliver brand ethos is a desire to inspire interest and enthusiasm in food and cooking (Jamie Oliver Food Foundations, 2013).

Crowned in 2013 one of The Observer's 'Chef's of the Decade' (alongside Heston, Hugh, Gordon and Nigella) he is pictured standing in a pile of kale brandishing a megaphone (Fig. 1) reflecting the public image of 'loudmouth campaigner' (Lewis, 2013). A long engagement with food campaigning began in 2002; his first restaurant '*Fifteen*' provided chef training for disadvantaged young people in London, '*Ministry of Food*' provided cookery lessons to the poor, '*Jamie's Food Revolution*' sought to overhaul our diets, a focus on animal welfare was found in '*Jamie Saves our Bacon*', while '*Jamie's School Dinners*' successfully campaigned the UK government to invest in and change policy around school meal provisioning (Jamie Oliver website 2014). This social crusading arm of 'brand

Fig. 1. Jamie Oliver – 'loudmouth campaigner' (Lewis, 2013).

Jamie' speaks to an 'ethics of care' played out by the chef through his commitment to the public 'good' (Piper 2012) and constitutes the 'interference' in the ways we eat that Rousseau (2012) speaks of. What is unusual about Jamie Oliver is the way in which he balances campaigning and commercial ventures, achieving almost universal success in everything he has done. This is not to suggest that he has some sort of golden touch, or has remained unscathed from criticism throughout his career. We do not have to think far back to the images of mums pushing the fish and chips through the school gates in Rotherham while Jamie was inside whipping up nutritional lunches during his school dinners campaign (Oliver, 2005). However his straightforward, demotic attitude and charismatic personality have played a significant role in Jamie cementing himself as a 'national treasure' of sorts.

His latest campaign, Save with Jamie (2013), his first foray into 'dealing with' austerity, seeks to teach audiences "how to cook tasty, nutritious food on a budget". Aired in summer 2013, the television show met to acclaim from both audiences and critics alike for its approach and recipes. Compared to his other successful series *30* and *15 Minute Meals*, criticised by users for their unrealistic goals for everyday home cooks, *Save with Jamie* was heralded within the media as a return to what 'Jamie is good at' (Time Out 2013). This campaign in particular is useful to highlight both the powerful mediating role of chefs within foodscapes, but also the different ways audiences use of social media to encourage audience participation that I see is unique to this campaign and Oliver's exercise of power here.

Audience responses to celebrity chefs are nothing if not complex as this analysis of the survey shows. To begin with, of those who answered the survey, over 48% of people said they had watched either a chef-related programme or a dedicated chef show, with most predominant engagement through the medium of TV. And, when asked to directly name a celebrity chef, over 88% named Jamie Oliver. Indeed, when asked to explain if and how particular celebrity chefs have influenced their feelings towards what or how they eat, Jamie was repeatedly cited across a range of issues as one of the most predominant and recognisable celebrity chefs in the UK:

> Jamie Oliver has done well with his 15/30 min meals in showing that you can cook and eat healthy fresh and good tasting meals without spending the whole day in the kitchen.

> Jamie Oliver's school meals programme made me aware of what goes into fast foods and made me less likely to eat as many processed foods, I might think about buying fresh veg more often to cook with.

> Jamie Oliver has influenced me to care more about where my food comes from.

Furthermore, Jamie was named most frequently in the survey as the most trusted chef and the one who is perceived as using his celebrity status to 'do good' in the most effective but also the most genuinely motivated ways. This is not simply about getting people to switch on their TVs or buy a new cookbook, but more fundamentally altering the way they know, learn and think about 'good' food. These findings were reflected in the answers to the survey question that looked to explore if audiences thought celebrity chefs should do more than simply teach people how to cook different and novel recipes. Here, 52% said that yes, celebrity chefs should be doing 'more', i.e. speaking out about food and food politics, while 27% said maybe and 19% said no. Jamie, again, was mentioned the most:

> Jamie Oliver is an example of how chefs can use their positions and status to educate people about food. He may be a little annoying sometimes as he is constantly promoting/advertising

foodstuffs but he really does care about helping society to improve their eating habits and their health, which is a great contribution to society in my opinion. More chefs should take not from him instead of thinking they are these high status individuals who are superior and elitist in their knowledge, which is sometimes how top chefs come across.

More generally, the responses leaned positively towards chefs participating more widely in food politics, and it is their combination of knowledge and interactive charisma, which marks them differently to more traditional food campaigning as the following quotation highlights:

> Absolutely, yes. They have an in-depth knowledge of their subject, a great deal if passion about it, and sharing that passion and knowledge can educate people in a way that dry data on leaflets cannot.

This not only speaks to the idea that celebrity chefs should be fulfilling these more socio-political roles, but also says something about Jamie Oliver himself. This comes back to Eden et al. (2008a) and their concept of 'knowledge intermediaries' in aiding consumers to 'sort' between good and bad food choices. The personality and characteristics of individual chef's matter for how information around good food is framed, and more importantly the extent to which audiences trust, engage and act upon that information. Jamie Oliver may be read as the most powerful 'talking label' of all in the UK, with a power and reach that extends further arguably than any other chef defining 'good food' in particular ways. And, yet, there was also a sense of resistance here. For those who think chefs should not be doing more than teach cooking, their interference in public diets stirs strong negative feelings against the work these chefs do:

> I am not impressed by celebrity chefs so I don't think they should be doing more. However I think Jamie Oliver did a good job encouraging those in lower demographical societies (sic) to cook themselves at home and not buy fast food all the time.

Crucial here then is an understanding of how the information provided by chefs is affecting everyday food practices. Interestingly, 61% of the responses indicated that audiences who watched celebrity chefs and food programmes were encouraged to cook more, with 53% saying that chefs cause them to think more about what they eat, 36% saying they were encouraged to eat less processed foods and ready meals, 26% encouraged to buy more local food. They were also encouraged to think more specifically about what they ate, with several responses indicating that audiences were encouraged to eat more healthful food at the same time purchase foods which have 'better' qualities, such as fresher, ethical or more environmentally friendly.

Similarly, Jamie was mentioned as the key chef encouraging audiences to cook more but also think more about their where their food comes from; this was indicated in several of the qualitative responses on the survey, for example:

> I think Jamie Oliver is an example of a chef that has done his utmost to not only teach cooking skills but also change public attitudes to the way we eat in order to reduce the fast-growing obesity epidemic.
> Jamie Oliver has made me aware of what goes into fast foods and made me less likely to eat as many processed foods, I buy fresh fruit and veg more often to cook with now.

Thus many respondents are using the information provided by chefs and the media to positively change their everyday eating, cooking and shopping habits for the 'better'. Turning away from fast and highly processed foods, replacing them with more

homemade food and fresh fruit and vegetables, are most often cited as the instilled change which will have important economic consequences as well as impacts on our health, lifestyle and wellbeing.

Save with Jamie moments of possible resistance 1: Talking label indeterminacies

The Jamie Oliver Food Foundation (2013) bills itself this way: "Everything we do is about sharing our passion for food and inspiring people of all ages to make better food choices, for life". Thus, in times of austerity, Jamie is here for us through his *Save With Jamie* campaign and accompanying cookbook, providing information to help our health and wallets through more "informed choices." (Save with Jamie, 2013: 9).

Yet, in the run up to the launch of the campaign, cookbook and the tie in TV show *Jamie's Money Saving Meals*, Jamie courted controversy with what seemed like an off the cuff performance that clearly demonstrates the indeterminacies and contingencies of chefs as talking labels as well as the differing ways they can be talked back to. In an interview about his new campaign to television magazine the Radio Times, Oliver noted his frustration at the reliance many people—particularly the poorest—have on fast food and takeaways:

> I'm not judgemental, but I've spent a lot of time in poor communities, and I find it quite difficult to talk about modern day food poverty. You might remember that scene from the *Ministry of Food*, with the mum and the kid eating chips and cheese out of Styrofoam containers, and behind them is a massive fucking TV. It just didn't weigh up. The fascinating thing for me is seven times out of ten, the poorest families in this country choose the most expensive ways to hydrate and feed their families. The ready meals, the convenience foods.
>
> [Daly, 2013]

This gaffe—although, perhaps, more of a careless statement than anything —garnered untold media attention as it was splashed over all sorts of media outlets. Media, NGO's and audiences alike reacted with horror and anger to the seemingly flippant and naive way on which Oliver spoke about food poverty issues. The story made the front pages across newspapers with headlines including: "Jamie Oliver you haven't tasted real poverty. Cut out the tutting." (Andreou, 2013), "Jamie Oliver sparks poverty row after he attacks families for eating junk food and buying expensive TV sets" (Millward, 2013), "Jamie Oliver criticizes working class families' diet: Chef criticizes families who don't eat cheaply by cooking from scratch" (Daily Mail, 2013). The media backlash provided critique of the chef's comments, very much in the public realm, ensuring maximum awareness of the blunder, but this also worked – as the media do – to sensationalise the story, with a knock-on effect of stirring outrage and discrediting Oliver's work.

Yet it was not only journalists who have criticised Oliver's flippant comments on food poverty, several NGO's raised concerns about the controversial way in which he spoke about such a serious and complex issue. UK food bank charity the Trussell Trust acknowledged Oliver's point that healthy eating on low incomes is important, but those living in poverty may not have any food choices available to them:

> Cooking healthy food on a low income is really important but obviously there are lots of factors that make life easier or difficult depending on where you live, what access you have to different kinds of food.
>
> [Hodson quoted in Goldhill, 2013]

The UK Faculty of Public Health's Vice President Dr. John Middleton also raised concerns that Oliver had oversimplified food poverty issues, placing undue blame on individuals rather than looking to the factors restricting food choices:

> Jamie Oliver has done a huge amount of good in improving children's diets. However, his comments give weight to a common misconception that most people on a low income can afford luxuries like huge TVs. The reality for most people in this situation—including those in low-paid work—is that every penny counts. Rather than blame individuals, we need to look at the reasons why some people don't eat healthily on a low income.
>
> [Middleton quoted in Goldhill, 2013]

These statements can be read as a push-back against Oliver's efforts to motivate financially restricted cooks into their kitchens-not against the idea but against Jamie Oliver's particular approach that this time he got very wrong. The *Save with Jamie* publicity train opened up space for people to criticise not only Oliver's comments on the poor but also to resist Jamie Oliver and his brand at a broader level.

Audiences too have 'talked back' to Jamie Oliver, and it is on social media such as Twitter that talking back to and talking with celebrity chefs comes into its own. Jamie Oliver is an active social media user; 4 million people follow his Twitter account, his Facebook page is liked by 2.7 million people so the audiences he is reaching via social media are substantial (although of course there is no guarantee that people will be reading what he tweets). The *Save With Jamie* campaign has its own Twitter hash-tag of #savewithjamie that is used by audiences in part to publically resist and criticise Jamie Oliver. This space creates a direct line of communication between audience and chef, but one which can also be seen by anyone following #savewithjamie. The public can hold Jamie to account for these comments, and simultaneously resist other work he is doing as these tweets-sent both directly to Jamie Oliver as well as placed unanchored in the public domain-demonstrate:

> Nothing quite like a lecture on poverty from a multimillionaire

> Jamie the reason you 'cannot understand modern day poverty in Britain' is because you are NOT POOR

> Millionaire mockney cockhead Jamie Oliver doesn't understand poverty, eh? Piss off back to Sainsbury's you clueless t**t

> (Comments in response to Jamie Oliver's poverty comments on Twitter 2013)

Damage limitation took the form of a public and heartfelt apology of sorts and allowed Oliver to win back public favour.

> Look. . . first of all, honestly and truly, I've been doing this for fifteen years, you know. I've always got the general public's best interests at heart. I was talking from the heart and from personal experiences, but you know the thing about big TV's. . .. What I was trying to do was talking about prioritisation of feeding your families and other luxuries. But to generalise like that was probably very short sighted of me and I shouldn't have done. I should have known better actually. . .. So you know I am sorry but you know.... I say the truth too much and sometimes I say it wrong. Jamie Oliver
>
> [The One Show, 29th Aug, 2013]

At the same time this controversy allowed Oliver to highlight the good intentions with which he acts—even when misplaced or controversial—as well as justifying and legitimating his role as cultural intermediary and active agent of change. He appears to almost feel duty bound to 'save' the public, and perceives himself as best placed to do this. In an interview with The Observer, both interviewer and Oliver himself describes his ability to raise more controversial food issues:

Oliver is aware that such good deeds have not led to universal approval, but–as his recent comments [around UK poverty] prove – he has given up trying to please everyone. "If I don't say these things, no one else fucking will," he declares. "The government doesn't like to say stuff like that because they're chasing votes. I'm in the slight luxury of not being able to get myself fired. The public are my first boss".

[Lewis, 2013]

Save with Jamie moments of possible resistance 2: Jamie shames the poor and gets talked back to

I now want to turn to consider a different instance of a resistance in the moments of possibility that celebrity chefs create. This has presented one of the most serious challenges to Jamie Oliver's credibility as self-entitled voice of the eating public and has come from the blogger turned celebrity cook Jack Monroe. Her experiences of food poverty were catalogued through her austerity food blog 'A Girl Called Jack' sharing a mixture of emotional experience, practical advice and recipes from her life as a single mother living on only £10 a week. Through this Jack has experienced her own rise to celebrity – or at least celebrated – cook with a newspaper column, cookbook, and television appearances, all coming her way in 2014 alone.

Angered by Oliver's comments on food poverty, Monroe proceeded to talk directly back to him and resisting him as her fellow talking label in the UK's Independent newspaper:

Jamie's stint in the television series Ministry of Food does not qualify him to talk about poverty. He is a poverty tourist turned self-appointed tour guide, and his comments are not only out of touch but support dangerous and damaging myths that "poor people are only poor because they spend their money on the wrong things", rather than constrained by time, equipment, knowledge, or practices…. When I was living on £10 a week, because of mistakes with housing benefit payments, I didn't need a hug. I needed a fiver, just to have a little bit more to eat. I didn't need to be transported to Sicily to see how the street cleaners ate, I needed someone to point out that the 21p can of kidney beans could be the staple ingredient of a nutritious meal. I needed practical advice about what to do with the tins of food given to me by the food bank.

[Monroe, 2013]

This highlights feelings that Jaime Oliver is not in touch with those who are really in need. Oliver's role as poverty 'tour guide' and then saviour hits a real nerve with the class politics that underlay foodscapes and food media alike (Bell and Hollows, 2011), and it is against this class politics and Jamie Oliver's approach to this that his critics resist. What is offered here is a different form of talking back than that provided by media, audiences or NGO's, a resistance from within the very social class Jamie aims to speak both for and to. Her own and very personal experiences of food poverty give Monroe's resistance credibility. A talking label in her own right, Jack Monroe provides authentic and practical advice to those in need. It is not just about providing commentary but being in a position where she can speak for those in poverty – something that Jamie has tactlessly shown he is unable to do. She offers something different and appealing than many other forms of talking label; as a woman, a mother, someone who had been in need, and most importantly she is not afraid to say what she thinks and use her voice (something she shares in common with Jamie). In criticising Oliver's comments and approach as misguided and damaging, even because they come from a middle class understanding and experience of austerity, Monroe explicitly brings class debates back into food politics and programming. This not only undermines Oliver's influence and power over those

facing food poverty but also draws attention to a lack of appeal or relevance to some in food media more broadly (Rousseau, 2013), though there is enormous scope to unpack these class issues further.

The suggestion here is not any kind of inevitable demise of Jamie Oliver, but that his career has not been without criticism. For the most part these have been minor wobbles, which have been overcome or absorbed into his public persona. Controversy around the *Save with Jamie* campaign, I would argue, represents the most serious threat to his credibility – particularly as voices such as Jack Monroe emerge from the very groups he seeks to work with, to speak with greater authority.

Save with Jamie moments of possible engagement and approval: Jamie gets us to try something new

Importantly, constructing what I have called here moments of possibility are not only the instances of resistance as described above, but also those instances of approval and reception that drive forward the messages Jamie Oliver promotes, and see people actively participate in knowledge making as well as making real changes to their own everyday practices. Some media coverage praised his willingness to tackle difficult issues (Lewis, 2013). A 'return to form' was commended in a series that encouraged us to have a go and cook. 'Good food' is, for Jamie Oliver, always tied to nutrition, taste and home-cooking. Key for him is making people excited about food, armed with the education and the confidence to cook and make better choices. 'Goodness' in *Save with Jamie* is about changing your food practices to cook more *and* save money. This approach was well received in the press:

Never scared to court controversy, Jamie's been in the news for his views on cooking and poverty. This has distracted attention from what he's really good at: motivating unskilled cooks with thrilling recipes. The latest recipe book from his enormous team builds on the huge success of his recent good-meal-in-a-rush volumes – but eclipses them. Gone are the overpriced packets of supermarket herbs, plus the unrealistic timelines. In its place are recipes made with leftovers and store-cupboard essentials that are simple to make, but very appetising to both read about and eat. 5 stars.

[Time Out, 2013]

The first example of these instances of approval and positive possibility—which is more about the ability of talking labels to speak directly to their audience—has Jamie Tweeting cooking tips and other sources of food-related information, as if coming directly from the man himself. Here, Jamie tweets basic information about how to cook rice:

@jamieoliver: TIP Cooking rice 1 mug of rice 2 mugs of boiling salted water. Put the lid on, turn down and cook until water has disappeared #savewithjamie.

[Jamie Oliver twitter, 2013]

A second example of a positive force within these moments of possibility involves the ways that audience members or those embedded in the multiple other parts of the campaign Tweeted about their own 'doings' with respect to the campaign for other audience members, followers and even Jamie to see:

@deanowilk: For the last 3 weeks I haven't had a frozen supermarket ready meal for my dinner at work thanks to @jamieoliver #savewithjamie #inspiration

For the *Save With Jamie* campaign this sort of engagement was fundamentally supported by Oliver and those involved in his campaign through the dedicated Twitter portal connected to

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Fig. 2. 'Get Involved #savewithjamie.' Twitter portal and tweet sharing on the Save with Jamie website. (Save with Jamie website, 2013).

#savewithjamie where audience 'tips' could be easily Tweeted, posted and shared by audience members and with the wider social media savvy public (see Fig. 2).

A third and incredibly interesting instance of approval is when celebrity chefs like Jamie work to mediate their own talking label mediations through what can only be described as utterly 'dialogic' food sharing encounters. This is encapsulated in Fig. 3, where Jamie Tweets the following message to his followers: "It's Friday! Here are my favourite foodie pics from you guys from #savewithjamie this week I just love your work" (Jamie Oliver Twitter, 2013).

Taking a series of previously Tweeted photos of the food his followers have made and repackaging them into his 'favourite foodie pics', not only works to mediate audience mediations on Jamie's and others' recipes but here he does his own 'listening' to the audience and does his own speaking back to them as—but also beyond—role as a talking label. Gathering together his favourite images of people cooking his recipes he can recognise the efforts of individual home cooks, like a teacher giving a pupil a gold star. It also proved a way for Oliver himself to demonstrate he is interested and paying attention to what audiences are doing with his food information, rewarded with praise and attention from the chef. Within these technologically-facilitated boundary spaces Jamie uses his embodied celebrity power to act as a key node on constructing the current foodscapes, adding new knowledge to the 'brand Jamie' definitions of 'good food'. Not only that, but the spaces opened up by Jamie as a talking label – working simultaneously as a boundary object and knowledge intermediary – change how people engage food information and translate it into their own lives as moments of possibility that can form both acceptances and resistances by various audience members. This impacts how the para-social relations between celebrity and audience can work, particularly as social media opens two-way communications between and amongst food, audiences and celebrity chefs.

Celebrity chefs: Offering up moments of possibility and resistance

This paper has argued that food media and celebrity chefs need to be taken more seriously within geographic work on food to recognise the impact they have on foodscapes, but more importantly on the ways in which the public now learns about, practices and relates to food in the everyday. Celebrity performances of food create powerful new discourses around contested ideas of 'good food' and lay out paths for consumers to follow in order to become better food citizens. The individualised food governance possibilities chefs have the potential to set in motion speaks to everyday, ordinary eaters providing an important insight into (mediated) consumer-producer-food relations which can complement the work being done within geography around alternative foods. This sits against wider ideas within geography that consider the ways food and our relationships to it are governed (e.g. Goodman and DuPuis, 2002; Johnston and Baumann, 2010; Lang, 2004; Marsden, 2000; Nally, 2011). Recognising these important mediated actors and their influence on everyday food consumption practices will add to how geographers may think about the relationships between consumers and food as well as their links to food policy and governance structures.

Specifically, food media and celebrity chefs have been considered in three ways in this paper. Firstly celebrity chefs were conceptualised as talking labels building on the work of Eden et al. (2008a) to demonstrate how chefs work as knowledge intermediaries to both construct and mediate knowledge between consumers, producers, and food. Chefs are powerful and their words have the distinct possibility to stick and take hold like labels on food. Through televised food programmes chefs perform discourses of 'good food' to audiences in entertaining and interactive ways, conveying far more information than a traditional food label would be able to. Occupying this boundary position allows chefs cross the boundaries between science, health, governance, entertainment and consumption with ease to relay complex food and nutrition information in easily understandable and demotic ways. Talking labels and the knowledge and information about food they attempt to provide to and enthuse audiences with offer here a glimpse into the ways that these programmes and chefs work to responsibilise consumers. As they enter the private spaces of the home through our televisions they encourage audience to work on themselves, connect us to the food we eat to become 'better' food citizens in multiple ways (Rousseau, 2012).
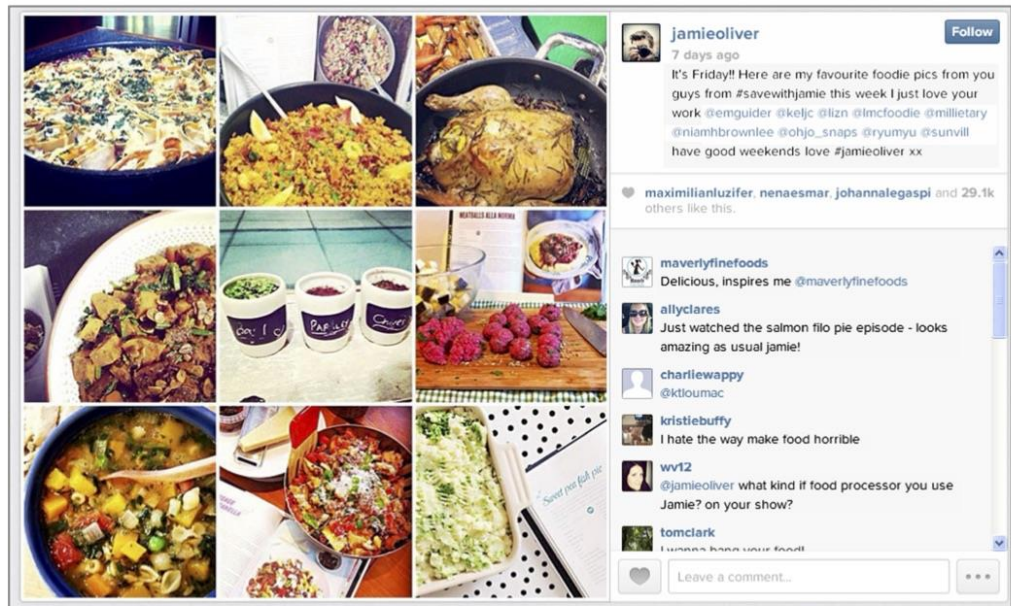
Fig. 3. "It's Friday!" Jamie Oliver chooses his favourite food pictures, Tweeted by his audience (Jamie Oliver Twitter, 2013).

Secondly, in recognising the importance of the audience in the work of food media and chefs, the paper drew on results from an audience survey to think about the ways audiences are actually engaging and using (or not) the information chefs perform. This revealed a complex and at times contested relationship between chefs and audiences. The power of chefs to influence the everyday, mundane, food practices of audiences is dependent on their ability to put their elevated position of celebrity to one side and play instead on their charismatic and approachable presence which can open up dialogues with audiences. These relationships are built on trust, familiarity and authenticity, but the individual audience member's context matters greatly to how they perceive chefs in that instance. For some viewers Jamie Oliver is inspirational, showing them a path to better eating in manageable and delicious ways. For others, however, his interventions were unwelcome, and met with resistance and even hostility. This analysis also revealed vulnerability and inconsistency threatening the success of chefs as talking labels. This dual impact of chefs was defined as moments of possibility and resistance, functioning often simultaneously as audiences interpret and use chef's food discourses in highly individualised ways which may change often over time.

Thirdly, Jamie Oliver's recent austerity campaign provided a case study to think through these opposing 'moments', focused around his controversial comments on poverty made during the campaigns promotion. Technology, particularly social media, provides an important mechanism through which audiences can enter a 'dialogue' with other audience members as well as the chefs themselves, creating a collaborate project of knowledge sharing. Moments of possibility create and were created by the positive change people make in their diet and cooking as a result of watching the show or following recipes. Jamie Oliver for many serves as an inspiration, who crucially makes that possibility seem achievable, something we are willing to try. But, importantly, these

moments of possibility are often countered with resistance that reveal these potential moments of food governance as tension-filled and in which the seemingly indeterminate boundary objects of celebrity chefs get talked back to and critiqued in ways that begin to question their efficacy as knowledge intermediaries and fixers. Negative press was widespread towards Oliver's comments around food poverty, as audiences pushed back against these comments and the series as a whole, turning the issue of responsibility back towards Jamie Oliver as he is held to account for the comments he made, with austerity-blogger-turned-celebrity Jack Monroe mounting the most serious challenge.

It is also important to remember that chefs do not work alone – there are teams of people behind the scenes commissioning and producing their shows, orchestrating details of cookbook design, or testing recipes, managing social media, or making sure the chef maximised their publicity. They work to make sure Jamie Oliver is in the best possible position to 'sell' his 'good food' vision to audiences, to create desire and to act as lifestyle experts (Lewis, 2010). An under-explored set of 'behind the scenes' practices and norms perform a wealth of cultural and affective work that constructs both powerful celebrities and the audiences that want to consume them and will form the core of forthcoming outputs.

Having opened up the talking label of celebrity chef and the moments they are able to create for audiences to engage or push back against good food discourses, there remains a tensions which has not been reconciled. Moreover, it seems that these tensions – to the public at least – are overshadowed or pushed to one side by the mega force of brand Jamie Oliver who continues to succeed, topping best-seller lists and occupying a firm place on out TV screens. Factors such as class and gender while hinted at through Jack Monroe, will likely be revealed as important for audiences at an individual level. This paper has focused on the individualised ways audiences 'consume' and use food media narratives and the

way that certain mediated individuals act as powerful agents in food governance. More work is needed to delve deeper into these tensions and to think about the effect that these have on the work of food media and more importantly, audiences and their relationships with food.

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