**The significance of culinary cultures to cooking practices, diet and health: a comparative analysis of France and Britain**

**Abstract**

This study is concerned with the routine experiences, attitudes and knowledge people bring to the preparation of food in Britain and compares this to another country, namely France. 46 qualitative interviews were carried out in both France and Britain to explore the significance of such culinary cultures on cooking practices and diets. In France food was found to be more important to people’s cultural identity and a powerful culinary discourse circulates which re-enforces the centrality of food to everyday life. Culinary cultures in France support the consumption of a relatively healthy diet which has not been the case in Britain.

**Keywords:** cooking; diet; health;culinary cultures, cross-cultural qualitative research design

**Introduction**

Since the Second World War a sophisticated and increasingly global agri-food industry has developed resulting in unprecedented change in relation to food supply and energy availability. In turn this has influenced diets and cooking practices in many parts of the developed world and has often been accompanied by rising rates of obesity and other diet- related non-communicable diseases. The causes of such diseases are multi-factorial and certainly no causal link has been established between cooking practices and obesity; however, it has been suggested that if people lack the ability or confidence to cook, their food choices are more restricted (Chen, Lee, Chang & Wahlqvist 2012; Gatley, Caraher & Lang 2014; Rees, Hinds, Dickson, O’Mara-Eves & Thomas 2012). Moreover, it has been argued that the willingness of people to cook is one of the factors that can enable them to make informed decisions about their food choices, their diet and their capacity to follow advice on healthy eating (Caraher & Lang 1999a; Lang & Caraher 2001). After all, those who rarely cook are dependent on others to cook for them (either at home or commercially) or indeed become more reliant on convenience foods, many of which are high in fat, sugar and salt (Stitt, Jepson, Paulson-Box & Prisk1996) and thus require people to understand food labelling if they wish to control their diet (Caraher *et al.*).

A key influence on cooking practices are the attitudes, knowledge and experience people bring to food, cooking and eating, namely their ‘culinary cultures’ (Lang, Barling & Caraher2009; Mennell, Murcott & Van Oterloo 1992; Short 2006). Indeed, it has been suggested that confidence to cook and people’s culinary cultures more generally are more important in influencing the degree to which people find cooking to be an effort which in turn influences their ultimate cooking practices, rather than any mechanical/ technical skills. The aim of this exploratory study was to access the routine, everyday experiences and attitudes people bring to cooking and eating and consider how such practices impact upon their diets and health. Warde, Cheng, Olsen & Southerton (2007) highlight how comparative research can be a useful approach to examine patterns of food behaviour and how analysis of commonality and differentiation across national borders helps expose the complex way in which culinary cultures are shaped and in turn influence food habits. Comparative research into food habits has indeed been undertaken by a number of authors (see Brown, Dury & Holdsworth 2009; Pettinger, Holdsworth & Gerber 2008; Rozin, Fischler, Shields & Masson 2006), however, rarely has a qualitative methodology been adopted. It was felt that cross-cultural qualitative research would provide a useful lens through which to more deeply observe such phenomena across socio-cultural settings and could be used to form the foundation for a quantitative survey.

France is Britain’s closest foreign neighbour and is similar to Britain in many ways although their attitudes to food, cooking and eating offer striking contrasts. Furthermore, while the French on average eat a diet containing more meat and saturated fat than Britons, their average BMI remains considerably lower, as does their rate of mortality from CHD – the ‘French paradox’ (IOTF 2008; Millstone & Lang 2008; Renaud & De Lorgeril*.* 1992). For these reasons, France was selected for comparison with Britain. While the alleged absence of a strong, uniquely national British cuisine is in contrast to what is often regarded as a more robust French one, it has been argued that there has been growing convergence of food practices and diets between the two countries since the 1960s (Mennell 1996). As such, this study aims to compare the significance of culinary cultures to cooking practices and diets in France and Britain.

This paper will first outline the development of culinary cultures and consider the extent to which culinary discourses have served to bolster national identity and influence food practices in both countries. The paper will then discuss how the primary data was collected before discussing the results and developing a conclusion

**The development of culinary cultures**

Throughout much of rural Europe during the Middle Ages people shared a similar diet based largely on the boiling of staple crops (Mennell1996; Pitte 2002). With increased trade a wider variety of foods became available to the upper classes of both nations, and while cooking remained plain, a more elaborate cookery was beginning to emerge across Europe (see Mennell; Symons 2000). The ‘*ancien regime’* of France and in particular, Louis XIV (1643- 1715) promoted conspicuous consumption and elaborate displays of *‘haute cuisine’* (Csergo 1997). The aristocracy and courtly circles in England were less elaborate and even after the ‘Restoration’, the English ruling class maintained a more rustic, economic and country character and cooking continued to be domestic in nature through to the middle of the nineteenth century (Mennell). The invention of the English breakfast was a celebration of Englishness among the upper classes, who after such a meal might go hunting on their estates where much of the food had come from and then enjoy a picnic lunch of plain, cold meats and preserves also from the estate (O'Connor 2006). While ever grander cookery books emerged in France written largely by male chefs, in England, female cookery book writers now began to dominate including Hannah Glasse’s ‘Cookery; Made Plain and Easy’ (1747) (Davidson 2006; Rogers 2004). Such books emphasised economy and hostility to the extravagances of French cookery[[1]](#footnote-1) and revealed the preference for ‘traditional’ *English country cooking* of pies, tarts, cakes and puddings along with a continued emphasis on preserving, thrift and ‘making do’ (Davidson). Such writers argue that the theme of plain and simple foods has continued to influence the development of distinctive British culinary cultures.

After the French Revolution, the new Government had to build a sense of national identity, community and geographical solidarity and enlisted the support of various energetic institutions to present regional foods as symbols of a shared memory[[2]](#footnote-2) (Mennell 1996). Respected chefs and gastronomes catalogued regional specialities and wrote about gastronomic tourism and the first restaurant guides appeared (Abramson 2007; Csergo 1999; Davidson 2008). Such action served to consolidate and popularize the distinctive national character of French cuisine and the totality of such influences enabled a well-articulated culinary product to become a cultural one and the hallmark of national identity (Parkhurst-Ferguson 2001). Cuisine was transferred from the kitchen into the broader cultural arena via the intellectualisation of a culinary discourse which could then be positioned in general cultural circulation even if such regional culinary ‘traditions’ were fictitious or exaggerated (see Abramson; Ashley, Hollows, Jones & Taylor 2004; Bell & Valentine1997).

Meanwhile, the social and economic upheavals caused by the Industrial Revolution in Britain massively disrupted cooking practices as a dispossessed proletariat no longer had access to home-grown foods or the time or facilities to cook, and became reliant on quickly prepared foods or snacks sold by street vendors (Burnett 1983; Lawrence 2008; Tannahill 1988). It has been suggested that the potency of industrialisation in Britain helps explain the decline in Britain’s cooking habits and how British cuisine was *‘decapitee’* (beheaded) (Chevallier 1997). However, Davidson (2006) also points out that unlike the French, it seems less important for the British to protect any sense of ‘national culinary heritage’ and that perhaps this lack of a robust culinary anchor helps explain how industrialisation was able to have such a devastating impact on British food practices and is perhaps why any discourse about ‘gastro-nationalism’ has not been able to be communicated, and thus sustain a clear sense of any British cuisine or coherent culinary culture (Lane 2010; Panayi 2007). British cookery writers such as Eliza Acton (1845) and Mrs Beeton (1861) continued to present a discourse which prioritised economy and *‘cookery made plain and simple’* and it has been argued that such a joy-less and repressive representation was rooted in Protestantism and represents a distinctive, popular and enduring style of cookery in Britain (see Driver 1983; Mennell 1996). Lawrence concludes that as a result of industrialisation and neglect of a coherent culinary culture helps explain why Britain has been so susceptible to ‘junk food’. Perhaps the impact of all such factors on diet is reflected by the fact that at the start of The First World War only one in three men were described as fit and healthy (Driver).

Certainly in Britain, and with increasing globalisation, food and eating habits appear less rooted in local traditions and more open to a plurality of foreign influences (Panayi 2007). While often celebrated, Britain has also recently been described as being in a state of culinary chaos, overwhelmed by choice and lacking the rules and structures to guide the preparation and consumption of such foods (Blanc 2002; Driver 1983) It has been argued that Britain’s ready acceptance of such things as a cook-in-sauces, pot noodles and other ‘exotic’ ready and takeaway meals is merely a means of quickly enlivening plain British food and demonstrates some fundamental culinary markers of British culinary culture where food is more about necessity than pleasure. James (1987) proposes that this acceptance of such hybridized and creolized foods simply represents old food habits in a new form and reflects continuity of British food traditions of minimal effort and ‘cheap’ food (Ashley *et al.* 2004).

In France, imported culinary traditions such as couscous and other foods from France’s ex-colonies are as popular as chicken tikka masala is in Britain but are rarely practiced in the home and have hardly penetrated the more robust and insular French culinary culture where cooking practices and a tendency to *‘follow the flag’* have persisted to a greater extent (Pettinger, Holdsworth & Gerber2004). However, Fantasia (1995) suggests that while France was considered able to resist culinary colonialism, the spread of American fast food now rivals that in Britain and that there is concern that France’s culinary culture now lacks coherence and that a ‘food revolution’ is occurring in France, as it has in Britain, resulting in a rise in the rates of diet-related diseases and obesity.

**Methodology**

Participants

The first phase of the research wanted to hear from ordinary people in Britain and France about their attitudes and everyday experiences around food and enquire about their perception of their culinary culture. Nantes in France was chosen because of the researcher’s familiarity with the town and Cardiff in south Wales was then selected because it is twinned with Nantes and both cities shared many similarities[[3]](#footnote-3). Adults were then purposively recruited through a range of personal, employer and institutional contacts so as to access a diverse sample of people in relation to age, gender, occupation, educational experience, life-stage and living arrangements. A comparable range of characteristics were sought from both cities and the final sample included 13 French and 14 British participants ranging in age from 23 -73, with a mean age of 45. A total of 12 women and 15 men were interviewed, a total of 15 lived with children in a family and the remaining 12 were either married/co-habiting without children or lived alone.

A second phase of research was planned with ‘experts’ working within the field of cooking, dietary practices or indeed with knowledge of culinary cultures more generally, so as to be able to both elaborate upon the data already collected and expose it to scrutiny by those able to comment upon its credibility and dependability *(*Miles & Huberman1994). Such professionals were drawn from comparable groups and represented a range of relevant expertise and backgrounds and data was finally gathered from 19 such ‘experts’ (10 in France & 9 in Britain). While an exact match of people from the two countries was not possible, individuals in each country reflected comparable expertise and subject engagement relevant to their particular country.

**Interviews**

In-depth interview guides were developed for both phases of the research and in the first phase, respondents were asked to reflect upon the foods eaten in the home, how they were prepared and issues surrounding culinary cultures were also discussed. Phase 2 respondents were asked to consider the extent of change in relation to people’s eating and cooking practices along with the socio-cultural factors driving any such change. Interviews typically took one hour and most phase 1 interviews took place people’s homes while phase 2 interviews tended to took place at the person’s place of work or nearby café.

**Data Analysis**

All interviews were recorded, transcribed and if necessary, translated into English during transcription by the researcher. The interview transcripts were examined so as to get a general sense of the interviews and simultaneously initial ideas for the categorisation of data emerged (Berg 2007; Miles *et al.*, 1994). Initial analysis of the themes served to refine the categories and the interview transcripts were subsequently entered into NVivo and coded accordingly. The use of computer software greatly facilitated the overall process of analysis and served to develop greater depth of understanding and ultimately contributed to more robust qualitative analysis and conclusion building (Berg; Miles *et al.;* Sarantakos 2005).

The findings are now discussed under three key headings. For brevity quotations from phase 1 of the research are referred to as simply deriving from respondents in Nantes or Cardiff as appropriate. Similarly, quotations from phase 2 data are referred to as simply coming from French or British experts. A conclusion then follows.

**Discussion of findings**

**Cooking practices and diet**

Among respondents on both sides of The Channel, the ability to select a healthy diet was a recurrent theme and the French citizens interviewed stressed the need for the individual to be responsible for their own diet and considered cooking offered them the opportunity of knowing what goes into their meals. British experts also discussed how an understanding of cooking was essential for a healthy diet and that not being able to cook placed people at a disadvantage because they were more dependent on convenient, processed and take-away foods which they described as at least partly the cause of increasing obesity levels. French experts agreed and considered cooking to be essential because it is “*probably the most important thing we can do to ensure a healthy diet in France”.* The Nantes respondents discussed moderation and their preference for a variety of quality, fresh foods to maintain a healthy diet while those from Cardiff were more likely to discuss nutritional guidelines and the need to modify eating behaviour and discussed regimes such as *“WeightWatchers”* or “*the combining/non-combining diet”.* Two French experts compared how the British appeared to have a more ‘nutritionalised’ food culture while the French have a more relaxed and holistic attitude to what is often regarded as a highly palatable diet whilst at the same time, enjoying significantly lower rates of obesity and diet related diseases (see Fischler 2002; INPES 2004).

People’s cooking practices are always shaped by the foods available in conjunction with other economic and socio-cultural influences. As such and given the global power of the agri-food industry it was interesting to note that when asked about foods eaten in the home, none of those from Nantes described the use of totally ready-made meals, while in Cardiff, oven-ready foods such as lasagne, battered fish, bread crumbed chicken and other convenience options were common place with 50% of those interviewed, mostly working women, saying they used them on a regular basis. Pettinger *et al.* (2004 and 2006) also found that while about two-thirds of their French respondents cooked a meal from raw ingredients daily, less than a quarter of their English respondents had done so. A British expert explained that in France the daily meal is anyway quite simple and involves few ingredients such as raw vegetables as a starter, *“fried or grilled meat or fish...with some type of salad...either with just bread or pasta”* and followed by cheese or fruit*.* In contrast she considered that in Britain, the main meal often included more complex combinations “*like chilli con carne or things that”.*

It has been argued that in Britain the popularity of *“pork chipolatas cooked in an Indian style”* (Jaffrey 1982: 61), chicken tikka pizza and other ‘exotic’ ready meals and takeaways reflects Britain’s acceptance of multi-cultural influences. However, James suggests, the acceptance of such creolized foods actually represents continuity rather than a diminution of British food traditions and Ashley *et al.* (2004) have argued that the continued search for inexpensive and convenient ways of enlivening ‘plain and simple’ British food reflects a subtle continuation of many of the imperatives of a British culinary culture, and in many ways is nothing more than *“old food habits in a new form”* (James 1997: 84). Pettinger *et al.* (2004: 307) argue that while British eating habits have absorbed *“foreign cuisine ...France, tends to ‘follow the flag’”* and culinary traditions have been maintained; certainly respondents from Nantes described the preparation of ‘traditional’ and symbolic French dishes such as “*blanquette, bourguignon, boeuf en daube”* and *“poule au pot”*. Perhaps given the familiarity of such dishes, the women respondents appeared more confident to cook than their British counterparts who reported that they were confident with the *“basics”* and *“quick and easy”* dishes.

**The cultural significance of proper or structured meals**

Cooking tends to convert food into a meal, the structure of which encapsulates messages about both social occasions and relations (Douglas 1997; Murcott 1995). While a ‘proper meal’ in Britain is often represented as a meal containing ‘meat and two veg.’, the precise combination of foods and how they are structured varies according to the actual meal event and is governed by complex underlying structures, cultural rules and social norms which are slow to change (Charles & Kerr1990; Douglas; Murcott 1982, 1983). However, evidence from Britain suggests that pressures of modern living are capable of undermining fixed structures and that meal patterns like cooking habits and culinary cultures are rapidly evolving and while meat and two veg., followed by a pudding and eaten at specific times with others remains popular, this research found a trend towards greater individualisation, informalisation, a collapse of normative regulation and a weakening of cultural constraints which are having a significant influence on how meals are cooked and consumed (Warde 1997). Respondents from Cardiff explained the difficulties in getting all the family together around a table at set times for a meal and that with the availability of convenience foods each person could anyway eat alone when convenient and that family meals were more reserved for weekends. Experts from Britain agreed and for example discussed “*the open availability of food, snacking, food marketing and food on the go”* and while snacking could be healthy, such respondents considered the majority of snack foods contributed to energy dense diets.

The ‘traditional’ French food model of structured meals and sequenced courses spread over the day and shared with others seems remarkably resilient. French experts emphasised the social aspect of the model and how the French *“attach a lot of importance to the meal, to the structure, and it’s a symbolic importance”* and how it *“…seems embedded in French culture”.* A further expert explained how children and even adolescents were expected to “*eat from the same pot...what the mother prepares has to be shared”* and another added that approximately 80% of teenagers continue to eat with their family. There was however some evidence of meal structures becoming modified, especially among those living alone, and a single woman from Nantes discussed a meal as “*simply a main course followed by yoghurt or rice pudding …and a fruit to follow”*. This, along with a growth in sales of lunchtime sandwiches, fast food and ‘grazing’ outside of meal times have led writers such as Poulain (2002), to consider there was a weakening or ‘destructuration’ of the French food model. However, research suggests that 90% of the French continue to eat by strict rules in a socially controlled and regulated way (INPES 2004). Fischler & Masson (2008) suggests at least 60% of French persons remain strongly attached to the principle of three meals per day and no snacking while in Britain there was far greater evidence of destructuration with just 2 in 10 strongly attached to such a model. The persistent enactment of such deep rooted traditions in France may be constraining, but it also appears to support the individual in their choice of foodstuffs and discourages snacking. The model also tends to offer a *“fairly balanced diet”* and five of the French experts discussed the importance of preserving the model as an effective means to safeguard against rising levels of obesity.

**Regional foods and culinary cultures**

While ten of the respondents from Cardiff considered France to have a strong culinary culture they were unsure whether Britain *“ever had the same sort of culture and passion for food”.* Such respondents were able to list some regional dishes[[4]](#footnote-4) but none considered Britain possessed any identifiable national cuisine and many were perplexed as to “*why our food is always so bad”.* The experts interviewed also pointed to Britain’s brutal transition to an industrial society along with the victories of free trade and how demand for inexpensive, quickly prepared, imported foods had promoted a *“cheap and cheerful”* culinary culture where people wanted a *“quick fix”* solution and how attitudes to food and cooking had been undermined by perceived lack of time, *“laziness”* and a food culture that revolved around *“convenience”*. One such expert explained how the impact of industrialisation *“broke the shackles, not just between the people and land but also broke the chain between people and food, so that food became industrialised fairly quickly”*. Close links with food had been severed, people no longer talked about or identified with their food and the inter-generational transmission of culinary knowledge was damaged. A respondent from Cardiff discussed his consumption of pies in Wigan, fish, fried Mars bars and Chinese food in Scotland and curry throughout Britain while another expert considered “*sugary, fatty and salty snacks” now* characterise British culinary culture.

In stark contrast, all those interviewed in Nantes demonstrated pride in a clearly defined French cuisine. Respondents from both phases of the research agreed that French cuisine was engrained in the French psyche, underpinned cultural events and bolstered cultural identity, nationhood and a sense of belonging (see Ashley *et al.* 2004; Barthes 1973; Bell *et al.* 1997; Levi-Strauss 1969). At least six expert respondents explicitly discussed regionalised foods and how ‘*terroir’* represents *“…the authenticity thing and tradition”* and how “*people in France would love all their food to have such meaning”* as not only did the French continue to enjoy contact with their culinary traditions but “*the land and their heritage is a large part of their identity”.*  An expert respondent from Britain added: *“...people in France say where did your carrots come from…I mean who would ask you that in England”* and a French expert considered that *“we* [French] *have a considerable heritage of local products, while you have probably more of a tradition of mixtures such as Christmas pudding. Without your British colonies this would not have existed”.*

The impact of urbanisation and globalisation was also discussed but experts in France explained how many city dwellers remained in close contact with the countryside and enjoyed holidaying there and would *“chat about the food and drink in anticipation and talk about it afterwards”* and how *“…trips to other regions would not be complete without a visit to a local food producer and then taking some food home to share with friends”*. As noted, the commodification of the regions and culinary constructs have been used for political advancement and such opportunities have not been lost on recent politicians who have moved to mobilise and strengthen opinion around France’s national culinary heritage and promoted it as a symbol of popular French identity and cultural significance (Willsher 2010). For example, ex-President Sarkozy successfully lobbied to have French gastronomy listed on UNESCO’s heritage list (Fouquet 2010) and as Parkhurst-Ferguson (2001) reminds us, the repeated transmission and popularization of a distinctive culinary discourse helps ensure that it remains in cultural circulation. Certainly the experts from France discussed how the French enjoyed talking about food and that *“all conversation can be about food and where it’s from”* and how there continues to be *“…a real intimate relationship with food”.* Such a culinary discourse may serve as a safeguard against the imposition of food habits and customs from ‘outside’; after all, as a British expert replied “*the fact that the French like food will protect them much better….we don’t like food”.* Experts on both sides of the Channelconsidered that the celebration of any British culinary culture by leaders of state appears limited[[5]](#footnote-5) and that Britons thought about food less, cared less about its origin and discussed such matters rarely.

**Conclusion**

Respondents in both countries have welcomed access to an increased food offer and now buy much of their food from supermarkets which correspondingly plays a significant role in influencing food choices, cooking practices, diets and culinary cultures more generally. It has also been noted that if people are unable or unwilling to cook they may become more reliant on convenience and ready-prepared foods which are easily accessible from such a sophisticated agri-food system and which can contribute towards higher rates of obesity and diet related diseases such as can be seen in Britain and to a lesser extent France. This research has shown that while many people in both counties now cook with a mix of raw/fresh foods and pre-prepared &/or convenience foods fairly interchangeably, more French respondents and to a greater extent, continue to rely on raw ingredients from which they more regularly prepare ‘traditional’ French meals. As a result it appears they have retained more confidence in relation to cooking, demonstrate greater willingness to cook and as such are in a better position to make choices about diet and health. However the decision to cook or not does not operate in isolation of other influences and the cultural attitudes of a society play an important role in relation to cooking habits and food choices.

We noted that no respondent from Cardiff considered there to be any identifiable national cuisine while respondents from Nantes discussed a strong and inclusive, universal culture of food and explained how the circulation of a powerful culinary discourse continues to underpin culinary cultures which are widely celebrated throughout France. Findings from this research have shown how in Britain, the ruthless undermining and subsequent neglect of any culinary anchor has contributed to the faster evolution of culinary cultures. Britons appear more predisposed to accept their industrial heritage and acknowledge their colonial history of imported spices, rich mixtures and a multi-cultural society. Few culinary traditions have received the support to withstand the homogenising impact of an increasingly global and industrialised food system and the availability of commercially prepared readymade, ‘ethnic’ meals, takeaways and ‘stir in sauces’ have further obfuscated the need to practice cooking in the home. Meanwhile in France, food, cooking and eating remain symbolically important to many people’s cultural identity and sense of nationhood and as such their overall culinary culture is deep rooted and continues to act as a bulwark against globalising tendencies within the modern food system.

We have seen how many individuals in Britain alter their diets, follow nutritional advice and yet find it difficult to eat healthily. In France, people seemed less pre-occupied about medicalised advice and more concerned about consuming a variety of largely fresh foods whilst also experiencing lower rates of obesity. Furthermore, the French food model of three highly structured meals a day, often served in the company of others remains a significant part of everyday life and an enjoyable aspect of French culture. The model has tended to provide a relatively healthy diet and protected the French against the de-routinisation and individualisation of eating habits and the French appear to take comfort from such dominant, but not necessarily apparent, cultural steers that demand less soul searching and which largely absolves them from individual responsibility for their diet. Evidence of enduring rules, structures or overarching culinary cultures providing Britons with guidance in relation to patterns of food consumption were less apparent.

It appears that food and cooking have to be supported within a broader culinary culture if the everyday experiences, attitudes and knowledge people bring to food, its preparation and consumption are not to have a negative influence on diet and health. Health authorities need to be reminded of the significance of culinary cultures to diet and meanwhile, French health policy should embrace the mantra *‘vive la difference’* if they wish to maintain lower rates of obesity.

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1. There was however considerable copying of French recipes but these were simplified, made cheaper and distinctively English [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The appearance of the first culinary geographies such as the Carte gastronomique by Lois Cadet de Gassicourt in 1808, whimsically illustrated ‘typical foods’ from different towns and regions and enabled people to visualise the culinary wealth and diversity of the regions at a time when maps were rare and access to them limited (Pitte 2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Both cities are of a similar size and Nantes is the largest city in north-west France with a population approaching 300,000. Cardiff is the largest city in Wales with a population of almost 350,000 although both have much larger and similarly sized metropolitan populations. Both were important regional ports and Cardiff remains the capital city of Wales and Nantes, historically the capital of Brittany is now capital city of the Pays de la Loire region and the Loire-Atlantique Department. Brittany and Wales have each developed regional cooking styles based on local products which tends to reflect a poorer, more peasant based cuisine than in some other regions and correspondingly their culinary cultures tend to enjoy a lesser reputation. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Regional dishes that were mentioned included Lancashire Hot Pot, Cornish pasties, Scottish shortbread, porridge and specific Welsh specialities such as Glamorgan sausages, oatmeal and cockles and oysters but these were now either occasional items on commercial menus or something they remembered their parents preparing. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Following the BSE crisis in the 1990s were attempts by Prince Charles to popularise the preparation and consumption of mutton. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)