

Food Journalism: Building the discourse on the popularization of gastronomy in the twenty-first century

Francesc Fusté Forné

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TESI DOCTORAL

Títol **Food Journalism: Building the discourse on the popularization of gastronomy in the twenty-first century**

Realitzada per **Francesc Fusté Forné**

en el Centre **Facultat de Comunicació i Relacions Internacionals Blanquerna, Universitat Ramon Llull**

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Dirigida per **Doctor Pere Masip i Masip**

PhD Thesis

FOOD JOURNALISM:

**Building the discourse on the popularization of
gastronomy in the twenty-first century**

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Abstract

Food journalism is a special interest journalism that consists on the drawing of narratives with regards to gastronomy. This thesis aims at studying the importance of gastronomy in daily print media during the period 2005-2015 in Catalonia and Spain, with a comparative perspective for the case of the United States. Empirical work includes the analysis of five newspapers (*El Mundo*, *El País*, *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* and *The New York Times*) and is based on the study of 6,189 newspapers' articles. Both a quantitative and qualitative analysis is carried out in order to determine the features regarding the gastronomy contents and how gastronomy news have discursively evolved in the twenty-first century printed media.

Resum

El periodisme gastronòmic és una tipologia de periodisme especialitzat que consisteix en la narració de la gastronomia. Aquesta tesi té com a objectiu estudiar la importància de la gastronomia en la premsa diària durant el període 2005-2015 a Catalunya i Espanya, amb una perspectiva comparativa per al cas dels Estats Units. El treball empíric realitzat inclou l'anàlisi de cinc diaris (*El Mundo*, *El País*, *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* i *The New York Times*) i està basat en l'estudi de 6,189 articles periodístics. S'ha portat a terme una metodologia tant quantitativa com qualitativa amb l'objectiu de determinar quines són les principals característiques dels continguts gastronòmics i veure com el discurs al voltant de la gastronomia ha evolucionat en la premsa escrita del segle XXI.

Resumen

El periodismo gastronómico es una tipología de periodismo especializado que consiste en la narración de la gastronomía. Esta tesis tiene como objetivo estudiar la importancia de la gastronomía en la prensa diaria durante el período 2005-2015 en Cataluña y España, con una perspectiva comparativa para el caso de los Estados Unidos. El trabajo empírico realizado incluye el análisis de cinco periódicos (*El Mundo*, *El País*, *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* y *The New York Times*) y está basado en el estudio de 6,189 artículos periodísticos. Se ha llevado a cabo una metodología tanto cuantitativa como cualitativa con el objetivo de determinar cuales son las principales características de los contenidos gastronómicos y ver como el discurso entorno la gastronomía ha evolucionado en la prensa escrita del siglo XXI.

Foods we encounter throughout our lives leave embodied memories that frame our past, influence our present, and shape our future (Abarca and Colby, 2016, p.7).

Food shapes and reflects all levels of the human experience. It demarcates cultures, borders, nations, and generations, while its significance cuts across all of these categories. Food's smells and tastes account for some of our most sensuous, intimate, and salient memories. On a larger scale, its production brings both order and disorder to local, regional, and national landscapes and controls economies throughout the world. A lack of access to food can cause death, destruction, migration, disease, and even war, reminding us how ecological realities and power relations complicate any simplistic narrative of warm and cherished memories that many of us from relatively privileged societies and backgrounds might associate with the rituals and pleasures of eating. Food shapes families, establishes civilizations, creates relationships, and binds the peoples of the world to one another through trade. Could anything be more important than food? (Chester III and Mink, 2009, p.309).

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INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction and Objectives

Food and gastronomy are part of the vital needs, of community life, of culture and leisure of people. The seeking of the gastronomy as a practice that reflects the own lifestyle is constantly valorised (Jones and Taylor, 2013), while at the same time food journalism becomes a growing field of interest (Hughes, 2010).

The first texts that dealt with issues related to food date back to ancient Greece and Rome, that is, to the origins of civilization. In relation to the first examples of Catalan and Spanish literature, they were published in the Middle Ages, and correspond to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with works like *Llibre de Sent Soví*, *Com usar bé de beure e menjar*, *Llibre de Coch* or *Arte Cisoria*. Nonetheless, later in the nineteenth century it was when literature about food and gastronomy, especially linked to French cuisine, became an art and knowledge. This was exemplified with publications like *Physiologie du goût* by Brillat-Savarin, the *Almanac des Gourmands* by Grimod de la Reynière, works as the *Traité sur l'art de travailler fleurs in the cire* or the appearance of magazines such as *L'art culinaire*, both initiatives conducted by August Escoffier. Escoffier himself put the seeds in terms of symbiosis between food and leisure by binding initially the cuisine to the enjoyment of free time in the upper class, through luxury hotels. On his thoughts, Mennell said that this initial figure of gourmet, writer on food issues, contributes decisively to the concept of eating as a social activity (Mennell, 1996).

In the twentieth century, there were several facts that consolidate food as a form of entertainment, and gradually reaching into much of the called developed societies. With the parenthesis of the two World Wars and the Civil War in the Catalan and Spanish cases, social advances and the introduction of paid holidays and transport accessibility, meant that more people started to care about the art of food. This applies both to visit restaurants and to the discovery of traditional cuisine, which includes the own culinary heritages and those from other countries as well. In Catalonia and Spain there are many authors and endless references (books and other publications, specialist magazines, daily newspapers) with a content focused on food to be highlighted. From a literary point of view, and from journalistic contributions, Julio Camba, Álvaro Cunqueiro, Joan Perucho, Néstor Luján, Xavier Domingo, Manuel Martín Ferrand and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán among others, are journalists who extensively wrote about food, offering different perspectives and contexts around gastronomy from their expertise. Specifically in the case of Catalonia, Josep Pla also deserves special attention because he dedicated part of his literary trajectory to display the gastronomy as a key component of Catalan culture. In this sense, food becomes an instrument to create a culture and identity in relation to a community, throughout the use of a series of symbols and myths, as stated by Smith (1995) – later

transmitted by mass media –. At the same time and according to the same author, the cuisine becomes a repository of all the accumulated wisdom of our ancestors.

The change from “eat at home” to “eat in a restaurant”, that is, from a home to a restaurant cuisine, can only be explained, according to Pujol (2009, p.442) “in socioeconomic terms, gastronomy becoming [...] thanks to the popularity of starred chefs, yet another tourist attraction”. To cite an example, the Catalan Government is continuously financing events around Catalan cuisine. Among the most significant, there was the organization of the *Any de l’Alimentació, la Cuina i la Gastronomia* (The Year of Food, Cuisine and Gastronomy, 2005-2006), which intended to “commemorate 600 years of gastronomical [Catalan] culture through lavish exhibits and multitudinous talks by chefs, who had already become media superstars” (Pujol, 2009, p.443).

In a broad sense, Voss (2012, p.76) pointed out that writing about culinary topics touches the lives, traditions and memories of the people. At the same time, according to Jones and Taylor (2013, p.103), we must understand the current food journalism as a journalism which has established an indissoluble bond towards two transcendental elements, namely, forms of lifestyle and celebrities.

Therefore, without forgetting a cuisine that has always been associated with chefs and restaurants, in recent years the gastronomic phenomenon has reached unprecedented media coverage and this is also due to several factors. On the one hand, tourism and food motivation, both for locals and visitors (Fusté, 2015), as well as the increasingly widespread use of food in promoting destinations, benefited for example by the declaration of Catalonia as the European Region of Gastronomy 2016. Moreover, the fact that over the last decade a number of Catalan and Spanish restaurants have been named among the best in the world on several occasions, has brought food contents to the front pages of major printed media one time and another. As suggested by Naulin (2015, p.325), media try to advance the discovery, for example of a new chef or a new producer, before anyone else.

The complexity of this phenomenon is evident. This is clearly shown when checking the list of culinary programs of TV3 (public Catalan television) or TVE (public Spanish television), or the relation of radio programs in the category *Food & Drink* on BBC, amounting to 91 programs, or the number of pieces that deal with food in daily media every year. In addition, the number of book publications is unattainable.

Conversely, academic interest on food journalism has been scarce in comparison to other journalistic forms related to leisure and lifestyle (Jones and Taylor, 2013, p.97). Among the authors who have conducted research on the analysis of gastronomy contents and food journalism, the following must be noted: Acosta (2011), Ferguson (1998), Fernández and Aguirregoitia (2017), Fusté and Masip (2013), Jones and Taylor (2013), Naulin (2015), Navarro and Acosta (2012), Sánchez (2008,

2011), Voss (2012) or Urroz (2008). These are some examples that are discussed in more depth later.

Acosta (2011, pp.25-28) stated that although food as a narrative element has been investigated relatively little, its importance and usefulness in the literature are remarkable. In this regard, she highlighted a study prepared by Fraticelli (*La gastronomía como elemento narrativo: Olores y sabores en las novelas de inspiración portuguesa de Antonio Tabucchi*, 2002) or in the case of Spanish literature the work *La cocina en Galdós y otras noticias literario-gastronómicas* (Esteban, 1992). Acosta also mentioned that culinary aspects of literature have been more widely studied within the English and French literature; for example with *Booking the Cooks: Literature and Gastronomy in Molière Literary Imagination* (Tobin, 2003).

Still Acosta's study (2011) analyzed the work of the Chilean novelist Isabel Allende, with particular emphasis on the role that food plays. This research is significant as far as it demonstrates that "food is a very interesting tool for the characterization of characters and historical moments. The research also shows the value of food as an instrument for identifying places and periods in the genre of the historical novel, which looks to the past from the everyday life. To delve deeper into the everyday life of the characters, the author achieves a great effect on situating the critical situations of the action into such a common place as the kitchen itself. [...] Aspects related to feeding people and the culinary dishes represent an important literary resource to situate the reader and characterize periods and characters" (Acosta, 2011, pp.37-38). McWilliams (2012) also show this in a book where the author in deep analyzed the food and the novel in nineteenth-century America.

Finally, Pujol (2009, p.439) stated that gastronomy is a perfect vehicle for endorsing, tracing and understanding the changes that occur in society. This thesis intends to provide evidence on how gastronomy reaches into society throughout the study of gastronomy-based mass media contents.

1.1. Research objectives

This thesis examines the gastronomy contents found in daily printed media in Catalonia and Spain, with a comparative dimension to the case of the United States. It is part of the discussion of this research the study of similarities and differences on how the gastronomy is imaged, and also how its treatment has evolved over the last decade. Chefs and restaurants are the predominant content? How important are the products? And the culinary events such as fairs and festivals? Shortly, what are the characteristics of contents that printed media convey about food.

Consequently, research questions aim to delineate the gastronomy-based contents that draw the discourse of printed media in Catalonia, Spain and the United

States within the period 2005-2015. The quantitative analysis of categories usually serves as the most useful methodological tool, at the same time some authors adding a qualitative approach. Then, as described later along the methodological chapter, a qualitative study is also conducted. In addition, this type of studies requires contextualizing the framework in terms of a specific geographical area, which is primarily done for the Catalan and Spanish cases.

The research questions that this thesis examines are:

RQ1. What is the importance of gastronomy in the printed media?

RQ2. What are the predominant themes regarding the gastronomy contents within the printed media?

RQ3. How gastronomy news is discursively covered in the printed media?

RQ4. How have the gastronomy contents in printed media in Catalonia, Spain, and the United States evolved over time?

The previous questions lead to the following hypotheses:

H1. Gastronomy has an increasing presence over time.

H2. Chefs and restaurants are the most prominent topics.

H3. Gastronomy discourse turns around star chefs.

H4. While Catalonia and Spain show a similar evolution, different conclusions are observed for the case of the United States.

The first two questions are examined from quantitative analysis. The third and fourth questions are studied from a qualitative approach. The four hypotheses drove to a discussion chapter where to answer one more question. In order to get the results generalized and be able to contribute to the fulfilment of the theoretical corpus, results include the similarities and differences in the projection of the contents from both a comparative newspaper perspective and from a nation approach.

1.2. Research structure

The first section of this thesis presents the introduction chapter, where the importance of the thesis is outlined, and the objectives defined. The second section reviews the literature, focused on three main points, namely, an approach to the

specialist journalism, the origins of culinary information, and a discussion on food as a social and communicative phenomenon.

Later, the third chapter describes the methodological issues. The codebook and the coding form delineate the protocol measures for content analysis. Furthermore, chapters from four to nine trace the quantitative analysis; and chapters from ten to fifteen draw the qualitative discourse analysis for each of the five newspapers studied. Finally, the discussion and conclusion chapter and the reference list are outlined.

I. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

2. Specialist Journalism: Gastronomy and Mass Media

The earliest informations about food date back to Ancient Greece and Rome, evolved thanks to medieval recipe books and the literature among the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – mainly authored by French chefs and gourmets – and reached consolidation and diversification throughout the twentieth century. From its side, the journalistic specialization showed sporadic demonstrations in the seventeenth century, was organized during the eighteenth century, and finally consolidated during the first decades of the second half of the twentieth century.

According to Quesada (1998), newspapers were the first to cover the objectives of the specialist journalism: make journalistic those phenomena of the social reality. This is the same direction took by Diezhandino (1997), who stated that what it has to be achieved by journalism in general and special interest journalism in particular is that the audience understands the changes that occur in society, which can be seen for example based on food and gastronomy contents.

In the context of Catalonia and Spain, however the earliest food columns and critics, one of the turning points with respect to gastronomic information was marked by the political transition period that happened from middle 70s of the last century. The production of food contents became wider and wider with a greater influence of the gastronomic boom, which not only still lasts today but it has been increasing exponentially during the last couple of decades. All media, newspapers, magazines, television, radio and the Internet have become gastronomic content producers.

In recent years, this food phenomenon reached an unprecedented media coverage. This is due to several factors, which are described later in this section, and serve to explain the gastronomy as an issue that goes beyond social and communicative frontiers.

2.1. Notes on the development of Specialist Journalism

The major technological changes that have occurred in recent decades have driven into a configuration of media unpredictable not so long ago. According to Quesada (1998, p.21), one of the highlights of these changes and that could best explain the concept of Specialist Journalism was the gradual emergence of non-daily publications. This type of publication focused their content on different topics traditionally considered as of mass media journalism since sections and contents on which general information media usually structures also delineate a specialization in themselves. In this sense, there are two levels of specialitization in press (Esteve, 2010, Hirschfeld, 2015). The first level includes the traditional sections of the newspaper, aimed at a general audience, namely, economy, sports, politics or culture. These

sections are included in any daily newspaper. The second level refers to other sections, not so common and sometimes provided as part of the supplements, which offer specific information about concrete fields. “This does not mean that they are unknown for the audience, then they are spaces dedicated to issues around the world of science, health, fashion, gastronomy” (Hirschfeld, 2015, p.15).

In parallel to the born of these sections, a new journalistic profile also came up. Additionally to the traditionalist professionals who covered information on economy, courts, sports or culture, “it started to appear others oriented towards new technologies, science, health, fashion or gastronomy, to cite only some fields” (Hirschfeld, 2015, p.16).

The earliest references regarding the specialization of journalistic information were found in the seventeenth century. In Spain, there was the precedent of scientific and cultural sheets published by Denis de Saló in 1665, which subsequently led to the publication of the *Almanacs de les Muses* (Esteve and Fernández del Moral, 1999, p.132). Meanwhile, Diezhandino (1988) stated that the first manifestations of specialist press, in the eighteenth century, could be found in three areas:

- Literary Press with *Memorias Eruditas para la Crítica de Artes y Ciencias* (1736), the embryo of the publication *Diario de los Literatos de España*.
- Economic Journalism, which had its first rally in Spain in the eighteenth century with the newspaper entitled *Memorias sobre la agricultura, marina, comercio y artes liberales y mecánicas* (1752).
- Women’s Press, with *La Pensadora Gaditana*, which appeared in 1768.

According to Martínez Albertos (1972), economic information is one of the most important traditions concerning journalistic specializations. In the previous list, an example was observed. Later, since the 40s in the nineteenth century there was already regular information on stock exchanges in major European newspapers. Similarly, Diezhandino (1988, p.169) affirmed that within the last third of the nineteenth century the trend to specialization, “although under craft already had deep roots”. The own Diezhandino (1988, p.190) and Bezunartea *et al* (1988, p.15) emphasized that specialization comes up because of business imperatives and in accordance with its role in social development, the market sectorization and awareness of the specific role of this specialist information: to adjust the best possible the interests of the readers to those of the newspaper. Martínez Albertos (1972) stressed that in the final years of that nineteenth century and early twentieth century until World War I specialist information was expanded to areas beyond the financial, commercial or economic issues. Food represented one of these aspects.

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Despite the heterogeneous viewpoints of different authors and different previous references, Quesada fixed the historical origin of specialist journalism in the United States after the appearance in 1923 of *Time* magazine (Quesada, 1998, p.71). While the magazine was mainly issues related to politics and economy, it also introduced content related to culture and leisure. *Time* was a pioneer in the use of explanatory journalism – exemplified by a greater use of interpretative genres – that prevailed over the news media. Again, the financial information was highlighted as one of the pioneers of specialization: “already in 1940, Kilgore, from the Wall Street Journal, gave a twist to the way of telling the news to a newspaper more readable and open to concrete world of readers’ interests. Speaking of inflation from a specific experience” (Diezhandino, 1997, p.87). This means that the important thing is to see “how much impact these large data has into everyday life [...]. It is about telling the story on the most significant way for the reader” (Diezhandino, 1997, p.88). The newspaper of tomorrow, they already said back in 1934, will satisfy at least some issues that people arises when they riding on the bus, at the the street, at home, “because the purpose of the newspaper is to provide readers with a comprehensive, credible vision of the world where they are living” (MacDougall, 1945, pp.15-16).

There was an evolution from information journalism to the explanatory, thanks to which the special interest journalism appeared (for exemple *Time*) and later consolidated:

“The emergence of new explanatory journalism has been a considerable advance in the journalistic expertise and the best preparation of technical professionals. [...] To the explanation journalism is required not only a deeper interpretation of the facts, but also the use of language and genre appropriate to its proper decoding” (Esteve, 1999, p.32).

According to Quesada, explanatory journalism added to the pure data of news, valuation elements, documented, interpretative and a healthy dose of opinion. This caused “at the same time the disappearance of the classic frontier between story (description) and comment (opinion), and encourages the preparation of a solid base of development for what soon end up defined as Specialist Journalism” (Quesada, 1998, p.25). To exemplify it, “some reports (chronicles) allow the mixture between information and comment, like sports or bullfighting, but not the court or parliamentary ones” (Herrero, 1997, p.79). This caused that news journalism was gradually replaced by the emergence of a new model: explanatory journalism, “which is characterized to this day by its greater ability to interpret reality” (Quesada, 1998, p.25). However, some authors like Burguet (2002) heavily hesitated whether nowadays the division between the two makes sense.

The need for specialization, though in another direction, also arose as a result of World War II: “the demand for specialist journalists in politics and international relations was one of the first to impose the need for specialization” (Quesada, 1998,

p.31), because specialization helps to diagnose the problems of modern society (Orive and Fagoaga, 1974). Since the 40s of twentieth century, journalism, then, definitely moved from to be “essentially informative to become into an interpretation and explanation journalism” (Herrero, 1997, pp.72-73). This fact represented a considerable advance in the journalistic expertise for several reasons set out by Herrero (1997, p.73):

- 1) Beat the classical pyramidal structure considered insufficient for better understanding of certain texts.
- 2) The context of the information is obtained with past data (background) and present (analysis and explanation). This relationship past-present serves to provide in-depth analysis, is the cause-effect relationship, which involves documentation and is also linked to investigative journalism.
- 3) The citations of experts, authorities involved in the events, serve to support the own assessments.
- 4) Valuations carried out by journalists should be documented. Documentation is the key of the texts of explanatory journalism, and by extension, of the Specialist Journalism.

From her side, Tuñon (1993, p.92) affirmed that the beginnings of specialization in modern journalism are found in America newspapers at the end of 1960s, and the Europeans a few years later, when they began to expand their contents, reaching all aspects of daily life of readers. This is added to the first seed that *Time* meant some years before, now applied to daily journals.

In Spain, it was in the last third of the century and “over ten years of delay compared to the United States, [when] there is in Spain an explosion of specialist publications” (Diezhandino, 1994, p.183). Thus, the market of journalistic specialization expanded from 7 July 1982, after being promulgated the *Law on Foreign Investment* in publishing companies. According to Diezhandino (1988, p.203) as a result of this law, the boom in specialist publications was exploited. These were found to deal with topics such as economy and finance, sports, female, computer, motor, style, travel, nature and plants, among others.

After an approach to the development of specialist journalism by different authors, it is derived that the emergence and consolidation of this field is because both exogenous and also endogenous factors (Muñoz Torres, 1997). External causes were related to the social changes that were occurring; while more important endogenous factors, according to Fernández del Moral and Esteve (1993, p.53), were the segmentation and the need for media to achieve higher quality of information and

greater depth in content. This was due to two fundamental facts: “the birth of the information society and the new electronic village require changing theoretical and practical assumptions of specialist journalism” (Tuñon, 1993, p.85). Consequently, even audiences today:

“They need to get a return for the added effort of reading, a compensation to the provocative vacuum of the image, a haven of security based on the rigor of verifiability, the effectiveness of the warning and prevention work, in front of such a oversaturation of fragmentary information. The world expects of it [media] a response to so many concerns” (Diezhandino, 1994, p.181).

In relation to the definition of the concept of specialist journalism, according to Borrat (1993), there were a number of proposals for a general theory of Specialist Journalism. These proposals had their beginning in the book by Pedro Orive and Concha Fagoaga (1974), continued with the work by Javier Fernández del Moral (1983) and then branched into the series of academic courses focused on these niche journalisms (Fernández del Moral, 2004, p.18). This means that there are many definitions of the concept of specialist journalism. Orive and Fagoaga (1974) said it was a “new system of structuring the information that supports on the expert working on a specific area and within also a particular specific media, and determined by the deepening and reliability characteristics in the transmitted messages” (Orive and Fagoaga, 1974, p.167).

Journalistic specialization “intends to classify the information contents in order to address the problems outlined by the so-called informative atomization, as a result of a excessive fragmentation of the areas of knowledge and the lack of sistematization of messages” (Chacón, 2001, p.34). At this point, it should be noted that there is a different meaning between specialist information and specialist journalistic information. Consequently, there is a strong need to transform the specialist information into specialist journalistic information. The first one refers to the information set and shared between specialists, and consequently it does not require decodification of the message. In the second case, the information does so aim at a general audience, which makes compulsory the adaptation of technical concepts for non-experts readers (Esteve, 2010; Hirschfeld, 2015).

Meanwhile, Fernández del Moral and Esteve (1993) defined it as follows:

“Specialist journalistic information is that information structure that penetrates and analyzes the reality through different knowledge specialties, place this reality in a wider context that provides an overview to the recipient and produces a media message that accommodates the code level of each audience attending to their needs and interests” (Fernandez del Moral and Stephen, 1993, pp.100-101).

For Muñoz Torres (1997):

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“Specialist journalistic information is the discipline that studies the production of information messages that are disseminated by the different fields of human knowledge, in an understandable and interesting way, to the greatest number of people (must be understood within the overall scheme of targeting audiences according to levels of divulgation) in order to provide sense of the reality through media” (Muñoz Torres, 1997, pp.40-41).

Borrat (1993) advised that it is possible to define the specialist journalism as a way to produce newspaper articles characterized by:

- 1) The internal consistency of these texts.
- 2) The correspondence of their assertions with reality.
- 3) Membership of the belonging concepts, categories and models of analysis applied, whatever the type of text and the language type chosen, the type of newspaper that published these texts and the type of audience that preferentially targeted.

This reflection is important since it shows evidence on how specialist journalism earlier based on special interest publications, now is also focused on dailies. The features above revealed that while the first two can also be found in the texts produced by generalists, the third feature “occurs only in those texts written by specialists” (Borrat, 1993, p.83). Meanwhile, according to Quesada (1998) specialist journalism must be understood as the information structure that allows to respond to the triple specialization that characterizes modern journalism: content specialization, audience specialization, and the type of media specialization.

Regarding the objectives of the discipline of specialist journalism, Tuñón (1993, p.96) enumerated the following:

- To extend the concept of journalism agenda today, that is, to communicate facts and new ideas of social reality which were not the subject of journalistic communication.
- To serve as an instrument of mediation between specialists in different branches of knowledge, and audiences.
- In-depth explanation of current and new social phenomena.
- To increase the credibility of media and professionals.
- To improve the quality of media coverage as one of the types of social information, the purpose of which is the transmission of knowledges about the most significant events of social reality.

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- To promote newsworthy as a way to increase the curiosity for knowledge of the society in which we live.
- To increase knowledge about the growing complexity of the current changing world.
- To expand and democratize culture.
- To replace, to the most possible extent, the role of the expert collaborator for the specialist journalist.

Consequently, specialist journalism was presented as an instrument that allows broadening and deepening the content of media, where also “the subject of specialization is the journalist” (Tuñón, 1993, p.92). Later, Gallego (2003) reached the following definition:

“Specialist journalism would be an instrument that operates in specific areas, which proposes and carries out a specific analysis of the reality, which requires a certain knowledge to exercise it properly, and resorting to other sciences and other parcels of knowledge to interpret it. So I would consider it more as a method, which does not drop a bit its social significance neither involves an academic discredit. Just the fact that it is possible to exercise specialist journalism in many fields, areas and different topics makes difficult the possibility of developing a unified corpus” (Gallego, 2003, p.21).

While from the academic point of view different theoretical proposals were outlined on specialist journalism, “without having so far one theory that unifies the concept and can be shared by everyone” (Gallego 2003, p.20), the professional world still understands the concept of specialist journalism in a way quite different from what is defined from the academic environments. In this sense, “for the profession, specialist journalism is the one that focuses on a specific branch of journalism [...]. Among the professionals, technical journalism is just another manifestation of specialist journalism, but not every specialist journalism is technical” (Gallego, 2003, pp.19-20). Thus, “it is not surprising that the professionalist concept of specialist journalism find its main reference in commercial success. The optimum journalism would be the best sold. And the model journalist, the one who contributes to the most effective and unconditional profit of the company for which he/she works” (Borrat, 1993, p.80). In short, scientific knowledge must become comprehensive, that is, we need to transform a technical journalism into a mass journalism which can reach the audience (Hirschfeld, 2015), while avoiding the so-called commercial influences.

Either way, however, media should respond to the questions that society wonders:

“Journalism or the information activity [...] is a prime way to observe, analyze and influence the construction of this network of human relations that has been called

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life in society. Journalism to highlight social failures, reality imbalances, sudden ruptures of everyday life, but also for the scanning of the future to highlight the problems that come and identify the major challenges that a given society will face; detect trends that prevail in not very distant future. [...] Journalists can and should act [...] a little as a compass of the type of society towards which we are heading. They are the best placed to interpret the warning signs that others do not see, but they, because of the watchtower in where they are, can and should help decipher” (Gallego, 2003, p.96).

Specialist journalism, in this sense, has the goal to give an effective response to the great challenges post-it by society (Diezhandino 1997; Fernández del Moral, 2004). The history of journalism, as briefly pointed above, and from mid-nineteenth century with greater intensity, presented a perfect total involvement with the development of society (Benito, 1973, p.71; Martínez Albertos, 1983, p.265):

“It is necessary to meet the increasingly greater public interest in fields such as science, education, housing and urban planning, medicine, aviation, labor and a dozen other specialist subjects that compound ordinary part of the news of the day. The whole range of news providing a service, in relation to the home, travel and entertainment, to name only a few, it just begins to be exploited” (Hohenberg, 1964, p.446).

Gallego (2003) perfectly described large areas that structure social life, which is still a way to determine the reasons of the main areas of expertise: “human beings establish mechanisms to organize and regulate their lives in common (policy); must meet their basic needs and manage their assets (economy), but also to cultivate their intellect and their artistic sense (culture), the same way they must expand and unleash physical and bodily needs (leisure, sport)” (Gallego, 2003, p.8). In this, other media also play a very important role, since “if the radio set forth the information, and television shows it with pictures, the press has to explain it and interpret it in the appropriate social context” (Quesada, 1998, p.13).

In the same direction, with respect to the specialization levels of media, broadly two levels were found according to Fernández del Moral (2004, p.30) as reported earlier. From one side, specialist information that pointed at a wide audience (namely general information sections of the newspapers, daily news radio and television); from the other, specialist themes reunited together under special supplements, or thematic channels.

The abundance of media not only expands the communication landscape, but also requires a continuous renewal of journalistic content to bring them to the complexity of societies:

“This *minimum common culture* of information enables a specialization of the knowledge transmitted, understanding here specialization as a communicative tool available to achieve depth, rigor and diversity in the current information about this changing reality, ephemeral and new that journalism interpretes” (Tuñón, 1993, p.87).

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In radio and television (Gallego, 2003, pp.100-102), it is possible to find society content information in daily news, weekly programs, in magazines, specialist programs and special programs such as docudrama or exhibitions. But the media also fill other needs of interaction:

“Society is increasingly hedonistic and the tendencies to enjoy life are increasing. [...] The media offer an answer to these demands: report on how to have fun, travel, eat well and get a string of chances on where, how, what and why consume. The diverse and differentiated audiences of today are looking into media for more than the information in an abstract sense: they ask to be given a practical response to the problems and needs of everyday life” (Tuñon, 1993, p.90).

Thus, specialization occurs in every field, from mathematics to fashion, from literature to astronomy. This is a heavy challenge to the establishment of a common pattern, as it raised few lines above:

“Within this commitment to a new humanist renaissance of culture, specialist journalistic information helps relating knowledges considered even antagonistic to each other (science and philosophy, technology and art, medicine and religion), and also contributes to increasing the general and overall knowledge of an ordinary person” (Tuñon, 1993, p.95).

Ultimately, in order to decipher the keys to understanding a complex time like the present requires specialist knowledge, also able to relate some facts with others, as happens in reality. Today, after more than fifteen years of the new century, printed media is immersed in a new crisis, where new technologies continue furnishing unpredictable changes, but meanwhile the gastronomy seems to have become a major issue worldwide. “In the panorama of communication, the new electronic means mean a revolution similar to the invention of the printing press. [...] From a general information pointing at a broad public, it is moved to a specialist information with a specific consumer audience” (Tuñon, 1993, p.91). This happens in all areas of specialization, in all its themes.

In relation to the action, and obligation, that journalism, and specialist journalism, have in regards to serve society, we must remember that “media have become a school of life where you learn to catch the skin of a vertiginous changing time” (Tuñon, 1993, p.98). According to Diezhandino (1993, p.117) “to serve is to make think, provide what to think, and maybe even say what to think about”, and where the newspaper “has no reason to exist other than public service” (MacDougall, 1945). This would be an issue to further discuss but it is not at the core of this thesis. To conclude this point, Finkelkraut (1987) spoke of polymorphic society, and using multicultural term to mean well stocked. What is appraised, he said, “are not the cultures as such, but its adulterated version, the part of them you can try, taste and throw away after use. [...] When bearing the signature of a great designer, a pair of boots is equivalent to Shakespeare” (Finkelkraut, 1987, pp.116-117). While not everything worth goes (*no*

vale el todo vale), specialist journalism today has the power to be in any type of text, language, media, and audience.

2.2. A history of gastronomic information

The first literary notes on gastronomy issues date back, according to Schraemli (1982), to Ancient Greece, the *Deipnosophistae*. It was also one of the first references of gastronomic literature the work *Ostrea ut diu durent*, by Apicius, within the cookbooks of the Roman Empire, although not published until the Middle Ages under the name *Apitii Caelii de re coquinaria libri decem*. Another author who had also left culinary notes was Platón in the *Banquet*.

Despite these early signs of food writing, one of the oldest cookbooks is a medieval recipe book written in Catalan: is the *Llibre de Sent Soví*, dated in 1324. Prior to this there was the work *Le Viandier*, considered by Schraemli (1982, p.15) as the first completed cookbook, authored by Guillaume Tirel (1310-1395), French chef of the fourteenth century. In the Spanish context and also in Catalonia, according to Luján and Perucho (1970, p.60) the work of Mestre Robert *Llibre de doctrina per a ben servir, de Tallar i del Art de Coch*, was one of the oldest cookbooks, along with the *Arte Cisoria* of Enrique de Villena, both in the first half of the fifteenth century. However, before the end of the fourteenth century, Francesc Eiximenis wrote the work *Com usar bé de beure e menjar*, part of his literary work *Lo Crestià*. This work represented a guide to the gastronomic traditions of that time. Another work where to find references of the habit of gastronomy it is the treated of *Civilitat* by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1530).

Brillat-Savarin was who published, in 1825, one of the first treaties of gastronomy, of which Luján (1986, p.5) stated that is the most intelligent and spiritual food book ever produced. Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755-1826) was one of the first food writers of the history of humankind, considered the philosopher of fork. His work has become the bible for gourmands worldwide. "*The physiology of taste*, then, is the basis of gastronomy science" (Schraemli, 1982, p.64). Thus, Brillat-Savarin, along with Grimod de la Reynière were who in the early nineteenth century, promoted the gastronomy as an art, while were laid the foundations for the prestige of French cuisine. According to the own Luján (1986, p.8), they had extraordinary success, not only for the way of dealing with the gastronomy issue, but also for a new technical language.

Meanwhile, Grimod de la Reynière, called the Homer of culinary art, was also considered one of the immortal geniuses of food (Schraemli, 1982, pp.72-80), and for some authors the first food journalist of the history (Sánchez, 2011, p.2). His work, *Almanach des Gourmands*, consisted of eight volumes published between 1803 and 1812. According to Jones and Taylor (2013), "the culinary landscape evoked by the

Almanach was a public one of shops, restaurants and cafes and this was a sphere open primarily to middle-class men” (Jones and Taylor, 2013, pp.98-99).

The work of Grimod de la Reynière was continued with the same title by the author Charles Monselet with the collaboration of Alexander Dumas father, from 1869 to 1871. According to Luján (1986), Charles Montselet, gastronome of the second half of the nineteenth century and founder in 1858 of the weekly called *Le Gourmet* (Schraemli, 1982, p.48), was also impressed by the wealth of gastronomic conception of Brillat-Savarin. Additionally, cooks as Edouard Nignon, chef at the *Hermitage* in St. Petersburg and after at *Larue* in Paris, and theorist of the cuisine, claimed that none of Brillat-Savarin dishes was possible to carry out with the richness in which the autor was able to formulate it. Other authors continued the legacy of Brillat-Savarin, with works like the *La table au pays* published in 1892 by Lucien Tendret, lawyer and gastronome (1825-1896). His work is an example of “the exaltation to gastronomy” (Luján, 1986, p.6). Also “the historian Carlos Federico de Baron Rumohr and Eugenio Vaerst, among others” (Schraemli, 1982, pp.83-98) can not be forgotten.

Still in the nineteenth century, and still in France, there should also be noted works such *Bibliographie gastronomique* (1890) by Jorge Vicaire, or Maître Antonio Carême, who, in addition to his many books, made a complete renovation of the cuisine, during the first third of the nineteenth century (Schraemli, 1982, p.27). At the same nineteenth century, it must be highlighted chefs like Alexis Soyer and especially August Escoffier, the great master of gastronomy and “the best culinary artist of the modern era” (Hanke, 1989, p.225). In 1885, Escoffier published the *Traité sur l’art de travailler les fleurs en cire* and founded the professional magazine *L’art culinaire*, which achieved worldwide fame (Schraemli, 1982, p.33). The big change in the life of August Escoffier came in 1890, when Ritz entrusted him the direction of the cuisine of the *Hotel Savoy* in London and later the *Ritz Carlton*, one of the most famous hotels in the world, developing for nearly a generation the history of culinary art around the world (Schraemli, 1982, p.33). Thus, the text of Escoffier’s *La Guide culinaire* (1903) was the indispensable bedside book for any chef for over 50 years until the arrival of the new cuisine, the *Nouvelle Cuisine* (Luján, 1988, p.243; De Sert, 2007, p.134).

Some autors highlighted the work that both writers and chefs did in order to codify the culinary knowledge and draw a national cuisine, in this case, French (Ferguson, 1998; Rao, Monin and Durand, 2003). Thus, “it was during the Escoffier era when French haute cuisine achieved an undisputed international hegemony” (Mennell, 1993; Rao, Monin and Durand, 2003).

Similarly, according to De Sert, “Paris is more than ever the capital and center of good food and Prosper Montagné, August Escoffier and Édouard Nignon are three great chefs who dominate the culinary scene of the first third of the twentieth century” (De Sert, 2007, p.241). Moreover, it was a time in France when the prices of

raw food were particularly low and rich classes had enough money and the time needed to not only cook, but also to sit at the table (Luján, 1988, p.243). Jones and Taylor (2013, p.98) stated that “the organised translation of culinary production into journalism occurred in the social flux that followed the French Revolution” (Jones and Taylor, 2013, p.98). It is during the nineteenth century when the volume of gastronomic literature began to grow considerably, drifting slowly from a literature with recipes predominance into a gastronomic literature much more diverse and heterogeneous. In fact, Sánchez (2011) affirmed that “food journalism originally emerged in the nineteenth century in Postrevolutionary France, with the aim of teaching hosts among the new Napoleonic bourgeoisie. Recent occupants of the dome of the new social order, the bourgeois, aspired to the imperial style banquets, but unknowing the art of hosts” (Sánchez, 2011, p.2). Similarly, Ferguson (2001) suggested that gastronomy began in the nineteenth century in France.

In this regard, food journalism emerged in the “figure of the *gastronome*” (Jones and Taylor, 2013, p.102), and, according to Naulin (2012), appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the invention of the restaurant elevated gastronomy to a commercial product. Ferguson also affirmed this idea: “however, the public restaurant, not the private gathering, was the primary vehicle institutionalizing gastronomy as a social and cultural practice in early 19th-century France [...] by relocating culinary creativity and fine dining from private homes into public space” (Ferguson, 1998, p.606).

Mennell (1996) added that, this figure of *gastronome*, equivalent to food writer, culinary journalist, contributes decisively to the concept of eating as a social activity. Jones and Taylor (2013) stated that “gastronomic journalism was, therefore, in the first instance, a primarily aesthetic or philosophical field, rather than one closely linked to professional cookery or domestic practice” (Taylor and Jones, 2013, p.98).

Jones and Taylor (2001) added that “while there has been a growth in literature attempting a sociological and cultural analysis of food practices in recent years, very little detailed attention has been paid to food writing and cookery books” (Jones and Taylor, 2001, p.173). While only David Bell and Gill Valentine (1997) included references to the role played by food media in a number of processes with regards to the consumption of food, “apart from a brief discussion of Arjun Appadurai’s (1989) exploration of Indian cookbooks, their book lacks a sustained analysis of food writing” (Jones and Taylor, 2001, p.173). It is important to acknowledge the fact that cookery books provide not only a set of culinary recipes, but also an approach to the history and culture of a concrete place.

Another author who offered reflexion on the relations between food and identity in British culture is James, who did so throughout the cookbooks (James, 1996, 1997). Also Mennell (1985), who “provided the most detailed discussion of food

writing in his book *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*” (Jones and Taylor, 2001, p.173).

Moving now to the twentieth century, while Belle Époque had ended with the start of World War I in 1914, this period of history did not end with regards to gastronomy (De Sert, 2007, pp.131-170). Thus, from 1914 to 1934 “cuisine was dictated from the big cities and among all cities, Paris. From the standpoint of both theory and practice, still Western cuisine and even assimilation from Eastern European cuisines were – and are – directed by French intelligence” (Luján, 1988, p.243). An example of this is that in 1900 the Guide Michelin appeared. It is still a leader in the categorization of high-quality restaurants, especially in Europe. In this situation, from the 30s of the twentieth century and gradually, there are several factors that make the gastronomy to be established as one of the main concerns of human beings at the time to enjoy their leisure. As stated by Luján (1988), these factors were:

- Big cities, like Paris itself, will keep the economic strength of the prestigious restaurants.
- Along the 20s of the twentieth century large food industries began to appear, which involved a number of trends regarding food preservation, prefabrication dishes and improvement of preserved and canned food.
- In the early 30s of the twentieth century, the automobile provided travel and began to give strength and prestige to the great regional restaurants.
- From the summer of 1936, paid holidays were established in France, and then in the rest of Europe. That, allowed citizens to leave the city in order to visit other parts of the country or abroad during a longer period.
- After World War II, the airplane joined the car to decentralize the gastronomy of big cities.
- The emergence of mass tourism during the 60s of the twentieth century.
- The new cuisine that attempted to change the gastronomy world through the appreciation of traditional cuisines from other countries, the discovery of local and regional cuisines, and a fascination for exotic cuisines.

In doing a brief parenthesis to focus on the Michelin Guide, it is important to note that this guide was born in 1900. Karpik (2000) said this meant a specific way to track the quality, and differentiated among three types of Michelin Guide along the century. “The technical guide (1900-1908) is organized around interchangeable techniques and faces a neoclassical market; it is not a guide. The tourism guide (1909-

1933) and the gastronomic guide (1934-1998)” (Karpik, 2000, p.369). In 1900, when only few cars were circulating, the first guide was published, freely distributed and aimed at drivers. “The technical guide was tailored to the needs of an emerging automotive and the existence of a select group of users. The changes that occur from 1908 and especially after the end of the 1914-1918 war, gradually relegate this reality in the background: a new modality of the guide asserts that focuses on humans more than on machinery, designed a public increasingly broad and actively participates in the construction of a tourist France we are still inheritors” (Karpik, 2000, p.376). Later, the gourmet guide appeared in 1933. “Since the choice of a *good* restaurant is not considered a trivial operation that could safely take the only chance and therefore the term *good* encompasses a variety of qualities which, by their composition and their relative importance, diversifying not only the reality but also individual preferences in general, and the preferences of the same individual depending on the circumstances, the consumer encounters a fundamental difficulty [...] *in a number of major cities, where the tourist may have to stop just for a meal, we indicated the restaurants that were reported to us as making good food* (guide, 1923)” (Karpik 2000, p.381). A classification of the restaurant’s class was adopted to assess on the quality of food – consequently the number of stars – mentioning if a restaurant *worth a trip* (three stars), *worth a detour* (two stars), or is a *good restaurant in the area* (one star).

From the late 1960s, the *nouvelle cuisine* and new guides as Kléber-Colombes but especially Gault-Millau, created controversy and challenged the previous Michelin authority. Nonetheless, still nowadays the guide has remained as an annual bestseller, especially for European restaurants, where remains as the “most renowned and influential guide” (Opazo, 2012, p.82). “Early on, the guide is defined by a strategy of cultural and economic advancement of gastronomy that is affirmed by a superlative writing, by a consecration of rarity – the chefs (and therefore the number of three-star) like the others artistic talents are *naturally* scarce – and [...] high gastronomy involved the priceless asset universe” (Karpik 2000, p.385).

Following on with the tracking of gastronomic information history along the twentieth century, according to Camba – “the first food writer of the twentieth century” (Luján, 1988, p.248) – were the French who created a big cuisine from which culinary literature gained consolidation. Progressively it became a cuisine exclusively literary and increasingly away from reality, “a cuisine where adjective condiments dominate over nouns, where foods lose their flavor in sauces, in where accessory usurps the place of the main, and where everything, in short, is preparation” (Camba, 1929, p.41). Moreover, among the most important French authors Maurice Edmond Sailland (1872-1956) should be noted. Known as Curnonsky, he was one of the writers who “has had more importance in the development of French gastronomy, and as natural reflex, in Western gastronomy” (Luján, 1988, p.245) and “one of the who most

contributed to the revival of the popular regional cuisine” (De Sert, 2007, p.182). Curnonsky authored, for example, the 28 volumes of *La France gastronomique*.

Returning to the divergence, or the move from the *Haute Cuisine* to the *Nouvelle Cuisine* mentioned above, the latter *Nouvelle Cuisine* was “opposed to haute cuisine encoded by Marie-Antoine Carême and Auguste Escoffier” (Naulin, 2015, p.326). In this regard, Henri Gault (1929-2000) and Christian Millau (1928-) are the two journalists considered the first who discussed about the new cuisine in the seventies of the twentieth century (Naulin, 2015, p.326). In 1973, they published an article entitled *Vive la Nouvelle Cuisine française*, which was considered “the founding event of *Nouvelle Cuisine*” (Naulin, 2015, p.326). According to Naulin (2015, p.324), both authors are undoubtedly two of the most famous food journalists. *Nouvelle Cuisine*, therefore, arises as a reaction against fat sauces and an excess of energy intake of classic cuisine. New cuisine emphasized the use of fresh produce, cooking techniques more suited to own taste of food, the search for new associations of flavors and hygiene promotion (Niechel, 2015; Santamaria, 2016). *Nouvelle Cuisine* was also largely studied for example by Rao, Monin and Durand (2003) who approached it as an identity movement, and claimed it as an example of “how social change can lead to social mobility and how social mobility also can be a foundation for social creativity” (2003, p.837).

In addition, it should be noted that French literature suggests that instead of imposing the rules of good gastronomy (Poulain, 2002), critics are defined by their ability to identify innovative works to give them awareness and allow those who they aimed at to identify them (Naulin, 2015, p.329). “In 1960 when Gault and Millau begin to write about restaurants, the only kinds of writings on this subject are the Michelin Guide and the specialist press. Although very legitimate, the Michelin Guide has the disadvantage, in addition to defending a conservative vision of gastronomy, not to argue its critics” (Naulin, 2015, pp.330-331). Naulin continued and said that the two critics inaugurated a new critical position as journalists, that is, “not limited to a mere expert – as a Michelin inspector – or a pure amateur – like food critics to old fashioned used –” (Naulin, 2015, p.331). Therefore, in terms of singularization of food critics, they are intrinsically linked to their position as intermediaries between the world of gastronomy and journalistic world (Naulin, 2015, p.341).

In addition to these two authors, François Simon is also a central figure in the contemporary gastronomic journalism:

“François [Simon] opened the field, saying, ‘Wait, that’s gastronomic journalism’, it means that criticism is one of the genres that are used, but in our arsenal, we have the portrait, the interview, the survey, we have the story, or why not satire... All genres can be applied to the gastronomic universe” (Naulin, 2015, p.332).

I. Theoretical and Methodological Background

Before reviewing the Catalan and Spanish cases, it is included here a brief paragraph about how food and media joined in a British context. According to Jones and Taylor, some decades after the emergence of food journalism, a parallel development occurred primarily in England, in order to inculcate new culinary dispositions aimed predominantly at female audience. The authors said:

“The cookery column, dispensing advice on matters of both the kitchen and the table became a small but indispensable element of these magazines’ content. Although emerging around 1850, this style of publication gathered momentum in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the publication of weekly and monthly titles such as *Woman’s Life* (started 1895), *Good Housekeeping* (1922) and *Woman’s Own* (1932)” (Jones and Taylor, 2013, p.99).

Bell and Valentine (1997) also agreed that food journalism emerged from the women’s page in newspapers. Additionally, Jones and Taylor (2012) stated that opportunities for food journalists came from the growth in trade publications, magazines pointed at food consumers, and newspaper-based articles. This fact made the contents on gastronomy evolved from the forms of the cookery column, the restaurant review and the feature article about food (Matthews, 2014; Turner and Orange, 2012). A first example of this is David, who, from 1955 until 1961, wrote regular articles for the *Sunday Times*, *Vogue* and *House and Garden* – aimed at a female audience –, where she was expected to provide recipes for the domestic cook (David, 1986; Grigson, 1992). “It was not until David went to work for the *Spectator* in 1961 that she was able to indulge her interests fully, writing pieces on food issues and food histories where the provision of recipes was not necessarily a requirement” (Jones and Taylor, 2001, p.176).

According to Voss (2012), these culinary sections, however, do not have a well-documented history beyond these brief mentions in women-based publications. Therefore, “the newspaper few options for women before the 1970s were pages for women. These sections were known by the four F’s [English] family, fashion, food, and furniture” (Voss, 2012, p.67). Regarding the press article on gastronomic content, according to Hanke (1989), it was not until the decade of the seventies of the twentieth century when it began to grow in popularity, appearing regularly in the lifestyle section, or placed in weekend national newspapers. Wood (1996) highlighted the heterogeneity of these articles that dealt with issues as they ranged from exotic ingredients to renowned chefs.

Again, in Spain and Catalonia, even before the tourist boom of the 60s of the twentieth century, the great hotels in Barcelona and Madrid such as *Majestic*, *Ritz* or *Colón* in Barcelona had taken the first steps towards an excellent cuisine thanks to its renowned restaurants. As De Sert (2007, p.227) said, chefs like Antonio Julià – *Hotel Majestic* – were masterful of a Frenchified cuisine having had as customers artists like Josep Maria de Sagarra, Salvador Dalí, Joan Miró, Joan Prats, Josep Lluís Sert, Joan

Brossa, Oriol Bohigas and Antoni Tàpies. Nonetheless, Spanish cuisine abroad was only known throughout chronicles and reviews of chefs and writers, especially French, who sought to downplay and highlight their defaults; authors such as Urbain-Dubois, Raymond Oliver, Arne Kruger, Prosper Montagné or Robert J. Courtine (Savarin), who were publishing during the 60s of the twentieth century (Martínez Llopis, 1998, p.376). Fortunately, “Spanish cuisine has become popular and famous” (Martínez Llopis, 1998, p.382), and during the same period several culinary masterpieces were published in Spain. Those demonstrated the increasing attention of society, Catalan and Spanish, towards gastronomic information. For example:

- *Nuestra cocina: Gastronomía e historia* of Juan Perucho and Néstor Luján, published in Barcelona in 1970. According to Martínez Llopis (1998, p.384), it “can be considered as an important step on the road to gentrification and the vindication of our cuisine”.
- *Las recetas de Pickwick* of Néstor Luján, published in Barcelona in 1969 and *Nuevas recetas de Pickwick*, which referred to international cuisine – this work didn’t include Spanish cuisine already discussed in the book written by Perucho and Luján –. Both works had their origin in a collaboration at *Destino* weekly magazine and the author’s intention was to inform to Spanish audience of his trips abroad. The articles were published from 1946 at the section *Carnet de Ruta* (tourist information magazine’s page) under the title *Coma bien* (Eat well) and Néstor Luján signing with the pseudonym of Pickwick (Luján 1969, 1970).

In addition to these works, it must also be noted the work of Josep Pla, with books like *El que hem menjat* (1972). He has significantly contributed to the definition and the contextualization of food and gastronomy in the Catalan context. In this regard, a clause is essential in terms of the relationship between literature and cuisine, as in Pla’s work took place, and present in great works of universal literature. For example, the first notes made by Cervantes in *Don Quixote* referred to food. Acosta (2011) pointed out that food is also a common element of “great writers of crime fiction today worldwide as Italian Andrea Camilleri, who with his detective Salvo Montalbano gets taste of local recipes from Italy, or Chinese Qiu Xiaolong, whose novel *Death of a red heroine* is extremely useful for understanding the complex Chinese cuisine and society nowadays” (Acosta, 2011: 27). These examples added to Catalan and Spanish authors like Vázquez Montalbán.

Going back to the publications mentioned a few lines above, *Pickwick* recipes were a reference for food columns and the importance that this genre achieved in Spanish press thanks mainly to Néstor Luján, even before the 60s, together with other authors like Francisco Moreno Herrera, who pioneered as food critic (Sánchez, 2013). Therefore, not only literary works have driven the gastronomic literature, but the role

of newspaper's columns was also important. Néstor Luján, Julio Camba, Xavier Domingo, Joan Perucho, Álvaro Cunqueiro, Manuel Martín Ferrand or Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, "are part of a group of journalists and writers with great style who have worked food column in print press, elevating the language, style and showing their taste for good food and better writing" (Sánchez, 2008, p.2), as shown below.

The beginnings of food columns in Spanish press were due to two Galician writers: Álvaro Cunqueiro and Julio Camba. It was during the 20s of the twentieth century when Julio Camba wrote *La casa de Lúculo, or El arte de bien comer* (1929), which is a compilation of his food articles. According to his publisher, the work was a prodigious of talent and humor, with its morality in the background: the international policy and range of each person is a function of his/her cuisine. Meanwhile, *La Cocina Cristiana de Occidente* (1969) is the work that represented the collection of food articles written by Álvaro Cunqueiro. Both authors published in Spanish and Galician newspapers.

In Catalonia, Joan Perucho was the first example of food columnist, parallel to Néstor Luján. Additionally to the work *El libro de la cocina española: gastronomía e historia* (1970) authored together with Luján, the reference publication that contained food articles of Perucho was *La estética del gusto* (1998). Meanwhile, Néstor Luján was considered one of the great chroniclers of food culture. Luján advocated for an authentic cuisine and accumulated extensive experience over 50 years eating dishes of the best chefs. Néstor Luján (1922-1995) was a journalist, writer and gastronome. In 1963 began a weekly signature at *Destino* previously reported with a focus on international cuisine. His gastronomic background was based on two pillars: first, the deepening in history, and facts and anecdotes surrounding food; on the other, direct and personal knowledge as a guest who had been on the tables of the great restaurants around the world. Néstor Luján gathered experiences, research and reports in twenty-two books, some of them already acknowledged; *Historia de la Gastronomía* (1988), *Carnet de Ruta, las recetas de Pickwick* (1969 and 1970), or *El libro de la cocina española: gastronomía e historia* (1970), with the collaboration of Joan Perucho. His career as food columnist earned him the National Gastronomy Prize in 1974.

Another noteworthy author is Xavier Domingo, considered the second Catalan largest food columnist after Néstor Luján. Xavier Domingo did not like to define himself as *gastronome* (gourmet, gastronomist, gourmand, gastronome), and rather he coined another term: *cuinòleg* (expert on cuisine issues). In the work *Quan només ens queda el menjar* (1980), he collected his articles published between 1976 and 1978 in the magazines *Cambio 16*, *Historia 16* and *Historia y Vida*. These articles provided evidence on the context of Catalonia and Spain, in a period where the history of gastronomy was still happening in France, and where Spanish and Catalan chefs and

restaurants were starting to awake their own wave. However, despite the efforts of some pioneers like the above mentioned – where others such as Luis Bettonica should be also added – social interest on good food was still scarce.

While Camba and Cunqueiro were the first columnists in food themed pieces, Luján, Domingo and Perucho were those who consolidated gastronomic journalism in Catalan and consequently Spanish press. There are two more authors, in the early years of the twenty-first century, who have maintained the presence of food columns in printed press. On the one hand, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, noteworthy among his works *L'art del menjar a Catalunya* (1977), *Contra los gourmets* (1990a) or *Las recetas de Carvalho* (1990b). On the other, Manuel Martín Ferrand, who, as food columnist, had his largest production in the column *El Almirez*, published in the weekly Sunday supplement *XL Semanal*. Moreover, nowadays food journalists include names like Belén Parra, José Carlos Capel, Carlos Delgado, Rosa Rivas, Miguel Sen, Ferran Imedio, Pau Arenós or Cristina Jolonch, to cite some of them. These is analyzed later in this thesis.

Earlier on this section we observed that journalism originally took on different forms: “first, the cookery column; second, the restaurant review; and third, the feature article about food” (Jones and Taylor, 2013, p.100). However, the vast expansion of culinary journalism today complicates its structure in a broad sense where “food journalism explores how this activity is bound up with the larger journalistic field, with other forms of food media and with the food industry” (Jones and Taylor, 2013, p.98). Thus, information on food is not limited to recipes or food columns – neither to printed press –. Slowly, especially in recent years, the incorporation of gastronomy contents in media has been consolidating as a multi subject category of vital interest.

2.3. The boom of gastronomy: a social and communicative phenomena

In recent years the gastronomic phenomenon has reached unprecedented media attention and has become a mass phenomenon, both social and communicative. On the one hand, tourism and culinary motivation of visitors became a key element in an increasingly widespread use of food in promoting destinations. This was benefited, for example in the case of Catalonia, by the acknowledgement of the Mediterranean Diet as a World Heritage status by UNESCO, or the declaration of Catalonia as European Region of Gastronomy 2016, represented by chef Carme Ruscalleda.

Moreover, the fact that over the last decade a number of restaurants, both Catalan and Spanish – *El Bulli*, *El Celler de Can Roca*, *Arzak* and *Mugaritz* - have been named among the best in the world on several occasions brought the cuisine to the front pages of major printed media repeatedly. This demonstrates the definitive

consolidation of food as a form of entertainment of the highest order, and one of the most important ingredients on which to inform and be informed. As it derives from an Associated Press' press release (2011), its stylebook included a section dedicated to gastronomy, which showed the boost in terms of media interest around food. In the same direction, Voss (2012, p.84) highlighted that food journalism has long been a key issue among the media.

The art of cooking is one of the oldest human activities, and it is a way to express the own vision of the world. Accordingly, cooking has been present when new inventions came along the history. For example, photography. "The arrival of the nineteenth century breaks with one of the most revolutionary inventions for the representation of gastronomy and to the perception of art in general: photography, being coincidentally the first printed image by Daguerre in 1837 a still life" (Garcia Jimenez, 2014, pp.12-13).

Similarly, it is possible to outline the case of the cinema. In 1895, the Lumière brothers presented their new invention in the tearoom of Grand Café in Paris. Within the program, they included the movie *Le Repas* (Auguste and Louis Lumière, 1895) (Santamaria, 2016, pp.205-206). Both gastronomy and cinema have been very permeable regarding the worry about political and social events of every moment, reflected through their creations (Santamaria, 2016). Today, at the top of the wave of the society of the spectacle, the experience economy has a huge role (Fusté 2016; Mielby and Frøst, 2010; Lavernia, 2015; Pine and Gilmore, 1998). Within this context, gastronomy must adapt to a time where audiovisual media plays an increasing essential role. For example, chefs, like Andoni Luis Aduriz, are able to use cinema inspiration when creating new dishes. This is the case of the book *Tábula 35mm11*, "published by his own publishing company, where a selection of 45 gourmet chefs choose movie moments to create an original dish and propose a corresponding recipe" (Santamaria, 2016, p.215). Logically, this science-based cooking "is closely associated with the design of stimulating and novel dishes that make guests feel an explosion of sensations" (Navarro, Serrano, Lasa, Aduriz and Ayo, 2012, p.37), primarily on-site but also off the restaurant.

It is obvious to state that the amount of audiovisual content that have emerged to safeguard the memory of the recent gastronomic revolution "is complemented by the numerous documentaries dedicated to recording, first, the activity of these master chefs and their restaurants, and, secondly, the entire circuit of haute cuisine and agents involved in it" (Santamaria, 2016, p.217). An example is *Snacks, bocados de una revolución* (Cristina Jolonch, 2015), but other examples could be listed, as for example the documentary *Comer Conocimiento* (Eating Knowledge).

Over the last decade, cuisine has also taken a leading role in contemporary culture. A revolution happened in the gastronomy culture, where "chefs have achieved

a great creative and cultural importance in society, in the media and even in artistic circles (the best example is that of Ferran Adrià and his participation in Documenta in Kassel in 2007). Many of the creations of these artist chefs are inspired by art. They treat foods as if they were textures of a painting, creating dishes of great plasticity and capricious forms that are in many cases filmed and photographed *ad nauseum* [...]. This has led in recent years to an intense debate that is still unsolved, that is, whether or not gastronomy should be considered an art (and, therefore, the chef an artist)" (Santamaria, 2016, p.202).

Foods and gastronomy are conveyors of ideas and knowledge, closely linked to the societies, their culture and social and political contexts. Undoubtedly, the culinary revolution derived from the *Nouvelle Cuisine* – and led by journalists Henri Gault and Christian Millau and chefs like Paul Bocuse – drove to another food movement, born in Spain – introduced by Basque chefs Arzak and Subijana – and with a global impact led by chef Ferran Adrià. According to Arenós (2011), if the *Nouvelle Cuisine* was influenced by the events of May '68 in France, the new Basque cuisine was so by the political transition happening in Spain along the late seventies. Arenós described this *techno-emotional cuisine* as "global culinary Movement of the early twenty-first century born in *El Bulli*. It consists of chefs of different ages and traditions. The aim of the dishes is to create excitement in the diner". In order to achieve that, chefs use new concepts, techniques and technologies; they take risks, they pay attention to all the five senses. "In addition to creating dishes, the goal is to open roads. [...] To gather knowledge, they have initiated a dialogue with scientists, but also artists, architects, playwrights, novelists, musicians, winemakers, artisans, perfumers, poets, journalists, historians, anthropologists, psychologists, designers..." (Arenós, 2011, p.64).

Since the late twentieth century, as claimed by Navarro and Acosta (2012), and with the appearance of this avant-garde gastronomy, also known as *progressive cuisine*, *techno-emotional cuisine*, *molecular cuisine* or even *modernist cuisine* (Opazo, 2012, p.82), food has consequently "exceeded its nutritional function and crossed the border of that craft in order to reach a new status, comparable to what is traditionally conferred to other art forms" (Navarro and Acosta, 2012, p.1). Hamilton and Todolí (2009), referring to *El Bulli*, described it as follows: "among the qualities of Cala Montjoi restaurant is its aesthetic motivation, their ambition to provide a fascination similar to that obtained observing a painting, listening to a Bach cello suite or reading a Shakespeare sonnet". This relation to arts reached its climax in 2007, when the gastronomy became officially art when *El Bulli* was invited to Documenta in Kassel, as early reported.

Gastronomic boom in Catalan and Spanish cases referred basically, according to Pujol (2009, p.440), to Basque and Catalan regions. They are the predominant areas in Spain where chefs have been gaining popularity. Pujol justified it by saying that of the

146 Michelin stars there were in Spain in 2009, 48 were in Catalonia and 22 in the Basque Country, which demonstrated their authority, meaning almost half of the total. Logically, the acknowledgement of chefs and restaurants among the best in the world year after year has also allowed consolidating the position of national cuisine internationally.

According to Pujol (2009), however, the major change occurred during the nineties of the twentieth century, when the Catalan chefs already mastered the techniques of *Nouvelle Cuisine* and began to introduce aspects of *Molecular Cuisine*. Molecular gastronomy is a culinary trend which has been created by collaborative work between chefs and scientists (McGee, 2004), and is seen as a powerful development within haute cuisine (This, 2006). Mielby and Frøst acknowledged that “on December 10, 2006 in the British newspaper *Guardian* three prominent chefs, Ferran Adrià (*El Bulli*), Heston Blumenthal (the *Fat Duck*), Thomas Keller (*French Laundry* and *Per Se*), together with the food writer Harold McGee announced a statement of new cookery, that denounces the use of the term molecular gastronomy to describe their cooking. They intended to clarify the principles and thoughts that guide their cooking, and termed it *New cookery*” (Mielby and Frøst, 2010, p.213).

Thus, Catalan and Spanish chefs began to attract the attention of media around the world, thanks to Ferran Adrià. “The crowning came from two international publications, *Le Monde* in June 2001 and the *New York Times* in August 2003” (Pujol, 2009, p.447). In the same direction, Huidobro (2006) means young chefs as the new rock stars, in the case of Catalonia, “having risen to the top in record time in a society where no consumer could have named a single chef twenty years ago” (Pujol, 2009, p.449). In summer 2008, “as strange as it may seem, last summer Catalunya was abuzz over what the media called *La guerra dels fogons* (The Stoves War)”. It started when Santi Santamaria criticized his rival chefs, particularly Ferran Adrià, for the use of *suspect materials* in their food preparations. The comments spurred controversy in front-page news and all the opinion columns of the main papers” (Pujol, 2009, p.438).

In the French case, Cammas (2015) stated that in relation to the modernization of French cuisine, it was intended to provide a more attractive image, “as the fashion or design”. Also Ferguson (1998) heavily studied the French culinary discourses during the nineteenth century, which were previously acknowledged. In this sense, Opazo (2012) affirmed that “Ferguson argues that the formalization of a discourse into written texts made it possible to turn *culinary products* (such as food or taste, which are material and ephemeral in nature) into *intellectual products* that could be removed from their immediate context of use and are durable in time” (Opazo, 2012, p.83). This reinforces the treatment given to communication about food until today, as a form of leisure that is essential in the social order, driven by an uncountable amount of gastronomic content which has been progressively increasing in importance and media

impact, as for example the case of *El Bulli*. While along previous sections we saw that several authors had started to write about food in press in the early twentieth century, it was from Luján when Spanish and extensively Catalan media began to regularly include gastronomic information (Hidalgo-Marí and Segarra-Saavedra, 2014, p.325).

Another useful example to mention, in this case British, is the launch of Jamie Magazine, in 2008. It is a magazine linked to the brand of celebrity chef Jamie Oliver, an example of how the “link between food journalism and celebrity is growing” (Jones and Taylor, 2013, p.100). This upward trend leads to heterogeneity in the use of genres to deal with culinary information, closely linked to celebrity, star or big-name chefs. For example, according to Acosta, Canavilhas and Gosciola (2011), food journalism still includes another genre, namely the human profile interview. This can be seen for example in *La Vanguardia Sunday Magazine* (February 21, 2010) or *Diario Vasco* (March 7, 2010), where Ferran Adrià “shares with naturalness, the normality and modesty that is governing his life” (Acosta, Canavilhas and Gosciola, 2011, p.64).

For the case of the United States, some references highlighted the importance of American food writing (O’Neill, 2007) or the role of women in food journalism (Voss, 2014). With this regards, Voss (2012) stated the importance of Jane Nickerson as the first *The New York Times* food writer, or the crucial role of Jeanne Voltz as food editor at the *Los Angeles Times* in the 1960s. Some years earlier, *Gourmet* was the first magazine focused on food and wine in the United States. It appeared in 1941. The newspapers also added to the fashion of food. An article published in *Time* in 1953 stated their importance: “in US dailies, few staffers exert more direct influence on readers than the food editor; only the front page and the comics have a bigger readership”. Newspapers’ food editors were gaining popularity as pioneers of food journalism. Not so long ago, Brown (2004) found that top journalists were increasingly moved to the food sections at US newspapers.

Severson (2005) emphasized the food revolution of the 1980’s, “with its proliferation of celebrity chefs, designer kitchens and expensive artisanal ingredients, had moved into the middle class by the late 1990’s”. Earlier than that, Voss (2012, p.66) stated that “before the success of the *Food Network* and the popularity of competitive cooking programs such as *Bravo’s Top Chef*, aspiring foodies relied on the food sections of their local newspapers for their gastronomical fix. These sections, thick with grocery store advertisements in the 1950s and 1960s, originated in the women’s pages – narrowly defined as the fashion and household pages – of metropolitan dailies across the country”. In addition, she posits that food sections used to be regarded as “little more than a collection of casserole recipes and plugs for local grocery stores and other advertisers” (Voss, 2012, p.67).

Television also played a huge role on this in the United States. One of the most celebrated examples is Julia Child’s show *The French Chef*, aired in 1963. This show

took a key role in terms of domestication of cuisine in America, according to Ray, in three ways: “making American what was French, bringing into the home what was usually cooked in the restaurant, and normalizing what was extraordinary” (Ray, 2007, p.51). Following, “Julia did not invent the genre of the tv chef, but she did come to dominate it. Others had cooked on tv before, such as James Beard, Dionne Lucas, and Graham Kerr, but none had established the genre as Julia did” (Ray, 2007, p.53). The article also discussed Julia’s kind of TV and the nowadays-theatrical shows conducted by Emeril Lagasse or Rachael Ray, noting other star chefs like Wolfgang Puck. Ray affirmed that “American culture had traveled from celebrating heroes of production to heroes of consumption, such as movie stars and other celebrities” (2007, p.55), which supports previous statements.

Accordingly, “the popularity of culinary or food journalism is a recent phenomenon” (Voss, 2012, p.70). Nowadays, “the transformation of food journalism from five things to do with cream of mushroom soup to the subject of an entire issue of *The New Yorker*, longtime food writers say, has a lot to do with changing attitudes about food across the country” (Brown, 2004, p.51). As Brown reported on his article, Ruth Reichl, *Gourmet* Editor in Chief – the editorial equivalent of the celebrity chef, according to Brown – said that “food has become a part of popular culture in the way film or theater is”. Ray (2007) supported this idea: “as chefs have climbed farther in their professional aspirations, so has the performative platform. That is why some TV chefs have come to inhabit the theater. Theaters are a perfect space to announce the arrival of a new profession, and this is where public cooking is today” (Ray, 2007, p.54).

Moving on back to the Spanish and Catalan cases, Acosta *et al* considered that the first front page in the press that included gastronomic information as main content occurred on 26 January 2010, following the announcement of the temporary closure of *El Bulli* for two years during the Madrid Fusion congress. “Following the announcement by Ferran Adrià at a crowded press conference, made the television news special connections and Internet media spread the news quickly. The next day it was published on the front page of most newspapers in Spanish print media and even in an international daily, the *Financial Times*” (Acosta, Canavilhas and Gosciola, 2011, p.57). This example referred to the case of Catalan and Spanish press itself. We have also reported earlier that *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* had given preferential treatment to Spanish cuisine some years ago. Agulló (2015) confirmed that when Ferran Adrià won international covers and *El Bulli* climbed to the podium of the top 50 restaurants in the world, there was no way backwards. It was only the spearhead of a culinary revolution that transcended the borders of Catalonia and was about to relocate the Spanish cuisine on the top of the world. “A new cuisine, that, in addition to generating an unusual culinary corpus, will place the gastronomy as a leisure, artistic and even social prescriptor” (Agulló, 2015).

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Since then, food-based contents have multiplied exponentially, which has been benefited from the interest that television has also shown around food, gastronomy and cuisine. “Since the advent of television in our country, food programs have occupied an important place in the Spanish television” (Hidalgo-Marí and Segarra-Saavedra, 2014, p.317). According to the authors, these culinary programs have evolved both at a formal level and from a content perspective, “turning the traditional unidirectional formats into full culinary shows, authentic realities and game shows” (Hidalgo-Marí and Segarra-Saavedra, 2014, p.317):

“From that initial program that narrated recipes as if it were radio novels, going through the star chef as prescriber and spiritual guide for novice cooks, until reaching a structured market, researched and planned, such as the *realities* that, in recent years, and more intensely in 2013, were to collapse the TV grill” (Hidalgo-Marí and Segarra-Saavedra, 2014, p.319).

Similarly, De Solier (2005) believed that cooking shows made a trend towards *lifestyle*, and food and cooking were becoming spectacle. However, the history of television cooking programmes in Spain dated back to the sixties of the twentieth century: “there are data file that mark the year 1968 as the beginning of this television culinary trend that remains latent and growing hard today, over fifty years later” (Hidalgo-Marí and Segarra-Saavedra, 2014, p.320).

Regarding the case of Catalonia, *Bona Cuina* was the first culinary program aired in Catalan Television (TV3), in 1987. Emissions of *Bona Cuina*, conducted by Jaume Pastallé, were aired during six seasons. This program, along with what was presented by Elena Santoja in Spanish Television (TVE) called *Con las manos en la masa* (1984), were pioneers in the creation of entertainment programs that used food as a lure.

For the Catalan case, a study conducted by Fusté (2012) showed the culinary programs that Catalan Television had broadcasted since the first airing of *Bona Cuina*. These programs included some contents that are still found to be on the air: *Cuines* or *La Riera*. As it is explained below, the latter is not a food program itself. From the study, which analyzed the culinary programs in TV3 between 1987-2012, the following conclusions were drawn:

- Of the 14 programs, five were in the form of recipes; four were nutrition and health programs; two of them used history and culture to convey food (*Karakia* and *Sota terra*); two of them used food special topics (*Caçadors de bolets* and *Dolça Catalunya*); and one was a series (*La Riera*).
- Only five (*Caçadors de bolets*, *Cuines*, *Karakia*, *La Riera* and *Sota terra*) of the 14 programs were still aired.

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- Ten programs were aired for at least two seasons and only three were on the air less than a year (*Al vostre gust*, *Cuina bé amb l'Isma* and *Sota terra*).
- Only two programs dated back earlier than 2000 (*Bona Cuina* and *Cuines*). Then, twelve programs had begun their emissions during the past decade.
- Of the 14 programs, three were included as part of another program (*Nandu Jubany*, *Sabors* and *Sota terra*).
- In general, the programs lasted for less than 10 minutes (five programs) or approximately 30 minutes (six programs).

Many of the culinary programs that have been broadcasted over these past thirty years in Catalan Television remained in the memory of most viewers and some of them, such as *Bona Cuina* or *La Riera*, *Caçadors de bolets* and *Cuina x solters* have also published cookbooks. At the same time, thanks to ease of access to knowledge, programs are able to provide much more information about the products and ways to prepare foods, and they have at the same time greater expertise regarding specific topics, such as the case of *Caçadors de bolets*, with regards to mushrooms.

Gastronomy has been consolidating in television, where most of the previous analyzed programmes were broadcasted during the last decade. An example of transversality of gastronomy is the fact that it is not all about emissions that are exclusively gastronomic (*Cuines* or *Isma's* programs), but also this topic is used in various kinds of TV products, from series (*La Riera*), after-dinner programs (*El Club*) or history programs (*Sota terra*). Importantly, food heritage programs are also at the core of TV essence: "food becomes, in fact, the very center of the TV scene in programs increasingly dedicated to presentation and promotion of specific communities and landscapes. Food traditions are isolated, defined, narrated on television as a part of process of valorization and promotion of typical products and ancient culinary traditions" (Bindi and Grasseni, 2014, p.66). Bindi (2013) stated that a new idea of authenticity, genuinity, rurality and tipicality is released, which, by inviting the audience to the consumption of places and traditions (Bindi 2013).

While it is since decades ago that television displays gastronomy contents, it has not been until recently, thanks to contests, when food has become a mass media phenomenon. Notably, according to Hidalgo-Marí and Segarra-Saavedra (2014), while current gastronomy TV programs and its multiplicity of formats are being successful, we can not ignore that TV industry in Spain is a few years behind: "for example, the program *MasterChef* (TVE 1, 2012-), [...] was released in 1990 in the UK, extending until 2001 and reappearing in 2005. Or *Top Chef* (Antena 3, 2013-), released in 2006 in the United States" (Hidalgo-Marí and Segarra-Saavedra, 2014, p.329).

Nowadays:

“The culinary trend of Spanish programs is immersed in a multidisciplinary trance passing from a traditional *Domestics and instructives programmes* to *Avant garde food show*, passing obviously by *New domestic cooking shows* (Karlos Arguiñano programmes) and with a scarce, although detectable presence of *Food and travel programmes*” (Hidalgo-Marí and Segarra-Saavedra, 2014, p.328).

In this sense, “the widespread notion of cooking as entertainment has boomed dramatically along with programs and channels dedicated to food” (Pujol, 2009, p.445). Voss (2012, p.66) stated that before the popularity of cooking contests, foodies relied more on the food sections of newspapers. That is, audiences with an interest on gastronomy browsed sections of local newspapers to get their dose of gastronomic information. Despite the fact that journalists and writers began popularizing food, they were soon replaced by chefs (see Urroz, 2008).

Jones and Taylor (2013) affirmed that it is fully demonstrated that “food journalism today is inextricably linked both to broader forms of lifestyle journalism and to celebrity” (Jones and Taylor, 2013, p.103). Thus, expert advice also potentially offered “reassurance in a world of culinary confusion” (Lewis, 2008). Many examples could be cited regarding chefs starring at TV, starting with Arguiñano himself, José Andrés, culinary showmen as Alberto Chicote, or expert advice on cultural programs as *En clau de vi*, with the participation of chef Josep Roca. It is noteworthy to mention that TV3 has also headed into celebrity chef shows with a docureality program aired in January 2017 where pastry chef Christian Escribà, and his team, show the processes behind their work.

In discussing this phenomenon we can not avoid to mention the Internet sphere, blogs and social media, which “seems to reverse the top-down legitimization by professional critics in favor of a bottom-up logic in which cultural products are recommended by amateurs” (Béliard and Naulin, 2016, p.2). Nowadays, “consumers are food voyeurs, who love to see what others eat and cook and in turn share what they themselves eat and cook. Not surprisingly we can say that social networks and food are a perfect marriage and human beings are inherently social eaters” (Garcia Jimenez, 2014, pp.17-18).

3. Methodology

The methodology used to approach the research questions outlined throughout the introduction and objectives section is explained below. To recap, the research objectives are:

RQ1. What is the importance of gastronomy in the printed media?

RQ2. What are the predominant themes regarding the gastronomy contents within the printed media?

RQ3. How gastronomy news is discursively covered in the printed media?

RQ4. How have the gastronomy contents in printed media in Catalonia, Spain, and the United States evolved over time?

The thesis explores the food contents published in daily print mass media. According to Jensen and Jankowski (1996), the study of press news is one of the most important tasks of analytical and discursive research about media. News is important in our daily lives, and consequently “most of our social and political knowledge and our views of the world come from the dozens of reports and information we read or see every day” (Jensen and Jankowski, 1996, p.137). Nowadays, in an age of digital news media, print media still remains as an important social driver, and newspapers still perform as major agenda setters.

The content analysis is the methodological tool chosen to conduct this study. Content analysis is important within the field of mass communication research (Riffe and Freitag, 1997; Yale and Gilly, 1988), and many examples of content analysis nowadays can be retrieved from most communication journals. One of the reasons of this boom was the rapid advancement in terms of analysis software, with a parallel proliferation of online databases (Evans, 1996; Neuendorf, 2002).

Krippendorff said that content analysis is mainly empirical-oriented, tied to real phenomena and is closely linked to ideas about symbolic phenomena (1990, p.10), recognizing therefore its social role, its effects and its meaning. It helps us recognize that “the concept of mass communication is understood as a cultural practice that produces and circulates meaning in social contexts” (Jensen and Jankowski, 1996, p.165). Similarly, Neuendorf affirmed that “some applications of content analysis may be highly practical. Rather than attempting to answer questions of theoretical importance, some analyses are aimed at building predictive power within a certain message arena” (2002, p.22). It is also important when Neuendorf stated that the

content analysis methods “are integral to a full understanding of human behaviour and hence essential to social and behavioural science” (2002, p.53). Content analysis is applicable to all contexts, specifically to mass messaging, which is understood as the creation of messages that tend to target a large, *undifferentiated audience*. These messages are most commonly mediated via television, newspaper, radio (Riffe and Freitag, 1997, Neuendorf, 2002) or recently, Internet.

Consequently, this research investigates written language, and nonfiction content. Given the different possible fields of content analysis application made by Bardin (1986, p.26), the current research is based on the written support and mass communication, that is, the news press content analysis. This is also a media and cultural study. According to Soriano (2007), “examining the reality represented by texts allows conclusions about what world is described in mass media, how it has evolved and what world is excluded” (Soriano, 2007, pp.146-147).

It is also worth mentioning Gaitán and Piñuel (1998), who established a theoretical analysis of the meaning of the text and the different types of content analysis (Gaitán and Piñuel, 1998, pp.282-287), among which we find the thematic content analysis, which is called the semantic level by other authors like Bardin (1986) or Brunet, Pastor and Belzunegui (2002). According to Soriano (2007, p.147), it is important to know the “intentions of the transmitters, receivers’ interpretations, and social and cultural contexts in which this content acquire practical sense”. While a qualitative analysis was also carried out, neither the intentions of the authors nor the public perceptions were explored within this research.

While most authors supported that content analysis is mainly quantitative, there is also evidence on the literature that shows the importance of non-quantitative approaches in content analysis research. This consists of integrating quantitative methods (to paint a picture of the entire body of text) with qualitative methods (to examine select parts of the text in greater contextual detail) (Moon, 2016, p.2385). Consequently, by applying both quantitative and qualitative techniques, it “strengthens the researcher’s claims for the validity of the conclusions drawn where mutual confirmation of results can be demonstrated” (Gray and Densten, 1998, p.420). We found general examples in Igartua and Humanes (2004), and more specifically in cases like Castelló (2005), Fenoll (2015), Fernández-García (2016), Ibáñez (2013), Martínez Nicolás (1994), Revuelta (2006), Revuelta *et al* (2004), Rodrigo (1991), or Xicoy (2008). Another example, closer to the topic of the current thesis, was found in Yusuf, Krul and Marufu (2016), who studied the agriculture coverage in South African newspapers. Also a Naulin’s research analyzed how food is represented in *Cuisine et Vins de France* along the second half of the twentieth century (2014).

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Brunet, Pastor and Belzunegui (2002: 351) set the following dual path in content analysis:

- Quantitative approach, where it is expected to determine the object, and the categories of analysis: words, sentences, paragraphs, texts.
- Qualitative approach, which it is aligned with the interpretation of the representativeness of topics, and context of the text.

In the context of social sciences research techniques there are several authors who established the methodological foundations of content analysis. Brunet, Pastor and Belzunegui (2002, pp.335-351) stated that “content analysis is used as texts interpretation to place them in an explanatory reality, or as a base for preparing a series of considerations and, even, theories about the compilation of results”. From his point of view, Berger (1991, p.25) affirmed that content analysis “is a research technique that is based on measuring the amount of something (violence, negative portrayals of women, or whatever) in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular art form”. Additionally, Neuendorf reported that “content analysis is summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypotheses testing) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented” (2002, p.10).

According to Berelson (1952), the usefulness of the content analysis as a research method was in the sense that it is a “research technique for the systematic, objective and quantitative description of the manifest content of the communication” (Berelson, 1952, p.18). Thus, Wimmer and Dominick (1996, pp.168-193) emphasized that the analysis of content must meet the following three characteristics.

First, it must be systematic so that a single criteria is applied throughout the study. Second, it must be objective in the sense that if another analyst repeats the process should get the same outcome, namely that the procedures may be used by other researchers so that the results are verifiable. Similarly stated by Neuendorf, replicability means “whenever possible, research reports should provide enough information about the methods and protocols so that others are free to conduct replications” (2002, p.12). It means that when measuring the same data following the same procedures, this must drive to the same results. These elements, as indicated by Krippendorff (1990), “combines within the reproducibility requirement of all scientific research instruments, that is, the rules that govern it are explicit (objective) and applicable to all units of analysis (systematic)” (Andreu, 2001, p.3).

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And third, it must be quantitative to the extent that the purpose of content analysis is to obtain an accurate representation of a whole series of messages, and, from there the quantification facilitates the expansion of the interpretations and analyzes. This idea matches with Krippendorff (1980, p.21), who affirmed that “content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context”. It appears here the importance of the concept of generalizability, citing Neuendorf: “likewise, in a study of 800 personal ads in newspapers, Kolt (1996) generalized his findings to all personal ads in U.S. newspapers in general” (2002, p.12).

It must also be remembered, according to Wimmer and Dominik (2001) that the content analysis as research technique creates some problems that researchers can not ignore. Thus, media content should be compared with the real world, and at the same time make inferences about the effects of media (Krippendorff, 1990). According to Soriano, the problem is that “textual analysis does not provide knowledge about the intentions of the authors or on the text reception by the public” (Soriano, 2007: 147). In these cases the content analysis “is used in combination with other methods, where taking advantage of the descriptive ability of the content analysis regarding how messages are, and the descriptive capacity of surveys to show how the contents shape the perception of social reality taken by the audience” (Soriano, 2007, p.151). Thus, according to Bardin (1986), in order to carry out a content analysis is essential to analyze the context. A comparison between media and social presence could give indications that may include some deviation in terms of the representations that mass media provides of social reality.

In defining the types of potential approaches to content analysis, based on messages analytics methods described by Hijmans (1996) and Gunter (2000), Neuendorf defined discourse, critical and interpretative analysis. The discourse analysis is the process carried out here, and it is understood as a pathway which “engages in characteristics of manifest language and word use, description of topics in media texts, through consistency and connection of words to theme analysis of content and the establishment of central terms. The technique aims at typifying media representations” (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 5).

Jensen and Jankowski (1996) also spoke of the importance of context. Therefore, discourse analysis must set the interfaces between “the story and the cognitive and sociocultural context” (Jensen and Jankowski, 1996, p.135). Within the social sciences, it is essential to understand the role of social actors through their own expressions, so it is noted that some authors advise to complement the content analysis, for example, with interviews (Kayser, 1966) or interpretative discourses (Soriano, 2007). In the current study, quantitative content analysis plus a qualitative interpretative approach allowed to build a robust discussion.

Moving on, Krippendorff (2002) presented the design process of content analysis with the steps that were followed in this study, also similar to that derived from Wimmer and Dominik (1996). The process includes the formulation of the research questions, the definition of population of analysis and sample selection, the definition of the units of analysis, and the categorization and building up of the model of analysis.

In regards to the specific methodological design, Soriano (2007, p.151) stated that “content analysis serves mainly to quantify patterns or frequencies. This is not an exploratory procedure, but responds to well defined research hypotheses. The count of topics, words, images or other units is meaningless if it is not guided by a careful design which guides the analysis into the direction predicted by hypotheses. This brings a search that arises in deductive terms”. This deductive research is based on a series of hypotheses built from the research questions, which are analyzed through the collection of empirical evidence.

3.1. Research design and sample size build-up

Applications of content analysis were highlighted by Neuendorf. “A tremendous number of studies have examined news content” (Neuendorf, 2002, p.204). In terms of descriptive content analysis, “an example of descriptive content analysis would be the ongoing research tracking sexual content in U.S. television programme (Kunkel, Cope-Farrar, Biely, Farinola and Donnerstein, 2001)” (Neuendorf, 2002, p.53). Also, Danielson and Lasorsa (1997) reviewed 100 years of front-page content in the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*. Another example is the Andsager and Powers (1999), who “found that *Newsweek* framed breast cancer stories with regard to causes and treatments, whereas *Time* more often used an economic framing (for example, insurance concepts), and *U.S. News and World Report* presented breast cancer news with a research focus” (Neuendorf, 2002, p.205). However approaches from different fields of study, Neuendorf supported that “perhaps the best-developed literature examining news coverage is that focused on political issues” (Neuendorf, 2002, p.205). Some examples were mentioned earlier, namely Fenoll (2015). While these examples showed evidence on the fact that a good deal of news content analysis was conducted, few of them were focused on food.

To draw the methodological design, the study is built from an initial literature review; from one hand, old recipes literature, gastronomy books as for example the Josep Pla’s, or food columns authored by Néstor Luján. There are also found, although in a smaller scale, studies related to the gastronomy theme, concentrated in universities of Latin America as those made by Do Amaral (2006), Castillo and González (2007) or Téllez (2011). With respect to the gastronomy-based communication

research in Spain, this is noteworthy started by Sánchez (2008, 2010) on the culinary column and critics, and continued by other authors listed below.

The proposed methodology is a very common technique for social sciences empirical research (Kayser, 1963; Van der Wurff and Lauf, 2005). Nonetheless, not many studies analyze food content and its evolution in the printed mass media. Some exceptions were found concerning the research conducted by Aguirregoitia and Fernández (2015) about gastronomy in Spanish press during the nineteenth century, and later another study that dealt with the journalistic communication of gastronomy in Spain during the first third of the twentieth century (Fernández and Aguirregoitia, 2017). At the same time, as noted in the previous paragraph, there were also important the studies by Sánchez (2011). Those discussed the educational function of food journalism in Internet, a platform also analyzed by Acosta, Canavilhas and Gosciola (2011) with the focus placed on the dissemination of information because of the announcement of the closing of *El Bulli*. Segarra-Saavedra, Hidalgo-Marí and Rodríguez-Monteagudo (2015) also analyzed content on websites and social networks; in this case dealing with Michelin-starred Spanish restaurants within the framework of a creative industry in the digital context. Also in line with the present research, there were found publications like Acosta (2011), on the role of food contents in Isabel Allende's novels or articles such as Blanco (2015), about the gastronomic notes inside custom articles, as an earlier predecessor of food column. Also, the symbiosis between gastronomy and television centered the attention of other recent research. Examples include historical analysis of television programs on food, conducted by Hidalgo-Marí and Segarra-Saavedra (2014), or the study authored by Peris (2015) about the relationship between culinary television programs and the construction of national identity.

The present study is focused, as previously reported, on gastronomy contents found in printed media, particularly, daily print press. According to Jensen and Jankowski (1993, p.100), "the news is any item not related to advertising presented in an informative means". When analysing the gastronomy contents in press media, we must determine from there the sampling unit and the categorization. "In content analysis, a unit is an identifiable message or message component, (a) which serves as the basis for identifying the population and drawing a sample, (b) on which variables are measured, or (c) which serves as the basis for reporting analyses (Carney, 1971, p.52; Neuendorf, 2002, p.71). In this case, the unit of analysis is the single article with gastronomy content.

The following step is the categorization, which means to reduce the number of data to a smaller number of categories. This categorization must respect the rules of single criterion, completeness, exclusion, significance, clarity, and replicability. In this case, the author of this work has set nominal categories that were tested before final

I. Theoretical and Methodological Background

data collection, as explained in the following paragraphs, under the codebook and coding form sections. According to Wrench *et al* (2008, p. 249), while there are numerous methods for sampling, there is no one way that is the best”, but is important that the method (and measurement) follow the key standards for good measurements, according to Neuendorf (2002): reliability, validity, accuracy – the extent to which a measuring procedure is free of bias (non-random error) – and precision – the fineness of distinction made between categories or levels of a measure. For example, measuring a character’s age in year is more precise than measuring in decades” (Neuendorf, 2002, pp.112-113) –. These concepts were previously explained when discussing the content analysis processes. Therefore, sampling is a process where a portion of units is drawn to study as a smaller part of a larger population. At the same time, this makes the findings generalizable to this larger population. Theoretically, “the defined population may be quite large, such as all books ever published. It might be of a more limited size, such as parent-child interactions among participants at a co-op daycare facility. It may be narrowly defined, such as all female-directed films released in the United States in 1999” (Neuendorf, 2002, p.74).

In order to explore the research objectives, this current research analyzed the contents on gastronomy within the printed media for Catalan and Spanish cases. Subsequently, a comparative approach for the United States was aggregated, thanks to a scholarship awarded for this purpose. To study the gastronomy contents, the period 2005-2015 was defined as study period. In the years prior to 2005, both Catalan and Spanish cuisines had already been consolidating gradually. They reached the summit with the acknowledgement of *El Bulli* as the world’s best restaurant for the first time in 2002 (between 2006 and 2009 *El Bulli* achieved this award four more times) and the presence of Ferran Adrià, in 2003, on the cover of *The New York Times Magazine*. Spanish gastronomy rose above the French and found itself placed in the very edge of the world cuisine. 2005 was chosen, then, as the starting date of the sample, because the gastronomy was already included in newspapers and mediated to some extent. This allowed the research to unpin from the early beginnings of this phenomenon, and, consequently, to fully analyze a period where the gastronomy is already a media-based phenomenon. The period studied covers the second half of the first decade and the first half of the second decade of the twenty-first century, until 2015.

To analyze this period, the creation of the study sample was based on the selection of the two main general information printed newspapers in each study area, that is, in the case of Catalonia, *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia*; and for the Spanish case, the dailies *El Mundo* and *El País*. In each case, we dealt with the two newspapers with highest circulation for each geographical area, while at the same time the choice of means balanced the conservative and progressive editorial lines. In addition, the study added *The New York Times* to explore the case of the United States, where

however there is no recent boom in terms of gastronomy, food also plays a huge role in media. Therefore, five general information newspapers composed the final sample.

To carry out the analysis, a sample of dates was set in order to draw a picture at various times throughout the period analyzed, and to trace an evolution according to the different realities of each context. Following the components of content analysis established by Krippendorff (1990), and knowing that the total universe are all the hard copies of each newspaper during the period between 2005 and 2015, we established a sample of analysis. Thus, the universe is made up of 4,015 units per each newspaper. The sample analysis was defined from the systematic sampling. According to Krippendorff (1990, pp.96-97), this kind of systematic sampling (systematic random sampling according to Brunet, Pastor and Belzunegui, 2002, p.435) “is favored when the data come from regular publications appearance. [...] The main problem of this kind of sampling is that the interval width k is constant, and therefore would create biased samples if it coincides with natural rhythms such as seasonal variations and other cyclical regularities”. It seems clear that a systematic random sampling is not appropriate when the universe has some type of periodicity. “For news content, daily and monthly variations in key variables are important to tap so that stratification by day or month might be appropriate. These cyclic variations are important to consider for all cases of sampling. For example, movies are noted for their seasonal shifts (for example, summer blockbusters, the holiday family films), and therefore a sample of movies should perhaps include films released at different times of the year” (Neuendorf, 2002, p.87). For this reason, in the case of the study of daily press is not advisable to select a copy every seven issues, that is, every week. This concern was also shown in Wimmer and Dominik (1996). Therefore, the limitation was avoided by choosing one item every five days. Similarly, regarding daily press studies, it is advised to use the composite week. For example, composite weeks for daily newspapers are recommended by Neuendorf (2002) or Riffe, Aust and Lacy (1993). “Beginning with Stempel’s (1952) identification of two systematically selected composite weeks being sufficient to represent a full year of newspaper issues, a number of studies have examined samples from known populations of media messages” (Neuendorf, 2002, p.89). Consequently, for each media, the technique used here was based on the composite week.

Within the period analyzed, odd years were selected. The sample was formed by the years 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013 and 2015. For each year, the technique of the composite week was applied, which means that, from the first Monday of the year, two dates were selected for each week. To exemplify it: for week 1-Monday and Thursday; week 2-Tuesday and Friday; 3-Wednesday and Saturday; 4-Thursday and Sunday; 5-Friday and Monday (effectively, Monday and Friday); 6-Tuesday and Saturday; 7-Wednesday and Sunday; and week 8-Thursday and Monday (effectively, Monday and Thursday), equivalent back to week 1. This means that for every year 104

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copies were analyzed, amounting to 624 issues of each newspaper being analyzed for the whole period.

Following the yearly calendars for 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013 and 2015 are displayed. The days studied for each year are highlighted:

2005

JANUARY							FEBRUARY							MARCH							APRIL						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
						1			1	2	3	4	5			1	2	3	4	5						1	2
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28	27	28	29	30	31	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
30	31																										

MAY							JUNE							JULY							AUGUST								
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S		
						1				1	2	3	4							1	2							1	2
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		
29	30	31	26	27	28	29	30	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30	31	28	29	30	31	28	29	30	31			

SEPTEMBER							OCTOBER							NOVEMBER							DECEMBER									
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S			
						1						1							1	2							1	2	3	
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17			
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24			
25	26	27	28	29	30	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28	29	30	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
							30	31																						

2007

JANUARY							FEBRUARY							MARCH							APRIL										
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S				
						1					1	2	3							1	2	3							1	2	3
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14				
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21				
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28				
28	29	30	31	25	26	27	28	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30															

MAY							JUNE							JULY							AUGUST						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
						1						1	2							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
27	28	29	30	31	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	29	30	31	26	27	28	29	30	31							

SEPTEMBER							OCTOBER							NOVEMBER							DECEMBER												
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S						
						1						1	2	3	4	5	6							1	2	3							1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	2	3	4	5	6	7	8						
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	9	10	11	12	13	14	15						
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	16	17	18	19	20	21	22						
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	28	29	30	31	25	26	27	28	29	30	23	24	25	26	27	28	29										
30																				30	31												

2009

JANUARY							FEBRUARY							MARCH							APRIL							
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	
					1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				1	2	3	4
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
25	26	27	28	29	30	31								29	30	31					26	27	28	29	30			

MAY							JUNE							JULY							AUGUST						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
					1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4							1	
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
31														30	31					30	31						

SEPTEMBER							OCTOBER							NOVEMBER							DECEMBER													
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S							
					1	2	3	4	5						1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7						1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12							
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19							
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26							
27	28	29	30				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30						27	28	29	30	31									

2011

JANUARY							FEBRUARY							MARCH							APRIL														
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S								
						1						1	2	3	4	5							1	2	3	4	5							1	2
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9								
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16								
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23								
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28						27	28	29	30	31	24	25	26	27	28	29	30										
30	31																																		

MAY							JUNE							JULY							AUGUST																			
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S													
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7						1	2	3	4							1	2							1	2	3	4	5	6
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13													
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20													
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27													
29	30	31					26	27	28	29	30			24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30	31																
														31																										

SEPTEMBER							OCTOBER							NOVEMBER							DECEMBER																						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S																
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7						1	2	3	4	5							1	2	3	4	5							1	2	3	4	5
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10																
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17																
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24																
25	26	27	28	29	30		23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28	29	30				25	26	27	28	29	30	31																
							30	31																																			

2013

JANUARY							FEBRUARY							MARCH							APRIL											
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S					
			1	2	3	4	5							1	2									1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13					
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20					
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27					
27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28			24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30									

2015

JANUARY							FEBRUARY							MARCH							APRIL											
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S					

When working out the sample required for a population of 4,015 having a 5% margin of error, we find that this study sample is enough, as observed in the following table. Even the Table 1 shows that the sample chosen lies on a 99% level of confidence and 5% sampling error.

Table 1: Sampling error 5%-95% or 99% Level of Confidence

Sampling error	95% Level of Confidence	99% Level of Confidence
5%	351	568

Corresponding to each piece with gastronomy content, according to the codebook and the coding form drawn in the next subsection, the results were annotated manually in an excel spreadsheet. This spreadsheet was shaped as the raw database from which the quantitative and qualitative analyses were built.

The next step, once defined the units of analysis, is the construction of a model for analyzing and categorizing. Note that the different possibilities of topics and subtopics that comprise the categories reflected in the codebook and coding form were obtained from previous readings and literature search, and also based on Fusté and Masip (2013). This final version was also the result of the thematic verification through the analysis of a prior sample. After the elaboration of the plan of analysis – codebook and coding form –, it was applied to a preliminary sample – pre-test – which was formed by the month of January of the year 2000 corresponding to the newspaper *La Vanguardia*, and the month of December of the newspaper *El Correo*, daily press in the Basque Country. Therefore, the pre-test was used to double-check and finally define the topics and subtopics, and from which the ultimately coding form was produced.

3.2. The Codebook

The codebook was divided into two different sections. Firstly, an identification category is drawn. According to Soriano (2007, p.156), the categories of identification serve to record and classify correctly all the data collected for further processing. So this first section contains general data in order to identify the article title, author and date, and the newspaper where it is published. It is also important to mention that when carrying out the analysis it is necessary to differentiate the type of genre, information or opinion, which gave visibility to the gastronomy content. Also, the importance of the content is analyzed depending on whether or not it is found on the front page, and also the space per page of the articles. For this reason, the analysis included information about the section, page or columns.

General features

Number of order: assign to each piece a correlative registration number, starting from 1.

Media, Date and Title: indicate the name of the newspaper, the date and the headline.

Signature (1/2): indicate 1. Journalist; 2. Newsroom; 3. Agencies; 4. No signature. If signature is by a Journalist, move to **Signature (2/2):** specify the name of the journalist.

Cover page: If not a cover page article, write down 0. If it is so, indicate the space that the piece fills in the front page; 0. Not applicable; 1. Article $\geq 75\%$; 2. Article 74-50%; 3. Article 49-25%; 4. Article 24-10%; 5. Short article.

Section opening (add the name of the Section): 0. If a cover page article, not applicable; 1. It is an opening section article, found in the top left-hand of the page; 2. It is not opening section.

Page opening: 0. If a cover page article, not applicable; 1. It is an opening page article, found in the top left-hand of the page (if it is also an opening section article, also fill); 2. Not opening page.

Column: Number of columns of the article. Attention, do not mistake the number of columns of the headline with the number of article columns. Indicate 1. 1 column; 2. 2 columns; 3. 3 columns; 4. 4 columns; 5. 5 columns; 6. More than 5 columns.

Page space: Not applicable if the article is on the cover page. Indicate the space of the article: 0. Not applicable (if the article is on the cover page, note 0); 1. Article $\geq 75\%$; 2. Article 74-50%; 3. Article 49-25%; 4. Article 24-10%; 5. Short article.

Genre: Indicate 1. News (piece of information that narrates the basic elements of a current event), 2. News Report (piece of information that relates current or general interest events with the help of visual material), 3. Interview (genre that consists of a question and answer process), 4. Food column (opinion genre that deals with gastronomy topics), 5. Opinion column (opinion genre that treats different topics), 6. Reviews (opinion genre that critically reviews products or restaurants; for example, restaurant reviews and wine critics), 7. Recipe (narration of the composition of a dish that includes the ingredients and how to elaborate it), 8. Others (specify).

Content features

The second section of the codebook relates to topical categories. These correspond to the defined units of analysis and the diverse forms manifested in the contents analyzed. The thematic categories were divided into three groups (production; distribution; food and society) which in turn comprised the themes as described in the next paragraphs. Examples from *The New York Times* were used to illustrate the categories:

General areas and categories: indicate a number for the main topic category included in the article. If applicable, also note the secondary category observed for each article.

A. Production

1. Products: this category includes all the references to food as a raw product, and it refers to approaches to both traditional and modern products, as for example an article from February 16, 2005: “No other wine conjures up poetic descriptions like pinot noir; no other wine forges as direct a path to the soul. If a wine could make a person cry, it would have to be a pinot noir. A wine like this is bound to have a pretty big mystique, and pinot noir wears its like a rap star wears gold. It’s a femme fatale. It’s a temperamental artist. It’s very sensitive”.

2. Dishes: this category includes the pieces that describes the composition of dishes and ways of elaboration, as for example an article from November 9, 2005: “If you boil raw peanuts in their shells, adding plenty of salt after they are tender, you get the Southern treat boiled peanuts. Prepare twice as many as you might snack on so you can have some to use for soups and stews. At this time of year you can buy raw, fresh peanuts, most easily in Chinese markets; they’re harvested from Virginia through Georgia. Raw peanuts will keep in the shell for several months, but they become drier, tougher and less flavorful as they age. My favorite use is in a spicy stew with chicken, seen in West Africa, the Caribbean, Virginia and elsewhere in the South. I’ve seen it with tomatoes and with cream. Either way it’s a straightforward braised dish, the chicken browned and then cooked in the liquid with the peanuts. The nuts add amazing flavor, but there’s a compelling argument for using peanut butter instead – it’s easier, though you don’t get boiled peanuts for snacking. Peanut butter also makes the texture thicker and creamier”.

3. Chefs: this category refers to chefs and celebrity chefs. The topic includes contents on chefs as individuals but also about their trajectory, culinary techniques, together with new activities, endeavours or events they organize or take part in. If the article, while focused on chefs, also pays attention to other aspects like their signature restaurants, the piece is also classified under this additional theme. An example within the category of chefs is an article from August 17, 2007: “Mario Batali shovel a pizza topped with chopped tomatoes, wet chunks of fresh mozzarella and grilled artichokes into his crackling outdoor pizza oven, it is easy to imagine you are in a hill town outside Bologna, perhaps even in Borgo Capanne, where Mr. Batali apprenticed for three years at a trattoria. The surrounding spruce trees and the wind off the lake only add to the air of authenticity, as does the wood smoke that plumes out from the top of the brick oven and the smell of baking bread. But the body of water behind him is not Lake Como, but rather Grand Traverse Bay, and the scene is not the countryside of Northern Italy but the wilderness of northern Michigan where Mr. Batali spends his summers and most holidays cooking for family and friends”.

B. Distribution

4. Restaurants: within this category there are included the references to restaurants and particularly to big-name restaurants, as for example an article from February 14, 2007: “Ceramics, carpets, baths: certain things are done better in Turkey than in many other countries, and that list includes – and could arguably be led by – the marinating, seasoning and grilling of meat, especially if it’s skewered. Turks live to skewer. If kebab production were a principal criterion for European Union membership, Turkey would have been admitted a decade ago. And if kebab production is what you look for in a restaurant, then hustle over to Pera Mediterranean Brasserie, where cubes of lamb and chicken are front and center. Reflecting the spirit of Turkey and often doing justice to it, Pera excels at grilled meats, a noteworthy sampling of which are available as part of a family-style meal called ‘the Pera tradition’. While it’s somewhat audacious for a brand-new restaurant to speak of its own tradition, it’s right of Pera to showcase this meal, which, at \$46 a person, is a noteworthy value, given the array of food, the size of the platters and the appeal of the meat”.

5. Stores: included here all the articles that mention food selling points except restaurants, as for example grocery stores, markets, supermarkets, fisheries, cafes, tapa bars, or cocktail bars, among others. This can be observed in an article from August 28, 2009: “A few minutes before the seventh-inning stretch, a man in a Derek Jeter jersey seeking a snack made a comment to his 13-year-

old son that might sound absurd in most baseball stadiums. ‘I’m more of a nectarine person than a peach person’, said the man, Tony Vecchio, a 42-year-old New Jersey firefighter. Mr. Vecchio and his son were standing in a wide corridor inside the new Yankee Stadium, around the corner from concessions selling 1,341-calorie Nathan’s cheese fries for \$7.25, 500-calorie Nathan’s footlong beef hot dogs for \$6.75 and 290-calorie Budweisers for \$10. They had stumbled upon a fruit stand: green and red apples, pears, bananas, oranges, nectarines and peaches, each \$1.50. Mr. Vecchio bought two nectarines for himself and a \$5.50 pineapple cup for his son, Anthony. ‘It’s a great idea’, Mr. Vecchio said. ‘I started a diet with my wife yesterday’. The new stadiums for the Yankees and the Mets have been quietly offering fans an unlikely concept in ballpark cuisine: fresh produce”.

6. Events: this category includes all the celebrations linked to gastronomy. Some of the most representative elements here are food fairs and festivals focused on particular products, but also establishments’ anniversaries. At the same time, this category includes some of the events that mark the annual gastronomy calendar, such as food congresses or conferences, and also the nomination of the world’s best restaurants or the delivery of Michelin stars. An example is an article from September 1, 2009: “To celebrate the 400th anniversary of Henry Hudson’s voyage up the Hudson River on the Half Moon, a model of a colonial Dutch village will be created in Bowling Green Park, Broadway and Whitehall Streets, from Sept. 4 to 14. The village will contain 12 traditional houses, a windmill and a greenhouse and be open, free, from 11 a.m. to 7 p.m. daily. Dutch food products will be available for sampling and purchase and there will be culinary workshops as well as other activities during the day”.

C. Gastronomy and Society

7. Gastronomy and arts: this category includes the references to names related to literature, music or cinema, among others, as for example an article from May 25, 2011: “Mr. Herrera’s love of tamales is visceral. In the ‘70s, his mother, Dora Gauna, made tamales for his father, Pedro Herrera, to sell to his co-workers at the body shop of a Houston car dealership, where he pulled dents from Pontiacs. But his food references are likely to be more metaphoric than literal. And in the past Mr. Herrera pushed those metaphors to off-color extremes. This was back when reviewers commonly referred to him as the Mexican Weird Al Yankovic, a title he earned by shooting music videos like ‘Taco Shop’. In that parody of 50 Cent’s ‘Candy Shop’, Mr. Herrera transformed a bikini-clad woman, reclining in a bathtub full of shredded lettuce, into a

human taco, as he dribbled her with salsa and strewed her with grated Cheddar. That kind of routine is behind him now, Mr. Herrera said, before he took the stage at the Key Club in West Hollywood, for a show he would headline, with the Beatnuts, a Latino rap duo from Queens. Over tacos al carbon, which he ate in a derelict bus in an alley that the club uses as a green room, he tried to dispel the notion that his music revolved around food”.

8. Gastronomy as social fact: this broad category refers to traditions or trends. It also includes news where gastronomy interlaces with non-food celebrities or food celebrities link to non-gastronomy phenomena. This is shown in an article from July 30, 2013: “Mrs. Clinton was back at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue for a private lunch with President Obama, a meeting that the White House said was closed to the press. The two former rivals for the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination were originally supposed to break bread in the president’s private dining room, off the Oval Office. Instead they ate outside during a pleasant summertime afternoon in Washington. The White House said the kitchen had provided Mr. Obama and his first secretary of state grilled chicken, some pasta jambalaya and salad”.

9. Alimentation and nutrition: under this category the explanations on dietetic or nutritive values of the products are included, as observed in an article from April 2, 2013: “Centuries ago, salt was more valuable than gold, but today the condiment has fallen out of favor. Now we know that its main component, sodium, can raise blood pressure, increasing the risk of heart disease and stroke. A new report, prepared by experts from three leading universities, projects that a small, steady reduction of sodium in the American diet could save up to half a million lives over the next decade. And a more rapid reduction could save even more lives – as many as 850,000. The Finns have already proved this projection. As described last month in The New England Journal of Medicine, since the early 1970s, when Finland launched a national campaign to reduce salt intake, daily consumption has dropped by 3,000 milligrams a day in men and women, with a corresponding decline in death rates from stroke and coronary heart disease of 75 to 80 percent. In the last decade or so, many food producers have introduced low-sodium or reduced-sodium versions of popular products, including soups, vegetables, fish, sauces, cereals, nuts, dips and even chips”.

10. Media: the links between gastronomy and media are included here. Culinary television programmes represent the most paradigmatic example. One example is found on an article from October 9, 2015: “The victory of Nadiya Jamir Hussain, a petite 30-year-old, head-scarf-wearing mother of three

from northern England, in a wildly popular reality show called ‘The Great British Bake Off’ on Wednesday has been greeted by many in Britain as a symbol of immigration success, at a moment when the country’s leaders, Mr. Cameron included, have expressed concerns that it has too many newcomers. Ms. Hussain’s popularity, bolstered by her self-deprecating humor and telling facial expressions, helped the final episodes of the baking program, in which contestants vie with one another to make a variety of desserts, attracting well over 10 million viewers per show, according to news reports. She has also become a darling of social media, with more than 63,000 followers on Twitter as of Thursday afternoon”.

11. Places and tourism: this category includes the highlighting of geographical areas and the references to gastronomy tourism. This is observed in an article from October 4, 2015: “Scrappy, scruffy Bologna could easily coast on its history, if not just on its culinary history. Home to one of the world’s oldest universities, this northern Italian city has contributed dozens of classic recipes and foods to the repertory of Italian cooking, including tortellini, tagliatelle and mortadella - the cold cut whose imitation is known as ‘Bologna’ - as well as ragù Bolognese. As the capital of the region of Emilia-Romagna, Bologna is one of the best places to sample the cheeses, cured hams and vinegars that originate in the area, many of which have been famous for centuries”.

Key word (Key word 1, Key word 2, Key word 3): Specify up to three key words that define the most important items for each article. For example, Ferran Adrià, potato, El Cellar de Can Roca, Figueres.

Observations: Indicate any aspect, which may be considered relevant and not appeared in the coding form.

3.3. The Coding Form

Table 2 performs the Coding Form used to collect the empirical data, with the two different sections explained above.

Table 2: Coding form

General Features					
Number of order					
Media					
Publication date					
Title					
Signature		Journalist			
Cover page					
Opening section		Section name			
Opening page					
Column		Page space			
Genre					
Content Features					
Production		Distribution		Gastronomy and society	
Products		Restaurants		Gastronomy and arts	
Dishes		Stores		Gastronomy as social fact	
Chefs		Events		Alimentation and nutrition	
				Media	
				Places and tourism	
Key words:					
Observations:					

3.4. Quantitative analysis

For the quantitative analysis, we used the database developed as a result of the data collection's empirical work. This coding, explained in the codebook and coding form above, allowed the analysis of the different variables. This specifically led to respond to the research questions 1 and 2 defined earlier:

RQ1. What is the importance of gastronomy in the printed media?

RQ2. What are the predominant themes regarding the gastronomy contents within the printed media?

In order to respond to the first objective we accurately analyzed genres, sections (also front pages), the space and the signature. For the second objective, an analysis regarding the themes was conducted, also regarding the correlations between themes and genre, page/section opening, and space per page. The database information was obtained directly from the printed edition of each newspaper, except for the case of *The New York Times*. Thus, the hard copies were reviewed manually one by one, using the archive of the Library of Blanquerna-Ramon Llull University School of Communication and International Relations, and the bibliographical archive *Arxiu General of the City of Barcelona, Casa de l'Ardiaca*. For *The New York Times*, due to the lack of availability of printed editions, the data collection was made manually in the Milstein Microform division at the Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, The New York Public Library.

Although the digitalisation of information and the increasing rapidly availability of contents throughout databases let researchers to ease access to a huge amount of information, this thesis was based on human coding. "The typical computer coding analysis is limited to text only, conversely, the typical human-coding scheme looks beyond text analysis" (Neuendorf, 2002, pp.126-127). Franke (2000) affirms that human text coding seems to work better with hard copy. Moreover, human text coding allows to understand the place of text within the broader newspaper, including its size and prominence in the layout.

3.5. Qualitative analysis

The employment of qualitative analysis sought to answer the research questions 3 and 4:

RQ3. How gastronomy news is discursively covered in the printed media?

RQ4. How have the gastronomy contents in printed media in Catalonia, Spain, and the United States, evolved over time?

Consequently, from the database storing all the articles dealing with gastronomy contents (N), the researcher selected only those belonging to the information genre, that is, news and news reports, excluding interviews. Once selected for each year, the short pieces were removed. To the remaining amount of pieces (n) we applied percentages of 95% reliability and 5% margin of error, in order to calculate the necessary sample (s) to conduct the qualitative analysis. This is shown in the following Table 3:

Table 3: Selection of the qualitative sample

Year	El Mundo			El País			El Periódico			La Vanguardia			The New York Times		
	N	n	s	N	N	s	N	n	s	N	n	s	N	n	s
2005	140	37	34	109	48	43	231	94	76	215	80	67	310	136	101
2007	77	35	33	145	68	58	209	94	76	224	100	80	323	144	105
2009	151	55	49	103	49	44	289	113	88	226	115	89	314	138	102
2011	170	68	58	108	57	50	227	119	92	204	103	82	300	134	100
2013	140	63	55	132	70	60	228	125	95	191	114	89	282	126	96
2015	182	89	73	111	57	50	280	144	105	252	123	94	316	134	100
Total	860	347	302	708	349	305	1464	689	532	1312	635	501	1845	812	604

Therefore, using the Factiva database, all the pieces were collected, one by one, to be stored for later analysis. Exceptionally, some articles were found not to be indexed in the database, which obligated the researcher to attend personally to the previously mentioned archives to get a scanned version of the remaining pieces. These individual digital archives were also added to the computer storage.

Once all the selected pieces for the qualitative analysis were collected, the author proceeded, year by year, newspaper by newspaper, to read the pieces in order to carry out the discourse analysis, interpreting the image delineated by each newspaper regarding the information contents about gastronomy.

For the structure of the qualitative analysis, the most predominant thematic categories of the whole sample were taken into account, that is, the seven topics named: products, chefs, restaurants, stores, events, gastronomy and arts, and gastronomy as social fact. Nonetheless, the qualitative study line that was drawn inevitably included references to other thematic fields like nutrition, tourism, or media. Due to the importance of these categories, nutrition and food tourism awareness were included along the gastronomy and social fact sections, and food media was analyzed as an independent epigraph.

II. QUANTITATIVE STUDY

4. Analysis of gastronomy articles in *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

This chapter analyzes the articles with gastronomy content found in the daily newspaper *El Mundo* along the period 2005-2015. The total of articles for the whole period amounted to 860 pieces.

4.1. The importance of gastronomy: genres, sections, space and signatures

The first aspect shown in Table 4 corresponds to the distribution of the 860 articles by genre. Early in the first year of the period studied, 2005, there was a clear predominance of news, representing more than half of the total sample. The importance of news was maintained around 40% (except 2009 and 2013 when it did not reach the third of the total, coinciding with a greater weight of reviews and reports). In 2007, opinion columns were highlighted (30%), and from 2009 on, reviews had a presence around 30%, due to the incorporation of *Metrópoli Suplement* in the body of the newspaper as a blended supplement, and related almost exclusively to the sub section *Comer*.

Table 4. Analysis of the genre of gastronomy articles, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

Genres	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. News	73	52,1	31	40,3	46	30,5	60	35,3	40	28,6	79	43,4	329	38,3
2. News report	4	2,9	9	11,7	11	7,3	14	8,2	26	18,6	13	7,1	77	9,0
3. Interview	9	6,4	1	1,3	4	2,6	4	2,4	7	5,0	14	7,7	39	4,5
4. Food column	9	6,4	8	10,4	6	4,0	0	0	0	0	1	0,5	24	2,8
5. Opin. column	21	15,0	23	29,9	10	6,6	36	21,2	17	12,1	18	9,9	125	14,5
6. Reviews	24	17,1	5	6,5	69	45,7	55	32,3	50	35,7	57	31,3	260	30,2
7. Recipe	0	0	0	0	5	3,3	1	0,6	0	0	0	0	6	0,7
Total	140	100	77	100	151	100	170	100	140	100	182	100	860	100

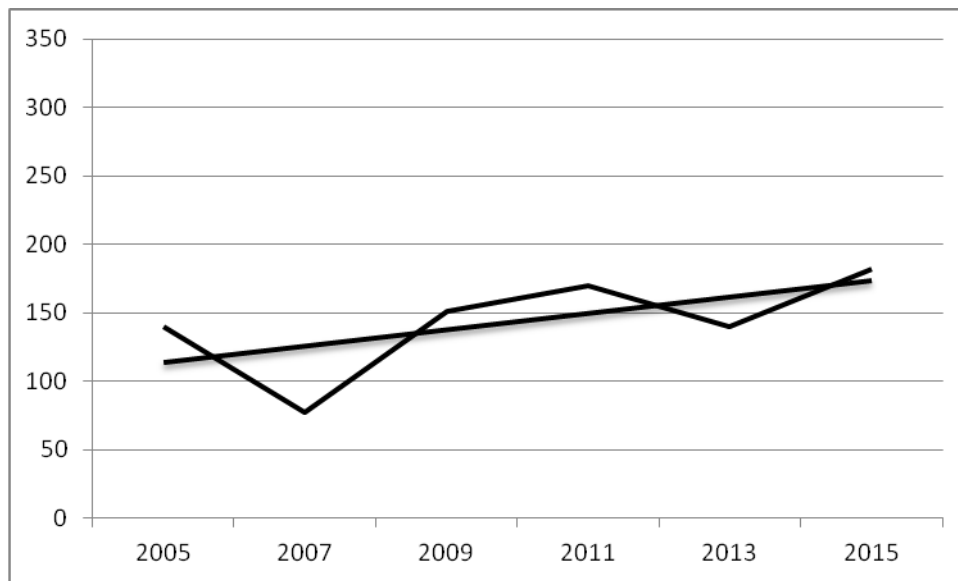
In terms of the evolution of gastronomy-based articles in *El Mundo*, Figure 1 confirms the growing trend on the interest that *El Mundo* displayed concerning food issues.

Given this importance of culinary content, various parameters were analyzed, as earlier explained in the methodological chapter. First, when focusing on the articles mentioned in the front page, Table 5 shows that the incidence of gastronomy content within the *El Mundo's* cover pages is very low. Only 2.5% of all the annotated articles were found to be in the front pages, and all of them were short pieces.

Table 5. Analysis of gastronomy articles found in the front page, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
9	6,4	2	2,6	1	0,7	3	1,8	3	2,1	4	2,2	22	2,6

Figure 1. Evolution of gastronomy-based articles, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)



In the year 2005, up to 9 articles were observed to have a front page presence. This fact is justified because 8 of them, all found to be short articles, referred to a page called *El paladar cultivado*, signed by Belén Parra, which was present only during the month of August. These articles, as food columns, dealt with a different chef every issue. Up to 4 of the remaining pieces from 2007 onwards referred to the distinction of restaurants, both thanks to the list published by *Restaurant Magazine* of the best restaurants in the world (April 21, 2009) or the event that acknowledged the Michelin-starred restaurants (November 25, 2011; November 21, 2013).

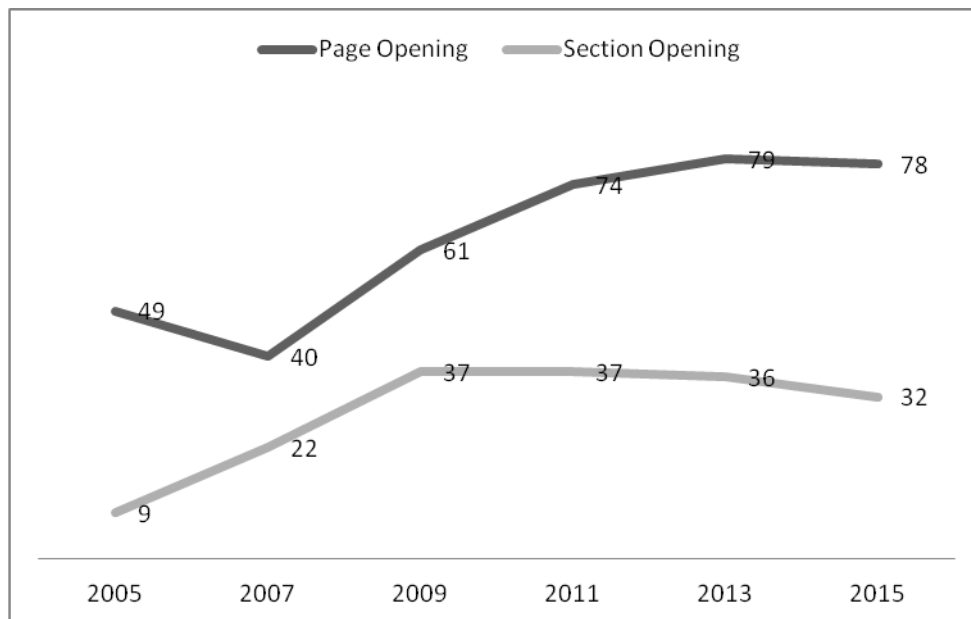
In relation to the articles that opened section and page, Table 6 shows a growing trend for the whole period analyzed. From 2005 to 2015, although the growth was not following a linear scale, the articles that opened section increased by 255%, while those that did open page only by 60%. However, the number of articles that opened section regarding the total of the gastronomy content articles was around 20%, and those that opened page, reached almost 45%. Virtually, all of the articles that opened section also opened page (97.1%).

Table 6. Analysis of the gastronomy articles that opened section and page, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

Opening	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Section	9	6,4	22	28,6	37	24,5	37	21,8	36	25,7	32	17,6	173	20,1
Page	49	35,0	40	52,0	61	40,4	74	43,5	79	56,4	78	42,9	381	44,3

Figure 2 shows the upward trend of articles both opening section and page, although there is certain stagnation in recent years.

Figure 2. Evolution of gastronomy articles regarding section and page opening, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)



In analysing together the articles that opened section and page with genres (Table 7), the results indicated that half of the articles opening section were news, followed by news reports, which amounted to a third of the total sample. Also relevant, opinion columns represented almost 10%. It is important to note that for example in the case of opinion columns that opened page, and even section, the position of columns was predefined by the newspaper, so that in this case the data obtained would not be as important as for information contents.

Table 7. Analysis of the gastronomy content articles opening section and page, *El Mundo* (2005-2015), according to genre

Genres	Opening section		Opening page	
	n	%	N	%
1. News	79	45,7	133	34,9
2. News report	59	34,1	76	19,9
3. Interview	9	5,2	15	3,9
4. Food column	1	0,6	9	2,4
5. Opinion column	16	9,2	75	19,7
6. Reviews	9	5,2	73	19,2
7. Recipe	0	0,0	0	0,0
Total	173	100,0	381	100,0

Focusing on the sections that covered gastronomy contents, Table 8 clearly demonstrates that the sections called Culture and Leisure (which includes *Metrópoli* content) were predominant and amounted more than half of the total. Especially the latter, which included the sub section Comer, represented more than a third of the sample.

Table 8. Analysis of the sections covering the gastronomy contents, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

Sections	N	%
Leisure	290	33,7
Culture	229	26,6
Travel	95	11,0
Opinion	83	9,7
Supplements (embedded)	78	9,1
Local News	37	4,3
Other	19	2,2
Obituaries	16	1,9
Media	13	1,5
Total	860	100,0

Also important were the sections Travel, embedded supplements (especially LOC and UVE), and the opinion sections, having each a tenth of the total representation. Under the category called *Other*, there were included those sections that have a representation of three pieces or less (which translates to an overall percentage of less than 0.5%). This category showed a great heterogeneity. Thus, gastronomy as journalistic content provided connections with a priori far-away worlds as bulls or sport, while at the same time having a surprising residual representation within sections like Society. However, this is due to the sections Leisure and Culture monopolized the content that otherwise could possibly be embedded into the pages of Society.

Regarding the space occupied by gastronomy content, there were two elements studied. On the one hand, the distribution of columns; on the other, the space the articles occupied on the page. In terms of columns' structure, Table 9 shows that 35% of the articles have only a column. Thus, the single-column 306 articles include 92 (30%) news and 132 (just over 50%) reviews. The articles that occupied five or more columns are 225, more than a quarter of the total, and related mainly to news (104) and news reports (70).

Table 9. Analysis of the columns of gastronomy articles, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

Columns	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
1	61	43,6	17	22,1	59	39,1	50	29,4	54	38,6	65	35,7	306	35,6
2	12	8,6	14	18,2	5	3,3	21	12,4	2	1,4	11	6,0	65	7,6
3	26	18,6	10	13,0	22	14,6	19	11,2	14	10,0	39	21,4	130	15,1
4	16	11,4	14	18,2	31	20,5	27	15,9	15	10,7	31	17,0	134	15,6
5	25	17,9	19	24,7	31	20,5	44	25,9	47	33,6	28	15,4	194	22,6
6	0	0,0	3	3,9	3	2,0	9	5,3	8	5,7	8	4,4	31	3,6
Total	140	100	77	100	151	100	170	100	140	100	182	100	860	100

In relation to the space per page (Table 10), we see that the percentage of short articles is very low (one in ten pieces), and significant only in the first year of the sample, as reported earlier. For the whole analysis, a third of the pieces occupied more

than half a page (32.4%), and 60% hold at least a quarter of a page (521 articles from categories 1, 2 and 3).

Table 10. Analysis of space per page of gastronomy articles, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

Space per page	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
1. Article >=75%	19	13,6	19	24,7	24	15,9	30	17,6	43	30,7	28	15,4	163	19,0
2. Article 74-50%	27	19,3	10	13,0	18	11,9	15	8,8	20	14,3	25	13,7	115	13,4
3. Article 49-25%	27	19,3	21	27,3	38	25,2	59	34,7	31	22,1	67	36,8	243	28,3
4. Article 24-10%	13	9,3	22	28,6	62	41,1	59	34,7	43	30,7	61	33,5	260	30,2
5. Short article	54	38,6	5	6,5	9	6,0	7	4,1	3	2,1	1	0,5	79	9,2
Total	140	100	77	100	151	100	170	100	140	100	182	100	860	100

An analysis of genres in relation to the space the articles occupied confirms that short articles referred predominantly to news (59) or critics (20). Moreover, of all the pieces that occupied at least half a page (278), 33% are news (94), 28% news reports (77), and 20% opinion columns (56) as most significant genres.

Figure 3. Evolution of gastronomy articles as space per page, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

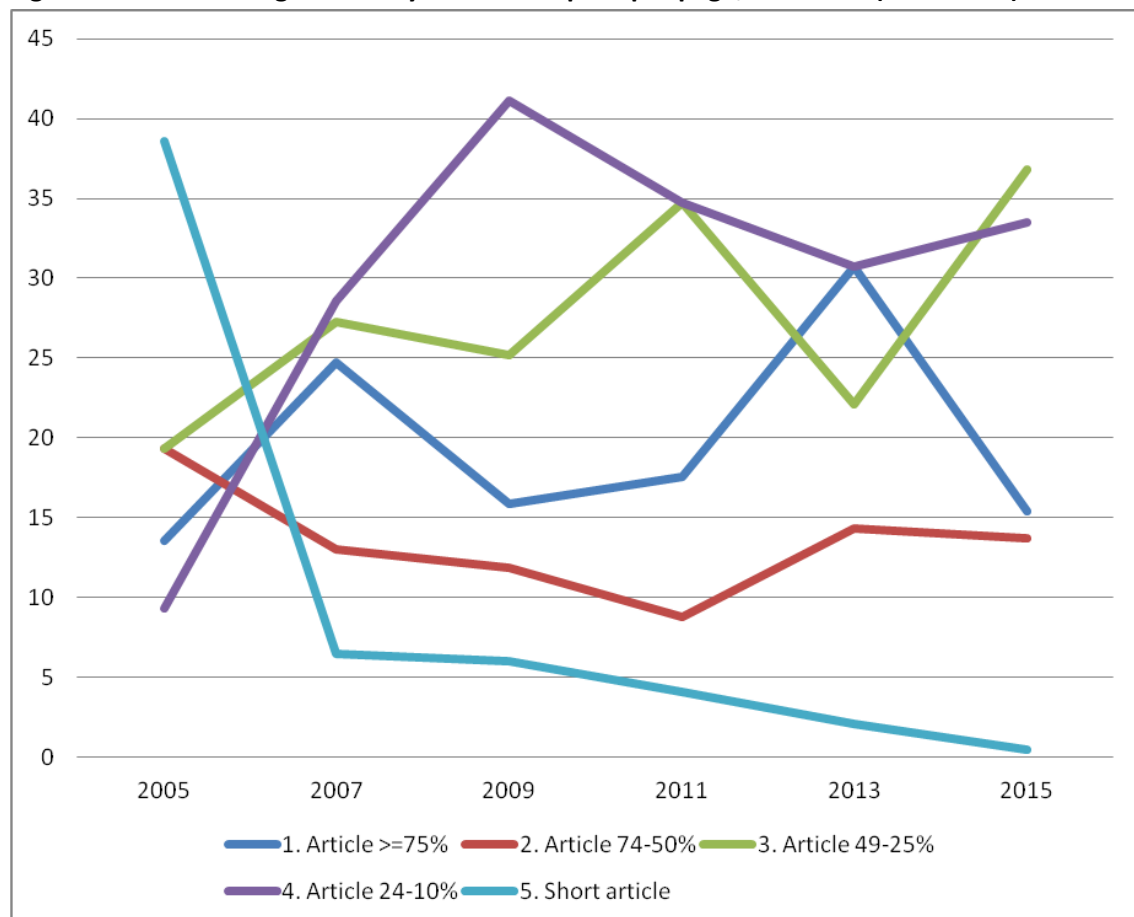


Figure 3 shows the evolution of each of the parameters in relation to the space per page along the years. As mentioned above, the amount of short articles was reduced, which revealed an increase in the space devoted to gastronomy articles over time. Only in 2007 and 2013 there was a rise in terms of the pieces that occupied more

than 75% of the page, and finally in 2015 for the first time the articles in the range 25-49% exceeded those that occupied 10-24% of the page.

Another parameter analyzed was the signature of the articles. Looking at Table 11 we can see that almost 9 out of 10 pieces are journalist-signed. Only in the first year the number of articles without signatures was significant. However, of these 45 unsigned pieces for the year 2005, 44 were news and 43 were short pieces. Also important is the limited use of content from agencies, representing only 0.3% throughout the period analyzed. This shows that food content in *El Mundo* is generated from the own newspaper.

Table 11. Analysis of the signatures of gastronomy articles, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

Signature	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Journalist	92	65,7	71	92,2	140	92,7	153	90,0	133	95,0	174	95,6	763	88,7
2. Newsroom	3	2,1	2	2,6	5	3,3	6	3,5	7	5,0	4	2,2	27	3,1
3. Agencies	0	0,0	1	1,3	1	0,7	1	0,6	0	0,0	0	0,0	3	0,3
4. No signature	45	32,1	3	3,9	5	3,3	10	5,9	0	0,0	4	2,2	67	7,8
Total	140	100	77	100	151	100	170	100	140	100	182	100	860	100

If the analysis of the signatures is carried out exclusively in relation to the information genre (news, reports and interviews), this confirmed that in considering the total amount of 67 pieces without signature, 60 of them (90%) corresponded to news. Of the 27 pieces that were published under the heading of newsroom, two thirds were again news. Also, the three pieces signed by agencies were news.

Consequently, if we remove the opinion genres, the distribution of signatures was affected by the fact that, almost every article that was not signed by a journalist corresponded to information genres, and particularly, to short news.

Moving on to the pieces signed by journalists, there were listed up to 193 different journalists who had contributed along the period. Among them, the most prolific were: Belén Parra (114 pieces), Anna R. Alòs (48), Xavier Agulló (42), Pepe Barrera (32), Fernando Point (30) Rycardo de Paz (30), Juan Antonio Diaz (22), Santos Ruiz (20), Julia Perez (18) and Paz Ívison (18). Only 33 journalists collaborated four times or more, and 122 wrote only once time.

While journalists with greater presence were generally associated within a specific genre (for example, opinion column or restaurant reviews), some of them also collaborated in multiple genres. In the case of the ten journalists who were mentioned in the previous paragraph, the following conclusions are drawn:

- Belén Parra was the most versatile journalist because she developed different genres. Although half of her pieces were news (50%), she also had

a significant representation in terms of interviews (11%), food columns (13%) and reviews (20%).

- Anna R. Alòs is an opinion columnist. 96% of her articles corresponded to the opinion column called *Noctámbulos festivos y celebrantes*.
- Xavier Agulló and Fernando Point divided their contributions between news (17% and 43%) and reviews (70% and 37%).
- There were several journalists who focused most of their contributions on restaurant reviews, which were found in the *Comer* sub section under *Metrópoli*. They were Pepe Barrena (94% of his articles were restaurant reviews), Juan Antonio Díaz (96%), Santos Ruiz (95%) and Paz Ívison (100%).
- Rycardo de Paz is a journalist who wrote almost exclusively reviews, and especially wine critics (90%), while Julia Pérez did equally between news and news reports (40% each).

4.2. The analysis of topics

The analysis of topics (Table 12) confirmed some of the trends previously anticipated. Restaurants were the leader category with more than a quarter of the 1,121 topics categorized (860 as main category and 261 as secondary). Gastronomy as social fact with 23.1%, and products with 14.8%, completed the categories' podium. All other categories had a smaller presence that run below 10%.

Table 12. Analysis of the themes in gastronomy articles, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

Themes	N	%
1. Products	166	14,8
2. Dishes	17	1,5
3. Chefs	78	7,0
4. Restaurants	313	27,9
5. Stores	73	6,5
6. Events	60	5,4
7. Gastronomy and arts	54	4,8
8. Gastronomy as social fact	259	23,1
9. Alimentation and nutrition	17	1,5
10. Media	30	2,7
11. Places and tourism	54	4,8
Total	1121	100,0

Table 13. Evolution of the themes of gastronomy articles, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

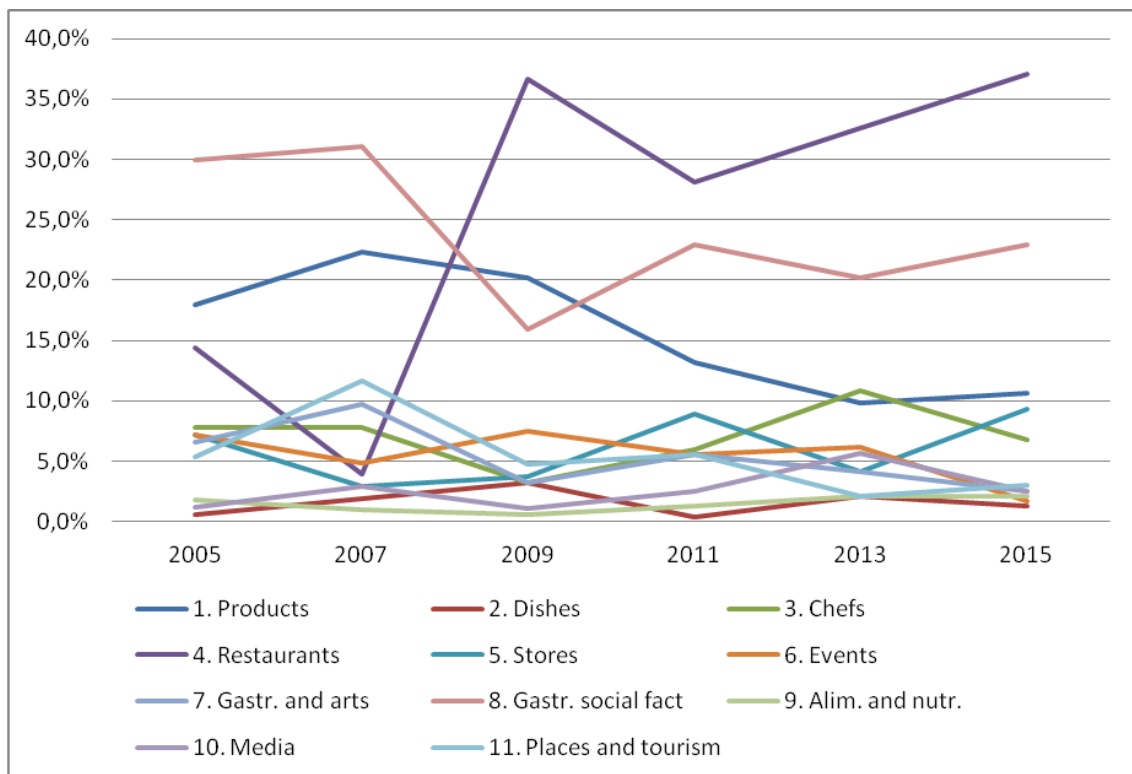
Themes	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	30	18,0	23	22,3	38	20,2	31	13,2	19	9,8	25	10,6	166	14,8
2. Dishes	1	0,6	2	1,9	6	3,2	1	0,4	4	2,1	3	1,3	17	1,5
3. Chefs	13	7,8	8	7,8	6	3,2	14	6,0	21	10,9	16	6,8	78	7,0
4. Restaurants	24	14,4	4	3,9	69	36,7	66	28,1	63	32,6	87	37,0	313	27,9
5. Stores	12	7,2	3	2,9	7	3,7	21	8,9	8	4,1	22	9,4	73	6,5
6. Events	12	7,2	5	4,9	14	7,4	13	5,5	12	6,2	4	1,7	60	5,4
7. Gas. and art.	11	6,6	10	9,7	6	3,2	13	5,5	8	4,1	6	2,6	54	4,8
8. Gas. so. fact	50	29,9	32	31,1	30	16,0	54	23,0	39	20,2	54	23,0	259	23,1
9. Ali. and n.	3	1,8	1	1,0	1	0,5	3	1,3	4	2,1	5	2,1	17	1,5
10. Media	2	1,2	3	2,9	2	1,1	6	2,6	11	5,7	6	2,6	30	2,7
11. Pl. and tou.	9	5,4	12	11,7	9	4,8	13	5,5	4	2,1	7	3,0	54	4,8
Total	167	100	103	100	188	100	235	100	193	100	235	100	1121	100

In studying the evolution of the topics year by year (Table 13), it is observed that although the weight of products was transversal during the whole sample, its importance fell almost a half between 2005 and 2015. Also the topic gastronomy as social fact was a theme that maintained its relevance throughout all the years. Other categories to be highlighted were stores and chefs, which, despite suffering ups and downs, managed to maintain their presence over time. Events and also gastronomy and arts were topics that lost importance over the years. However, one of the main features that should be noted it was the increase in restaurants. In 2005, the presence

of restaurants did not reach 15%; ten years later, that figure has grown more than 150% to almost 40%.

Figure 4 shows the evolution of the categories along the period. This illustrates that was mentioned previously: on the one hand, the predominance of categories such as restaurants and gastronomy as social fact. Also, it must be noted the reduction of the presence of products, although in the last year of the sample they kept a 10%, a similar weight than stores and a bit more than chefs.

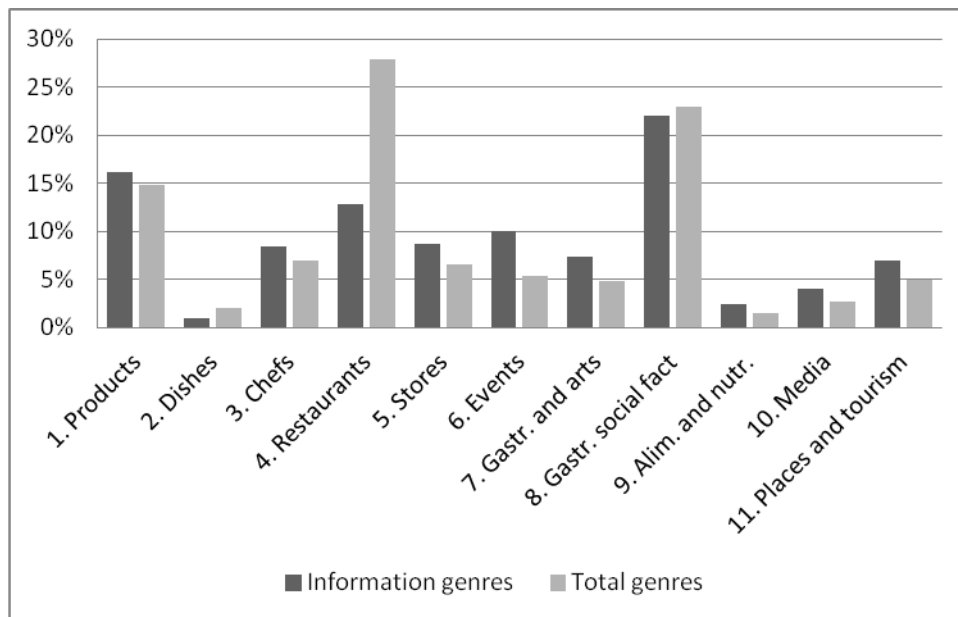
Figure 4. Evolution of the themes of gastronomy articles, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)



If we analyze the categories from the perspective of information genres, namely, news, news reports and interviews, the distribution of topics can be seen in Figure 5 below. While gastronomy as social fact and products were still prevalent categories in the information genre, there was a lower presence of restaurants. In fact, there were only two variations of $\pm 2\%$ considering only those information genres: first, the events doubled the presence (from 5% to 10%); secondly and more important, restaurants moved from the previous 28% of the total sample, to represent only 13% of the information content.

Therefore, we can conclude that opinion genres did not change the distribution of themes substantially. They only did so regarding the analysis of restaurants, especially found under the reviews' genre.

Figure 5. Comparison of the themes of gastronomy articles, *El Mundo* (2005-2015), according to their genre



In contrasting the categories with other concepts discussed in the previous section, we obtained interesting conclusions. Table 14 below shows the relationship between the articles that opened section and/or page according to the category that dominated. In the case of the opening section, there were 267 themes. This figure was the result of the sum obtained from 173 main subjects and 94 secondary subjects. Regarding the opening page, the total was given by the sum of 381 main and 137 secondary categories. For purposes of analysis, primary and secondary themes were here considered together.

Table 14. Analysis of the articles on gastronomy that opened section and page, *El Mundo* (2005-2015), according to the topics

Themes	Opening section		Opening page	
	n	%	n	%
1. Products	38	14,2	54	10,4
2. Dishes	8	3,0	8	1,5
3. Chefs	28	10,5	50	9,7
4. Restaurants	41	15,4	124	23,9
5. Stores	14	5,2	23	4,4
6. Events	15	5,6	23	4,4
7. Gastronomy and arts	18	6,7	30	5,8
8. Gastronomy as social fact	62	23,2	149	28,8
9. Alimentation and nutrition	7	2,6	10	1,9
10. Media	10	3,7	17	3,3
11. Places and tourism	26	9,7	30	5,8
Total	267	100,0	518	100,0

The predominant topic in terms of opening section articles is gastronomy as social fact (23.2%) followed by restaurants (15.4%) and products (14.2%). Regarding

the opening page articles, while predominantly we found the same categories, gastronomy as social fact and restaurants had even more weight here, and they amounted together for more than half of the total.

Table 15. Analysis of the theme according to the space per page of gastronomy articles, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

Themes	>=75%		74-50%		49-25%		24-10%		Short Art.		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	13	5,6	32	20,3	52	16,0	35	11,4	34	35,1	166	14,8
2. Dishes	0	0,0	6	3,8	3	0,9	7	2,3	1	1,0	17	1,5
3. Chefs	20	8,6	23	14,6	16	4,9	15	4,9	4	4,1	78	7,0
4. Restaurants	29	12,4	36	22,8	80	24,5	155	50,5	13	13,4	313	27,9
5. Stores	12	5,2	5	3,2	31	9,5	21	6,8	4	4,1	73	6,5
6. Events	9	3,9	10	6,3	15	4,6	11	3,6	15	15,5	60	5,4
7. Gast. and arts	17	7,3	3	1,9	17	5,2	7	2,3	10	10,3	54	4,8
8. Gast. soc. fact	101	43,3	26	16,5	81	24,8	41	13,4	10	10,3	259	23,1
9. Alim. and n.	5	2,1	3	1,9	3	0,9	4	1,3	2	2,1	17	1,5
10. Media	5	2,1	10	6,3	6	1,8	6	2,0	3	3,1	30	2,7
11. Places and tou.	22	9,4	4	2,5	22	6,7	5	1,6	1	1,0	54	4,8
Total	233	100	158	100	326	100	307	100	97	100	1121	100

If we contrast the space that articles occupied on the page of the newspaper and the categories (Table 15), results provided evidence that within the short articles the predominant category was products (35.1%), but there was also found a considerable presence of events (15.5%) and restaurants (13.4%). The pieces that occupied more than half page highlighted gastronomy as social fact as the predominant theme together with restaurants, products and chefs. These four categories, in relation to the space they occupied, meant a clear indicator of the importance of food as a social fact, but also of the overall media interest generated around chefs and restaurants.

Analyzing genre by genre, Table 16 shows that, in terms of news, there were two predominant themes: gastronomy as social fact and products. Also, restaurants must be highlighted. In the case of news reports, the most important themes were again gastronomy as social fact and places (more than one third counting both categories together), adding also another third the categories of products, restaurants, and, food and arts, considered together. As for the interviews, gastronomy as social fact once again emerged as the predominant topic with more than half of the pieces – interviews to culinary personalities, but also to public figures not linked to food – and chefs, with a fifth of the total.

In relation to the opinion genre, food columns were featured by gastronomy as social fact and chefs, a third of total each. Opinion columns included a great diversity of themes, which clearly highlighted gastronomy as social fact (57.6%), while the second category, stores, did not even reach 15%. Finally, critics and restaurants, and

recipes and elaboration of dishes, were both inseparable binomial genre-topic. Nevertheless, reviews also included products, mainly referred to wine.

Table 16. Analysis of theme presence within each genre of the articles on gastronomy, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

Themes	News		News R.		Int.		F. Co.		O. Co.		Rev.		Rec.		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	89	18,8	14	11,1	4	8,7	4	12,9	11	6,4	44	16,5	0	0,0	166	14,8
2. Dishes	9	1,9	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	3,2	1	0,6	0	0,0	6	100,0	17	1,5
3. Chefs	35	7,4	12	9,5	10	21,7	10	32,3	9	5,2	2	0,7	0	0,0	78	7,0
4. Rest.	66	14,0	15	11,9	4	8,7	5	16,1	10	5,8	213	79,8	0	0,0	313	27,9
5. Stores	38	8,0	10	7,9	0	0,0	1	3,2	23	13,4	1	0,4	0	0,0	73	6,5
6. Events	47	9,9	5	4,0	1	2,2	0	0,0	5	2,9	2	0,7	0	0,0	60	5,4
7. Gast. art	34	7,2	15	11,9	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	2,3	1	0,4	0	0,0	54	4,8
8. Gast. s.f.	96	20,3	26	20,6	26	56,5	10	32,3	99	57,6	2	0,7	0	0,0	259	23,1
9. Alim. N.	13	2,7	3	2,4	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	0,6	0	0,0	0	0,0	17	1,5
10. Media	22	4,7	4	3,2	1	2,2	0	0,0	3	1,7	0	0,0	0	0,0	30	2,7
11. Pl. tou.	24	5,1	22	17,5	0	0,0	0	0,0	6	3,5	2	0,7	0	0,0	54	4,8
Total	473	100	126	100	46	100	31	100	172	100	267	100	6	100	1121	100

Table 17. List of keywords mentioned >5 regarding the gastronomy content articles, *El Mundo* (2005-2015)

Area	Key word	n
Places	Barcelona	190
	Madrid	42
	Valencia	15
	Cádiz	10
	Mallorca	9
	Málaga	8
	Spain	8
	London	7
	Asturias	7
	Paris	7
	Catalonia	6
	Italia	6
	Alicante	6
Products	Wine	102
	Beer	8
	Cava	7
	Chocolate	7
	Bread	6
Chefs	Ferran Adrià	21
	Santi Santamaría	6
	Arzak	6
Restaurants	El Celler de Can Roca	13
	El Bulli	11
	DiverXo	6

Others	Books	17
	TV	13
	Wine tasting	12
	Michelin Guide	9
	Restaurants	7
	Chefs	6
	Terraces	6

Finally, during the data collection, a series of keywords were annotated for every article. The total number of keywords recorded amounted to 2,580. The words that were repeated more than five times were classified by areas, provided by Table 17 below.

The two main Spanish cities, Madrid and Barcelona, were the most mentioned, together with other cities like Valencia, Cádiz or Mallorca. Many examples of different sites throughout Spain were found, as well as some international examples – cities and countries –, such as London, Paris or Italy. While Barcelona was the most repeated keyword, wine as a product was the second keyword in absolute terms. Chefs Ferran Adrià, Santi Santamaría and Arzak, and restaurants like *El Celler de Can Roca*, *El Bulli* and *Diverxo* were the most important big-name restaurants.

Highlights

To sum up, gastronomy-based articles in *El Mundo* were mainly found under the Leisure section (one-third of the total). While only a little amount of articles was acknowledged in cover pages, these paid a lot of attention to restaurants' awards. In addition, restaurants, gastronomy as social fact and products were the most important topics. With regards to the topics that occupied more space per page, these were gastronomy as social fact, restaurants, chefs and products.

5. Analysis of gastronomy articles in *El País* (2005-2015)

This chapter analyzes the articles with gastronomy content found in the newspaper *El País* in the period 2005-2015. The total amount of articles for the whole sample was 708.

5.1. The importance of gastronomy: genres, sections, space and signatures

Table 18 shows the distribution of the 708 articles analyzed according to their genre. News was predominant throughout the sample, exceeding 40% on average. It was also noted that news reports were increasing their presence gradually, and in the period 2011-2015 exceeded 20% of the total weight. A remarkable fact was the decrease in terms of opinion columns; thus, while in the first year of the sample they represented almost a quarter of all the pieces, in 2015 they account only for a little more than 7%. Reviews were the last genre to be highlighted; they retained an importance over 20% each year, leading to a third of the whole sample. Reviews were linked to the section Travel under *El Viajero*, and the sub sections *La Buena Vida* and *Comer*, which included both restaurant reviews and wine critics.

Table 18. Analysis of the genre of gastronomy articles, *El País* (2005-2015)

Genres	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. News	45	41,3	86	59,3	39	37,9	32	29,6	52	39,4	33	29,7	287	40,5
2. News report	9	8,3	7	4,8	12	11,7	25	23,1	21	15,9	26	23,4	100	14,1
3. Interview	4	3,7	2	1,4	2	1,9	1	0,9	3	2,3	0	0,0	12	1,7
4. Food column	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	1,0	8	7,4	0	0,0	3	2,7	12	1,7
5. Opin. column	26	23,9	21	14,5	10	9,7	3	2,8	8	6,1	8	7,2	76	10,7
6. Reviews	25	22,9	29	20,0	32	31,1	39	36,1	48	36,4	41	36,9	214	30,2
7. Recipe	0	0,0	0	0,0	7	6,8	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	7	1,0
Total	109	100	145	100	103	100	108	100	132	100	111	100	708	100

In terms of evolution of gastronomy-based articles in *El País*, in Figure 6 we observe that the trend is found to be slightly decreasing.

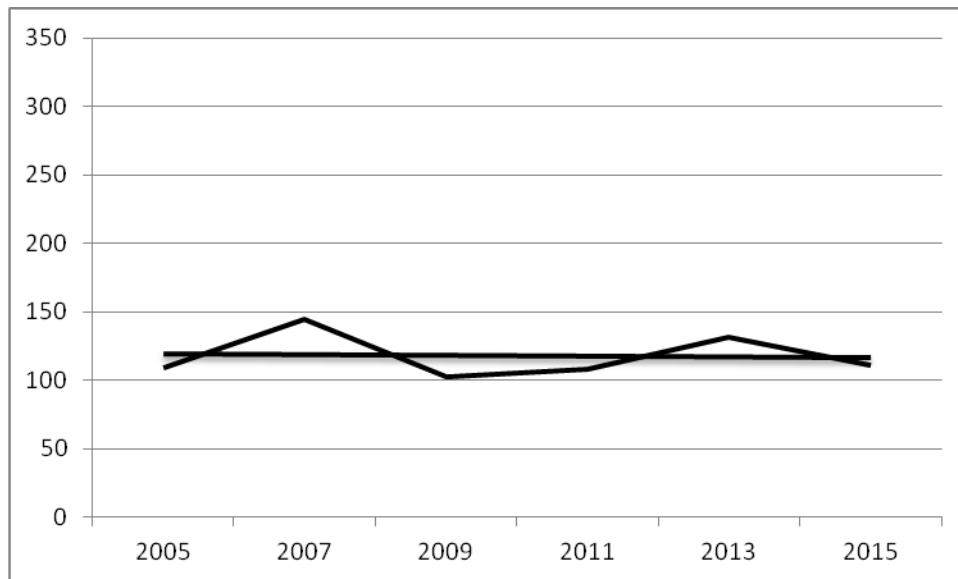
Table 19 provides the little relevance of gastronomy content in the front pages of *El País*. Only 11 of the total 708 articles were mentioned on the first page, and all of them as short articles.

Table 19. Analysis of gastronomy articles found in the front page, *El País* (2005-2015)

2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1	0,9	1	0,7	1	1,0	4	3,7	4	3,0	0	0,0	11	1,6

With four cover pages each, the years 2011 and 2013 were highlighted. Only one of the articles was strictly part of the body of the newspaper (*Noma, Can Roca and Mugaritz*, on April 19, 2011), and it mentioned the *Restaurant Magazine World's Best Restaurants List*. The other covers were included in the supplement *El Viajero, Quadern*, and Summer Magazine (*Revista de Verano*). It must be said that the front page of the year 2009 also referred to the awards published by *Restaurant (Apoteosis de la cocina española*, April 21).

Figure 6. Evolution of gastronomy-based articles, *El País* (2005-2015)



In relation to the articles that opened section and page, Table 20 shows that in the starting point that represented the year 2005, only 1 out of 4 pieces opened section. In the last year of the sample, they accounted for almost 2 out of 5 articles, which showed the increasing weight of gastronomy as journalistic content from 25% to 40%. Regarding the opening page articles, there was a year – 2011 – in which more than half of the pieces with gastronomy content opened page. The evolution of the percentages remained quite stable over time.

Table 20. Analysis of the gastronomy articles that opened section and page, *El País* (2005-2015)

Opening	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Section	27	24,8	35	24,1	49	47,6	67	62,0	55	41,7	42	37,8	275	38,8
Page	45	41,3	51	35,2	50	48,5	56	51,9	58	43,9	52	46,9	312	44,1

Figure 7 shows the evolution of the articles that opened section and page.

Table 21 explores the genre of the articles depending on whether they opened section and page. Thus, almost 40% of the articles that opened section were news that, added to reports, indicates that nearly two-thirds (62.5%) of all the articles that

opened section belonged to the information genre. The other important genre was critics, amounting to a 28.4% of the total. Data regarding the page opening was very similar, with a little more weight of information genres (64.4%), versus critics (26.9%). With regards to reviews, it must be noted that this weight was justified due to the importance of specific sub sections like *La Buena Vida* and *Comer* under *El Viajero*, as previously reported, and focused on both wine critics and restaurants reviews.

Table 21. Analysis of the gastronomy content articles opening section and page, *El País* (2005-2015), according to genre

Genres	Opening section		Opening page	
	n	%	n	%
1. News	106	38,5	114	36,5
2. News report	66	24,0	87	27,9
3. Interview	4	1,5	5	1,6
4. Food column	6	2,2	0	0,0
5. Opinion column	8	2,9	22	7,1
6. Reviews	78	28,4	84	26,9
7. Recipe	7	2,5	0	0,0
Total	275	100,0	312	100,0

Regarding the distribution of sections, Table 22 shows that Travel (including *El Viajero*) was the main source for gastronomy content articles. Specifically, the pages that were included under the name *La Buena Vida* and *Comer* were the most prolific. Importantly, the section of Culture (also includes *Tendencias* and *Vida & Artes*) accounted for 15% of the weight. It was also relevant the fact that one out of ten articles were found in the Local News (section *Catalonia*), which it is explained because of having made the review for the edition Catalonia of the newspaper.

Figure 7. Evolution of gastronomy articles regarding section and page opening, *El País* (2005-2015)

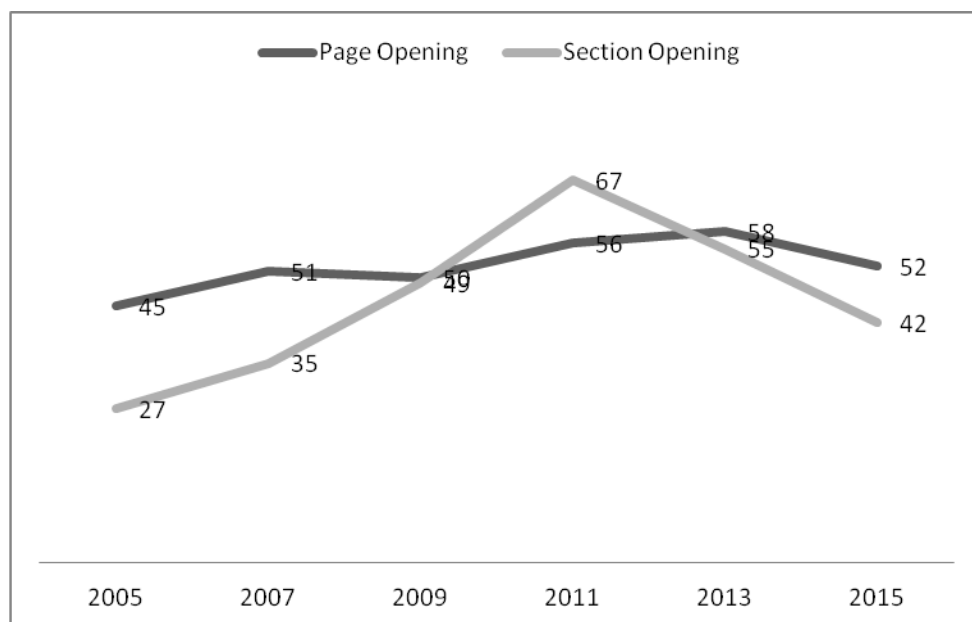


Table 22. Analysis of the sections covering the gastronomy contents, El País (2005-2015)

Sections	n	%
Travel	272	38,4
Supplements (embedded)	153	21,6
Culture	100	14,1
Local News	77	10,9
Other	33	4,7
Opinion	26	3,7
Media	25	3,5
Society	14	2,0
Obituaries	8	1,1
Total	708	100,0

The embedded supplements (*Revista de Verano*, *Quadern*, *Revista Sábado*, *Agenda* and *Babelia*) represented a fifth of the sample. And the section *Other* included those sections represented less than or equal to five articles. In this category, diverse examples were found, such as spectacles, motor or international news. It was also noteworthy the presence of a scarce amount of articles within the section Society (three pieces for the overall sample), which may be explained because these were found within the section Local News.

If we analyze below the space that the gastronomy content disposed in the newspaper, the analysis of the number of columns of each article (Table 23) shows that only 15% of the articles had a single column, corresponding mainly to news (50%), opinion columns (30%) and reviews (20%). Meanwhile, more than half of the pieces took four or more columns. Although almost 40% of these were related to news, news reports were accounting for more than 20%, and almost 30% were reviews.

Table 23. Analysis of the columns of gastronomy articles, El País (2005-2015)

Columns	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1	22	20,2	48	33,1	10	9,7	3	2,8	9	6,8	14	12,6	106	15,0
2	11	10,1	18	12,4	13	12,6	12	11,1	3	2,3	8	7,2	65	9,2
3	18	16,5	22	15,2	24	23,3	26	24,1	38	28,8	32	28,8	160	22,6
4	33	30,3	32	22,1	20	19,4	4	3,7	17	12,9	11	9,9	117	16,5
5	20	18,3	24	16,6	32	31,1	59	54,6	56	42,4	40	36,0	231	32,6
6	5	4,6	1	0,7	4	3,9	4	3,7	9	6,8	6	5,4	29	4,1
Total	109	100	145	100	103	100	108	100	132	100	111	100	708	100

In terms of space per page (Table 24), we see that the weight of short articles was very low. In addition, nearly two out of five articles (37.9%) accounted for at least half a page. Also, two-thirds (67.1%) of the sample pieces occupied at least a quarter of a page.

When analyzing the genre in relation to the space the articles occupied, it was observed that most of the short pieces were news. As for the articles with greater extension (more than half a page), 36% were reports (97), 30% were news (83) and

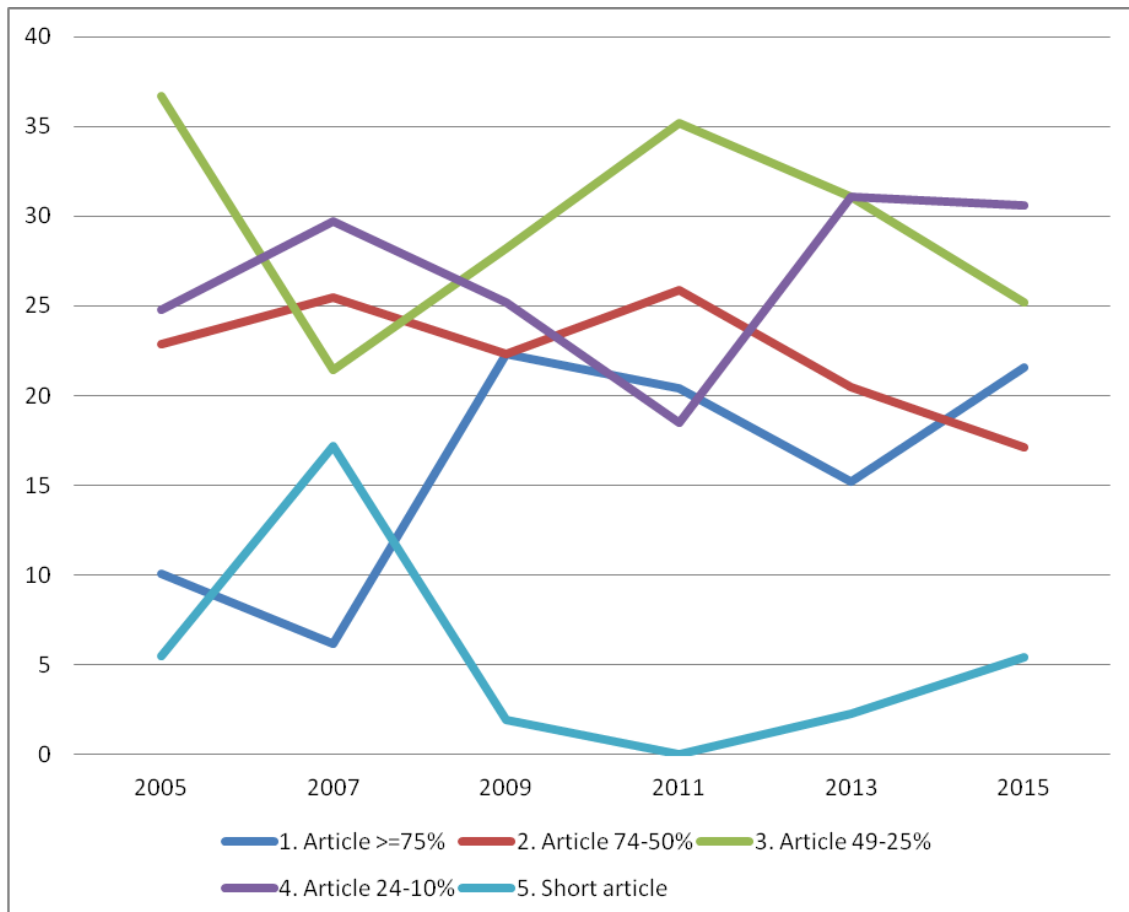
25% were critics (67), according to what was already obtained from the columns' analysis.

Table 24. Analysis of space per page of gastronomy articles, *El País* (2005-2015)

Space per page	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
1. Article >=75%	11	10,1	9	6,2	23	22,3	22	20,4	20	15,2	24	21,6	109	15,4
2. Article 74-50%	25	22,9	37	25,5	23	22,3	28	25,9	27	20,5	19	17,1	159	22,5
3. Article 49-25%	40	36,7	31	21,4	29	28,2	38	35,2	41	31,1	28	25,2	207	29,2
4. Article 24-10%	27	24,8	43	29,7	26	25,2	20	18,5	41	31,1	34	30,6	191	27,0
5. Short article	6	5,5	25	17,2	2	1,9	0	0,0	3	2,3	6	5,4	42	5,9
Total	109	100	145	100	103	100	108	100	132	100	111	100	708	100

Figure 8 shows the evolution that articles had depending on the space per page. We noted the importance of the pieces that occupied one-fifth of the page (category 10-24%), but also the role of the three categories found above the one-fourth of a page, which together accounted for two of every three articles within the overall sample. Short articles had a peak only in 2007, which coincided with a decrease in the news that fit a range of 25-49% of the page. In terms of the news occupying more than 75% of the page, they doubled its presence if we compare the initial and the closing date of the sample.

Figure 8. Evolution of gastronomy articles as space per page, *El País* (2005-2015)



Once analyzed the general variables throughout the previous pages, Table 25 reflects the signature of the 708 articles studied for *El País*. Journalists signed 90% of the pieces. Articles from newsroom and agencies were residual and only unsigned pieces could be mentioned with a total weight of 6.5%, but especially for the year 2007, when they had a weight of almost 20%. It must be reported that 42 of the total unsigned 46 pieces were news, of which almost 90% (36 pieces) occupied less than a quarter of a page.

Table 25. Analysis of the signatures of gastronomy articles, *El País* (2005-2015)

Signature	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Journalist	102	93,6	113	77,9	100	97,1	104	96,3	124	93,9	99	89,2	642	90,7
2. Newsroom	1	0,9	5	3,4	0	0,0	4	3,7	3	2,3	1	0,9	14	2,0
3. Agencies	4	3,7	0	0,0	1	1,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	0,9	6	0,8
4. No signature	2	1,8	27	18,6	2	1,9	0	0,0	5	3,8	10	9,0	46	6,5
Total	109	100	145	100	103	100	108	100	132	100	111	100	708	100

If the signatures were considered only in relation to the information genres (news, news reports and interviews), almost all of the unsigned pieces (42 out of 46), signed under the heading of newsroom (10 out of 14) and provided by agencies (6 of 6), were news.

In relation to the articles signed by journalists, it was observed that the signatories are 205 different journalists. Of these, only 18 journalists collaborated on four or more occasions, and 139 contributed only one occasion. The most prominent contributors were José Carlos Capel (112), Carlos Delgado (72), Rosa Rivas (66), Ana Pantaleoni (22), Mikel López Iturriaga (19) and Isabel Olesti (11). If we detail the journalists one by one briefly, the following conclusions are obtained:

- José Carlos Capel focused on restaurant reviews, representing almost 90% of his contributions. Less important is the volume of information (10%), although he also prepared news reports occasionally.
- Carlos Delgado performed all his articles in terms of reviews, focused on wine critics.
- Rosa Rivas had most of her contributions under the news content (90%), but she also worked in some reports and food columns.
- Ana Pantaleoni mainly contributed with information (45%) and reviews (45%).
- Mikel López Iturriaga focused the contributions on his food column entitled *El Comidista*, found in *Revista Sábado*.

- Finally, Isabel Olesti carried out her 11 articles under the genre of food column in the section of Local News (Catalonia) and specially (three out of four) in August 2005, when she published a column entitled *Alimentos con apellido*. This column every day dealt with a traditional Catalan product, such as Priorat wine, Prades potatoes, nougat from Agramunt or cheese from the Pyrenees.

5.2. The analysis of topics

This section analyzes the different categories (Table 26). Within the total 939 subjects categorized (708 as main category and 231 as secondary topics), there were four predominant themes. With 18%, products, followed by gastronomy as social fact (16.5%) and restaurants (15%), represented the first topic. With just over 12%, food and arts was the fourth most important category.

Table 26. Analysis of the themes in gastronomy articles, *El País* (2005-2015)

Themes	n	%
1. Products	169	18,0
2. Dishes	17	1,8
3. Chefs	64	6,8
4. Restaurants	141	15,0
5. Stores	86	9,2
6. Events	57	6,1
7. Gastronomy and arts	115	12,2
8. Gastronomy as social fact	155	16,5
9. Alimentation and nutrition	11	1,2
10. Media	42	4,5
11. Places and tourism	82	8,7
Total	939	100,0

Table 27 shows the evolution of the themes throughout the period. Thus, products retained an overall importance, and held every year the podium of the three most important topics. In 2005 and 2007 its presence was 21% and 25.3% respectively; later, products were valued around 15% annually. Restaurants and gastronomy as social fact also had a transversal importance for the entire period, with a rise in 2013 in the case of the second, when reached almost a quarter of the categories' weight.

Table 27. Evolution of the themes of gastronomy articles, *El País* (2005-2015)

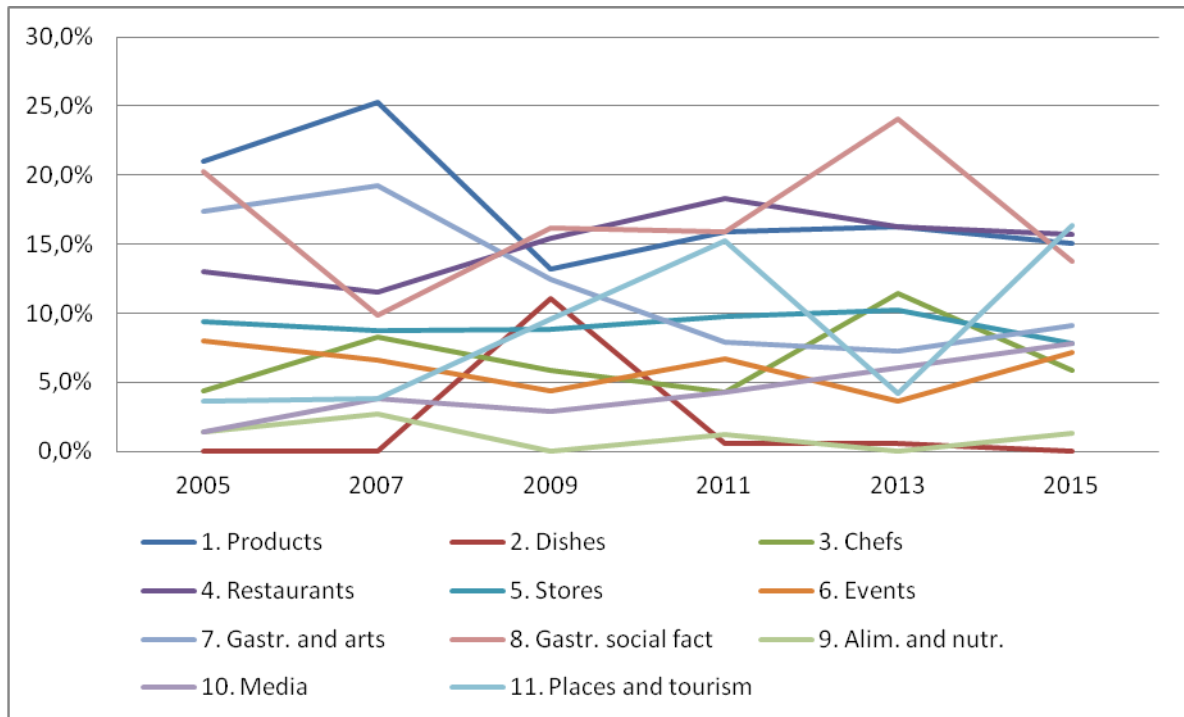
Themes	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	29	21,0	46	25,3	18	13,2	26	15,9	27	16,3	23	15,0	169	18,0
2. Dishes	0	0,0	0	0,0	15	11,0	1	0,6	1	0,6	0	0,0	17	1,8
3. Chefs	6	4,3	15	8,2	8	5,9	7	4,3	19	11,4	9	5,9	64	6,8
4. Restaurants	18	13,0	21	11,5	21	15,4	30	18,3	27	16,3	24	15,7	141	15,0
5. Stores	13	9,4	16	8,8	12	8,8	16	9,8	17	10,2	12	7,8	86	9,2
6. Events	11	8,0	12	6,6	6	4,4	11	6,7	6	3,6	11	7,2	57	6,1
7. Gas. and art.	24	17,4	35	19,2	17	12,5	13	7,9	12	7,2	14	9,2	115	12,2
8. Gas. s. fact	28	20,3	18	9,9	22	16,2	26	15,9	40	24,1	21	13,7	155	16,5
9. Ali. and n.	2	1,4	5	2,7	0	0,0	2	1,2	0	0,0	2	1,3	11	1,2
10. Media	2	1,4	7	3,8	4	2,9	7	4,3	10	6,0	12	7,8	42	4,5
11. Pl. and tou.	5	3,6	7	3,8	13	9,6	25	15,2	7	4,2	25	16,3	82	8,7
Total	138	100	182	100	136	100	164	100	166	100	153	100	939	100

Regarding the theme of food and arts, in 2005 and 2007, it had a presence of around 20%, that is, one fifth of the total, but falling to less than half in 2011, 2013 and

2015. If in this case there was a decreasing dynamics, it happened adversely in the case of media and tourism. While the trend showed a growing in absolute terms, its overall importance was still less than 5% each. Other categories such as chefs, stores or events kept a fairly regular presence throughout the four years, but below 10%.

Figure 9 shows the evolution of the themes for the period, and it illustrates what was mentioned above.

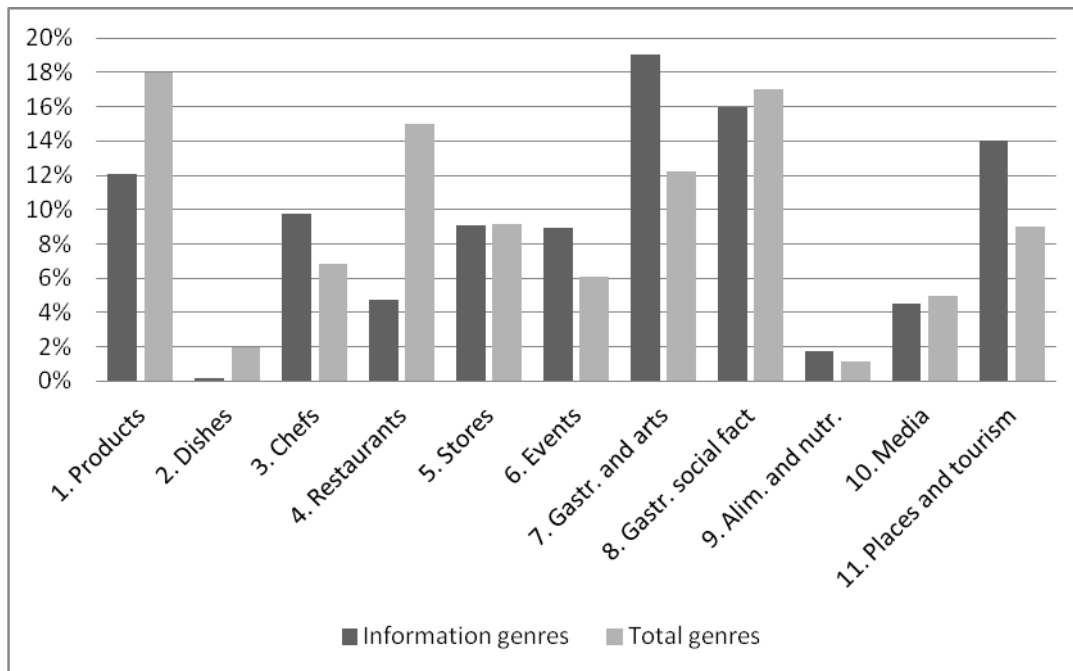
Figure 9. Evolution of the themes of gastronomy articles, *El País* (2005-2015)



If we analyze the categories from only an information genre perspective, this comparative distribution of topics is displayed in Figure 10.

Within the predominant themes, gastronomy and arts (19%) and gastronomy as social fact (16%) were dominating over products (12%) which were decreasing the importance (from 18%) because of the amount of wine critics when considering all the genres together. Restaurants were the other category that descended its key role (from 15% to 5% now). This theme suffered the most important change. From their side, chefs (+3%), events (+3%), and places and tourism (+5%) were increasing their presence when considering only the information genres.

Figure 10. Comparison of the themes of gastronomy articles, *El País* (2005-2015), according to their genre



Below we contrast the categories with the concepts discussed along the previous section. In considering the relationship between the opening section/page articles according to the theme that prevailed, Table 28 shows the results for a total of 386 topics. This figure was obtained from the sum of 275 main categories and 111 secondary. Regarding the opening page, the 426 was the result of the sum of 312 main and 114 secondary topics. This explanation is given since, for analysis purposes, primary and secondary themes of the articles that opened section and page were here considered together.

Table 28. Analysis of the articles on gastronomy that opened section and page, *El País* (2005-2015), according to the topics

Themes	Opening section		Opening page	
	n	%	n	%
1. Products	29	7,5	37	8,7
2. Dishes	16	4,1	2	0,5
3. Chefs	27	7,0	25	5,9
4. Restaurants	93	24,1	97	22,8
5. Stores	18	4,7	31	7,3
6. Events	23	6,0	23	5,4
7. Gastronomy and arts	36	9,3	55	12,9
8. Gastronomy as social fact	55	14,2	61	14,3
9. Alimentation and nutrition	5	1,3	5	1,2
10. Media	14	3,6	17	4,0
11. Places and tourism	70	18,1	73	17,1
Total	386	100,0	426	100,0

In relation to the opening sections, restaurants accounted for nearly a quarter of all the topics that opened section. Places and tourism, gastronomy as social fact, and food and arts were also highlighted, in this order, as predominant themes. The results in terms of opening page were similar.

Table 29 contrasts the space per page that articles occupied, with the categories. In this sense, within the themes that occupied less space, food and arts played a specific weight, with 40% of the total short articles. This referred to information about books, exhibitions and training proposals that were included under this topic. Articles about products also played an important role in both categories with less space, with 36.4% (10-24% range of space) and almost 30% (short articles).

Places and tourism is the theme that dominated when we focused on a bigger space per page, particularly for the case of articles that hold at least three quarters of a page, which was mainly due to news reports included in the section Travel. Restaurants dominated the category 50-74% with 38.9%, and gastronomy as social fact led in the category 25-49%, with one out of five articles that developed this topic.

Table 29. Analysis of the theme according to the space per page of gastronomy articles, *El País* (2005-2015)

Themes	>=75%		74-50%		49-25%		24-10%		Short Art.		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	12	7,0	15	7,8	43	14,8	83	36,4	16	29,1	169	18,0
2. Dishes	0	0,0	1	0,5	15	5,2	1	0,4	0	0,0	17	1,8
3. Chefs	9	5,2	16	8,3	27	9,3	8	3,5	4	7,3	64	6,8
4. Restaurants	8	4,7	75	38,9	37	12,7	21	9,2	0	0,0	141	15,0
5. Stores	17	9,9	14	7,3	28	9,6	25	11,0	2	3,6	86	9,2
6. Events	9	5,2	10	5,2	23	7,9	13	5,7	2	3,6	57	6,1
7. Gast. and arts	18	10,5	27	14,0	29	10,0	19	8,3	22	40,0	115	12,2
8. Gast. soc. fact	25	14,5	22	11,4	63	21,6	40	17,5	5	9,1	155	16,5
9. Alim. and n.	2	1,2	0	0,0	5	1,7	2	0,9	2	3,6	11	1,2
10. Media	6	3,5	7	3,6	13	4,5	15	6,6	1	1,8	42	4,5
11. Places and tou.	66	38,4	6	3,1	8	2,7	1	0,4	1	1,8	82	8,7
Total	172	100	193	100	291	100	228	100	55	100	939	100

If an analysis genre by genre is carried out, Table 30 confirmed some of the findings earlier observed. On the one hand, intertwines between products and reviews (35.7% of the total thanks to wine critics) and to a lesser extent products with regards to news and opinion columns (around 15% each). Also, the close relation of places and tourism with regards to news reports (around half of all reports are associated to this category). Another clear linkage is the one that related restaurants with reviews (almost 50%). Gastronomy as social fact, also as a miscellaneous topic, was the predominant for interviews (50%), and regarding the columns, both opinion (52.6%) and food columns (39.8%). Logically, the low presence of dishes was concentrated under the recipe genre.

Table 30. Analysis of theme presence within each genre of the articles on gastronomy, *El País* (2005-2015)

Themes	News		News R.		Int.		F. Co.		O. Co.		Rev.		Rec.		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	57	14,1	11	7,1	1	7,1	2	10,5	16	15,5	82	35,7	0	0,0	169	18,0
2. Dishes	1	0,2	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	5,3	1	1,0	0	0,0	14	100,0	17	1,8
3. Chefs	47	11,6	4	2,6	5	35,7	1	5,3	6	5,8	1	0,4	0	0,0	64	6,8
4. Rest.	20	5,0	7	4,5	0	0,0	1	5,3	6	5,8	107	46,5	0	0,0	141	15,0
5. Stores	32	7,9	20	12,9	0	0,0	0	0,0	13	12,6	21	9,1	0	0,0	86	9,2
6. Events	45	11,1	5	3,2	1	7,1	2	10,5	2	1,9	2	0,9	0	0,0	57	6,1
7. Gast. art	95	23,5	14	9,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	3,9	2	0,9	0	0,0	115	12,2
8. Gast. s.f.	68	16,8	18	11,6	7	50,0	10	52,6	41	39,8	11	4,8	0	0,0	155	16,5
9. Alim. N.	8	2,0	2	1,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	1,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	11	1,2
10. Media	20	5,0	6	3,9	0	0,0	2	10,5	12	11,7	2	0,9	0	0,0	42	4,5
11. Pl. tou.	11	2,7	68	43,9	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	1,0	2	0,9	0	0,0	82	8,7
Total	404	100	155	100	14	100	19	100	103	100	230	100	14	100	939	100

In the case of opinion genre and specifically in relation to the columns mentioned in the previous paragraph, it was also remarkable the importance of both products (10.5% in food columns and 15.5% in opinion columns, additionally to reviews) and media (10.5% and 11.7% respectively).

Finally, Table 31 shows the keywords that were recorded more than five times. The total number of keywords used was 905.

Table 31. List of keywords mentioned >5 regarding the gastronomy content articles, *El País* (2005-2015)

Area	Key word	n
Places	Barcelona	103
	Madrid	59
	Girona	7
Products	Wine	113
	DO Ribera del Duero	8
	DO Rioja	7
Chefs	Ferran Adrià	24
Restaurants	El Celler de Can Roca	7
	Mugaritz	6
	El Bulli	6
Others	Books	35
	TV	28
	Cinema	9
	Education	8
	Master Chef	7
	Madrid Fusión	7
Music	6	

The two main Spanish cities, Barcelona and Madrid, were the most repeated key words. Girona also appeared, linked to Ferran Adrià (mentioned up to 24 times), *El*

Bulli and *El Celler de Can Roca*. Wine was not only the most repeated product, but also the most used key word for the entire sample (113). Regarding the wine, Designations of Origin *Ribera del Duero* and *Rioja* were specific examples that were found repeatedly. It was also emphasized the heterogeneity of keywords grouped into others, which showed the importance of television programs like *MasterChef*, events such as *Madrid Fusión*, as well as connections that food had with books, movies and music, which were included under the category of gastronomy and arts.

Highlights

El País displayed an important role of gastronomy-based contents, since two-thirds of them occupied at least a quarter of page. In terms of specific sections, two-fifths of the articles were found under the Travel section. Accordingly, places and tourism played a particular role regarding the space per page occupied. Moreover, products, gastronomy as social fact, restaurants and gastronomy and arts emerged as the most important topics.

6. Analysis of gastronomy articles in *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

This chapter analyzed 1,464 articles. This amount represented all the pieces with gastronomy content found in *El Periódico* for the period 2005-2015.

6.1. The importance of gastronomy: genres, sections, space and signatures

Table 32 shows the 1,464 pieces analyzed according to their genre. Information genre was predominant throughout the sample. On average, information accounted for three out of five pieces, and specifically news represented half of the total. News reports were also found important, together with opinion columns and recipes, around 10% each. In analysing year by year, it is worth to mention the year 2007, when opinion columns reached to exceed 20%, or 2009, when recipes amounted almost 25% of total annual articles.

Table 32. Analysis of the genre of gastronomy articles, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

Genres	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
1. News	99	42,9	88	42,1	130	45,0	116	51,1	121	53,1	200	71,4	754	51,5
2. News report	34	14,7	17	8,1	12	4,2	26	11,5	25	11,0	14	5,0	128	8,7
3. Interview	7	3,0	7	3,3	4	1,4	6	2,6	7	3,1	3	1,1	34	2,3
4. Food column	8	3,5	22	10,5	0	0,0	14	6,2	14	6,1	18	6,4	76	5,2
5. Opin. Column	20	8,7	45	21,5	26	9,0	23	10,1	26	11,4	14	5,0	154	10,5
6. Reviews	63	27,3	22	10,5	47	16,3	13	5,7	13	5,7	18	6,4	176	12,0
7. Recipe	0	0,0	8	3,8	70	24,2	29	12,8	22	9,6	13	4,6	142	9,7
Total	231	100	209	100	289	100	227	100	228	100	280	100	1464	100

In terms of the evolution of gastronomy-based articles in *El Periódico*, Figure 11 shows the growing trend on the interest of *El Periódico* with regards to food.

Below, Table 33 shows the number of front pages that included gastronomy content articles. It was observed that only 20 articles, 1.4% of the total of gastronomic articles in the sample, had a presence in the covers of *El Periódico* along the period analyzed.

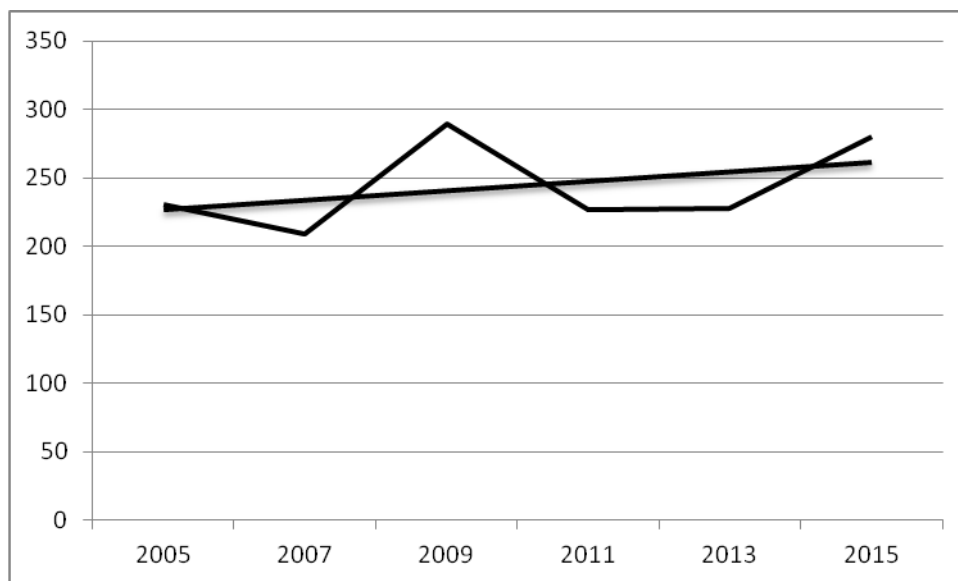
Table 33. Analysis of gastronomy articles found in the front page, “*El Periódico*” (2005-2015)

2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
3	1,3	3	1,4	2	0,7	5	2,2	2	0,9	5	1,8	20	1,4

Of the total amount of 20 articles found in the front page, years 2011 and 2015 were the years with greater presence (five each). In 2005, one of the pieces was a brief and the other two occupied a 25-49% range of space (*El huevo de Colón*, 29 March, and *Santa Caterina, en mayo*, 14 April). In 2007, two were briefs and one had a 10-24% space (*Mariscos, pescado y frutas exóticas inundan el mercado*, 13 December). In 2009

there was a single gastronomy piece found in the cover, which was again a brief (*El Bulli, millor restaurant del món, i El Cellar de Can Roca, quart*, 21 April). The five articles in 2011 front pages were all briefs, including headlines as *El turisme amenaça l'encant de la Boqueria* (15 June) or *La guia Michelin és garrepa amb Catalunya* (25 November). In 2013 we found only two pieces in the covers; a short entitled *Guardiola, tot un bavarès a l'Oktoberfest* (7 October) and a 25-49% article entitled *Aposta per xiringuitos de qualitat* (14 June). In 2015, the five pieces on front pages were briefs again, where we could mention *La trufa, el otro oro negro* (May 1), *José Andrés frente al despotismo de Donald Trump, sentido común* (May 8), *El hombre que fraguó El Bulli* (July 7) and *Réquiem por Casa Leopoldo, último vestigio del barrio chino* (November 19).

Figure 11. Evolution of gastronomy-based articles, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)



In relation to the articles that opened section and page, in Table 34 is observed that only 12.4% of the pieces were part of the opening section. However, up to 35.1% were on the opening page. With regards to the opening section articles, years 2009 and 2011 didn't even reach 10%; regarding the page opening, also 2009 was the year with a less weight (only one out of four article opened page), while for example in 2013 exceeded a 45%.

Table 34. Analysis of the gastronomy articles that opened section and page, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

Opening	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
Section	39	16,9	23	11,0	16	5,5	22	9,7	35	15,4	46	16,4	181	12,4
Page	69	29,9	81	38,8	74	25,6	86	37,9	103	45,2	101	36,1	514	35,1

Figure 12 shows the evolution of the articles that opened section and page throughout the period analyzed.

Figure 12. Evolution of gastronomy articles regarding section and page opening, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

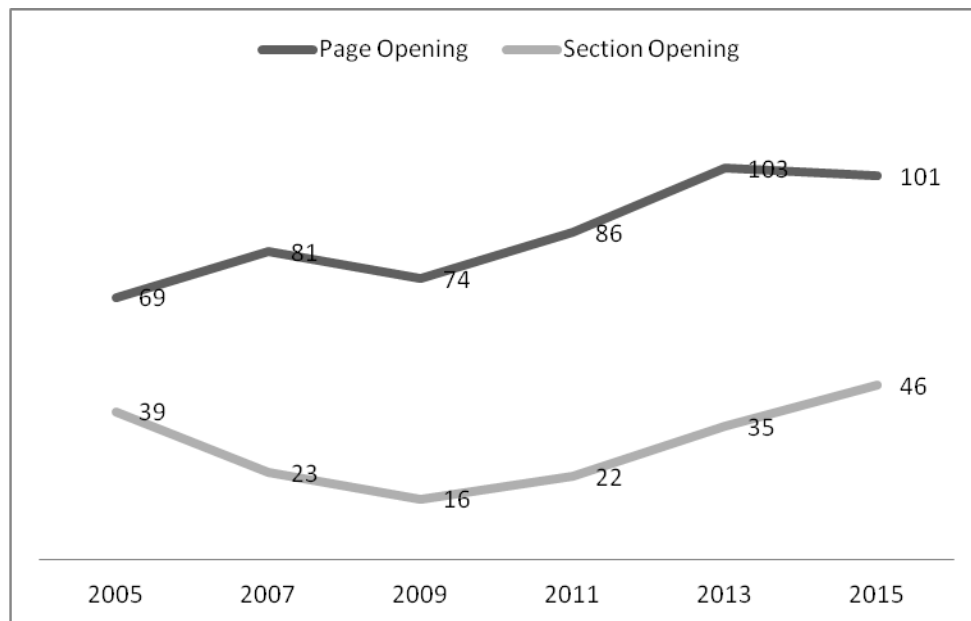


Table 35 shows the genres depending on whether the articles opened section and page. The information genre was predominant, accounting for half of the pieces that opened both page and section; in fact, information genres represented three quarters of the total opening articles.

Table 35. Analysis of the gastronomy content articles opening section and page, *El Periódico* (2005-2015), according to genre

Genres	Opening section		Opening page	
	n	%	n	%
1. News	84	46,4	260	50,6
2. News report	52	28,7	105	20,4
3. Interview	11	6,1	13	2,5
4. Food column	1	0,6	56	10,9
5. Opinion column	23	12,7	68	13,2
6. Reviews	10	5,5	3	0,6
7. Recipe	0	0,0	9	1,8
Total	181	100,0	514	100,0

Another aspect analyzed referred to the classification of content according to the sections in which articles were found. From Table 36, it is derived that Local News (includes *Gran Barcelona* and *Cosas de la vida*) was the section that contained the greatest number of gastronomy articles, in particular more than a third (34.2%). Then, Culture and Leisure (includes *icult* sub section) with 30.4% was the second most important section. At some distance, there were the embedded supplements like *Cuaderno del Domingo*.

Table 36. Analysis of the sections covering the gastronomy contents, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

Sections	n	%
Local News	500	34,2
Culture and Leisure	447	30,5
Supplements (embedded)	201	13,7
Opinion	84	5,7
Society	73	5,0
International News	41	2,8
Media	39	2,7
Other	33	2,3
Business	29	2,0
Main News	17	1,2
Total	1464	100,0

The *Other* category included those sections represented by less than ten pieces, with examples like sports or politics.

Following, we studied the space that gastronomy content occupied in the newspaper. Table 37 shows that the pieces with only one column accounted for 30% of the sample, followed by three columns' pieces with 20%. The articles with four or more columns also had a specific weight and represented almost 40%. But while the pieces with more than four columns had an important role, also articles with one or two columns exceeded 40% of the total. The articles with one or two columns were mostly news (339 of 616), followed by recipes (123). Pieces that occupied four columns or more, were again predominantly news (265 of 550), but also included reports (123) and opinion columns (71).

Table 37. Analysis of the columns of gastronomy articles, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

Columns	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1	86	37,2	59	28,2	116	40,1	73	32,2	40	17,5	89	31,8	463	31,6
2	39	16,9	30	14,4	17	5,9	15	6,6	21	9,2	31	11,1	153	10,5
3	30	13,0	29	13,9	61	21,1	51	22,5	62	27,2	65	23,2	298	20,4
4	27	11,7	45	21,5	63	21,8	37	16,3	40	17,5	41	14,6	253	17,3
5	40	17,3	37	17,7	29	10,0	34	15,0	50	21,9	33	11,8	223	15,2
6	9	3,9	9	4,3	3	1,0	17	7,5	15	6,6	21	7,5	74	5,1
Total	231	100	209	100	289	100	227	100	228	100	280	100	1464	100

As for the space per page (Table 38), we see that the weight of short articles exceeded 20%. In relation to the pieces that occupied more space per page, 30% took at least half a page, and nearly half of the pieces occupied a space of at least a quarter of a page.

If we analyze the predominant genres in relation to the space that articles occupied, we conclude that the majority of short pieces were news (193 to 317), although recipes were also important (66). The pieces occupying at least half a page corresponded to the information genre (80%), with news (214 of 437) and news

reports (121). While opinion columns mainly occupied less than half page (127), up to 27 exceeded half a page.

Table 38. Analysis of space per page of gastronomy articles, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

Space per page	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Article >=75%	28	12,1	27	12,9	11	3,8	25	11,0	27	11,8	29	10,4	147	10,0
2. Article 74-50%	28	12,1	51	24,4	57	19,7	49	21,6	62	27,2	43	15,4	290	19,8
3. Article 49-25%	55	23,8	37	17,7	48	16,6	43	18,9	58	25,4	48	17,1	289	19,7
4. Article 24-10%	51	22,1	74	35,4	90	31,1	61	26,9	59	25,9	86	30,7	421	28,8
5. Short article	69	29,9	20	9,6	83	28,7	49	21,6	22	9,6	74	26,4	317	21,7
Total	231	100	209	100	289	100	227	100	228	100	280	100	1464	100

Figure 13. Evolution of gastronomy articles as space per page, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

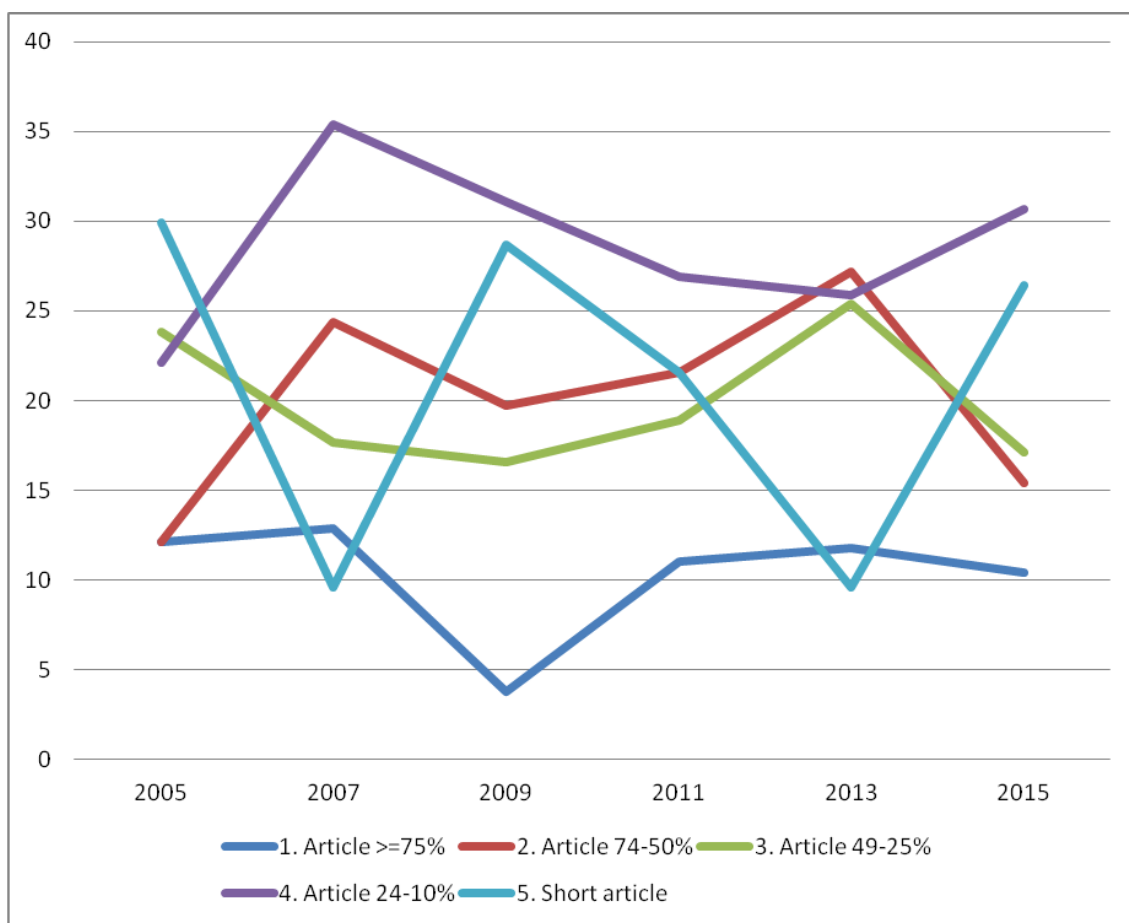


Figure 13 above shows the evolution that articles experienced in the period analyzed by the space per page they occupied. In the first year of the sample (2005) it was observed that there was a greater presence of pieces with less than half a page, which represented three quarters of the whole articles studied. This was reduced mainly in 2011 and 2013 when the pieces of more than half a page totalled 30% and 40% respectively. The year 2015 showed an overall result similar to that observed at the beginning of the sample, with only one out of four pieces occupying half a page or more.

Finally, in Table 39 it is displayed the last element analyzed under this section, which referred to the signing of the 1,464 pieces analyzed. Most of the pieces, almost two out of three articles were signed by journalists. Nevertheless, more than a third of the articles were not signed or were signed under the heading newsroom. Of all the unsigned pieces, 70% were news but also included reviews and recipes, with almost 15% value each. It is also appropriate to mention that of the 547 unsigned pieces, 460 (almost 85%) occupied less than a quarter of a page.

Table 39. Analysis of the signatures of gastronomy articles, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

Signature	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Journalist	136	58,9	177	84,7	228	78,9	126	55,5	126	55,3	120	42,9	913	62,4
2. Newsroom	11	4,8	7	3,3	5	1,7	7	3,1	19	8,3	42	15,0	91	6,2
3. Agencies	1	0,4	0	0,0	3	1,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	0,3
4. No signature	83	35,9	25	12,0	53	18,3	94	41,4	83	36,4	118	42,1	456	31,1
Total	231	100	209	100	289	100	227	100	228	100	280	100	1464	100

If the signatures were considered only in relation to the information genres (news, news reports and interviews), almost every of the unsigned pieces (303 of 304) or signed under the heading of newsroom (83 of 86) were brief news. The amount of pieces signed by the agencies was very scarce.

In relation to the articles signed by journalists, it was observed that gastronomy content pieces brought together 216 different journalists. Only 51 of those journalists collaborated on four or more occasions, and 114 did so on only one occasion. Contributors with a greater amount of articles were Miquel Sen (155), Ferran Imedio (71), Pau Arenós (67), Patricia Castán (38), David Noguera (35), Edwin Winkels (21), and Jordi Subirana (16). We also want to highlight Guillermina Botaya and Josep Maria Fonalleras (14 each), Begoña Arce, Ferran Cosculluela and Joan Barril (12 each), and Ferran Monegal and Montserrat Folch (10 each). One by one are described below:

- Miquel Sen split his contributions between food columns (53), restaurant reviews (22), and recipes (65). That is, opinion genre.
- Ferran Imedio's production was mainly based on news (62), but also produced some reports (6) and interviews (2).
- Pau Arenós worked both in the information and opinion genres. On the one hand, with information and reports (21), but also through opinion columns (20), food columns (13) and restaurant reviews (13), this latter associated to *Cuaderno del Domingo* in 2009.
- Patricia Castán focused on the information genre, signing 17 informations and 18 reports. Also, Ferran Cosculluela contributed on information articles.

II. Quantitative Study

- David Noguera focused all his gastronomy contributions on restaurant reviews found in *Cuaderno del Domingo* and under the summer supplement, *De plato y copa*. Interestingly his contributions were exclusively made in 2009. Also most of the contributions made by Jordi Subirana and Guillermina Botaya were restaurant reviews.
- Despite preparing some news (4) and reports (5), Edwin Winkels collaborated with opinion columns (12).
- Among other prominent journalists, Josep Maria Fonalleras, Joan Barril and Ferran Monegal were opinion columnists. Meanwhile, Begoña Arce worked on both information and opinions. Finally, the contributions of Montserrat Folch corresponded to a food column about health and nutrition under the summer supplement in 2007.

6.2. The analysis of topics

Among the 2,177 themes categorized (1,464 as main and 713 as secondary), in Table 40 we observe that although products were the category with the highest weight (14.9%), there were up to six different themes that counted between 10% and 15%. These topics were products themselves, the gastronomy as social fact, restaurants, stores, events and chefs.

Table 40. Analysis of the themes in gastronomy articles, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

Themes	n	%
1. Products	324	14,9
2. Dishes	200	9,2
3. Chefs	240	11,0
4. Restaurants	266	12,2
5. Stores	258	11,9
6. Events	251	11,5
7. Gastronomy and arts	136	6,2
8. Gastronomy as social fact	314	14,4
9. Alimentation and nutrition	52	2,4
10. Media	89	4,1
11. Places and tourism	47	2,2
Total	2177	100,0

Table 41 shows the evolution of categories throughout the period analyzed, year by year. In 2005, restaurants emerged as the predominant theme; one out of four pieces dealt with this topic. In 2007 both products and gastronomy as social fact ranked first, amounting together more than a third of the total; restaurants, stores and chefs accounted for another third. In 2009, leaders were dishes and restaurants. In 2011, stores accounted for nearly 20% of the sample. In 2013 products was the highest ranked topic, weighting similar than gastronomy as social fact, chefs and events. Finally, 2015 is when products showed a greatest presence, surpassing 20%. In general, alimentation and nutrition, and places and tourism, had a very limited presence.

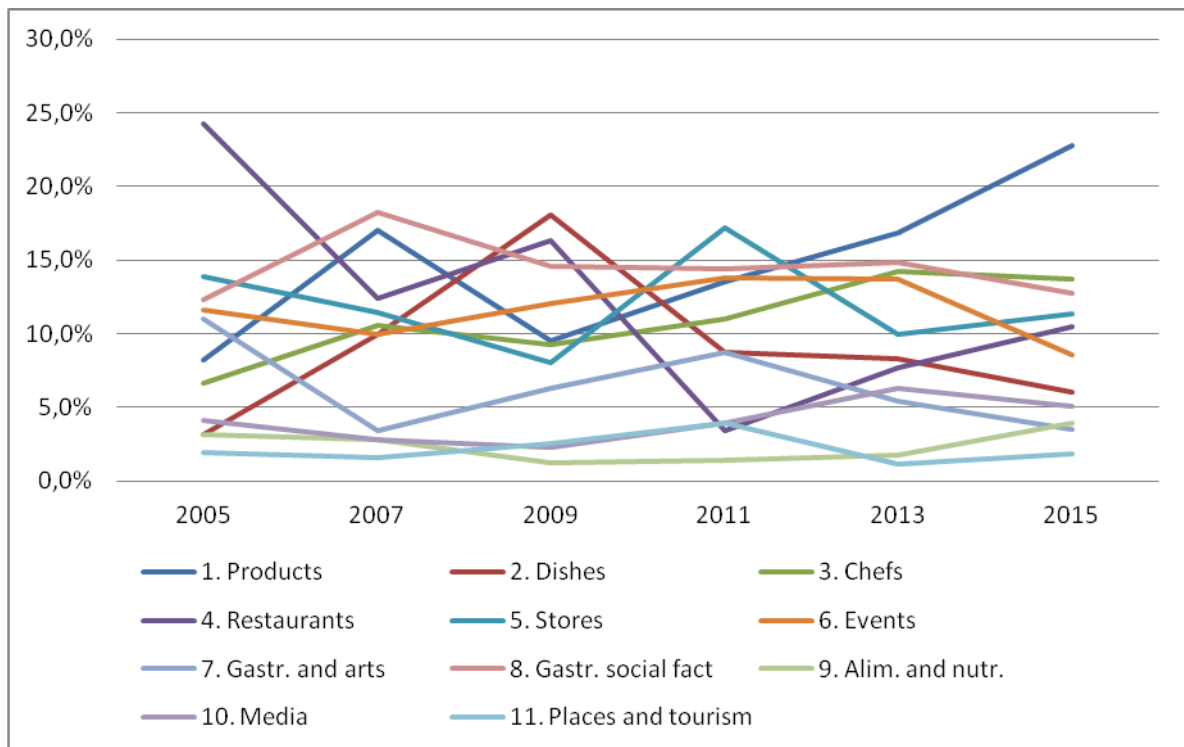
Table 41. Evolution of the themes of gastronomy articles, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

Themes	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	26	8,2	55	17,0	38	9,5	48	13,5	59	16,8	98	22,7	324	14,9
2. Dishes	10	3,1	32	9,9	72	18,0	31	8,7	29	8,3	26	6,0	200	9,2
3. Chefs	21	6,6	34	10,5	37	9,3	39	11,0	50	14,2	59	13,7	240	11,0
4. Restaurants	77	24,2	40	12,4	65	16,3	12	3,4	27	7,7	45	10,4	266	12,2
5. Stores	44	13,8	37	11,5	32	8,0	61	17,2	35	10,0	49	11,4	258	11,9
6. Events	37	11,6	32	9,9	48	12,0	49	13,8	48	13,7	37	8,6	251	11,5
7. Gas. and art.	35	11,0	11	3,4	25	6,3	31	8,7	19	5,4	15	3,5	136	6,2
8. Gas. so. fact	39	12,3	59	18,3	58	14,5	51	14,4	52	14,8	55	12,8	314	14,4
9. Ali. and n.	10	3,1	9	2,8	5	1,3	5	1,4	6	1,7	17	3,9	52	2,4
10. Media	13	4,1	9	2,8	9	2,3	14	3,9	22	6,3	22	5,1	89	4,1
11. Pl. and tou.	6	1,9	5	1,5	10	2,5	14	3,9	4	1,1	8	1,9	47	2,2
Total	318	100	323	100	399	100	355	100	351	100	431	100	2177	100

Regarding the evolution of categories, there were increasing trends in areas such as chefs or products. Other issues such as restaurants or food and arts decreased, while some others such as stores or events were recurrent throughout every year, and had a similar average weight.

Figure 14 illustrates the evolution of the categories, as explained in the previous paragraph.

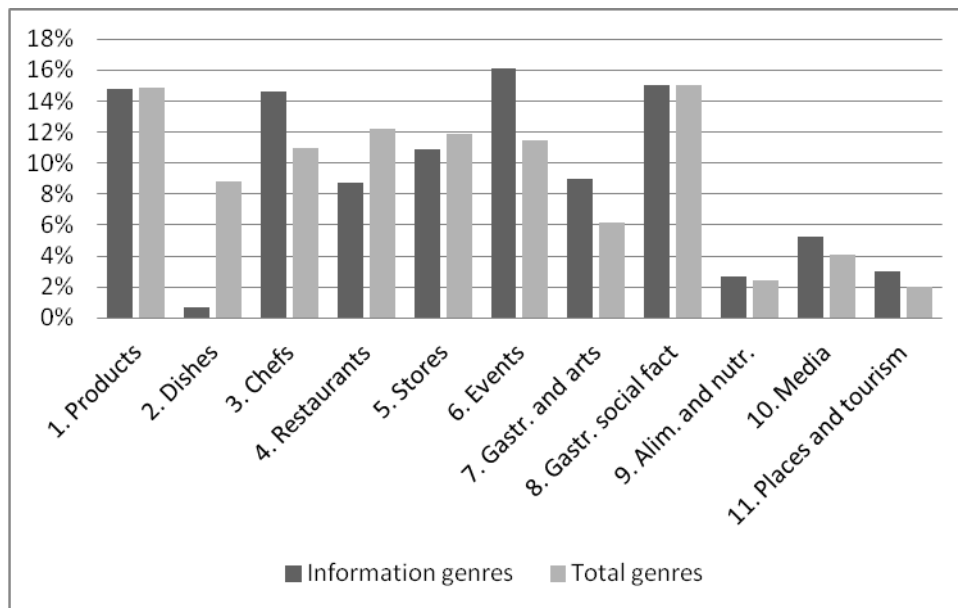
Figure 14. Evolution of the themes of gastronomy articles, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)



An element of analysis introduced below is the study of the categories only from the information genres perspective. This comparison of categories between information genres and all genres is displayed in Figure 15.

The predominant themes remained the same in both cases, and the most significant changes were observed only in two particular directions. On the one hand, dishes were largely reduced when considering only the information (from 9% to 1%), since this issue was included within the recipes; with a lesser extent, the same happened with restaurants (from 12% to 9%), primarily found on restaurant reviews. On the other hand, events and chefs increased their importance when considering only the information genre (+4% each) in respect to the total genres.

Figure 15. Comparison of the themes of gastronomy articles, *El Periódico* (2005-2015), according to their genre



Along the following pages, the categories were contrasted with some of the concepts discussed in the previous section, such as the opening of section and page, the space per page or the most representative genres for each category. First, Table 42 shows the relationship between the articles that opened section and page with their category. It is observed that 279 articles were opening section and 831 page because for analysis purposes the articles with two indicated categories were counted twice in the following table.

Table 42. Analysis of the articles on gastronomy that opened section and page, *El Periódico* (2005-2015), according to the topics

Themes	Opening section		Opening page	
	n	%	n	%
1. Products	36	12,9	129	15,5
2. Dishes	0	0,0	43	5,2
3. Chefs	49	17,6	96	11,6
4. Restaurants	33	11,8	58	7,0
5. Stores	34	12,2	104	12,5
6. Events	36	12,9	90	10,8
7. Gastronomy and arts	24	8,6	63	7,6
8. Gastronomy as social fact	33	11,8	142	17,1
9. Alimentation and nutrition	6	2,2	24	2,9
10. Media	23	8,2	56	6,7
11. Places and tourism	5	1,8	26	3,1
Total	279	100,0	831	100,0

Chefs were the main category regarding the opening section articles, which is relevant due to the growing importance of this collective. It did not occur the same

with the page opening, where the category of gastronomy as social fact led, followed closely by products, and also stores.

Table 43. Analysis of the theme according to the space per page of gastronomy articles, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

Themes	>=75%		74-50%		49-25%		24-10%		Short Art.		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	37	15,5	79	16,6	62	14,1	87	14,2	59	14,5	324	14,9
2. Dishes	23	9,6	19	4,0	22	5,0	68	11,1	68	16,7	200	9,2
3. Chefs	16	6,7	55	11,6	51	11,6	74	12,1	44	10,8	240	11,0
4. Restaurants	28	11,7	43	9,1	33	7,5	98	16,0	64	15,7	266	12,2
5. Stores	34	14,2	53	11,2	69	15,6	71	11,6	31	7,6	258	11,9
6. Events	21	8,8	53	11,2	48	10,9	77	12,5	52	12,7	251	11,5
7. Gast. and arts	12	5,0	36	7,6	30	6,8	32	5,2	26	6,4	136	6,2
8. Gast. soc. fact	38	15,9	82	17,3	78	17,7	78	12,7	38	9,3	314	14,4
9. Alim. and n.	9	3,8	20	4,2	6	1,4	10	1,6	7	1,7	52	2,4
10. Media	6	2,5	22	4,6	32	7,3	12	2,0	17	4,2	89	4,1
11. Places and tou.	15	6,3	13	2,7	10	2,3	7	1,1	2	0,5	47	2,2
Total	239	100	475	100	441	100	614	100	408	100	2177	100

Next, Table 43 shows the space per page that pieces occupied in the newspaper in relation to each topic. Themes that occupied more space were gastronomy as social fact and products. Also the stores (including markets, terraces and bars) had a significant presence in the pieces that occupied at least half a page. In relation to the categories discussed in a smaller space per page, there was not a unique theme standing out above others, and the most important topics were products, dishes and restaurants, amounting to almost half of all short articles. In addition, products and restaurants were linked to information; and dishes to recipes, mainly found in the sub sections *Gran Barcelona* and *Districts*.

Table 44. Analysis of theme presence within each genre of the articles on gastronomy, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

Themes	News		News R.		Int.		F. Co.		O. Co.		Rev.		Rec.		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	169	14,2	38	19,3	6	11,8	26	19,8	43	17,1	42	23,2	0	0,0	324	14,9
2. Dishes	12	1,0	2	1,0	0	0,0	44	33,6	2	0,8	0	0,0	140	79,5	200	9,2
3. Chefs	176	14,8	16	8,1	18	35,3	4	3,1	25	10,0	1	0,6	0	0,0	240	11,0
4. Rest.	103	8,7	16	8,1	6	11,8	11	8,4	17	6,8	112	61,9	1	0,6	266	12,2
5. Stores	118	9,9	32	16,2	6	11,8	17	13,0	30	12,0	21	11,6	34	19,3	258	11,9
6. Events	209	17,6	20	10,2	3	5,9	2	1,5	15	6,0	1	0,6	1	0,6	251	11,5
7. Gast. art	111	9,3	10	5,1	1	2,0	0	0,0	11	4,4	3	1,7	0	0,0	136	6,2
8. Gast. s.f.	163	13,7	39	19,8	8	15,7	19	14,5	85	33,9	0	0,0	0	0,0	314	14,4
9. Alim. N.	32	2,7	5	2,5	2	3,9	7	5,3	6	2,4	0	0,0	0	0,0	52	2,4
10. Media	72	6,1	3	1,5	1	2,0	1	0,8	12	4,8	0	0,0	0	0,0	89	4,1
11. Pl. tou.	25	2,1	16	8,1	0	0,0	0	0,0	5	2,0	1	0,6	0	0,0	47	2,2
Total	1190	100	197	100	51	100	131	100	251	100	181	100	176	100	2177	100

A final aspect refers to the relationship between categories and genres, as shown in Table 44. As in previous reflections, there was more than one dominant

theme in each case. Regarding news, these were events, chefs, products and gastronomy as social fact. Reports dealt mainly with gastronomy as social fact and products (almost 20% each), but also stores. Finally, interviews focused on chefs in more than a third of the articles.

In relation to the opinion genre, food columns developed dishes (33.6%) and products (19.8%); and opinion columns, despite having a predominance of gastronomy as social fact (a third of the total) also dealt with products, stores and chefs. Reviews and recipes were mainly associated with restaurants and the preparation of dishes, as also seen in previous chapters.

Finally, for the whole amount of articles analyzed, up to 3,200 keywords were noted. Of these, 1,562 words were non-repeated. Table 45 shows the list of keywords that were annotated at least 10 times, divided into different areas of interest.

Table 45. List of keywords mentioned >10 regarding the gastronomy content articles, *El Periódico* (2005-2015)

Area	Key word	n
Places	Barcelona	357
	Girona	13
	Madrid	10
Products	Wine	103
	Cava	22
	Mushrooms	14
	Beer	13
	Oil	11
	Rabbit	11
Chefs	Ferran Adrià	49
	Carme Ruscalleda	18
	Brothers Roca	15
Restaurants	El Bulli	14
	El Celler de Can Roca	12
Others	Market	79
	Television	55
	Books	41
	Press	25
	Terraces	19
	Cinema	14
	Masterchef	14
	Solidarity	14
	Education	13
	Michelin Guide	12
	Bar	10
	Contest	10

The name of Barcelona was the one repeated more times in the whole sample (357), which in terms of geographical places also included Girona and Madrid. In relation to products, wine (103) was the most used (and the second keyword most repeated within the overall sample). Other products such as champagne, oil or beer were also common.

Regarding chefs and restaurants, Ferran Adrià and *El Bulli* stood out above others such as Carme Ruscalleda or Roca brothers and their signature restaurant *El Celler de Can Roca*. Within the area of others observed in the above table, we found thematic elements as markets, terraces and bars, but also others such as books or cinema, the Michelin Guide and TV culinary shows like *MasterChef*.

Highlights

To sum up, *El Periódico* showcased a strong focus on news and news reports, which accounted for three-fifths of the total sample. Local News was the section that agglutinated the highest amount of gastronomy-based articles (more than a third). Overall, the amount of articles was huge; nonetheless, almost half of the articles occupied less than a quarter of page. In terms of predominance of topics, we found up to six categories (products, gastronomy as social fact, restaurants, stores, events and chefs) with a similar weight, between 10% and 15%.

7. Analysis of gastronomy articles in *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

This chapter analyzes the gastronomy-based content articles found in *La Vanguardia* within the period 2005-2015. The total amount of articles for the whole sample was 1,312.

7.1. The importance of gastronomy: genres, sections, space and signatures

Table 46 shows the distribution of the total 1,312 pieces analyzed according to their genre. News was the predominant genre, which represented almost 60% of the articles. The importance of news was evident throughout the sample, even reaching 70% in 2009, and curiously having one of the lowest weights in the last year of the sample (50%). News reports, despite having a small presence, were increasing along the period. With regards to the opinion genre, opinion columns and reviews had a remarkable weight, which remained around 15% on average. The presence of the interviews and food columns was residual.

Table 46. Analysis of the genre of gastronomy articles, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

Genres	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. News	104	48,4	123	54,9	158	69,9	116	56,9	125	65,4	130	51,6	756	57,6
2. News report	3	1,4	14	6,3	12	5,3	23	11,3	18	9,4	26	10,3	96	7,3
3. Interview	1	0,5	2	0,9	2	0,9	1	0,5	1	0,5	0	0,0	7	0,5
4. Food column	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	24	9,5	24	1,8
5. Opin. Column	32	14,9	38	17,0	27	11,9	39	19,1	24	12,6	51	20,2	211	16,1
6. Reviews	64	29,8	42	18,8	27	11,9	25	12,3	23	12,0	17	6,7	198	15,1
7. Recipe	11	5,1	5	2,2	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	1,6	20	1,5
Total	215	100	224	100	226	100	204	100	191	100	252	100	1312	100

In terms of the evolution of gastronomy-based articles in *La Vanguardia*, Figure 16 shows the growing trend on the interest that *La Vanguardia* provided concerning food topics.

Table 47 shows the scarce presence of culinary content on the front pages of *La Vanguardia*. Thus, only 19 pieces of the 1,312 analyzed were highlighted on the front page.

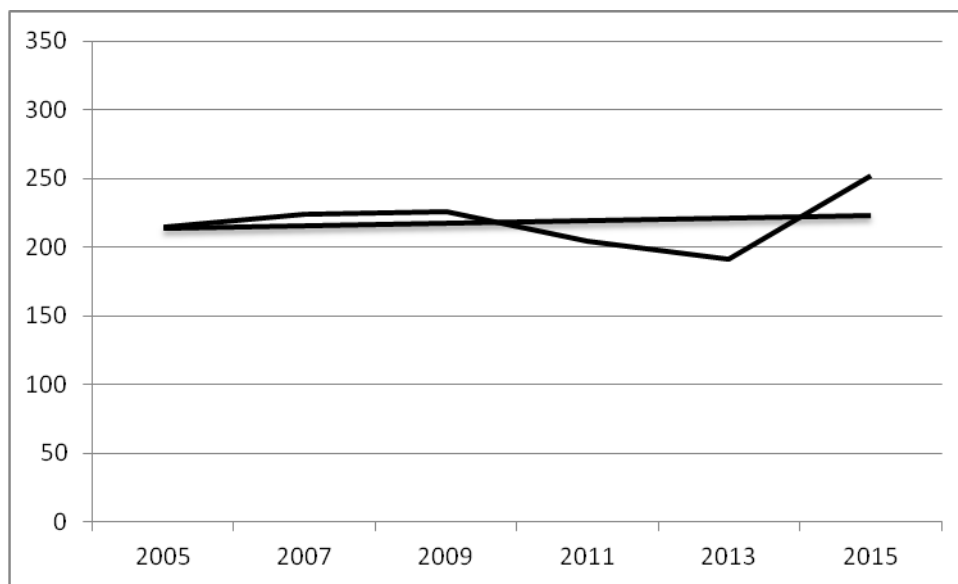
Table 47. Analysis of gastronomy articles found in the front page, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1	0,5	4	1,8	3	1,3	3	1,5	0	0,0	8	3,2	19	1,5

From these 19 pieces, 14 were found on the cover as short news and only four highlighted a space over 10%: one with a range of space 10-24% and three with a range 25-49%. The article with a space below the fourth of the page was a story closely

linked with politics, entitled *Sarkozy se rinde a la hamburguesa* (August 12, 2007) and referred to how American and French Presidents Bush and Sarkozy staged reconciliation between the United States and France. Those remaining three news also displayed an important variety in terms of the synergies between food and other disciplines. These are, in chronological order: *Huevo de Pascua para Colón* (March 29, 2005), *El Bulli, mejor restaurante del mundo*, and *El Cellar de Can Roca, quinto* (April 21, 2009), and *Alto al turismo* (April 8, 2015). The year 2015 was the one with more presence of food in the front pages of *La Vanguardia*, with eight articles highlighted.

Figure 16. Evolution of gastronomy-based articles, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)



In relation to the articles that opened section and page, in Table 48 it is observed that while only 20% of the pieces were opening section on average, there was a 30% of the articles that opened page. We can clearly see the positive evolution of the weight of culinary content, as for example in the case of opening section since it moved from 12% in 2005 to 23% in 2015. Regarding the page opening, it increased from 23% in 2005 to 36% in 2015.

Table 48. Analysis of the gastronomy articles that opened section and page, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

Opening	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Section	25	11,6	35	15,6	37	16,4	57	27,9	54	28,3	58	23,0	266	20,3
Page	49	22,8	58	25,9	81	35,8	76	37,3	57	29,8	91	36,1	412	31,4

In Figure 17 it can be seen the evolution of the articles that opened section and page, in numerical terms.

Figure 17. Evolution of gastronomy articles regarding section and page opening, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

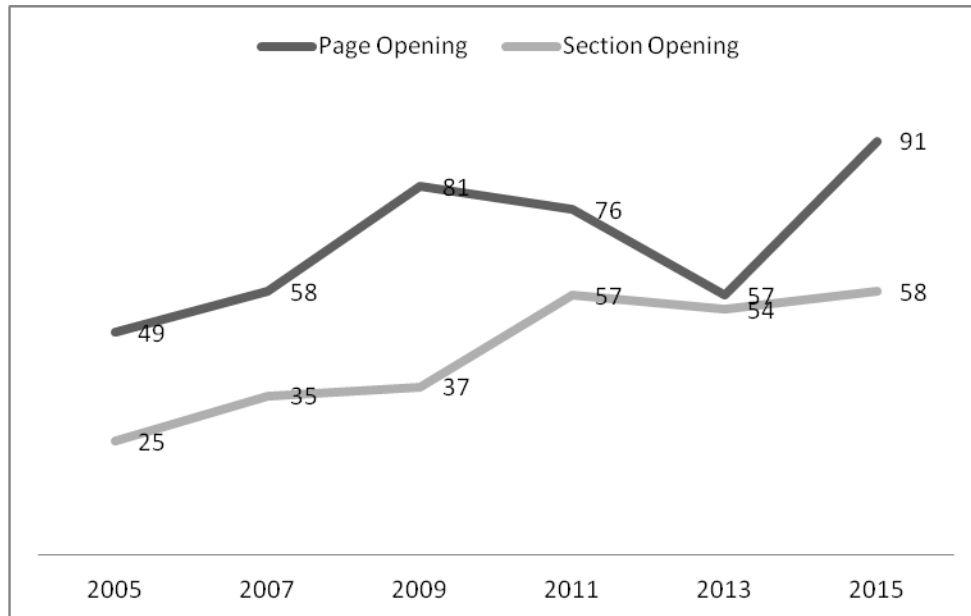


Table 49 shows the articles' genre depending on whether they opened section and page. As a result of the predominance of news also earlier acknowledged, these were again the type of articles that dominated in the section and page opening, with more than 40% of the weight in each case. In terms of articles that opened section, reviews and reports should be highlighted; also opinion columns. Regarding the opening page, the results were similar, with a little higher importance of reviews.

Table 49. Analysis of the gastronomy content articles opening section and page, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015), according to genre

Genres	Opening section		Opening page	
	n	%	n	%
1. News	116	43,6	177	43,0
2. News report	48	18,0	75	18,2
3. Interview	7	2,6	7	1,7
4. Food column	0	0,0	0	0,0
5. Opinion column	32	12,0	51	12,4
6. Reviews	61	22,9	100	24,3
7. Recipe	2	0,8	2	0,5
Total	266	100,0	412	100,0

If we analyze the distribution of the articles among the sections where they were found, Table 50 shows that Local News (*Vivir* included) was the most prolific section. In particular, 3 out of 4 articles were found within this section. Focusing on the other sections, Opinion is the second largest with almost 8%, followed by Culture and Business with 5% each. Within *Vivir*, the main sub sections that included food were Gastronomy, *Vivir en verano*, *Gente*, *5 a Taula* and Nutrition.

Table 50. Analysis of the sections covering the gastronomy contents, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

Sections	n	%
Local News	1009	76,9
Opinion	103	7,9
Culture	66	5,0
Business	64	4,9
Supplements (embedded)	30	2,3
Other	16	1,2
Obituaries	14	1,1
International News	10	0,8
Total	1312	100,0

The *Other* category included those sections represented less than or equal to five pieces. In this category we found examples of sections like sports, media, politics and society.

Below we analyze the space that gastronomic content occupied within the pages of *La Vanguardia*. Thus, the analysis of the number of columns of each article (Table 51) shows that more than a quarter of the pieces had only a single column, reaching nearly half of the pieces if both one and two columns are counted. The articles with four or five columns amounted together also a quarter of the total and those with more than five columns represented a small portion of the sample, with only 5%. In taking into account the articles with one or two columns, most of them were news (359 of 595), followed by opinion columns (148). Articles occupying four columns or more, were also predominantly news (237 of 417), but also with a great amount of news reports (81).

Table 51. Analysis of the columns of gastronomy articles, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

Columns	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1	63	29,3	57	25,4	91	40,3	60	29,4	49	25,7	57	22,6	377	28,7
2	14	6,5	31	13,8	39	17,3	46	22,5	43	22,5	45	17,9	218	16,6
3	96	44,7	82	36,6	28	12,4	29	14,2	23	12,0	42	16,7	300	22,9
4	24	11,2	22	9,8	22	9,7	14	6,9	19	9,9	39	15,5	140	10,7
5	18	8,4	21	9,4	41	18,1	41	20,1	44	23,0	47	18,7	212	16,2
6	0	0,0	11	4,9	5	2,2	14	6,9	13	6,8	22	8,7	65	5,0
Total	215	100	224	100	226	100	204	100	191	100	252	100	1312	100

Table 52. Analysis of space per page of gastronomy articles, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

Space per page	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
1. Article >=75%	5	2,3	14	6,3	13	5,8	32	15,7	26	13,6	30	11,9	120	9,1
2. Article 74-50%	46	21,4	45	20,1	34	15,0	28	13,7	33	17,3	57	22,6	243	18,5
3. Article 49-25%	49	22,8	53	23,7	64	28,3	50	24,5	62	32,5	63	25,0	341	26,0
4. Article 24-10%	77	35,8	70	31,3	59	26,1	58	28,4	40	20,9	69	27,4	373	28,4
5. Short article	38	17,7	42	18,8	56	24,8	36	17,6	30	15,7	33	13,1	235	17,9
Total	215	100	224	100	226	100	204	100	191	100	252	100	1312	100

Accordingly, with regards to the space per page (Table 52), we see that the weight of short articles was almost 20%, that is, one out of five articles was found to be a short piece. More than half of the pieces (53.6%) took at least a quarter of a page, and one in four (27.6%) were at least devoted half a page.

When analyzing genres in relation to the space the articles occupied, it was observed that the vast majority of short articles (217 of 235) were news. Regarding the pieces that occupied at least half a page, news again dominated (170 of 363), but also news reports (87) and reviews (78) were highlighted. Although there were 19 opinion columns that had more than half a page, this type of contribution used to occupy less than half: 10-24% (80 pieces) or 25-49% (112 pieces).

Figure 18. Evolution of gastronomy articles as space per page, La Vanguardia (2005-2015)

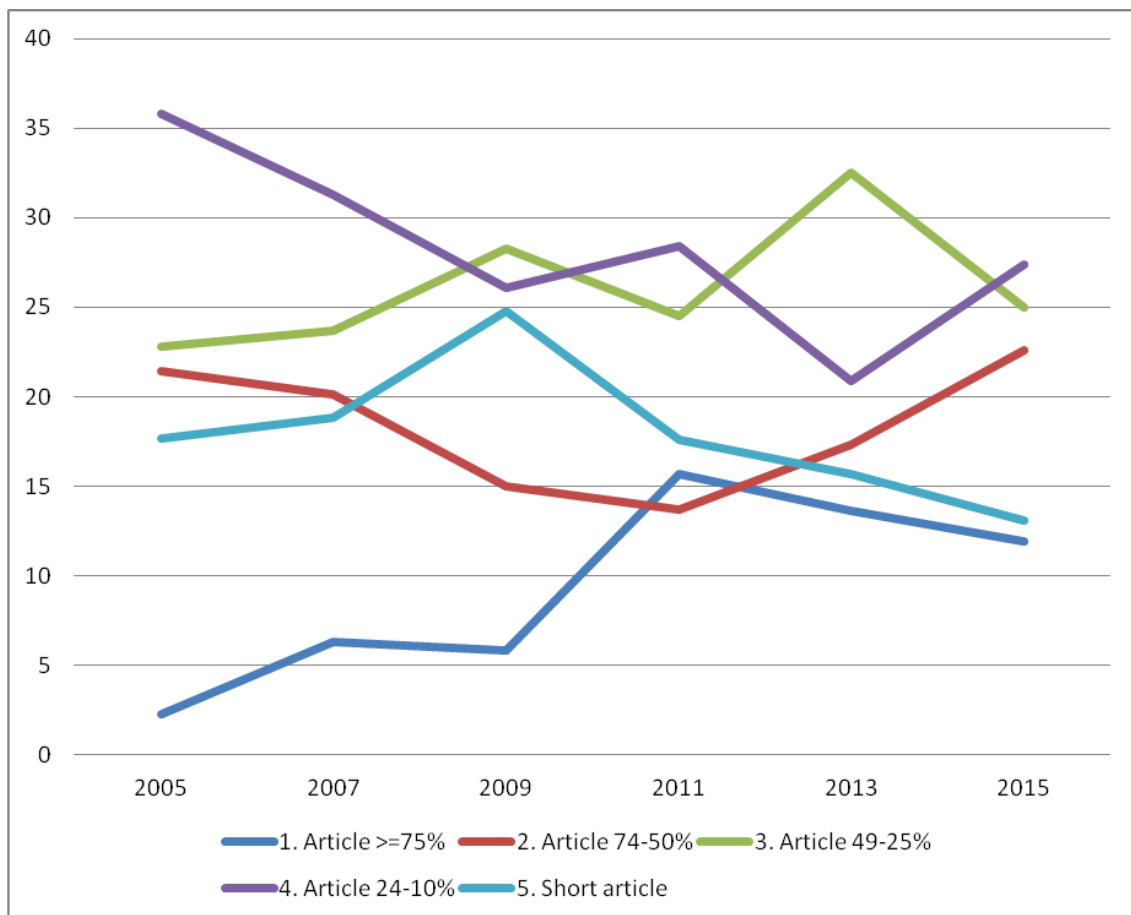


Figure 18 shows the evolution of the articles with regards to their range of space per page. In the first year of the sample (2005) we observed that there was a greater presence of pieces occupying less than a quarter of a page, while the articles over three quarters of a page were almost nil. This diluted along the period, and although in the last year the same phenomenon got back at both ends, the differential was reduced to the half. As reported earlier, at the beginning of the sample more than half of the pieces did not occupy even a quarter of a page, and only one in four did so

in half a page. At the end (2015), one out of three articles now occupied at least half a page.

The last element of analysis in this section referred to the signature of the 1,312 articles, as displayed in Table 53. In this sense, journalists authored more than three-quarters of the articles; nonetheless, there was an important amount of nearly one out of four pieces that had either no signature or were signed under the heading of newsroom. The percentages of each variable remained stable throughout the period. Of all the unsigned articles, nearly 90% were news. Respect those for newsroom signing, 130 of 134 were also news. It is appropriate to mention that of the total amount of 304 unsigned articles, 277 (over 90%) occupied less than a quarter of a page.

Table 53. Analysis of the signatures of gastronomy articles, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

Signature	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Journalist	169	78,6	172	76,8	161	71,2	157	77,0	146	76,4	191	75,8	996	75,9
2. Newsroom	11	5,1	45	20,1	33	14,6	20	9,8	17	8,9	8	3,2	134	10,2
3. Agencies	5	2,3	0	0,0	3	1,3	4	2,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	12	0,9
4. No signature	30	14,0	7	3,1	29	12,8	23	11,3	28	14,7	53	21,0	170	13,0
Total	215	100	224	100	226	100	204	100	191	100	252	100	1312	100

If we take into account the signatures only in relation to information genres (news, news reports and interviews), almost all of the unsigned pieces (136 of 139), signed under the heading of newsroom (130 of 130) and provided by agencies (12 of 12), were news.

Regarding the authored articles, 176 different journalists signed the gastronomy content pieces. Only 43 of them collaborated on four or more occasions, and a total of 95 did on only one occasion. The contributors that intervened more frequently are described below. They were: the group *5 a Taula* (183), Cristina Jolonch (95), Ramon Francàs (89), Margarita Puig (68), Magda Carlas (66), Màrius Carol (20), Quim Monzó (18) and Xavier Mas de Xaxàs (16). In analysing them one by one, the following conclusions are outlined:

- *5 a Taula* is a group formed by Miquel Espinet, Sergi Ferrer-Salat, Miguel Gay, Josep Maria Sanclimens and Josep Vilella. All the contributions were basically divided between news (one third) and reviews (two thirds).
- However Cristina Jolonch wrote articles on various genres, there was a predominance of news (65%) and news reports (17%). The opinion genre was also represented with 18%.

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- Ramon Francàs and Xavier Mas de Xaxàs focused on news, with 90% in the first case (plus 5% reports and 5% reviews), and 75% of news plus 25% of reports for the second author.
- Margarita Puig mainly collaborated with reviews (over 90%).
- Magda Carlas based her articles on an opinion column about nutrition, found under Local News section's *Vivir*.
- Màrius Carol and Quim Monzó used the gastronomy contents on their opinion columns.

7.2. The analysis of topics

From the total 1,851 topics categorized (1,312 as main category and 539 as secondary), Table 54 shows that three categories together accounted for over half of the total sample. First, products; second, gastronomy as social fact; and third, restaurants. In the second level of importance, there were events, chefs and stores.

Table 54. Analysis of the themes in gastronomy articles, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

Themes	n	%
1. Products	414	22,4
2. Dishes	68	3,7
3. Chefs	155	8,4
4. Restaurants	272	14,7
5. Stores	145	7,8
6. Events	162	8,8
7. Gastronomy and arts	116	6,3
8. Gastronomy as social fact	336	18,2
9. Alimentation and nutrition	86	4,6
10. Media	60	3,2
11. Places and tourism	37	2,0
Total	1851	100,0

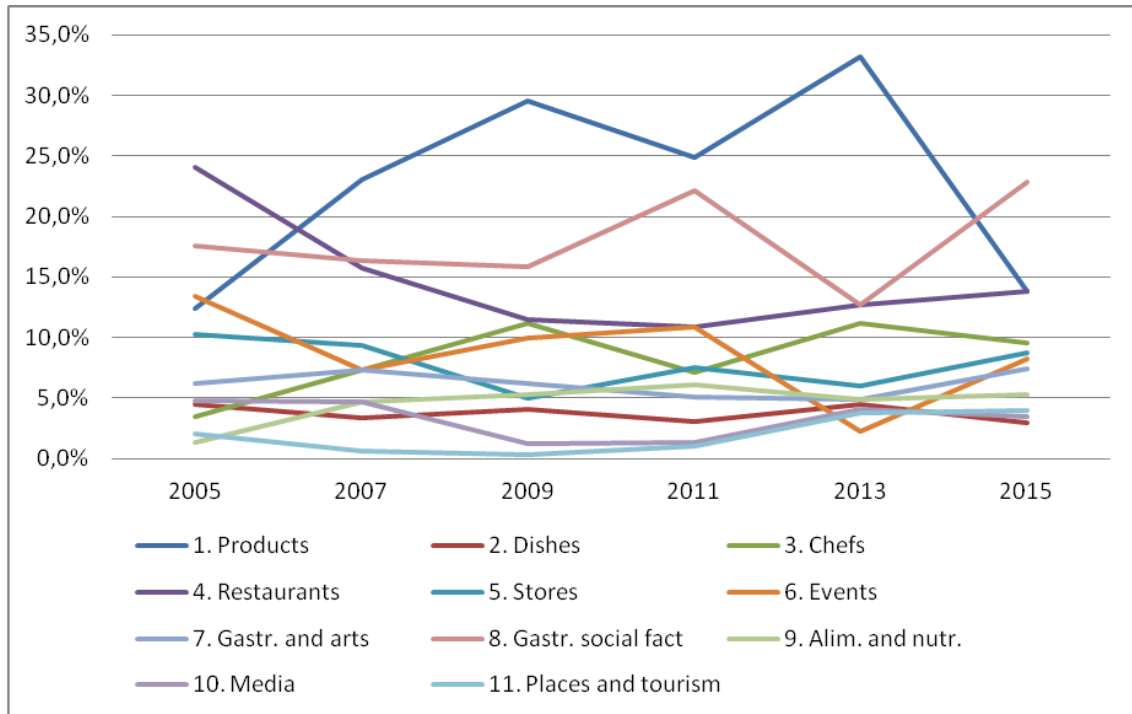
Table 55. Evolution of the themes of gastronomy articles, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

Themes	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	36	12,4	69	23,1	95	29,5	73	24,8	89	33,2	52	13,8	414	22,4
2. Dishes	13	4,5	10	3,3	13	4,0	9	3,1	12	4,5	11	2,9	68	3,7
3. Chefs	10	3,4	22	7,4	36	11,2	21	7,1	30	11,2	36	9,5	155	8,4
4. Restaurants	70	24,1	47	15,7	37	11,5	32	10,9	34	12,7	52	13,8	272	14,7
5. Stores	30	10,3	28	9,4	16	5,0	22	7,5	16	6,0	33	8,8	145	7,8
6. Events	39	13,4	22	7,4	32	9,9	32	10,9	6	2,2	31	8,2	162	8,8
7. Gas. and art.	18	6,2	22	7,4	20	6,2	15	5,1	13	4,9	28	7,4	116	6,3
8. Gas. so. fact	51	17,5	49	16,4	51	15,8	65	22,1	34	12,7	86	22,8	336	18,2
9. Ali. and n.	4	1,4	14	4,7	17	5,3	18	6,1	13	4,9	20	5,3	86	4,6
10. Media	14	4,8	14	4,7	4	1,2	4	1,4	11	4,1	13	3,4	60	3,2
11. Pl. and tou.	6	2,1	2	0,7	1	0,3	3	1,0	10	3,7	15	4,0	37	2,0
Total	291	100	299	100	322	100	294	100	268	100	377	100	1851	100

Table 55 draws the evolution of the categories throughout the period of study. The category of products had a significant presence in all the years of the sample, even exceeding 30% in 2013. It was also important the topic of gastronomy as social fact, with an average presence of 18.2%, where years 2011 and 2015 should be highlighted because one out of five pieces fitted into this topic. Moreover, stores and events reduced their weight over the years, while themes such as chefs drove to reach almost the triple of its presence in 2015 compared to 2005.

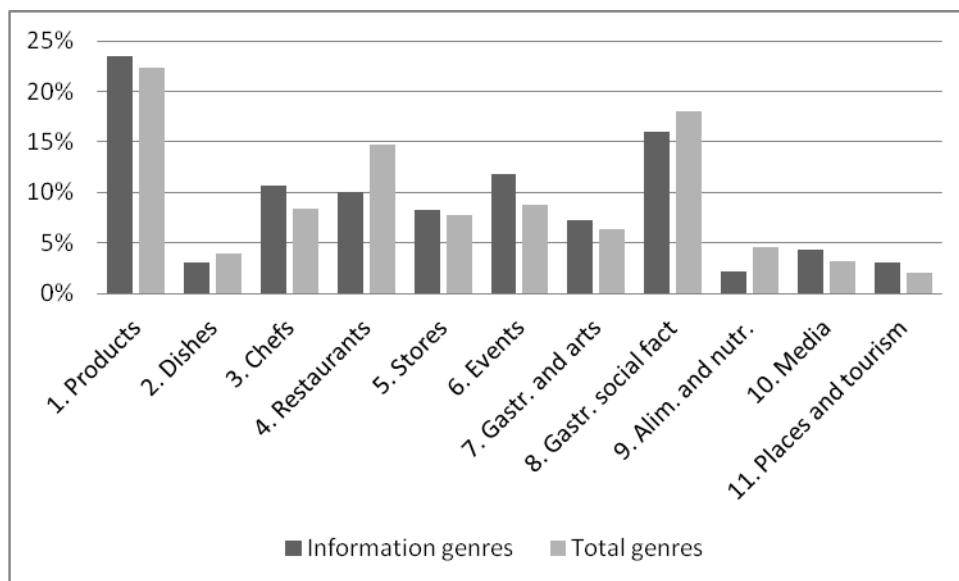
Figure 19, which shows the evolution of the categories for the whole period, illustrates what was mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Figure 19. Evolution of the themes of gastronomy articles, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)



Additionally, an interesting element of analysis is the study of topics only from the information genres perspective. The categories' comparison between information genres and all the genres is provided in Figure 20.

Figure 20. Comparison of the themes of gastronomy articles, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015), according to their genre



Among the predominant topics, products, restaurants and gastronomy as social fact continued leading, together with chefs and events. In general, results were similar and all the variations were less than 5%. The most important differences were found as follows: chefs and events had a greater presence when analysing information genres alone (+2.6% and +3.2%); and restaurants (-4.7%), alimentation and nutrition (-2.6%) and gastronomy as social fact (-2%) had a lower percentage when considering only news.

Over the following paragraphs, this section contrasts the categories with some of the concepts earlier discussed.

Table 56. Analysis of the articles on gastronomy that opened section and page, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015), according to the topics

Themes	Opening section		Opening page	
	n	%	n	%
1. Products	80	20,8	139	23,8
2. Dishes	8	2,1	10	1,7
3. Chefs	34	8,8	47	8,0
4. Restaurants	95	24,7	104	17,8
5. Stores	21	5,5	47	8,0
6. Events	29	7,5	29	5,0
7. Gastronomy and arts	14	3,6	33	5,7
8. Gastronomy as social fact	58	15,1	116	19,9
9. Alimentation and nutrition	29	7,5	26	4,5
10. Media	7	1,8	13	2,2
11. Places and tourism	10	2,6	20	3,4
Total	385	100,0	584	100,0

In Table 56, the category of each article was matched with the opening of section and page. To clarify, we observe below a total of 385 pieces for the section opening and 584 regarding the page opening. This is because, for analysis purposes, primary and secondary categories for the articles that opened section and page were considered together. Consequently, those articles that were annotated with two categories, were here counted twice.

If we analyze topics for the articles that were opening section, restaurants and products played a clear predominant role, with one every four and one every five pieces respectively. In the case of the opening page articles, products had the greatest impact, then finding two categories in second place: gastronomy as social fact and restaurants.

Next, Table 57 displays the space per page the articles occupied in relation to the categories. The topics that filled more space were also products, restaurants and gastronomy as social fact. The 40% of the articles with products and restaurants-based content occupied more than half a page. Also, one out of three pieces focused on gastronomy as social fact occupied at least half a page. With regards to the categories

discussed in a smaller space per page – short pieces –, products had a presence of 20% of total short articles. Also events were noted here, with 15% included within short pieces; these were mostly news about awards, competitions, tastings and fairs, among others.

Table 57. Analysis of the theme according to the space per page of gastronomy articles, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

Themes	>=75%		74-50%		49-25%		24-10%		Short Art.		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	41	22,7	66	19,4	124	24,1	118	23,9	65	20,2	414	22,4
2. Dishes	4	2,2	5	1,5	25	4,9	13	2,6	21	6,5	68	3,7
3. Chefs	17	9,4	30	8,8	32	6,2	37	7,5	39	12,1	155	8,4
4. Restaurants	31	17,1	79	23,2	38	7,4	82	16,6	42	13,0	272	14,7
5. Stores	15	8,3	30	8,8	35	6,8	44	8,9	21	6,5	145	7,8
6. Events	5	2,8	27	7,9	31	6,0	49	9,9	50	15,5	162	8,8
7. Gast. and arts	7	3,9	13	3,8	39	7,6	24	4,9	33	10,2	116	6,3
8. Gast. soc. fact	31	17,1	65	19,1	133	25,9	81	16,4	26	8,1	336	18,2
9. Alim. and n.	10	5,5	8	2,4	34	6,6	31	6,3	3	0,9	86	4,6
10. Media	7	3,9	10	2,9	14	2,7	9	1,8	20	6,2	60	3,2
11. Places and tou.	13	7,2	7	2,1	9	1,8	6	1,2	2	0,6	37	2,0
Total	181	100	340	100	514	100	494	100	322	100	1851	100

In carrying out an analysis genre by genre, Table 58 shows a series of associations, explained below. Products were found in one out of four news and in more than one every five news reports. In relation to the interviews, one every three interviews were made to chefs. Looking at opinion genres, food columns dealt especially with restaurants and chefs. Opinion columns had the theme of gastronomy as social fact in almost 40% of the articles, products and nutrition being another important focus (one out of five each). Reviews were heavily associated with restaurants and also wine critics. Additionally, the genre of recipes obviously linked to the elaboration of dishes.

Table 58. Analysis of theme presence within each genre of the articles on gastronomy, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

Themes	News		News R.		Int.		F. Co.		O. Co.		Rev.		Rec.		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	264	23,7	36	22,8	2	18,2	0	0,0	63	20,5	46	22,4	3	14,3	414	22,4
2. Dishes	37	3,3	1	0,6	0	0,0	1	3,0	11	3,6	0	0,0	18	85,7	68	3,7
3. Chefs	118	10,6	15	9,5	4	36,4	7	21,2	7	2,3	4	2,0	0	0,0	155	8,4
4. Rest.	112	10,0	17	10,8	0	0,0	9	27,3	6	1,9	128	62,4	0	0,0	272	14,7
5. Stores	87	7,8	19	12,0	0	0,0	5	15,2	13	4,2	21	10,2	0	0,0	145	7,8
6. Events	147	13,2	5	3,2	0	0,0	1	3,0	8	2,6	1	0,5	0	0,0	162	8,8
7. Gast. art	87	7,8	6	3,8	0	0,0	4	12,1	15	4,9	4	2,0	0	0,0	116	6,3
8. Gast. s.f.	175	15,7	32	20,3	3	27,3	5	15,2	120	39,0	1	0,5	0	0,0	336	18,2
9. Alim. N.	18	1,6	8	5,1	2	18,2	1	3,0	57	18,5	0	0,0	0	0,0	86	4,6
10. Media	51	4,6	5	3,2	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	1,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	60	3,2
11. Pl. tou.	19	1,7	14	8,9	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	1,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	37	2,0
Total	1115	100	158	100	11	100	33	100	308	100	205	100	21	100	1851	100

Finally, Table 59 shows the list of keywords that were annotated more than five times, classified into different areas. The total number of keywords used amounted to 2,715.

The name of Barcelona was the most repeated key word (205). There was also a great amount of products that were repeated a minimum of five times, where wine was the most typed (139). *El Bulli* and *El Celler de Can Roca* restaurants were recorded several times, together with chefs Ferran Adrià, the Roca brothers, and also Santi Santamaria or Carme Ruscalleda. Moreover, there was a wide variety of keywords in the others' area, including the importance of food programs on TV (25) or gastronomy books (24), while at the same time showing a diversity of connections between gastronomy and politics (16), education (8) or solidarity (8), among others.

Table 59. List of keywords mentioned >5 regarding the gastronomy content articles, *La Vanguardia* (2005-2015)

Area	Key word	n
Places	Barcelona	205
	Lleida	9
	Girona	7
	Penedès	7
	Priorat	7
	Bourgogne	6
Products	Wine	139
	Chocolate	19
	Bread	17
	Cava	13
	Cheese	11
	Mushrooms	10
	Codfish	9
	Oil	8
	Scallion	7
	DO Penedès	7
	Beer	6
	Coffee	6
	Ham	6
Chefs	Ferran Adrià	36
	Carme Ruscalleda	12
	Santi Santamaría	11
	Hermanos Roca	9
	Fermí Puig	7
	Sergi Arola	7
	Arzak	6
	Carles Gaig	6
	Javier de las Muelas	6

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Restaurants	El Bulli	18
	El Celler de Can Roca	14
	Via Veneto	6
Others	TV	25
	Books	24
	Diet	20
	Michelin Guide	18
	Politics	16
	Health	16
	Press	13
	Cinema	11
	Pastry shop	9
	Education	8
	Fòrum Gastronòmic	8
	Market	8
	Solidarity	8
	Terraces	8
	Contest	7
	The White House	6

Highlights

News and news reports were the most important genre in *La Vanguardia*, and they accounted for more than two-thirds of the total sample. Most of the contents (more than three-quarters) were found under the Local News section. In relation to the greatest categories, these were products, gastronomy as social fact and restaurants. In addition, we observed that a lot of attention was paid to chefs both in terms of the amount of articles and regarding the space per page.

8. Analysis of gastronomy articles in *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

This chapter analyzes 1,845 articles, which represented all the pieces with gastronomy content found in *The New York Times* for the period 2005-2015.

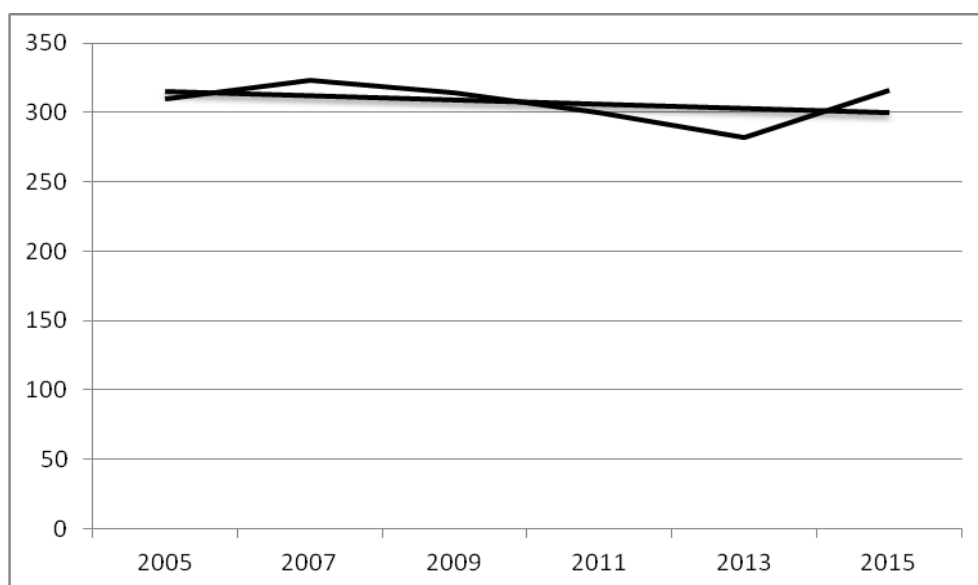
8.1. The importance of gastronomy: genres, sections, space and signatures

Table 60 displays the 1,845 pieces analyzed according to their genre. News and reviews were predominant throughout the sample, accounting for a quarter of total each. Also, news reports were important representing 20%. Additionally, while food columns and recipes had a similar presence, the trend regarding food columns is to decrease as the recipes experienced an increase over the time. In analysing year by year, it was observed that the average of each genre was quite similar throughout the sample.

Table 60. Analysis of the genre of gastronomy articles, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Genres	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
1. News	82	26,5	86	26,6	85	27,1	82	27,3	64	22,7	80	25,3	479	26,0
2. News report	65	21,0	67	20,7	56	17,8	53	17,7	63	22,3	60	19,0	364	19,7
3. Interview	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	0,6	1	0,3	3	1,1	2	0,6	8	0,4
4. Food column	47	15,2	41	12,7	34	10,8	33	11,0	23	8,2	28	8,9	206	11,2
5. Opin. column	14	4,5	18	5,6	21	6,7	13	4,3	17	6,0	12	3,8	95	5,1
6. Reviews	72	23,2	78	24,1	72	22,9	84	28,0	77	27,3	81	25,6	464	25,1
7. Recipe	30	9,7	33	10,2	44	14,0	34	11,3	35	12,4	53	16,8	229	12,4
Total	310	100	323	100	314	100	300	100	282	100	316	100	1845	100

Figure 21. Evolution of gastronomy-based articles, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)



In terms of evolution of gastronomy-based articles in *The New York Times*, Figure 21 shows a trend that meant a slight decrease.

Table 61 below shows the number of front pages that included gastronomy content articles. It was observed that 110 articles, 6% of the total of gastronomic articles, had a presence in the covers of *The New York Times* along the period analyzed.

Table 61. Analysis of gastronomy articles found in the front page, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
13	4,2	15	4,6	18	5,7	22	7,3	23	8,2	19	6,0	110	6,0

Of the 110 articles found in the front page, 68 of them anticipated content under the Food section. Most of them referred to food columns, restaurant reviews or recipes. Only one article in the whole sample occupied over a 25% range of space, entitled *Commuters' Cocktail Hour Likely to Keep Rolling* (May 31, 2007). 2011 and 2013 were the years that displayed a higher amount of food-based articles in cover pages.

In relation to the articles that opened section and page (found in the top left-hand of the page), in Table 62 is observed that only 8.2% of the pieces were part of the opening section. However, up to 50% were on the opening page. With regards to the opening section articles, none of the years reached 10% of the weight; regarding the page opening, here the results were found to be much higher, with an average weight of 50% and reaching more than half of the total articles in 2013 and 2015.

Table 62. Analysis of the gastronomy articles that opened section and page, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Opening	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Section	22	7,1	26	8,0	23	7,3	28	9,3	26	9,2	27	8,5	152	8,2
Page	149	48,1	153	47,4	151	48,1	141	47,0	161	57,1	169	53,5	924	50,1

Figure 22 shows the evolution of the articles that opened section and page throughout the period analyzed.

Table 63 shows the genres depending on whether the articles opened section and page. News and news reports were predominant, accounting for three quarters of the pieces that opened section, and up to half of the articles that opened page. In terms of page opening, the opinion articles also accounted for almost half of the total.

Figure 22. Evolution of gastronomy articles regarding section and page opening, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

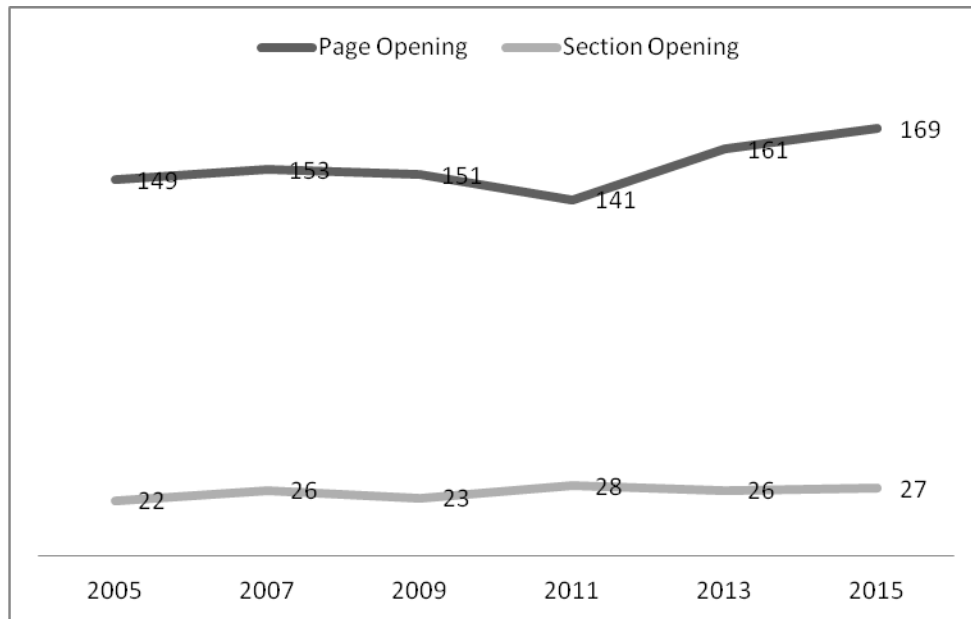


Table 63. Analysis of the gastronomy content articles opening section and page, *The New York Times* (2005-2015), according to genre

Genres	Opening section		Opening page	
	N	%	n	%
1. News	37	24,3	164	17,7
2. News report	80	52,6	308	33,3
3. Interview	0	0,0	4	0,4
4. Food column	11	7,2	116	12,6
5. Opinion column	6	3,9	40	4,3
6. Reviews	12	7,9	165	17,9
7. Recipe	6	3,9	127	13,7
Total	152	100,0	924	100,0

Table 64. Analysis of the sections covering the gastronomy contents, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Sections	n	%
Food	1039	56,3
Supplements (embedded)	252	13,7
Travel	250	13,6
Business	76	4,1
Local News	70	3,8
Opinion	41	2,2
Other	34	1,8
Obituaries	33	1,8
International News	25	1,4
National News	25	1,4
Total	1845	100,0

II. Quantitative Study

Another aspect studied referred to the classification of contents according to the section in which articles were found. From Table 64, it is derived that *Food* section (formerly known as *Dining In*, *Dining Out* or *Dining*) was the one that contained the greatest number of gastronomy articles, in particular more than half of the total. Almost 15% each, at some distance, we found *Travel* (*Travel* plus *Escape*) and the embedded supplements like *The City/Metropolitan*, *The Arts* or *Sunday Styles*.

The *Other* category included those sections represented by less than ten pieces, with examples like *Home*, *Men's Style* or *Sports*.

Following, we study the space that gastronomy content occupied in the newspaper. Table 65 shows that the pieces with five columns accounted for 40% of the sample, followed by four columns' pieces with 20%. Consequently, the articles with four or more columns had a specific weight and represented 60%. At the same time, articles with one or two columns did not reach 20% of the sample. The pieces with one or two columns were mostly news (118 of 361) and reviews (129). Pieces that occupied four columns or more were predominantly reports (347 of 1,241), followed by news (279) and reviews (259). There were also substantial figures for food columns (149) and recipes (157).

Table 65. Analysis of the columns of gastronomy articles, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Columns	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1	30	9,7	26	8,0	18	5,7	15	5,0	7	2,5	14	4,4	110	6,0
2	33	10,6	50	15,5	52	16,6	39	13,0	41	14,5	36	11,4	251	13,6
3	34	11,0	24	7,4	54	17,2	35	11,7	50	17,7	46	14,6	243	13,2
4	102	32,9	109	33,7	75	23,9	67	22,3	15	5,3	30	9,5	398	21,6
5	93	30,0	93	28,8	96	30,6	124	41,3	152	53,9	156	49,4	714	38,7
6	18	5,8	21	6,5	19	6,1	20	6,7	17	6,0	34	10,8	129	7,0
Total	310	100	323	100	314	100	300	100	282	100	316	100	1845	100

Regarding the space per page (Table 66), we see that the presence of short articles was extremely few (2.4%). In relation to the pieces that occupied more space per page, 45% took at least half a page, and nearly 80% of the pieces occupied a range of at least a quarter of page. This shows the huge importance given to food content by *The New York Times*.

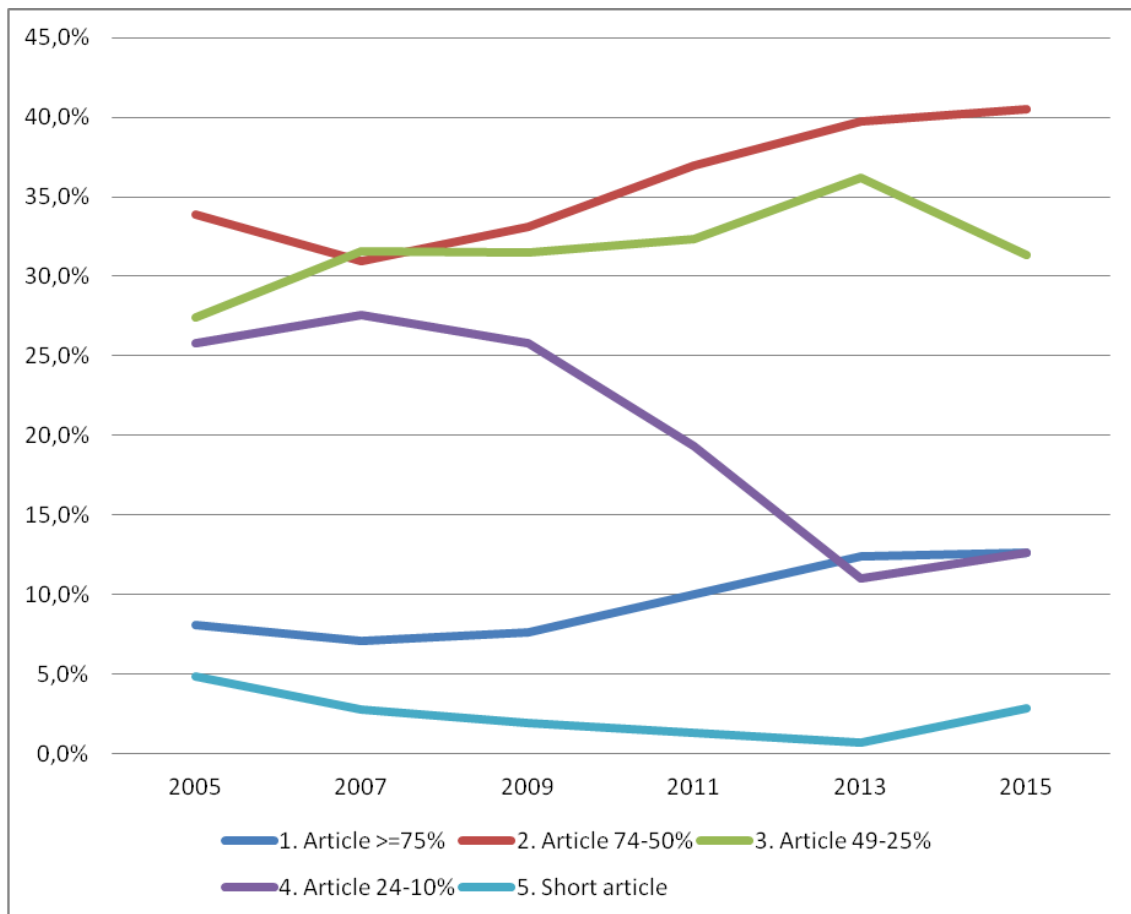
Table 66. Analysis of space per page of gastronomy articles, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Space per page	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Article >=75%	25	8,1	23	7,1	24	7,6	30	10,0	35	12,4	40	12,7	177	9,6
2. Article 74-50%	105	33,9	100	31,0	104	33,1	111	37,0	112	39,7	128	40,5	660	35,8
3. Article 49-25%	85	27,4	102	31,6	99	31,5	97	32,3	102	36,2	99	31,3	584	31,7
4. Article 24-10%	80	25,8	89	27,6	81	25,8	58	19,3	31	11,0	40	12,7	379	20,5
5. Short article	15	4,8	9	2,8	6	1,9	4	1,3	2	0,7	9	2,8	45	2,4
Total	310	100	323	100	314	100	300	100	282	100	316	100	1845	100

If we analyze the predominant genres in relation to the space that articles occupied, we conclude that the majority of pieces occupying less than a quarter of a page were news (156 to 424) and reviews (157). The pieces occupying at least half a page primarily corresponded to the information genre, that is, news (121 of 837) and reports (324). Here opinion genre had also an outstanding weight, with reviews (165), recipes (105) and food columns (90).

Figure 23 shows the evolution that articles experienced in the period analyzed according to their space per page. The articles with a space range over a quarter of a page were increasing along the sample years. While in 2005 they represented almost 70% of the total articles, in 2015 they reached 85%. Conversely, articles with a space per page less than 25% decreased from 30% in 2005 to 15% in 2015.

Figure 23. Evolution of gastronomy articles as space per page, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)



Finally, in Table 67 it is displayed the last element analyzed under this section, which refers to the signing of the 1,845 articles studied. Journalists signed practically the total sum of pieces (99.13%). Consequently, the amount of non-signed pieces or signed by the agencies was very scarce.

Table 67. Analysis of the signatures of gastronomy articles, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Signature	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Journalist	307	99,0	320	99,1	311	99,0	298	99,3	279	98,9	314	99,4	1829	99,1
2. Newsroom	1	0,3	1	0,3	2	0,6	2	0,7	0	0,0	1	0,3	7	0,4
3. Agencies	2	0,6	2	0,6	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	0,3	5	0,3
4. No signature	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	0,3	0	0,0	3	1,1	0	0,0	4	0,2
Total	310	100	323	100	314	100	300	100	282	100	316	100	1845	100

Gastronomy-based content pieces brought together 540 different journalists. Of these, only 62 journalists collaborated on four or more occasions, while 365 did on only one occasion. Contributors with a greater amount of articles were Florence Fabricant (251), Eric Asimov (98), Frank Bruni (73), Melissa Clark (72), Mark Bittman (67), Ligaya Mishan (46), Julia Moskin (44), Kim Severson (44), Sam Sifton (42), David Tanis (37), Pete Wells (36), Peter Meehan (23) and Jeff Gordinier (22). One by one are described below:

- Florence Fabricant split her contributions between information (30%), food columns (36%), restaurant reviews (28%) and recipes (6%).
- Eric Asimov's production was mainly based on the opinion genre (31% food columns and 56% wine critics), but also produced news and reports (23%).
- Frank Bruni, Ligaya Mishan, Pete Wells and Peter Meehan focused on restaurant reviews.
- Melissa Clark, Mark Bittman and David Tanis were the specialist journalists on recipes. Mark Bittman also worked along the opinion genre preparing food columns and restaurant reviews.
- Julia Moskin worked both in information and opinion genres. On the one hand, her work was located within news and reports (55%); also, she wrote reviews and recipes (45%).
- Despite preparing some opinion articles (20%), Kim Severson collaborated on the information genre (80%).
- While Sam Sifton mainly produced restaurant reviews (70%), his role also included news (14%), food columns (4%) and recipes (12%).
- Jeff Gordinier focused his contributions on news and reports (90%).

8.2. The analysis of topics

After the categorization of articles was carried out, a total amount of 2,439 topics were compiled (1,845 as main and 594 as secondary). In Table 68 we observe that although gastronomy as social fact was the category with the highest weight (20.5%), there were three other categories that counted over 10% each, which were restaurants (16.9%), products (13.5%) and elaboration of dishes (13%).

Table 68. Analysis of the themes in gastronomy articles, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Themes	n	%
1. Products	330	13,5
2. Dishes	317	13,0
3. Chefs	98	4,0
4. Restaurants	411	16,9
5. Stores	242	9,9
6. Events	103	4,2
7. Gastronomy and arts	87	3,6
8. Gastronomy as social fact	500	20,5
9. Alimentation and nutrition	54	2,2
10. Media	44	1,8
11. Places and tourism	253	10,4
Total	2439	100,0

Table 69 shows the evolution of categories throughout the period analyzed, year by year. Apart from 2005, gastronomy as social fact was the predominant topic every year. Overall, the four top-ranked topics (gastronomy as social fact, restaurants, products and dishes) represented 60% of the articles every year. In general, media, nutrition or gastronomy and arts had a very limited presence.

Table 69. Evolution of the themes of gastronomy articles, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

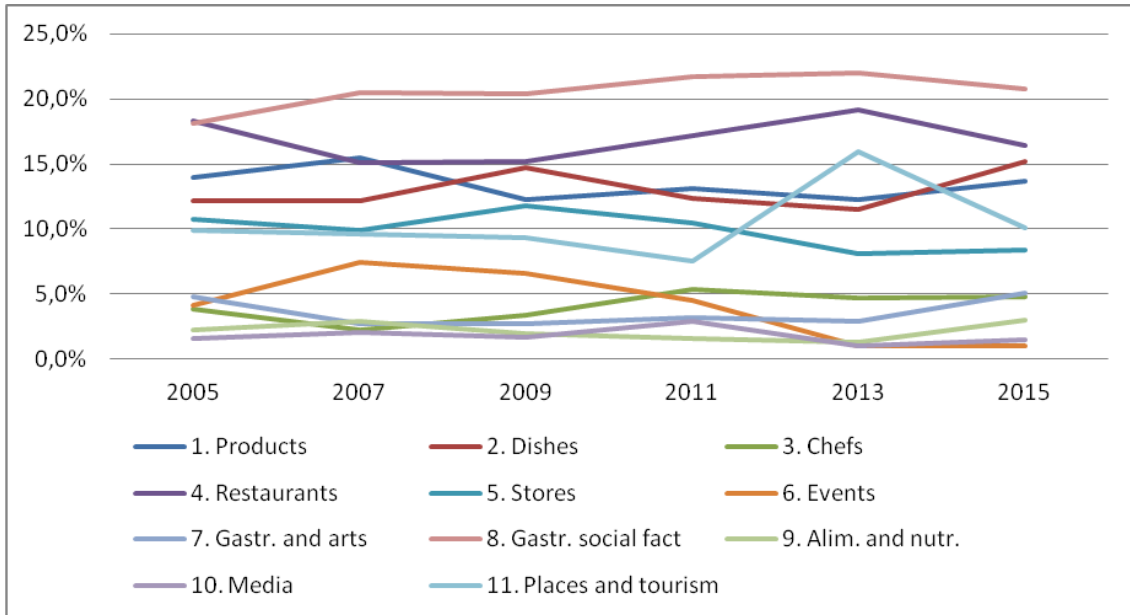
Themes	2005		2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		Total	
	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	61	14,0	69	15,5	50	12,3	49	13,1	47	12,3	54	13,7	330	13,5
2. Dishes	53	12,2	54	12,1	60	14,7	46	12,3	44	11,5	60	15,2	317	13,0
3. Chefs	17	3,9	10	2,2	14	3,4	20	5,4	18	4,7	19	4,8	98	4,0
4. Restaurants	80	18,3	67	15,1	62	15,2	64	17,2	73	19,1	65	16,5	411	16,9
5. Stores	47	10,8	44	9,9	48	11,8	39	10,5	31	8,1	33	8,4	242	9,9
6. Events	18	4,1	33	7,4	27	6,6	17	4,6	4	1,0	4	1,0	103	4,2
7. Gas. and art.	21	4,8	12	2,7	11	2,7	12	3,2	11	2,9	20	5,1	87	3,6
8. Gas. so. fact	79	18,1	91	20,4	83	20,3	81	21,7	84	22,0	82	20,8	500	20,5
9. Ali. and n.	10	2,3	13	2,9	8	2,0	6	1,6	5	1,3	12	3,0	54	2,2
10. Media	7	1,6	9	2,0	7	1,7	11	2,9	4	1,0	6	1,5	44	1,8
11. Pl. and tou.	43	9,9	43	9,7	38	9,3	28	7,5	61	16,0	40	10,1	253	10,4
Total	436	100	445	100	408	100	373	100	382	100	395	100	2439	100

Regarding the evolution of topics, in observing both Tables 68 and 69, the average presence of each category was quite similar for every year of the sample, and only for the category of places and tourism there was a peak in 2013. Nonetheless,

there were increasing trends in areas such as dishes or chefs. Other themes like stores or events tended to decrease.

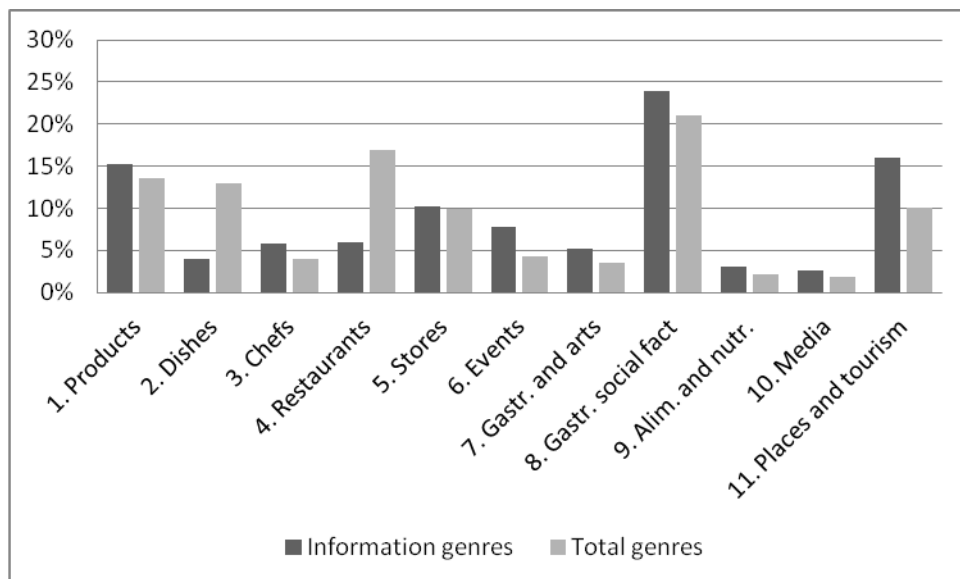
Figure 24 illustrates the evolution of categories, as explained in the previous paragraph.

Figure 24. Evolution of the themes of gastronomy articles, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)



An element of analysis introduced below is the study of categories only from the perspective of information genres. This comparison of categories between information genres and all genres is provided in Figure 25.

Figure 25. Comparison of the themes of gastronomy articles, *The New York Times* (2005-2015), according to their genre



The predominant themes remained the same in both cases, and the most significant changes were observed only in two particular directions. On the one hand, the topic of dishes was largely reduced when considering only the information (from 13% to 4%), since this issue was included within the recipes. The same happened to restaurants, primarily found on restaurant reviews; consequently, restaurants reduced their weight from 17% to 6% when considering only news' genre. On the other hand, events (+4%), gastronomy as social fact (+3%), and places and tourism (+6%), increased their importance when analysing only the information genre in respect to the total genres.

Along the following pages, categories were contrasted with some of the concepts discussed in the previous section, such as the opening of section and page, the space per page or the most representative genres for each category. First, Table 70 shows the relationship between the articles that opened section and page with their category. It is observed that 246 articles were opening section and 1,289 opening page because, for analysis purposes, the articles with two indicated categories were counted twice in the following table.

Table 70. Analysis of the articles on gastronomy that opened section and page, *The New York Times* (2005-2015), according to the topics

Themes	Opening section		Opening page	
	n	%	n	%
1. Products	45	18,3	172	13,3
2. Dishes	26	10,6	177	13,7
3. Chefs	18	7,3	50	3,9
4. Restaurants	23	9,3	171	13,3
5. Stores	19	7,7	114	8,8
6. Events	3	1,2	35	2,7
7. Gastronomy and arts	11	4,5	40	3,1
8. Gastronomy as social fact	68	27,6	281	21,8
9. Alimentation and nutrition	5	2,0	21	1,6
10. Media	3	1,2	14	1,1
11. Places and tourism	25	10,2	214	16,6
Total	246	100,0	1289	100,0

Gastronomy as social fact and products were the main categories regarding the opening section articles. It similarly happened to the page opening, where dishes, restaurants and products followed the leading categories, namely gastronomy as social fact, and places and tourism.

Next, Table 71 shows the space per page that pieces occupied in the newspaper in relation to each theme. The categories that occupied more space (over 50% of the page) were again gastronomy as social fact (217) and products (215). Also, dishes (154), restaurants (144) and places (131) had a significant presence in the pieces that occupied at least half a page.

Table 71. Analysis of the theme according to the space per page of gastronomy articles, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Themes	>=75%		74-50%		49-25%		24-10%		Short Art.		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	42	14,8	173	18,8	70	9,5	39	8,7	6	10,9	330	13,5
2. Dishes	52	18,4	112	12,2	85	11,6	66	14,8	2	3,6	317	13,0
3. Chefs	14	4,9	37	4,0	30	4,1	16	3,6	1	1,8	98	4,0
4. Restaurants	26	9,2	118	12,8	135	18,4	128	28,6	4	7,3	411	16,9
5. Stores	19	6,7	86	9,4	85	11,6	51	11,4	1	1,8	242	9,9
6. Events	2	0,7	16	1,7	25	3,4	43	9,6	17	30,9	103	4,2
7. Gast. and arts	4	1,4	24	2,6	39	5,3	15	3,4	5	9,1	87	3,6
8. Gast. soc. fact	40	14,1	187	20,3	195	26,5	66	14,8	12	21,8	500	20,5
9. Alim. and n.	3	1,1	13	1,4	30	4,1	8	1,8	0	0,0	54	2,2
10. Media	0	0,0	14	1,5	18	2,4	10	2,2	2	3,6	44	1,8
11. Places and tou.	81	28,6	139	15,1	23	3,1	5	1,1	5	9,1	253	10,4
Total	283	100	919	100	735	100	447	100	55	100	2439	100

A final aspect referred to the relationship between categories and genres, as shown in Table 72. Generally, there was more than one dominant theme in each case. Regarding news, gastronomy as social fact led (28.6%), but other categories like products, events and stores should be highlighted. Reports dealt again with gastronomy as social fact (19.3%) and products (15.1%), but here places and tourism were the greatest theme (32.1%).

In relation to the opinion genre, food and opinion columns predominantly developed gastronomy as social fact and products. Reviews and recipes were mainly associated with restaurants (and others like bars) and the preparation of dishes, as also seen in previous chapters.

Table 72. Analysis of theme presence within each genre of the articles on gastronomy, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Themes	News		News R.		Int.		F. Co.		O. Co.		Rev.		Rec.		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	103	15,4	89	15,1	1	12,5	55	20,1	22	16,3	43	8,7	17	6,4	330	13,5
2. Dishes	12	1,8	36	6,1	0	0,0	34	12,4	3	2,2	3	0,6	229	86,4	317	13,0
3. Chefs	38	5,7	31	5,2	4	50,0	6	2,2	3	2,2	13	2,6	3	1,1	98	4,0
4. Rest.	37	5,5	39	6,6	0	0,0	8	2,9	9	6,7	318	64,2	0	0,0	411	16,9
5. Stores	78	11,6	52	8,8	0	0,0	25	9,1	10	7,4	76	15,4	1	0,4	242	9,9
6. Events	86	12,8	13	2,2	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	1,5	2	0,4	0	0,0	103	4,2
7. Gast. art	51	7,6	14	2,4	0	0,0	4	1,5	5	3,7	11	2,2	2	0,8	87	3,6
8. Gast. s.f.	192	28,6	114	19,3	3	37,5	123	44,9	56	41,5	7	1,4	5	1,9	500	20,5
9. Alim. N.	31	4,6	7	1,2	0	0,0	5	1,8	8	5,9	0	0,0	3	1,1	54	2,2
10. Media	27	4,0	6	1,0	0	0,0	1	0,4	2	1,5	7	1,4	1	0,4	44	1,8
11. Pl. tou.	16	2,4	190	32,1	0	0,0	13	4,7	15	11,1	15	3,0	4	1,5	253	10,4
Total	671	100	591	100	8	100	274	100	135	100	495	100	265	100	2439	100

Finally, for the whole amount of articles analyzed, up to 3,311 keywords were written down. Of these, 2,198 words were non-repeated. Table 73 shows the list of keywords that were annotated at least six times, divided into different areas of interest.

Table 73. List of keywords mentioned >5 regarding the gastronomy content articles, *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Area	Key word	n
Places	New York	265
	California	18
	San Francisco	10
	France	10
	New Orleans	10
	London	7
	Spain	7
	Washington	7
	Burgundy	6
	Napa Valley	6
	Paris	6
	Italy	6
Products	Wine	102
	Cocktail	15
	Beer	13
	Chicken	13
	Cheese	10
	Chocolate	7
	Tomato	7
	Tea	6
Others	Book	14
	Film	13
	TV	12
	Bar	11
	Health	10
	Benefit	7
	Market	7
	Organic food	7
	The White House	7
	Cookbook	6
	Tastings	6
	Thanksgiving Day	6

The name of New York was the one repeated more times in the whole sample (265 times), which also included in terms of geographical places many United States destinations like California, San Francisco, New Orleans, Washington or Napa Valley, and also other places such as France, Spain or Italy. In relation to products, wine (102) was the most used (and the second keyword most repeated within the overall sample). Other products such as cocktail, beer, chicken or cheese were also highlighted. Neither big-name chefs nor signature restaurants appeared to be as repeated keywords, which do not mean *The New York Times* did not treat them. It is important to remember here

that the analysis of the newspapers did not include the weekend magazines where gastronomy also plays an important role.

Highlights

Food-based contents in *The New York Times* were found predominantly under opinion genre; then opinion articles accounted for more than half of the sample. Also a lot of attention was paid to gastronomy in the front page (6% of the articles were aforementioned in the cover). Moreover, more than half of gastronomy-based articles were found under a specific Food section. The crucial role of food in this newspaper derived from two facts: firstly, almost 80% of the pieces occupied a space range of at least a quarter of page; secondly, 99.13% of the articles were journalist-signed. Within the topics of interest, the most important were gastronomy as social fact, restaurants, products and dishes.

9. Comparative perspective

This chapter draws a comparative approach between the newspapers. The comparative perspective is outlined primarily between Catalan and Spanish newspapers. The case of *The New York Times* is additionally aggregated in order to see how the American newspaper was featuring gastronomy contents, and consequently to discuss to what extent it performed similarly or not to Catalan and Spanish cases.

Quantitative analysis provided evidence on the importance that food contents have had into the newspapers in Catalonia and Spain, considering issues like the amount of articles, what section they were found in, genres used, authors who signed the articles, or the categories discussed along the contents. Primarily, we see that Catalan newspapers were more aware of gastronomy than Spanish, which is probably because Catalan media inherited more from Ferran Adrià than Spanish. Additionally, the case for *The New York Times* showed even a greater interest on gastronomy. Between 2005 and 2015 *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia* showcased a total amount of 1,464 and 1,312 articles each. *El Mundo* and *El País* only 860 and 708. This draws a first conclusion, which is the greater inclusion of gastronomy contents in Catalan print media. Finally, the review for *The New York Times* provided a total amount of 1,845 articles. From this point, this section develops the results given by the comparison between the five newspapers, in terms of percentages, reviewing the different issues outlined earlier along the quantitative chapters.

Table 74 shows that news was the predominant genre for Catalan and Spanish newspapers. Nonetheless, this genre was even more important in Catalan media. Opinion columns and reviews were also an important genre. Regarding the latter, especially the Spanish newspapers show a greater focus on critics, reaching almost a third of the total articles. Analysis of American newspaper showed a reverse trend where opinion genre took over information. This is because a greater presence of food columns and recipes, which accounted almost a fourth of the sample.

Table 74. Analysis of the genre of gastronomy articles found in *El Mundo*, *El País*, *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* and *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Genres	El Mundo		El País		El Periódico		La Vanguardia		The New York Times	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. News	329	38,3	287	40,5	754	51,5	756	57,6	479	26,0
2. News report	77	9,0	100	14,1	128	8,7	96	7,3	364	19,7
3. Interview	39	4,5	12	1,7	34	2,3	7	0,5	8	0,4
4. Food column	24	2,8	12	1,7	76	5,2	24	1,8	206	11,2
5. Op. column	125	14,5	76	10,7	154	10,5	211	16,1	95	5,1
6. Reviews	260	30,2	214	30,2	176	12,0	198	15,1	464	25,1
7. Recipe	6	0,7	7	1,0	142	9,7	20	1,5	229	12,4
Total	860	100	708	100	1464	100	1312	100	1845	100

With regards to the articles found in the front page, only *El Mundo* surpassed a weight of 2%. That means that cover pages in Catalonia and Spain are still a space that pays little attention to gastronomy. This was not the case of *The New York Times*, where a 6% of the total articles were found in the front page. Most of these contents referred to a highlighted article found under the *Food* section, which appears weekly on Wednesdays.

Fortunately, this previous explanation is differently appreciated along the other analyzed issues. For example, regarding the opening of sections and pages, Table 75 shows the comparison in terms of section and page opening for the five analyzed newspapers.

Table 75. Analysis of the gastronomy articles that opened section and page found in *El Mundo*, *El País*, *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* and *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Opening	El Mundo		El País		El Periódico		La Vanguardia		The New York Times	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Section	173	20,1	275	38,8	181	12,4	266	20,3	152	8,2
Page	381	44,3	312	44,1	514	35,1	412	31,4	924	50,1

In terms of opening section *El País* is the newspaper with a higher amount of articles that opened section (almost 40% of the total gastronomy-based articles did so). This is because, as we see below, they fitted more content into supplements. *El Periódico* was clearly the newspaper that used less the food contents to open section. Regarding the opening page, Spanish newspapers showcased that almost 1 out of 2 articles opened page, while the ratio for Catalan media is 1 out of 3. In comparing this data to the American case, we observe that while half of the articles opened page, only a small amount of pieces opened section since most of the articles were found under the same section.

While the sections where gastronomy articles were quite different according to each newspaper, there is a similar trend to include the gastronomy content in embedded supplements. This phenomenon was extremely huge in *El País* (40% of the articles are found under *Travel* section), and also *El Mundo* (a third of the articles under a Leisure section). For example, according to Armentia, Caminos and Marín (2006), and regarding the case of wine critics, these authors found that the most important Spanish dailies still place these wine critics content under supplements, and even some of them found in Sunday magazines which difficults their presence into regular daily sections (Armentia, Caminos and Marín, 2006). This can be similarly applied to the results of this thesis, and also to the case of *The New York Times* and its *Food* embedded supplement section. It should be reminded here that the current study did not review weekend magazines, which normally include plenty of gastronomy contents.

This fact differed when focusing on Catalan newspapers. While *La Vanguardia* included 75% of the articles under local news, *El Periódico* spread the contents over two main sections – local news, and culture and leisure –. Results for *The New York Times* also showed a clear predominant section (*Food*). Table 76 illustrates it.

Table 76. Analysis of the sections covering the gastronomy contents found in *El Mundo*, *El País*, *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* and *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Sections	El Mundo		El País		El Periódico		La Vanguardia		The New York Times	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Business	-	-	-	-	29	2,0	64	4,9	76	4,1
Culture	229	26,6	100	14,1	-	-	66	5,0	-	-
Cult. and Leisure	-	-	-	-	447	30,5	-	-	-	-
Food	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1039	56,3
Intl. News	-	-	-	-	41	2,8	10	0,8	25	1,4
Leisure	290	33,7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Local News	37	4,3	77	10,9	500	34,2	1009	76,9	70	3,8
Main News	-	-	-	-	17	1,2	-	-	-	-
Media	13	1,5	25	3,5	39	2,7	-	-	-	-
National News	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	1,4
Obituaries	16	1,9	8	1,1	-	-	14	1,1	33	1,8
Opinion	83	9,7	26	3,7	84	5,7	103	7,9	41	2,2
Other	19	2,2	33	4,7	33	2,3	16	1,2	34	1,8
Society	-	-	14	2,0	73	5,0	-	-	-	-
Sup.(embedded)	78	9,1	153	21,6	201	13,7	30	2,3%	252	13,7
Travel	95	11,0	272	38,4	-	-	-	-	250	13,6
Total	860	100	708	100	1464	100	1312	100	1845	100

Moving on to the columns and the space per page the articles occupied, Table 77 and Table 78 provide the comparative data.

In terms of columns, only in *El País* we see a higher amount of articles with 3 or more columns (around 75%), while in the other newspapers the articles with 1 or 2 columns were always over 40%. More importantly, the space per page shows that Catalan newspapers published a fifth of their articles as short pieces. This also helps understanding the greater amount of articles found. When exploring the articles with more than half a page, while results for Spanish and Catalan newspapers were found to perform similarly, Spanish media broadly provided contents with bigger space. This explanation absolutely differed for the case of *The New York Times* where only 2.4% of the articles were short articles; and more than 75% of the articles occupied a space range over a quarter of page. This demonstrates that the importance given to gastronomy contents by *The New York Times* was huge and based on larger pieces.

Table 77. Analysis of the columns of gastronomy articles found in *El Mundo*, *El País*, *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* and *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Columns	El Mundo		El País		El Periódico		La Vanguardia		The New York Times	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
1	306	35,6	106	15,0	463	31,6	377	28,7	110	6,0
2	65	7,6	65	9,2	153	10,5	218	16,6	251	13,6
3	130	15,1	160	22,6	298	20,4	300	22,9	243	13,2
4	134	15,6	117	16,5	253	17,3	140	10,7	398	21,6
5	194	22,6	231	32,6	223	15,2	212	16,2	714	38,7
6	31	3,6	29	4,1	74	5,1	65	5,0	129	7,0
Total	860	100	708	100	1464	100	1312	100	1845	100

Table 78. Analysis of space per page of gastronomy articles found in *El Mundo*, *El País*, *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* and *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Space per page	El Mundo		El País		El Periódico		La Vanguardia		The New York Times	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
1. Article >=75%	163	19,0	109	15,4	147	10,0	120	9,1	177	9,6
2. Art. 74-50%	115	13,4	159	22,5	290	19,8	243	18,5	660	35,8
3. Art. 49-25%	243	28,3	207	29,2	289	19,7	341	26,0	584	31,7
4. Art. 24-10%	260	30,2	191	27,0	421	28,8	373	28,4	379	20,5
5. Short article	79	9,2	42	5,9	317	21,7	235	17,9	45	2,4
Total	860	100	708	100	1464	100	1312	100	1845	100

Following, the signatures' patterns are displayed. Table 79 shows the fewer amount of articles that were not journalist-signed in Spanish newspapers. This amount reached to 24.1% (*La Vanguardia*) and 37.6% (*El Periódico*) for Catalan print media. This is also because the high figures concerning short articles mostly referred to unsigned pieces. Accordingly to what was explained for *The New York Times* above, all the articles of this newspaper were signed since the contents were found to be larger than those delivered by Catalan and Spanish newspapers.

Table 79. Analysis of the signatures of gastronomy articles found in *El Mundo*, *El País*, *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* and *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Signature	El Mundo		El País		El Periódico		La Vanguardia		The New York Times	
	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
1. Journalist	763	88,7	642	90,7	913	62,4	996	75,9	1829	99,1
2. Newsroom	27	3,1	14	2,0	91	6,2	134	10,2	7	0,4
3. Agencies	3	0,3	6	0,8	4	0,3	12	0,9	5	0,3
4. No signature	67	7,8	46	6,5	456	31,1	170	13,0	4	0,2
Total	860	100	708	100	1464	100	1312	100	1845	100

Regarding the journalists, some differences were also perceived. Articles published in *El Mundo* were divided into 193 different journalists, which meant a ratio of 4.5 articles each. *El País* summed up to 205 different journalists, 3.5 each. Catalan newspapers included 176 journalists for *La Vanguardia* (7.5 articles each journalist on average) and 216 different signatures for *El Periódico* (6.8 each). While newspapers had their own home journalists – which showed a great specialization in terms of news content –, gastronomy topics were still a type of content where external collaborators played a key role, especially under opinion genres. Also, according to this, Catalan

newspapers had a more solid trajectory regarding food journalism. This pathway was more accentuated for *The New York Times*. American newspaper provided an amount of 540 journalists, with 365 journalists who signed only once, and an average ratio of 4.1 articles signed by every journalist.

Categories used to narrate the gastronomy contents along the period 2005-2015 helped drawing the answer to one of the research questions of this thesis. Below, Table 80 shows the comparative data for *El Mundo*, *El País*, *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico*, and *The New York Times*.

Table 80. Analysis of the themes of gastronomy articles found in *El Mundo*, *El País*, *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* and *The New York Times* (2005-2015)

Themes	El Mundo		El País		El Periódico		La Vanguardia		The New York Times	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Products	166	14,8	169	18,0	324	14,9	414	22,4	330	13,5
2. Dishes	17	1,5	17	1,8	200	9,2	68	3,7	317	13,0
3. Chefs	78	7,0	64	6,8	240	11,0	155	8,4	98	4,0
4. Restaurants	313	27,9	141	15,0	266	12,2	272	14,7	411	16,9
5. Stores	73	6,5	86	9,2	258	11,9	145	7,8	242	9,9
6. Events	60	5,4	57	6,1	251	11,5	162	8,8	103	4,2
7. Gas. and art.	54	4,8	115	12,2	136	6,2	116	6,3	87	3,6
8. Gas. so. fact	259	23,1	155	16,5	314	14,4	336	18,2	500	20,5
9. Ali. and n.	17	1,5	11	1,2	52	2,4	86	4,6	54	2,2
10. Media	30	2,7	42	4,5	89	4,1	60	3,2	44	1,8
11. Pl. and tou.	54	4,8	82	8,7	47	2,2	37	2,0	253	10,4
Total	1121	100	939	100	2177	100,0	1851	100,0	2439	100,0

The top three categories were the same for the four newspapers, Catalan and Spanish: products, restaurants and gastronomy as social fact. While gastronomy as social fact mainly related to how gastronomy drives into the culture, restaurants linked to star chefs. Products are a topic that fitted between both, as we discuss along the discursive analyses. This was similarly showcased for *The New York Times*, with the only difference that dishes took a big portion of the cake for the American case.

El Periódico was the newspaper that paid a higher attention to chefs. At the same time, *El Periódico* showcased a greater amount of categories with a similar weight (up to 6 categories between 10% and 15%). It was also important the weight of gastronomy and arts in *El País*. Moreover, media contents were recently increasing. Related to this, TV appeared as a clear popularizer of food phenomenon, together with Internet, blogs, or social media like Facebook, Twitter or Instagram.

Additionally, the study of topics only from the perspective of information genre emerged as an interesting element of analysis. This analysis provided similar results for all the dailies, as described in earlier chapters. There were only some variations observed regarding the restaurants – which were mostly included under restaurant

reviews as part of the reviews' genre – and to lesser extent products. Because of the amount of wine critics, products decreased their importance when considering information genre alone. This was also critical for the case of *The New York Times*.

There were two more important aspects to highlight with regards to categories. First, the performance of categories according to the space per page they occupied. Second, the development of topics in relation to their genre. When contrasting the space the articles occupied with the themes, *El Mundo* short articles had a predominance of products, while the pieces that occupied more than half page consisted of gastronomy as social fact together with the media interest generated around restaurants and chefs. Regarding *El Pais*, food and arts had a specific weight concerning short articles, but also products played an important role in categories with less space. Themes that dominated bigger spaces were restaurants and gastronomy as social fact.

Catalan newspapers also provided similar results. *La Vanguardia* contents showed that topics that filled more space were products, restaurants and gastronomy as social fact. Products and events dominated along the short articles. Finally, *El Periódico* also included products and gastronomy as social fact, added to stores, as the categories that occupied more space. In comparing these results for *The New York Times* we observe that categories that occupied more space were also gastronomy as social fact, and products. Additionally, other categories namely dishes, restaurants, and places and tourism, had a significant presence with regards to the pieces that occupied at least half a page.

An analysis genre by genre shows strong linkages between news and reports with products, events and gastronomy as social fact. Interviews were generally devoted to chefs. From the other hand, opinion genres included the binomial food columns-chefs and gastronomy as social fact, reviews-wine critics and restaurant reviews. It should be added that gastronomy as social fact was a miscellaneous topic whose content used many different genres.

Finally, in aggregating the annotated keywords for Catalan and Spanish newspapers, results provided some guidelines on where the qualitative approach may point. These keywords commonly referred to Barcelona, Madrid, Ferran Adrià, *El Bulli*, *El Celler de Can Roca*, the Michelin Guide or *MasterChef*. For the case of *The New York Times*, logically New York was the most repeated keyword; other American and non-American places and a variety of products were also keywords found along the sample.

III. QUALITATIVE STUDY

The following chapters display the results of the qualitative approach. To carry it out, the most predominant categories were described as outlined in the methodological chapter. From the database storing all the articles dealing with gastronomy contents, only those belonging to the information genre were selected, that is, news and news reports, excluding interviews. In addition, short pieces were removed. Once all the selected pieces were collected, the author proceeded to interpret them in order to carry out the discourse analysis for each newspaper.

The sections included in each newspaper qualitative analysis were thus structured according to the categories of products, chefs, restaurants and stores (which are developed together), events, gastronomy and arts, and gastronomy as social fact, which were the topics most importantly represented along the period 2005-2015. To these, news under the topic of media was also added in a seventh subsection since this exemplified an increasing relationship between TV and chefs, as discussed later. It must be noted that some articles developed contents that could fit under more than one topic; nonetheless, they were included within their predominant category.

All the articles cited along the qualitative chapters can be found by the end of the thesis under the heading newspapers' articles cited, where the articles are listed by newspaper, and by year, following a monthly structure.

10. *El Mundo* qualitative analysis

10.1. Products, traditions and the incursion of haute cuisine

Products were developed along the sample in a homogeneous way. On the one hand, it was important the close relation that products had with respect to the territory where they grow, but they were also developed in relation to criteria like innovation or quality. On the other hand, there was also a constant presence of those products linked to annual celebrations, such as chestnuts and the *Castanyada*. In addition, products were related to other themes, such as the elaboration of dishes, events, or more recently, chefs. The linkages between products and chefs show a growing trend over the last years of the sample, which developed products according to their use in haute cuisine.

First, news reported products themselves. However wines did not have an abundant presence, they were certainly present weekly through wine critics, as well as in a monthly section titled *Nuestra cata del mes* (Our tasting of the month), where the latest wines were outlined. Some pieces approached winemaking from the point of view of ecological production (namely, an article on the biodynamic methodology

found on September 18, 2009) or solidarity (a piece from January 16, 2009, that mentioned that a portion of sales of María Remírez de Ganuza served to prevent childhood cancer). It is evident, on the other hand, that wines are a product closely linked to the landscape and the territory where it is produced. This relationship between territory and produce was observed in articles that developed for example the *sobrasada* (*La bandera gastronómica de Mallorca*, November 27, 2009) or the spider-crabs of Galicia (December 23, 2011). Without leaving behind the importance of territories, there were products that rose to the category of traditions, and could be observed in *El Mundo* for the case of chestnuts or *panellets* (sweet buns), linked to the tradition of All Saints Day (October 22, 2007). This article could also fit into the category of gastronomy as a social fact. Other products also had a journalistic interest because of their novelty, and because they offered pathways for culinary innovation. This was the case of quinoa (January 30, 2011) or jellyfish (June 14, 2013), whose interest was accentuated by the increasing use of them by high cuisine chefs, a topic that is developed below.

The category of products, in turn, is a complex theme that was developed in close connection with other topics. Events was one of the most incisive. For example, the presence of products in the Week of Andalusia in Barcelona, or more particularly some themed days focused on beer or mushrooms, where to highlight the *Jornadas Micológicas de Navaleno* or the *Jornadas Gastronómicas de las Setas de la Alta Ribagorça*. Although in the category of events this is developed further, there was a strong relationship between products and certain times of the year, and in particular, linked with ancient cultural traditions.

As we progressed in the years of study, there was an increasing presence of the use of products in haute cuisine. Logically this was linked to the popularity of gastronomy – star chefs – and their ability to raise products to the gastronomy altars. Coffee was one example. “It is 10 years ago since Ferran Adrià astonished the world with his coffee to eat” (February 4, 2011)¹. Also the steamed bun had its room into this tend (bao or baozi, bun in English and *mollete chino* in Spanish) (March 27, 2015). The article highlighted its use by chefs in their menus, such as Alberto Chicote or especially David Muñoz.

10.2. The cooks, a growing media presence

Chefs were present throughout the sample. Although at the beginning there were fewer references, and especially associated with local chefs or also local events where they participated, later, star chefs had a growing presence.

¹ “Ya hace 10 años que Ferran Adrià asombraba al mundo con su café para comer”.

Some initial pieces highlighted the participation of chefs in master classes or in the elaboration of special menus for Christmas, as for the case of Ramón Freixa and Romain Fornell (December 9, 2007). Dinners organized in La Pedrera were another example in the same direction, with chefs such as Felip Llufrí, Nandu Jubany, Fina Puigdevall and Carles Gaig (July 3, 2009).

Logically, the presence of chefs included Ferran Adrià, the Roca brothers or David Muñoz². They experience three different stages in their gastronomic careers.

Ferran Adrià, who nowadays owns no restaurant, was present on the pages of the newspaper for example due to his investiture as Doctor Honoris Causa by the University of Barcelona (December 18, 2007) and because of his projects, such as the exhibition *The Art of Food* (July 5, 2013). The brothers Roca, owners of *El Celler de Can Roca*, appeared in *El Mundo* because in 2013 they were awarded the best restaurant in the world according to *Restaurant Magazine* list. "One of the virtues that has enthroned *El Celler de Can Roca* is that it has no weak points because thanks to the abilities of the three brothers is unbeatable in sweet flavors as salty, and in wines" (May 4, 2013)³. In this way, the throne of the world gastronomy was once again occupied by a Catalan restaurant, after *El Bulli* legacy. Finally, regarding David Muñoz, his meteoric rise was highlighted. He became the youngest Spanish cook to get the three-Michelin stars in the year 2013 (November 21, 2013). The presence of celebrity chefs is also discussed throughout the next sections.

10.3. Restaurants and other gastronomic spaces

Restaurants had a great presence in reviews, which included establishments of different locations, both national and international. Restaurant reviews also showed a pathway in terms of types of kitchens that are in fashion, and this is the case of exotic and fusion cuisine, which was mentioned on several occasions, and particularly the Japanese or Peruvian. But, in relation to news, the presence of restaurants moved hand in hand with chefs.

Thus, the most recognized establishments were present throughout the period, either in news regarding their chefs, or due to the distinctions that are discussed later in the sub section of events. In 2013, also, *El Mundo* showcased a series of news reports that reviewed the best restaurants in the world according to *Restaurant Magazine*.

² Also known as Dabiz Muñoz.

³ "Una de las virtudes que ha entronizado al Celler de Can Roca es que no tiene puntos débiles porque gracias a las habilidades de los tres hermanos es imbatible tanto en los sabores dulces como en los salados y en los vinos".

Beyond these, day-to-day information dealt with establishments linked to chefs with Michelin stars. For example, the collaboration between *Espai Sucre* and *Dos Cielos* (September 16, 2011), regarding the new creations of Nespresso, or the opening of *Tickets* (March 1, 2011), by Albert Adrià, as well as the new restaurants of Jordi Vilà or Paco Pérez (November 4, 2011).

There was also an initiative worth noting that showed these discursive linkages among chefs and restaurants. In this case, chefs exchanged their kitchens. “A total of 37 chefs from around the world with their own establishment and enough popular attraction participated in the challenge of cooking away from their homes, without their equipment and with the obligation to create a menu that interpreted the culinary ideas of the host. The *Mugaritz* of Andoni Luis Aduriz and the *Pakta* of Albert Adrià were the only ones in Spain who assumed the challenge proposed by the organization of the event in November 2014” (July 11, 2015)⁴. Similar it was found a piece that highlighted “restaurants from around the world participate this November in Tel Aviv in the ambitious exchange of *Round Tables* kitchens, with the Barcelona *Tragaluz* as the only Spanish representative” (November 19, 2015)⁵.

Not only restaurants were media represented, but also other establishments such as ice cream shops, bodegas, bakeries, markets, pizzerias – Fabián Martín –, cocktail bars – Javier de las Muelas –, or cafes. In general, examples were based in Barcelona, and to a lesser extent, in Madrid. Finally, the contents included in this category also echoed gastronomic spaces, such as the case of *Nacional*, the largest gastronomic center in Europe (March 14, 2015).

10.4. Michelin stars and the best restaurants in the world

Within the category of events, the most important events, which were found year after year in the pages of the newspaper, were the delivery of Michelin stars, and the nomination of the best restaurants in the world by Restaurant. In addition, many articles that treated a great diversity of events, as follows:

- Fairs and festivals, such as the day of wine tourism in the wineries of Castilla-La Mancha (November 6, 2009), the *Food & Sun* gastronomy festival

⁴ “Un total de 37 chefs de todo el mundo con establecimiento propio y suficiente tirón popular participaron del reto que suponía cocinar lejos de sus casas, sin sus equipos y con la obligación de crear un menú que interpretara el ideario culinario de acogida. El *Mugaritz* de Andoni Luis Aduriz y el *Pakta* de Albert Adrià fueron los únicos en España que asumieron el reto propuesto por la organización del evento en noviembre de 2014”.

⁵ “Restaurantes de todo el mundo participan este noviembre en Tel Aviv en el ambicioso intercambio de cocinas *Round Tables*, con el *Tragaluz* de Barcelona como único representante español”.

(September 18, 2009) or the 14th *Feria del pan, la harina y el trigo* in Castelló d'Empúries (June 10, 2011).

- Routes such as those organized in Barcelona around pinchos (November 25, 2011).
- Museums also participated in the gastronomic context. For example, themed dinners in the *Maritime Museum* of Barcelona (July 1, 2011).
- Celebrations like the *Year of the Gastronomy*, and events like the chocolate egg hung in the statue of Columbus in Barcelona (March 29, 2005).
- Anniversaries, such as the celebration of the 33rd anniversary of *Gimlet* Cocktail Bar (December 3, 2013) or the celebration of the 20th anniversary of *Can Jubany* restaurant (December 1, 2015).
- Some annual awards were also referred to, like *Acadèmia Catalana de Gastronomia* awards (March 27, 2009) or the X Gastronomic Awards of *La Luna de Metròpolis* this latter recognizing the most outstanding establishments and restaurant professionals in Madrid (February 8, 2013).
- Gastronomic congresses such as *Madrid Fusión* (January 23, 2013).

As mentioned earlier, the delivery of the Michelin stars was one of the media events every year. "One hundred editions, one hundred, has fulfilled the Michelin Guide, so the 2009 harvest was presented yesterday between the stucco and the tinsel of the D'Orsay Museum. At the end, the old railway station of Paris was inaugurated the same year, 1900, in which the family of the tires divulged gratuitously the first culinary breviary. Some restaurants that were recommended to the traveler 109 years ago are still opened" (March 3, 2009)⁶. The delivery of the stars in Spain was also reported in an article on December 9, 2009. The same focus was found again in the pages of the newspaper in 2011, when "no Spanish restaurant has climbed to the podium of three-Michelin stars 2012, and both *Can Fabes*, who loses a star after the death of Santi Santamaría, and *El Bulli*, which closes and disappears from the list, have ceased to be. In Spain, therefore, there are five *triestrellados*, three in the Basque

⁶ "Cien ediciones, cien, ha cumplido la guía Michelin, de manera que la cosecha de 2009 se presentó ayer entre los estucos y los oropeles del Museo D'Orsay. Al cabo, la antigua estación ferroviaria de París se inauguró el mismo año, 1900, en que la familia de los neumáticos divulgó gratuitamente el primer breviario culinario. Todavía están en pie algunos restaurantes que se recomendaron al viajero hace 109 años".

Country (*Arzak, Berasategui and Subijana*) and two in Catalonia (*Sant Pau and El Celler de Can Roca*)” (November 25, 2011)⁷.

It is logical, therefore, that they focused mainly on three-starred restaurants, but also on the comparative Madrid-Barcelona that had in recent years the focus on chef David Muñoz, who would get his third star in 2013, which was already mentioned earlier. “The capital’s restaurant *Diverxo* has obtained the third Michelin star in the 2014 edition of the red guide for Spain and Portugal. This amounts to eight the number of peninsular establishments that the anonymous inspectors of the French tire company place in the Olimpo of the planetary cuisine [...] this edition reflects the good gastronomic moment of the Iberian Peninsula, with 25 new establishments with stars. In a difficult economic context, restaurateurs have been able to find their place, offering a mature gastronomic panorama, with a diversified offer and new formulas that enrich the sector” (November 21, 2013)⁸.

The second most transcendent element throughout the study sample was the *List of the World’s Best Restaurants* “in an act that can be considered as the Oscars of Gastronomy” (April 21, 2009)⁹. For example, in 2007, up to four Spanish restaurants were among the eleven best in the world according to the British magazine *Restaurant*: *El Bulli* (1st), *Mugaritz* (7th), *Arzak* (10th) and *El Celler de Can Roca* (11th). In 2009, there were four Spaniards among the 10 best chefs in the world, and *El Bulli* as the best restaurant in the world for the fourth year. Chef Ferran Adrià reported that “for *El Bulli*, it’s wonderful, it’s like if a film director gets five Oscars in eight years, but, above all, it’s very important for Spanish cuisine. It is a recognition of the work of all of us. Ten years ago, it was unthinkable that Spain would occupy these posts” (April 21, 2009)¹⁰.

In 2011, again we found news on the list of *Restaurant Magazine*, where the *Noma* restaurant in Copenhagen, run by René Redzepi, consolidated the first place on

⁷ “Ningún restaurante español se ha subido al podio de las tres estrellas Michelin 2012 y tanto Can Fabes, que pierde una estrella tras la muerte de Santi Santamaría, como El Bulli, que cierra y desaparece de la lista, han dejado de estarlo. Así, en España quedan, pues, cinco 'triestrellados', tres en el País Vasco (*Arzak, Berasategui y Subijana*) y dos en Cataluña (*Sant Pau y El Celler de Can Roca*)”.

⁸ “El restaurante capitalino *Diverxo* ha obtenido la tercera estrella Michelin en la edición 2014 de la guía roja de España y Portugal. De esta forma se eleva a ocho el número de establecimientos peninsulares que los inspectores anónimos de la compañía francesa de neumáticos sitúan en el Olimpo de la cocina planetaria [...] esta edición refleja el buen momento gastronómico de la Península Ibérica, con 25 nuevos establecimientos con estrellas. En un contexto económico difícil, los restauradores han sabido encontrar su lugar, ofreciendo un panorama gastronómico maduro, con una oferta diversificada y nuevas fórmulas que enriquecen el sector”.

⁹ “En un acto que se puede considerar como los Oscar de la cocina”.

¹⁰ “Para *El Bulli*, es maravilloso, es como si a un director de cine le dieran cinco Oscar en ocho años, pero, sobre todo, es muy importante para la cocina española. Es un reconocimiento al trabajo de todos. Hace 10 años, era impensable que España ocupara estos puestos”.

the list, and *El Cellar de Can Roca* was the second best. “*El Cellar de Can Roca* borns from a local that the parents of Roca brothers opened in 1967 in the district of Talalà, the charnego district of Girona. In 1986, Josep and Joan emancipated themselves and opened their own establishment next to the family restaurant. Joan is the cook; Josep runs the bodega. In 2007, the second generation (already made into a trio with the incorporation of Jordi, the pastry chef), was established in a venue that lived up to its ambitions. In 2009, their third Michelin star came. In 2010, the restaurant invoiced 2.2 million euros, according to the newspaper *Expansión*. And now, their silver position in the *Restaurant’* survey” (April 19, 2011)¹¹. In 2013, they reached the first gold, and the second top-placed position arrived in 2015. In the meanwhile, the great historical protagonist disappeared from this list: *El Bulli* by Ferran Adrià, after its closure.

10.5. Gastronomy and the arts, from books to audiovisual productions

Within the category of gastronomy and arts, there was a great heterogeneity of examples, among which we found the literature, but also the museums or cinema. All of them are described below.

In relation to literature, references to book publications were abundant year after year, and referred to both recipe books, guides, as well as to novels. An example is *El atlas comestible. Una vuelta al mundo a través de 40 gastronomías*, from Mina Holland – editor of *Cook*, the culinary supplement of the English newspaper *The Guardian* –, “in which she provides with recipes from all over the globe and texts that allow a simple but well-documented approach to the gastronomy of the planet” (January 8, 2015)¹².

Literary prizes were also a theme developed by some articles, such as the piece found on October 5, 2007. This article highlighted the 2007 *Sent Soví* Award for culinary literature that was awarded to Carmen and Gervasio Posadas for the novel *La vida es como un suflé* or the *Juan Mari Arzak Prize* awarded to Pau Arenós for a series of four articles entitled *La cocina tecnoemocional*, published in *El Periódico*. In the context of literature, it is not possible to forget the role that cafes played as literary centers in a not so distant past. This was the case of Café Gijón, in Madrid (August 29,

¹¹ “El Cellar de Can Roca parte de un local que los padres de los Roca abrieron en 1967 en el barrio de Talalà, el barrio charnego de Gerona. En 1986, Josep y Joan se emanciparon y abrieron su propio establecimiento junto al restaurante familiar. Joan es el cocinero; Josep dirige la bodega. En 2007, la segunda generación (convertida ya en un trío con la incorporación de Jordi, el pastelero), se estableció en un local a la altura de sus ambiciones. En 2009, llegó su tercera estrella Michelin. En 2010, el restaurante facturó 2,2 millones de euros, según el diario *Expansión*. Y ahora, su plata en la encuesta de *Restaurant’*”.

¹² “En el que aporta recetas provenientes de todo el globo y textos que permiten un acercamiento sencillo y bien documentado a las gastronomías del planeta” (8 de enero de 2015).

2007), or for today Barcelona examples like *Granja de Gavà* bar, or *Sala Vivaldi* (July 27, 2007).

Another important example, within the genre of black novel that has so much related to the gastronomy, was *El sabor de Venecia. A la mesa con Brunetti* by Donna Leon, a work, “a tribute to her readers, as lovers of the wanderings of commissar Brunetti as of the good hand of his faithful Paola in the stoves, [and that] shows that there are two types of literary detectives: the gourmands of the south and *those of the hot dogs* of the north”¹³. Additionally, within the same genre, “Vázquez Montalbán and his detective Pepe Carvalho were the first in Spain to marry crime and culinary hedonism, using a fashionable term in this gourmand society. But the influences had come from France, from the hand of Simenon and his commissar Maigret, and more specifically his wife. The recipes of Madame Maigret, prologue by Simenon, are a compendium of popular French cuisine” (April 11, 2011)¹⁴. Consequently, the way of eating of these deputies is part of the cultural heritage. In the same direction, it was offered in Barcelona the first enogastronomic route dedicated to the detective Carvalho (June 27, 2013).

Moving to museums, there were also several examples. One, the exhibition of *Natures Mortes* (Still Life) at the National Museum of Art of Catalonia (MNAC) (March 27, 2007), which allowed visitors to “walk among grapes, pomegranates, nuts, vegetables and all kinds of food”¹⁵. Another example was found in the Egyptian Museum of Barcelona, which offered, as part of a guided tour, the chance to taste dishes that bring people back to the historical cuisine of the Ancient Egypt (August 6, 2011).

Cinema was also important, as shown by the *Cinéma Gourmand* cycle organized by the French Institute in Barcelona to commemorate the *Year of Gastronomy* organized by the Barcelona City Council and *Turisme de Barcelona* (May 13, 2005). The goal was to explain, through the different films, the history of French gastronomy and cuisine, from the Renaissance to the present day, with films such as *Vatel* or *Le Souper*. Without leaving the audiovisual productions, *El Mundo* highlighted the signature restaurant *El Celler de Can Roca*; “*El somni*, a feast that appeals to the five senses and that Roca brothers have cooked with the help of Fran Aleu and the

¹³ “Homenaje a sus lectores, tan amantes de las andanzas del comisario Brunetti como de la buena mano de su fiel Paola en los fogones, [y que] demuestra que hay dos tipos de detectives literarios: los gastrónomos del sur y 'los del perrito caliente' del norte”.

¹⁴ “Vázquez Montalbán y su detective Pepe Carvalho fueron los primeros en España en maridar crimen y hedonismo culinario, utilizando un término de moda en esta sociedad golosa. Pero las influencias habían llegado de Francia, de la mano de Simenon y su comisario Maigret y, más en concreto, de su esposa. Las recetas de Madame Maigret, prologado por Simenon, es un compendio de la cocina francesa popular”.

¹⁵ “Pasearse entre uvas, granadas, nueces, verduras y toda suerte de alimentos”.

composer Albert Guinovart. The Roca aims with this experience – which will premiere in Barcelona but then plans to travel to different cities of five continents – at discovering to the diners how fear or war may taste” (May 4, 2013)¹⁶. Also important it was *Menú Degustació*, with the collaboration of celebrity chefs like Ferran Adrià, Carme Ruscalleda and the Roca brothers themselves (June 11, 2013).

10.6. Gastronomy as a social fact: a tutti frutti

This category touched the gastronomy from different approaches. First of all, regarding its relationship with celebrity chefs and other personalities. Then, linked with disciplines as further as beauty or politics. Finally, and possibly the most important part within this section, gastronomic tendencies were also found important in the pages of *El Mundo* throughout the analyzed period.

The first approach was the nexus between gastronomy and star chefs. Consequently, how gastronomy became a relevant social fact was exemplified thanks to its links to chefs and restaurants. For example, chef Sergi Arola, along with other personalities, “publicly gave his support to the candidacy of Madrid in its bid to host the 2012 Olympic Games” (July 5, 2005)¹⁷. Within this section we also found examples such as the presence of Fermí Puig as Spain’s ambassador (July 11, 2009) or the participation of Ferran Adrià, along with other Spanish celebrities such as Vicente del Bosque and Concha Velasco, in the promotion of Spain National Day (October 1, 2009).

In this sense, Ferran Adrià was the protagonist of several more news. Some examples were the collaboration between him and the cardiologist Valentí Fuster in a *Fundació Àlicia* food education program (April 14, 2005), or the piece that said that Ferran Adrià promoted *tapas* around the world (March 9, 2011). The phenomenon of *tapas* is also mentioned a little further down. Santi Santamaría (June 29, 2009) – whose obituary is mentioned in the year 2011 (February 20, 2011) - or Karlos Arguiñano (July 26, 2011) were also mentioned in some of the articles analyzed.

On the other hand, there was a constant concern regarding the standards of the Michelin Guide and the profitability of haute cuisine restaurants. This was reflected for example in the resignation of chef Alain Senderens (May 29, 2005) to the three Michelin stars, due to the requirements of the guide but also because of high costs. This fact was aggravated by the economic crisis, when high-end restaurants lose

¹⁶ “*El somni*, un banquete que apela a los cinco sentidos y que han cocinado con la ayuda de Fran Aleu (colaborador habitual de La Fura dels Baus) y el compositor Albert Guinovart. Los Roca pretenden con esta experiencia –que debutará en Barcelona pero que después tiene previsto viajar por distintas ciudades de los cinco continentes– descubrir a los comensales a qué puede saber el miedo o la guerra”.

¹⁷ “Dio públicamente su apoyo a la candidatura de Madrid en su intento de albergar los Juegos Olímpicos de 2012”.

customers and see their turnover reduced, then forced to lower prices (February 1, 2009). In 2013, another piece highlighted “the hard battle of Michelin-star chefs to make their businesses profitable” (December 15, 2013)¹⁸.

In addition, a series of news included gastronomic elements as part of the present time, and that usually related to celebrity. Some referred to the chefs themselves and their social life, such as the marriage between Cristina Pedroche and chef David Muñoz (December 25, 2015), or the love relationship between chef Sergi Arola and Silvia Fominaya (April 4, 2015). It also highlighted the gastronomic route of the King of Spain Don Juan Carlos, which led him to diner at some of the most prestigious restaurants in Spain (March 14, 2015). Personalities that come from non-gastronomic areas were also increasingly encouraged to invest in their own establishments. This was the case of the gastronomic adventure of football player Gerard Piqué in Barcelona (May 23, 2015), or a restaurant with Spanish cuisine, scheduled to open in Madrid in late March, which is a project involving athletes such as Pau Gasol, Rafa Nadal and Rudy Fernández, or singer Enrique Iglesias (January 24, 2015). Finally, the wine production initiated by Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie (February 16, 2013) was also noteworthy.

Gastronomy was also present in the beauty sector, such as the use of wine or cava as part of beauty treatments (May 13, 2011). Even politics also entered this context of gastronomy as a social fact. This was illustrated thanks to an article entitled *Bush invita a 'perritos calientes' a Sarkozy* (August 12, 2007). It referred to the lunch that the American president offered to his French colleague in the framework of an official reception. “The lunch, defined as *informal*, consisted of typical American picnic food: hot dogs and hamburgers”¹⁹.

In analysing the trends, one is the boom of *tapas*. *Bar Tomás* was an exemple; it was considered the most internationally renowned in the city of Barcelona, and even appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*. Other *tapas* bars in the Eixample and El Born were also mentioned. Moreover, a study by *Forbes* magazine acknowledged Barcelona’s *tapas* tradition by including it among the best six cities in the world where to eat *tapas*. Another growing trend was vermouth consumption. “It has long ceased to be the star drink of bars late in the morning, but vermouth is regaining its place in the world thanks to the avant-garde chefs, who take advantage of their enormous

¹⁸ “La dura batalla de los cocineros con estrellas Michelin para hacer rentables sus negocios”.

¹⁹ “El almuerzo, definido como ‘informal’, consistió en la típica comida de picnic norteamericana: perritos calientes y hamburguesas”.

potential” (August 21, 2009)²⁰. The article included historical references for both national and international vermouths.

Another trend that could not be ignored was slow food. “In facing rapidity, the slow movement asserts itself and promotes a philosophy of life related to responsible and sustainable consumption, related to respect for the environment and artisan production. A severe attack against accelerated life” (August 16, 2015)²¹. This actually was manifested in Catalan towns such as Begues in Barcelona, or Begur and Pals in Girona.

Finally, food tourism appeared as a growing phenomenon for the enjoyment of gastronomy. This was related to products – wine – and events and routes, and logically with different destinations. The case of wine was extensively reported for destinations such as Penedès (December 13, 2007), Rioja (March 29, 2011) or Lavaux, France (December 29, 2007). Although wine tourism was the most important type of culinary tourism, there were some references to other types of specialist gastronomic tourisms, namely mushrooms-based tourism (November 1, 2011).

Destinations were another element that increasingly focused their appeal on the gastronomic component. Throughout the analysis there were many references that dealt with national and international destinations, highlighting its gastronomy. In particular, about Barcelona, it was reported: “the gastronomy, authentic... heart of the big city that beats to the rhythm of the markets and is fed by its more than 10,000 restaurants” (April 2, 2005)²². La Boqueria market was highlighted as one of the main food landmarks.

10.7. Gastronomy and television, a relationship that gets consolidated

Gastronomy started to have its space in Spanish and Catalan television for more than three decades, but it was only definitely consolidated during the last decade. Already in the year 2005 a program example was reported in *El Mundo: Quixote, a pedir de boca* (December 23, 2005), a series of public Spanish Television that had the dual objective of showing the kitchen and the table in the time of Cervantes, and also helped recovering the food culture of Castilla-La Mancha. Another example was found

²⁰ “Hace tiempo que dejó de ser la bebida estrella de los bares a última hora de la mañana, pero el vermú está recuperando su lugar en el mundo gracias a los cocineros de vanguardia, que aprovechan su enorme potencial”.

²¹ “Frente a la velocidad, el movimiento slow (lento) se reivindica y promulga una filosofía de vida relacionada con el consumo responsable y sostenible, emparentada con el respeto por el medio ambiente y la producción artesanal. Una ofensiva en toda regla contra la vida acelerada”.

²² “La gastronomía, auténtico... corazón de la gran urbe que late al ritmo de los mercados y se alimenta con el flujo que le inyectan sus más de 10.000 restaurantes”.

in 2007, with the premiere of the program *El toque Ariel* (January 29), a gastronomic show with Argentine chef Ariel Rodríguez. This new airing contrasted with the cooking program of Karlos Arguiñano, which, already consolidated, celebrated the 600 programmes (May 6, 2007).

Later, starting in 2013, the newspapers began to echo the culinary shows. Thus, in the relationship between gastronomy and television, reality shows stood out. One of them is *Pesadilla en la cocina* (Spanish for *Kitchen Nightmares*), under its second season in Spain, with the chef Alberto Chicote running the program adapted from the original version carried out by also media chef Gordon Ramsey (July 1, 2013). *MasterChef* was another example. This talent show had already been produced in 40 countries and had been aired in 200 nations (April 10, 2013). Another gastronomic broadcast, now as an example of fiction series, was *Gran Reserva* (May 13, 2013). Gastronomy, therefore, was present both in the framework of series, but also as a full entity in culinary shows.

Finally, *Cuatro* television was studying a program in which they would visit the cooks that are around the world to know the gastronomy of their countries. At the same time, “the chain recently announced that it has started casting *Deja sitio para el postre*, a new bakery show where Paco Torreblanca, considered one of the best bakers in the world, leads the group of professionals who will look for the new Spanish pastry chef” (October 11, 2013)²³. It is evident, then, that TV chains have found a huge hook with these culinary formats. Already in 2015, in relation to the programs in Spanish Television, and after the end of *MasterChef* season, another show arrived: *Cocineros al volante*, with Carlos Maldonado, the winner of *MasterChef*, as one of its contestants that competed for being the best food truck in Spain (July 7, 2015). Regarding *Master Chef*, references were also made to its junior version (December 1, 2015).

Highlights

The discourse on gastronomy in *El Mundo* demonstrated that celebrity chefs were paying an increasing attention to traditional products. At the same time, big-name restaurants’ initiatives dominated the media scene. As a result of the binomial of chefs and restaurants, the delivery of Michelin stars and the *Restaurant* list ceremony were crucial event-based news. It was also interesting the fact that there was a high amount of gastronomy news related to arts.

²³ “La cadena anunció recientemente que ha iniciado el casting de *Deja sitio para el postre*, un nuevo programa de repostería donde Paco Torreblanca, considerado uno de los mejores reposteros del mundo, encabeza el grupo de profesionales que buscará al nuevo maestro pastelero español”.

11. *El País* qualitative analysis

11.1. Products serve haute cuisine

The analysis of products revealed an interest in quality products, which also included Designations of Origin. However, especially as time went on, news was focused on a growing use of certain products in haute cuisine, by the star chefs, as also explained for the previous case.

In relation to the quality of products, there was for example a piece where it was reported that the European Commission approved the Protected Designation of Origin *Sidra de Asturias* (December 28, 2005). Other examples were linking exclusivity to price, and they highlighted products such as cherries *Cherries Glamour* (March 15, 2007) or wine *La Ermita*, in Priorat, considered the most expensive in Catalonia (October 4, 2009).

Without leaving the wine, very present through wine critics as well, there was interest on new methods of production, such as biodynamic viticulture (May 25, 2013) or a recent trend that used natural processes, like fermentation in amphorae (December 3, 2013). This piece allowed to set a linkage with another element of interest, which was the return to traditional products, developed in a piece that dealt with the making of bread in traditional ovens (August 1, 2007).

Products were also treated from the perspective of their use in haute cuisine. This is the case of nougat: “Although excellence has been anonymous for centuries, great chefs add to the nougat’s concern. New shapes (elongated, curled, square, ovoid) and breaking textures and flavors appear in the trend of author nougats” (December 3, 2013)²⁴. There were highlighted the cases of Ferran Adrià or Jordi Roca, but also pastry chefs Paco Torreblanca and Oriol Balaguer. This phenomenon was observed in other traditional products, such as olive (September 29, 2011) and also in relation to more innovative products, the case of yuzu (June 10, 2011).

11.2. The type of cuisine that chefs carry out

Chefs under *El País* were developed mostly from the point of view of the type of cuisine in which they were specialized. Although it is true that Ferran Adrià occupied much of the media interest, the broader interest for chefs was considerably growing.

²⁴ “Aunque la excelencia lleva siglos en manos anónimas, grandes chefs se suman a la inquietud por el turrón. Nuevas formas (alargadas, en rulo, cuadradas, ovoidales...) y texturas y sabores rompedores abren boca en la tendencia de turrones de autor”.

This related primarily to Catalan and Spanish chefs, but also included references to international chefs.

Ferran Adrià is present on several occasions throughout the sample, in pieces of different kinds, such as due to his distinction as Doctor Honoris Causa by the University of Barcelona. “The candidature was proposed by the Faculty of Chemistry for its cultural and scientific merits, for its contributions to science and the chemistry of food” (December 18, 2007)²⁵. Also, Ferran Adrià appeared in *El País* because of his collaborations for the creation of a collection of household linen with Armand Basi (September 16, 2005) or his willingness to create a laboratory 2.0 to internationalize the Iberian ham, with Joselito (September 20, 2013). It was also on news, on August 23, 2011, when he toured China to better understand Asian culinary arts.

National chefs stood out thanks to their culinary proposals, such as Carme Ruscalleda for her work with Mediterranean flavors (July 11, 2007) and, especially, rice (October 6, 2013). There were also other chefs mentioned, usually with Michelin stars, such as Dani García (December 5, 2007), Angel León (April 6, 2013), David Muñoz’s innovative cuisine proposals (October 25, 2007) and even the development of techniques for future cooking that were explored by chefs such as Paco Roncero or the Roca brothers (February 24, 2013).

As for the international chefs, they were not only included by geographical or cultural proximity, but also by their novelty, as it is the case of Japanese chef Narisawa (June 12, 2009), or Nordic cooks (August 21, 2007). Thus, for example, there were pieces about chefs such as the Mexican Enrique Olvera (June 6, 2013), French as Joël Robuchon (May 25, 2005), or the British media star Gordon Ramsay (January 24, 2015). Finally, in the relationship between national and international chefs, there was also a collaboration project between star chefs who exchanged kitchens for one day. This included the participation of Albert Adrià and Andoni Luis Aduriz (May 2, 2015; July 11, 2015).

11.3. Some restaurants and other establishments

The themes of restaurants and other establishments that deliver food were found to have different approaches. On the one hand, the presence of some of the most recognized spots. For example, the piece that highlighted the spring menus of some starred restaurants like *Quique Dacosta*, *Restaurante Calima* by Dani Garcia or *Mugaritz* by Aduriz (April 14, 2011). Also the article about the restaurant *Les Cols* (March 4, 2011). On the other hand, a variety of other establishments such as cocktail

²⁵ “La candidatura fue propuesta por la Facultad de Química por sus méritos culturales y científicos, por sus aportaciones a la ciencia y a la química de los alimentos”.

bars (August 25, 2007), fish shops (August 27, 2013) and even specialist donut shops (November 29, 2013) were mentioned.

Some new trends in restaurants were also present in this section, such as a local in Barcelona that charges according to the time that customers spend in it (December 13, 2015), or the first restaurant in Spain, also opened in Barcelona, where people eat in the dark (December 30, 2009). Similarly, there was another piece that highlighted the opening to public of cafes and bars in luxury hotels (December 3, 2005). “A cocktail at the Danieli hotel bar in Venice; a chocolate cake at Sacher in Vienna, and a brunch at the Soho Grand in New York. An original and accessible way to see mythical hotels”²⁶. Other establishments were remarkable for their uniqueness and success, such as *Les Grands Buffets*, near Narbonne (August 29, 2015), an establishment where 270,000 people dine annually.

11.4. The events, around celebrity chefs

The topic of events was developed around several axes. Firstly, fairs and festivals. Secondly, contests and celebrations. Thirdly, the gastronomic summits, notably *Madrid Fusión*. And fourthly, the awards, where the delivery of Michelin stars and the distinction of the 50 best restaurants in the world by *Restaurant Magazine* had an astonishing media presence. Most of these events, as seen below, were developed around star chefs.

Regarding fairs and festivals, these were mentioned throughout all the period. Nonetheless, there were no repeated examples. These included a chocolate fair in Barcelona (November 4, 2005) or a *calçot* festival in Valls, Alt Camp (January 31, 2005). More recently, the *Fenavín* Wine Fair (April 24, 2015) or the New York City *Wine and Food Festival* (October 17, 2015) were mentioned, the latter with the participation of chefs like Jordi Roca or the aforementioned Enrique Olvera.

As for competitions, these referred to events like *El mejor postre de restaurante*, held in Espai Sucre (October 30, 2007), the New York *Pizza Show* that crowned Fabián Martín as the world’s best pizza maker (August 13, 2007) or the *Bocuse d’Or*, considered the most important culinary contest (January 24, 2015). Among the celebrations of anniversaries, it is worth mentioning the 30th anniversary of *Gimlet* cocktail bar (December 3, 2013) or the 25 years of *El Celler de Can Roca* (August 19, 2011).

²⁶ “Un cóctel en el bar del hotel Danieli, en Venecia; una tarta de chocolate en el Sacher, en Viena, y un 'brunch' en el Soho Grand, en Nueva York. Una forma original y accesible de conocer hoteles míticos”.

From their side, gastronomic meetings were one of the most important issues under this topic. There were included mentions to several of them, such as the high-cuisine summits *Food Art* and *Salón Internacional del Club de Gourmets*, both held in Madrid (April 17, 2007), *Fòrum Gastronòmic de Girona* (February 10, 2007) or *Gastroarte* in Málaga (March 25, 2013). Now, the most mediatized event in the pages of *El País* was *Madrid Fusión*, with a prominent presence of Ferran Adrià in the early years (January 17, 2007; January 21, 2009). This event was equally important in the following years (January 18, 2013) and with the growing presence of chefs like Aduriz, highlighting his creativity and innovation (January 23, 2013). Among the trends explored in *Madrid Fusión*, in the year 2015 the emphasis was put on research around local products or the consolidation of women in gastronomy (January 16, 2015).

Finally, the awards and recognitions, such as the delivery of Michelin stars or the publication of the *Restaurant* list of the best restaurants in the world, emerged as two of the events that marked the annual media calendar. As for the Michelin stars, an article of November 27, 2009, highlighted the three-starred restaurants and also those that had lost star. Also acknowledged were the starred restaurants in Madrid, like *La Terraza del Casino* by Paco Roncero, *Diverxo* by David Muñoz, *Kabuki Wellington* by Ricardo Sanz, *La Broche* by Ángel Palacios and the first star in Madrid to Catalan chef Ramón Freixa. In 2011, the exposition patterns of Michelin star-based news was similar in an article entitled *Pocas 'estrellas' nuevas bajo el sol* (November 25, 2011). The article explained that the release of the new guide brought only few new stars to Spanish culinary scene.

The list of *Restaurant* regarding the best restaurants in the world was also present year after year. Especially noteworthy were the Spanish restaurants ranked among the top 50. For example, in 2007, *El Bulli* de Ferran Adrià was the best restaurant in the world. In addition, “Spain has placed four restaurants among the top 12, more than any other country” (April 28, 2007)²⁷. In 2009, the results were described in a similar way, with Ferran Adrià at the top for the fifth time and up to four Spanish chefs among the top 10 (April 21, 2009), that is, *Mugaritz*, *El Celler de Can Roca* and *Arzak*. Again, news on this event was found in an article on April 19, 2011, and on May 1, 2013, when *El Celler de Can Roca* won for the first time the distinction of the best restaurant in the world.

11.5. A range of possibilities between gastronomy and arts

While in the relationship between gastronomy and arts, literature and big-name chefs were the main asset, there were also observed examples in more and

²⁷ “España ha colocado cuatro restaurantes entre los 12 primeros, más que ningún otro país”.

more areas, such as cinema (October 25, 2007), theater (October 6 2013) or music (December 25, 2009; June 29, 2015).

In relation to literature, book publications stood out, such as the work of gastronomic critic José Carlos Capel, *La cerveza y los tesoros gastronómicos españoles* (March 10, 2007), or the work *Gordo* by journalist Jesús Ruiz Mantilla, who won the *Sent Soví* literary award (October 7, 2005; November 25, 2005). Publications were also close to star chefs, and this was observed in an article of August 6, 2005, which highlighted books by chefs like Karlos Arguiñano, but also said that many celebrity chefs had come to the vogue of publishing books. The article highlighted publications by Arzak, Pedro Subijana, Martín Berasategui, Sergi Arola, Paco Torreblanca, Santi Santamaría, Carles Abellán or Carme Ruscalleda. Without leaving the literature, crime novel always had a relationship with gastronomy. This was shown in a piece found on March 20, 2011, which highlighted the publication of the recipe book *El sabor de Venecia. A la mesa con Brunetti* by Donna Leon. Still another piece reported on the *I Encuentro Europeo de Novela Negra*, a meeting on black novel that includes the project of a literary itinerary that will revisit common places of the detective Pepe Carvalho, character of works by writer Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (January 22, 2005).

With regards to celebrity chefs, they performed several collaborations that combined gastronomy and arts such as a project between Ferran Adrià and British artist Hannah Collins (September 7, 2009), or a comic based on *El Bulli* (October 22, 2007). Also the collaboration, in an article of February 14, 2009, between Arzak and the *Feria Internacional de Arte Contemporáneo* (ARCO) or among Valencian artists and chefs (April 26, 2013), where star chef Quique Dacosta stood out, with three-Michelin stars. Education emerged as a final highlight within this section. This was reflected in terms of the mediatization of the *Basque Culinary Center*, with its projection first (November 6, 2009) and later with the graduation of the first promotion (July 7, 2015). The focus was also on other training centers driven by media star chefs, such as Mey Hofmann (November 2, 2007).

11.6. Gastronomy, a social media fact

Gastronomy as a social fact stayed with celebrity chefs as one of the features. Moreover, trends and the relationship of celebrities, especially politicians, with some gastronomic anecdotes, also drew the discursive agenda of this section. Gastronomy, then, was important concerning its relationship with political personalities, as could be seen in a May 7, 2009 article reporting that Barack Obama ate in a burger in Virginia with Vice President Biden. Without leaving *The White House*, another piece highlighted that Michelle Obama was preparing a book about food (November 4, 2011). The news with a gastronomic accent also came to the French *Eliseo* – Jacques Chirac pone a caldo la cocina británica (July 5, 2005) – to the British royal house – *Carlos, príncipe y*

agricultor (August 5, 2015) – or to Japanese kingdom – *La princesa Takamado, de tapas por la expo de Aichi* (July 26, 2005) –.

News about gastronomy also focused on other celebrities, like for example the article entitled *Nadal cocina para atraer a jóvenes tenistas* (August 25, 2007), the Woody Allen's desire to broadcast in *La Boqueria* (June 21, 2007), or the piece that highlighted the dinner of Mark Zuckerberg in Barcelona (March 6, 2015). Other contents linked gastronomic personalities with non-gastronomic celebrities, like the collaboration between the Roca and Gasol brothers in a book on healthy habits (September 23, 2015) or the participation of Ferran Adrià, along with Concha Velasco and Vicente del Bosque, in a promotion of the Spanish army (October 1, 2009).

These last two examples, which included the participation of star chefs, drive us to another series of news that also had them as protagonists. Many of these cases are related to solidarity, such as food-enhancing projects promoted by Jamie Oliver (27 June 2005), cooks who went to devastated areas such as Fukushima in 2011 (27 June 2011), aid in campaigns against cancer (March 8, 2013) or a project for youth at risk of social exclusion (June 29, 2015), sponsored by the *Basque Culinary Center*. In addition, chefs were also in media due to private scenarios, such as the wedding of David Muñoz (January 21, 2015).

Trends were another of the cornerstones of gastronomy as a social fact. For example, the use of siphon (October 25, 2009) or the recovery of the traditional vermouth (May 7, 2015). Other examples were the heyday of Nordic (May 5, 2011) or Flemish (January 30, 2011) cuisines, as well as food cultures that were consolidating as slow food (February 28, 2013) or street food (October 21, 2015). Finally, food tourism also had an important presence in *El País*. This was reflected in both national and international examples. At the national level, the most outstanding were the routes, such as chocolate in Aragón (December 27, 2013) or cider in Asturias (July 9, 2011). Other examples of places that attracted interest because of its gastronomy were Barcelona (December 5, 2009; May 21, 2011), La Ribera del Duero (February 14, 2009), Lleida (April 2, 2011) or Mérida (November 27, 2015). At European and international level, there were contents dealing with Brussels (November 12, 2005), Edinburgh (November 10, 2007), southern France (March 14, 2009) or Rome (March 27, 2015), among others. Also, Washington (August 8, 2009) or Boston (July 9, 2011). Culinary tourism-based news also included tourist promotion, especially focused on Catalan cuisine (May 13, 2005; June 8, 2007).

11.7. Television and food programs

The presence in *El País* of contents that linked gastronomy and television is more and more abundant. At the beginning of the sample, two productions stood out.

On the one hand, Spanish Television was preparing a series to encourage the Mediterranean diet, with a program with the same name, with content based on the different Mediterranean countries, both European and African (May 30, 2005). Another program, related to healthy habits, is *Soy lo que como* aired in *Cuatro* (January 12, 2007; June 8, 2007).

Later, in 2011, we began to notice the presence of star chefs. This was the case of *Documenting Documenta: El Bulli in Kassel*, a production carried out by *Canal+* on the participation of chef Adrià in Kassel (December 7, 2011). The boom of gastronomy in television began to consolidate later with *MasterChef* culinary show, and where the presence of celebrity chefs – both as jury and invited to the weekly programs –, would be a particularly crucial claim. This show was referenced several occasions (February 25, 2013; April 10, 2013; April 14, 2013), also due to awards as the *Ondas* for the best entertainment format (November 21, 2013). The interest in relation to the contest did not cease in 2015, already in its third edition (April 21, 2015), and extended even to its junior version (December 1, 2015).

In addition, over the last few years, television fever for gastronomy reached many audiovisual formats, not only in the form of contest (*Cocineros al volante*, which responded to the food trucks phenomenon, referenced in an article of July 7, 2015). Examples included *Un país para comérselo* (February 16, 2013), fiction as *Gran Reserve* (May 13, 2013) or the documentary *Breaking Borders*, led by the media chef Michael Voltaggio. This latter had the goal to “prepare menus with the ingredients at hand (often few and unknown) in territories in conflict. The cook alone, without equipment, without cutting-edge technologies, only with a set of knives, the tools he finds, the pans that are lend to him, rudimentary stoves and his ‘chef instinct’ (March 14, 2015)²⁸.

Highlights

In *El País* we observed that traditional products’ appeal increased thanks to use of local produce by celebrity chefs. In addition, there was an astonishing media presence of signature restaurants. Chefs and restaurants combined to have an events’ discourse based on both Michelin Guide and *Restaurant* awards. Also, one of the most important features of the discourse was the huge interest of *El País* on social uses of gastronomy.

²⁸ “Preparar menús con los ingredientes a mano (muchas veces pocos y desconocidos) en territorios en conflicto. Él solo, sin equipo, sin tecnologías de vanguardia, únicamente con un juego de cuchillos, el instrumental que encuentra, las cacerolas que le prestan, fogones rudimentarios y su *instinto de cocinero*”.

12. *El Periódico* qualitative analysis

12.1. Products: foods and traditions

Products were mainly treated from two different perspectives. Firstly, in relation to food itself; secondly, in terms of marked periods of the year related to a particular product. In relation to the products *per se*, there was an abundant number of pieces that developed this category from several approaches, highlighting the descriptions of food, forms of manipulation or possibilities in the elaborations. In some cases the references in the literature or the products' historical origins were not forgotten either. Throughout the sample, there were also observed examples that described the type of production or the properties of products. Especially at the end of the period, this was focused on the ecological production, for example beef (August 13, 2015) or bread (February 23, 2015).

Regarding the type of products there was also a great variety, and is possible to find both land and sea products, together with beverages, such as vegetable milk, oil, beer, cava or, more important, and, especially, wine. Thus, the centrality of wine was crucial. On the one hand, there were abundant descriptions and references to wines and cavas belonging to different Designations of Origin, both Catalan and Spanish, but these were included within the genre of wine critics that is not the object of study of this section. Nonetheless, news about this product was well established along the pages of *El Periódico*. One of the main examples was the list of best wines by Robert Parker (March 2, 2007; July 3, 2009; May 5, 2011). Another example that developed the wine was the elaboration of kosher wine (September 11, 2007), or, closer to tradition, the wine harvest, found in several pieces (September 22, 2007; August 16, 2009; August 3, 2011; August 5, 2015). The relationship between wine and tourism was also highlighted, but this is described later under the section of gastronomy as social fact.

Pieces that developed the products were also focusing on periods such as Christmas (January 3, 2005), and their traditional sweet elaborations like nougat (December 21, 2007), wafers (December 25, 2009) or *tortell de Reis* (Wise Men cake). Also, articles dealt with certain times of the year suitable for harvesting mushrooms (October 24, 2005; September 30, 2007).

12.2. The cooks: Ferran Adrià is the star

Within the category of chefs, Ferran Adrià was the most mediatic cook. This was observed year after year with an abundant presence of news that had him as

protagonist. In addition, however media chefs were present from the beginning of the sample, their influence accentuated over time. Consequently, this progressively consolidated a star system where new media players like the Roca brothers appeared. In analyzing the presence of chefs in general, it is possible to draw some trends, such as the preponderance of Ferran Adrià and his brother, also the brothers Roca, but also an expanding range of celebrity chefs, especially those who in one way or another have been aired on television.

In relation to Ferran Adrià, it was highlighted for example, his appointment as Doctor Honoris Causa by the University of Barcelona in 2007. “Ferran Adrià culminated yesterday a five-year period that has placed him at the top of high gastronomy and he has become a world wide celebrity with the recognition that made him the most illusion: the University of Barcelona (UB) named him doctor honoris causa” (December 18, 2007)²⁹. In addition, it was acknowledged his presence at the contemporary art fair Documenta in Kassel, where he defended that gastronomy is culture.

Media presence of Ferran Adrià also referred to his participation in events such as *Madrid Fusión* (January 17, 2007) or the *Fòrum Gastronòmic de Girona* (February 19, 2007). His importance even reached into politics. “Ferran Adrià held a meeting with the President of the Government, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, in La Moncloa yesterday. He gave details on the project to create a training and research center in Barcelona to promote everything related to tourism. It is not the first time that the best chef in the world explains his innovative plans to the authorities. Adrià has already met with King Juan Carlos, the President of the Generalitat, José Montilla, and the Minister of Industry and Tourism, Miguel Sebastián” (July 28, 2009)³⁰. Consequently, an article of July 23 highlighted that “King of Spain received yesterday in the palace of the Zarzuela the cooks Ferran Adrià and Juan Maria Arzak in recognition of their professional merits and work of diffusion of the Spanish gastronomic culture. The chefs, whose restaurants are among the best in the world, talked to Juan Carlos for almost an hour and recalled the dishes that both restaurateurs prepared for Prince Felipe’s wedding” (July 23, 2009)³¹.

²⁹ “Ferran Adrià culminó ayer el lustro que le ha colocado en la cumbre de la alta gastronomía y le ha convertido en una celebridad mundial con el reconocimiento que más ilusión le hacía: la Universitat de Barcelona (UB) le nombró doctor honoris causa”.

³⁰ “Ferran Adrià mantuvo ayer en La Moncloa una reunión con el presidente del Gobierno, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, al que ofreció detalles sobre el proyecto de crear en Barcelona un centro de formación e investigación para fomentar todo lo relacionado con el turismo. No es la primera vez que el mejor cocinero del mundo explica sus innovadores planes a las autoridades. Adrià ya se ha visto con el rey Juan Carlos, el presidente de la Generalitat, José Montilla, y el ministro de Industria y Turismo, Miguel Sebastián”.

³¹ “El Rey recibió ayer en el palacio de la Zarzuela a los cocineros Ferrán Adrià y Juan María Arzak como reconocimiento a sus méritos profesionales y a labor de difusión de la cultura gastronómica española. Los chefs, cuyos restaurantes están entre los mejores del mundo, hablaron con Juan Carlos de cocina

After the closing of *El Bulli*, the interest for the Catalan chef continued, and it is obvious that the initiatives related to Ferran Adrià had a great media interest. “The new life of the world’s most famous restaurant is getting closer. After announcing a couple of months ago the *Bullipedia*, Ferran Adrià presented yesterday in Barcelona the almost definitive project (the official presentation will be made in November) of *elBullifoundation*. [...] ‘This is a mixture of the *MediaLab*, *Cirque du Soleil*, the madness of the land of Dalí and the Warhol factory’, summarized Ferran Adrià about the project” (May 9, 2013)³². Other articles were also talking about *El Bulli Foundation* (March 16, 2013; July 5, 2013; November 21, 2013).

Also the solidarity, which was developed in several pieces, is important, and accentuated when it related to star chefs. For example, the participation of Ferran Adrià in a ceremony in the *Liceu* that served to raise funds for the *Casal dels Infants*. Chefs like Joan Roca, Carme Ruscalleda and Christian Escribà also took part on it (May 11, 2015).

This solidarity, extensive to any chef, was observed again in an article of the year 2005: “elite chefs have joined firefighters, footballers, celebrities of different origin and other guilds that during the last month of the year they launch a solidarity calendar for 2006. Chefs Ferran Adrià, Carme Ruscalleda, Sergi Arola, Karlos Arguiñano, Juan Mari Arzak, Carles Gaig, Pedro Subijana, Santi Santamaría, Joan Roca, Ramón Freixa, Mey Hoffman, Nacho Manzano and Martín Berasategui have stood for the almanac *Fundación SOS Día Universal de la Infancia*” (December 7, 2005)³³. Examples such these, where the presence of chefs is crucial, were also on the border with other categories, such as events, or, especially, gastronomy as social fact.

Recently, in addition to Ferran Adrià, the Roca brothers were also more mediatised than ever since 2013. This happened following the nomination ceremony of the best restaurants in the world of *Restaurant Magazine*, which crowned *El Cellar de Can Roca* as the best in the world for the first time (May 1, 2013; May 4, 2013; July 9, 2013). Solidarity acts were also observed, one of them already mentioned in the

durante casi una hora y recordaron los platos que ambos restauradores prepararon para la boda del príncipe Felipe”.

³² “La nueva vida del restaurante más famoso del mundo está cada vez más cerca. Tras dar a conocer hace un par de meses la *Bullipedia*, Ferran Adrià presentó ayer en Barcelona el proyecto casi definitivo (la presentación oficial se hará en noviembre) de *elBullifoundation*. [...] «Se trata de una mezcla del *MediaLab*, el *Circo del Sol*, la locura de la tierra de Dalí y la factoría Warhol», resumió Ferran Adrià sobre el proyecto”.

³³ “los cocineros de élite se han sumado a bomberos, futbolistas, famosos de diferente origen y otros gremios que durante el último mes del año lanzan un calendario solidario para el 2006. Los chefs Ferran Adrià, Carme Ruscalleda, Sergi Arola, Karlos Arguiñano, Juan Mari Arzak, Carles Gaig, Pedro Subijana, Santi Santamaría, Joan Roca, Ramón Freixa, Mey Hoffman, Nacho Manzano y Martín Berasategui han posado para el almanaque *Fundación SOS Día Universal de la Infancia*”.

previous paragraph. Another event was reported as follows: “Joan Roca is the godfather of the sixth edition of *Restaurantes contra el Hambre*, a campaign that from 15 September to 15 November aims to fight child malnutrition by raising money to support programs to prevent, diagnose and treat malnutrition” (July 11, 2015)³⁴. Another piece highlighted a prize given to *El Cellar de Can Roca*, that is, the Medal of Merit in Fine Arts (December 30, 2015). In 2015, it was again observed a great media presence with regards to the Roca brothers, since they were distinguished for the second time as the best restaurant in the world by *Restaurant* list (May 2, 2015).

There were also abundant the references to other chefs, such as Jordi Cruz (August 19, 2013). The article stood out that “Jordi Cruz is the authentic star chef of this country. Because he has three Michelin stars (two for *Àbac* and one for *Angle*) and because he has become the fashion chef since he triumphs in *Masterchef (La 1)*” (June 22, 2013)³⁵. Nandu Jubany (December 7, 2013), Carles Tejedor (September 9, 2013), Carme Ruscalleda (May 17, 2013), Paco Pérez, and his fifth Michelin star in Berlin, were also included in the content of the year 2013. Also Javier de las Muelas, who was considered one of the world references of cocktails (November 13, 2013).

Other chefs that were developed in *El Periódico* are: Ismael Prados (March 12, 2005), Jose Andrés (September 27, 2007) or Karlos Arguiñano (August 11, 2011; May 10, 2015). Also Carme Ruscalleda, this time for her role as ambassador of the distinction of Catalonia as European Region of Gastronomy 2016: “‘We are a country full of opportunities because creativity is in our DNA; we are heirs of a very old culinary culture that we will maintain if we work well and we take care of the talent and the quality’. With this title, emphasis points at the relationship between local products, cuisine and landscape, positioning Catalonia as a wine and food tourism destination” (July 11, 2015)³⁶.

While it is true that references to chefs were listed in this section, in the following sections they are still also abundant, especially under the categories of restaurants, events and gastronomy as social fact.

³⁴ “Joan Roca es el padrino de la sexta edición de *Restaurantes contra el Hambre*, una campaña que del 15 de septiembre al 15 de noviembre pretende luchar contra la desnutrición infantil recaudando dinero para apoyar programas para prevenir, diagnosticar y tratar la desnutrición”.

³⁵ “Jordi Cruz es el auténtico chef estrella de este país. Porque tiene tres que le ha dado la guía Michelin (dos por el *Àbac* y una por el *Angle*) y porque se ha convertido en el cocinero de moda desde que triunfa en *Masterchef (La 1)*”.

³⁶ “«Somos un país lleno de oportunidades porque la creatividad está en nuestro ADN; somos herederos de una cultura culinaria muy antigua que mantendremos si trabajamos bien y cuidamos el talento y la calidad». Con este título, se hará hincapié en la relación entre los productos locales, la cocina y el paisaje, posicionando a Catalunya como destino turístico enogastronómico”.

12.3. About restaurants and other establishments

In analyzing the restaurants, references were made to many of them. The mediatic discourse was primarily structured around the incorporations of chefs, mainly Catalans, to different restaurants. Restaurant reviews, which were not included in this analysis, were also abundant, referred again to Catalan restaurants. Although there was a centralization in the city of Barcelona, the restaurants of the countryside and the Pyrenees were also present. Also, different types of international cuisine were discussed, like Indian, Mexican, or Japanese.

In this category, chefs were intrinsically linked to their restaurants. This is exemplified with Sergi Arola (June 25, 2009) or in relation to Carme Rusalleda and his son Raül Balam, and their restaurants in Sant Pol de Mar and in Barcelona, at the *Mandarin Oriental* Hotel (August 27, 2005; September 15, 2009). This chef-restaurant relationship applied also to news regarding international chefs, namely *The Fat Duck* and Heston Blumenthal (March 14, 2009).

The introduction of Catalan cooks in an international context was an important part of the contents that were developed around the restaurants. For example, Xavier Franco planned the first Catalan restaurant in China (April 20, 2007) or Daniel Redondo, former chef of *El Cellar de Can Roca*, and his restaurant in Brazil (August 25, 2007). More examples were Jaume Reixach that opened *Mercat* in New York (March 18, 2007), or the new opening by Javier de las Muelas in London (November 14, 2015).

In addition to restaurants, the articles developed other selling points. For example, cellars, bars, pubs, cocktails bars – *Boadas* – or pastry shops – *Escribà*, *Foix de Sarrià* –. Also the markets, especially in Barcelona like *Barceloneta*, *Boqueria* or *Princesa*. At the same time, there was an increasing media interest on terraces and other gastronomic spaces. Thus, terraces that included gastronomic offer by renowned chefs were standing out, and they already represented 60 different offers in Barcelona, most of them found in luxury hotels. This was the case of Roca brothers, Arola, Torres brothers or Jordi Cruz (June 30, 2013). Also, in terms of gastronomic spaces, examples were acknowledged for *Sant Pau Art Nouveau Site*, *La Pedrera*, *Observatori Fabra*, or the terrace of the *Museu d'Història de Catalunya*, among others (June 20, 2015).

12.4. Fairs, congresses and the best restaurants in the world, all around star chefs

Various approaches were found within the category of events, such as fairs, routes, celebrations and awards. Even so, the elements that formed the backbone of this section, due to their repetition over time, were the gastronomic summits and

nominations of the best restaurants in the world, either by Michelin Guide or by *Restaurant* list.

The first vision of the events focused on products. For example, chocolate and the *Salón del Chocolate* in Barcelona (November 4, 2005), or the nougat and chocolates of Agramunt linked to the *Fira del Torró i la Xocolata a la Pedra*, (October 15, 2005). Other examples were the *Festa del Cargol*, which had Ferran Adrià as auctioneer (8 February 2005), or the *Fira del Fesol Santa Pau* (January 22, 2005). Also, another examples were found as the *Festa del Porc i la Cervesa*, in Manlleu (September 26, 2009), or the popular celebration of *Mona's Day* in Mollerussa, during Easter (April 13, 2009). Yet another example was the gastronomic meetings happening in fishermen towns (June 19, 2013; June 17, 2015).

There were several annual fairs calendar that also had their media attention, for example *Bcn & Cake* fair, where one of the most successful spaces was the *Biblio Golosa*, on culinary literature (November 24, 2013). Another example was the wine fair *VN-bcn* (May 13, 2013). Finally, a mention was made regarding *Feria Alimentaria 2014*, which specially highlighted spaces devoted to wine and meat (November 16, 2013). In this section, which grew as we progressed in the analysis, we found several events such as the street food event *Van Van market*, or other special interest events like a fair focused on gluten-free products (March 27, 2015).

Other examples of events were those related to star chefs, such as the cycle *Noches de cocina* in La Pedrera with chef Carles Abellan (July 7, 2009), or *Nits Gastronòmiques Norai*. For example, “the cycle will focus on *Fish and salt*, a condiment highly valued for its culinary properties and its conservative character, and dinner will be provided by Albert Adrià, from *Tickets* restaurant” (December 15, 2011)³⁷.

Among the events attended by celebrity chefs, some were listed as for example the 25th anniversary of *Castell Peralada Festival* with a cocktail made by Javier de las Muelas (July 1, 2011), or the piece that highlighted that *Vila Viniteca* brought together four starred chefs to the Christmas menu (December 23, 2011). Accordingly, another piece highlighted the collaboration between chef Jean Luc Figueras and chef Joan Roca under the event *Mengem a 4 mans* (May 5, 2011). Another example was the “farewell lunch that the President of the Generalitat, Pasqual Maragall, and the Mayor of Barcelona, Joan Clos, offered to the participants in the Euro-Mediterranean Summit. [...] The lunch, held at the Hotel AC, near the International Convention Center, venue of the summit, was for many of the guests their first and spectacular contact with the

³⁷ “Un ciclo que incluye charlas para aprender ciertos trucos de cocina y que entre sus objetivos destaca el afán de colaborar con un gran proyecto solidario”. Por ejemplo, en el día 15 de diciembre “el ciclo versará sobre El pescado y la sal, condimento muy valorado por sus propiedades culinarias y por su carácter conservador, y la cena irá a cargo de Albert Adrià, del restaurante Tickets”.

laureate Catalan cuisine” (November 29, 2005)³⁸. The article showcased the participation of chefs Sergi Arola, Carles Gaig and Xavier Canal, who helped with the elaboration of the menu.

A final event to highlight was *Gran Nit Solidària al Liceu* found in an article entitled *Fogones solidarios con estrella en el Liceu*. This event, previously acknowledged under the category of cooks, engaged four Catalan chefs (Carles Abellan, Albert Adrià, Carles Gaig and Nandu Jubany) on a solidarity diner whose funds went entirely to the *Casal dels Infants*. Similar examples were described earlier in this chapter. These reinforced the message of the importance of star chefs, present in a wide range of events, and provided evidence on to what extent they could contribute in terms of solidarity.

Before mentioning the summits and recognitions, it was noteworthy the itinerary *Barcelona dolça* (December 3, 2011) or a route of *tapas* in the neighborhood of Sant Antoni, Barcelona (November 5, 2013). Also included in this category were the celebrations such as the Jubany party for the 20 years of his restaurant (December 5, 2015), 25 years of *L'Olive* (March 19, 2009), the 30th anniversary of *El Passadis del Pep* (November 19, 2009) or the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the Hospitality School of Barcelona (ESHOB) (March 14, 2015). Moreover, recognitions were also abundant. On the one hand, the nomination of Fabián Martín as the best pizza maker in the world (March 7, 2007). On the other hand, the International Academy of Gastronomy emphasized the importance of Catalan gastronomy by acknowledging Juli Soler, chef Albert Adrià, and journalist and food critic Pau Arenós (June 9, 2009).

Summits and professional meetings were one of the cornerstones of the events, especially because of the visibility given to them thanks to big-name chefs. For example, the celebration of the first Gastronomy Symposium in Zaragoza, with guests as Pau Arenós (September 29, 2005). One of the most mediatic gastronomic summits was *Madrid Fusión* gastronomy congress, with the participation of Ferran Adrià and Juan Mari Arzak, along with other chefs like Heston Blumenthal and Andoni Luis Aduriz (January 16, 2009). Also an article discussed the debate that *Madrid Fusión* provoked in media (January 21, 2009).

Other examples were the *San Sebastián Gastronomika* congress (November 23, 2009; October 7, 2013; September 26, 2015), the *Tokyo Taste* gastronomic summit (February 10, 2009) or the *Forum Gastronòmic de Girona* (February 23, 2009). On February 22 a piece announced its inauguration, *El Fòrum de Girona abre a todo gas*,

³⁸ “El almuerzo de despedida que el presidente de la Generalitat, Pasqual Maragall, y el alcalde de Barcelona, Joan Clos, ofrecieron a los participantes en la Cumbre Euromediterránea. [...] El almuerzo, celebrado en el Hotel AC, próximo al Centro Internacional de Convenciones, escenario de la cumbre, supuso para muchos de los invitados su primer y espectacular contacto con la laureada cocina catalana”.

and a few days later another article, entitled *El Fòrum Gastronòmic confirma el èxito de una cocina 'innovadora'* (February 26, 2009), outlined the final balance. In 2011 the same pattern was observed (February 20, 2011; February 24, 2011), and a master class on creativity conducted by the Roca brothers was highlighted. This event was again found in the journalistic discourse of the year 2013 (February 25, 2013).

In terms of the recognition of restaurants, there was a reference to the *soles* given by the Repsol Guide (December 22, 2009), but information in this sense was eclipsed by the delivery of Michelin stars. In this way, in the first year analyzed, the importance of Michelin stars (September 5, 2005) was already highlighted. The treatment given to this information was based on reporting the new three-star restaurants, but news content also briefly reviewed the new stars awarded. The following reference exemplifies it: “if there was any topic in the world of haute cuisine that generated unanimity was the undeserved absence of *El Cellar de Can Roca* in the Michelin Guide *triestrellados* club. On Wednesday night, at last, an injustice denounced for years was repaired. [...] Fina Puigdevall, who earned the second star for *Les Cols*, Olot, as did Antonio Sáez and Martín Berasategui, for *Lasarte* in Barcelona” (November 27, 2009)³⁹.

Michelin stars returned to *El Periódico* year after year, as found in the issues of November 25, 2011, or November 21, 2013. “Today’s headlines are likely to talk a lot about the new *triestrellado Diverxo*, but the triumphal irruption of Albert Adrià with the stars for *Tickets* and the 41° again made evident that the gastronomic capital is Barcelona, since it counts since yesterday 30 stars distributed among 22 venues. It is true that none of the bi-star acceded to Olympus (*Àbac*, *Moments*, *Enoteca*, *Lasarte*), but it is also true that the city won three new distinctions: the two of the other genius of *El Bulli* already cited and one of Jordi Cruz for *Angle*” (November 21, 2013)⁴⁰. In relation to the importance of Catalonia in the gastronomic scene, Catalan restaurants accounted for 60 of the 171 Spanish Michelin-stars. The competition between Barcelona and Madrid was also observed in other newspapers analyzed.

Finally, the event where the best restaurants in the world are nominated was the other media reference around restaurants and their chefs. “International critics

³⁹ “Si había algún tema en el mundo de la alta cocina que generaba unanimidad era la inmerecida ausencia de *El Cellar de Can Roca* en el club de los triestrellados de la guía Michelin. La noche del miércoles, por fin, se reparó una injusticia denunciada durante años. [...] Fina Puigdevall, que sumó la segunda estrella por *Les Cols*, de Olot, como hicieron Antonio Sáez y Martín Berasategui, por el *Lasarte* barcelonés”.

⁴⁰ “Es muy probable que los titulares de hoy hablen mucho del nuevo triestrellado *Diverxo*, pero la irrupción triunfal de Albert Adrià con las estrellas para *Tickets* y el vecino 41° volvió a poner en evidencia que la capital gastronómica es Barcelona, ya que desde ayer cuenta con 30 estrellas repartidas entre 22 locales. Ciertamente es que ninguno de los bi accedieron al Olimpo (*Àbac*, *Moments*, *Enoteca*, *Lasarte*), pero cierto es también que la ciudad ganó tres nuevas distinciones: las dos del otro genio de *El Bulli* ya citadas y la de Jordi Cruz por *Angle*.”

have been placed Catalan and Basque avant-garde cuisine to the top. Four restaurants are among the world's top ten on the list published last night in London by *Restaurant Magazine*, and two of them – *El Bulli*, from Roses, and *El Cellar de Can Roca*, from Girona – are among the top five. In the awards, considered as the Oscars of gastronomy, Ferran Adrià retains his indisputable supremacy” (April 21, 2009)⁴¹.

In later years, we found information about the restaurant list again: logically if we bear in mind that *El Cellar de Can Roca* got the first place as the best restaurant in the world in both 2013 and 2015. Before the gala of 2015, an article questioned whether “Will the Danish *Noma* repeat at the top? Will *El Cellar de Can Roca* return to the top spot after being second last year? Will be any American placed at top, from the north (*Eleven Madison Park*, in New York; *Alinea*, in Chicago) or the south (*DOM*, in Sao Paulo)? Will the Basques *Arzak* and *Mugaritz* continue in the top 10?” (June 1, 2015)⁴². The presence of Spanish chefs, mainly Catalan and Basque, made the media's interest on this type of event grow hugely over the years, generating endless news but also many opinion articles.

12.5. Star chefs are also writers

Moving on to another topic, the presence of pieces that linked gastronomy with art was also abundant. Especially noteworthy were cinema and literature, and in the context of literature, more and more publications that had the signature of celebrity chefs.

In relation to the cinema, there were several films of which *El Periódico* echoed, for example *Dieta mediterránea* (February 6, 2009), *Julie and Julia* (November 6, 2009), *La cocinera del presidente* (March 24, 2013) o *Una pastelería en Tokyo* (November 6, 2015). Also included here there were some festivals held in Catalonia as *Film & Cook* (March 12, 2011) or the first edition of the *Festival Internacional de Cinema del Vi i el Cava* (November 12, 2011).

The relationship between gastronomy and art was exemplified in 2007 thanks to the presentation by Julia Mariscal of *La cuchara que pinta*, a piece that was added to the collection *Faces* by Ferran Adrià (November 10, 2007). Without leaving Ferran

⁴¹ “La crítica internacional ha encumbrado la cocina de vanguardia catalana y vasca. Cuatro restaurantes figuran entre los diez primeros puestos mundiales de la lista publicada anoche en Londres por *Restaurant Magazine*, y dos de ellos –*El Bulli*, de Roses, y *El Cellar de Can Roca*, de Girona– están entre los cinco mejores. En los premios, considerados como los Oscar de la gastronomía, Ferran Adrià conserva la supremacía indiscutible” (21 de abril de 2009).

⁴² “¿Repetirá el danés *Noma* en lo más alto? ¿Volverá *El Cellar de Can Roca* al primer puesto tras ser segundos el año pasado? ¿Ocupará ese lugar algún americano del top 10, sea del norte (*Eleven Madison Park*, en Nueva York; *Alinea*, en Chicago) o del sur (*DOM*, en São Paulo)? ¿Seguirán los vascos *Arzak* y *Mugaritz* entre los 10 primeros?” (1 de junio de 2015).

Adrià, he reappeared in the media discourse in this section, with the exposition *Diálogo* that included still life examples from *El Bulli* (October 21, 2007).

Gastronomy in the arts also reached areas such as music (June 12, 2009) or fashion, with the piece entitled *Una exposición muestra moda diseñada con pasta* (June 2, 2005), that showed haute couture made of pasta. Museums also had a gastronomic component, for example the menu of specialties from ancient Egypt served in the framework of the Egyptian Museum, Barcelona (June 2, 2005). Nor can we forget education, once again linked to celebrity chefs, with the inauguration of the new building of the Hospitality School of Barcelona (ESHOB) by chef José Andrés (April 25, 2007).

As for literature, books were the greatest protagonist of the relationship between gastronomy and arts. For example, *La memòria dels plats* by Pau Arenós (May 30, 2005), and by the same author *La cocina de los valientes*, where he reviewed the techno-emotional revolution (December 15, 2011). Other examples were *La ciudad de los cafés. Barcelona 1750-1880* by Paco Villar (April 13, 2009) or *Fashion Cookbook*, a book with the favorite recipes of 100 American designers (September 7, 2009). There were other proposals related to gastronomic media figures such as *pizzero* Fabián Martín and his book *Las mejores pizzas del mundo* (May 28, 2007) or the proposal of a cocktail for every tourist destination found in the book *Cocktails & drinks* by Javier de las Muelas (August 17, 2009). Other examples were *Escribà. El arte de convertir la pastelería en ilusión*, by Christian Escrivà (October 23, 2013); *Las recetas de mi casa* by Andoni Luis Aduriz; or *La comida de la familia* (November 12, 2011), a book that collected the menus of *El Bulli* workers.

With the participation of star chefs, it was also highlighted *Cuina catalana*. Prologued by Ferran Adrià, several big-name chefs offered easy recipes to be prepared at home: the brothers Joan, Josep and Jordi Roca, Carme Ruscalleda and his son Raül Balam, Xavier Pellicer, Quim Hernández, Paco Pérez, Ramon Freixa, Carles Abellán, Joan Bosch, Nandu Jubany, Oriol Rovira, Ada Parellada, Fina Puigdevall and Pere Planagumà, Jaume Subirós and Carles Gaig (October 23, 2013).

A final example was the *Manual práctico de cocina negra y criminal*, a “catalog of forty-five writers of crime novel and their literary creatures, all linked to the art of cooking” (January 3, 2005)⁴³. The relationship between gastronomy and police genre was also observed in the culinary route *La Barcelona gastronómica de Pepe Carvalho*, where to discover the history behind both this fiction character and the author Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (September 8, 2013).

⁴³ “Catálogo de 45 escritores del género policiaco y sus criaturas literarias, vinculados todos ellos por el arte de los fogones”.

12.6. Gastronomy as a social fact: paying attention to celebrity chefs

In relation to gastronomy as a social fact there was a great variety of points of view that built the discourse of *El Periódico*. On the one hand, traditions and trends. On the other, the relationship of gastronomy with celebrities from the world of fashion, film or politics. Also, the relationship of gastronomy-based celebrities with non-culinary contexts. Below are some examples that allowed us to trace the discourse of this newspaper around the gastronomy as social fact.

This category had a first starting point in trends. For example, specialist meat shops (September 5, 2011) or the upward trend that was consolidating gintonic as a fashionable drink in Barcelona (August 29, 2009, May 5, 2011). Pop-up restaurants (February 24, 2013) were another example.

The presence of celebrities in big-name restaurants represented another of the key points of this section. For example, Michael Dukakis, former United States presidential candidate, dined at *Galería Gastronómica* in Barcelona (April 19, 2005). Other celebrities who dined at some of the restaurants of star chefs were Eva Longoria in *El Bulli* (July 1, 2011) or politician Albert Rivera at Arola's new restaurant (February 12, 2011). Examples in the same direction were mentioned with regards to Coppola in *Passadís del Pep* (October 25, 2015) or Madonna in *Boca Grande* and *Boca Chica* (November 27, 2015).

Gastronomy as a social fact was also shown in their relationship with politics, for example in the piece entitled *Los candidatos de Barcelona, reunidos por EL PERIÓDICO, compartieron confidencias sobre la campaña en la terraza de un bar de Bac de Roda*. "Portabella, more relaxed than usual, was the only one who ordered a soda. The rest preferred *cortado* and coffee, although Mayol, by the end of the meeting, introduced the ecological and sustainable touch, with an orange juice emulated by the socialist Jordi Hereu, especially attentive in recent times to the movements of his partner" (May 27, 2007)⁴⁴. This example was a good example of the sociocultural environment in which we live in Catalonia and Spain, and the importance of bars in day-to-day life.

As for cuisine celebrities, there were pieces that related them to non-gastronomic phenomena. For example, the participation of chef Carme Ruscalleda in the *Talita* foundation calendar (November 11, 2009), or chef Ferran Adrià who

⁴⁴ "Portabella, más relajado de lo habitual, fue el único que pidió para beber un refresco de cola. El resto optó por el cortado y el café, aunque Mayol introdujo en la recta final el toque ecológico y sostenible, con un zumo de naranja que emuló el socialista Jordi Hereu, especialmente atento en los últimos tiempos a los movimientos de su socia" (27 de mayo de 2007).

participated in the institutional campaign that promoted the Spanish National Day (October 1, 2009).

Following with Ferran Adrià, another piece highlighted the collaboration between the cardiologist Valentí Fuster and Ferran Adrià in a project of the *Alicia* Foundation focused on food education (April 14, 2005; September 2, 2009). Also the collaboration between the Roca and Gasol brothers in their fight for the childhood and their concern with regards to the promotion of healthy habits (September 23, 2015). These were examples that, once again, highlighted the media attention generated by the projects run by celebrity chefs.

Another example, then, that completely fitted into the mediatization of star chefs beyond their culinary achievements, was the wedding between TV presenter Cristina Pedroche and chef David Muñoz (October 29, 2015).

Finally, *El Periódico* echoed a piece published by *The New York Times*, where it was advised to spend Christmas in Barcelona, also because of its gastronomic landmarks. “Lisa Abend, author of a book about Ferran Adrià and the Bulli, is in charge of telling the readers of the newspaper the thousand charms of Barcelona in an extensive piece entitled *A Catalan Christmas*” (December 20, 2011)⁴⁵. The article also highlighted the gastronomy appeal of Catalonia.

This last example related to tourism in general and gastronomy in particular, which was also a phenomenon that generated an increasing interest, dominated by wine tourism (July 17, 2005; January 29, 2007). In particular, pieces were set up around wine tourism in Priorat (31 October 2013), wine roads in El Penedés (23 May 2015) or the creation of the *Institut Català de la Vinya i el Vi* in order to promote wine culture in Catalonia (March 3, 2009). In addition, products and dishes performed as tourist attractions. “The success of a good dish begins with its ingredients, and the Catalan regions stand out in both quality and variety. [...] but beyond the quality of the ingredients, experts highlight variety as the added-value point of Catalan production” (September 8, 2005)⁴⁶. According to the experts, there was a strong need to promote a high quality food and wine tourism that aims to acknowledge the whole diversity of landscapes.

⁴⁵ “Lisa Abend, autora de un libro sobre Ferran Adrià y el Bulli, es la encargada de relatar a los lectores del diario los mil encantos barceloneses en una extensa pieza titulada *Navidades catalanas*”.

⁴⁶ “El éxito de un buen plato empieza por sus ingredientes, y las comarcas catalanas obtienen medalla tanto en calidad como en variedad. [...] pero más allá de la calidad de los ingredientes, los expertos resaltan la variedad como el fet diferencial de la producción catalana”.

12.7. Gastronomy and television: a long journey so far

Regarding television, finally, in the beginning of the sample we saw news related to programs like *Vamos a cocinar*, by chef José Andrés (April 30, 2005), or *Soy lo que como*, focused on gastronomic education, with advise for a healthy food life (January 12, 2007). From 2009, news started to introduce more celebrity chefs concerning television contents. This was the case of Ferran Adrià and his documentary series *El Bulli*, which showed his culinary work from his origins (October 5, 2009). Also without leaving *El Bulli*, Canal+ aired *Documenting documenta: El Bulli en Kassel* (December 7, 2011).

Gastronomy television was also reflected in series. This was the case of *La Riera*. “Beyond the purely television aspect, *La Riera* has become a phenomenon that goes beyond the screen. Recipes have been collected in a book, with the same title, from which 9,000 copies have been printed. From the menu, *Les Estrelles de Sant Climent* are highlighted, a dessert from fiction that now has been marketed” (May 30, 2011)⁴⁷. Another article showcase the participation of *La Riera* restaurateur, Oriol Carrió, in five editions of the Catalan Television culinary program *Cuines* (July 17, 2011).

Within the current television landscape, there was also airing space for the most classic recipe programs. One of the longest-serving gastronomic programs was Karlos Arguiñano show, who “will celebrate 500 programs in A-3 tomorrow. [...] The chef has been on TV for 24 years and has cooked over 6,000 recipes” (February 12, 2013)⁴⁸. Chef Arguiñano counted with the collaboration of his sister Elena, and, every Friday, with the participation of three-starred chef Juan Mari Arzak.

Nonetheless, the real boom of television cooking programs came when analyzing the sample corresponding to the year 2013: *Top Chef's* premiered on *Antena 3* – an international format that had already been broadcasted in 11 countries – with media star chef Alberto Chicote, also presenter of *Pesadilla en la cocina* (September 4, 2013). A piece of October 7 mentioned that “the great success of the talented gastronomic shows *MasterChef* and *Top Chef* has opened the lock: *Cuatro* gets on the car and has announced the next premiere of a new cooks competition, although in this

⁴⁷ “Más allá del aspecto puramente televisivo, *La Riera* se ha convertido en un fenómeno que traspasa la pantalla. Las recetas se han recogido en un libro, de idéntico título, del que se han editado 9.000 ejemplares. Del menú destacan *Les estrelles de Sant Climent*, un postre nacido de la ficción que se ha comercializado” (30 de mayo de 2011).

⁴⁸ “Cumple mañana 500 programas en A-3. [...] El chef lleva 24 años en televisión y ha cocinado más de 6.000 recetas”.

case focused on desserts. Pastry chef Paco Torreblanca will be in charge of *Deja sitio para el postre*, which will look for the new Spanish pastry chef” (October 7, 2013)⁴⁹.

Nowadays, the star of new TV formats that have the gastronomy as their main ingredient is *MasterChef*, as mentioned above. “TVE-1 aims today to seed the country’s culinary triumphs with *MasterChef*, a new talent contest that its producers do not hesitate to compare with the famous *Operation Triunfo* transferred to the world of cooking” (April 10, 2013)⁵⁰. The format had already been broadcasted in 145 countries. Later, a piece confirmed that “TVE-1 has cooked this season a success of audience: *Masterchef*” (June 27, 2013)⁵¹, and outlined that chef Ferran Adrià helped choosing the winner. It was also emphasized the *Ondas* prize that was granted to the culinary contest (October 31, 2013).

In 2015, *MasterChef*’s media leadership in terms of culinary shows was confirmed, and the boom in television productions related to gastronomy continued. In relation to *MasterChef*, the edition of *MasterChef Junior* (January 24, 2015; December 1, 2015) was also mentioned. Nowadays even is possible to watch in Spanish television the new format, *MasterChef Celebrity*, where contestants are celebrities from the world of sport, fashion, music or bullfighting.

Regarding other TV programs, *El Periódico* highlighted *Fox Life*, which premiered the second season of *Cocina2*, presented by chefs Sergio and Javier Torres (March 22, 2015). Another example that showed that gastronomy became an essential TV claim is *Barcelona Television* (BTV) with the airing of *La vida en dolç*, “a program focused on homemade pastries, which has consolidated as one of the heavy hobbies in blogs and, also, in the free time of many Barcelona citizens. [...] The program will include the participation of the main pastry chefs and experts from Barcelona to provide their advise, show where to buy the different ingredients in the markets and also discover those small establishments that have authentic treasures to taste” (April 15, 2013)⁵².

⁴⁹ “El gran éxito de los talents shows gastronómicos *Masterchef* y *Top chef* ha abierto la veda: *Cuatro* se sube al carro y ha anunciado el próximo estreno de un nuevo concurso de cocineros, aunque en este caso centrado en los postres. El repostero Paco Torreblanca se pondrá al frente de *Deja sitio para el postre*, que buscará al nuevo maestro pastelero español”.

⁵⁰ “TVE-1 aspira desde hoy a sembrar los fogones del país de triunfitos culinarios con *Masterchef*, nuevo concurso de talentos que sus productores no dudan en comparar con el famoso *Operación Triunfo* trasladado al mundo de la cocina”.

⁵¹ “TVE-1 ha cocinado esta temporada todo un éxito de audiencia: *Masterchef*”.

⁵² “Un programa centrado en la repostería casera, que se ha consolidado como una de las aficiones que arrasa entre los blogs y, también, en el tiempo libre de muchos barceloneses. [...] Por el programa pasarán los principales pasteleros y expertos de Barcelona para explicar sus trucos, se mostrará dónde comprar los diferentes ingredientes en los mercados y también se descubrirán esos pequeños establecimientos que tienen auténticos tesoros para saborear”.

Finally, even a piece found in March 27, 2015, described that “three Michelin-starred chefs will prepare the historic last dinner of Jesus with his disciples, but applying the tastes – and their gastronomic knowledge – of the 21st century. This is the challenge faced by chefs Roberto Ruiz, David García and Fernando Canales, with the collaboration of the gastronomic expert Mikel Iturriaga” (March 27, 2015)⁵³. The channel *Historia* organized, for the third year, this audiovisual content in the context of Easter period.

Highlights

Narratives of products in *El Periódico* were based on traditions. In terms of celebrities, big-name chefs and restaurants played a discursive crucial role and dominated the news on events and gastronomy as social fact. Among them, Ferran Adrià was the most mediatised chef. In addition, food and cuisine appeared regularly on different TV formats, such as recipe shows, contests and documentaries.

⁵³ “Tres estrellas Michelin deben preparar la histórica última cena de Jesús con sus discípulos, pero aplicando los gustos –y sus conocimientos gastronómicos– del siglo XXI. Este es el reto al que se enfrentan los chefs Roberto Ruiz, David García y Fernando Canales, con la colaboración del experto gastronómico Mikel Iturriaga”.

13. *La Vanguardia* qualitative analysis

13.1. Products, wine and territory

Products were treated from different points of view, mainly geographic, historical or cultural, and were developed interacting with other themes, such as chefs, events or gastronomy as a social fact.

Wines had a determining presence, especially throughout wine critics again – which were not included in the development of this section –, but not exclusively through them. There were references mainly to local wines with Designation of Origin (Priorat, Penedés, Monstant, Catalunya, Terra Alta, among others); also, French, Italian and Greek wine series were included. Aromas and textures of wine were remarkable, but articles showed at the same time the importance of the different territorial configurations for wine production, as for the case of Priorat (December 27, 2013). Products, at the same time, were found to be crucial for the regional development. For example, the peas of Maresme and their integration in the region throughout gastronomic fairs, or the *Pesolada de Caldes d'Estrac* (March 23, 2007).

On the other hand, while being a trend that could be mentioned in the section of gastronomy as social fact, organic products also had their importance (January 19, 2011). Some of the articles dealt, for example, with biodynamic products. “Biodynamic agriculture, the art of growing plants with the help of astrology, is gaining adherents in Spanish winemaking, despite maintaining practices that many believe very close to esotericism” (May 31, 2007)⁵⁴. Related examples are the production of the first biodynamic cellar in Catalonia (June 25, 2007) or the production of organic wines (September 26, 2009).

Traditions around products were also present in this section. For example, the mushrooms culture was recurrently referenced (April 27, 2005; August 15, 2013), although during the analysis of the sample it was sometimes due to the weather conditions, especially rainfall, which anticipated or delayed the recollection of mushrooms (September 30, 2007; September 29, 2011; August 21, 2015). This demonstrated the dependence of products on climate. Other pieces dealt with the wine harvest (September 21, 2005, August 5, 2015) or the *calçots'* tradition (January 26, 2013; December 16, 2013).

⁵⁴ “La agricultura biodinámica, el arte de hacer crecer las plantas con ayuda de la astrología, está ganando adeptos en la vitivinicultura española, pese a mantener prácticas que muchos creen muy cerca del esoterismo”.

13.2. Chefs: from Ferran Adrià to a wide range

Cooks were an important part of food contents in *La Vanguardia*, but their presence in this analysis was not only included under this section, but also in restaurants and especially events, and even with regards to the interwines between gastronomy and arts, or within the category of gastronomy as social fact.

Ferran Adrià was the undisputed protagonist of the pieces that dealt with chefs. On the one hand, his investiture by the University of Barcelona as Doctor Honoris Causa. He was the first chef in receiving this acknowledgement. The article mentioned that “contemporary high cuisine covers many areas of academic world ranging from Pharmacy and Medicine, Physics, Chemistry, Psychology, Fine Arts, Anthropology and Economics” (December 18, 2007)⁵⁵. Ferran Adrià emphasized the fact that cuisine is culture. 2007, the year when *El Bulli* participated in Documenta 12 in Kassel, looked like this goal was achieved. Another piece highlighted that the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) also named Ferran Adrià Doctor Honoris Causa (November 23, 2007).

In 2007, Documenta 12 in Kassel had a significant media interest (June 8, 2007). One piece reported that “*El Bulli*, turned into the G-block of Documenta 12, exhibits these days the narrative cuisine of Ferran Adrià: dozens of dishes linked by a singular language of universal vocation” (June 24, 2007)⁵⁶. Later, in 2009, it was confirmed that *El Bulli* by Ferran Adrià was for the fifth time the best restaurant in the world (April 21, 2009), although the nomination of the best restaurants in the world is developed within the section of events.

As we progressed in the sample study, we could see that chefs were very present, more and more, and with pieces that treated many different chefs instead of many times the same chef, as for example with Ferran Adrià in 2007. Chefs were treated as media stars, and therefore had a key role in different directions. Thus, chefs were mentioned in reference to new initiatives, solidarity acts or appointments in certain restaurants. This was particularly relevant for Catalan chefs such as Jean Luc Figueras (May 6, 2007), Carme Ruscalleda and Ramon Freixa (October 17, 2007), Paco Pérez (July 21, 2011), Nandu Jubany and Carles Gaig (November 12, 2011), Fermi Puig (June 3, 2013) or Carles Abellan (July 11, 2015).

⁵⁵ “Puso de relieve la dimensión científica, artística y cultural de la cocina de Ferran Adrià, primer chef español que recibe este honor, así como de su equipo en el restaurante El Bulli”. El artículo menciona que “la alta cocina contemporánea cubre muchas áreas del mundo académico que van desde la Farmacia y la Medicina, a la Física, la Química, la Psicología, las Bellas Artes, la Antropología y la Economía”.

⁵⁶ “El Bulli, convertido en el pabellón G de la Documenta 12, exhibe estos días la cocina narrativa de Ferran Adrià: decenas de platos ligados por un lenguaje singular de vocación universal”.

Other celebrity chefs were also present, such as the case of Santi Santamaria (May 25, 2005; July 29, 2005) or Juan Mari Arzak (April 14, 2011; October 3, 2013). Similarly, the Roca brothers (February 22, 2015) were more present from 2013, when their restaurant *El Celler de Can Roca* was awarded as the best restaurant in the world.

José Andrés was also a celebrity with a media presence. He evidenced how chefs were treated as authentic media stars. For example, “the Obama chose the MiniBar, an exclusive restaurant where only seven people can eat at a time, one of the jewels of the gastronomic empire that José Andrés has created in the United States” (February 16, 2013)⁵⁷. The cook also made solidarity collaborations, for example in Haiti, since he advocated that food could be a social and economic change driver. In another piece, José Andrés stated that “I have the honor, the privilege and the opportunity to be able to speak in any place of cooking and health, cooking and hunger, cooking and history or cooking and science. Because I do not know any other profession like mine that touches all areas of humanity. And that’s fascinating” (August 8, 2015)⁵⁸.

International chefs were not forgotten, and big-name chefs like Paul Bocuse were mentioned. “First chef with cover in *Time* and *Newsweek*, chef of the century by Gault et Millau, knight of the Legion of Honor and symbol of Lyon by popular vote, Bocuse is, to his peers, the colleague who ripped them from basements and made them masters” (January 30, 2005)⁵⁹. There were also found pieces that focused on Gastón Acurio as the most influential chef in Latin America (December 24, 2013; February 1, 2015).

13.3. Restaurant openings and Barcelona as a pole

Regarding the category of restaurants, in addition to the restaurant reviews that were very abundant and included restaurants both from Barcelona and outside of Barcelona, there was a discourse based on new openings; and particularly linked to star chefs. These were some examples: Raül Balam, son of Carme Ruscalleda, at the *Mandarin Oriental* Hotel in Barcelona (September 15, 2009), Carles Abellán, at *W Hotel* (November 23, 2009), or Albert Adrià and *Tickets* (February 12, 2011). Nor they were forgotten the international openings of chefs from home such as Martín Berasategui in

⁵⁷ “Los Obama eligieron el MiniBar, un exclusivo restaurante en el que sólo pueden comer siete personas, una de las joyas del imperio gastronómico que ha creado en Estados Unidos”.

⁵⁸ “Tengo el honor, el privilegio y la oportunidad de poder estar hablando en cualquier lugar de cocina y salud, de cocina y hambre, de cocina e historia o de cocina y ciencia. Porque no conozco ninguna otra profesión como la mía que toque todos los ámbitos de la humanidad. Y eso es fascinante”

⁵⁹ “Primer cocinero con portada en *Time* y *Newsweek*, cocinero del siglo por Gault et Millau, caballero de la Legión de Honor y símbolo de Lyon por voto popular, Bocuse es, para sus pares, el colega que les arrancó de sótanos y les hizo patronos”.

Shanghai (October 1, 2009), Sergi Arola in São Paulo (June 25, 2009), Santi Santamaria in Singapore (October 26, 2009), or the career of Paco Pérez in Berlin (June 27, 2013).

In particular, in the year 2015 it was observed an interest in some historic restaurants, especially due to its closure. “*Neichel* and *La Dama*, two of Barcelona’s luxury restaurants that triumphed in the 1980s, have closed almost simultaneously” (February 10, 2015)⁶⁰. However, the reopening of *La Dama* would be announced a few months later (July 31, 2015). Similarly, it happened to restaurant *Peixerot*, one of the most traditional seafood places in Catalan restaurant industry since 1918, which closed due to the economic context (July 3, 2015). Another example was *Casa Leopoldo*: “The recipes and atmosphere of the well-known Raval restaurant remains in the stories of Pepe Carvalho and many of the pages of his longed-for creator, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán” (November 19, 2015)⁶¹.

Regarding other eating establishments the markets of Barcelona took the lead, especially *La Boqueria* (January 14, 2005; October 7, 2005), by its products and by its international projection as a landmark of the city. Even in 2015, there was a piece that stood out that *La Boqueria* was planning to limit the access of large groups of tourists into the market (April 8, 2015).

Within Barcelona, there were also some trends in relation to restaurants, such as the large number of Italian restaurants (October 30, 2007), a piece on the bistros (September 2, 2007), or the growing importance of terraces, in the city center (August 25, 2015). In these cases, as it happens about the openings, it was observed that they were mostly examples centralized in the city of Barcelona.

13.4. Product fairs, gastronomic summits and the delivery of Michelin stars

Events had an abundant presence. These related mainly to products, but also to the role of celebrity chefs. These chefs were the true stars of the pieces in this category, especially in relation to the delivery of Michelin stars and the nomination of the best restaurants in the world by *Restaurant*.

First of all, events meant products, and this was demonstrated in the cases of the *Fira del Pa* (January 19, 2005), *Fira de la Carbassa* in Esponellà (October 7, 2005) or *Fira del Vi* in Falset (April 27, 2005; May 2, 2009). Other fairs were the *Saló de la Xocolata* in Barcelona (November 4, 2005) or the *Festa del Cava* in Prades (July 18, 2005). Still other examples were the *Fira de la Castanya del Montseny* (October 30,

⁶⁰ “*Neichel* y *La Dama*, dos de los restaurantes barceloneses de lujo que triunfaron en los años 80, han clausurado sus puertas casi simultáneamente”.

⁶¹ “Las recetas y la atmósfera del conocido restaurante del Raval perdura en las historias de Pepe Carvalho y en muchas de las páginas de su añorado creador, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán”.

2007; October 26, 2009) or the 30th edition of *Aplec del Cargol* in Lleida (May 23, 2009). In addition, more recent fairs such as *BCN&Cake* (November 24, 2013) or the *Streed Food Born festival*, a street cooking and live music festival (June 20, 2015), were also highlighted.

Moreover, routes were introduced as a way to diversify activities around products. For example, the 21st edition of the *Xatonada* in Vilanova i la Geltrú (January 31, 2005), cod route (February 10, 2015) or bread route, which included the visit to medieval wood ovens in Pallars Sobirà (August 14, 2005).

The Year of Gastronomy also featured events that media reported. For example, the installation of a chocolate egg in the statue of Columbus (March 29, 2005) or the *Gourmet Route*, whose “objective is to bring tourists and citizens closer to the gastronomic culture of Barcelona while visiting the cultural heritage of Ciutat Vella. The walk consists of thirteen stages that, mostly, coincide with centennial establishments” (August 11, 2005)⁶².

Regarding contests and awards, while there was usually no repetition in the events, some examples were found more than once, such as *Nariz de Oro* (February 16, 2005; June 26, 2011), the National Prizes of Gastronomy (October 21, 2009; June 2, 2011). More recently other examples like the award received by the cooks of *El Cellar de Can Roca* for its international dissemination of the anchovies of L’Escala (October 7, 2013). This last example had a media repercussion because it was awarded to the chefs of the best restaurant in the world.

Star chefs, then, were also the main reclaim of summits and gastronomic meetings. Examples were *Cuinasia*, with the presence of Ferran Adrià (November 4, 2005) or *Barcelona Degusta* (November 12, 2005), also referenced later in 2011. This meeting revolved around products, but “in addition to food products – there are also the typical cakes of many American series such as *Sex and the City*, known as cupcakes – offers experiences. For example, [...] there are also workshops scheduled to know all the secrets of sushi or how to prepare fowls for the Christmas table. Chocolate will be the protagonist of workshops, lectures and master classes as the one taught by pastry chef Oriol Balaguer” (December 3, 2011)⁶³.

⁶² “Objetivo es aproximar a los turistas y a los ciudadanos la cultura gastronómica de Barcelona a la vez que visitan el patrimonio cultural de Ciutat Vella. El paseo está formado por trece etapas que coinciden, en su mayoría, con establecimientos centenarios”.

⁶³ “Además de productos de alimentación -también están los pasteles típicos de muchas series americanas como *Sexo en Nueva York*, los conocidos como cupcakes - ofrece experiencias. Por ejemplo, [...] también hay previstos talleres para conocer todos los secretos del sushi o cómo preparar las aves para la mesa de Navidad. El chocolate será el protagonista de talleres, ponencias y clases magistrales como la que impartirá el pastelero Oriol Balaguer”.

Madrid Fusión (January 21, 2009), *San Sebastián Gastronomika* (October 7, 2013) or *Tokyo Taste Congress*, with the participation of Ferran Adrià and Arzak (February 10, 2009) were other examples. Moreover, the *Fòrum Gastronòmic de Girona* (February 18, 2007) was the most important event in the food discourse of *La Vanguardia*. A few days later, the closing event of the *Fòrum* was highlighted again among the pages of *La Vanguardia* (February 22, 2007). The balance was described as follows: “during the five days that the *Fòrum* has lasted, some 28,000 people have visited the fair or attended the lectures and debates scheduled, according to the organization”⁶⁴. The tenth edition of the event was also featured in 2009. The program highlighted the sessions conducted by the Roca brothers – *El Celler de Can Roca* – or Ferran Adrià – *El Bulli* – (February 23, 2009). Then, the *Fòrum* returned to the pages of the newspaper both in 2013 (February 25, 2013) and 2015 (November 14, 2015).

Finally, the events paid special attention to the delivery of Michelin stars and the nomination of *Restaurant List*. 2009 included the proclamation of the *soles* by Repsol Guide, but this did not later reappear (December 17, 2009).

In terms of Michelin Guide it was explained: “it is the biggest bestseller of the tourist edition, with peaks of half a million copies: devised in 1900 to sell tires, the Michelin Guide France is a world gastronomic reference. The hundredth edition – it did not go out during the war, but the Allies used their cartography for the disembarkation –, in bookstores on March 5, was presented, in front of 300 international journalists, in the Museum d’Orsay. The first press conference ever done by the guide” (March 3, 2009)⁶⁵. In relation to the meaning of the number of stars, these distinguish “a very good table in its category (*), a table deserving a detour (**), and a table that justifies a trip (***)”⁶⁶.

The gala of delivery of the Michelin stars was a recurring theme throughout the period (November 25, 2011; November 21 2013; October 17, 2015). Normally, the media discourse focused on three-starred restaurants, or *triestrellados*. The Barcelona-Madrid duel was also present year after year, as could be seen in this example of November 21, 2013: “Madrid and Barcelona, who aspired to have their first *triestrellado* this year, have finally playdowned for Madrid, which has won the third

⁶⁴ “Durante los cinco días que ha durado el Fòrum, unas 28.000 personas han visitado la feria o han asistido a las ponencias y debates programados, según la organización”.

⁶⁵ “Es el mayor best seller de la edición turística, con picos de medio millón de ejemplares: ideada en 1900 para vender neumáticos, la Guía Michelin Francia es referente gastronómico mundial. La centésima edición –no salió durante la guerra, pero los aliados se sirvieron de su cartografía para el desembarco–, en librerías el 5 de marzo, fue presentada, ante 300 periodistas internacionales, en el Museo d’Orsay. La primera rueda de prensa jamás convocada por la guía”.

⁶⁶ “Una muy buena mesa en su categoría” (*), “mesa que merece un desvío” (**) y “mesa que justifica un viaje (***)”.

star for the restaurant *DiverXo*⁶⁷. Television star chefs also deserved a mention in the journalistic content, and this was the case of Jordi Cruz or David Muñoz. Also, Catalan restaurants with new stars usually had their media space in the pieces that dealt with Michelin stars in *La Vanguardia*.

Another important event in the annual calendar was the nomination of the best restaurants in the world, which also had its recurring presence on the pages of *La Vanguardia*. Thus, Catalan and Spanish restaurants were usually highlighted, but there was also room for international restaurants, which were mentioned especially if they top the list, as in 2011, when the first place was occupied by the Danish *Noma* (April 19, 2011).

Two Catalan restaurants were the top stars of the list of the best restaurants in the world in the last decade. Firstly, *El Bulli*. For example, on April 21, 2009, it is confirmed that Ferran Adrià is for the fifth time the chef of the best restaurant in the world – he held the first position in 2002, 2006, 2007 and 2008 -. In addition to Adrià and *El Bulli*, *Mugaritz* remained in the fourth place, *El Celler de Can Roca* was fifth and *Arzak* was the eighth. Ferran Adrià stated that the fact that “there are four Spanish chefs among the best in the world is something that we would never have dreamed of. It’s the happiest day of my career” (April 21, 2009)⁶⁸.

In 2013, Catalan gastronomy returned to occupy the first place, now with *El Celler de Can Roca*. “One day after *El Celler de Can Roca* was considered the best restaurant in the world according to *Restaurant Magazine* in London, the territory tried to assimilate yesterday the tourist and economic repercussions that can have an award of this type for a small city like Girona, of about 98,000 inhabitants, which will compete in the gastronomic Champions with much more populated and cosmopolitan cities like São Paulo, New York, London, San Sebastián and Copenhagen” (May 1, 2013)⁶⁹. The importance of *El Celler de Can Roca* was outlined since the Roca brothers placed Girona again on the world map of haute cuisine as *El Bulli* did not so long ago with the region. In 2015, *El Celler de Can Roca* became the best restaurant in the world for the second time.

⁶⁷ “Madrid y Barcelona, que aspiraban a tener este año su primer triestrellado, han desempatado finalmente a favor de la primera, que ha conseguido la tercera estrella para el restaurante *DiverXo*”.

⁶⁸ “Que haya cuatro cocineros españoles entre los mejores del mundo es algo que jamás hubiéramos soñado. Es el día más feliz de mi carrera”.

⁶⁹ “Un día después de que *El Celler de Can Roca* fuera considerado el mejor restaurante del mundo según *Restaurant Magazine*, en Londres, el territorio intentaba asimilar ayer las repercusiones turísticas y económicas que puede tener un galardón de este tipo para una ciudad pequeña como Girona, de unos 98.000 habitantes, que pasará a competir en la *Champions* gastronómica con ciudades mucho más pobladas y cosmopolitas como São Paulo, Nueva York, Londres, San Sebastián y Copenhague”.

13.5. Gastronomy, its relationship with literature and museums

In the relationship between gastronomy and arts, the approaches were very varied, and included literature, audiovisual productions, or the relationship between the gastronomic component and museums. First of all, some of the books mentioned throughout the period analyzed were the book by Jaume Coll *El capvespre de la becada* (January 19, 2005), *110 vinos para 2010* with a prologue by Juli Soler (October 29, 2009), Joan Roca's book *La cuina de la meva mare*, or *De pans per Catalunya* by journalist Ànnia Monreal (October 17, 2015).

Regarding the linkages between gastronomy and literature, the literary itinerary created within the framework of the *Encuentro Europeo de la Novela Negra y el Año del Libro* stood out and it was explained to include visits to the traditional places of Vázquez Montalbán and his character, Carvalho, as *Casa Leopoldo* or *Boadas* cocktail bar (January 22, 2005). Without leaving the literature, another piece highlighted the importance of *Els Quatre Gats* (July 9, 2005). This came as a result of the exhibition *4 Gats. De Casas a Picasso*, which was displayed in the Diocesan Museum of Barcelona.

In the discovery of the relationship between gastronomy and arts, the analysis also found references to Ancient Egypt. The Egyptian Museum in Barcelona was an example of a museum that helped to discover the relationship between art and gastronomy, and it did so by offering tastings that evoked banquets of Ancient Egypt (July 19, 2007).

This section also included the connections between gastronomy and cinema. In this sense, some examples were *3055 Jean Leon* or *Snacks. Bocados de una revolución*. "In *El Bulli*' stoves, it was born the revolution that has changed the way we understand and do cooking and, above all, cooks, who have become true global stars. Adrià himself, along with Joan Roca (*Celler de Can Roca*), acknowledged as the best restaurant in the world, and Basque Andoni Luis Aduriz (*Mugaritz*), who was in the top ten during ten years, are three of the protagonists" (June 17, 2015)⁷⁰. The documentary was co-directed by journalist Cristina Jolonch and the director of *Film & Cook* festival, Verónica Escuer. Without leaving audiovisual production and the brothers Roca, *El Somni* project, also had media impact (May 19, 2015).

To end the discourse of the relationship between gastronomy and art, we underline the news about Korean chef Corey Lee, who planned to open at the San

⁷⁰ "En los fogones de El Bulli se gestó la revolución que ha cambiado la forma de entender y hacer la cocina y, sobre todo, a los cocineros, convertidos en auténticas estrellas globales. El propio Adrià, junto con Joan Roca (Celler de Can Roca), reconocido como el mejor restaurante del mundo, y el vasco Andoni Luis Aduriz (Mugaritz), que lleva diez años en el top ten, son tres de los protagonistas".

Francisco Museum of Modern Art (SFMoMa), the restaurant *In Situ*, for which the chef has invited other chefs from around the world to participate with their *artwork* (November 14, 2015). The article said that in the relationship between gastronomy and art, “it was Adrià himself and his team who in 2006 published a manifesto (*Una síntesis de nuestra cocina*) which established the conceptual basis of what was to be the contemporary gastronomy”⁷¹. In this way, media star chefs were also presented as artists, and one of the clearest examples, already mentioned earlier, was found in *El Bullis* participation in Documenta in Kassel, in 2007.

13.6. Gastronomy as a social fact: celebrities fix the trends

In analysing the discourse on gastronomy as a social fact, there were pieces of different types that dealt with new trends in gastronomy such as *Slow Food*, as well as linkages between gastronomy with areas such as politics or tourism, among others. Logically, star chefs were again present in this section, together with some big-name restaurants.

Some trends related to the vegan movement (February 6, 2015). It was also important the growing interest on *Slow Food* movement, which sought to recover traditional gastronomic practices. Products such as *Gamonedo* cheese, *Ganxet* beans, saffron from Jiloca, pork from the Basque Country, and other specialties were mentioned. “When in 1986 McDonalds opened its first hamburger in Rome, Carlo Petrini thought that he had to react to defend a different way of eating and living. This sociologist decided to launch the movement *Slow Food* (the slow food, as opposed to *Fast Food*, the fast food)”⁷². This phenomenon had the support of celebrity chefs, like Alain Ducasse (July 17, 2005).

It was also a recent trend “a practice like taking home what has been impossible to finish in the restaurant, which is common in many places of the planet – in the United States is consolidated under the name of *doggy bag* – (see also a piece from January 18, *Otra leyenda de la cultura americana*), is spreading in Spain timidly, especially in pizzerias, hamburgers and other establishments that have already available packaging for takeaway food” (January 18, 2013)⁷³.

⁷¹ “Fueron el propio Adrià y su equipo los que en 2006 publicaron un manifiesto (*Una síntesis de nuestra cocina*) en el que se establecían las bases conceptuales de la que iba a ser la cocina contemporánea”.

⁷² “Cuando en 1986 la cadena McDonald abrió su primera hamburguesería en Roma, Carlo Petrini pensó que había que reaccionar para defender otra manera de comer y de vivir. Este sociólogo decidió fundar el movimiento *Slow Food* (comida lenta, en contraposición con el *Fast Food*, la comida rápida)”.

⁷³ “Una práctica como la de llevarse a casa lo que ha sido imposible acabarse en el restaurante, habitual en muchos lugares del planeta – en Estados Unidos está consolidada bajo el nombre de *doggy bag* –, en España se va extendiendo tímidamente, especialmente en pizzerías, hamburgueserías y otros establecimientos que disponen de envases en principio destinados a la comida para llevar”.

Gastronomy as a social fact was manifested throughout other tendencies focused on chefs. For example, star chefs are taking the simple sandwich formula to their novelty food offers, namely gastrobares or food trucks (September 26, 2015). Thus, this also helped to emphasize the fashion of the phenomenon of street food. "Street food also benefits from the boom in gastronomy around the world and from the hook that is associated to vintage vans reconverted into innovative kitchens that people had only seen in movies and television series so far" (June 29, 2015)⁷⁴.

In a similar direction to the elitist sandwich use, it occurred with snacks. "Chefs have turned tapas, pizzas or traditional dishes into exquisite snacks. Now, in search of new challenges, they have decided to transform the icon of fast food, the often battered hamburger, into a product for gourmets"⁷⁵. The article run through several hamburgers in Barcelona, and made a word-game to highlight the importance of this new boom, Burg-celona (November 12, 2011). As for the tapas culture in particular, "Adrià wanted to emphasize that there have always been good bars in Barcelona, so he assured that *it is unfair that all the merit of the classic tapas has been attributed to creative chefs who opted for this type of cuisine only some years ago, although the attention they have been given by media has also benefited the traditional establishments*" (March 9, 2011)⁷⁶. Next, it is necessary to mention the growing interest on food tourism, and especially wine tourism, that was also reflected in media agenda. Regarding the relationship between wine and its tourist attraction, a piece highlighted that "tourism is one of the economic activities with better prospects for the future in Alt Penedès thanks to, mostly, the potential offered by vineyards and the production of wine and cava in order to structure a good offer of wine tourism in the region" (April 9, 2007)⁷⁷. Another piece mentioned the importance of the brand *Enoturisme Penedès* (July 23, 2015).

Another example of an innovative tourist product was the *Walk and Wine*, which consisted of guided tours along the vineyards and tasting wines while practicing Nordic walking. At the same time, it was remembered that "people here have not had

⁷⁴ "El fenómeno de la comida callejera también se beneficia del auge que vive la gastronomía en todo el mundo y del gancho que tienen las furgonetas vintage reconvertidas en innovadoras cocinas que la gente hasta ahora sólo había visto en las películas y las series de televisión".

⁷⁵ "Los chefs han convertido las tapas, las pizzas o los platos tradicionales en bocados exquisitos. Ahora, en busca de nuevos retos, han decidido transformar el icono de la comida rápida, la tantas veces maltratada hamburguesa, en un producto para gourmets".

⁷⁶ "Adrià quiso resaltar que en Barcelona siempre ha habido buenos bares, por lo que aseguró que es injusto que se haya atribuido todo el mérito de las tapas clásicas a los chefs creativos que hace unos años apostaron por este tipo de cocina, aunque de la atención que les ha prestado la prensa se han beneficiado también las casas de toda la vida".

⁷⁷ "El turismo es una de las actividades económicas con mejores perspectivas de futuro en el Alt Penedès gracias, en buena parte, a las potencialidades que ofrece el cultivo de la viña y la producción de vino y cava para estructurar una buena oferta de enoturismo en la comarca".

fun doing wine tourism so far. We do not get excited about aromas, we do so with the stories behind each wine [...], those who promote wine tourism should learn from the American model, with the popular visits to Napa Valley wineries in California, that seek the show and the fun of customers” (December 27, 2013)⁷⁸. In the context of promotion of wine tourism, the *Enoturisme Catalunya* program of the Catalan Government was acknowledged (January 8, 2015).

In other areas, gastronomy reached beauty contests (March 15, 2007), football (April 8, 2007) or The White House. For example, football players made of chocolate were popular concerning typical Catalan Easter cakes (*Monas de Pascua*). “Ronaldinho is still the king... also of chocolate. [...] Barça and kids’s films are the most repeated and sought characters in the increasingly diverse, rich and worked world of *Monas*” (April 8, 2007)⁷⁹.

Gastronomy headed to The White House with the news of the meeting between the American and French presidents. “Yesterday’s meeting between Bush and Sarkozy – a picnic with hamburgers and hot dogs – can drive to a new era, more comfortable, in the relations between both countries” (August 12, 2007)⁸⁰. Without leaving The White House, another piece highlighted that “a state dinner in honor of Chinese President Xi Jinping and his wife, Peng Liyuan, took place last September 25th in The White House. It was only the second time in history that was celebrated in honor of a president of China, but the first one that, for this event, a woman was included as invited chef. Such distinction corresponded to Anita Lo, a Malaysian cook, born in Birmingham, Michigan, and owner of the *Annisa* restaurant in New York” (October 5, 2015)⁸¹. The article showcased that state dinners were, since 1874, a common habit for US presidents to welcome foreign leaders while in official visit to Washington.

Celebrities that dine in Barcelona big-name restaurants were also a focus of the discourse around gastronomy as a social fact. For example, Michael Douglas and Jack

⁷⁸ “La gente aquí hasta ahora no se ha divertido haciendo enoturismo. No nos emocionamos con los aromas, lo hacemos con las historias que hay detrás de cada vino [...], quienes promueven el enoturismo deberían aprender del modelo americano, con las populares visitas a las bodegas del Napa Valley, en California, que buscan por encima de todo el espectáculo y la diversión del cliente”.

⁷⁹ “Ronaldinho sigue siendo el rey... también del chocolate. [...] el Barça y las películas infantiles son los motivos más repetidos y buscados en el cada vez más diverso, rico y trabajado mundo de las monas”.

⁸⁰ “El encuentro de ayer entre Bush y Sarkozy – un picnic con hamburguesas y perritos calientes – puede marcar una nueva etapa, más cómoda y suave, en la relación entre ambos países”.

⁸¹ “El pasado 25 de septiembre tuvo lugar en la Casa Blanca una cena de Estado en honor del presidente chino, Xi Jinping, y su esposa, Peng Liyuan. Era sólo la segunda vez en la historia que se celebraba en honor a un presidente de la República Popular China, pero la primera que, para tal evento, se incluía como chef invitado, invitada en este caso, a una mujer. Tal distinción recayó en Anita Lo, cocinera de origen malasio, pero nacida en Birmingham (Michigan), y propietaria del restaurante *Annisa* de Nueva York”.

Nicholson in *El Passadís del Pep* (November 19, 2009); or Robert de Niro, with his family, in restaurants like *La Mifanera*, *Las Rías de Galicia* and *Tickets* (February 24, 2011). One more celebrity dinner took place in *Petit Comitè* by Nandu Jubany, a supper with Mark Zuckerberg, Shakira and Gerard Piqué (March 6, 2015).

Chef like David Muñoz was also in media because of non-gastronomic issues, namely his wedding with Cristina Pedroche (October 29, 2015). The press, similarly, was also interested in the private life of the presenter of *Masterchef*, Eva González (November 6, 2015). Finally, this category of gastronomy as social fact also included solidarity, with the campaign *Restaurantes contra el hambre*, led by Joan Roca (September 15, 2015), and which exemplified the most human role that cooks, who became media stars, also had.

13.7. From gastronomy on television to gastronomy as a television phenomenon

The first example of gastronomic content on television referred to *Cheers*, a sitcom whose success filled the United States with bars named *Cheers* (August 23, 2005). In the following years there were references to television programs such as the weekly space *Soy lo que como (Cuatro)*, which focused on healthy food (January 12, 2007) or *Antena 3* airing *Cuestion de peso* included in the afternoon magazine *Tal cual contamos* (April 13, 2009).

It was from 2013 when the combination of reality show and gastronomy started to consolidate. TV culinary shows became one of the most popular formulas of the year. An article emphasized that both *MasterChef (La 1)* and *Kitchen Nightmares (La Sexta)* consolidated a pathway that had begun with recipes programs conducted by Karlos Arguiñano or José Andrés, together with the specialist offer by *Canal Cocina*, a specialist channel that has been broadcasting for more than a decade so far (August 31, 2013). The piece also highlighted the Catalan Television culinary program *Cuines*, which was aired for sixteen years, counted with the participation of celebrity chefs like Ferran Adrià, Carme Ruscalleda and Joan Roca.

In addition, “after music shows, living together-based shows, it is now the turn for a show of people who have a passion for cooking. [...] A mentality that in the United States and the United Kingdom is very assimilated and whose major exponent is Gordon Ramsey, known so much for his culinary abilities as for his character on TV and with whom Chicote is compared” (August 31, 2013)⁸². Even other news announced

⁸² “Después de realidades sobre música, sobre convivencia, le ha tocado a un reality de gente que tiene pasión por la cocina”. [...] Una mentalidad que en Estados Unidos y el Reino Unido está muy asimilada y que tiene a Gordon Ramsey como mayor exponente del fenómeno, conocido tanto por sus dotes en los fogones como su carácter ante las cámaras y con quien se compara actualmente a Chicote”.

that *Antena 3* aimed to premiere *Top Chef* with Alberto Chicote, “one of the creators of the boom that lives the small screen thanks to gastronomy” (May 9, 2013)⁸³.

In 2015, the food program conducted by the Torres brothers, *Torres en la cocina*, was highlighted. The objectives of this program were to pay tribute to products and producers around Spain, and taught people how to use the ingredients in order to encourage them to cook at home again (September 6, 2015). With this recipes cooking shows, Spanish Television made a comeback in terms of having a daily gastronomy program.

Finally, there were also television programs exclusively devoted to a single chef. This was the case of David Muñoz, chef of the restaurant *DiverXO* in Madrid, and his TV program in *Cuatro*. “This space will show the most recent milestones in the career of Dabiz Muñoz, as the chef usually says, and will narrate his meteoric career, from the opening of the first *DiverXO* in 2007, to the obtention of a Michelin star in 2010, a second in 2012 and the third in 2013, and the move to its new location, in the ground floor of the *NH Collection Madrid Eurobuilding* hotel” (December 22, 2015)⁸⁴. With this program, star chef David Muñoz joined the list of celebrity chefs with their own television program.

Highlights

La Vanguardia developed its discourse around products according to their role in tradition. Again, big-name chefs and restaurants drove events and gastronomy as social fact. Particularly, Ferran Adrià emerged as the perfect example of celebrity chef. Similarly, celebrity chefs were the reason why gastronomy television experienced a boom lately.

⁸³ “Uno de los artífices del boom que vive la pequeña pantalla gracias a la gastronomía”.

⁸⁴ “Este espacio televisivo mostrará los hitos más recientes en la carrera de Dabiz Muñoz, como suele firmar el chef, y que narrará su meteórica carrera, desde la inauguración del primer *DiverXO* en 2007, la obtención de una estrella Michelin en 2010, una segunda en 2012 y la tercera en 2013 y el traslado a su nuevo espacio, en los bajos del hotel *NH Collection Madrid Eurobuilding*”.

14. *The New York Times* qualitative analysis

14.1. A variety of products, also focused on chefs

Contents on products were provided with different approaches. Consequently, the importance of ingredients, the use of some products by star chefs, or the special products for marked periods of the year are some of the contents described below. Interests on beverages like liquors or artisanal beers were particularly important.

There was a wide variety of products found within *The New York Times* for the period 2005-2015. Some pieces dealt with abroad products, like India's national snacks, *chaats* (March 9, 2005), Belgian endive (April 10, 2013) or Spanish Iberico ham (December 5, 2007; December 19, 2013). Also, in terms of new trends reaching American diners. For example, *Fans sour on sweeter version of Asia's smelliest fruit* (April 8, 2007), durian fruit, or the piece referring that *baijiu, The National Drink of China Heads West*, whose challenging aroma was "described as resembling stinky cheese, anise, pineapples, musk and gasoline" (December 30, 2015). These were examples that provided evidence on the role that foreign foods and cuisines play in American gastronomy. It is a gastronomy that is heavily influenced by others, where Asian flavors play a huge role, as for the case of the increasing use of wasabi (July 11, 2007). Products also took into account other examples as the flavors of pumpkin (November 13, 2013) or the so-called new "juicetails", a combination of cold-pressed vegetable and fruit juices, which was combined with tequila and vodka (December 19, 2013).

The development of products was also reported with regards to their increasing popularity, and especially referred to the interest that celebrity chefs showed on them. For example, an article on the growing popularity of goat meat on restaurant menus (June 15, 2005). Also, on sorghum, "the sweetener of the moment among chefs who are digging deep into the Southern pantry and finding new ways to cook the food they grew up with" (December 28, 2011). Similarly it was applied to granola: "granola is no longer the lumpy woolen sweater of the food world; all over the country, small-batch entrepreneurs see granola as a booming growth sector, while chefs view it as an elegant and wide-open canvas for culinary experimentation" (February 20, 2013).

While wines were widely included, most of the wine-based content could be observed under the columns by Eric Asimov, *Wines and The Times* and *The Pour*. Still some examples were found as news like the elaboration of wines, such as using old fermenting techniques like terra cotta amphoraes (May 25, 2005). In addition, news reports focused on commercialization. For example, wine brands that offered budget-priced wines with curious names (December 7, 2011) or wines which were being sold

in aluminum bottles and cans in order to attract consumers enjoying the on-the-go (December 7, 2011). Another example was the impact of worldwide recession on French wine industry, especially in Bordeaux (March 31, 2009).

Still dealing with the beverages, there were some news reports that focused on liquors that after a long time being banned, were again allowed for sale in the United States. This was the case of the article entitled *A liquor of legend makes a comeback* (December 5, 2007), with regards to absinthe, banned since 1912. The same applied for the case of Swedish Punsch (May 25, 2011) or regarding home brewing, which used to be illegal until 1979, and nowadays was experiencing resurgence (June 23, 2011). The same direction took another piece dealing with local and artisanal farmers and craft brewers (November 9, 2011).

Products were also seen with regards to special periods of the year, as for example Christmas. This was shown on an article showcasing a typical Spanish sweet made for Christmas: "Factories in Estepa, Spain, produce traditional sugary confections for the holidays, giving the local economy a much-needed lift" (December 24, 2013). Other examples of interfaces between food and traditions were found in an article about salt-curing olives in Middle Eastern Jewish tradition (October 17, 2007) or about babka as part of Hanukkah meal (December 5, 2007). Thus, cultural and religious traditions closely related to food were included, as evidenced by the cases of Hanukkah (December 9, 2009), Ramadan (July 15, 2015), and Thanksgiving (November 11, 2015). Regarding Thanksgiving Day and the importance of turkey, an article found on October 26, 2009, highlighted that turkeys were appearing on cover pages of main American food magazines, and cited for example *Food & Wine* or *Every Day With Rachael Ray*.

Finally, products were also reported on a non-food use. For example the use of cheese brine on icy roads. Here, cheese was mixed with traditional rock salt, a method that also served to make use of dairy waste in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (December 24, 2013).

14.2. Celebrating celebrity chefs expansion

Chefs were seen like celebrities. News with chefs as the focus was based on such a variety of topics, which were sometimes close to the gastronomy as social fact. The analysis revealed that celebrity chefs were expanding, which is also confirmed along the section reviewing the restaurants.

A first topic developed was the relation between cooks and the Michelin Guide. Particularity, the media interest relied on the fact that some starred chefs did not want to keep their stars because of the high exigencies of the guide. This was shown in a

piece on June 15, 2005, and referred to Alain Senderens and Philippe Gaertner, and also Rene Berges. “Mr. Senderens, who first earned three stars for his nouvelle cuisine restaurant l’Archestrate, is certainly the most important chef to renounce his stars. But he is not alone. In March, for example, Philippe Gaertner, the owner and chef of the one-star Aux Armes de France in the eastern Alsace town of Ammerschwihr, wrote to Michelin to say that he was changing his menu and would no longer compete to keep the star status that had been in the family since the late 1930’s. ‘It is so hard, so random to get a star, and even more difficult to turn it to your advantage and to keep it every year, with the sword of Damocles over your head’. [...] He lamented the heavy expenses that he considers the price of keeping his star”.

An article from November 9, 2005, under the title *Did the guide need a guide?*, said that “New Michelin guide to New York City restaurants leaves some people questioning how decisions were made as to which restaurants to include and which to omit; only 44 establishments outside of Manhattan are included”. It should be remembered here that the role of Michelin stars is not as huge in the United States as it is in Europe, as reported earlier.

Some articles showed star chefs facing controversy. This was the case of Thomas Keller, chef at *Per Se* restaurant in Manhattan. The piece referred to the fact that the chef was replacing tipping at restaurant with flat service charge of 20 percent (August 15, 2005), which is challenging in the American context. Another example was related to chef Daniel Boulud, accused of racism (January 17, 2007), or the piece entitled *Star chef, facing a suit, files for bankruptcy* (April 27, 2011), which mentioned chef Geoffrey Zakarian.

Celebrity chefs were reported in terms of expanding their empires. For instance, chef Tony Maws was covered because of the expansion of his restaurant businesses (November 13, 2013). Also Michael Huynh (October 21, 2009), or Rachel Ray were mentioned, in the latter case with regards to her TV cooking empire “with new cookbooks, more Food Network shows, new food and lifestyle magazine, line of cooking equipment and afternoon talk show planned for fall” (October 19, 2005). There was even an article on chef and restaurateur Mario Batali’s vacation home in Michigan (August 17, 2007).

Portuguese and Brazilian influences were also reported along *The New York Times*, about George Mendes (June 19, 2013) or the Brazilian chef Alex Atala (October 23, 2013) who attended the *New York City Wine and Food Festival*. Other world gastronomies were mentioned, namely Spanish and Catalan. A piece highlighted that chef Ferran Adrià and other luminaries from the world of food discussed the role of seeds in new and upcoming culinary trends (September 25, 2013). Still regarding Spanish chefs, an article noted that “Santi Santamaria, Catalan chef and restaurateur

who helped raise international profile of Spanish cuisine, dies at age 53" (February 20, 2011).

14.3. Big-name restaurants, the crisis and other examples of food selling points

A restaurant's category was predominantly featured by new openings by celebrity chefs. While the amount of restaurants' reviews was also particularly huge (especially New York City based), these were not described along this section, since this analysis reviewed only the news content. This section also outlined closures because of the economic context of the last years, and a series of selling points, apart from restaurants.

Openings of big-name chefs' restaurants were the main driver of the discourse regarding this topic. For example, "acclaimed chef Michel Richard is opening *Pomme Palais*, a pastry shop and cafe at the New York Palace hotel in Manhattan" (September 4, 2013). More examples were openings by chef Andrew Carmellini (March 13, 2013) or Tony May (September 2, 2009) in New York City, chef Ludo Lefebvre in Los Angeles (June 19, 2013), Grant Achatz in Chicago (February 16, 2011) or Donald Link in New Orleans (January 21, 2009). Also, chef Seamus Mullen, "whose restaurant *Tertulia* is set to open, discovered that food offers physical relief after being diagnosed with rheumatoid arthritis; Mullen has completed manuscript for new cookbook *Seamus Mullen's Hero Food: How Cooking With Delicious Things Can Make Us Feel Better*" (August 3, 2011).

Closings were also outlined along *The New York Times* pages. For example, *Delightful* Restaurant (November 9, 2005) or Italian restaurants *Alto* and *Convivio* (March 9, 2011). Concerning the economic context, two pieces in 2009 were referring to it. One outlined that New York City restaurants offered deep discounts and recession specials (May 2, 2009), and also the "restaurants that cater to richest New Yorkers are doing fine in lean times; many, like Upper East Side's *Sette Mezzo*, are neighborhood eateries without celebrity chefs, but have established clientele that dines out regularly" (February 18, 2009).

Restaurants were also described because of their farm-to-table procedures. This was the case of *Union Square Café* (July 23, 2015) or *Riverpark*, which included an on-site farm that provides fresh produce to the star chef Tom Colicchio's restaurant (August 3, 2011).

This section also included other food selling points. This was the case of new breeds like beer gardens (May 29, 2011), cocktail bars (April 10, 2013) or nanobreweries setting in New York City (July 17, 2013). In addition, an article dealt

with bars in Williamsburg and Greenpoint, Brooklyn (March 18, 2007) or a piece highlighted the food court at Yankee Stadium (May 11, 2007). Markets were also important, where Bronx Terminal Market (April 10, 2005) and San Francisco's farmers' market were outlined, this latter reporting an overpresence of tourists (April 27, 2005).

Finally, there was a piece regarding the closing of *El Bulli*. The article discussed the next step that chef Ferran Adria was going to take in the culinary world, and also mentioned other influential Spanish and Catalan celebrity chefs in an article entitled *Spain Looks Forward*. "*El Bulli*, currently the most influential restaurant in the world, will serve its last dinner on July 30. The next morning, Spain's chefs will wake up to a radically changed universe. Picture an armada without a flagship, a solar system without a sun, and that is what high-end Spanish cuisine will look like in the absence of *El Bulli*. [...] Food as performance art, transformed through wizardry and wit, is now seen as the signature style of modern Spanish restaurants. As Antoni Gaudi transformed the country's architecture and Pedro Almodovar its cinema, Mr. Adria redefined its cuisine. [...] Tourists from all over the world now come to Spain for the food, drawn by the mystique of *El Bulli*, even though only a few hundred managed to eat there each year. Many chefs fear that the closing of *El Bulli* will combine with European economic woes to create a general plunge in culinary tourism. 'I don't think it's a good situation', said Josep Roca, one of the brothers who own Can Roca, a destination restaurant north of Barcelona. 'I am afraid that without *El Bulli*, a certain energy will disappear from the restaurant scene here'. But amid the worry, it is also dawning on chefs that the Adria monopoly on the international press may finally be broken" (June 15, 2011).

14.4. A full set of events

Events were developed under a set of axes. Until 2011, a specific calendar of events used to appear under the Dining section, where a series of events were described briefly. However Michelin Guide and Restaurant List events were not found to be mediatized under news section for the period analyzed, some opinion articles dealt with them. No event in *The New York Times* prevailed on other, and only fairs and festivals seemed to get more media attention – "every summer, New York holds dozens of food fairs and festivals with an international flavor" (May 27, 2009) –. For this reason, a list of topics is included below, together with examples:

- Anniversaries like the 80th birthday of Paul Bocuse, "forerunner to today's celebrity chefs" (February 14, 2007), the 35th birthday of a celebrity *Le Cirque*, with an anniversary gala (October 21, 2009) or the 400th anniversary of Henry Hudson's voyage up Hudson River which included food products (September 2, 2009).

- Awards, contests and competitions like *The Vendy Awards* to proclaim the best street food vendor in New York City (September 30, 2007), the *Manhattan Cocktail Classic* (July 15, 2009) or the *Western Regional Barista* competition; “contestants have 15 minutes to prepare four espressos, four cappuccinos and four signature drinks of their own invention” (March 9, 2005).
- Classes, pairings, seminars, talks and tastings, which released for example *Tastes of Barcelona* with Paco Guzmán (July 15, 2009). Thematic dinners and events were also noticed.
- Expos like *Food Technology Expo* or *Fancy Food Show*, which was a “trade exhibition of specialized food products that ended a three-day run yesterday at the Jacob K. Javits Convention Center in Manhattan, has been changing significantly. The show had products from 73 countries and territories this year, including some newcomers: Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Syria, Palestine, Russia, Benin, Rwanda, Uganda and Swaziland” (July 11, 2007).
- Food fairs and festivals like *Oktoberfests* in North America (September 16, 2005) or the celebration of *Macaron Day* (March 21, 2011). Specifically in terms of festivals, *Oyster Festival*, *New York State Sheep and Wool Festival* (October 22, 2007), or *Swedish Midsummer Festival*. Also, *LuckyRice*, “a popular Asian food festival in New York that has spread to four other cities” (April 18, 2013). Moreover, food events were carried out under the framework of the *French Institute Alliance Francaise* fall festival (September 2, 2009). A Basque-based festival was also reported: “Boise, Idaho, has hosted its seventh Jaialdi, one of largest Basque festivals outside Europe; festival is held every five years and is largely product of Mayor David H. Bieter's father's love of Basque life; celebration highlights little-known part of Idaho's history in which wave of Basque immigrants arrived in state in early 20th century” (August 5, 2015).
- Restaurant events like the *Restaurant Week* (June 15, 2005), which was increasing its importance: “over the years, it has stretched from one week to two, spawned a winter version and, at some places, extended to dinner”. Another event here consisted of guest chefs in New York kitchens, where a Spanish example was reported – media chef Pepe Rodriguez – (August 3, 2005).
- Solidarity events that included cancer-fighting cookies (December 5, 2007), or a *Farm Aid concert and Homegrown Festival* (August 29, 2007).

14.5. Books lead on gastronomy and arts' linkages

The publication of books was the main core regarding the linkages between gastronomy and arts. Also, educational institutions, museums or films were highlighted under this section. To a lesser extent, the relation between gastronomy and arts also included fields like sculpture or music.

Several examples of released books were found every year. In 2005, an article on *The flavors of Spain, to cook at home* included books on Spanish cooking (December 28, 2005). In 2007, an article highlighted the success of diet book *Skinny Bitch* by Rory Freedman and Kim Barnouin, "which broke into best-seller list after Victoria Beckham, pop star Posh Spice, was photographed carrying copy in Los Angeles in May" (August 1, 2007). Later in 2009, "New Orleans newspaper *Times-Picayune* creates cookbook *Cooking Up a Storm* containing recipes cherished by readers and lost in Hurricane Katrin" (January 21, 2009).

In 2011, *Season to Taste*, "a memoir by aspiring chef Molly Birnbaum, describes her recovery from head trauma, which left her without sense of smell" (June 15, 2011). Next in 2013, we found *Anything That Moves: Renegade Chefs, Fearless Eaters, and the Making of a New American Food Culture* by Dana Goodyear (November 8, 2013). Also, "Tony Conigliaro, one of world's most notable mixologists, has documented how to make his signature cocktails in his latest book *The Cocktail Lab: Unraveling the Mysteries of Flavor and Aroma in Drink, With Recipes*" (July 21, 2013). Finally, the publication of *Mastering the Art of Soviet Cooking* by Russian writer Anya von Bremzen (September 25, 2013). In 2015, more examples were reported, such as the republication of *The Ideal Bartender* by Tom Bullock (February 18, 2015). Also, *The Violet Bakery Cookbook* by London bakery owner Claire Ptak (October 4, 2015), chef April Bloomfield's new cookbook *A Girl and Her Greens* by (April 29, 2015) and *Nopi: The Cookbook* by chef Yotam Ottolenghi, with recipes to make at home (October 25, 2015).

In addition, some news was related to educational institutions. For example, the Culinary Institute of America (November 19, 2015), the New York Public Library gastronomy collection (April 27, 2011) or the piece entitled *Gift Puts Food Library At N.Y.U. In Big Leagues*, highlighting that Fales Library at New York University had one of the largest collections of culinary books in the United States (April 6, 2011). Another approach could be a piece that highlighted the initiative of some New York City restaurants which were offering cooking lessons to children (January 28, 2007).

Recently, the relation between food and museums increased. Examples were found for culinary exhibitions like exhibit of plates created by artist Julie Green and entitled *The Last Supper* at The Arts Center in Corvallis, Oregon (January 26, 2013), or *Supper With Shakespeare: The Evolution of English Banqueting*, at Minneapolis

Institute of Arts (February 24, 2013). Also, exhibits at *Museum of Food and Drink* (October 21, 2015).

The relation between food and cinema was also part of the discourse of *The New York Times*. Food film festivals were growing across the country (May 12, 2013): “these films aren’t about how your meal might kill you (like the documentary *Forks Over Knives*) or sully the environment (*Food, Inc.*) or make you feel really lousy (*Super Size Me*). No, these are cinematic hymns to food, mini-odes with names like *Sushi, Handcrafted Happiness* and *Bark Butter: Why Every Hot Dog Needs a Little More Pork Fat*” (May 12, 2013). This relation between food and films was discussed with regards to *Ratatouille* in another article. “For movie audiences, a rat with culinary aspirations might be more appealing. Especially if it’s a rat that the chef Thomas Keller helped teach to cook. The rat is Remy, the animated French star of *Ratatouille* [...]. The spectacle of French service was of particular note, and the film’s examination of how it can fade was influenced by studying *La Tour d’Argent*, a centuries-old Paris restaurant that lost two of its three Michelin stars. The cheese course in the film is copied directly from the one at the Parisian restaurant *Helene Darroze*. *Gusteau’s* is an amalgam of several restaurants in Paris, including *Guy Savoy, Le Train Bleu* and *Taillevent*” (June 13, 2007).

Finally, some other pieces displayed the elaboration of butter sculptures (July 19, 2009; August 27, 2005). Also, the use of food in music lyrics, with Mexican-American rapper Chingo Bling, “whose songs celebrate tamales and masa, their cornmeal base; Chingo Bling is urging respect for the hard work and home cooking that help Latin American immigrants survive in hostile world” (May 25, 2011).

14.6. Gastronomy, a social interest on politics, health and tourism

Gastronomy as social fact was a category that included many approaches. Nonetheless, there was an impressive amount of news setting linkages between food and politics, and also regarding health awareness. After some isolate examples, culinary tourism was also seen as a very important leg under this topic.

Health was one of the key drivers of the discourse under the gastronomy as social fact. For example, “the New York City health department urged all city restaurants yesterday to stop serving food containing trans fats, chemically modified ingredients that health officials say significantly increase the risk of heart disease and should not be part of any healthy diet. The request, the first of its kind by any large American city, is the latest salvo in the battle against trans fats” (August 11, 2005). Also a piece acknowledging that “Philadelphia and New York City are offering financial incentives to supermarkets to make healthy food more widely available to low-income neighborhoods; New York City is also offering zoning incentives” (June 17, 2009).

This topic also extended to celebrities (for example, Prince Charles as owner of an organic farm in Gloucestershire, England, found in April 25, 2007) and particularly celebrity chefs. This was the case of the article *A new alliance in the fight against childhood obesity* (April 25, 2007), where it was reported that Bill Clinton appeared on Rachel Ray's television and cooking show in order to promote programs to fight childhood obesity. Thus, health awareness reached The White House. For example, *Michelle Obama's agenda includes healthful eating*: "Mrs. Obama was praising the menu last week at Miriam's Kitchen, a nonprofit drop-in center serving this city's homeless. And she seized the moment to urge Americans to provide fresh, unprocessed and locally grown foods to their families and to the neediest in their communities" (March 11, 2009).

Still some other news focused on The White House, concerning The White House chef's appointments (March 9, 2005; January 21, 2009), where a special interest on healthy and local food was seen as essential. This was confirmed with the quote "Cristeta Comerford yesterday became the first woman to be named White House executive chef after a lengthy selection process" (August 15, 2005). Also, after Barack Obama took office in 2009, "Sam Kass, private chef who cooked for Obama family while they were in Chicago, is now working alongside White House chef Cristeta Comerford, who is being kept on from previous administration" (January 29, 2009). Another example was a piece where it was highlighted that Michelle Obama started to work on The White House vegetable garden (August 13, 2009).

The White House was also taking the lead on the news that included gastronomy as social fact thanks to articles stating that Michelle Obama invited top culinary students from *L'Academie de Cuisine* in Gaithersburg, Maryland, to The White House kitchen (February 23, 2009). Also, the following example: "healthy Lunchtime Challenge, created by Cooking Up Big Dreams chief executive Tanya Steel, invites young chefs to enter healthy recipe contest and rewards winners with White House dinner featuring their recipes" (July 15, 2015).

There were still several news stories that referred to politicians. These included especially The White House, as earlier reported, and the Mayor of New York City. Michael R. Bloomberg appeared in many of these stories. The first one referred to one of his inaugural celebrations, which included plenty of food: "about 470 gallons of apple cider, 7,000 plain doughnuts, and 4,000 cupcakes smothered in the colors of the New York City flag – orange, white and blue. When they head across the street to the after-party at the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank, they will be treated to copious amounts of the very foods the mayor had tried to give up in his early campaign diet. There will be 3,000 all-beef mini-hamburgers, 250 pounds of hot dogs, 400 pounds of roasted turkey and 6,000 mini-sandwiches of assorted variety, including grilled cheese. All of that is to be washed down with 1,200 bottles of beer from the Brooklyn Brewery,

based in Williamsburg, and about 1,800 bottles of Wolffer Estates merlot and chardonnay, the grapes grown and squashed in Sagaponack, on Long Island. Mayoral staff members said they were planning the menu to the proudly down-market culinary tastes of Mr. Bloomberg, whose billion-dollar fortune has not wiped out the meat-and-potato sensibility he acquired during boyhood in the working-class town of Medford, Mass” (December 28, 2005). Later, *The New York Times* affirmed that “Michael R. Bloomberg has taken on more food issues, and provoked more controversy, than any other New York mayor” (April 4, 2007). This included for example his initiative to regulate salt in foods (September 23, 2009).

Regarding news on restaurants, there were some pieces worth mentioning. One referred to the price of meals in Manhattan: “small restaurants with memorable food, decent and inexpensive wine lists and reasonable prices are becoming rare in Manhattan; since 1994, average price of meal in one-star restaurant has risen 51 percent; increase reflects both growing wealth of Manhattan population and steep rise in restaurant leases” (June 26, 2005). Another one was focused on the need to offer fresh ingredients in the menus. “Locally grown. Market-sourced. Farm to table: These phrases have become the mantras of the American menu” and the challenge of keeping this promise in extremely cold winters (February 20, 2013). Still a recent piece was related to social media, entitled *Restaurants turn camera shy*, and affirmed that “people taking pictures when dining out has become as common as ordering dessert” and consequently it “has prompted creative measures; some chefs invite customer to photograph food in the kitchen before plate comes out while others prohibit food photography entirely” (January 23, 2013).

New trends were another pathway under this section. For example the wood-fired grilling as an old-fashioned technique which became popular among chefs (May 29, 2013) or the new phenomena of food trucks, which led to new challenges in terms of finding lots or regulation around the country (May 25, 2011; July 13, 2011; June 19, 2013). This section also included examples as singers Jay Z and Beyonce promoted vegan revolution (May 10, 2015). Also the piece reporting that “Artuso’s Pastry Shop in Brooklyn is selling large round cookies bearing Pope Benedict XVI’s likeness, a tribute following the news of his planned resignation; cookies are a reprisal of a batch Artuso’s made in 2008 to sell at Yankee Stadium when the pontiff celebrated Mass there” (February 12, 2013). These latter examples showed evidence on how celebrities were getting closer to food, at the same time food getting closer to personalities.

Finally, the field of tourism took a great importance. Under the travel articles on 36-hour visits to different places, both America destinations and international examples were described. Many of these articles included features about food. For example, San Sebastián (November 18, 2007). Also, Spain was acknowledged in an

article dealing with Andalusia region (September 4, 2005) that traced dishes such as gazpacho, ajo blanco malagueno or salmorejo cordobes. Culinary landscapes were also emphasized from Vietnam (April 10, 2005), Champagne region east of Paris (August 14, 2005), California's Napa Valley wine country (June 8, 2007), East Frisia region of Germany (February 24, 2013) or Vancouver Island (April 12, 2015), among others. Tourist appeal also came from agritourism boost (June 10, 2011) or artisanal cheese production (June 2, 2013). This exemplifies nowadays trends that intend to focus on niche food tourism's markets.

14.7. News on food media is scarce

The New York Times' traditional news sections did not feature many articles on food and media. One article focused on the Restaurant *Zucchini* (August 11, 2005) since it featured television sets. Other examples dealt with the airing of programs like *The Chew*, a talk show dedicated to food on ABC (September 21, 2011). "An hourlong daily talk show dedicated entirely to food, which will make its debut next week. It's the first new daytime show on ABC since the program it is winkingly modeled on, *The View*, went on the air in 1997".

Interfaces between media and food also reported a travel article on a themed cruise inspired by culinary show *Top Chef* (June 30, 2013), and the social impact of the winner of *The Great British Bake Off*. The winner "is a Muslim woman from northern England who has a devoted following across nation is seen by some as symbol of successful blending of identities in Britain; her success comes at time when country's leaders, including Prime Min. David Cameron, have expressed concerns that Britain is taking in too many immigrants" (October 9, 2015). Culinary shows were also found to be reported as television critics' articles, included under opinion genre.

Highlights

Products were featured in *The New York Times* by their role under special periods of the year and by their use by star chefs. While chef-based news came from around the world, restaurants' discourse was mainly based on America cases. Moreover, narratives of events showed a wide range of pathways to deliver food. Similarly, several different fields reported the connections between gastronomy and arts. In terms of social interests on gastronomy, these were primarily focused on politics, health and tourism. Finally, it was observed that news paid little attention to TV culinary boom.

15. Comparative perspective

As earlier explained, the qualitative approaches were carried out from gastronomy-based contents found in news and news reports. Regarding the most prominent categories, qualitative chapters were organized within different sub-sections. Logically, as also explained earlier in this thesis, some categories bordered others. This implied that some articles provided evidence on more than one topic. This was for example showcased in an article found in *El Mundo* in 2005, April 30, with the headline *En ruta: de la viña a la mesa*. This article described the wine as a product and also regarding its relation to the land, together with the importance of tourism in El Priorat region, Catalonia. The article also showcased recipes and restaurant examples of the area. The article did not forget gastronomy social linkages (artists as Serrat o Lluís Llach settled in the region) and the history of close destinations like El Penedès, also a wine landmark. This was an example that dealt with different topics at the same time, being the product and the place the most important, but also showcasing restaurants, stores or tourism.

The interpretative analysis carried out allowed comparing Catalan and Spanish newspapers. When analysing the topics, the agenda of the newspapers was found to be very similar. Even for the case of *The New York Times*. As we describe below, star chefs were normally the driven topic for many articles – under different categories – and obviously, they are the reason why gastronomy has heavily reached into the society. Without them, gastronomy media impact would be much fewer. Also, the emphasis of Spanish press relied more on Madrid examples, while in Catalan newspapers Barcelona was the most highlighted place. While this was a difference when dealing for example with the Michelin-starred restaurants, it was less noted since both Spanish newspapers were analyzed using the edition Catalonia.

Newspapers recently started to delineate references of products as star chefs used them. This phenomenon not only referred to traditional products rooted in the own culture, but also to new products that come from strange cuisines, namely Japanese or Peruvian. Products were also important regarding its historical provenance, which was specially shown through food columns. Historical references used to include a literature background.

Chefs, and consequently their restaurants, were the main core of gastronomy contents, both in Catalan and Spanish newspapers. The most prolific was chef Ferran Adrià, who was reported on several occasions and at different circumstances. Another Spanish star chef was Jose Andrés, acknowledged to be one of the 150 most powerful washingtonians, and the only listed chef, by *The Washingtonian*. Carme Ruscalleda was

another Catalan example; she acted as ambassador for the distinction earned by Catalonia in 2016, as European Region of the Gastronomy.

At an international level, Jamie Oliver was one of the more mediatized English chefs, together with Gordon Ramsay. An article found in *El País* reported that “there was a time when being a chef was not synonymous of being famous and popular. High cuisine, during the twentieth century, was more a luxury for a few palates. Until several renowned cooks and even with some Michelin stars found an inexhaustible yarn on television. Then, many things changed in the way in which the art of gastronomy is perceived today. Briton Gordon Ramsay was one of the pioneers in starring in front of the cameras to poke around stoves in more than ten realities that go from British version of *Kitchen Nightmares* to *Master Chef*. And time has rewarded him well: according to Forbes magazine he is the cook who made the most money on the planet in 2012 – 31 million euros – and in 2013 – 41 million euros –” (Celis, 2015)⁸⁵. The role of celebrity chefs went beyond a culinary performance and their influence could be observed into politics, culture or health. This happened similarly for all the five newspapers.

While different understandings of events were described, the newspapers similarly drew them. They were focused on local fairs and festivals, anniversaries, but specially gastronomy meetings and summits, and the acknowledgement of the best restaurants. Most of these events were again close to star chefs. An article found in *El Periódico* exemplified it. This piece focused on the *Fòrum Gastronòmic*, which for the first time did not aim solely at professionals but was also opened to the public. This successful meeting was commonly found in Catalan newspapers due to big-name chefs’ speeches. “The finishing touch of the day was put by chefs Ferran Adrià and Joan Roca. For the first time, these two geniuses of Catalan cuisine gave a joint master class in the Auditorium of Girona, which, with 1,200 seats, remained small. Do you imagine Beethoven and Mozart hand to hand? Well, something like that” (Coscolluela, 2007)⁸⁶.

The most important events, found in Catalan and Spanish newspapers every year, were the *Restaurant list of The World’s 50 Best Restaurants* and the Michelin

⁸⁵ “Hubo un tiempo en que ser chef no era sinónimo de ser célebre y popular. La alta cocina, durante el siglo XX, suponía más bien un lujo destinado a unos pocos paladares. Todo hasta que varios cocineros de renombre e incluso con alguna estrella Michelin encontraron un filón inagotable en la televisión. Entonces muchas cosas cambiaron en la forma en la que hoy se percibe el arte de la gastronomía. El británico Gordon Ramsay fue uno de los pioneros en ponerse ante las cámaras para curiosear entre fogones en más de diez realities que van desde la versión anglosajona de *Pesadilla en la Cocina* a *Master Chef*. Y el tiempo le ha pagado con creces: según la revista Forbes es el cocinero que más dinero ganó del planeta tanto en 2012 -31 millones de euros- como en 2013 -41 millones de euros-”.

⁸⁶ “El broche de oro de la jornada lo pusieron los chefs Ferran Adrià y Joan Roca. Por primera vez, estos dos genios de la cocina catalana dieron una clase magistral al alimón en la Sala Simfònica del Auditori de Girona, que, con 1.200 plazas, se quedó pequeña. ¿Imaginan a Beethoven y Mozart mano a mano? Pues algo así”.

Guide gala. These two ceremonies showcased chefs as rock stars, and the *Restaurant* awards were considered the Oscars of the world of gastronomy. Obviously, several articles were found for the genre of information, but also in terms of opinion articles. Generally, the pieces dealt with three-starred restaurants, new stars delivered, and also the Catalan and Spanish restaurants included in the *Restaurant List*. While *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia* better emphasized Catalan chefs and restaurants, *El Mundo* and *El País* did so for Madrid acknowledgements. Results for *The New York Times* showed a different trend, and this type of content was found along the sample under opinion pieces.

In outlining the relation between gastronomy and arts, literature was the most common example. Consequently, food writers and chefs themselves published books. Thanks to some writers' work, already described along the theoretical section, gastronomy acts as a conveyor of culture. This was reported for both novels and cookbooks. For example, food writers like Pau Arenós traced the history of nowadays-molecular gastronomy. This was the case of his works *Els genis del foc* or *La memòria dels plats*. Still other examples were found in the publication of gastronomy guides, namely Michelin, or Zagat, which is more popular than Michelin in the United States restaurant landscape. These guides, once appeared in media, experience a huge boom. This is exemplified with Zagat and its appearance on *The New York Times* front page, which converted the culinary guide into a best seller.

Linkages between gastronomy and arts also reached cinema. An article from *El Mundo* wondered “what would have happened with cinema if the Lumière brothers, also French, had not presented that afternoon of December 1895 in the Grand Café of the Boulevard des Capucines in Paris, then a fascinating and almost esoteric gadget called cinematograph. Cuisine and cinema are two pleasures closely related from that historical presentation which would change the future. A premonitory fact of the relevance that gastronomy would later acquire within the cinema is *Le Repas de bébé*, one of the ten films screened by Lumière brothers at the Grand Café” (Brunat, 2005)⁸⁷.

Logically, relationships among food and arts were not only limited to literature and cinema, and also included other areas as painting (namely still life), music, theatre or archaeological museums. More recently, these relations also reached the circus, with the collaboration between brothers Ferran and Albert Adrià with *Cirque du Soleil*. All these examples provided evidence that the dialogue between art and gastronomy

⁸⁷ “Què seria del cinema si els germans Lumière, també francesos, no haguessin presentat aquella tarda de desembre de 1895 al Gran Café del Boulevard dels Caputxins, a París, un fascinant i llavors gairebé esotèric artilugi anomenat cinematògraf. Cuina i cinema són dos plaers íntimament lligats des d'aquella històrica presentació que canviaria el futur. Un fet premonitori de la rellevància que hauria d'adquirir la gastronomia dins el setè art és *Le déjeuner de bébé* (Menjar de nadó), un dels deu films exhibits pels Lumière al Gran Café”.

was fully settled down, and not only from the experience performed in big-name restaurants.

Another topic examined in this study was the gastronomy as social fact. This topic was a repository of many different examples that covered news on sport, politics or even fashion. While this was a multi topic category, star chefs remained in the center on several occasions. That was the case of collaborations between Ferran Adrià and doctors, politicians or designers, or his starring in a TV advertisement. In addition, the non-gastronomy importance of chefs treated examples as the wedding of David Muñoz. Other social-based initiatives were reported, especially in *El País*. The case of *The New York Times* performed with a bigger focus on politics.

Gastronomy as social fact also referred to trends, mostly exemplified in Barcelona and Madrid. The culture of food was an important part of Catalan and Spanish background. Tapas and bars are a clear example, but also slow food or street food practices. Within the contents analyzed, nutrition – celebrity chefs were fully aware of healthy food habits – and tourism were highlighted. In terms of food tourism, a field of interest increasingly studied by geography and tourism researchers, there were different key lines observed. Gastronomy tourism contents were heavily based on wine tourism. For example, an article found in *La Vanguardia* stated that “wine is a cultural element of Catalonia and a product of the Mediterranean diet, and [there is a strong need] of seeking synergies so that wine is also acknowledged throughout the gastronomy of our chefs” (Francàs, 2009)⁸⁸. The article emphasized the work made by *Can Fabes* and *El Cellar de Can Roca*. Also important for regional and tourism development is the creation of culinary poles. This is what happened with Girona and the international acknowledgement of the county restaurants – *El Bulli* and *El Cellar de Can Roca* –, which made foodies of all over the world to point at this Catalan region. Furthermore, for example, the front page of *La Vanguardia* issued on March 6, 2017, highlighted bread as a new tourist attraction, and reported the creation of an artisan bakery tour in Barcelona.

Finally, media played, and is still playing, a key role on the popularisation of chefs and gastronomy. This referred here to television, that is, a way of eating culture (Clifford, 1988). Varela stated that “culinary programs are not new in our television, but what is new is the amount of them, as well as the impact they are getting on audiences of all ages” (Varela, 2016, p.90). They are *talent shows*, even *reality shows* that enhance the current *gastronomic bubble*. While the success of gastronomy in television has its roots in food programs, also recipe shows intend to increase the audience knowledge on products, nutrition or health. Nowadays, although those earlier programmes has evolved, they still exist. As earlier discussed, not only TV

⁸⁸ “El vino es un elemento cultural de Catalunya y un alimento de la dieta mediterránea y en buscar sinergias para que a través de la gastronomía de nuestros cocineros el vino también salga reconocido”.

culinary shows are currently aired, but also food heritage programmes. Consequently, “virtual, mediatized food has become a distinguishing feature of locality, a recognizable stylistic element standing for a mythicized community or place, congenially to dominant and normative discourse of cultural property and natural heritage” (Bindi and Grasseni, 2014, p.69).

A last example to acknowledge is the social impact that culinary realities experienced. A clear example was found in *The New York Times*. It referred to a BBC food program: “the victory of Nadiya Jamir Hussain, a petite 30-year-old, head-scarf-wearing mother of three from northern England, in a wildly popular reality show called *The Great British Bake Off* on Wednesday has been greeted by many in Britain as a symbol of immigration success” (Bilefsky, 2015). Social media played here a crucial amplifying role.

IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

16. Discussion and Conclusions

Jones and Taylor (2013, p.97) stated that “food writers attempt to explain new or rediscovered foodstuffs and food practices to consumers. This is often presented as a pleasurable search for new eating and drinking experiences, and the pursuit of cooking and dining as expressive lifestyle practices is regularly valorised”. Gastronomy is a very important part of every culture, and therefore a way of cultural communication. Logically, in talking about gastronomy as a topic, this relates to several fields, some of them intertwined with restaurants, events or, obviously, media itself. It is clear that, regarding to media and again according to Jones and Taylor, “food today is an object of considerable fascination, evidenced by the plethora of food programmes, cookery books and the high-profile marketing of certain foodstuffs within the retail sector” (Jones and Taylor, 2001, p.186).

Gastronomy is a driver capable of building social trend (Varela, 2016), especially thanks to celebrity chefs. Here, media potentially provides a pathway for the transmission of gastronomy knowledges to people. Gastronomy is also a narrative issue. Its study means “an analysis of a narrative process and a narrative by its own” (Pérez Escobedo, 2014, p.145). In order to study the history of gastronomy *sensu strictu*, two main sources are found; firstly, books about the history of cuisine, some of them prior to the invention of printing press. As we reviewed along the theoretical section, it was in the fourteenth century when these books started to appear; nonetheless, cooking writing references had already existed much earlier.

Secondly, cookbooks and other food works signed by chefs and other authors were found later to report directly on food and gastronomy. This was the case of food columnists, as Curnonsky in France, Joaquín Merino in Spain, or Nestor Luján in Catalonia to name only few. Also cookbooks, whose inheritance allow to maintain food culture identities in times of rapid changes, and at the same time they reflect “the ways in which we lived and understand through cooking” (Song, 2016, p.1433). For example, a recent article analyzed how recipes and culinary literature shaped the national identity in Colombia along the nineteenth century (García Mera, 2014). According to Adrià and Pinto (2015), “from the analysis of book contents it is evident that no accord has existed with regards to the coding of cuisine [...]. Gastronomic knowledge is abundant but very heterogeneous” (Adrià and Pinto, 2015, p.11). However this may difficult its study, it also shows the capability of the gastronomy to dialogue with many disciplines, a dialogue, for example with art, that enriches the food phenomenon.

In addition, gastronomy has always been close to food establishments. Thanks to star chefs and their signature restaurants, gastronomy became a social phenomenon all over the world. This is particularly relevant for the cases of Catalonia

and Spain. For example, an article found in *El Periódico* explained the process that drove the Catalan cuisine into its current international acknowledgement (Imedio, 2007). It represented a clear reference to star chefs and molecular cuisine, led by Ferran Adrià. They elevated gastronomy towards an autonomous level of reconnaissance, as Pérez Escohotado described. “What is happening to cuisine nowadays occurred to painting in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: it tried to move from being considered a handcrafting art, identified with trades and the closed environment of guilds, to get a consideration of a liberal art, recognized by patrons and erudites of the moment, which implied the attainment of freedom with respect to the strict guild control” (Pérez Escohotado, 2014, p.66).

Capel, in an article published in *El País* (2005) reported that between 1995 and 2005 Spain has lived a prodigious gastronomic decade thanks to big-name chefs. Accordingly, in both Catalonia and Spain, food literature was still prominent and the recognition of Ferran Adrià as one of the 100 most influential people of the world made here the edge of today gastronomy. This also served to appreciate products, recipes, restaurants, events or tourism in a particular region. Media is a mirror from where this food phenomenon reached into society. Moreover, in 2005 Barcelona held the year of Food, Cuisine and Gastronomy, which honoured Catalan cuisine and put Barcelona and Catalonia in the center of gastronomy world.

Obviously, the Spanish predominance, especially of Catalan and Basque cuisines, is evidenced every year when the *Restaurant Magazine* List of the 50 World Best Restaurants is released (Fusté, 2014). In this sense, some authors considered Ferran Adrià's cuisine as of gastronomic transmutation or alchemy (Sen, 2007; Pérez Escohotado, 2014). Also *Le Monde*, in 2004, entitled a news report as “Ferran Adrià, the alchemist”. This is another debate, where star chefs are expected to be handcrafters, chemists, artists, business people, designers, creatives, or the new rock stars. Nowadays, gastronomy is not exclusively acquired in restaurants. The consumption of food as a phenomenon reached out food itself. “When we watch television programs about cooking, read review blogs, participate in culinary sites or use applications on the topic, when we visit an exhibition about a chef... we are consuming gastronomy” (Adrià and Pinto, 2015, p.21).

In terms of gastronomy as a science, science itself has never been divulged throughout as many channels as it currently does. In codifying messages aimed at large audiences, we let people incorporate new knowledge. That process moved from a scientific knowledge to a mass media one. According to Hirschfeld (2015), “journalism has experienced a similar process [of specialization] that occurred in a more limited time. This phenomenon, which is already several decades old, is reflected in the gradual appearance in newspapers of sections and supplements devoted to new areas of information” (Hirschfeld, 2015, p.15). Gastronomy is proved to be one of them, and

particularly this thesis has been exploring what type of food media consumption was provided by mainstream newspapers during the last decade.

This thesis intended to fill a gap regarding a topic that is fiercely increasing its scientific interest. There is still little research focused on empirical food journalism studies. This study therefore aimed at analysing gastronomy contents found within daily print media primarily in Catalonia and Spain in order to provide evidence on the importance of gastronomy, narratives of gastronomy-based news and how this evolved throughout the period 2005-2015. Later, a comparative dimension for an American newspaper, *The New York Times*, was also conducted. All of this is discussed along the following pages according to the research questions listed at the beginning of the thesis.

RQ1. What is the importance of gastronomy in the printed media?

H1. Gastronomy has an increasing presence over time.

The analysis of the sample allowed drawing positive results regarding the growing importance of gastronomy contents within mainstream newspapers. This is particularly relevant for the cases of *El Mundo*, *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia*. They experienced an increasing trend with regards to the attention paid to gastronomy. At the same time, while the amount of food-based articles in *El País* and *The New York Times* did not increase, it is true that they only slightly decreased as we observed because of tracing the evolution concerning the total amount of articles for every year.

In addition, the opening of section and page is a parameter that also showed this fact. For example, in *El Mundo* the articles that opened section increased by 255% between 2005 and 2015 and those that opened page by 60%. Similarly, for the case of *El País*, in 2005 only 20% of the pieces opened section, but in 2015 this figure reached 40%. While this trend was not as clearly derived from *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* also provided results that confirm the increasing weight of food-based contents: the articles that opened section doubled from 2005 to 2015. Results for *The New York Times* also showed that the articles that opened page were reaching more than half of the total articles in later years of the sample (2013 and 2015).

Another issue that showed the growing of gastronomy as journalistic content is the evolution of the space per page. For example, in *El Mundo*, the amount of short articles was reduced over the period. *El País* also displayed coherent results, since the categories found above one-fourth of a page accounted together two thirds of the articles overall. It was also noteworthy the fact that news occupying more than 75% of the page doubled its presence between 2005 and 2015. Catalan newspapers' results had an increasing devotion to gastronomy contents too. While short articles still had

significant weight, pieces with less than half a page were reduced in *El Periódico*. Similarly, *La Vanguardia* performed an increasing presence of articles over three quarters of a page, which were very few at the beginning of the sample.

In addition, the case of *The New York Times* also served to confirm the hypothesis. First, this newspaper showed an extremely few presence of short articles, which means that when *The New York Times* talks about gastronomy, it normally does not use brief pieces. Second, the articles with a space range over a quarter of a page increased along the sample years, from 70% in 2005 to 85% in 2015. And third, articles with a space per page less than 25% decreased from 30% in 2005 to only 15% in 2015. While in terms of amount of articles, data showed that the average number of articles is similar every year, the importance of gastronomy-based contents is increasing over time. Consequently, it is logical to affirm that the journalist tradition of *The New York Times* is more solid than Catalan and Spanish press. *The New York Times* acts as a food referent. The importance that this newspaper devoted to food also derived from the high amount of articles, and the contents found in the front pages. Adversely, concerning Catalan and Spanish dailies, data showed that it is difficult to determine that one of them is the main referent of gastronomy communication.

RQ2. What are the predominant themes regarding the gastronomy contents within the printed media?

H2. Chefs and restaurants are the most prominent topics.

A wide range of themes is influenced by food and culinary topics. Results showed a similar trend for the five newspapers. The top categories included in all cases the categories of gastronomy as social fact, products and restaurants. For example, restaurants led in *El Mundo*, products in *El País*, *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia*, and gastronomy as social fact took the lead in *The New York Times*. Additionally, there were particular situations for example in the case of *El Periódico*, where up to six topics counted a similar average, namely, products themselves, gastronomy as social fact, restaurants, stores, events and chefs. It also deserved attention the importance of the elaboration of dishes as a high-ranked topic in *The New York Times*. While Catalan and Spanish cultures have long culinary traditions and endlessly pay tribute to grandmother cooking and recipes, this is rather different in the United States. With a food culture influentiated by many national and international cuisines, they count with a melting pot of foods and gastronomies. Consequently, audiences need an expert cook that provides guidance in terms of home cooking.

In considering the newspapers all together, the top-three categories had a weight of 17% each. This confirmed that restaurants were a prominent topic. Nonetheless, while these results still did not confirm the crucial role of chefs, it was

observed a recurrent presence of chefs in the front pages of the newspapers (Catalan and Spanish) especially when their signature restaurants were awarded a new star or as one of the best restaurants in world. Therefore, chefs were represented in relation to their restaurants, gastronomy events, treatment of products, or linkages between food and arts or food and media. This means that the category of chefs itself did not reflect the strategic importance that cooks have with regards to the gastronomy contents, as they were mediated throughout many different themes. In addition, the key presence of chefs was reinforced thanks to the qualitative discourse.

RQ3. How gastronomy news is discursively covered in the printed media?

H3. Gastronomy discourse turns around star chefs.

While the category of chefs was not predominant to some extent, as seen above, the discourse about gastronomy contents had celebrity chefs as a main landmark. Overall, contents were found to discuss food news based in Barcelona, Madrid or New York, and also to deal with big-name chefs like Ferran Adrià, Roca brothers, Carme Ruscalleda or David Muñoz, together with their signature restaurants. Also the appointments of chefs or new restaurants openings around the world demonstrated the international colonization and recognition of Catalan and Spanish cooks. From the qualitative analysis, it was derived that star chefs were included in news under every category.

While *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia* focused their news about products on the importance of traditions and territories, Spanish newspapers also pointed at how products were used by celebrity chefs. This was particularly relevant for the most recent years of the sample where both traditional and innovative products were mediated following the pattern of food news based on star chefs. Events were another fair example of how media turns around star chefs; particularly, Michelin stars delivery and the awards for the best restaurants in the world multiplied their impact because of chefs' appeal. The presence of this type of content on the cover pages, earlier acknowledged, was an evidence of a common pattern for all the newspapers, and also showed coherent results between the quantitative and qualitative analysis. All of this was similarly happening in terms of product fairs and gastronomic summits, which counted with chefs to be media represented. Moreover, books authored by chefs or culinary television shows were examples that followed this same line in the five newspapers.

Consequently, this hypothesis is also confirmed. Chefs are showcasing a central media presence. Not only because of their trajectory or the type of cuisine they carry out, but also thanks to an overall impact anywhere anytime. While Ferran Adrià was found to be the rock star earlier in the sample, nowadays the list is much more

widespread. Cooks are nowadays writers, showmen, health advisors or tourism promoters. They are alchemists, designers, the new football players, the twenty-first century rock stars. Thanks to celebrity chefs, gastronomy managed to get out of the kitchens and fully set into the street. Society have immersed into contemporary gastronomy culture since celebrity chefs have popularised it. Nowadays it is possible to enjoy gastronomy not only in expensive restaurants limited to upper-class audiences, but also throughout books, events, media or tourism.

RQ4. How have the gastronomy contents in printed media in Catalonia, Spain, and the United States, evolved over time?

H4. While Catalonia and Spain show a similar evolution, different conclusions are observed for the case of the United States.

Gastronomy contents evolved differently with regards to every topic, and also some differences were observed in relation to every newspaper. *El Mundo* performed a similar interest on topics such as gastronomy as social fact, stores or chefs over the sample. A decreasing interest on products (a topic that reduced half its value) was observed, together with events or gastronomy and arts. Regarding the contents that experienced an increasing presence, restaurants were highlighted since their increase moved from 14.4% in 2005 to 37% in 2015. The results for *El País* performed a similar trend. Gastronomy as social fact, stores or chefs had a similar weight, but products substantially decreased. A reason was earlier outlined since nowadays is more relevant for gastronomy communication to focus on what is happening out of the kitchens. Cuisine has democratized. Thus, topics like places, tourism or media were increasing. While they still had an overall scarce presence, this may set a pathway for future food-based contents.

Catalan newspapers showed different trends in some topics. This was clearly derived from the analysis of products, which were highlighted more from tradition than innovation. Both *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia* had growing interests on products and chefs. For example, chefs tripled their presence in *La Vanguardia* (3.4% in 2005 and 9.5% in 2015). Conversely, restaurants were decreasing in *El Periódico* and topics like stores and events were also less represented in *La Vanguardia* by the end of the sample.

Similarities between Catalan and Spanish newspapers were also described. The qualitative interpretation showed that while products performed differently, other topics were equally narrated. There was an astonishing media presence of star chefs and signature restaurants, and the delivery of Michelin stars and the *Restaurant* list ceremony centered the events-based news. In addition, celebrity chefs were the

reason alleged by all the dailies to justify the social popularisation of gastronomy and the boom of food and culinary television.

Finally, the evolution of categories in *The New York Times* was more stable. The four top-ranked topics (gastronomy as social fact, restaurants, products and dishes) represented three fifths of the articles every year, so the average presence of each category was similar along the sample. The discursive analysis showed for example that chef-based news narrated examples from all over the world; that social interest on gastronomy predominantly focused on politics, health and tourism; or the fact that news content rarely focused on TV culinary boom. This latter was approached from the opinion genre.

To sum up, the comparison between Catalan and Spanish newspapers broadly brought similar conclusions. Furthermore, the case of *The New York Times* was found to perform differently in comparing to Catalan and Spanish media.

Limitations and further research

While this study shed new light on the media discourse on gastronomy in Catalonia, Spain and the United States, several limitations were found, which may later lead to future research opportunities. This thesis is the first to analyze the phenomenon of food journalism from a communication and media approach. While the dissertation reviewed a recent period, in order to draw the picture for the twentyfirst century, this timeline could be enlarged in future projects.

One of the challenging points of this research was the methodological design. As described along the codebook and the coding form, and later observed during the qualitative chapters, there was topics that could face multiple categories. For example, Adrià and Pinto (2015, pp.20-21) wondered whether “wine is a product? A preparation? Is it a drink? A sauce, is it a use or an elaboration? And a cocktail or a snack, are dishes? Why do we often categorize like this? What is the difference between a finished product and a culinary elaboration?” (Adrià i Pinto, 2015, pp.20-21). In order to minimize these research problems, the model was pre-tested and categories were defined and exemplified. Also, the context was a crucial issue in order to accurately categorize food contents under the right theme. Nonetheless, new studies could rather group the topics in a different way.

The analysis of media content drove to a quantification of gastronomy articles in Catalan and Spanish newspapers, and also to the building of a solid food discourse. In addition, “mass media reflects and at the same time shapes the social perception by the mere fact that every discourse takes place in society and returns to it” (Alonso, 2013: 5). It is obvious that there is a need to continue exploring the narratives of the

popularization of gastronomy, and consequently, the limits and borders of food journalism.

According to Varela (2016), “gastronomy is cooking, wine and table, sure; but it is history, geography, sociology, anthropology, literature. Today everything is *gastronomy*: gastronomic books, gastronomic blogs, gastronomic programs [...]. Gastronomy is not only eating, but enjoying what you eat, which requires to understand what you eat, what food tells you, what stories food has, that is, gastronomy is clearly involved in what we know as culinary and eating habits” (Varela, 2016, p.88). In this sense, some current research also studied trends that future food studies under the field of media and communication could point. For example, the use of products in Ancient Greece or Rome (Lejavitzer, 2016) or the importance of monasteries in terms of culinary heritage transmission through recipe books (Aulet, Mundet and Vidal-Casellas, 2016). Street food studies are also a trend of growing research interest (Fusté, 2017). Other recent food-based studies are those that relate haute gastronomy to the recovery of local produce, and the importance of sustainability, which is exemplified thanks to a better collaboration of cooks with farmers and growers. This means “the wise rediscovery of the own landscape as the basis of culinary creation” (Agulló, 2015). Even when molecular cuisine moves to the recovery of traditional values, this relates to star chefs. Thanks to them, the visibility explodes. This could also lead to studies in terms of food attraction, and food tourism, another topic of increasing scientific interest during the last decade. Moreover, both traditional and innovative approaches offer a useful lens through which it is possible to explore how food journalism is impacted by cultural and social surroundings and history (Moon, 2016, p.2383). And importantly, how this may evolve and change upcoming cultural and social patterns.

It is obvious that press and media can and does shape our understanding of the world (Gitlin, 1980). To exemplify it, “more than just a drink, tea embodies social, cultural, economic and political meanings through time and across cultures. There is an essential tie between media and this meaning-making process. Media often create and carry the visions of health, nature, tranquility, and prosperity offered by tea” (Berggreen, Evolvi and Durham, 2016, p.1). That is, through news stories, movies, television shows, blogs, new media, and advertising (Ramamurthy, 2012), media provides a universal imaginary of products, namely tea: a beautified, sanitized and idealized vision of the world attributed to tea (Berggreen, Evolvi and Durham, 2016). This may be similarly applied to other products.

One of the limitations of this study is its lack of focus on the Internet context, a platform that serves to understand the boom of foodies through blogs and social media. Here social media is expected to provide a higher emphasis on the promotion of a vision of cuisine close to concepts like *rock'n'roll, plus cool or sexy* (Naulin, 2015).

This is because the role that Internet plays for the visibility of chefs and culinary shows is terribly huge. This could also be a line for future studies.

In analysing the phenomenon of food journalism, we observe a strong need to look backwards; by doing so, we realize how things have evolved. Future research on the same direction will deepen on this topic and contextualize it from different points of views. This will certainly build a more complete corpus of knowledge around food journalism. For example, how chefs transformed from artisans into artists, which happened only after years of recognition and consolidation. Similarly, Pérez Escohotado stated that “that first pastry cook or baker was undoubtedly an artisan and it is difficult to believe that he would call himself an author or an artist. Probably because the baker constantly repeated a particular recipe mechanically and the writer, in this case Proust, achieved a unique and unrepeatabe text. Perhaps the question is this: the repeatable is mechanical and only the unrepeatabe, because it is unique, becomes art” (Pérez Escohotado, 2014, p.145).

Finally, Benítez (2015), in an article headlined *La gastroburbuja ¿cuánto durará la moda?*, discussed that chefs emerged as the new football players. Nowadays, kids wish to become cooks, long waiting lists are found to eat in big-name restaurants and TV channels are full of food programmes and culinary shows. The article wondered for how long this gastrobubble will last. While this phenomenon already became a real generator of culture, star chefs, food journalism, and gastronomy broadly are topics where there is still a long way to study and a huge range of opportunities where to deliver *food for thought*.

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August

GONZÁLEZ, R., Bush invita a "perritos calientes" a Sarkozy. *El Mundo*, August 12.

LUCAS, A. De cómo Umbral levantó su "macondo" en el Café Gijón. *El Mundo*, August 29.

October

NÉSPOLO, M., Los hermanos Posadas triunfan con la literatura gastronómica. *El Mundo*, October 5.

JIMÉNEZ, R., Llega el tiempo de la castañada. *El Mundo*, October 22.

December

PARRA, B., Sin entrar en la cocina. *El Mundo*, December 9.

RIBALAYGUE, J., Penedès, una de les joies del modernisme català. *El Mundo*, December 13.

PARRA, B., Adrià, investido “honoris causa” en Barcelona. *El Mundo*, December 18.

TORBADO, J., Lavaux, paisajes del vino. *El Mundo*, December 29.

2009**January**

PEIRÓ, J.M., Botellas con mensaje. *El Mundo*, January 16.

February

MUCHA, M., El tenedor de lujo se dobla. *El Mundo*, February 1.

March

AMÓN, R., La Guía Michelin celebra sus 100 polémicas ediciones. *El Mundo*, March 3.

PARRA, B., La gastronomía catalana entrega sus premios. *El Mundo*, March 27.

April

PÉREZ, J., Por primera vez 4 restaurantes entre los 10 mejores del mundo. *El Mundo*, April 21.

June

-, Más de 2.000 manifestantes contra los transgénicos. *El Mundo*, June 29.

July

PARRA, B., Cenas de autor en La Pedrera. *El Mundo*, July 3.

-, Spanair nombra a “embajadores” a personalidades catalanas. *El Mundo*, July 11.

August

ÁLVAREZ, C. and AGULLÓ, X., El rey destronado del aperitivo. *El Mundo*, August 21.

September

OLDENBURG, F., Burbujas ecológicas. *El Mundo*, September 18.

SOLANO, A., Las sardinas, de seis en seis. *El Mundo*, September 18.

October

BENITO, R., Defensa ficha a Del Bosque, Ferran Adrià y Concha Velasco. *El Mundo*, October 1.

November

BIEZMA, P., El vino por dentro. *El Mundo*, November 6.

PÉREZ, J., La bandera gastronómica de Mallorca. *El Mundo*, November 27.

December

PARRA, B., Llovieron estrellas a gusto de (casi) todos. *El Mundo*, December 9.

2011

January

WURGAFT, R., La semilla de los incas se pone de moda. *El Mundo*, January 30.

February

AGULLÓ, X., A nadie le amarga... lo amargo. *El Mundo*, February 4.
-, Santi Santamaría. *El Mundo*, February 20.

March

PARRA, B., ¡Comienza el espectáculo!. *El Mundo*, March 1.
PARRA, B., Adrià hará pedagogía del tapeo en todo el mundo. *El Mundo*, March 9.
LARGO, G., Laguardia o la roca que vigila. *El Mundo*, March 29.

April

VÁZQUEZ SALLÉS, D., La novela negra, contada por sus tripas. *El Mundo*, April 11.
-, El Cellar de Can Roca, "plata"; Mugaritz, "bronce". *El Mundo*, April 19.

May

AGULLÓ, X., Burbujas para rejuvenecer. *El Mundo*, May 13.

June

FERNÁNDEZ ROVIRA, C., Panes para todos los gustos en el Empordà. *El Mundo*, June 10.

July

TORREJÓN, M., Cena solidaria con sabor mediterráneo. *El Mundo*, July 1.
GRAELL, V., Arguiñano cocina el "top" del "txacolí". *El Mundo*, July 26.

August

CONRADO, N. Banquete de faraones. *El Mundo*, August 6.

September

PARRA, B., Combinados con café que son la leche. *El Mundo*, September 16.

November

CABRERO, J.L., Las setas, nuevo motor del campo. *El Mundo*, November 1.
PARRA, B., Vilaplana cierra su tienda de la zona alta de Barcelona. *El Mundo*, November 4.
PARRA, B., Àbac recupera la segunda estrella Michelin y Can Fabes la pierde. *El Mundo*, November 25.
PARRA, B., Una ruta de "pintxo" a "pintxo" por la Barcelona histórica. *El Mundo*, November 25.

- December**
 PÉREZ, J., El “acorazado” con patas. *El Mundo*, December 23.
- 2013**
- January**
 BÉCARES, R., Lo último en gastronomía, madera comestible. *El Mundo*, January 23.
- February**
 -, Éstos son nuestros X Premios Gastronómicos. *El Mundo*, February 8.
 SCARPELLINI, P., Brad Pitt y Angelina Jolie tendrán su propia marca de vino. *El Mundo*, February 16.
- April**
 FERNÁNDEZ, E., “Masterchef”, la rebelión de los aprendices. *El Mundo*, April 10.
- May**
 -, Hermanos Roca. *El Mundo*, May 4.
 PIÑA, R., Un vino en busca de sus orígenes. *El Mundo*, May 13.
- June**
 BLANCO, L., Cine entre fogones con menú “deluxe”. *El Mundo*, June 11.
 FERNÁNDEZ GUADAÑO, M., El “crujiente” del verano. *El Mundo*, June 14.
 FERNÁNDEZ, L., Tras el paladar de Carvalho. *El Mundo*, June 27.
- July**
 ELIDRISSI, F., Cómo hacer un “reality show” de éxito. *El Mundo*, July 1.
 RODRÍGUEZ, C., Ferran Adrià, “expuesto” en Londres. *El Mundo*, July 5.
- October**
 PIÑA, R., En busca de los “chefs” españoles. *El Mundo*, October 11.
- November**
 BELLVER, J.M., Madrid vuelve a lucir 3 estrellas. *El Mundo*, November 21.
- December**
 ALÓS, A.R., Barcelona celebra los 33 años de la coctelería Gimlet. *El Mundo*, December 3.
 BÉCARES, R., Pesadilla (económica) en la alta cocina. *El Mundo*, December 15.
- 2015**
- January**
 BLANCO, L., Curry, menta... y algo de ketchup. *El Mundo*, January 8.
 VIDAL, P., Gasol, Rudy, Nadal, Matutes e Iglesias... cinco socios de “Tenedor”. *El Mundo*, January 24.
- March**
 FONT, C., La Ruta “Michelin” de Don Juan Carlos. *El Mundo*, March 14.

SOSTRES, S., El Nacional resume el espíritu de la segunda transición española. *El Mundo*, March 14.

NAVARRO, R., El “boom” del mollete chino. *El Mundo*, March 27.

April

ROMO, J.L., Rollitos de primavera. *El Mundo*, April 4.

May

PARRA, B., Gerard Piqué, Su nuevo negocio en Barcelona. *El Mundo*, May 23.

July

CASTILLO, Á., Viaje culinario a la estela de “Masterchef”. *El Mundo*, July 7.

PARRA, B., Adivina quién viene a cocinar esta noche. *El Mundo*, July 11.

August

MARÍN, H., Viaje a la Cataluña “lenta”. *El Mundo*, August 16.

November

PARRA, B., En tu cocina y en la mía. *El Mundo*, November 19.

December

-, Jubany, 20 años en Calldetenes. *El Mundo*, December 1.

TORAL, R., “Minichefs” de una dieta saludable. *El Mundo*, December 1.

TORRES, Á., “Sí, quiero” en deportivas. *El Mundo*, December 25.

El País**2005****January**

OBIOLS, I., Los novelistas policíacos europeos rastrean los escenarios de Carvalho. *El País*, January 22.

ALEGRÍA, O., 212 “calçots” en 45 minutos. *El País*, January 31.

May

PELLICER, L., Turismo destina 600.000 euros para promocionar la cocina catalana. *El País*, May 13.

MARTÍ, O., Alain Senderens renuncia a 28 años con tres estrellas en la guía Michelin. *El País*, May 25.

GALLO, I., TVE prepara una serie para incentivar la dieta mediterránea. *El País*, May 30.

June

GÓMEZ, L., “Mens sana in corpore sano”. *El País*, June 27.

July

MARTÍ, O., Jacques Chirac pone a caldo la cocina británica. *El País*, July 5.

-, La princesa Takamado, de tapas por la expo de Aichi. *El País*, July 26.

August

-, La nueva cultura de la gastronomía. *El País*, August 6.

September

PELLICER, L., Delantales con “glamour”. *El País*, September 16.

October

INTXAUSTI, A., El periodista Jesús Ruiz Mantilla gana el Sant Soví con “Gordo”. *El País*, October 7.

November

BENEYTO, M., Una feria para los más golosos. *El País*, November 4.

RONCAGLIOLO, S., Delirium Tremens y otras 500 cervezas. *El País*, November 12.

INTXAUSTI, A., Jesús Ruiz Mantilla reivindica el placer de los sentidos en “Gordo”. *El País*, November 25.

December

RIVERA DE LA CRUZ, M., Caprichos para todos en hoteles de lujo. *El País*, December 3.

-, La sidra asturiana consigue la denominación de origen protegida. *El País*, December 28.

2007

January

GÓMEZ, R.G., Cuatro enseña hábitos saludables en el programa “Soy lo que como”. *El País*, January 12.

RIVAS, R., Ferran Adrià reivindica una escuela de gastronomía. *El País*, January 17.

February

-, Fogones de tendencia. *El País*, February 10.

March

VELAR, M., Una cerveza bien casada. *El País*, March 10.

VISA, L., Las cerezas más caras del mundo. *El País*, March 15.

April

RIVAS, R., Alta cocina para todos. *El País*, April 17.

CAPEL, J.C., Estrellas en el firmamento culinario. *El País*, April 28.

June

-, El “pa amb tomàquet” llega a Atocha. *El País*, June 8.

-, Los menús escolares a examen en “Soy lo que como”, de Cuatro. *El País*, June 8.

MARTÍN, L., Allen localiza en La Boqueria. *El País*, June 21.

July

RIVAS, R., Carne Ruscalleda, la cocinera feliz. *El País*, July 11.

August

AYMÍ, O., Da trabajo, pero sabe a pan. *El País*, August 1.

MANETTO, F., El mejor pizzero del mundo. *El País*, August 13.

RIVAS, R., El avance de los nórdicos. *El País*, August 21.

-, Nadal cocina para atraer a jóvenes tenistas. *El País*, August 25.

MANETTO, F., Agitado, revuelto y a la carta. *El País*, August 25.

October

RIVAS, R., El Bulli, en viñetas. *El País*, October 22.

INTXAUSTI, A., El desparpajo de la mezcla. *El País*, October 25.

OTERO, B., Las ratas, en casa. *El País*, October 25.

PANTALEONI, A., Postres de alta costura. *El País*, October 30.

November

RIVAS, R., Una escuela con estrella Michelin. *El País*, November 2.

DE JUAN, J.L., Sorbos de lluvia y whisky de Malta. *El País*, November 10.

December

RIVAS, R., Nitrógeno con sabor andaluz. *El País*, December 5.

PANTALEONI, A., Ferran Adrià, doctor “honoris causa” por la UB por sus méritos científicos. *El País*, December 18.

2009

January

RIVAS, R., ¿Quién teme a la ciencia?. *El País*, January 21.

February

LEÓN, P., Arco saborea las obras de Arzak. *El País*, February 14.

RUIZ, R., Entre cepas, al ritmo de dos molinos. *El País*, February 14.

March

VERDÚ, V., Palacios y tabernas que amaron los artistas. *El País*, March 14.

April

RIVAS, R., Apoteosis de la cocina española. *El País*, April 21.

May

MONGE, Y., Hamburguesa presidencial. *El País*, May 7.

June

RIVAS, R., El secreto mejor guardado de Tokio. *El País*, June 12.

August

ALANDETE, D., De perritos con el “presi”. *El País*, August 8.

September

BOSCO, R., Amor y muerte entre fogones. *El País*, September 7.

October

GALAZ, M., Del Bosque, Concha Velasco y Ferran Adrià se unen a las Fuerzas Armada. *El País*, October 1.

BALSELLS, F., El vino más caro de Cataluña. *El País*, October 4.

SILIÓ, E., El sifón se reinventa. *El País*, October 25.

November

RIVAS, R., Cocineros estrella “cum laude”. *El País*, November 6.

RIVAS, R., Un brillo insuficiente. *El País*, November 27.

December

SANCHO, X., Poble Nou, sabor a Soho. *El País*, December 5.

MANRIQUE, D.A., Música que se come, pinchos que se bailan. *El País*, December 25.

BOSCO, R., ¿Cena o experimento?. *El País*, December 30.

2011

January

RIVAS, R., Los flamencos pisan fuerte. *El País*, January 30.

March

RIVAS, R., Cocinar paisaje para compartirlo. *El País*, March 4.

MAGI, L., A la mesa con Brunetti. *El País*, March 20.

April

ZABALBEASCOA, A., Una lonja especial. *El País*, April 2.

RIVAS, R., La primavera los menús altera. *El País*, April 14.

RIVAS, R., Noma, Can Roca y Mugaritz. *El País*, April 19.

May

RIVAS, R., El tirón del “efecto Noma”. *El País*, May 5.

ZABALBEASCOA, A., Brindar de nuevo en Barcelona. *El País*, May 21.

June

RIVAS, R., El yuzu se vuelve mediterráneo. *El País*, June 10.

-, Platos solidarios para Fukushima. *El País*, June 27.

July

AVENDAÑO, T.C., Mucho más que “Cheers”. *El País*, July 9.

FANJUL, S.C., “Culines” de verano. *El País*, July 9.

August

ALDAMA, Z., Adrià, aprendiz en China. *El País*, August 23.

RIVAS, R., Un vanguardista aire de familia. *El País*, August 19.

September

RIVAS, R., Nueva vida para la vieja aceituna. *El País*, September 29.

November

MONGE, Y., Michelle Obama pone a dieta al personal de la Casa Blanca.

El País, November 4.

RIVAS, R., Pocas “estrellas” nuevas bajo el sol. *El País*, November 25.

December

MUÑOZ, A., De cocinero a creador. *El País*, December 7.

2013

January

MERINO, I., Tres días y 100 cocineros. *El País*, January 18.

RIVAS, R., Madrid Fusión: de la merluza terrestre al churro de Mugaritz.

El País, January 23.

February

MARTÍN, A., Ana Duato releva a Echanove y Arias en “Un país para comérselo”. *El País*, February 16.

RIVAS, R., Una mesa con “tecnoemociones”. *El País*, February 24.

RIVAS, R., La fiebre de la cocina se extiende. *El País*, February 25.

PANTALEONI, A., Estrelles de la cuina a foc baix. *El País*, February 28.

March

RIVAS, R., Cocineras en guerra contra el cancer. *El País*, March 8.

RIVAS, R., La cocina del sur está que hierve. *El País*, March 25.

April

RIVAS, R., Al rico “pilpil” de biomasa marina. *El País*, April 6.

RIVAS, R., “Masterchef” enciende el fuego. *El País*, April 10.

GÓMEZ, R.G., ¿Cultura o “reality”? *El País*, April 14.

CAPEL, J.C., Jóvenes cocineros a los que no se puede perder de vista. *El*

País, April 26.

May

ROBERT, M., El regreso triunfal de los Roca como los número uno. *El País*, May 1.

VIEJO, S.G., “Gran Reserva” regresa al pasado. *El País*, May 13.

RIVAS, R., En busca de vinos sobrenaturales. *El País*, May 25.

June

DE LLANO, P., El chef más celebrado de México. *El País*, June 6.

August

THEROS, X., Memorias del bacalao. *El País*, August 27.

September

RIVAS, R., Jamón “bulliniano” e intercultural. *El País*, September 20.

October

BARRENA, B., Sales de frutas. *El País*, October 6.

RIVAS, R., No solo de paella vive el arroz. *El País*, October 6.

November

-, Los Ondas premian el mejor periodismo. *El País*, November 21.

GUIMÓN, P., Una joyería de “donuts”. *El País*, November 29.

December

-, El Gimlet de Santaló celebra 30 años de cócteles. *El País*, December 3.

BADIA, E., El vino regresa a sus orígenes. *El País*, December 3.

RIVAS, R., El turrón de autor muerde Mercado. *El País*, December 3.

CAMPOS, A., Trufas de invierno y otras delicias. *El País*, December 27.

2015**January**

MEDINA, M.A., La cocina se va de viaje. *El País*, January 16.

-, Pedroche y Muñoz, nueva pareja. *El País*, January 21.

CELIS, B., Pesadilla en la cocina de Ramsay. *El País*, January 24.

GARCÍA-AJOFRÍN, L., 24 chefs de élite preparan gallina contrarreloj. *El País*, January 24.

March

-, Zuckerberg cena en Barcelona con Shakira y Piqué. *El País*, March 6.

RIVAS, R., Cocinar en zonas revueltas. *El País*, March 14.

FERNÁNDEZ, P.J., La pizza fina y la pasta al dente. *El País*, March 27.

April

MARCOS, N., Tras los fogones de “MasterChef”. *El País*, April 21.

-, Brindis de mayo. *El País*, April 24.

May

RIVAS, R., Intercambio global de chefs. *El País*, May 2.

THEROS, X., L' hora del vermut. *El País*, May 7.

June

GRAGERA DE LEÓN, F., Cocina de segundas oportunidades. *El País*, June 29.

JURADO, M., Comiendo, que no bailando, bajo el sol. *El País*, June 29.

July

LUENGO, M., De norte a sur en un restaurante ambulante. *El País*, July 7.

ORMAZABAL, M., Cocineros de nuevo cuño. *El País*, July 7.

RIVAS, R., Tu cocina es ahora la mía. *El País*, July 11.

August

TUBELLA, P., Carlos, príncipe y agricultor. *El País*, August 5.

LEÓN, P., Gastrolandia, el reino de la buena mesa. *El País*, August 29.

September

-, Los Gasol y los Roca difunden la vida sana. *El País*, September 23.

October

CRESPO, I., El postre solidario de Jordi Roca en Nueva York. *El País*, October 17.

GRAGERA DE LEÓN, F., De la comida de la calle al cielo de la alta gastronomía. *El País*, October 21.

November

CAMPOS, A., Gladiadores en el rocódromo. *El País*, November 27.

December

ROBERT, M., "MasterChef Junior" cocina nuevas recetas. *El País*, December 1.

GUERRERO, D.F., Café a seis céntimos el minuto. *El País*, December 13.

El Periódico**2005****January**

CAMACHO, J., Polvorones más ligeros. *El Periódico*, January 3.

IBÁÑEZ, M.J., Platos para morir. *El Periódico*, January 3.

PAYÀ, E., Santa Pau celebra la Fesolada. *El Periódico*, January 22.

February

SOTO, J., Adrià y Gisela se apuntan a la Festa del Cargol. *El Periódico*, February 8.

March

PLIEGO, L., Ismael Prados: “Puedo decir que estoy hasta en la sopa”. *El Periódico*, March 12.

April

OLLÉS, A., Ciencia en los fogones. *El Periódico*, April 14.

-, Dukakis cena pasta en Barcelona. *El Periódico*, April 19.

FERNÁNDEZ, P., TVE-1 descubre hoy al sustituto de Karlos Arguiñano. *El Periódico*, April 30.

May

GUASCH, A., Pau Arenós rastrea con ironía el origen de recetas populares. *El Periódico*, May 30.

June

-, Mesa de faraón. *El Periódico*, June 2.

-, Una exposición muestra moda diseñada con pasta. *El Periódico*, June 2.

July

CAPILLA, A., Los turistas revalorizan los paisajes del vino. *El Periódico*, July 17.

August

ARENÓS, P., El Maresme feliz. *El Periódico*, August 27.

September

CAPDEVILA, M., Lluvia de estrellas. *El Periódico*, September 5.

BARRIO, J., Más allá del “pa amb tomàquet”. *El Periódico*, September 8.

OLIVEROS, A., Gastrónomos de ocho comunidades apuestan por la cocina con contenido. *El Periódico*, September 29.

October

PAYÀ, E., Turrone y chocolates en Agramunt. *El Periódico*, October 15.

IBÁÑEZ, M.J. and SARRI, J.M., Las lluvias de otoño salvan la temporada de setas. *El Periódico*, October 24.

November

CASTÁN, P., Tentación en el Fòrum. *El Periódico*, November 4.

TORDERA, J., Delicias catalanas. *El Periódico*, November 29.

December

-, Trece cocineros españoles posan en favor de los derechos del niño. *El Periódico*, December 7.

2007

January

-, Cuatro estrena esta noche "Soy lo que como". *El Periódico*, January 12.

FERNÁNDEZ, J., Adrià defiende los productos naturales sobre la tecnología. *El Periódico*, January 17.

COSCULLUELA, F., Calonge se postula como futura zona de interés etnológico. *El Periódico*, January 29.

February

COSCULLUELA, F., El Fòrum Gastronòmic llena Girona. *El Periódico*, February 19.

March

IMEDIO, F., Cinco vinos españoles, en la lista de los mejores del mundo. *El Periódico*, March 2.

IMEDIO, F., Fabián Martín, mejor pizzero del mundo. *El Periódico*, March 7.

NOAIN, I., Jaume Reixach lleva la cocina con acento catalán a Nueva York. *El Periódico*, March 18.

April

PLIEGO, L., Xavier Franco dirigirá el primer restaurante catalán en China. *El Periódico*, April 20.

ESTIRADO, L. and SUBIRANA, J., El chef José Andrés apadrina la escuela de hostelería de Barcelona. *El Periódico*, April 25.

May

OLLÉS, A., Desayuno con los alcaldables. *El Periódico*, May 27.

IMEDIO, F., El pizzero Fabián Martín revela sus secretos en un recetario. *El Periódico*, May 28.

August

PLIEGO, L., El chef de Girona Daniel Redondo triunfa en Brasil. *El Periódico*, August 25.

September

GERHARD, F., Capçanes elabora vino kósher con el control del rabino de BCN. *El Periódico*, September 11.

-, Temporada de vendimia en Gandesa. *El Periódico*, September 22.

SASTRE, N., José Andrés, entre las personas más influyentes de Washington. *El Periódico*, September 27.

TORREJÓN, M., El gurú de la seta catalana. *El Periódico*, September 30.

October

TIMÓN, L., Ferran Adrià lleva a Madrid los bodegones de El Bulli. *El Periódico*, October 21.

November

ARCE, B., La otra Mariscal escribe con café. *El Periódico*, November 10.

December

IMEDIO, F., Adrià corona su trayectoria con un doctorado honoris causa. *El Periódico*, December 18.

-, Tentaciones de turrón. *El Periódico*, December 21.

2009**January**

-, El cap d'El Bulli i Arzak, retratats amb fruites. *El Periódico*, January 16.

FERNÁNDEZ, J., Adrià: "La ciència a la cuina no és un estil". *El Periódico*, January 21.

February

PEREDA, O., Oristrell: "Dieta mediterránea" és un sopar lleuger. *El Periódico*, February 6.

ARENÓS, P., El Japó vibra amb la cuina espanyola. *El Periódico*, February 10.

COSCULLUELA, F., El Fòrum celebra 10 anys amb rècord de public. *El Periódico*, February 23.

COSCULLUELA, F., El Fòrum Gastronòmic confirma l'èxit d'una cuina "innovadora". *El Periódico*, February 26.

March

FORNS, P., Colom promocionarà el vi. *El Periódico*, March 3.

ARCE, B., Blumenthal treu el marisc de la carta del Fat Duck. *El Periódico*, March 14.

-, L'Olivé compleix 25 anys fidel a la tradició. *El Periódico*, March 19.

April

ALÓS, E., Aromes i sabors d'abans. *El Periódico*, April 13.

IBÁÑEZ, M.J., Mona popular a Mollerussa. *El Periódico*, April 13.

ARCE, B., El Bulli, millor restaurant del món, i El Cellar de Can Roca, quart. *El Periódico*, April 21.

June

IMEDIO, F., L'Acadèmia Internacional premia la cuina catalana. *El Periódico*, June 9.

-, El Centre Pompidou de París dedica una peça orquestral a Ferran Adrià. *El Periódico*, June 12.

-, Arola obre "sucursal" al Brasil. *El Periódico*, June 25.

July

IMEDIO, F., Dos vins del Priorat se situen entre els millors d'Espanya. *El Periódico*, July 3.

IMEDIO, F., La Pedrera allarga el cicle "Nits de cuina" amb el xef Carles Abellan. *El Periódico*, July 7.

-, El Rei parla de gastronomia amb Adrià i Arzak. *El Periódico*, July 23.

PEREDA, O., Zapatero i Adrià sumen idees sobre turisme. *El Periódico*, July 28.

August

TORAL, Ó., La gran collita del 2009. *El Periódico*, August 16.

MERINO, C., Còctels per a mil i un destins. *El Periódico*, August 17.

MERINO, O., Teoria (i pràctica) del gintònic. *El Periódico*, August 29.

September

ASPAS, E., Fuster i Adrià demanen classes de dieta saludable a les escoles. *El Periódico*, September 2.

ZIEGER, L., Els dissenyadors de moda entren a la cuina. *El Periódico*, September 7.

IMEDIO, F., Ruscalleda obrirà a BCN al novembre. *El Periódico*, September 15.

PRATDESABA, P., La cervesa és una de les grans innovacions de la gastronomia. *El Periódico*, September 26.

October

-, Defensa fitxa Adrià, Velasco i Del Bosque. *El Periódico*, October 1.

DE LUNA, M., Ferran Adrià porta l'essència de la seva cuina al mercat de Cannes. *El Periódico*, October 5.

November

PEREDA, O., Meryl Streep dona vida a una mestra dels fogons. *El Periódico*, November 6.

-, La fundació Talita fitxa dotze famosos per al seu calendar. *El Periódico*, November 11.

IMEDIO, F., El Passadís del Pep, trenta anys i de festa. *El Periódico*, November 19.

IMEDIO, F., Sant Sebastià explora la cuina del Japó. *El Periódico*, November 23.

IMEDIO, F., Les estrelles són els Roca. *El Periódico*, November 27.

December

-, La guia Repsol situa Catalunya dalt de tot de la gastronomia espanyola. *El Periódico*, December 22.

CADENA, J.M., Reneix la humil neula nadalenca. *El Periódico*, December 25.

2011

February

- , Albert Rivera sopa al nou local dels Arola. *El Periódico*, February 12.
- COSCULLUELA, F., La gran cita culinària de Girona obre avui les portes. *El Periódico*, February 20.
- COSCULLUELA, F., Els Roca donen una lliçó de creativitat a Girona. *El Periódico*, February 24.

March

- IMEDIO, F., Unax Ugalde, entre el cine i la gastronomia. *El Periódico*, March 12.

May

- ARENÓS, P., Jean Luc Figueras cita Joan Roca per a un sopar benefic. *El Periódico*, May 5.
- IMEDIO, F., El cava explota amb la última llista del gurú Parker. *El Periódico*, May 5.
- CASTÁN, P., BCN brinda amb ginebra. *El Periódico*, May 5.
- LERÍN, O., "La Riera", entre fogons. *El Periódico*, May 30.

July

- , Eva Longoria es cruspeix 45 plats a El Bulli. *El Periódico*, July 1.
- , Un còctel per als 25 anys del Festival de Peralada. *El Periódico*, July 1.
- LERÍN, O., Sóc cuiner, però tímid. *El Periódico*, July 17.

August

- LIJARCIO, A., Verema excel·lent a Raimat. *El Periódico*, August 3.
- DE LA TORRE, I., L'Arguiñano cellarer. *El Periódico*, August 11.

September

- CASTÁN, P., La temptació de la carn a Barcelona. *El Periódico*, September 5.

November

- , Un llibre recull els menús dels treballadors d'El Bulli. *El Periódico*, November 12.
- SAVALL, C., Pel·lícules amb brindis. *El Periódico*, November 12.
- IMEDIO, F., La guia Michelin és garrepa amb Catalunya. *El Periódico*, November 25.

December

- MUÑOZ, M., "La Barcelona dolça". *El Periódico*, December 3.
- DE LUNA, M., Adrià fa de la seva cuina una exposició d'art. *El Periódico*, December 7.
- IBÁÑEZ, M.J., 8 menús per a un Nadal en crisi. *El Periódico*, December 15.
- IMEDIO, F., Pau Arenós s'atreveix amb els xefs agosarats. *El Periódico*, December 15.

-, "The New York Times" aconsella passar el Nadal a Barcelona. *El Periódico*, December 20.

-, Vila Viniteca reuneix quatre xefs estrellats per al menú de Nadal. *El Periódico*, December 23.

2013

February

CIRBIÁN, T., 500 plats boníssims. *El Periódico*, February 12.

MUÑOZ, M., Els comerços i els restaurants efímers proliferen a Barcelona. *El Periódico*, February 24.

-, El públic disfruta del Fòrum Gastronòmic de Girona. *El Periódico*, February 25.

March

-, A d'Adrià, d'Albert Adrià. *El Periódico*, March 16.

SALVÀ, N., Sopetes per a Mitterrand. *El Periódico*, March 24.

April

-, "Masterchef", un "OT" per a cuiners a TVE-1. *El Periódico*, April 10.

-, BTV aposta per un espai de rebosteria. *El Periódico*, April 15.

May

ARENÓS, P., Roca "forever". *El Periódico*, May 1.

IMEDIO, F., Què donen els Roca per menjar. *El Periódico*, May 4.

SILVA, S., Adrià redissenya El Bulli amb 17 alumnes del IESA. *El Periódico*, May 9.

-, Vins amb DO ecològica. *El Periódico*, May 13.

-, Rusalleda, filla predilecta de Sant Pol. *El Periódico*, May 17.

June

-, Revetlla de muscles. *El Periódico*, June 19.

IMEDIO, F., No sóc castigador. *El Periódico*, June 22.

DE DIOS, M., Adrià elegirà el "Masterchef". *El Periódico*, June 27.

CASTÁN, P., Un estiu rècord a les terrasses. *El Periódico*, June 30.

July

ARCE, B., Adrià aterra a Londres amb la seva exposició. *El Periódico*, July 5.

-, Tapes i copes en honor dels Roca a Aiguablava. *El Periódico*, July 9.

August

-, Jordi Cruz: "Amb la fama de la tele és fàcil tornar-se boig". *El Periódico*, August 19.

September

PEREDA, O., Alberto Chicote, l'estrella de "Top Chef" a Antena 3. *El Periódico*, September 4.

MUÑOZ, M., Devorant Carvalho. *El Periódico*, September 8.

-, Tejedor serveix una paella a la Gran Muralla. *El Periódico*, September 9.

October

-, Cuatro també prepara el seu xou gastronòmic. *El Periódico*, October 7.

-, La cuina de Londres ocupa Sant Sebastià. *El Periódico*, October 7.

-, Els xefs aposten per llibres de receptes casolanes. *El Periódico*, October 23.

IMEDIO, F., La fantasia d'Escrivà. *El Periódico*, October 23.

ÁLVAREZ, I., Ondas per a Otero i "Salvados". *El Periódico*, October 31.

MORALES, R., El Priorat s'obre al món gràcies als seus bons vins. *El Periódico*, October 31.

November

-, El barri de Sant Antoni repeteix la ruta de tapes amb 34 locals. *El Periódico*, November 5.

-, De las Muelas crea còctels per a Freixenet. *El Periódico*, November 13.

BERENGUERAS, J.M., Alimentaria 2014 preveu superar els 140.000 visitants. *El Periódico*, November 16.

-, Albert Adrià entra amb 2; Barcelona puja a 30. *El Periódico*, November 21.

-, La fundació d'El Bulli serà d'interès públic. *El Periódico*, November 21.

IMEDIO, F., Michelin es rejuveneix. *El Periódico*, November 21.

MUÑOZ, M., La Barcelona més dolça. *El Periódico*, November 24.

December

-, Jubany, assessor d'un complex gastronòmic. *El Periódico*, December 7.

2015

January

DE DIOS, M., BCN acoge el casting del concurso "Masterchef". *El Periódico*, January 24.

February

SALA, A., El panadero comunicador. *El Periódico*, February 23.

March

-, El ESHOB celebra 30 años. *El Periódico*, March 14.

-, "Cocina 2" regresa hoy a Fox life con los dos chefs Torres. *El Periódico*, March 22.

-, "La última cena", pero con tres estrellas Michelin. *El Periódico*, March 27.

-, Un estreno y dos reposiciones. *El Periódico*, March 27.

May

IMEDIO, F., Los Roca harán otra gira veraniega. *El Periódico*, May 2.

PÉREZ DE ROZAS, E., Arguiñano pone sal y pimienta al Mundial. *El Periódico*, May 10.

- , El Liceu se divierte con los supercocineros. *El Periódico*, May 11.
- , La carretera del vino. *El Periódico*, May 23.

June

- IMEDIO, F., El Celler de Can Roca aspira de nuevo al número 1. *El Periódico*, June 1.
- , Verbena popular de mejillones y cava. *El Periódico*, June 17.
- IMEDIO, F., La estrella es el sitio. *El Periódico*, June 20.

July

- , Reconocimiento a Catalunya. *El Periódico*, July 11.
- , Roca, contra el hambre infantil. *El Periódico*, July 11.

August

- BIELA, L., Uva de calidad. *El Periódico*, August 5.
- ESCALES, C., Del Pirineo a la mesa. *El Periódico*, August 13.

September

- MENDIOLA, L., Los Gasol y los Roca fomentan la vida saludable. *El Periódico*, September 23.
- VALVERDE, A., Aromas de Hong Kong y Singapur para Donostia. *El Periódico*, September 26.

October

- , Coppola brinda por su Princesa de Asturias en el Passadís del Pep. *El Periódico*, October 25.
- , Pedroche y Muñoz se casan por sorpresa. *El Periódico*, October 29.

November

- MARTÍNEZ, B., El toque dulce de Kawase. *El Periódico*, November 6.
- , Dry Martini, en Londres. *El Periódico*, November 14.
- IMEDIO, F., Madonna cena en familia en BCN. *El Periódico*, November 27.

December

- DE DIOS, M., La cocina de “Masterchef junior” reabre. *El Periódico*, December 1.
- IMEDIO, F., Fiestón de Jubany por los 20 años de su restaurant. *El Periódico*, December 5.
- , Otro premio a El Celler de Can Roca. *El Periódico*, December 30.

La Vanguardia**2005****January**

- CASTELLS, E., Comer sano y divertido. *La Vanguardia*, January 14.
- BORDAS, J., Defensores del buen pan quieren una feria. *La Vanguardia*, January 19.
- SANDOVAL, A.F., Primer estudio en catalán sobre la becada. *La Vanguardia*, January 19.
- JUSTÍCIA, A., El nuevo caso de Pepe Carvalho. *La Vanguardia*, January 22.
- CABALLERO, O., Paul Bocuse convierte a sus colegas en patronos. *La Vanguardia*, January 30.
- FRANCÀS, R., La ruta del Xató vive su etapa más multitudinaria en Vilanova i la Geltrú. *La Vanguardia*, January 31.

February

- , Tres sumilleres catalanes optan a la Nariz de Oro. *La Vanguardia*, February 16.

March

- , Huevo de Pascua para Colón. *La Vanguardia*, March 29.

April

- 5 A TAULA, Las colmenillas. *La Vanguardia*, April 27.
- PUIG, M., Saboreando el Priorat. *La Vanguardia*, April 27.

May

- RODRÍGUEZ DE PAZ, A., Santi Santamaría prepara un libro que aúna literatura y gastronomía. *La Vanguardia*, May 25.

July

- GINÉS, R., Una exposición reúne a los principales artistas de la bohemia de Els Quatre Gats. *La Vanguardia*, July 9.
- SANDRI, P.M., Slow Food: resistir a la globalización comiendo bien. *La Vanguardia*, July 17.
- GIRALT, E., Más de 4.000 personas celebran la gran Fiesta del Cava de Prades. *La Vanguardia*, July 18.
- PUIG, M., Santamaría reclama la atención política. *La Vanguardia*, July 29.

August

- CASTELLS, E., Una ruta descubre la cultura gastronómica de Ciutat Vella. *La Vanguardia*, August 11.
- RICOU, J., La ruta del pan. *La Vanguardia*, August 14.
- IBÁÑEZ, M., El bar donde todos saben tu nombre. *La Vanguardia*, August 23.

September

SANS, S., Vendimia de altos vuelos. *La Vanguardia*, September 21.

October

BORDAS, J., La Boqueria será la estrella en el congreso mundial de mercados. *La Vanguardia*, October 7.

RICOU, J., Tiempo de calabazas. *La Vanguardia*, October 7.

November

MAS DE XAXÀS, X., La alta cocina asiática pone mesa en Barcelona. *La Vanguardia*, November 4.

MERÍN, E., Barcelona se convierte en la capital europea del chocolate. *La Vanguardia*, November 4.

CASTELLS, E., Casi todo se come. *La Vanguardia*, November 12.

2007**January**

-, *Soy lo que como*, un programa de Cuatro para mejorar la alimentación. *La Vanguardia*, January 12.

February

SANDOVAL, A.F., El Fòrum Gastronòmic de Girona arranca con más de 5.200 visitantes. *La Vanguardia*, February 18.

SANDOVAL, A.F., El Fòrum Gastronòmic de Girona cierra superando todas las expectativas. *La Vanguardia*, February 22.

March

FRANCÀS, R., Las candidatas a miss España pasan una jornada en la fábrica de burbujas. *La Vanguardia*, March 15.

DE LA FUENTE, A., La ruta del guisante. *La Vanguardia*, March 23.

April

DE LA FUENTE, A., Dulce Ronaldinho. *La Vanguardia*, April 8.

FRANCÀS, R., El enoturismo, asignatura pendiente del Penedès. *La Vanguardia*, April 9.

May

FRANCÀS, R., Vuelve Jean Luc Figueras. *La Vanguardia*, May 6.

CERRILLO, A., La comida verde llena el carro. *La Vanguardia*, May 31.

FRANCÀS, R., Burbujas agrocósmicas. *La Vanguardia*, May 31.

June

MAS DE XAXÀS, X., Ferran Adrià convierte El Bulli en una sucursal de la Documenta de Kassel. *La Vanguardia*, June 8.

MAS DE XAXÀS, X., La fuerza del lenguaje Bulli. *La Vanguardia*, June 24.

FARRÀS, L., Carne como la de toda la vida. *La Vanguardia*, June 25.

July

SÁEZ, C., Festín de faraones. *La Vanguardia*, July 19.

August

ROBINSON, A., Sarkozy se rinde a la hamburguesa. *La Vanguardia*, August 12.

September

WINTERHALDER, A., *Bistrots*, el sabor de París. *La Vanguardia*, September 2.

MAS DE XAXÀS, X., Un año difícil para las setas. *La Vanguardia*, September 30.

October

-, Carme Rusalleda y Ramon Freixa cocinan para luchar contra el cáncer. *La Vanguardia*, October 17.

CASALS, E., La Fira de la Castanya del Montseny bate récord de ventas. *La Vanguardia*, October 30.

MAS DE XAXÀS, X., Los manteles de la Pequeña Italia. *La Vanguardia*, October 30.

November

-, Ferran Adrià, doctor honoris causa por la UAB. *La Vanguardia*, November 23.

December

MAS DE XAXÀS, X., La UB doctora la cocina de Ferran Adrià y del Bulli. *La Vanguardia*, December 18.

2009**January**

JOLONCH, C., Cocina y ciencia, eterno debate. *La Vanguardia*, January 21.

February

JOLONCH, C., Japón se rinde a la creatividad. *La Vanguardia*, February 10.

SANDOVAL, A.F., El Fòrum Gastronòmic atrae a más de 16.000 personas. *La Vanguardia*, February 23.

March

CABALLERO, O., Centenario Michelin. *La Vanguardia*, March 3.

April

BRACERO, F., Antena 3 fomentará la nutrición saludable con *Cuestión de peso*. *La Vanguardia*, April 13.

JOLONCH, C., Cocineros en la cumbre. *La Vanguardia*, April 21.

May

ECHAUZ, P., El Aplec del Cargol abre las puertas a su 30ª edición. *La Vanguardia*, May 23.

SANS, S., El Priorat al desnudo. *La Vanguardia*, May 2.

June

JOLONCH, C., Restaurante de Arola en Sao Paulo. *La Vanguardia*, June 25.

September

JUSTÍCIA, A., Moments, el restaurante de Ruscalleda en el Mandarin. *La Vanguardia*, September 15.

CERRILLO, A., Garnacha libre de insecticidas. *La Vanguardia*, September 26.

October

-, Berasategui abre en Shanghai. *La Vanguardia*, October 1.

-, Jolonch, premio Nacional de Gastronomía. *La Vanguardia*, October 21.

CASALS, E., Las castañas del Montseny atraen a miles de personas. *La Vanguardia*, October 26.

JOLONCH, C., Santamaria abrirá local en Singapur. *La Vanguardia*, October 26.

-, Los vinos favoritos de David Seijas. *La Vanguardia*, October 29.

November

SANDOVAL, J., Treinta años entre fogones con el producto como base. *La Vanguardia*, November 19.

JOLONCH, C., Hoteles con cocina de firma. *La Vanguardia*, November 23.

December

-, Tres soles para Via Veneto e Hispania. *La Vanguardia*, December 17.

2011**January**

DOMÍNGUEZ, M., La cesta BIO. *La Vanguardia*, January 19.

February

JOLONCH, C., Tickets, el nuevo lenguaje de las tapas. *La Vanguardia*, February 12.

SANDOVAL, J., Robert de Niro, de El Molino al cielo. *La Vanguardia*, February 24.

March

JOLONCH, C., Tapas planetarias. *La Vanguardia*, March 9.

April

-, *Restaurant* premia la carrera de Arzak. *La Vanguardia*, April 14.

JOLONCH, C., El restaurante de los Roca, segundo mejor del mundo. *La Vanguardia*, April 19.

June

-, Premio Nacional para Elena Arzak. *La Vanguardia*, June 2.

JOLONCH, C., Un olfato de oro. *La Vanguardia*, June 26.

July

-, Paco Pérez crea una tapa para Peralada. *La Vanguardia*, July 21.

September

RICOU, J., *Boletaires en capilla. La Vanguardia*, September 29.

November

JOLONCH, C., Burg-Celona. *La Vanguardia*, November 12.

JOLONCH, C., Cocinas con sucursal. *La Vanguardia*, November 12.

JOLONCH, C., Catalunya se queda con dos restaurantes de tres estrellas. *La Vanguardia*, November 25.

December

MONTILLA, R., Ver, comprar y probar. *La Vanguardia*, December 3.

2013**January**

PEIRÓN, F., Otra leyenda de la cultura Americana. *La Vanguardia*, January 18.

SANS, S., *Calçotada* a la romana. *La Vanguardia*, January 26.

February

PEIRÓN, F., El chef del poder y de los pobres. *La Vanguardia*, February 16.

JOLONCH, C., Albert Marimon gana el Cocinero del Año. *La Vanguardia*, February 25.

May

OLLER, S., Efecto dominó. *La Vanguardia*, May 1.

BRACERO, F., Alberto Chicote regresa con una renovada *Pesadilla en la cocina. La Vanguardia*, May 9.

June

JOLONCH, C., El esperado regreso del chef Fermí Puig. *La Vanguardia*, June 3.

-, Éxito de Paco Pérez en Berlín. *La Vanguardia*, June 27.

August

RICOU, J., Setas precoces. *La Vanguardia*, August 15.

RODRÍGUEZ DE PAZ, A. and SOLÀ GIMFERRER, P., Tele para chuparse los dedos. *La Vanguardia*, August 31.

October

-, Arzak, estrella de Mercat de Mercats. *La Vanguardia*, October 3.

JOLONCH, C., San Sebastián con sabor inglés. *La Vanguardia*, October 7.

JULBE, B., Los Roca prestigian la gastronomía de la anchoa. *La Vanguardia*, October 7.

November

JOLONCH, C., Madrid ya tiene sus tres estrellas Michelin. *La Vanguardia*, November 21.

MONTILLA, R., Un pastel que crece. *La Vanguardia*, November 24.

December

- GIRALT, E., La genética del *calçot*. *La Vanguardia*, December 16.
 JOLONCH, C., El plato más difícil. *La Vanguardia*, December 24.
 GIRALT, E., El vino y las aves, reclamos selectivos. *La Vanguardia*,
 December 27.

2015**January**

- FRANCÀS, R., Catalunya comença a promocionar l'enoturisme. *La Vanguardia*, January 8.

February

- JOLONCH, C., Gastón Acurio vol exportar la moda dels entrepans peruans. *La Vanguardia*, February 1.
 CERRILLO, A., La dieta pacifista. *La Vanguardia*, February 6.
 -, Quaranta restaurants en la Ruta del Bacallà amb Inedit Damm. *La Vanguardia*, February 10.
 JOLONCH, C., Tanca La Dama, un altre clàssic dels vuitanta. *La Vanguardia*, February 10.
 BOSCH, R.M. and JOLONCH, C., Escudella a l'Annapurna. *La Vanguardia*, February 22.

March

- JOLONCH, C., El sopar de Zuckerberg amb Piqué i Shakira. *La Vanguardia*, March 6.

April

- GIRALT, E. and OLLER, S., Alto al turisme. *La Vanguardia*, April 8.

May

- JOLONCH, C., Un Somni compartit. *La Vanguardia*, May 19.

June

- GASTESI, A., La revolució culinària, en un documental. *La Vanguardia*, June 17.
 -, El Born torna a treure la millor cuina al carrer. *La Vanguardia*, June 20.
 RIUS, M., El triomf dels negocis de menjar de carrer. *La Vanguardia*, June 29.

July

- FRANCÀS, R., El peixerot de Vilanova apaga els fogons després de gairebé un segle. *La Vanguardia*, July 3.
 JOLONCH, C., Carles Abellan porta les tapes i els platets del Tapas 24 al Camp Nou. *La Vanguardia*, July 11.
 FRANCÀS, R., El Penedès reforça el seu enoturisme. *La Vanguardia*, July 23.
 JOLONCH, C., La Dama reobrirà amb una proposta de cuina barcelonina assequible. *La Vanguardia*, July 31.

August

- FRANCÀS, R., La verema matinera. *La Vanguardia*, August 5.
- JOLONCH, C., La veu d'un xef que planta cara a la injustícia. *La Vanguardia*, August 8.
- RICOU, J., Eclosió de boletaires en ple mes d'agost. *La Vanguardia*, August 21.
- GASTESI, A., La restauració guanya 15,000 m2 a la zona de luxe de Barcelona. *La Vanguardia*, August 25.

September

- MOLINS, A., Els Torres cuinen el millor producte a quatre mans. *La Vanguardia*, September 6.
- JOLONCH, C., Els xefs actuen contra la desnutrició infantil. *La Vanguardia*, September 15.
- JOLONCH, C., Els xefs s'apunten a l'entrepà. *La Vanguardia*, September 26.

October

- MOLINS, A., Una activista gai cuina per als Obama. *La Vanguardia*, October 5.
- , Una ruta catalana per als amants del bon pa. *La Vanguardia*, October 17.
- JOLONCH, C., Un any sense nous triestrellats. *La Vanguardia*, October 17.
- , Pedroche y Muñoz, casament per sorpresa. *La Vanguardia*, October 29.

November

- CLARÓS, I., Eva posa sabor a la vida. *La Vanguardia*, November 6.
- , Arrenca el Fòrum Gastronòmic de Girona. *La Vanguardia*, November 14.
- MOLINS, A., Un MoMa de tres estrelles. *La Vanguardia*, November 14.
- JOLONCH, C., Nostàlgia del restaurant favorit de Pepe Carvalho. *La Vanguardia*, November 19.

December

- MOLINS, A., David Muñoz, xef de DiverXO, tindrà un programa propi a Cuatro. *La Vanguardia*, December 22.

The New York Times**2005****March**

MOSKIN, J., Mumbai, To Midtown Chaat Hits The Spot. *The New York Times*, March 9.

REYNOLDS, R., Baristas Face Off In Espresso Duels. *The New York Times*, March 9.

SEVERSON, K., A Woman for White House Chef?. *The New York Times*, March 9.

April

HOLLIDAY, T., Savoring the Bounty of Vietnam. *The New York Times*, April 10.

MARKEY, E., A New Market, But What About The Goat Heads?. *The New York Times*, April 10.

SEVERSON, K., Tourists at Market to Look Crowd Those Who Cook. *The New York Times*, April 27.

May

ASIMOV, E., New Wine in Really Old Bottles. *The New York Times*, May 25.

June

BOWEN, D., For 20 Bucks, Is It Worth It?. *The New York Times*, June 15.

NATHAN, J., A Crossover Hit For a Global Star. *The New York Times*, June 15.

SCIOLINO, E., Whose Stars Are They, Anyway?. *The New York Times*, June 15.

STEINHAEUER, J. and MCGINTY, J.C., Yesterday's Special: Good, Cheap Dining. *The New York Times*, June 26.

August

FABRICANT, F., Calendar. *The New York Times*, August 3.

COHEN, P., When a Night Out Is Dinner and a (TV) Show. *The New York Times*, August 11.

SANTORA, M., Hold the Trans Fats, New York Urges Its Restaurants. *The New York Times*, August 11.

FABRICANT, F., Centuries of Footsteps Echo on Cobblestone Streets. *The New York Times*, August 14.

BURROS, M., First Woman Is Selected as Executive Chef at White House. *The New York Times*, August 15.

MCGEEHAN, P., What, No Tip? Service Charge Faces Struggle At Restaurants. *The New York Times*, August 15.

BARANAUCKAS, C., A Dairy Queen, Oops, Princess, in All Her Buttery Glory. *The New York Times*, August 27.

September

FERREN, A., Through Andalusia, Bowl to Bowl. *The New York Times*, September 4.

PRICE, C., Oktoberfests. *The New York Times*, September 16.

October

SEVERSON, K., Food Star: Hold the Frills. *The New York Times*, October 19.

November

BOWEN, D., Did the Guide Need a Guide?. *The New York Times*, November 9.

MALLOZZI, V.M., Its Last Bagel Buttered, a Landmark Closes. *The New York Times*, November 9.

December

FABRICANT, F., The Flavors of Spain, to Cook at Home. *The New York Times*, December 28.

RUTENBERG, J., 4 More Years, 470 Gallons of Cider. *The New York Times*, December 28.

2007

January

SEVERSON, K. and ELLICK, A.B., A Top Chef's Kitchen Is Far Too Hot, Some Workers Say. *The New York Times*, January 17.

ZISSU, A., These Kids Never Say *Yech!*. *The New York Times*, January 28.

February

FABRICANT, F., Celebrating the Ringmaster of the Restaurant Circus. *The New York Times*, February 14.

March

TORGOVNICK, K., Free Lunch Returns (And Why It's Not Free?). *The New York Times*, March 18.

April

SEVERSON, K., The Mayor's Appetite. *The New York Times*, April 4.

FULLER, T., Fans Sour on Sweeter Version of Asia's Smelliest Fruit. *The New York Times*, April 8.

SEVERSON, K., A New Alliance in the Fight Against Childhood Obesity. *The New York Times*, April 25.

SEVERSON, K., Farmer, Cookie Maker, Ecologist and, Yes, The Future King. *The New York Times*, April 25.

May

FERNANDEZ, M., Latin Food at Yankee Stadium. Now, How About That!. *The New York Times*. May 11.

June

PATTISON, K., In Napa, Wilderness Above the Wineries. *The New York Times*, June 8.

SEVERSON, K., A Rat With a Whisk And a Dream. *The New York Times*, June 13.

July

FABRICANT, F., At a Showcase of Fancy Foods, the World Seems to Expand. *The New York Times*, July 11.

MAYNARD, M., Wasabi To the People: Big Chains Evolve Or Die. *The New York Times*, July 11.

August

RICH, M., A Diet Book Serves Up A Side Order Of Attitude. *The New York Times*, August 1.

CONLIN, J., For Mario Batali, It's Molto Michigan. *The New York Times*, August 17.

SEVERSON, K., On the Road to Farm Aid, The Long, Sweet Way. *The New York Times*, August 29.

September

RAMIREZ, A., City That Eats and Runs Rewards Its Best Vendors. *The New York Times*, September 30.

October

MOSKIN, J., Olives, Flavored By Time, Seasoned With Memories. *The New York Times*, October 17.

KELLEY, T., A Festival Where Wool Is the Main Attraction. *The New York Times*, October 22.

November

LEE, D., 36 Hours - San Sebastián. *The New York Times*, November 18.

December

FABRICANT, F., Calendar. *The New York Times*, December 5.

FABRICANT, F., Ham From Spain's Prized Pigs Ready for Debut. *The New York Times*, December 5.

NATHAN, J., Inviting an Old Favorite to the Hannukah Table. *The New York Times*, December 5.

WELLS, P., A Liquor of Legend Makes a Comeback. *The New York Times*, December 5.

2009**January**

BURROS, M., What's Cooking at the White House? Who's Asking?. *The New York Times*, January 21.

READ, M., Real Cajun Food, From Swamp to City. *The New York Times*, January 21.

SEVERSON, K., New Orleans Salvages Recipes Stolen by a Storm. *The New York Times*, January 21.

BURROS, M., Newest White House Chef Knows the Obama's Tastes. *The New York Times*, January 29.

February

KONIGSBERG, E., Keeping Tabs On the Rich. *The New York Times*, February 18.

BURROS, M., Before Big Dinner, the First Lady Gives a Kitchen Tour. *The New York Times*, February 23.

March

SWARNS, R.L., Michelle Obama's Agenda Includes Healthful Eating. *The New York Times*, March 11.

JOLLY, D., In a Wine Preview, Concerns of a Bust. *The New York Times*, March 31.

May

VASUDEVAN, K., New York on Less: Recession Deals At the Table. *The New York Times*, May 2.

COOK, D., A little Taste of somewhere Else. *The New York Times*, May 27.

June

PRISTIN, T., Fresher Food, With Some Help. *The New York Times*, June 17.

July

FABRICANT, F., Calendar. *The New York Times*, July 15.

SIMONSON, R., An Event to Mix With the Masters. *The New York Times*, July 15.

DAVEY, M., The People Speak: No Michael Jackson Sculpture in Butter at the Iowa Fair. *The New York Times*, July 19.

August

BURROS, M., In Obama Garden, Less Lead. *The New York Times*, August 13.

September

FABRICANT, F., Calendar. *The New York Times*, September 2.

FABRICANT, F., One Restaurant's Closing Is Another's Fesh Start. *The New York Times*, September 2.

FABRICANT, F., The Flavors of Amsterdam. *The New York Times*, September 2.

BARBARO, M., Don't Ask Him (the Mayor) to Pass the Salt. *The New York Times*, September 23.

October

COLLINS, G., At Le Cirque, The Chef's Special. *The New York Times*, October 21.

COLLINS, G., Chef Do-It-All, The Master Builder. *The New York Times*, October 21.

CLIFFORD, S., Coming Model of the Month: A Fuller Thanksgiving Turkey. *The New York Times*, October 26.

December

NATHAN, J., At Hanukkah, Chefs Make Kitchen Conversions. *The New York Times*, December 9.

2011**February**

MOSKIN, J., The Perfect Menu. Now Change It. *The New York Times*, February 16.

MINDER, R., Santi Santamaria, 53, Catalan Chef. *The New York Times*, February 20.

March

FABRICANT, F., At Alto and Convivio, A Shocking Quiet. *The New York Times*, March 9.

MALA, E., A Colorful Pastry From France Stakes a Claim in the City. *The New York Times*, March 21.

April

BARRON, J., Gift Puts Food Library at N.Y.U. in Big Leagues. *The New York Times*, April 6.

FOX, N., Star Chef, Facing a Suit, Files for Bankruptcy. *The New York Times*, April 27.

MAINLAND, A., Study the Menus, But No Orders, Please. *The New York Times*, April 27.

May

COLLINS, G., Artistry on Wheels. *The New York Times*, May 25.

EDGE, J.T., Taking Masa To Heart. *The New York Times*, May 25.

SIMONSON, R., An American Return for a Liqueur Once Felled by Prohibition. *The New York Times*, May 25.

FEUER, A., Beer Gardens Everywhere. *The New York Times*, May 29.

June

NEUMAN, W., Tilling the Tourist Magnet. *The New York Times*, June 10.

GORDINIER, J., A Sense of Satisfaction Has Returned. *The New York Times*, June 15.

MOSKIN, J., Spain's Next Wave in Food. *The New York Times*, June 15.

HOLL, J., The Six-Pack in the Basement. *The New York Times*, June 23.

July

COLLINS, G., Food Trucks Work Together to Solve Parking Problem. *The New York Times*, July 13.

August

COLLINS, G., Farm to Table, Literally. *The New York Times*, August 3.
 GORDINIER, J., A Chef Finds Healing in Food. *The New York Times*, August 3.

September

MOSKIN, J., Throwing Out the Recipe for Daytime TV. *The New York Times*, September 21.

November

FROMSON, D., Hope Farmers Reviving Heady Days of Brewing. *The New York Times*, November 9.

December

GRIMES, W., Wine Stops Minding Its Manners. *The New York Times*, December 7.
 TSUI, B., Cans of Wine Join the Box Set. *The New York Times*, December 7.
 SEVERSON, K., Sorghum Speaks With a Sweet Drawl. *The New York Times*, December 28.

2013**January**

STAPINSKI, H., Restaurants Turn Camera Shy. *The New York Times*, January 23.
 JOHNSON, K., Dish by Dish, Art Of Last Meals. *The New York Times*, January 26.

February

KILGANNON, C., Tribute to Pope Goes Well With Milk. *The New York Times*, February 12.
 GORDINIER, J., Embracing the Crunch. *The New York Times*, February 20.
 SALTZSTEIN, D., *Locally Grown* Gets Tricky in the Cold. *The New York Times*, February 20.
 JOHNSON, I., In a Cup of Tea, Pride of Place. *The New York Times*, February 24.
 LOOS, T., Setting a Place for History. *The New York Times*, February 24.

March

GORDINIER, J., Letting the Food Talk. *The New York Times*, March 13.

April

HERRMANN, S., He Got the Finicky French to Eat His Veggies. *The New York Times*, April 10.

SIMONSON, R., A Good Drink, Hold the Pretense. *The New York Times*, April 10.

CHANG, B.-S., Rallying Around a Bowl of Rice. *The New York Times*, April 18.

May

ITO, R., Food for the Epicurean Cinephile. *The New York Times*, May 12.

WHARTON, R., Returning Wood to the Cooking Fire. *The New York Times*, May 29.

June

HALL, C., For Cheese Lovers, Going to the Source. *The New York Times*, June 2.

GORDINIER, J., The Latest Portuguese Explorer. *The New York Times*, June 19.

LOWREY, A., A Political Stalemate Ends in Washington, With Food Truck Rules. *The New York Times*, June 19.

NAGOURNEY, A., A Place to Call His Own. *The New York Times*, June 19.

MCELROY, S., Reality TV Cooking, Live and Onboard. *The New York Times*, June 30.

July

RISEN, C., Breweries Not Too Big for Their Barrels. *The New York Times*, July 17.

CONLIN, J., The Bartender With a Lab Coat. *The New York Times*, July 21.

September

FABRICANT, F., What's the Opposite of Retirement?. *The New York Times*, September 4.

GORDINIER, J., Sowing A Change in Kitchens. *The New York Times*, September 25.

MOSKIN, J., The Commissars' Culinary Stamp. *The New York Times*, September 25.

October

GORDINIER, J., In Manhattan, a Sense of São Paulo. *The New York Times*, October 23.

November

GARNER, D., Marinated Snark Is a Dish Best Served Cold. *The New York Times*, November 8.

ANDERSON, B., When One Kitchen Isn't Enough. *The New York Times*, November 13.

MOSS, M., Carving the Pumpkin. *The New York Times*, November 13.

December

GRIFFITH, C., Giving New Meaning to *Gin and Juice*. *The New York Times*, December 19.

MINDER, R., Spreading Spain's Glory in Thin, Slow Slices. *The New York Times*, December 19.

MINDER, R., Sweets Made Only for Christmas Are Spanish Town's Gift to Itself. *The New York Times*, December 24.

YACCINO, S., Pouring Cheese on Icy Roads In (Where Else?) Wisconsin. *The New York Times*, December 24.

2015

February

SIMONSON, R., In Drink Recipes, A Look at Society. *The New York Times*, February 18.

April

VORA, S., A Spectacular Setting, With Food to Match. *The New York Times*, April 12.

MOSKIN, J., The Delight Is in Her Details. *The New York Times*, April 29.

May

RUBIN, C., A Vegan Empire State of Mind. *The New York Times*, May 10.

July

MOSKIN, J., Celebrating Ramadan's End With Traditional Treats. *The New York Times*, July 15.

STEINHAEUER, J., White House Hosts Young Chefs. *The New York Times*, July 15.

MOSKIN, J., Union Square Cafe Finds New Home Near Old One. *The New York Times*, July 23.

August

JOHNSON, K., A Taste of Paella in Potato Country. *The New York Times*, August 5.

October

NEILSON, L., Such a Sweetie. *The New York Times*, October 4.

BILEFSKY, D., A Bake-Off Bridges Britain's Cultural Divide. *The New York Times*, October 9.

GRIMES, W., How Cow Dung Makes Your Snack Delicious. *The New York Times*, October 21.

ROBB, A., Cookbook Confessions. *The New York Times*, October 25.

November

SIFTON, S., Thanksgiving for All. *The New York Times*, November 11.

SSCHAERLAECKENS, L., Topping Studies With a Dollop Of Athletics. *The New York Times*, November 19.

December

RISEN, C., The National Drink of China Heads West. *The New York Times*, December 30.

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