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Dispelling the Arguments Surrounding Canadian Television Programming: An Analysis of Food Network Canada

Since 1963, when Julia Child was first introduced to television viewers, the concept of food television, programming that surrounds the topic of food and cooking, has increased in popularity. By 1993 an entire channel devoted to food was created, the Food Network. Today, nearly two decades later, the popularity of food programming has only grown, with the Food Network being distributed to more than 96 million U.S. households and averaging more than seven million Web site users monthly (Food Network 2011). “As part of wider trends towards lifestyle programming, ‘reality’ TV and factual entertainment, food programming now takes up more time on our television screens than ever before... occupying prime-time slots in broadcast scheduling, and becoming winners in the ratings game” (de Solier 465).

What is most interesting to note about the rise of food television is how they showcase information specific to a particular national identity, being able to speak to a nation’s ideologies around gender, class, worth, ethnicity, race and religion, as food is intrinsic with identity and pride (de Solier 468, Bonnessen, Jacobs 2009). Studies of the role of food in fostering nationalism are quiet established, with cases dating back as early as 1822, when Baron Karl Friedrich von Rumohr of Germany wrote a book “encouraging the German housewife to observe the virtues of simple, traditional German food in order to promote a German identity” (Jacobs 2009). The

idea of food representing a national identity through television has recently been noted in Australia. As the ethnic make up Australia became more diverse, “Australian TV chefs began to ‘introduce’ various ‘ethnic’ foods to television audiences” (de Solier 468). Furthermore, as Australia’s national identity began to shift, migrant television chefs became extremely popular (de Solier 469).

While Australian food could help express the country’s changing identity, what exactly is Canada’s food identity? Or in other words, does one distinct Canadian cuisine exist? Can it even be identified? Although there is little scholarship on Canadian food identity, a new academic journal was established specifically pertaining to this topic; *CuiZine: The Journal of Canadian Food Cultures/Revue des cultures culinaires au Canada*. In an article from the journal’s first issue, food scholar Hersh Jacobs argues that yes, indeed, there is a Canadian food identity. He points out that while there may not be one definition of Canadian cuisine, it “starts with ingredients that spring from the landscape and with traditional dishes steeped in the region’s history and culture...each chef innovatively reinterprets these elements to reflect a very personal vision of the land, food and people around him or her (Jacobs 2009). To further explain how Canadian cuisine can be defined and its importance, he quotes writer and philosopher John Raulston Saul, husband of former Governor General Adrienne Clarkson, on why they attempt to ensure that all official meals served at Rideau Hall reflects the country of which his wife served. Saul explains that,

From north to south and from east to west, we have so many different micro-climates that produce an extraordinary amount of foodstuffs. I’m

thrilled to show the rest of the world that, rather than working with imported products, we are creating a local gastronomy that truly reflects who we are. You discover a country through its cooking; our cuisine is constantly evolving, which makes it all the more interesting (Jacobs 2009). Canada's unique and ever-evolving food culture is witnessing more prominence than ever as the growing interest in gastronomy has led to the establishment of its own cooking channel: Food Network Canada.

By 1997 the American version of the channel was made available internationally, including in Canada, in which it became the highest-rated US specialty channel available. Due to this level of popularity; a Canadian version of the channel was developed. In October of 2000, Food Network Canada launched and the American service was no longer available to Canadians.

The Goal and Issues of Canadian television

From the onset of television in Canada, its objective was and still clearly is defined as a tool to promote and represent Canadian culture, however, many have suggested that this goal was never realized. From its inception in the early 1950's, television in Canada has been held to high expectations when it comes to promoting and reflecting Canadian culture, with its central objective being to strengthen the country's national identity (Collins 1990). With television being an integral part of Canadian households, it presents the opportunity to provide viewers with narratives, images and stories that reflect Canadian's shared nation and connect distant regions, diverse cultures and identities (de B'beri & Middlebrook 26, Tune 6). Canadian television's nationalistic goals define Canada's public broadcast and

television funding policy as seen through the mandates of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporations and the Canadian Television Fund (Tune 2009, pg 6). Collins argues that the assumption that Canadian identity is dependant on television is so ingrained that it is thought that viewing non-Canadian television will actually lead to political destabilization (Collins 43). As explained by the Minister introducing the country's Broadcasting Act of 1968, "It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of broadcasting as a means of preserving and strengthening the cultural, social, political and economic fabric of Canada" (House of Commons Debate, 17 Oct. 1967, cited in Collins 67).

While many scholars are adamant about the failure of Canadian television in representing a sense of national identity, others are less pessimistic, and point to examples where, they argue, Canadian culture has flourished on television. Some argue that the one major component of Canadian television, which makes it unique, is the lack of emphasis on violence. Canadians tend to view themselves as gentle people who are proud to be peacekeepers, and this is reflected in the fact that "few Canadian shows feature gun-toting cops, violent criminals or various branches of the military using high-powered weaponry" (Doyle 2007). One unlikely example cited is the *Degrassi* franchise, which includes *Degrassi Junior High*, *Degrassi High* and *Degrassi: The Next Generation*. All of these series are set in a multicultural society, with plots that address cultural issues in Canada emphasizing humor over confrontation, which gives it "a distinctive ordinariness and sincerity that sets it apart from U.S. network series about children and teenagers" (Doyle 2007). One TV columnist, speaking of Canadian comedy, described Canada as a "nitwit nation".

However, of this harsh criticism, Doyle argues that while Canadian television may not indicate the most sophisticated national identity, “Call us beer-swilling hockey nuts and we don't care. Call us doughnut-eating and dreary, and we don't care.” (Doyle 2007). He argues that, although the portrayal of Canadians on television may not always be the most flattering, this representation does not seem to bother the Canadian population.

Although Doyle, and later this paper as well, speaks out in defense of Canadian television, common key problems have been identified by various media scholars, which have thwarted the goal of Canadian television. When it comes to Food Network Canada, it must be asked, what are the implications of a “Canadian version” of this American product? Airing in a country in which domestically produced programming commonly struggles to be embraced and is subject to a variety of criticisms, what does Food Network Canada have to offer Canadian viewers? This paper will examine Food Network Canada; in particular its instructional programming, in terms of its contribution to Canadian content on television. More specifically, this research project will attempt to answer the question, *“To what extent do the programs on Food Network Canada undermine arguments of homogenization of Canadian culture on Canadian television?”* In order to answer the overarching research question, three key issues of Canadian television media scholars commonly argue and cite will be identified and reviewed. This includes the idea there is no national cultural to portray, the idea of regionalism within Canadian programming and issues of US domination of Canadian broadcasting. However, it must be noted that this paper is not an analysis of issues of Canadian broadcasting

policy, and will therefore only address policy when relevant to the three issues described above.

Methods

These three key problems of Canadian television media scholars commonly argue and cite will be identified and discussed through literature reviews divided by problem. Following the literature review of the scholarly material pertaining to each problem, a direct responses regarding how Food Network Canada programming contributes or counters the specific problem raised will be addressed. These responses will be based on a series of two separate research methods; a discursive analysis and an industry analysis, which will be explained further in the paper.

Discursive Analysis

Firstly, a discursive analysis will be completed. In order for this research to have a defined focus, this analysis will strictly look at all original instructional programming, meaning those programs which feature a Food Network Canada personality instructing the viewers on how to prepare a variety of dishes. This consists of *Fresh with Anna Olson*, *Take Home Chef*, *The Main*, *French Food at Home*, *Ricardo and Friends*, *Chuck's Day Off* and *Everyday Exotic*. These shows, operating within a subgenre, all have a comparable structure, thus facilitating a coherent analysis. Therefore, non-instructional programs produced by Food Network Canada will not be addressed. This included such as programs *Family Restaurant* or *Restaurant Makeover*. This genre was not included as it would widen the scope far beyond what is feasible with this size project. Furthermore, instructional programs on Food Network Canada make up most of the network's programming, making it a more comprehensive analysis than if

just lifestyle programming was featured. I began recording episodes of these programs in the summer of 2010, and concluded in the summer of 2011, however, the programs utilized were not all created during this year, with some programs dating back to 2006, and airing in syndication.

Upon my analysis I will be looking for narratives within the instructional program that challenge the notion of Canadian television not representing a Canadian identity. That being said, this analysis will be focusing on overall themes that are embedded in the contexts of the programs. This will not be an analysis of the particular food or recipe being prepared, meaning the “Canadianess” of certain meals or ingredients used will not be assessed. Rather the narratives that surround each episode which are expressed through the food being created will be discussed in relation to the expression of Canadian culture.

Problem 1: No National Culture to Strengthen: Bilingualism and Multiculturalism

Bilingualism

Despite the fact that there is a longstanding emphasis on Canadian television strengthening and expressing a domestic culture, some scholars argue that this emphasis is actually senseless. While some push for a national culture to be expressed, others argue that Canada actually does not have one national culture to express. In his book, *Culture, Communication & National Identity: The Case of Canadian Television*, Collins explains that even though Canada is a “remarkably stable and successful state”, he has never encountered one scholar who has identified one common Canadian culture (Collins 20-21). Wilden echoes this notion

in his book *The Imaginary Canada*, defining Canada as a “Notland”, in that Canada is “not English, not American, not Asian, not European, and especially not French” (Wilden 1980, cited in Collins 20).

This notion that Canadian culture is “especially not French” points to one of the major problems in the identification of one national culture; the division between English-Canada and French-Canada. Canada’s two language communities share very little culturally, with a modest level of symbolic goods exchanged. Furthermore, television does not play a major role in the small amount of exchange that does occur between the two communities within Canada (Collins 35). Beaty and Sullivan, in their book *Canadian Television Today*, argue that Canadian television cannot be discussed without being separated from the Quebec experience, as English-Canada and French-Canada watch very few, to none, of the same programming. While audiences for Canadian programming in English-Canada are consistently small, Quebec’s television industry, although isolated, thrives, giving the province “a far greater sense of a unique and cohesive identity” (Beaty and Sullivan 2009, pg 7). Therefore, the issue is, how can Canadian television represent one cohesive national identity, when an entire province is watching programming that is completely separate and unique?

Response

It is obviously difficult to argue that Canadian programming represents a Canadian culture when one national culture cannot be identified due to issues of French-Canada versus Anglo-Canada, however, Food Network Canada present a unique solution to the issue with the introduction of the show *Ricardo and Friends*.

Since 1999, Ricardo Larrivéé, or Ricardo as he is more commonly known amongst his fans, has been a television staple in Quebec with his fusion style of cooking, meaning combining culinary tradition from a variety of backgrounds. He has been a featured guest on numerous programs, along with his own show and accompanying magazine, simply entitled *Ricardo*. In order to explain the magnitude of Ricardo in Quebec, Food Network Canada describes him as “Quebec’s answer to Jamie Oliver”, a British-chef who now has worldwide recognition with numerous food-related programs airing in various country’s (Food Network Canada 2011). In 2006, Ricardo was given his own show on Food Network Canada. When speaking about his new program for Food Network Canada, which does not air in Quebec, Ricardo did express his apprehensions of his position as a Quebec celebrity venturing into uncharted territory; however, he still demanded that the English program express his home province. He explained that although he would continue being a fusion chef, featuring many of his common dishes, such as maple-glazed bok choy, he would still feature common Quebecois recipes for sugar pie, fois gras terraine and five-spice sweetbreads. Although he never specified that this was something asked of him, but these traditional recipes were not something he was willing to forfeit to appeal to English Canada because the English program still had to “represent the part [of Canada] where I’m from” (Ali 2006)

Upon viewing any episode from the past three seasons of *Ricardo and Friends*, it is evident that Ricardo’s mission to showcase where he is from to English Canada has been fulfilled. The format of each episode features Ricardo travelling throughout the province of Quebec and showcasing various culinary products the

province produces and enjoys, such as beer, spirits, cheese, or fruits. His ability to bridge the television gap between English Canada and French Canada can be explicitly seen through an analysis of an episode entitled “My Sugar Shack”, which originally aired in 2008.

In the episode, Ricardo features recipes commonly found in traditional Quebec sugar shacks, small cabins found on the property of a farm where sap is boiled to maple syrup. Ricardo begins the episode explaining to his English Canada audience, “In Quebec everyone had their favourite sugar shack and once a year have to go for a very traditional meal” (“My Sugar Shack”). Ricardo is acknowledging that his English audience is more than likely unaware of the traditions that occur within the French part of their country, and he takes it upon himself to educate the audience of about this tradition of the sugar shack meal. Following this explanation of tradition, he takes the viewer to an actual sugar shack, St. Marc’s in Quebec, where it is demonstrated how the farmer’s tap a tree for maple syrup. By featuring a Quebec sugar shack, Ricardo allows English viewers the chance witness part of their own country in which they would otherwise never be given the chance. The tapping of a tree would not be featured in an English Canadian programs since it is not a tradition found in those parts of the country. Following this trip to the sugar shack, Ricardo instructs viewers on how to prepare a traditional Quebecois sugar shack meal, a traditional meal was “the daily reward for the workers who trudged waist-high in snow to collect sap. At its most traditional, it’s made up of the sort of food you’d find in a larder at the end of winter” (Schwarner-Albright 2009). Ricardo explains the significance of each dish to the French-Canadian family, including his

own. For example, prior to preparing baked beans Ricardo explains that every family in Quebec has their own recipe for baked beans, and that he is sharing his family's. Therefore, although stating this fact to his usual audience of French Canadians would seem pointless, Ricardo is aware of the fact that his English audience has no knowledge of these traditional recipes and takes the time to educate them about the Quebecois recipes. This type of commentary continues as Ricardo moves onto dumplings, the traditional dessert of a sugar shack meal. Ricardo explains to the viewers that there are two traditional dishes that people in Quebec commonly boil in maple syrup, one being eggs and the other dumplings. Here again Ricardo is taking the time outside from his instruction to educate English Canada about the traditions of French Canada through food, an education they would otherwise not receive if Food Network Canada had not commissioned Ricardo for this English program.

This process of introducing English Canada to the customs and traditions of Quebec through food is not just contained to the one episode regarding the sugar shack. For example, in the 2008 episode "Say Cheese", Ricardo hosts a wine and cheese party for his friends to showcase the regional goods. During this episode Ricardo attempts to educate the English part of the country not only about Quebec food traditions, but also the language of the province. For example, when discussing the local cheese he has decided to serve his friends, he explains that his favourite of "Pied de Vent" cheese. Although he could have just left his explanation at that, Ricardo again takes the time to think about his English audience and goes on to explain that the name of the cheese translates to "ray of sun through the clouds".

Ricardo taking time out to translate French terms for his English audience is a very common occurrence throughout the entire series. Although most French terms are in reference to food and are maybe not the most useful for English-Canada to learn, Ricardo is puts in this extra effort to connect to his English audience, exemplifying his commitment to connecting two distinct parts of the country. This dedication to reaching out to English-Canada through translating is obviously not always the easiest for Ricardo as his primary language is French, however, it appears that he does not let his limited amount of English interfere with his mission to connect to the English audience. For example, in the episode entitled “TV Dinner for the Boys” (2006) while making ribs, Ricardo tries to explain to the audience to add Worcestershire sauce, however, after stumbling over the word a few times, he simply says to add “English Sauce”. By attempting to pronounce the ingredient as English-Canada does, he is trying to make a connection with his viewers; if he had simply stated, “add English sauce”, his viewers may have not even realized what he was referencing. Although some may shy away from attempting to pronounce a word they have difficulty saying on national television, Ricardo does not appear to be embarrassed by the attempt, which further attests to his dedication to connecting to his English audience.

Not only does Ricardo connect English-Canada with their French counterparts through educating his audience about Quebec food tradition and language, but also through his enthusiasm for products specific to the region. The episode “Say Cheese” (2008) features a lengthy segment dedicated to educating the audience about “Le Canadien” cows. Ricardo explains to his viewers that these cows, specific to the

Quebec region, have been raised in the area since the beginning of the colony and have adapted very well to the Quebec climate. The episode continues to feature cheese specific to this type of indigenous cow, a fact that Ricardo repeats, thus indicating his passion for the Quebec product. This education about Quebec products can also be found in the episode “TV Dinner for the Boys” (2006). In the episode, Ricardo brings his viewers to “Blanche de Chambly”, a local brewery. He begins the segment at the brewery by explaining to viewers, “I think there are a lot of people like me who take pride in drinking a local beer” (Ricardo 2006). He then allows the beer maker to explain to his viewers why the local beer in Quebec is better than the large domestic brands found in Canada, which he feels are bland. After a quick tour of the Quebec brewing facility, Ricardo finishes the segment by expressing to his English viewers that the “micro-brewer really reflects the pride of the region” (Ricardo 2006). By taking the time to feature many local Quebec products, it is obvious that Ricardo takes great pride in his regions products, and through this pride, he shares his enthusiasm with his English viewers, viewers who may have never been aware of the great products a region of there country offers.

Therefore, through his dedication to his English audience, and his commitment to educate them on Quebec’s food traditions, language and products, Ricardo has begun to close the gap between the two parts of the country. To return to the question posed earlier in this section, how can Canadian TV represent one cohesive national identity when an entire province is watching programming that is completely separate? The answer may begin with the Food Network and Ricardo. Collins argues that French Canada and English Canada share little culturally, and

what is shared is not done through television, however, Ricardo is the rebuttal to this argument. He is clearly utilizing television, food television at that, to educate and connect his new found English audience, with his home province of Quebec, which he obviously has a great love for. As Adams explains, “Canadians are a diverse lot. In any randomly selected group, you'll find an extraordinary range of interests, tastes, religious beliefs and cultural backgrounds. But there's one commonality: We all like to chow down, whether on poutine, pad thai or Pop-Tarts” (Adams 2000). It is this sentiment that may make Ricardo's attempt at connecting English and French Canadian a success. No matter the language one may speak, every Canadian has to eat, therefore using food to connect the two communities is a good place to begin. Although Ricardo may not single-handedly connect all English and French Canada, his program is definitely a clear attempt to do so.

Multiculturalism

While some scholars argue one national culture cannot be represented through Canadian television due to the separation between English and French Canada, others argue that the lack of a national culture is due to the high level of multiculturalism found in the country. It can be argued that what distinguishes Canada from other country's is its multiculturalism, with a focus on inclusion and tolerance, where citizens can express multiple heritages and identities (Beaty and Sullivan 11). Manning agrees, stating that one Canadian culture does not exist, but many do, with Canada being a multi-cultural society-“ a social dogma that has virtually become the basis of a Canada civil religion.” He also argues that it is through the media that the country's ethnic collectives are revealed (Manning 6).

Attalah elaborates on this point, explaining that multiculturalism “is certainly more open, generous, modern, and alive demographically than earlier nationalist notions that presumed to derive identity from conformity with a set of pre-established cultural markers” (Attalah 166). What all these scholars are arguing cannot actually be denied, as multiculturalism is not merely part of the country’s culture, but an official federal policy. Enacted in 1988 by Prime Minister Mulroney, the Multiculturalism Act ensures that all Canadians receive equal treatment by a government that respects and celebrates the country’s diversity. The act protects and recognizes Canada’s multicultural heritage, aboriginal rights, the use of languages outside of French and English, and minorities rights to enjoy their culture (Department of Justice Canada).

When applying this fact of multiple identities to television, Beaty and Sullivan explain, “The arguments for a distinctly Canadian television culture...tend to follow on the heels of the multicultural defense of Canada. Canada is not a melting pot, say some, but a cultural mosaic” (Beaty and Sullivan 11). B’beri & Middlebrook elaborate on this notion, explaining that all identities in Canadian society want to express their distinctiveness through the media. However, they also point out that this acknowledgment of multiculturalism in Canada leads to a complex notion of a national identity. Although this complication in defining a national identity prevents television from representing one cohesive identity, B’beri & Middlebrook also recognize that enforcing one culture is not the solution and the acceptance of multiple identities is most appropriate. (B’beri & Middlebrook 29). Therefore, since the idea of enforcing one national identity or culture is not a viable option, it can be

argued that Canadian television cannot reflect Canadian national identity, it is forced to, however, reflect multiple ones.

Response

Although Food Network Canada does make a very deliberate attempt to represent French-Canada through *Ricardo and Friends*, there is nothing inherently “multicultural” about their programs. However, due to the fact that the programs center on food, and styles of cooking are commonly exchanged across cultures, it is not uncommon to see a recipe that comes from the many international cultures thriving in Canada on Food Network Canada. Ricardo presents interesting examples of this expression of cultures. For example, in his episode “Italy on a Platter” (2008), Ricardo discusses various recipes and techniques associated with Italian culture; a culture Ricardo is very familiar with himself because, as he explains in the episode, he is of Italian heritage. He begins the episode by stating that the featured recipes are an “ode” to his heritage and come from longstanding family tradition. He continues to explain that he will be cooking for other friends in Montreal who also have an Italian background, thus establishing that an Italian community exists within the province of Quebec. Within the episode, not only does Ricardo prepare traditional Italian dishes, but also his friends who he is cooking for can be heard conversing in Italian. Beyond Ricardo explaining his cultural background as well as that of his friends, he also shares with the viewer food practices of Italians. For example, when demonstrating how to make the traditional Italian pastries, canolli, he explains that the older women in his family would use a broomstick to create the tubular shell of the dessert. By explaining that Italian is his cultural background, and

by sharing with the viewers the food traditions of this culture, Ricardo becomes an example of how the various cultures that can be found in Canada can be identified on Food Network Canada programs.

While certain examples of multiple cultures being represented can be found on various episodes of Food Network Canada programs, they are not, however, a direct reflection of the cultural make-up of the country. The program hosts are overwhelmingly Caucasian, while the cultural background of Canadians varies far more. Therefore, the representation of Canada as a multicultural nation is certainly an area where Food Network Canada could improve, however, glimpses of this representation can still be found in specific episodes, as is the case with Ricardo's episode "Italy on a Platter".

Problem 2: Ontario Regionalism

Along with the issue of Canadian television not having a national identity to convey, scholars also argue that Canadian television has not fulfilled its desired mandate to promote and represent Canadian culture due to the high level of regionalism that is inherent in the medium. The general argument is that Canadian media tends to represent and focus on more Ontario-centered programming, ignoring the vast majority of the country. With Canada being such a vast country, with a variety of specific and unique regions, the idea of uniting all citizens through one culture is obviously a difficult task, however, it has been a longstanding goal of the federal government. In 1951, the *Massey Report*, or the *1951 report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences* included a chapter entitled *The Forces of Geography*, which identified the large amount of space

the country covered as a problem, and outlined the governments desire to forge this diversity into a national culture. The solution for the federal government was to bring together all Canadians through creating national cultural programs, including the National Library of Canada and grant programs, explaining, “[i]n a country such as ours where many people are remote from the national capital and from other large centers of population, it is of obvious importance to extend to them as far as may be possible the services of the national institutions of Ottawa” (Collins 12). Thus, the government’s desire was to bring all citizens together through a cultural infrastructure and develop Canadian culture.

One example of the Canadian government being involved in the country’s cultural infrastructure is through the National Broadcaster, the CBC, who, as previously mentioned, was originally established to meet the cultural objectives of building a national identity. Based on this mandate, one would assume that the CBC offers equal coverage to all regions of Canada. However, some scholars have pointed out this flaw within the broadcaster. Following a content analysis of the CBC’s nightly national news, Gatrell and Gatrell found that the three cultural centers received far more coverage than other regions, with Ontario receiving the most coverage, Quebec the second most, and British Columbia the third most amount of coverage. Gatrell and Gatrell noted the results also indicated that the coverage promotes the idea that the Maritimes are of little importance to the national broadcaster. While the CBC’s coverage is not equal coast to coast, the authors do note that a direct relationship did exist between the population count of a province and the amount of coverage it received (Gatrell and Gatrell 7). While this may make

sense in that more news will occur where there are more people, the CBC is still not fulfilling its mandate and is perpetuating the notion that the Canadian media is Ontario-centric.

While Gatrell and Gatrell argue that the public broadcaster has issues with Ontario regionalism, de B'beri & Middlebrook argue that Canada's private broadcasters have the same problem. The researchers completed a comprehensive study of the popular reality program *Canadian Idol* during the 2006 season. They noticed that during the recruitment process, urban Canadians were given more opportunities to audition for the program. de B'beri & Middlebrook cited the example of Yellowknife, in which none of the four celebrity judges showed for the auditions. They explain that,

While it would be possible to argue that local Yellowknife judges are in a better position to examine contestants in their region, it would also be arguable that the core judges did not go to this area due to the perception that this region is less important compared with other pre-selected Canadian cities in a hierarchical conceptualization.

(de B'beri & Middlebrook 30)

Therefore, the authors concluded that when comparing the limited number of regions on *Canadian Idol* with the variety of Canadian's regional identities, "one could extrapolate a dominant urban-based, regional-cultural identity" (de B'beri & Middlebrook 30). Based on this finding, the winner of *Canadian Idol* defines the cultural identity of the entire country, one that is completely inaccurate (de B'beri & Middlebrook 30).

Response

While many argue that Canadian television does not represent Canada because of its focus on Ontario and its tendency to ignore other regions, Food Network Canada presents a unique rebuttal to this argument. The network features programs from coast-to-coast, commonly feature recipes indigenous to the province and incorporates ingredients found in the specific regions.

Beginning with the East Coast is the long running Food Network Canada program *Chef at Home*, hosted by Chef Michael Smith. Although technically an American citizen, born in New York, Michael Smith adopted the East Coast of Canada as his home in 1992, taking a chef position at an inn on Prince Edward Island. He continued to mark this part of the country as his home, opening his own restaurant, Maple, in 1999 in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Smith has been a long time Food Network Canada personality, having four separate shows on the channel, *The Inn Chef*, *Chef at Large*, *Chef Abroad* and *Chef at Home*, being his most current and longest running of the four (“Michael Smith” 2011)

Being filmed in an idyllic home directly on the Prince Edward Island coastline, *Chef at Home* focuses on cooking home meals for one’s family, and commonly features Smith’s own family, his son Gabriel and partner Rachael. The meals Smith prepares for his loved ones commonly reflect the culture and cuisine of the East Coast, mainly due to Smith’s dedication to eating what is local to the coast. For example, in the 2008 episode “Local Flavour”, which features local cheese and meats, Smith explains that nothing is healthier than eating local and then proceeds to demonstrate how to transform a free range PEI chicken into three separate meals.

The episode also features a dessert recipe, however, Smith refuses to use sugar to sweeten the dish as there is “no such thing as Canadian sugar”, however, the East Coast “can grow flowers, so honey is a great alternative”. This episode also showcases arguably the regions most identifiable food product, the potato. During a visit to the Townshed Potato Farm, Smith indicates that the trip is a “celebration of regionality”, indicating the potato farm as a source of pride, a pride specific to the East Coast of the country (Local Flavour 2008).

A further example of *Chef at Home* going against the notion that Canadian television being “Ontario-centered” can be seen through a discussion of the episode “Lobster Fest” (2008). Smith begins the episode explaining that his favourite day of the year is the first day of lobster season. This narrative is heard over film footage of men loading lobsters on a dock. Smith then demonstrates how to cook a Lobster, explaining, “Around PEI we normally use sea water to steam the lobster, but if the nearest ocean is too far away you just need some sea salt”. Sentiments of this East Coast approach to food is continued when Smith states later in the episode, “you may not live next to the ocean or have a buddy that drops lobster off at your door, but lobsters are great travelers too”. Statements such as these make it clear that Chef Michael Smith is definitely presenting his food from an East Coast perspective discussing customs that only those from the East Coast can identify with. Those viewers in Toronto will not be receiving fresh local lobster and cooking it in the water of the Atlantic, thus making it clear that *Chef at Home* is in no way centered on the province of Ontario.

Moving west across the country, Quebec also has representation on Food Network Canada. Beyond the extensive coverage Quebec receives on the network through *Ricardo and Friends*, *Chuck's Day Off* is also centered on the province, and more particularly its capital of Montreal. The program is hosted by Chuck Hughes, a young advertising agent turned chef, and centers around narratives of his life as a young man living and working in the province's urban core. Overall, his show is not just about teaching viewers how to create recipes, it is about running a restaurant in Old Montreal and features all the characters commonly found in the community, food related or not. For example, the Montréal police, firefighters, bread makers or local brewers have all been the focus of a story, and Chuck's recipes, in various episodes. Not only does the program allow viewers a look into the lives of Montreal community members, but into Chuck's life as well. For example, in one episode he dedicates his meal to helping cure a bad hangover he acquired the evening before, or in another episodes he decides to cook a meal for the amateur hockey team he belongs to.

On a side note, but an important one at that, Chuck's dedication to Canadian arts also plays an integral role in the production of his program. Although not specific to Quebec, thus not specific to this argument, Chuck features Canadian music throughout each episode, from a variety of domestic bands, such as Creature, Bedouin Soundclash, Dee, and Beast. Not only does he play the music, but Chuck ends each episode by telling the viewers what artists were featured. Therefore, not only does Chuck's program focus on telling a story that is focused on Montreal, he is

also committed to promoting Canadian music, an industry that also criticized in terms of its national success.

Continuing on the journey west is the program *Everyday Exotic*, based in the most populated city in the country, Toronto. Ironically, although media scholars argue that Canadian media is “Ontario-centered”, the program has far less to do with the city than the other programs do about the part of the country they are based in. The program is hosted by Roger Mooking, a Toronto native who graduated from Toronto’s George Brown College and now owns two restaurants in the downtown core (“Roger Mooking” 2011). Beyond the host’s ties to the city, the program does not feature narratives that express something specific about the region. While it could be argued that the program does tend to feature ingredients commonly found in Caribbean cuisine, and Toronto does have a large Caribbean community, this connection is never made explicit through the narratives that surround the recipes, as is the case with Chef Michael Smith, Ricardo or Chuck Hughes. If anything, it could be argued that, based on the population of Toronto, the city is actually underrepresented on Food Network Canada instructional programs, not having a chef dedicated to exploring the uniqueness of the region.

Although the city of Toronto lacks strong representation on Food Network Canada, Niagara, another region in the province in Ontario is made highly visible through the program *Fresh with Anna Olson*. Anna Olson, who, like Chef Michael Smith, is an honorary Canadian, being born in Atlanta, Georgia, hosts the program. Although American, Anna Olson has made the Niagara region her permanent home and has made her presence known in the area, from working at one of the most

prestigious Niagara restaurants, The Inn on the Twenty, to opening various bakeries and small grocers in the area. As described by Food Network Canada, *Fresh With Anna Olson*, "...has presenter Anna Olson cooking three dishes for either a special occasion or a community event. On each episode, she will visit a local grocer in the Niagara region to pick out one or several key ingredients for her meal" ("Anna Olson" 2011). Examples of this premise includes Anna taking viewers to Thiessen Farms to pick fresh local raspberries, or to Niagara's Best Brewery to discuss the local microbrews the region has to offer (Ultimate Comfort Food 2008).

Although teaching the audience about the products available from Niagara offers Canadians a great education about the region, the true value of Olson's program lies in the narratives about the culture that is specific to the region. Much like Ricardo's program, Olson allows viewers to follow a narrative through her recipes, and it is these narratives that truly reveal customs that are unique to the people of the Niagara region. One distinct example of this occurred on the episode entitled "Bacchanalia Buffet". Simply based on the title, I would argue that most Canadians would not know exactly what to expect, however, as Olson explains, the title refers to a very common tradition in Niagara. She begins the episode by stating, "It's wine season festival in the area and it is tradition to have a big party with a big meal, taste some wines and then head down to the park where the real wine festival is in full swing" (2009). She goes on to cook a large feast for her friends, which includes some of the local wines. The episode concludes by showing the party Olson throws and then the group enjoying themselves at The Niagara Wine Festival. This Festival is another custom unique to the region, which is attended by hundreds of

thousands of people each year (“Niagara Wine Festival” 2011). Therefore, Olson’s program, similar to Smith’s and Hughes’, allows viewers from the specific region to identify with the narratives of the program, while providing the rest of the country a glimpse into the custom of another region they may have no been able to see through other Canadian television outlets.

The final region that Food Network Canada represents through their instructional program is the West Coast, through the program *The Main* hosted by chef Anthony Sedlack. Again, similar to *Everyday Exotic* and its representation of the Toronto, Vancouver’s representation is limited to the background of the host. Chef Anthony Sedlak grew up in Vancouver and began working at a resort restaurant at the age of 13 in exchange for snowboarding passes, however, he quickly mastered his craft and by 15 he became the youngest cook at the mountain resort. He is also a graduate of the Culinary Arts Program at Carson Graham Secondary School in North Vancouver and Vancouver Community College. Although Sedlack himself maybe a Vancouverite through and through, honing his craft in the exact city he was born and raised, his program does not feature narratives which would express to the viewer something unique about this region of the province. As described by Food Network Canada, *The Main* is “where he prepares food that is rustic, the ingredients readily available and the recipes simple to follow – leaving the viewer inspired to recreate each main at home” (“Anthony Sedlak” 2011). Therefore, the representation of British Columbia, Vancouver specifically, is only found through the residents of this areas ability to see a local chef featured on a program, not though the presentations of local customs or traditions as seen through a distinct narrative.

The argument presented in this analysis does have some obvious flaws, however, as many parts of the country are not represented through an instructional program on Food Network Canada. The commonly forgotten Northern (Yukon Northwest Territories, and Nunavut) and the Prairie Provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta) see little to no representation through these programs. Also it would be incorrect to assume that it is simply province borders that determine the uniqueness of one Canadian from the next; the practices of various cultures, rituals, traditions or lifestyle can vary from coast to coast, province to province, but also simply from Canadian to Canadian. Furthermore, as evident through the analysis each region that is represented is not done so equally as all others. It is clear that Anna Olson does focus more on telling the story of the Niagara Region, then Chuck does of telling Montréal's, but nonetheless, the regions are still represented to a certain degree. Although Food Network Canada may not represent every Canadian, a task that would be near impossible to accomplish, it does present a strong rebuttal to various media scholars' arguments that Canadian television is centered on the province of Ontario. Unlike Gatrell and Gatrell's study of the CBC or de B'beri & Middlebrook's analysis of Canadian Idol, this analysis has proven that not all Canadian television has problems with regionalism, rather, Food Network Canada presents an opportunity, although not a perfect one, to represent the country coast to coast through a domestic television avenue.

Problem3: US Programming Dominates

While there are strong arguments regarding a lack of national culture and issues of Ontario regionalism, the most prevalent issue taken with Canadian television is that U.S. programming dominates. Beaty and Sullivan offer an interesting anecdote, which they feel describes the situation of Canadian television perfectly. In reference to Canadian entertainment program *eTalk* securing a high-profile interview with American actress Renée Zellweger, host Ben Mulroney explained, “If you’re wondering how that situation came to pass, here it is: we begged. My talented and dedicated producer got down on her knees and begged Renée not to turn her back on Canada” (Beaty and Sullivan 67). This situation, Beaty and Sullivan argue, portrays Canadian television in the correct light, as a “beggar on the global stage, prostrate at the feet of American celebrity culture” (Beaty and Sullivan 67).

Many argue that this notion of the United States dominating Canadian television can be traced back in the countries’ histories far before the invention of the TV. Both countries have a shared history in that they are both former English colonies that have grown into wealthy, industrialized nations (Carlson 587). With the two countries always being intertwined to some extent, American culture has been present in Canada since settlers first arrived from New England in the eighteenth century. Therefore, there is “is undeniably a powerful strand in Canadian culture that is and always has been American” (Ostry 33). Along with the shared history, the two countries share the longest unprotected border in the world, with more than 80 percent of the Canadian population living within 100 kilometers of that border. Therefore, Canadians have easy accessibility to American exports, placing Canada in

what Carlson refers to as a uniquely vulnerable place (Carlson 587). With the invention of the television, Canadian culture's vulnerability to American influence increased dramatically. The notion that Canadians were watching American television occurred early on, since in 1951, 146,000 Canadian households had television, even though it was not officially introduced in Canada until 1952. Therefore, Canadian television was dominated by the US even before its inception in the country, with it being clear that Canadians loved the fun and gratification of American television (Attallah 162).

Throughout Canadian history, there has been a strong push to protect Canadian culture from this American threat, particularly through enacting policy. As Raymond Chretien, former Canadian ambassador to the United States, explained,

There was a strong commitment within the Canadian government to ensure that our cultural industries are allowed to progress and develop ... the ability to maintain viable, home-grown cultural industries that tell us about ourselves, is key to our sense of national identity ... [this commitment] is one thing that Canadian government policy has consistently recognized. (Carlson 608)

As previously discussed in terms of its push for the inclusion of multiculturalism, in the face of a American cultural threat, the *Massey Report* also pushed for the creation of the *Canadian Council for the Arts* to allow the Canadian people to know "as much as possible about their country, its history and traditions; and about their national life and common achievements" (Carlson 586). Furthermore, the Canadian government has always enacted various subsidies and tax measures with the intention of aiding the Canadian television in their battle with their American counterparts (Carlson 586). One further, well-documented means of the Canadian

government attempting to enforce Canadian television viewership is through Canadian content restrictions (CanCon), forcing Canadian broadcasters to have 60 percent of all programming and 50 percent of all prime time programming be Canadian (Carlson 588).

Doyle argues that today, Canadian television is in a “permanent state of crisis”, with the industry becoming the “most beleaguered in the world”, as the number of Canadian broadcasters is quickly shrinking, and of those broadcasters still functioning, 80% of what they air is American. “Like Americans, Canadians watch *CSI*, *Law & Order* and *Grey's Anatomy*, and the list of Top Ten shows airing in Canada is very similar to list in the United States” (Doyle 2007). Beaty and Sullivan paint a similar picture of Canadian television, in that they argue within all aspects of Canadian television, there is a “sense of failure”. They explain that Canadian shows are expected to represent a certain level of cultural nationalism, one that is communally expressed through airing prestigious performances or captivating national stories. However, as these types of programs are said to express a sense of national identity, Beaty and Sullivan identify one problem with them; no one is watching. When it comes to Canadian television, Canadians would rather watch programs like *Sue Thomas FBI*, a “Canadian made” program, yet it does not deal with any aspect of a national identity, even being set in the United States. As the authors explain, while programs like *Sue Thomas: F.B.Eye* help the Canadian television economy, they are actually the “dirty little secret of Canadian television culture that is supposed to be above the populist pandering that supposedly characterizes American commercial product” (Beaty and Sullivan 80).

Others predict that Canadian's love for American television will only increase, as "it is now obvious that most Canadians live their daily lives in much the same way their American neighbors to the south do" (Demers 659). Demers argues that with the fading memory of a British identity associated with Canadian elites, and the slowing of the Quebec separatist movement, support for Canadian television and a cultural identity will only decline (Demers 659).

Methods - Industry Analysis

An industry analysis comparing the popularity of Food Network Canada's programs with regards to the American programs available on Food Network Canada will be completed. This analysis will be in response to those scholars who criticize Canadian television for its lack of importance due to the popularity of US programming. This will be done through the use of television ratings to demonstrate how well Canadian Food Network programs do against their American counterparts. This analysis will also involve comparing other specialty networks, such as HGTV and MTV Canada, to gauge how significant the ratings are for Canadian Food Network programs. This will offer a clearer perspective on where Food Network Canada stands in the Canadian specialty channel environment in terms of Canadian content. Specialty networks are those networks the CRTC has defined as those channels that are available through digital cable or direct broadcast satellite providers, and not available over-the-air. These channels focus on one genre with a specific target market. The Canadian Content regulations for these specialty networks often vary per broadcasting license (CRTC Category 2).

The data used in this analysis was retrieved through BBM Canada, a non-for-profit organization that gathers broadcast measurement and data to provide insight into viewer's behaviors and patterns. The way in which BBM Canada gathers this data is through their PPM system, which is an acronym for Portable People Meter. The Portable People Meter is a pager-like device that is carried by television viewers who have agreed to be a member of a representative panel. The device detects "inaudible codes that broadcasters embed in the audio portion of their programming using encoders provided by BBM". At the end of each day, the members of the representative panel place the PPM in a dock, which relays the data to BBM for tabulation. Due to the fact that this is a representative panel, meaning it represents the demographics of the country on a smaller scale, the data is then extrapolated to give estimates of national television viewing. BBM ratings are the Canadian Broadcasting standard for determining television audiences (BBM Canada 2011).

Industry Analysis

As previously discussed, many media scholars have indicated that the most substantial issue facing Canadian television today is the domination of US programming, however, after a close reading of the ratings of Food Network Canada's instructional programs, one can see that this particular network is the exception to this notion. Using data gathered by BBM Canada, it is clear that although Food Network Canada does air American programming, Canadians definitely prefer the domestic programs the network airs.

Food Network Canada-Figure 1 & 1.1

When analyzing television audience ratings the metric that is used is average minute audience or AMA. This number indicates “the average number of individuals or (homes or target group) viewing a TV channel, which is calculated per minute during a specified period of time over the program duration” (Nielsen 2011). In other words, the AMA is calculated by finding the average of the number of people watching a program at every minute. For example, if a program was 30 minutes long, the AMA would be the average of the number of viewers watching the program during each minute of its airing. For this analysis, the AMA was examined for programs airing between 2:30pm to 7:00pm. The reason for examining this particular time slot was because it is during this time that Food Network Canada airs their instructional programs; a time slot they refer to as “Countdown to Dinner”.

The results of this analysis show a very clear picture of how many Canadians are watching Canadian programming rather than American programming, even though the network airs approximately 50% foreign programming, as per their licensing agreement with the CRTC (Decision CRTC 2000-217 2000). When looking at the 24 programs that air regularly during this timeslot, omitting all seasonal one-time specials, such as Christmas features, 12 of the 24 programs are original Canadian programming (Figure 1). However, when looking at the rankings of the Canadian programs compared to the American programs, it becomes clear that Food Network Canada’s audiences prefer the domestic programming. For example, of the network’s top 15 programs for this timeslot, 10 of the programs are original Canadian. Even though the network airs 50% Canadian and 50% Non-Canadian

programming during this time period, Canadian programming makes up 67% of the top fifteen highest rated programs. While it must be noted that the highest rated program during this time slot is *Barefoot Contessa* with Ina Garten, an American program, *Chuck's Day Off*, the Canadian program that holds the number two spot, is certainly not far behind, receiving an AMA that is only 2.8% less than the *Barefoot Contessa*. Furthermore, it must also be noted that Canadian programs, including *Chuck's Day Off*, *Fresh with Anna Olson* and *Chef at Home*, all fare better with a Canadian audience than the US program *Giada at Home*, who is hosted by Giada DeLaurentiis, a household name in the United States, who's branding power extends far beyond her program to include features on network television and a line of goods with retail giant Target. One further point regarding the AMA of these programs is that all original Canadian programming fair better than *Tyler's Ultimate*, another major American Food Network personality, who, like DeLaurentiis, has a high level of media exposure, including being a regular guest on Oprah. The only Canadian program to receive a lower AMA than *Tyler's Ultimate* is *Everyday Exotic*, however, this is the second showing of the program during this time slot, with the first showing ranking number 14 in the 24 programs aired. Therefore, not only do the Canadian Food Network programs overall do better than the American programs featured on the network, the Canadian programs are viewed more than American programs that are backed with powerful publicity and branding through major American outlets. Even though Food Network Canada is playing the minimum amount of Canadian content as outlined by their licensing agreement, Canadians are still choosing the Canadian programming over the American.

It can clearly be demonstrated that US programming does not dominate Food Network Canada when examining its ratings, however, when comparing its ratings to those of other similar specialty channels, it becomes more evident that Food Network Canada's audience is far more dedicated to Canadian programming than the audiences of the others specialty channels.

Comedy Network-Figure 2 & 1.2

The Comedy Network was launched in Canada in 1996, and it is currently owned by Bell Media, specializing in comedy programming. The channel is similar to the Food Network Canada in that it is considered a specialty channel by the CRTC, however, according to their licensing agreement with the commission, they are required to show 60% Canadian content, 10% more than is required of Food Network Canada (CRTC decision 2004-65). When comparing the ratings of the Comedy Network programs during the same time slot, 2:30pm-7:00pm, to Food Network Canada's ratings, it becomes clear that Food Network is an exceptional case. Between the hours of 2:30pm-7:00pm the Comedy Network regularly airs 28 programs, of those 28 programs 19 are original Canadian programming or 68%. While this is 8% more Canadian content than is required by their license, and 18% more Canadian programming than Food Network Canada plays, the network's viewers are not tuning into the Canadian programming. When examining the Comedy Network's top 15 programs during this time slot, only seven of that top 15 are Canadian programming (Figure 2), three fewer than Food Network Canada's rankings. Furthermore, although the Comedy Network does present a similar situation to Food Network Canada in that the number one position is held by an

American program, followed by a Canadian program in the number two position, the difference between the positions is immense. The number one viewed program during this time slot is the US comedy *Big Bang Theory*, which receives an AMA of 212,000. The number two position is held by the Canadian program *Just for Laughs Gags* which has an AMA of 80,000, a difference of 132,000 viewers. Thus, although Food Network Canada's number one program is American, it receives only 2,000 viewers more than the Canadian program in second place, a vast difference from the Comedy Network's situation. Although the Comedy Network plays more Canadian content than Food Network Canada, their Canadian programs receive far lesser viewers.

MuchMusic-Figure 3 & 1.3

MuchMusic, arguably the most well known specialty channel in the country, is also an interesting network for analysis. Established in 1984, this channel, which specializes in music television, is required by the CRTC to play 60% Canadian content (CRTC Decision 2010-875). Between the hours of 2:30pm-7:00pm MuchMusic regularly plays 20 programs, 10 of which are Canadian. It must be noted that this does not mean that they have violated their licensing terms, this is merely a ratio for a specific time slot and the quota must be filled over a year. Therefore, MuchMusic meets the same 50% Canadian Content ratio as Food Network Canada. However, similar to the situation with the Comedy Network, the channel's top 15 programs during this time slot demonstrate that Canadians tuning into MuchMusic are seeking out the American content. Of the top 15 programs, only six are Canadian. Furthermore, a Canadian program does not appear in the top 15 until the number

four slot, with the top three programs being American (Figure 3). Therefore, even MuchMusic, one of the country's longest running specialty channels, does not produce Canadian content domestic audiences are tuning in for, proving, once again, that Food Network Canada is the exception.

MTV Canada-Figure 4 & 1.4

Similarly to Food Network Canada, MTV Canada was created as a Canadian version of a pre-existing American network. The channel launched in 2006 and is currently owned by Bell Media. According to the channel's CRTC license, they are required to play 68% Canadian Content (CRTC Decision 2003-65). Of the programs that regularly air between 2:30pm-7:00pm only 8 of the 25 programs are Canadian, a mere 32%, far less than the Comedy Network, MuchMusic or Food Network Canada. With the top 15 of those 25 programs only three are Canadian content, significantly less Canadian content found in Food Network Canada's top 15 programs.

HGTV-Figure 5 & 1.5

Like Food Network Canada and MTV Canada, HGTV (Home and Gardening Television), is a Canadian version of a pre-existing American network. Launched in 1997, the channel is required by the CRTC license agreement to air 50% Canadian content (CRTC decision 2004-16). During the hours of 2:30pm to 7:00pm, HGTV regularly plays a total of 21 programs, 10 of which are Canadian, therefore playing only 2% less than Food Network Canada. However, similarly to the comparisons to the previous specialty channels, when examining the channels top 15 programs, only eight are Canadian programs. While HGTV does better compared to MuchMusic

and MTV, they still have failed to reach Food Network Canada's ratings of having 10 Canadian programs in the top 15. Furthermore, while HGTV is similar to Food Network Canada in that their second highest rated program is Canadian, the program, *Income Property*, receives 51,000 viewers less than the number one rated program, *House Hunters*, which is American (Figure 5).

Slice –Figure 6 & 1.6

The one exception in this comparison of Canadian specialty channels is the Slice network. This network launched in 2007 and specializes in lifestyle programming, geared mainly towards women. It is owned by Shaw Communications and according to its licensing agreement with the CRTC, must play 82.5% Canadian Content, a far higher quota than any of the previously discussed specialty programs (CRTC Decision 2009-566). During the hours of 2:30pm to 7:00pm, the Slice network airs 45 programs, 44 of which are Canadian. When examining the channels top 15 highest rated programs during this time slot, 14 are Canadian content. Therefore, the Slice network plays an even greater amount of Canadian content than Food Network Canada, and has audiences tuning into these programs. This particular network would be an interesting subject in a similar study such as this one, concerning the viability of original Canadian programming.

After a close readings of Food Network Canada's level of Canadian content and comparing how well its Canadian programming fairs against its American programs, it can be gathered that US programs do not dominate this channel. When comparing Food Network Canada's ratings for Canadian content to other specialty channels, it becomes even clearer that although they play similar amounts of

Canadian programming, the main difference is that Food Network Canada actually has Canadians watching them. This analysis of average minute audiences clearly demonstrates that when it comes to Food Network Canada Attalah is wrong in saying that Canadians prefer the “fun and gratification of American television”. With that, the network is also a rebuttal to Beaty and Sullivan’s comments on domestic television. Firstly, it is clear that the network is not “prostrate at the feet of American celebrity culture” and most importantly, they air programs that are not only important to a national identity, but also have people watching these programs, a feat that Beaty and Sullivan claim to never occur.

Conclusion

Within the field of Television Studies, and more particularly, Canadian Television Studies, it appears that most scholars prefer to paint an unpromising picture of domestic television, specifically in terms of representing a national culture. This issue is commonly attributed to three specific problems that are innate to the country. Firstly, a national culture cannot be expressed because Canada lacks one national culture due to its bilingualism and multiculturalism. Secondly, scholars tend to argue that Canadian television is Ontario-centric, focusing mainly on the one province and ignoring other regions of the country. And thirdly, they argue that another major problem with Canadian television is that U.S. program dominates domestic programming, thus making it irrelevant.

While all these arguments are proven through very valid examples, this analysis has demonstrated that Food Network Canada provides a rebuttal to the three main problems identified by media scholars. *Ricardo and Friends* provides an

example of a domestic program that incorporates both French and English Canada, along with examples of Canada as a multicultural society. Furthermore, the network features programs that are based in various provinces and regions, not just focusing on Ontario, as scholars criticize other domestic programs for doing. Lastly, after reviewing the network's ratings, it can be gathered that the network produces Canadian programs that Canadians are actually watching more than the American programs the network airs.

While Food Network Canada does provide a great example of domestic television that reflects the country, while still receiving outstanding ratings for these programs, the argument presented is still not without flaw. As previously discussed, the network lacks a strong multicultural perspective, even though it would seem relatively easy to represent the various cultures that thrive in Canada through food. Furthermore, while Food Network Canada programs do span coast-to-coast, they do not cover numerous regions within the country such as the Northern or Prairie provinces. Although there are obvious improvements that Food Network Canada could pursue to enhance its domestic programs, the network still presents a unique perspective on the problems associated with Canadian television programming.

Appendix

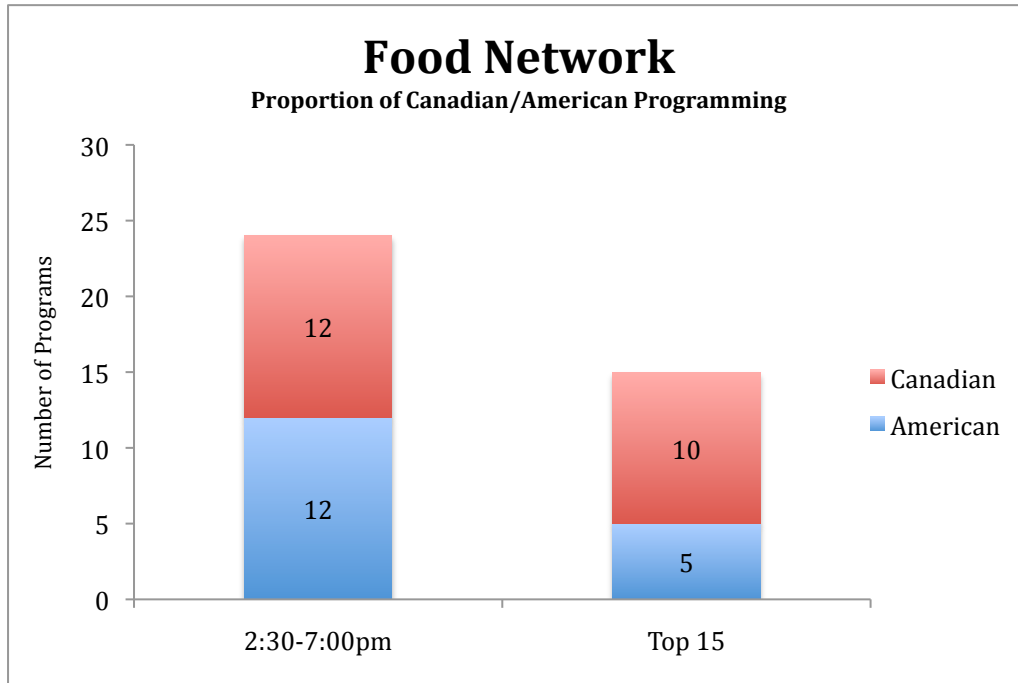


Figure 1

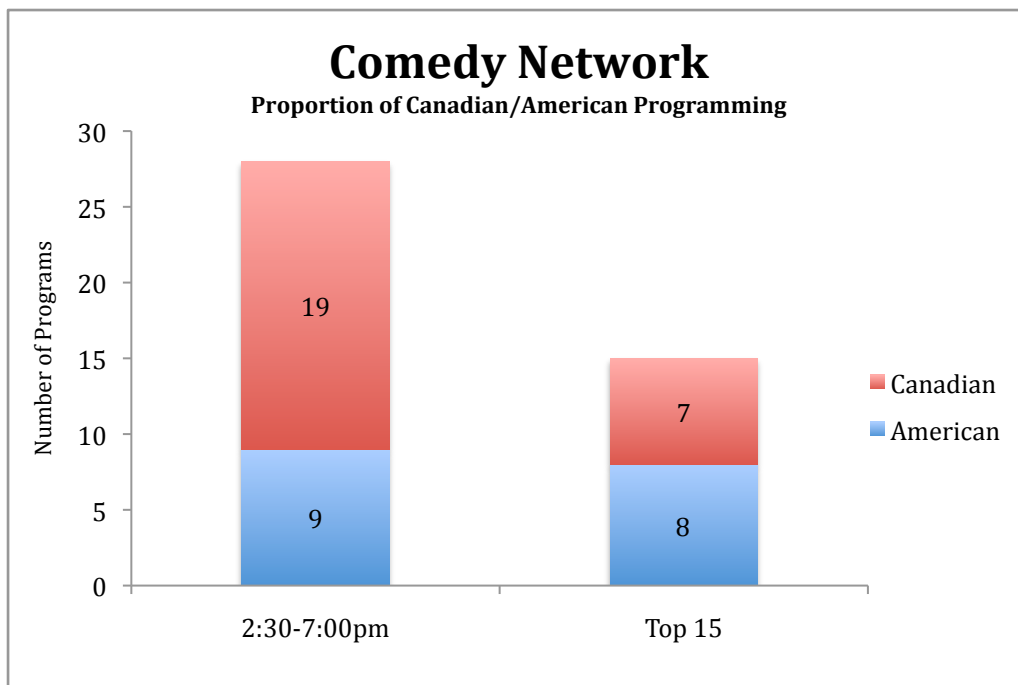


Figure 2

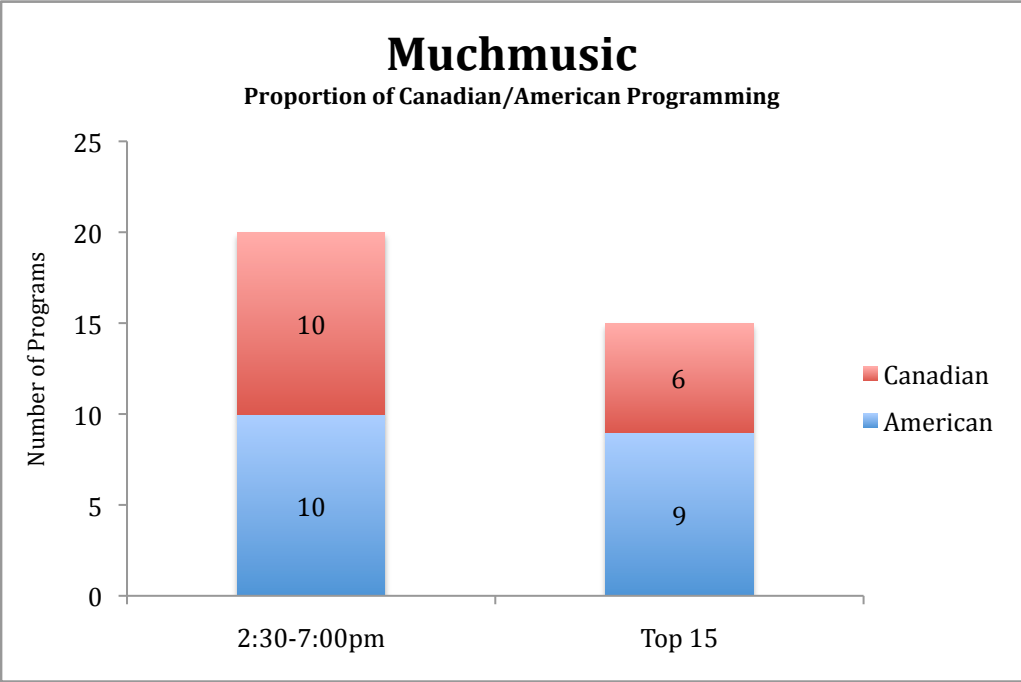


Figure 3

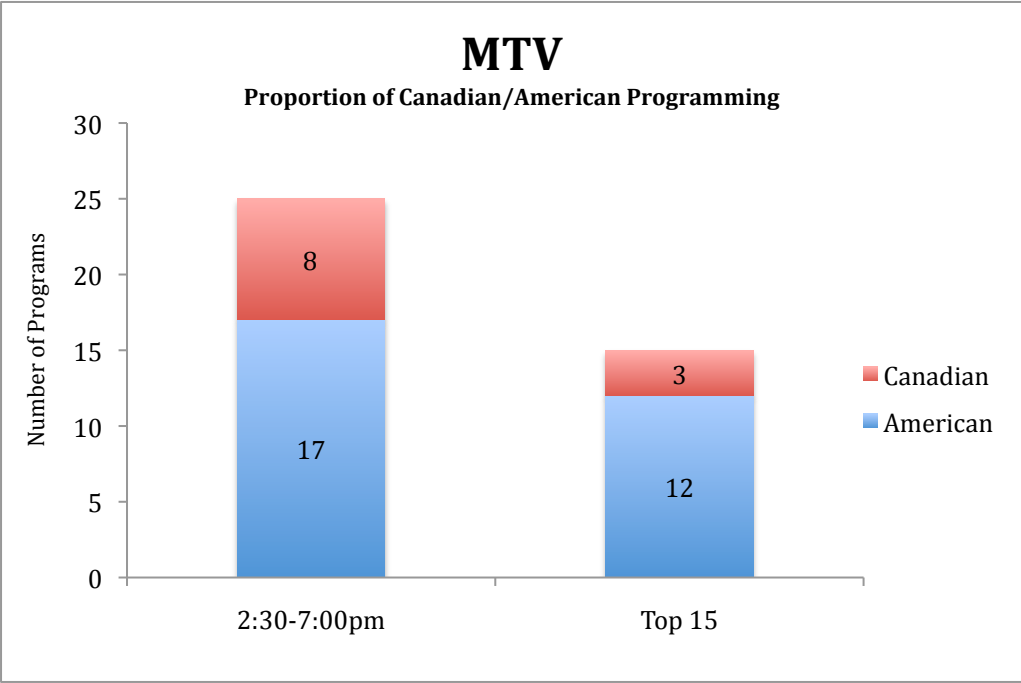


Figure 4

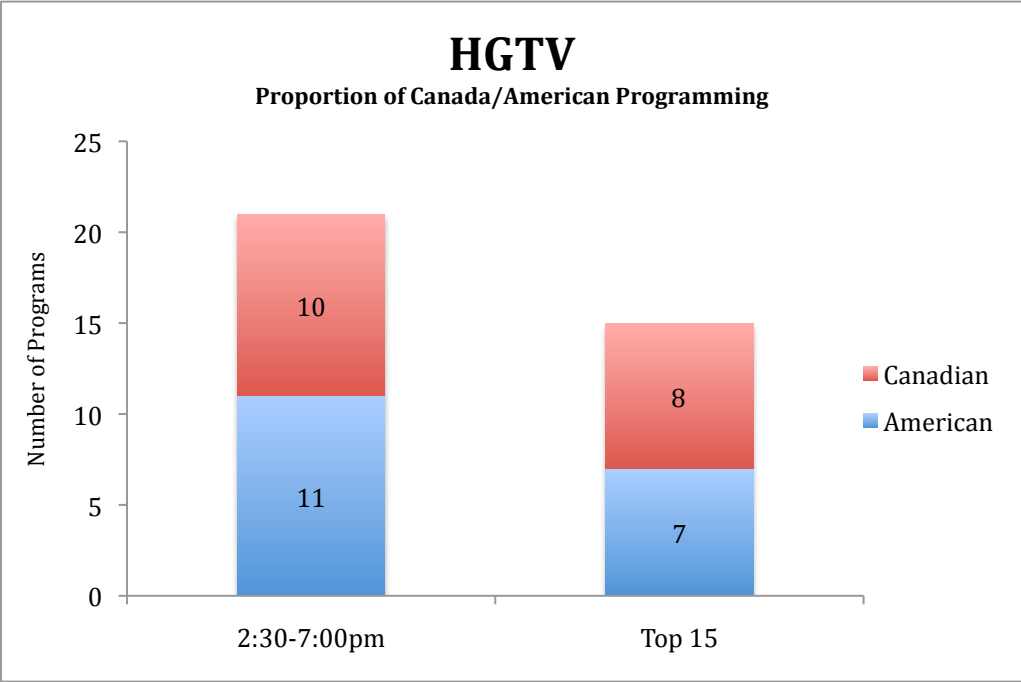


Figure 5

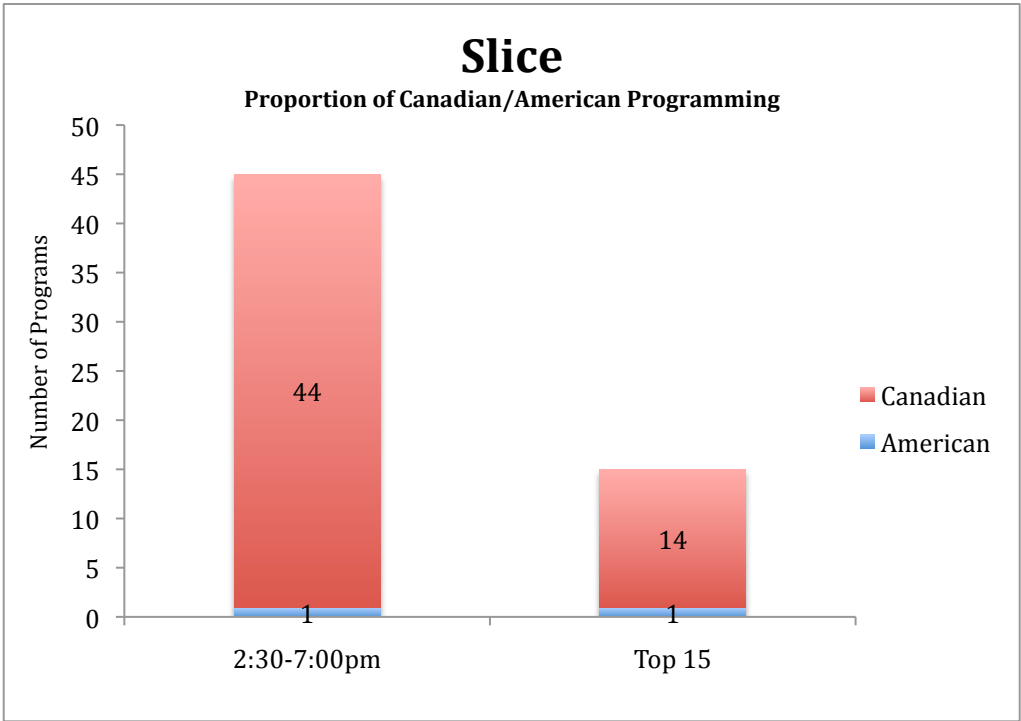


Figure 6

Top Programs from 2:30pm-7:00pm

Figure 1.1 Food Network Canada

Ranking	Program	Weekday	Start Time	AMA (000)
1	Barefoot Contessa	TH	17:30	71
2	Chuck's Day Off	TH	19:00	69
3	Chef At Home	MTWTF	18:30	64
4	5 Ingredient Fix	M	17:30	64
5	Fresh	M	19:00	59
6	Chuck's Day Off	TH	14:30	58
7	Eat, Shrink, & Be Merry	F	19:00	58
8	Giada At Home	MTWTF	16:30	56
9	Mexican Made Easy	W	17:30	56
10	Eat, Shrink & Be Merry	F	14:30	55
11	Ten Dollar Dinners	T	17:30	55
12	Fresh	M	14:30	53
13	Chef At Home	MTWTF	15:30	51
14	Everyday Exotic	T	19:00	51
15	Ricardo and Friends	MTWTF	16:00	50
16	Jamie at Home	MTWTF	15:00	50
17	Nigella Express	W	17:30	49
18	Cook Yourself Thin	F	17:30	48
19	Cooking for Real	MTWTF	17:00	47
20	French Food at Home	MTWTF	18:00	47
21	Spice Goddess	W	14:30	46
22	Spice Goddess	W	19:00	45
23	Tyler's Ultimate	F	17:30	45
24	Everyday Exotic	T	14:30	42

Figure 1.2 Comedy Network

Ranking	Program	Weekday	Start Time	AMA (000)
1	The Big Bang Theory	MTWT	17:30	212
2	Just/Laughs/Gags	TF	18:30	80
3	Just for Laughs	MTWTF	18:00	70
4	Corner Gas	MTWTF	17:00	68
5	Just/Laughs/Gags	TF	18:00	61
6	My Name is Earl	MTWT	15:30	59
7	Corner Gas	MTWT	15:00	57
8	South Park	MTWT	17:00	56
9	Just/Laughs/Gags	MTWT	17:00	53
10	The Colbert Report	TWTF	14:30	52
11	Just for Laughs	F	15:00	47
12	Conan	TWTF	16:00	43
13	South Park	MTWTF	17:30	43
14	My Name is Earl	TWTF	14:30	38
15	MadTV	MTWTF	15:00	34
16	Just/Laughs/Gags	MTWTF	16:00	33
17	Just/Laughs/Gags	MTWTF	17:30	33
18	Comedy Now	M	14:30	33
19	Comedy Now	F	16:00	33
20	This Hour/22 Minutes	MTWTF	14:30	30
21	Air Farce	MTWTF	15:00	30
22	Comedy Now	M	16:00	29
23	Comedy Now	F	17:30	28
24	The Red Green Show	MTWTF	19:00	27
25	Hiccups	F	19:00	26
26	The Red Green Show	MTWTF	17:00	25
27	Reno 911	MTWTF	16:30	25
28	Dan For Mayor	F	15:30	25

Figure 1.3 MuchMusic

Ranking	Program	Weekday	Start Time	AMA (000)
1	Vampire Diaries	F		
2	Jackass	MTWTF		
3	Viva La Bam	MTWTF		
4	Degrassi	MTWTF		
5	Gossip Girl	MTWTF		
6	Secret Life/American	MTWTF		
7	Video on Trial	MTTF		
8	New Music Videos	MTWTF		
9	Punk'D	MWF		
10	New Music Live	MTWTF		
11	Video on Trial	MTWTF		
12	Born to Be	MTWF		
13	Punk'D	MTWTF		
14	When I was 17	MF		
15	Randy Jackson Presents	MTWTF		
16	Video on Trial	MTWTF		
17	Video on Trial	TWT		
18	#Trending	F		
19	Pants off, Dance off	MTWTF		
20	When I was 17	TWT		

Figure 1.4 MTV Canada

Ranking	Program	Weekday	Start Time	AMA (000)
1	Jersey Shore S2B	F	16:00	90
2	Teen Mom 2	W	16:00	51
3	MTV Live	MTWT	18:00	47
4	My Super Sweet 16	MTWTF	15:30	39
5	Jersey Shore Marathon	MTWTF	15:00	38
6	Is She Really w/Him?	MTWTF	17:00	37
7	Parental Control	MTWTF	17:30	36
8	Pranked	MTWT	16:00	32
9	Jersey Shore S2B	M	16:00	30
10	My Super Sweet 16	MTWTF	17:00	29
11	My Super Sweet 16	MTWTF	15:00	29
12	MTV Live	F	18:00	28
13	Teen Cribs	MTWTF	16:30	24
14	Teen Cribs	MTWTF	14:30	16
15	Sex, News & Rock n' Roll	MTW	18:26	14
16	The Buried Life	MTWTF	18:26	14
17	Movie Night	TH	16:00	13
18	Movie Night	F	19:00	13
19	Rob Dyrdek/Fant/Fact	MTWTF	16:00	13
20	MTV Cribs	MTWTF	16:30	11
21	Made	MTWTF	14:30	11
22	The Buried Life	MTWTF	19:00	11
23	The Seven	MTWTF	19:00	10
24	The Seven	MTWTF	19:00	8
25	Peak Season	MTWTF	19:00	5

Figure 1.5-HGTV

Ranking	Program	Weekday	Start Time	AMA (000)
1	House Hunters	MTWTF	19:00	139
2	Income Property	F	14:30	88
3	For Rent	MTWTF	18:30	78
4	Disaster DIY	MTWTF	18:00	74
5	Holmes on Holmes	MTWTF	18:00	73
6	My First Sale	M	14:30	73
7	Bang for Your Buck	M	14:30	72
8	Selling New York	T	14:30	67
9	My First Place	TH	14:30	66
10	Designed to Sell	MTWTF	15:00	64
11	Bang for Your Buck	W	14:30	63
12	Buy Me	MTWTF	16:00	60
13	Colour Splash	MTWTF	15:30	59
14	Buy Me	MTWTF	17:30	57
15	The Property Shop	MTWTF	17:00	57
16	For Rent	MTWTF	16:30	56
17	Tough as Nails	TH	14:30	56
18	Real Estate Intervention	W	14:30	52
19	The Unsellables	MTWTF	16:30	49
20	Extreme Makeover	MTWTF	17:00	47
21	Big City Broker	MTWTF	16:00	47

Figure 1.6-Slice

Ranking	Program	Weekday	Start Time	AMA (000)
1	Rich Bride Poor Bride	MTWTF	18:00	33
2	Party Mamas	T	18:30	30
3	Til Debt Do us Part	TF	17:30	28
4	X Weighted	MTWTF	19:00	27
5	Millionaire Matchmakers	MT	17:00	26
6	Til Debt Do Us Part	TF	17:00	25
7	Til Debt Do Us Part	TF	16:30	23
8	Princess	T	16:00	23
9	I Do Let's Eat	W	18:00	22
10	Newlywed Nearly Dead	M	15:30	22
11	Rich Bride Poor Bride	W	15:00	22
12	Party Mamas	TW	18:00	20
13	I Do Let's Eat	W	15:30	20
14	Last 10lbs Boot Camp	THF	15:00	20
15	Outlaws in Laws	M	18:00	19
16	Til Debt Do Us Part	THF	18:30	18
17	Plastic Makes Perfect	M	15:30	18
18	Last 10lbs Boot Camp	TF	17:00	18
19	End of My Leash	TH	16:00	17
20	Plastic Makes Perfect	THF	18:30	17
21	Newlywed Nearly Dead	MWTH	15:00	16
22	Wedding SOS	TH	16:30	16
23	End of my Leash	MTWTF	18:00	16
24	Party Mamas	W	19:00	16
25	Outlaw In-Law	MWTH	16:00	16

26	Revamped	W	16:00	16
27	End of My Leash	MWTH	14:30	14
28	Newlywed Nearly Dead	T	17:30	14
29	End of My Leash	M	18:00	14
30	Last 10lbs. Boot Camp	M	15:30	14
31	Newlywed Nearly Dead	MTWTF	16:30	14
32	Newlywed Nearly Dead	MTH	15:00	13
33	X Weighted	MTH	17:30	13
34	Newlywed Nearly Dead	TH	17:30	13
35	Plastic Makes Perfect	TH	15:00	13
36	I Do Let's Eat	MTWTF	16:00	12
37	Party Mamas	THF	16:00	12
38	Last 10lbs Boot Camps	M	14:30	11
39	Wedding SOS	TH	17:00	11
40	Bulging Brides	W	16:30	11
41	Bulging Brides	W	17:30	10
42	Bulging Brides	T	17:00	10
43	Marriage Under Const.	TW	16:30	9
44	Marriage Under Const.	W	17:00	9
45	Love Incorporated	W	17:30	7

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