

Popular Factual Heritage Television and the Contemporary Heritage Industry

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—Michael Samuel

Abstract

The depiction of British identity and Britain's national past in film and television dramas has been widely analysed over the years. In the United Kingdom during the 1980s, at the height of what Robert Hewison refers to as a 'heritage industry',¹ a particular cycle of quality costume dramas emerged that depicted a traditional, idealised and nostalgic view of Britishness and a selective relationship with Britain's national past on screen. In the early-1990s, Andrew Higson conceived the term 'heritage film' as a way of describing these costume dramas. The years following the financial crisis of 2008 have coincided with the growth of a contemporary heritage industry. Once more, Britain's heritage has become a sought-after commodity. As with the previous cycle of British heritage films, recent dramas are capitalising on the current cultural moment of a contemporary heritage industry. Not only are they once more privileging the settings and iconography of pastoral middle to upper-middle class Englishness, but they are also revisiting certain periods in the national narrative synonymous with patriotism and nostalgia. While scholars have challenged and adapted the concept of the heritage film to the study of recent dramas, they have not fully considered popular factual and reality television in the process. I have identified in a cycle of popular factual and reality television programmes similar patterns of representation to earlier British heritage films. For the purpose of this thesis, I refer to this cycle of programmes as popular factual heritage television. This thesis is a study of popular factual heritage television that considers the nature of the cycle's relationship with the British heritage film and explores its evolving role within the wider contemporary heritage industry.

¹ Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen London Ltd., 1987).

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Notes

Ethical considerations

In certain parts of this thesis I reference social media activity (from Twitter in particular). Given that original tweets can be deleted by users, and that users are able to close their personal accounts at any given time, this thesis uses screenshots of tweets as evidence. In the case where the tweets belong to users who are not public figures, celebrities or businesses, I have purposely hidden their Twitter handles and names for ethical reasons.

Referencing style

Television programmes will be presented accordingly: *Title* (channel broadcast, date). However, the references for some television programmes can vary. If the programme has ended, the full date range will be included in brackets. For example, *Rick Stein's Taste of Shanghai* (BBC Two, 2016) or *Great Canal Journey India* (Channel 4, 2014-17). If the series is still being broadcast, then the start date will be followed by a hyphen. For example, *Gogglebox* (Channel 4, 2013-). If a programme has changed channels over the course of its broadcast, each channel and the dates in which it was broadcast on that channel will be included in the brackets, each separated using semicolons. For example, *The Great British Bake Off* (BBC Two, 2010-13; BBC One, 2013-16; Channel 4, 2016-). When referencing a specific episode of a television programme, I will use the episode title where appropriate and include its original broadcast date in brackets. For example, *Cunk on Britain* 'The Arse End of History' (broadcast 1 May 2018). Where there is no episode title, I will reference the season and episode in text followed by its broadcast date in brackets. For example, *The Last Leg* Season 14 Episode 1 (broadcast 26 January 2018). Lastly, in the case where there are several versions of a certain television programme (for instance a British version, an American version, and so on) the country will be included in the brackets along with the channel and date. For example, *The X Factor* (UK, ITV, 2004-).

PART ONE
THEORY AND CONTEXT

Introduction

In the early 1990s, Andrew Higson used the term ‘heritage film’ to describe a particular body of costume dramas made in the United Kingdom since the 1980s, which have since ‘become associated with a powerful undercurrent of nostalgia for the past’.² These include *Chariots of Fire* (Hugh Hudson, 1981), *A Passage to India* (David Lean, 1984), *A Room with a View* (James Ivory, 1986), *Maurice* (James Ivory, 1987), *Howards End* (James Ivory, 1992) and *The Remains of the Day* (James Ivory, 1993), to name but a few. British heritage films represent an ‘artful and spectacular projection of an elite conservative vision of the national past’,³ and ‘a characteristic way of “imagining the nation” as a “knowable, organic community” in British films of a typically “national style”.’⁴ British heritage films:

are set in the past, telling stories of manners and proprieties, but also the often transgressive romantic entanglements of the upper and upper middle-class English, in carefully detailed and visually splendid period reconstructions. The luxurious country-house settings, the picturesque rolling green landscapes of southern England, the pleasures of period costume, and the canonical literary reference points are among the more frequently noted attractions of such films.⁵

While heritage films can be recognised by a number of common stylistic or generic conventions, Belén Vidal suggests that the heritage film is better understood conceptually as ‘a “critically or theoretically constructed genre” rather than an industrial one’.⁶ The notion of the heritage film as a critical concept emerged from debates about ‘cinematic representations of the past’ that were ‘shaped by the polarised and combative cultural and political mood fostered in Britain by Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government of the 1980s’.⁷ Within this context, British heritage films were ‘often read as part of a national project of nostalgic remembrance celebrating British heritage culture just as the country was undergoing the seismic social shifts of the Thatcher years’.⁸ In the face of ‘the radical social changes associated with the 1960s and

² Belén Vidal, *Heritage Film: Nation, Genre and Representation* (London and New York: Wallflower, 2012), p. 1.

³ Andrew Higson, ‘The Heritage Film and British Cinema’, in *Dissolving Views: Key Views on British Cinema*, ed. by Andrew Higson (London: Cassell, 1996), pp. 232–48 (p. 233).

⁴ Valentina Vitali and Paul Willemsen, *Theorising National Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 2006), p. 10.

⁵ Andrew Higson, *English Heritage, English Cinema: Costume Drama Since 1980* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 1.

⁶ Vidal, *Heritage Film*, p. 2; Steve Neale, ‘Question of Genre’, *Screen*, 31.1 (1990), 45–66 (p. 52) <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/31.1.45>>. [Accessed 13 November 2018]

⁷ Claire Monk, *Heritage Film Audiences: Period Film Audiences and Contemporary Films in the UK* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), p. 2.

⁸ *Screening European Heritage: Creating and Consuming History on Film*, ed. by Paul Cooke and Rob Stone (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. xviii.

1970s', British heritage films can be seen as 'accentuat[ing] a golden, frequently early twentieth-century past, and evinc[ing] a profound nostalgia for a bygone imperial England.'⁹

The 'combative cultural and political mood' fostered during Thatcher's premiership (1979-1990) also influenced a cross-section of scholars and cultural commentators to examine the deployment of British heritage across wider popular and consumer culture. In the 1980s, critics identified a phenomenon in the United Kingdom whereby Britain's heritage—both its tangible heritage assets (stately homes, artefacts, costumes) and intangible practices (customs, languages)—was being exploited, and its history transformed 'into a series of commodities for the leisure and entertainment market'.¹⁰ Although he did not invent it, in 1987 Robert Hewison used the term 'heritage industry' to describe this cultural phenomenon.¹¹ Hewison's reason for using the term heritage industry to describe Britain's heritage-centric culture in the 1980s rested not only with the fact that the so-called heritage industry 'absorb[ed] considerable public and private resources, but also because it [was] expected more and more to replace the real industry upon which this country's economy depend[ed]'.¹² The product of the heritage industry is heritage itself. As Hewison writes,

Instead of manufacturing goods, we are manufacturing heritage, a commodity which nobody seems able to define, but which everybody is eager to sell, in particular those cultural institutions that can no longer rely on government funds as they did in the past.¹³

Unlike history, heritage 'is not an inquiry into the past, but a celebration of it [...] a profession of faith in a past tailored to present-day purposes.'¹⁴ Heritage is understood as the features, traditions and customs that belong to a society that were made in the past but which still have significance in the present. However, as its definition in the *Oxford English Dictionary* highlights, the word heritage is as broadly understood as it is widely applied—the reason why

⁹ Peter Childs, 'Cultural Heritage/Heritage Culture: Adapting the Contemporary British Historical Novel', in *Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation: Literature, Film and the Arts*, ed. by Niklas Pascal and Oliver Lindner (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 89–101 (p. 9).

¹⁰ Andrew Higson, 'Re-Presenting the National Past: Nostalgia and Pastiche in the Heritage Film', in *Fires Were Started: British Cinema and Thatcherism*, ed. by Lester D. Friedman (London: University College London Press, 1993), pp. 109–29 (p. 112).

¹¹ Hewison points out in his keynote lecture 'The Heritage Industry Revisited', delivered at the University of Brighton in 2015, that the term 'heritage industry' was first used by Colin Ward in his review of Wright's *On Living in an Old Country* (1985), published in the *Times Educational Supplement* the same year.

¹² Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen London Ltd., 1987), p. 9.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ David Lowenthal, 'Fabricating Heritage', *History & Memory*, 10.1 (1998), 5–24 (p. x).

Raphael Samuel aptly describes heritage as ‘a nomadic term’.¹⁵ Heritage signifies inheritance and conservation, and it is a label that is applied to that which is both tangible and intangible. As Rodney Harrison explains, heritage is ‘used to describe anything from the solid – such as buildings, monuments and memorials, to the ethereal – songs, festivals and languages.’¹⁶ As well as understanding heritage as a term to distinguish physical objects and to highlight traditions from the past and characteristics belonging to a society (such as language), heritage critics have also been keen to conceptualise heritage. The conceptualisation of heritage depends on exploring how heritage is formed by extracting history from the past—usually by interested parties such as museum directors, the tourism sector, filmmakers, politicians and charities—and inserting it into the present, where it can be manipulated and mobilised to influence a particular kind of relationship with the public in the present-day. In his influential book *On Living in an Old Country*, which had a profound influence on Hewison when writing *The Heritage Industry*,¹⁷ Patrick Wright describes this process:

National heritage involves the extraction of history – of the idea of historical significance and potential – from a denigrated everyday life and its restaging or display in certain sanctioned sites, events, images and conceptions. In this process history is redefined as ‘the historical’, and it becomes the object of a similarly transformed and generalised public attention [...] Abstracted and redeployed, history seems to be purged of political tension; it becomes a unifying spectacle, the settling of all disputes. Like the guided tour as it proceeds from site to sanctioned site, the national past occurs in a dimension of its own – a dimension in which we appear to remember only in order to forget.¹⁸

The concept of heritage, according to Harrison, ‘not only encompasses a nation’s relationship to history and history-making, but also refers increasingly to the ways in which a broad range of other constituencies are involved in the production of the past in the present.’¹⁹ The heritage industry ‘re-establish[es] the past as a property or possession’ that “‘belongs” to the present, or, to be more precise, to certain interests or concerns active in the present.’²⁰ As such, heritage is ‘a shared cultural memory prone to be abused for nationalist or ethnocentrist purposes unless rendered decentered [...] heritage activities revisit the past because memory

¹⁵ Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London & New York: Verso, 2012), p. 205.

¹⁶ Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 5.

¹⁷ Robert Hewison, ‘The Heritage Industry Revisited’ (presented at the Heritage in the 21st Century, University of Brighton: Unpublished, 2015).

¹⁸ Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 65.

¹⁹ Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 5.

²⁰ Eckart Voigts-Virchow, ‘Heritage and Literature on Screen: Heimat and Heritage’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, ed. by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 123–37 (pp. 123–24).

generates an imaginary identity.’²¹ The commodification of British heritage and its subsequent consumption turns the past into ‘spectacle, while at the same time creating simulacra of a past that never was.’²²

Since its original conception, the notion of the heritage film has been challenged and adapted. It has been extended beyond the study of British films in the 1980s, incorporating films of the 1990s (including *Sense & Sensibility* [Ang Lee, 1995], *Emma* [Douglas McGrath, ITV, 1996], *Shakespeare in Love* [John Madden, 1998]) and films produced since the 2000s (including *Pride & Prejudice* [Joe Wright, 2005] and *The King’s Speech* [Tom Hooper, 2010]). Furthermore, the concept of the heritage film has travelled beyond the scope of British cinema, where it has been applied to British-European co-productions,²³ European national cinemas,²⁴ and a range of other national cinemas (including Australian, New Zealand, North American and South Korean, among others). As well as being applied to the study of film, the concept of the heritage film has also been used in relation to television costume dramas, from early examples such as *Upstairs, Downstairs* (ITV, 1971-5; BBC One, 2010-12) and *Pride and Prejudice* (BBC One, 1995), to more recent ones, including *Downton Abbey* (ITV, 2010-2015), *Call the Midwife* (BBC One, 2012 –), *Victoria* (ITV, 2016-) and *The Crown* (Netflix, 2016 –).²⁵ But, while scholars have challenged and adapted the concept of the heritage film over the years and applied it to recent British and various other national cinemas and contemporary television costume dramas, I would argue that they have neglected to fully consider non-fiction television in the process. Of course, there are some exceptions. Amy Holdsworth, for example, includes *Who Do You Think You Are?* (UK, BBC Two, 2004-6; BBC One, 2006–) in her chapter exploring family history and memory on British

²¹ Ibid, pp. 123–24.

²² Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Vol 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1996), p. 242.

²³ See Vidal, *Heritage Film*, in which she studies *Girl with a Pearl Earring* (Peter Webber, 2003), *Joyeux Noël* (Christian Carion, 2005) and *The Queen* (Stephen Frears, 2006).

²⁴ See Cooke and Stone; Rob Stone and María Pilar Rodríguez, *Basque Cinema: A Cultural and Political History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015); Rosalind Galt, *The New European Cinema: Redrawing the Map* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Thomas Elsaesser, *European Cinema: Face to Face with Hollywood* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005).

²⁵ See Victoria Byard, “Downton Abbey: Reinventing the British Costume Drama”, in *British Television Drama: Past, Present and Future*, ed. by Jonathan Bignell and Stephen Lacey (New York: Palgrave, 2014); Sarah Cardwell, ‘Adaptation Revisited: Television and the Classic Novel’ (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Iris Kleinecke-Bates, *Victorians on Screen: The Nineteenth Century on British Television, 1994- 2005* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); James Leggott and Julie Anne Taddeo, *Upstairs and Downstairs: British Costume Drama Television from the Forsythe Saga to Downton Abbey* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Roman and Littlefield, 2014); Scott F Stoddart, *Exploring Downton Abbey: Critical Essays* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2018).

television.²⁶ The use of re-enactment in reality television features in Ann Gray and Erin Bell and Jerome De Groot in relation to ideas about empathy and affect.²⁷ Horticulture becomes a means by which Iris Kleinecke-Bates investigates representations of the Victorian era on screen in response to television series *The Victorian Kitchen Garden* (BBC Two, 1987).²⁸ And the British Monarchy's role in national identity formation underscores certain references to non-fiction television broadcasts of the British Royal Family in Mandy Merck's edited collection *The British Monarchy on Screen*.²⁹ This thesis however exclusively analyses the relationship between a selection of British non-fiction television series and British heritage films, and places them within the wider cultural context of the contemporary heritage industry.

In the introduction to *Film England*, Higson writes that 'Cinema is one of the means by which national communities are maintained.'³⁰ Through the creation of 'particular types of stories that narrate the nation imaginatively,' films are able to remind people 'of their ties with each other and with their nation's history and traditions [...] generating a sense of national belonging among their audiences.'³¹ In *History on Television*, Gray and Bell echo Higson's view of the capacity of film to maintain communities, but instead apply the idea to television. Gray and Bell write that the 'primary role of public service broadcasting is to "speak to the nation" [...] to address a community is to construct that community'.³² In their exploration, Gray and Bell invoke the notion of the 'imagined community', which was conceived by Benedict Anderson to address the 'notoriously difficult to define' ideas of 'nation, nationality and nationalism'.³³ The notion was used by Anderson to analyse 'the construction of national

²⁶ Amy Holdsworth, 'Who Do You Think You Are?: Family History and Memory on British Television', in *Televising History: Mediating the Past in Postwar Europe*, ed. by Erin Bell and Ann Gray (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 234–48.

²⁷ See Ann Gray and Erin Bell, *History on Television* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013); Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009); Jerome de Groot, "'I Feel Completely Beautiful for the First Time in My Life": Bodily Re-Enactment and Reality Documentary', in *Televising History: Mediating the Past in Postwar Europe*, ed. by Erin Bell and Ann Gray (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 193–207; Jerome de Groot, 'Affect and Empathy: Re-Enactment and Performance as/in History', *Rethinking History*, 15.4 (2011), 587–99 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13642529.2011.603926>>.

²⁸ Iris Kleinecke-Bates, 'Heritage, History, and Gardening: The Victorian Kitchen Garden (BBC/Sveriges Television 2, 1987) and the Representation of the Victorian Age as Cultural Homeland', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 10.1 (2009), 71–85.

²⁹ Mandy Merck, *The British Monarchy on Screen* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

³⁰ Andrew Higson, *Film England: Culturally English Filmmaking Since the 1990s* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), p. 1.

³¹ Higson, *Film England*, p. 1.

³² Gray and Bell, *History on Television*, pp. 64–65.

³³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London & New York: Verso, 2006), p. 3.

identity through symbols, narratives, literature and communication’,³⁴ and through stories that enforce nationhood, manifesting what Higson suggests as being an ‘undisputed national past’.³⁵ From the broadcast of Queen Elizabeth II’s Coronation in 1953, Gray and Bell consider British television audiences as forming a wider ‘imaginary collective of citizens sharing the cycles and rhythms of the national calendar’.³⁶ For Gray and Bell, their interest is the role that historical programming, specifically, has played in the manufacturing of ‘the nation and national identity’, helping ‘to develop a master narrative’.³⁷

In 2008, the global financial system suffered ‘an unprecedented crisis’ as ‘[t]he US’s largest investment bank, Lehman Brothers, collapsed.’³⁸ The collapse of the Lehman Brothers on 15 September 2008 sparked a chain reaction that impacted stock markets the world over, ‘unleash[ing] the worst global downturn since the Great Depression of 1929.’³⁹ In the United Kingdom, the major banks ‘RBS, Lloyds Bank and HBOS had to be rescued with taxpayers’ money.’⁴⁰ The result has since been an extended period of austerity in the United Kingdom, with harsh budgeting measures (aimed at dramatically reducing public spending) formerly put in to action in Chancellor George Osborne’s 2010 budget under the Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government (2010-15). The period of austerity that the United Kingdom has faced since the 2008 financial crisis coincides with the growth of a contemporary heritage industry. Since the 2008 financial crisis, and in light of the Scottish move toward independence and Britain’s vote to leave the European Union (Brexit), there has once more been a fixation on, and nostalgia for, the idealised British past and a traditional view of British identity especially in popular consumer culture. Within the contemporary heritage industry that has emerged in the wake of the financial crisis, representations of British identity and Britain’s imperial national past have once more returned in film and television, particularly in dramas. Films and television dramas regularly revisit specific historical periods and famous figures taken from the national ‘master narrative’. These include depictions of the lifestyles of the Edwardian and Victorian

³⁴ Ib Bondebjerg, ‘The Politics and Sociology of Screen the Past: A National and Transnational Perspective’, in *Screening European Heritage: Creating and Consuming History on Film*, ed. by Paul Cooke and Rob Stone (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 3–24 (p. 8).

³⁵ Andrew Higson, *Waving the Flag: Constructing a National Cinema in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 7.

³⁶ Gray and Bell, *History on Television*, pp. 64–65.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Simon Jack, ‘The Story of the Downturn’, 25 April 2013, section Business <<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-22283940>> [accessed 22 November 2018].

³⁹ Robert Skidelsky, ‘Ten Years on from the Crash, We Need to Get Ready for Another One | Robert Skidelsky’, *The Guardian*, 12 September 2018, section Opinion <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/sep/12/crash-2008-financial-crisis-austerity-inequality>> [accessed 22 November 2018].

⁴⁰ Jack, *The Story of the Downturn*, 2013.

aristocracy (*Downton Abbey*, *Howards End* [BBC One, 2017-18]); explorations of figures belonging to the British Monarchy (*The Young Victoria* [Jean-Marc Vallée, 2009], *The King's Speech*, *A Royal Night Out* [Julian Jarrold, 2015], *Victoria*, *The Crown*); the British Empire (*Victoria & Abdul* [Stephen Frears, 2017], *Viceroy's House* [Gurinder Chadha, 2017]); and defining moments from the First and Second World Wars, respectively (*War Horse* [Steven Spielberg, 2011], *Testament of Youth* [James Kent, 2014], *Their Finest* [Lone Scherfig, 2016], *Darkest Hour* [Joe Wright, 2017], *Dunkirk* [Christopher Nolan, 2017]). However, what distinguishes this contemporary heritage industry is that while heritage films and television costume dramas continue to be produced and remain popular, the same iconography and narratives also dominate other television genres, most notably popular factual and reality television. Popular factual and reality television, according to Annette Hill et al.,

includes a broad understanding of non-fictional programming on broadcast television, satellite, cable and digital television. The breakdown of factual and reality programming into specific genres includes news, current affairs, documentary, and reality programmes, with further sub genres applied within each of these categories.⁴¹

As genres, factual and reality television have grown exponentially in popularity since the late-2000s in terms of production (the number of series made) and reception. This thesis identifies that in a certain body of popular factual and reality television series the iconography, *mise-en-scène*, cinematography and narratives of the British heritage film have become a key trope. It should be acknowledged at this point that the use of shared visual aesthetics and narratives between popular factual and reality television and the British heritage film is not entirely new. One might, for example, register the visual presentation of Britain's historical objects in the long-running series *Antiques Roadshow* (UK, BBC One, 1979-), in which the focus is the personal historical artefacts brought to locations of historical significance to the places featured in the episode by members of the British public. Likewise, cultural traditions are often explored in the historical segments of programmes such as *Escape to the Country* (BBC One, 2002-).⁴² Though *Escape to the Country* is a property search programme in which presenters help members of the public find a home in the English and Welsh countrysides, each episode dedicates time to exploring local customs and traditions that make that specific place unique.

⁴¹ Annette Hill, Lennart Weibull, and Åsa Nilsson, 'Public and Popular: British and Swedish Audience Trends in Factual and Reality Television', *Cultural Trends*, 16.1 (2007), 17–41 (p. 17).

⁴² The historical segment refers to a portion of an episode of a popular factual television series that is dedicated to the study of the history of an object, a custom, a place, etc. For example, in an episode of *Grand Designs* (Channel 4, 1999–) it is not unusual for presenter Kevin McCloud to explore the history of a town where a home is being built, or the production of a specific material that a building is using, rotting it in the cultural landscape (for example, traditional steel made in Sheffield).

Typically, these are linked to industry and therefore we often see presenters learn a skill or a method of producing an object in line with tradition or engage with the historical environment.⁴³ Lastly, historical buildings are sometimes the focus of interest in series in which presenters visit British historical sites and study their history, usually with the intent of being inspired by them or restoring them to their former glory. This is particularly true in restoration programmes, including *Restoration* (BBC Two, 2003-9), *Restoration Man* (Channel 4, 2010-) and *Guy Martin's Spitfire* (Channel 4, 2014). Since the late-2000s, however, I have identified the emergence of a particular body of popular factual and reality television programmes in which there is a strong—and I would argue conscious—relationship with the British heritage film. This relationship is reflected in the conscious use of a particular set of audio-visual characteristics and narratives. But I would also argue that this cycle of popular factual and reality television programmes are also aware of their wider cultural influence and play to this. For the purpose of this thesis, I refer to this particular cycle of popular factual and reality television programmes as ‘popular factual heritage television’. Popular factual heritage television is intended as a sub-classification of the popular factual and reality television genres in which the British past is explored, and the iconography and nostalgic narratives and rhetoric associated with the British heritage film are purposely recycled.

This thesis—and the study of the proposed popular factual and reality television programmes—is symbolic of a shift in the study of representations of heritage in visual media. The study of heritage has broadly been considered in relation to films and television dramas that are regarded as culturally respectable, highbrow entertainment, commonly rooted in history or literature.⁴⁴ Heritage films, for instance, are considered by Higson as ‘operat[ing] at very much the culturally respectable, quality end of the market and are key players in the new British art cinema, which straddles the traditional art house circuit and the mainstream commercial

⁴³ For example, in Season 19 Episode 8 (broadcast 30 October 2018), between showing a couple around houses in the Peak District, in the historical segment presenter Jules Hudson travels to Edale to meet and learn from a professional wooden spoon carver who is keeping a traditional woodcarving technique alive.

⁴⁴ In the introduction to their book *When Highbrow Meets Lowbrow*, Peter Swirski and Tero Eljas Vanhanen refer to Van Wyck Brook's 1915 essay ‘Highbrow and Lowbrow’ in order to define the terminology of what constitutes high and lowbrow in culture. Swirski and Vanhanen write, ‘The terminology [highbrow and lowbrow] struck a deep chord with cultural consumers and commentators, one that still resonates in our global, digital, and culturally turbocharged world [...] Highbrow culture, consumed by library dust-covered academics and other refined tastemakers, reifies the classics. Lowbrow thrives on cheap thrills aimed at the lowest common denominator.’ Peter Swirski and Tero Eljas Vanhanen, ‘Introduction – Browbeaten into Pulp’, in *Highbrow Meets Lowbrow: Popular Culture and the Rise of Nobrow*, ed. by Peter Swirski and Tero Eljas Vanhanen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 1-11 (p. 3)

cinemas in Britain.⁴⁵ This thesis, however, moves away from the study of depictions of British heritage in highbrow dramas, and instead focusses explicitly on its depiction in television genres that are generally omitted from the heritage film debates, as they are often regarded as ‘time wasting, low grade, rubbish’.⁴⁶ The positioning of British heritage in popular factual and reality television is significant for popular factual and reality television have been the most-popular genres on British television since 2008—corresponding with the growth of the contemporary heritage industry⁴⁷— and the programmes belonging to genres are accessible in their depiction of the quotidian. They largely represent ordinary people and everyday life via robustly formulaic structures that most can access (unlike some costume dramas and literary adaptations, which require specialist interests, a taste for costume dramas and period detail in the first instance, and a patient pace). But what does this mean for popular factual heritage television? Popular factual heritage television’s generic make-up reflects on the kinds of series that get produced, how they look, the rules or formulas they follow, and accounts for their reach and popularity. What popular factual heritage television programmes then add is British heritage; they replace the everyday subject with historical or cultural signifiers that are seen as having some importance today. Alternatively, they integrate British heritage within the existing everyday subjects, which range from gardening, arts and craft, a performance in a singing competition, the recipe in cooking contest or a point of interest in a television travelogue. This allows for Britain’s history and heritage to be embedded in the contemporary everyday worlds of everyday people. Moreover, due to their wide reach and formulaic content, popular factual and reality television programmes, I suggest, make heritage more accessible by prescribing a means by which audiences can quite easily engage with it. For example, in the case where presenters follow a traditional methodology for making bread, or curate a travel itinerary of certain historical sites based on the accounts of an Edwardian grand tourist, this, I would argue, invites and enables viewers to follow them, thus interacting with heritage (even if by way of the perspectives and experiences of certain television presenters (this is an idea that is explored in Chapter Three). I believe that it is possible that the placement of British heritage in the contemporary everyday

⁴⁵ Andrew Higson, ‘Re-Presenting the National Past’, in *Film Genre Reader IV*, ed. by Barry Keith Grant, Fourth Edition (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013), pp. 602–28 (p. 605).

⁴⁶ Annette Hill, ‘Reality TV’, in *The Television Genre Book*, ed. by Glenn Creeber, Third Edition (London: British Film Institute and Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 3.

⁴⁷ According to the 2017 British Audience Research Board’s (BARB) 2017 Annual Viewing Report, popular factual entertainment and reality television is the most-watched category since 2008 is factual television. Between 2008 and 2016, factual television subcategories – including entertainment, documentaries, hobbies/leisure, religious, arts, and education but excluding sport – achieved a combined audience share of 38.9% of British television audiences. Furthermore, in that same year, *The Great British Bake Off* (then in its seventh season) was the ‘most popular programme’ on British television, with the season’s second episode attracting 13.5 million viewers alone (this figure reflects the combined live and catch up viewings on BBC iPlayer).

worlds occupied by the ordinary people in popular factual and reality television programmes removes—or at least closes—the distance between the past and present that exists in the likes of British heritage films, and this, I propose, allows for the possibility of heritage—as a subject—to potentially reach a wider audience and finding new meanings and value today.

Through its proposal of a new television heritage category—popular factual heritage television—, this thesis is an examination of the various ways in which British heritage is represented in popular factual and reality television. Over four chapters, I analyse the relationship between select popular factual and reality television programmes and British heritage films and television costume dramas, while also considering the position and role of popular factual heritage television in the wider contemporary heritage industry. This thesis explores the question, what is the relationship between popular factual heritage television and the contemporary heritage industry, and how does it compare with the relationship between earlier heritage films and heritage industry of the 1980s? How might popular factual heritage television help shape understandings of heritage, by inviting presenters, contestants and audiences to interact with it? And, in what ways has popular factual heritage television and its role within the wider contemporary heritage industry evolved?

Chapter breakdown

This thesis is divided into three parts: ‘theory and context’, ‘visual conventions, presentation styles and narratives’ and ‘new heritage texts’. Part One of the thesis provides an in depth analysis of the cultural context from which popular factual heritage television emerged. Furthermore, it establishes the specific methodology that this thesis will adopt in order to conceptualise popular factual heritage television. In order to explore popular factual heritage television as a potential genre—specifically a genre that is both rooted in and reflects the contemporary heritage industry in the United Kingdom—this chapter adopts Jason Mittell’s discursive approach to the conceptualisation of television genres.⁴⁸ Through the discursive approach, Mittell moves away from grouping a body of television programmes together as a genre according to sets of shared generic attributes and more in the direction of thinking about genres as ‘cultural categories’.⁴⁹ This chapter provides the foundations for the subsequent chapters, which will analyse the aesthetic and narrative relationship between popular factual

⁴⁸ Jason Mittell, ‘A Cultural Approach to Television Genre Theory’, *Cinema Journal*, 40.3 (2001), 3–24.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

heritage television programmes and the British heritage film, and explore how popular factual heritage television operates in the contemporary heritage industry.

Part Two contains two chapters that identify and analyse the aesthetics and narratives associated with popular factual heritage television, and seeks to understand the form's relationship with British heritage films and the contemporary heritage industry. The focus of Chapter Two—is *The Great British Bake Off* (BBC, 2010-2016; Channel 4, 2017 –). This chapter uses *The Great British Bake Off* as a way of establishing the visual characteristics of popular factual heritage television. Building upon Mittell's discursive approach to the conceptualisation of television genres, which considers genres as cultural categories, this chapter positions *The Great British Bake Off* not only alongside other British heritage films and television costume dramas, but places it within the wider cultural backdrop of a contemporary heritage industry. Specifically, this chapter analyses how the aesthetics of *The Great British Bake Off* are a product of the contemporary heritage industry, reflecting the socio-political backdrop of the contemporary age of austerity and popular culture's fascination with it, as much as they are influenced by earlier British heritage films. This chapter therefore traces the visual aesthetics of *The Great British Bake Off* back to earlier heritage films, before examining how the cooking competition's audio-visual character has influenced other television series, inspired a culture, and has been recycled by the heritage industry in the branding for the nation-wide event, *The Great Get Together*. This chapter asks, what does *The Great British Bake Off* reveal about the nature of the relationship between popular factual heritage television and the British heritage film, aesthetically? And how does factual heritage television, and *The Great British Bake Off* in particular, both reflect and shape the contemporary heritage industry?

Just as the focus of Chapter Two was the aesthetics and visual iconography of popular factual heritage television, in Chapter Three the focus is narrative and presentation. Britain's national 'master narrative' is shaped by several smaller narratives that are frequently deployed in the heritage genre.⁵⁰ The 'master narrative' is regarded as having the capacity to manufacture a sense of connectedness through the evocation of nostalgia for and the creation of memories of the objects, lifestyles and narratives of bygone eras that reinforce unity and a sense of identity and belonging. In this process of national identity formation, Chapter Three proposes that television programmes and television presenters play a key role. The primary aim of this Chapter Three is to explore the ways in which certain popular factual heritage television programmes are both constructed around, and deconstruct, British heritage narratives. As well

⁵⁰ Ann Gray and Erin Bell. 'Conclusion: Broader Themes and Televisualizaton'. In Ann Gray and Erin Bell. Eds. *Television History: Mediating the Past in Postwar Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 248-256. P. 251.

as considering how the past is presented visually and aurally, it also takes into account how presenters facilitate viewers' relationship with the past, exploring how presenters are able to emphasise nostalgia for the past, while equally problematising our relationship with it.

This chapter asks; to what degree does popular factual heritage television recycle the narratives associated with the British heritage film, and in what ways do the narratives of popular factual heritage television—which are mediated through a presenter—inform contemporary understandings of heritage, challenging its definition and influencing how audiences are able to understand, interact with, and perhaps value it today?

Whereas Parts One and Two focus on the conceptualisation of popular factual heritage television, concentrating on their aesthetic and narrative relationship with earlier British heritage films, the focus of Part Three is what I claim to be an emergent body of popular factual heritage television series that challenge the form. As genres evolve, they become less conventional and more self-referential and self-reflexive. Starting with this foundation, Chapter Four considers the evolution of popular factual heritage television as a form, identifying and analysing an emergent body of popular factual heritage television series that explicitly and self-consciously draw reference to their own form as a heritage category and construct. As a result of its self-awareness, this cycle of self-referential and self-reflexive popular factual heritage television programmes manipulate their own form, challenging their boundaries and established generic conventions in interesting and experimental ways. I argue that such experimentation while good in terms of expanding a genre, could potentially be disrupting to the dynamic of the relationship between popular factual heritage television and the contemporary heritage industry. Chapter Four will show how *The Great British Bake Off: Extra Slice* (BBC Two, 2014-16; Channel 4, 2017-) not only recycle some of the aesthetics and revisit the same narratives of earlier British heritage films, but independently influenced wider participation in the form of an online community and even sparked criticism. The second study will show how mockumentary *Cunk on Britain* (BBC Two, 2018) covers the same narratives as British heritage films and popular factual heritage television, however, through the satirical script and presenter personality, manipulates how British history and heritage are communicated. The final analysis considers how reality television series *Gogglebox* (Channel 4, 2013-) is representative of a new heritage text. While on the surface it appears to reject much of the iconographies and narratives associated with the British heritage film, I argue that it actually just repackages the heritage film's conventions and nostalgia in a new way, but for the same impact. Moreover, it analyses how *Gogglebox* is reused by the heritage industry to resell British heritage to a wide audience. This final chapter asks, since their emergence in the late-2000s, how have popular factual heritage

television programmes, discussions about them, and their place within the contemporary heritage industry evolved? When considering the degree of self-reflexivity and self-referentiality in this specific cycle of television series, do they empower audiences by ‘call[ing] attention to their status as textual constructs’,⁵¹ in this case heritage texts, or is it the case that the use of that same transparent perspective in these series obscure their identity as heritage constructs?

⁵¹ Brooke E Duffy, Tara Liss-Mariño, and Katherine Sender, ‘Reflexivity in Television Depictions of Media Industries: Peeking Behind the Gilt Curtain’, *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 2011, 296–313 (p. 298) <<https://doi.org/doi:10.1111/j.1753-9137.2011.01103.x>>.

Chapter One – Popular factual heritage television: a discursive approach

In *A Cultural Approach to Television Genre Theory*, Jason Mittell proposes an alternative methodology for conceptualising television genres that breaks from the traditional approach. The traditional approach to conceptualising television genres is to ‘employ film and literary theories, often (though not always) with brief disclaimers in which [scholars] note the flaws inherent in these paradigms, while adding the now-ubiquitous phrase “more work in this area is needed.”’⁵² For Mittell, television genres are ‘cultural categories that surpass the boundaries of media texts and operate within industry, audience, and cultural practice’,⁵³ as much as they are defined by ‘the intertextual relations between multiple texts, resulting in a common category.’⁵⁴ For television genres to be understood as ‘cultural categories’, it is vital to consider the period in which particular television programmes are produced, their relationship with other television one-another, and how they are received by audiences. Mittell therefore recommends that we adopt a discursive approach to the conceptualisation of television genres, which provides ‘a way to deal with genre as a concept without always returning to textual examples’.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the discursive approach allows for genres to be historicised by ‘foster[ing] examination of the array of genres in circulation at any one time’,⁵⁶ thus enabling us to ‘better account for the cultural operations of television genre than traditional approaches’.⁵⁷ As Misha Kavka points out, when adopting such a methodological approach to the conceptualisation of television genre—one that views genres as ‘operat[ing] in an ongoing historical process of category formation’⁵⁸—‘the focus shifts from generic attributes to history.’⁵⁹ In relation to this, Mittell writes,

To understand how genre categories become culturally salient, we can examine genres as discursive practices. By regarding genre as a property and function of discourse, we

⁵² Mittell, ‘A Cultural Approach to Television Genre Theory’, p. 4.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 3.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 6.

⁵⁵ Jonathan Nichols-Pethick, *TV Cops: The Contemporary American Television Police Drama* (London & New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 9–10.

⁵⁶ Su Holmes, “‘A Term Rather Too General to Be Helpful’: Struggling with Genre in Reality TV’, in *The Shifting Definitions of Genre: Essays on Labeling Films, Television Shows and Media* (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008), pp. 159–81 (p. 163).

⁵⁷ Mittell, ‘A Cultural Approach to Television Genre Theory’, p. 4.

⁵⁸ Jason Mittell, *Genre and Television: From Cop Shows to Cartoons in American Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), p. xiv.

⁵⁹ Misha Kavka, *Reality TV* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 8.

can examine the ways in which various forms of communication work to constitute generic definitions, meanings, and values within particular historical contexts.⁶⁰

When applied to recent television programmes, Mittell's approach allows for the likes of *Downton Abbey*—a drama about the lives of the aristocratic Crawley family in the early twentieth century—to be categorised by audiences through the process of associating the drama with other texts. In order to get a sense of the wider genre to which *Downton Abbey* belongs, one might, for example, situate the programme alongside a television costume drama such as *Upstairs, Downstairs*, a film such as *Howards End*, or a novel such as Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*. In doing so, one might conclude that *Downton Abbey* belongs to the long line of British costume dramas on British television. However, if we are to consider *Downton Abbey* 'as a property and function of discourse', through the discursive approach we might also come to recognise and therefore define *Downton Abbey* as a heritage text, including it in the wider discourse about representations of the British past on screen and regard it as a product of the wider contemporary heritage industry. In contrast to the case of *Downton Abbey*, Mittell's methodology is also helpful when categorising series that are more generically complicated. Take *Stranger Things* (Netflix, 2016–), for example, in which 'when a young boy disappears, his mother, a police chief, and his friends must confront terrifying forces in order to get him back'.⁶¹ *Stranger Things* is a generic hybrid formed from the science fiction, horror and young adult adventure genres. However, it could equally be defined as a 'contemporary nostalgic film', which, Barry Keith Grant explains, 'cannot simply duplicate the past experience, but must make us aware in some fashion of the relationship between the past and present.'⁶² Creators Matt and Ross Duffer speak of the programme's nostalgic impulse in an interview with Rebecca Nicholson of *The Guardian*, where they are quoted as saying; 'One of the big draws of the series is, of course, its knack for channelling a certain kind of nostalgia – all BMX bikes, skinny T-shirts and 80s board games'.⁶³ To understand *Stranger Things* is to consider its place in contemporary popular culture. Specifically, *Stranger Things* is part of a trend since the late-2000s of reviving the aesthetics of

⁶⁰ Mittell, *Genre and Television: From Cop Shows to Cartoons in American Culture*, p. 12.

⁶¹ Description of *Stranger Things* taken from its featured synopsis on the Internet Movie Database (IMDB). <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt4574334/>

⁶² *Film Genre Reader IV*, ed. by Barry Keith Grant, Fourth Edition (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013), p. 289.

⁶³ Rebecca Nicholson, 'The Duffer Brothers: Could We Do What Spielberg Did in the 80s and Elevate It like He Did?', *The Guardian*, 14 October 2017 <<https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/ng-interactive/2017/oct/14/duffer-brothers-spielberg-80s-stranger-things>> [accessed 5 October 2018].

the late-1970s and 1980s in popular culture, particularly in film, television and fashion.⁶⁴ In film, this nostalgic revival is reflected in the continuation or rebooting of certain franchises such as *Ghostbusters* (Paul Feig, 2016), *It* (Andy Muschietti, 2017 and 2019) and *Halloween* (David Gordon Green, 2018); the use of electronic music scores, as we have heard in *Drive* (Nicolas Winding Refn, 2011), *The Guest* (Adam Wingard, 2014) and *It Follows* (David Robert Mitchell, 2014); and the recreation of the respective eras of the 1970s and 1980s in period detail. *Stranger Things* is set in the 1980s – an era that is being repeatedly revisited in contemporary American television (*Glow* [Netflix, 2017–], *Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp* (Netflix, 2015), *Red Oaks* [Amazon Studios, 2014-17], *Halt and Catch Fire* [AMC, 2014-17] and *The Americans* [FX, 2013-18]). Like other programmes that revisit the 1980s, *Stranger Things* evokes a sense of period through its aural and visual references to the films of that period, with a score reminiscent of a John Carpenter film, a soundtrack featuring popular music of the time, and the recreation of the visual and narrative conventions synonymous with early Steven Spielberg films and Stephen King adaptations.⁶⁵ Like *Super 8* (J. J. Abrams, 2011) before it—a film that succeeds in evoking a sense of a Spielberg film in the early-2010s—, *Stranger Things* is understood in relation to the films and the popular culture of the 1980s, despite being produced in the 2010s. In conversation with the Duffer brothers, Nicholson speaks of *Stranger Things*' influences and elaborate on the dynamic relationship they (the creators) intended to manufacture between viewers and the text: 'one of the great pleasures of watching [*Stranger Things*] is trying to spot the references, from *The Goonies* to *Poltergeist* to *Stand By Me*. When Matt and Ross [Duffer] pitched the show to Netflix, they made a kind of "lookbook" filled with the films they were drawing on.'⁶⁶⁶⁷

The intended encounter between *Stranger Things* and its audience that is referenced above fits Mittell's proposed discursive approach, which describes the relationship as being born out of 'instances of generic activity in interrelated sites of audience, industrial, and cultural

⁶⁴ The understanding of popular culture that this thesis is going along with is that which it is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary*: 'Culture based on the tastes of ordinary people rather than an educated elite.' Or as John Storey similarly outlines in one of his definition of popular culture in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*, 'popular culture is simply culture that is widely favoured or well-liked by many people.' (2015: 5)

⁶⁵ Here, I am referring to such Steven Spielberg directed and produced films as *E.T. Extra-Terrestrial* (Steven Spielberg, 1982), *The Goonies* (Richard Donner, 1985) and *Poltergeist* (Tobe Hooper, 1982). In regard to adaptations of a Stephen King novels, I am considering *Stand By Me* (Rob Reiner, 1986) and *It* – both of which *Stranger Things* heavily references.

⁶⁶ Nicholson, 'The Duffer Brothers: Could We Do What Spielberg Did in the 80s and Elevate It like He Did?'

⁶⁷ A 'lookbook' describes 'a set of photographs displaying a fashion designer's new collection, assembled for marketing purposes.' (*Oxford English Dictionary*). In the featured context, Nicholson and creators of *Stranger Things* suggest that the series is a form of lookbook that, like a patchwork quilt, constructs a fragmented whole – its pieces patches of a nostalgic image.

practices'.⁶⁸ But how does this relate to popular factual heritage television? The answer can be found in two places, both of which are located in popular factual heritage television's generic make up: popular factual and reality television and the British heritage film.

Popular factual heritage television is not a genre in the typical sense. As this thesis will illustrate, though popular factual heritage television does have some recognisable generic attributes inherited from popular factual, reality television and the British heritage film, these characteristics can sometimes be inconsistent across the corpus of programmes analysed. I therefore regard Mittell's discursive approach to television genre as being a useful methodology to conceptualise popular factual heritage television—a methodology that this thesis will adopt throughout. The discursive approach allows for popular factual heritage television to be characterised as a 'cultural category'—one that is rooted in, and defined by, its relation to other British heritage texts as well as the contemporary heritage industry. The discursive approach allows for the diverse group of programmes analysed in this thesis—including a talent contest, a cooking competition, travelogues, a behind-the-scenes chat show, a satirical historical documentary and a reality television programmes—to be grouped as a collective, as popular factual heritage television. Popular factual heritage television programmes are defined by their shared backdrop of the contemporary heritage industry, as much as by any audio-visual characteristics they might have in common. As with the connections that an audience member might make when watching a drama such as *Downton Abbey*, this thesis suggests that audiences might recognise some attributes of the British heritage film in certain popular factual heritage television series. Whereas, in the same way that Mittell's discursive approach provides us with a framework to categorise a programme like *Stranger Things*, it also provides us with the means to conceptualise popular factual heritage television. Like *Stranger Things*, some popular factual heritage television programmes provide a 'lookbook' of audio-visual and narrative attributes that signal the influence of British heritage films on certain popular factual heritage television series. I therefore ask, to what degree can popular factual heritage television be defined as a cultural category using Mittell's discursive approach? And how can popular factual heritage television's generic make-up help us to understand the cycle's relationship with its context, the contemporary heritage industry?

Popular factual heritage television

⁶⁸ Mittell, *Genre and Television: From Cop Shows to Cartoons in American Culture*, p. 25.

Popular factual heritage television is a subcategory of the popular factual and reality television genres in which the British past and pastimes are the subject, repurposed for the present-day and frequently communicated using the iconography and narratives associated with earlier British heritage films. Factual television is the ‘traditional industry term for Reality TV’,⁶⁹ however its definition is also understood as ‘complex, hybridised and ever changing’.⁷⁰ Annette Hill characterises factual television as an ‘umbrella categor[y] for a range of formatted as well as non-formatted programmes’,⁷¹ and ‘a container for a variety of genres, sub-genres and hybrid genres.’⁷² Hill explains that factual television offers a ‘broad understanding of non-fictional programming on broadcast television, satellite, cable and digital television’ and can be used to describe ‘news, current affairs, documentary, and reality programmes, with further sub genres applied within each of these categories.’⁷³

As well as considering the generic make-up of factual television, Hill also roots its definition in the viewing experience on offer to audiences, namely how factual television manufactures the perception of factuality. Historically, the term factual television—from which popular factual television derives—is synonymous with news programmes and documentaries. Audiences often compare their experience of watching factual television to that of the news—a barometer of that which is fact—or the documentary—‘a way of documenting the world and observing people’s real lives and experiences’.⁷⁴ However, between the late-1980s to the early-2000s, the label factual television was replaced by reality television (or ‘Reality TV’), coinciding with the emergence of a cycle of television programmes that were popular in the United States and United Kingdom during this period. Such programmes include *Cops* (FOX, 1989-2013; Spike 2013 –), *Rescue 911* (CBS, 1989-1996) and *Airport* (BBC 1996-2008). Aesthetically, these television programmes are visually recognisable, utilising an observational fly-on-the-wall perspective, popularised in certain landmark series of the 1970s, chiefly *An American Family* (PBS, 1973) and *The Family* (BBC, 1974; 1984). Moreover, in regard to camerawork, reality television series often adopted the visual aesthetic of *cinéma vérité* – ‘a method of documentary filmmaking based on the use of highly portable equipment and characterized by a *high* level of

⁶⁹ Annette Hill, *Reality TV: Audiences and Popular Factual Television* (London, New York and Canada: Routledge, 2005), p. 42.

⁷⁰ Annette Hill, *Restyling Factual TV: Audiences and News, Documentary and Reality Genres* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 18.

⁷¹ Annette Hill, *Reality TV: Audiences and Popular Factual Television*, p. 42.

⁷² Annette Hill, *Restyling Factual TV: Audiences and News, Documentary and Reality Genres*, p. 3.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 17.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 4.

filmmaker involvement in the activities of the subjects, in the form of questions and requests for introspective reflections on events.’⁷⁵

While the term reality television was broadly adopted in the 1990s and early-2000s, its definition has since been a point of contention for a range of scholars working in the field of television studies, whose approaches to, and definitions of, reality television vary. Reality television is generally used to group ‘programmes where the unscripted behaviour of “ordinary people” is the focus of interest’.⁷⁶ As a form, reality television is located ‘in the border territories, between information and entertainment, documentary and drama.’⁷⁷ However, just as quickly as the term reality television became the replacement for factual television in the 1990s, in the early-2000s there was a push to distinguish the two forms yet again. Hill explains that in 2003 there was an industry-wide drive led by the BBC to redefine and distinguish factual from reality television, which at that time was a term that had become synonymous with the series and cultural phenomenon *Big Brother* (Channel 4, 2000-2010; Channel 5, 2011–).⁷⁸ With the BBC genre restructure in 2003, the label ‘popular factual television’ emerged, distinguishing ‘celebrity profiles, biographies, archives and formats, and sports factual’ from ‘general factual [which] included documentaries, leisure, and daytime factual programmes.’⁷⁹ As well as the development of a tighter generic understanding of what constitutes popular factual television in the early-2000s, it is also important to consider how both popular factual and reality television have moved away from being used as generic descriptors—as a way of textually defining a body of programmes—and instead as a means to understand wider cultural phenomena. This thesis does not wish to overwrite popular factual television’s association with reality television, but rather use it to the advantage of the conceptualisation of popular factual heritage television—as a way to better understand popular factual heritage television as a cultural phenomenon, as well as include an array of texts under the umbrella popular factual heritage television.

⁷⁵ P. J. O’Connell, *Robert Drew and the Development of Cinema Verite* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2010), p. xviii.

⁷⁶ Jonathan Bignell and Jeremy Orlebar, *The Television Handbook*, Third Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 318.

⁷⁷ Annette Hill, *Reality TV: Audiences and Popular Factual Television*, p. 2.

⁷⁸ The BBC’s genre restructure took a more flexible approach to defining popular factual entertainment to reflect the nature of television as a constantly changing ‘flexible and fast moving system.’ (Holmwood quoted in Hill 2005: 42) The flexibility of popular factual entertainment, which as a form underwent a number of generic mutations, is particularly useful when conceptualising new forms of factual entertainment to emerge – such as popular factual heritage television, which this thesis conceptualises. The BBC’s genre restructure provided a more stable system for categorising factual television, limiting it to six core categories that accounted for the diversity and hybridity of its programmes. The six core categories include ‘documentaries and contemporary factual; specialist factual; current affairs and investigations; arts and culture; lifeskills; and new media.’ Hill, *Reality TV: Audiences and Popular Factual Television*, p. 42.

⁷⁹ Annette Hill, *Reality TV: Audiences and Popular Factual Television*, p. 42.

In the late-1990s and early-2000s, popular factual and reality television programmes were, in the opinion of Hill, ‘often more talked about than watched,’ in both the public and academic sphere.⁸⁰ Jonathan Bignell was early to recognise this shift in his reflections on *Big Brother*, the moral panics that the series initially caused, and the extent to which audiences are engaged in recent reality television talent competitions.⁸¹ Hill writes that popular factual and reality television has become ‘a phenomenon in the sense that it is part of a social and media matrix’, and that the individual series belonging to the category ‘have phenomenal moments that grab audience/user attention.’⁸² Regarding the *Got Talent* franchise, for example—which includes *America’s Got Talent* (NBC, 2006 –) and *Britain’s Got Talent* (ITV, 2007 –)—Hill explains that the ‘global format [...] attracts millions of viewers to live shows in countries around the world, many more millions download and share YouTube clips, and even more people chat about the show.’⁸³ Bignell writes, ‘It is not possible to understand reality TV unless it can be connected to something else.’⁸⁴ Popular factual and reality television, Hill concludes, ‘is caught up in what is happening now.’⁸⁵

The conception of popular factual and reality television as a phenomenon—a product of the culture that is ‘caught up in what is happening now’—is useful to this thesis, and to the conceptualisation of popular factual heritage television. In line with Mittell’s discursive approach to the conceptualisation of television genres, it substantiates the claim that popular factual heritage television is the result of—and response to—contemporary popular culture, which in this case is what I—along with critics like Owen Hatherley—claim to be a contemporary heritage industry. Popular factual heritage television is ‘caught up’ in the contemporary heritage industry, and the contemporary heritage industry is among the defining characteristics of popular factual heritage television. The next section applies this idea to an analysis of a musical act that appeared on *Britain’s Got Talent*—a television talent contest in which members of the British public compete for the opportunity to perform at the Royal Variety Performance show. It uses the act that appeared in the programme as way of illustrating the relationship between popular factual heritage television’s and the contemporary heritage industry.

⁸⁰ Annette Hill, *Reality Tv* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), p. 1.

⁸¹ J. Bignell, *Big Brother: Reality TV in the Twenty-First Century* (Basingstoke: Springer, 2005).

⁸² Annette Hill, ‘Reality TV’, p. 7.

⁸³ Annette Hill, ‘Reality TV’, p. 1.

⁸⁴ Bignell, *Big Brother*, p. 177.

⁸⁵ Annette Hill, ‘Reality TV’, p. 1.

Britain's got 'austerity nostalgia'

In the first round of the live semi-finals of Season 12 of *Britain's Got Talent* (broadcast 28 May 2018), presenter Declan Donnelly—one half of the presenter duo Ant and Dec—introduces to the stage 'a singing group bursting with patriotic pride' called The D-Day Darlings. The D-Day Darlings are a choir and the official fundraisers for The Royal British Legion. Their aim is to bring 'the true spirit of the wartime era alive' through their 'heartfelt harmonies that kept Britain smiling through its darkest times with popular WW2 songs such as We'll Meet Again, I'll Be Seeing You, Land of Hope and Glory, and Bless 'Em All.'⁸⁶ Following Donnelly's introduction, an extreme long shot is used to frame the stage in full. Entering stage left and stage right are nine women, each fashioned in Women's Royal Air Force uniforms with their hair and make-up adhering to the 1940s vintage style. The D-Day Darlings get into formation on stage. Behind them, a projected black and white photograph of Buckingham Palace spans the width of the stage and over their heads are draped eight oversized Union Jack flags (depicted in *Figure 1*).



Figure 1 The D-Day Darlings' stage at the first live semi-final of *Britain's Got Talent* (Season 12 Episode 9).

After a moment of anticipation from the silent audience, the lead singer of The D-Day Darlings (Katie Ashby) sings the opening lines to 'Rule, Britannia!, Britannia rules the waves'. Rule, Britannia! is a song famously associated with British patriotism, and has been since it was

⁸⁶ Quoted from the biography for The D-Day Darlings from their official website. <http://ddaydarlings.co.uk/Biography/index.html> [accessed 30 July 2018].

first performed during the height of the British Empire in 1745 (and equally subjected to revivals and parodies since).⁸⁷ In the middle of the chorus, spotlights shine on The D-Day Darlings who salute the audience as they sing while marching on-the-spot. In the lower of the frame, hundreds of audience members can be seen standing, cheering and frantically waving small Union Jack flags. The backgrounds transition from the image of Buckingham Palace to photographs, archive footage and newsreel recordings from the Second World War. As The D-Day Darlings arrive at the final chorus, images depicting the VE Day celebrations are displayed on the screen—scenes of crowds in jubilation in concert halls and public spaces all across the United Kingdom. Corresponding with the images of celebration on the screen, confetti falls from the ceiling of the auditorium and onto the crowd as a group of Second World War veterans are brought on to the stage. In response, the already vocal audience cheer louder and wave their Union Jack flags hysterically. With their flags still flying, the audience and the celebrity judges stand to attention and salute in return. The description beneath the video on *Britain's Got Talent's* official YouTube channel (published just after The D-Day Darlings' performance on ITV that evening) reads:

The D-Day Darlings are here to close the show in style and remind us what Britain's Got Talent is all about ... Watch as they remind everyone to be proud to be British and are joined by some very special guests on stage!⁸⁸

The D-Day Darlings appear to have delivered, not only uniting the whole auditorium in a scene of collective national pride and hysteria, but possibly an even wider audience, given that the episode attracted a total of nine million viewers during its live broadcast (a figure that does not reflect repeat and on demand viewings it should be noted).

With the exception of their choice of song—which alternates with each performance—the scene described above is typical of The D-Day Darlings' act. Visually, both the stage decoration and the performers' aesthetic correspond with the patriotic playlist that The D-Day Darlings perform. Every part of the formal composition of their performance incorporates nostalgia into its production values: their routine comes complete with a musical playlist

⁸⁷ Information about the history of song 'Rule, Britannia!, Britannia rules the waves' was found at Historic UK's website. <<https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/Rule-Britannia/>> [accessed 2 August 2018]. In 1996, 'Rule, Britannia!' was mobilised by the 'Cool Britannia' moment, which encapsulated a heightened national pride during the 1990s with the global success of British popular culture – including musicians and bands (such as Blur, The Spice Girls, Pulp and Oasis), fashion designers (such as Alexander McQueen), models (such as Kate Moss) and artists (such as Damien Hirst).

⁸⁸ See the video description accompanying The D-Day Darlings' 28 May 2018 performance on the *Britain's Got Talent* official YouTube channel. *RULE BRITANNIA! The D-Day Darlings get everyone feeling patriotic | Semi-Finals | BGT*, Britain's Got Talent, YouTube, online video, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xBAjV7LQa8g>> [accessed 2 August 2018].

sourced from Britain's wartime past and their act is visually accompanied by patriotic imagery and the revived aesthetics from Britain's wartime past. Bringing the past into the present day, The D-Day Darlings' performance on *Britain's Got Talent* is symbolic of the crystallisation of the aesthetics and narratives of a particular, and recently dominant, cycle of British period dramas with a vested interest in the Second World War and the narrative of Britain's 'finest hour'. Britain's 'finest hour' refers to the historical moment of the Battle of Britain, encapsulated in the words of Winston Churchill in his speech 'This was their finest hour' delivered 18 June 1940.⁸⁹ Furthermore, it signifies the crystallisation between specifically nostalgic aesthetics and narratives with the reality television genre, in particular the talent competition subcategory, and a wider engaged culture, as represented by the audience in the auditorium, who are participants in a heightened moment of shared celebration, patriotism and nostalgia.

The D-Day Darlings exploit what Tom Whyman of the *New York Times* refers to as Britain's 'Empire nostalgic popular culture', which is preoccupied with reconstructing British identity according to the 'signifiers left over from the days of Empire: gin, tea, cricket, flags, [and] those wretched "Keep Calm and Carry On" posters.'⁹⁰ The socio-political and economic climate in the United Kingdom in the years following the financial crisis of 2008 coincides with the emergence and growth of a recent cultural phenomenon, whereby both consumers and visual cultures are capitalising on Britain's 'Empire nostalgic popular culture'. In films and television in particular there is an emphasis on British tradition, with texts being selective in their portrait of Britain's past. The D-Day Darlings tap into popular culture's particular preference to revisit the period of austerity in the decade following the Second World war—suturing the present with a past whose only link is austerity. Hatherley characterises this phenomenon as 'austerity nostalgia',⁹¹ employing the term to describe contemporary popular culture's obsession with—and nostalgic revival of—certain cultural signifiers and stereotypes from the past. Specifically, Hatherley explores the recent revival of the aesthetics and rhetoric associated with the former major period of austerity in the United Kingdom, a period between 'the 1940s until around 1955 when rationing was finally lifted by a Conservative government'.⁹² For Hatherley, the former austerity era is being superficially revived and, he fears, the image of

⁸⁹ The speech itself, or the period in which it was made, has recently been popularised on screen, in films such as *Darkest Hour*, *Dunkirk*, Churchill (Jonathan Teplitzky, 2017) and *Their Finest* and in certain episodes, particularly from the first season of television series *The Crown*.

⁹⁰ Tom Whyman, "The Great British Baking Show" Is the Key to Understanding Today's Britain', *The New York Times*, 2015 <<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/21/magazine/the-great-british-baking-show-is-the-key-to-understanding-todays-britain.html>> [accessed 3 February 2017].

⁹¹ Owen Hatherley, *The Ministry of Nostalgia*, Paperback (London and New York: Verso, 2017), p. 18.

⁹² Hatherley, *The Ministry of Nostalgia*, p. 3.

the past that is being popularised is overriding the reality of the present-day situation. In the rationale for his book *Ministry of Nostalgia*, Hatherley writes,

So we find ourselves in an increasingly nightmarish situation where an entirely twenty-first-century society [...] appears to console itself with the iconography of a completely different and highly unlike era, to which its linked solely through literal use of the ‘A’ word [austerity]. So to try and work out how this happened, and what can be done about it, this short book will explore the way in which austerity in 2015 dreams of austerity in 1945 and the ways in which it has been used as a weapon and a shibboleth across the political spectrum, in order to ask what might happen at the moment when, finally, we stop keeping calm and carrying on.⁹³

Hatherley’s commentary on society’s longing to return to the idealised fantasy of the British past, and society’s impulse to console itself with ‘the iconography of a completely different and unlike era,’ corresponds with work of the previous generation of academics and cultural commentators (including Wright, Hewison, Samuel and Higson) who explored and critiqued Britain’s cyclical fixation with its history and heritage in the 1980s, which led to the conceptualisation of the heritage industry and the British heritage film, respectively.

Programmes like *Britain’s Got Talent* give platform to acts like The D-Day Darlings who present a spectacle of a specific version of the past in the present. Furthermore, *Britain’s Got Talent*—and acts such as The D-Day Darlings—facilitate the public’s relationship with the version of the past being referenced and to some degree reproduced. The D-Day Darlings’ performance in particular celebrates Britain’s wartime heroism, attempting to reignite the so-called Blitz spirit—a term used to describe the ‘[h]eroic mythology fused with everyday life to produce heroism’⁹⁴—while also indulging Britain’s ‘imperial fantasies’.⁹⁵ Britain’s attempt to revive the Blitz spirit during times of uncertainty signals a ‘need to get back to the place or moment before the country lost its moral and cultural bearings’.⁹⁶ To understand the exploitation of British heritage by The D-Day Darlings and account for its influence on the audience, it is useful to briefly revisit the work on the heritage industry from the 1980s.

Critics of the heritage industry of the 1980s suggest that amidst the turmoil of the time, heritage presented the ‘view of a culture that was finished and complete’, non-negotiable and rooted ‘firmly in the past.’⁹⁷ Heritage is an image that could be used to dispel concerns over the

⁹³ Ibid, p. 12.

⁹⁴ Agnes Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London: Pimlico, 1991), p. 14.

⁹⁵ Gary Younge, ‘Britain’s Imperial Fantasies Have given Us Brexit | Gary Younge’, *The Guardian*, 3 February 2018, section Opinion <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/03/imperial-fantasies-brex-it-theresa-may>> [accessed 9 November 2018].

⁹⁶ Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* (London & New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 96–97.

⁹⁷ Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 16.

‘the widespread perception of cultural and economic decline that became a feature of Britain’s perception of itself as a nation in the decades following the Second World War.’⁹⁸ Historical imagery, Thomas Elsaesser writes, is ‘a dispositif that constitutes, through an appeal to memory and identification, a special form of address, at once highly individual and capable of fostering a sense of belonging.’⁹⁹ For Hewison, heritage—and the ‘sanitised version of the past’ that it perpetuates—creates ‘a screen’ and puts distance between people and their ‘true past’.¹⁰⁰ Thus, he criticises the heritage industry for distracting the general public from the present by presenting the appealing image of the idyllic past, thus overriding concerns of the present. In full, Hewison explains,

At best, the heritage industry only draws a screen between ourselves and our true past. I criticise the heritage industry not simply because so many of its products are fantasies of a world that never was; not simply because at a deeper level it involves the preservation, indeed reassertion, of social values that the democratic progress of the twentieth century seemed to be doing away with, but because, far from ameliorating the climate of decline, it is actually worsening it. If the only new thing we have to offer is an improved version of the past, then today can only be inferior to yesterday. Hypnotised by images of the past, we risk losing all capacity for creative change [...] The growth of a heritage culture has led not only to a distortion of the past, but to a stifling of the culture of the present.¹⁰¹

The ‘nostalgic impulse’ is regarded by Hewison as ‘an important agency in adjustment to crisis’. It is ‘a social emollient [that] reinforces national identity when confidence is weakened or threatened’.¹⁰² Harrison—like Hewison before him—argues that heritage forms a ‘diversion which prevent[s] people from engaging with the problems of the present.’¹⁰³ As Hewison explains, heritage

has enclosed the late twentieth century in a bell jar into which no ideas can enter, and, just as crucially, from which none can escape. The answer is not to empty the museums and sell up the National Trust, but to develop a critical culture which engages in a dialogue between past and present. We must rid ourselves of the idea that the present has nothing to contribute to the achievements of the past, rather, we must accept its best elements, and improve on them ... The definition of those values must not be left to a minority who are able through their access to the otherwise exclusive institutions of culture to articulate the only acceptable meanings of past and present. It must be a collaborative process shared by an open community which accepts both conflict and change.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Elsaesser, *European Cinema*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁰ Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*, p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid, p. 47.

¹⁰³ Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁴ Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*, p. 144.

Following the financial crisis of 2008, and the extended period of uncertainty that has followed in the United Kingdom, heritage is being used once more to create a ‘screen’ between the present and the past, mediating between two eras of austerity in Britain. The heritage industry that appears to have grown out of the 2008 financial selectively remembers and repurposes the period of austerity of the 1940s, paving the way for popular factual heritage television programmes to buck the trend—to capitalise on the so-called Blitz spirit of war-torn Britain as a way of dealing with life during economic downturn. The D-Day Darlings are thus a product of this heritage industry and cultural interest in the rhetoric and image of Second World War austerity. In line with the ‘austerity nostalgia’ phenomenon, The D-Day Darlings are ‘tapp[ing] into an already established narrative about Britain’s “finest hour” [...] when it was the only country left fighting the Third Reich. This was a moment of entirely indisputable—and apparently uncomplicated—national heroism, one which Britain has clung to through thick and thin.’¹⁰⁵ Through their performance, The D-Day Darlings are able to construct a specific version of British identity by capitalising on stereotypes and tradition, often indulging Britain’s ‘imperial fantasies’ in the same way as films such as *Darkest Hour* or *Dunkirk* have recently done so on screen. The wartime-inspired choir recapture the unifying visual spectacle and inherent patriotism instilled in the narrative of Britain’s ‘finest hour’ by revisiting popular songs from the Second World War that evoke the Blitz spirit (including ‘Land of Hope and Glory’, ‘Well Meet Again’, ‘White Cliffs of Dover’ and ‘Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag, and Smile, Smile, Smile’); through their choice of visual aesthetic (particularly costumes and make up); the stage design (which includes Union Jack Flags, photographs of Britain’s heritage landmarks and footage from its wartime past); and the use of select props (flags, bunting, confetti and, crucially, Second World War veterans).

Hatherley’s exploration of the revival of the iconography and rhetoric of the immediate post-Second World War years in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, draws many parallels to critical responses to the heritage industry of the late-1970s and 1980s. I will now therefore explore this earlier heritage industry to better discover the role that heritage plays. I will then relate this to the deployment of British heritage across the contemporary heritage industry and in a series like *Britain’s Got Talent*, for example, to better understand and account for the audience’s clear enthusiasm for, and engagement with, the nostalgic, jingoistic version of the past being presented to them.

¹⁰⁵ Hatherley, *Ministry of Nostalgia*, p. 16.

Heritage and the heritage industry

The heritage industry of the 1980s emerged in response to the period of uncertainty during the years of Thatcher's premiership (1979-90). The heritage industry 'was an attempt to dispel this climate of decline by exploiting the economic potential of [Britain's] culture.'¹⁰⁶ As Hewison explains, in the face of 'all sorts of insecurity and doubts, resorting to culture and heritage are a source of reassurance'.¹⁰⁷ Hewison writes,

In the face of apparent decline and disintegration, it is not surprising that the past seems a better place. Yet it is irrecoverable, for we are condemned to live perpetually in the present. What matters is not the past, but our relationship with it. As individuals, our security and identity depend largely on the knowledge we have of our personal and family history; the language and customs which govern our social lives rely for their meaning on a continuity between past and present. Yet at times the pace of change, and its consequences, are so radical that not only is change perceived as decline, but there is the threat of rupture with our past lives.¹⁰⁸

Combatting the feeling of collective anxiety during this period, the United Kingdom experienced a rapid 'growth in the establishment of museums and a widespread sense of nostalgia, not for the past as it was experienced but for a sanitised version of the past that was re-imagined through the heritage industry as a Utopia, in opposition to the perceived problems of the present'.¹⁰⁹ On this matter, Hewison writes,

The impulse to preserve the past is part of the impulse to preserve the self. Without knowing where we have been, it is difficult to know where we are going. The past is the foundation of individual and collective identity, objects from the past are the source of significance as cultural symbols. Continuity between past and present creates a sense of sequence out of aleatory chaos and, since change is inevitable, a stable system of ordered meanings enables us to cope with both innovation and decay.¹¹⁰

Hatherley's concept of 'austerity nostalgia' is rooted in the belief that the past, specifically the aesthetics and rhetoric of the post-war period of austerity, is being reimagined, repositioned in, and repurposed for the present-day as a response to the period of austerity that the United Kingdom has endured since the 2008 financial crises. Hatherley first articulates 'austerity nostalgia' with reference to the mass production of 'Keep Calm and Carry On' posters in 2008. The 'Keep Calm and Carry On' Poster was originally designed by the Ministry of Information in 1939, however, as Hatherley reminds us, the poster was 'never mass produced until 2008'

¹⁰⁶ Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*, pp. 9–10.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁹ Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 17.

¹¹⁰ Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*, p. 47.

and only became 'hugely popular' in 2009.¹¹¹ Britain between 2008 and the present-day is not the only time the 'Keep Calm and Carry On' posters—along with the rhetoric of the Blitz spirit with which the slogan is infused—has been revived however. 'The Blitz spirit has been exploited by politicians largely since 1979,' writes Hatherley, '[w]hen Thatcherites and Blairites spoke of "hard choices" and "muddling through", they often evoked the memories of 1941.'¹¹² However, the poster—physically and visually, along with its message—have been highly visible since the 2008 financial crisis. Hatherley describes the poster's immediate presence, writing; '[o]ut of apparent nowhere, this image – combining bare, faintly modernist typography with the consoling logo of the Crown and a similarly reassuring message – spread everywhere'.¹¹³ With reference to the poster's aesthetic, Hatherley articulates the idea of 'austerity nostalgia':

The poster seemed to exemplify a design phenomenon that had slowly crept up on us in the last few years to the point where it became unavoidable. It's best described as *Austerity Nostalgia*. This aesthetic took the form of a nostalgia for the kind of public modernism that, rightly or wrongly, was seen to have characterised the period from 1930 to the early 70s; it could just as easily exemplify a more straightforwardly conservative longing for security and stability in the face of hard times. Above all, though, the poster was the most visible form of a vague nostalgia for a benevolent, quasi-modernist English bureaucratic aesthetic.¹¹⁴

Nostalgia is linked to memory and is used to describe 'a feeling of pleasure and also slight sadness when you think about things that happened in the past'.¹¹⁵ '[T]he memory invoked by the "Keep Calm and Carry On" poster is not based on lived experience,' Hatherley writes, and those consuming the memory—by purchasing reprints and merchandise branded with the slogan—'have no memory whatsoever of the kind of benevolent statism the slogan purports to exemplify.'¹¹⁶ In his reflection on the nature of memory in regard to 'austerity nostalgia', Hatherley evokes writer and conceptual artist Douglas Coupland's notion of 'Legislated Nostalgia'. In a footnote in his debut novel *Generation X*, Coupland asks, 'How can I be a part of the 1960s generation when I don't even remember any of it?'¹¹⁷ In response to this question, Coupland conceived 'Legislated Nostalgia' to describe the phenomenon by which individuals appear to inherit memories from the past that they do not actually have, and likewise are able

¹¹¹ Hatherley, *Ministry of Nostalgia*, p. 16.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹⁵ *Cambridge English Dictionary* online definition. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/learner-english/nostalgia> [accessed 3 May 2017].

¹¹⁶ Hatherley, *Ministry of Nostalgia*, pp. 18–19.

¹¹⁷ Douglas Coupland, *Generation X: Tales for an Accelerated Culture* (United Kingdom: Abacus, 1997), p. 47.

to recall experiences that they have never experienced.¹¹⁸ The ideas articulated through Coupland's concept of 'Legislated Nostalgia' are later critically explored by Alison Landsberg via her concept of 'prosthetic memory'. Landsberg writes,

Modernity makes possible and necessary a new form of public cultural memory. This new form of memory, which I call *prosthetic memory*, emerges at the interface between a person and a historical narrative about the past, at an experiential site such as a movie theatre or museum. In this moment of contact, an experience occurs through which the person sutures himself or herself into a larger history [...] the person does not simply apprehend a historical narrative but takes on a more personal, deeply felt memory of a past event through which he or she did not live. The resulting prosthetic memory has the ability to shape that person's subjectivity and politics.¹¹⁹

Underlining Coupland's 'Legislated Nostalgia' and Landsberg's 'prosthetic memory' are ideas expressed in the late-1960s by Marshall McLuhan.¹²⁰ In *The Medium is the Massage* (1967),¹²¹ McLuhan writes, 'When forced with a totally new situation, we tend to attach ourselves to the objects, to the flavour of the most recent past. We look at the present through a rear-view mirror. We march backwards into the future.'¹²² The rear-view mirror perspective to societal and technological progression is a recurring idea in McLuhan's work that offers a way of articulating society's relationship with the past when faced with disruption and/or progression.¹²³ Tim Carmody of *Wired* reflects on McLuhan's ideas, writing: 'Our futures are always experienced and frequently determined by a past that few of us fully acknowledge or understand.' Thus, Carmody proposes McLuhan as a way of making sense of the present going forward.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Coupland, *Generation X*, p. 47.

¹¹⁹ Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York and West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 2.

¹²⁰ It is, of course, by no coincidence that Coupland goes on to write a biography on McLuhan entitled *Marshall McLuhan: You Know Nothing of My Work* (Canada: Penguin Canada, 2010), inspired by McLuhan's famous line from his cameo in *Annie Hall* (Woody Allen, 1977).

¹²¹ Note the title of McLuhan's book states '*Massage*' not '*Message*'. This is intentional. Though the title of the book was to reflect McLuhan's notion of the medium is the message, when it was returned from the typesetter, they'd misspelled it. According to McLuhan's son, Dr. Eric McLuhan, his father was keen to keep the mistake, as it illustrated McLuhan's ideas about the relationship between technological mediums and human users, and the room for human error.

¹²² Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium Is the Massage*, Renewed Edition (London: Penguin Books, 1996), pp. 74–75.

¹²³ Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of the Typographic Man* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2011 [1962]). In his earlier book *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962), for example, McLuhan explores how the advent of print, considered an advent of the 20th Century, was shaped by the ideas and technology of the 15th century, and illustrated how these 15th century ideas 'helped make 20th-century human beings what they are'.

¹²⁴ Tim Carmody, "March Backwards Into the Future" — Marshall McLuhan's Century', *WIRED*, 21 July 2011 <<https://www.wired.com/2011/07/march-backwards-into-the-future-marshall-mcluhans-century/>> [accessed 11 March 2018].

In the same way that Hatherley describes ‘austerity nostalgia’ as how the present dreams of Britain’s wartime past, The D-Day Darlings’ performance on *Britain’s Got Talent* is the visual depiction of how the present-day dreams of the 1940s. Just like the ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’ poster—extracted from 1939 and reinserted and repurposed in 2008, where it has become an aesthetic phenomenon—The D-Day Darlings revisit the same period and attempt to reconstruct the Blitz Spirit and the nostalgia with which it is remembered or perceived, according to visual aesthetic and popular music alone. The D-Day Darlings and the mass production of the revived ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’ posters are symbolic of the heritage industry and how, during times of uncertainty, popular culture attempts to rebuild itself according to its references from the past, which Hatherley argues, lack coherence and are abstracted from meaning.¹²⁵ Hatherley appears to have taken a page out of Wright’s *On Living in an Old Country*, in which Wright similarly comments on the extraction of history from the past and its re-insertion into contemporary culture to form a ‘unifying spectacle, the settling of all disputes.’¹²⁶ The contemporary heritage industry, of which The D-Day Darlings and ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’ posters are a product, construct a neo-British identity comprised of references to, and fashions from, a bygone era, which have been taken from the past and re-inserted in to the present. These signifiers of the past—when replicated (as with the poster) or brought together in The D-Day Darlings’ performance—form a ‘dreamlike reconstruction of the 1940s and 1950s’ in the present day, only, in Hatherley’s opinion, ‘reassembled in the wrong order.’¹²⁷ Such iconography from the past, Hatherley argues, has been so superficially removed from their original context, and thus from their meaning, that they could potentially inspire the return of jingoistic rhetoric and the hollow nostalgia with which they are infused, at least in the popular imagination.

The rapturous enthusiasm and remembrance (to evoke Coupland’s concept of ‘Legislated Nostalgia’ and Landsberg’s concept of ‘prosthetic memory’) that The D-Day Darlings’ patriotic spectacle is met with by the thousands of audience members in the auditorium—and those watching on their television or personal screens and connecting via social media and comments boards (on YouTube for example)—demonstrates the capability of heritage to forge a universal connection to the past. This connection is however one predicated on nostalgia rather than being rooted in history or actual memory. As such, The D-Day Darlings’ performance acts as a

¹²⁵ Hatherley, *Ministry of Nostalgia*, pp. 3–4.

¹²⁶ Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*, p. 69.

¹²⁷ Hatherley, *Ministry of Nostalgia*, pp. 3–4.

‘comfort blanket’,¹²⁸ manufacturing a sense of united-ness, stability and sequence that allows their audience in the auditorium and beyond to cope with the current situation, which from the perspective of Britain in 2018, is an extended period of austerity and the blunt socio-political divisions and nationalistic rhetoric influenced by recent events, such as Brexit, for example.

Conclusion

Though brief, this chapter has set out to explain why, and illustrate how, I have chosen to adopt Mittell’s discursive approach for the conceptualisation of popular factual heritage television. The discursive approach moves away from grouping television programmes together as genres by simply identifying shared generic attributes and instead considers television genres as ‘cultural categories’.¹²⁹ Considering first the comparison between popular factual heritage television and the heritage film, this chapter’s first point of call was to explore the context from which Higson’s concept emerged—the heritage industry of the 1980s. As Monk reminds us, the heritage film was itself conceptualised through a discursive approach that—while establishing a set of common or generic attributes (for example, pastoral middle to upper-middle class life in rural England, the country house setting and narrative roots in canonical literature)—is part of a wider discussion about cinematic trends and a cultural obsession with British heritage at a specific time in Britain’s history.¹³⁰ As a concentrated body of television programmes, popular factual heritage television is situated within a contemporary heritage industry—a phenomenon characterised by Hatherley as ‘austerity nostalgia’—that has grown significantly since the financial crisis of 2008. By analysing popular factual heritage television’s generic make-up (popular factual and reality television) we are able to understand either genres close relationship with their context. We saw that while, over the course of the last three decades, the definitions of factual and reality television have changed, they are still understood as genres that are rooted or ‘caught up in what’s happening now’.¹³¹ Thus, their definitions have shifted from generic descriptors to ways of characterising cultural phenomena. This understanding of the development of factual and reality television genres was combined with the discursive approach and applied to The D-Day Darlings’ *Britain’s Got Talent* performance to illustrate the extent to which these genres interact with their context. The conclusion: popular

¹²⁸ Hewison, ‘The Heritage Industry Revisited’.

¹²⁹ Mittell, ‘A Cultural Approach to Television Genre Theory’, p. 3.

¹³⁰ Monk, *Heritage Film Audiences*, p. 2.

¹³¹ Annette Hill, ‘Reality TV’, p. 1.

factual heritage television is firmly situated within the current heritage industry and reflects the cross-cultural phenomenon of 'austerity nostalgia'.

PART TWO
VISUAL CONVENTIONS, PRESENTATION STYLES AND
NARRATIVES

Chapter Two – Bake Offs and Great Get Togethers

Writing in the *New York Times*, Tom Whyman describes ‘*The Great British Baking Show*’—the American title for *The Great British Bake Off*—as ‘the key to understanding today’s Britain’.¹³² For Whyman—whose article was published the year after the referendum on Scottish independence (18 September 2014), which threatened to undermine the notion of a “united” Kingdom, conceptually—*The Great British Bake Off* is symbolic of, and represents an antidote to, the perception of Britain in a state of uncertainty and a sense of identity in flux. As Richard Goodwin of *The Radio Times* writes,

The Great British Bake-Off may not have the founding mission of the NHS or the longevity of the house of Windsor. However, in these uncertain times, the BBC’s televised baking contest has become the unlikely national institution – a broad tent of reassuring pavlovas and multi-tiered dramas in which everyone is welcome.¹³³

The Great British Bake Off is part of a cycle of British television productions and exports—including costume dramas such as *Downton Abbey*, *Victoria* and *Call the Midwife*—that are concerned with showcasing a united Britain, in good times and bad, celebrating its former position in the world (from its industrial or imperial past), and projecting to a global audience a confident and patriotic Britishness that capitalises on the United Kingdom’s ‘Empire-nostalgic popular culture.’¹³⁴ However, as Whyman also considers, the diversity of *The Great British Bake Off*’s cast, along with the victory of both Nadiya Hussain in 2015 (and we can now also consider the win of Rahul Mandal in 2018), is central to the construction of an argument against the cooking competition as just presenting a ‘static, zombie image of an ideal Britain that can never exist’, and instead redefines ‘the nation in a dynamic, living way’.¹³⁵ Whyman suggests that *The Great British Bake Off* presents the British public (or television-watching public at least) with the opportunity to establish new roots and challenge preconceptions of British identity, tradition,

¹³² Whyman, ‘The Great British Baking Show’.

¹³³ Richard Goodwin, “Vintage Paul & Mary: Bake Off’s Back and the Nation’s Favourite Double-Act Is Raring to Go”.’, *The Radio Times*, 20 August 2016, pp. 16–19 (p. 16).

¹³⁴ Whyman, ‘The Great British Baking Show’.

¹³⁵ The reality television contest or competition subcategory accounts for a large portion of reality television programmes since the early-2000s. Whether a singing contest (*Pop Idol*, *American Idol*, *X Factor*), a talent contest (*Britain’s Got Talent*) or, in the case of *The Great British Bake Off* and other programmes such as *Masterchef* a cooking contest, the reality television contest puts the British public (and sometimes celebrities) in the spotlight, in front of a panel of judges whom, week-in-week-out eliminate each contestant one-by-one. Aesthetically, the reality television contest is ‘structured by a certain temporal rhythm that grows increasing frenetic within each episode and across seasons as a whole. As contests reduce their pool of entrants, the tempo of the narration crescendos. Individual episodes eliminate another contestant for loyal viewers but also summarize preceding episodes for audiences who tune in a various point during the competition.’ (Griffin in Ouellette, 2014: 160)

and to consider the value of Britain's heritage today. The cooking competition, according to Anne Perkins of *The Guardian*, is 'more than just a TV show'; *The Great British Bake Off* 'is a window on the nation's soul.'¹³⁶ Rather than examining the elements that make up *The Great British Bake Off*, Perkins highlights the experiential dimension of the cooking competition, describing the act of watching the series as a '[c]ollective experience' during a time in which she claims '[s]hared culture is in short supply.'¹³⁷ Perkins writes,

TV has evolved to be much more than the experience of the same show being beamed at the same time on the same night into the national front room; although it is a mark of really successful ones, such as GBBO [an abbreviation often used in the place of Great British Bake Off], that actually parties take place where fans gather to share the experience with other fans. Failing that, there's always the below-the-line community on the live blog, and Twitter, and soon there will be the book tours and events where fans can be in the same tent as their heroes.¹³⁸

In the above, Perkins reflects on the series' capacity to involve its audiences in the cast members and the activities occurring simultaneously onscreen, as well as to provoke connection and further discussion. Perkins emphasises the sense of connectedness that the cooking competition forges between its contestants and its audience – an experience she likens to that of the 2012 London Olympic games. For Perkins, *The Great British Bake Off* 'gives us something to talk about, and a sense of national identity' that is otherwise 'impossible to manufacture artificially.'¹³⁹ *The Great British Bake Off's* capacity to connect audiences and British viewers to a unified idea of a national identity means that the cooking competition, according to Perkins, has 'fulfilled its now historic role in the life of the nation'. Thus, the programme, in Perkin's opinion, 'lies somewhere between being the state guarantor of eternal values and an essential ingredient of the national conversation.'¹³⁹

I argue that despite its efforts to present a modern portrait of contemporary multicultural Britishness, *The Great British Bake Off* actually constructs a sense of British identity and the feeling of an 'imagined community' (to evoke Benedict Anderson), by deferring to a nostalgic and homogenous view of Britishness that is rooted in the past. *The Great British Bake Off* privileges the traditions, lifestyles and settings associated with a distinctly middle- to upper-middle-class rural Englishness as depicted in British heritage films. Meanwhile, on the matter of *The Great*

¹³⁶ Anne Perkins, 'It's More than Just a TV Show. Bake Off Is a Window on the Nation's Soul | Anne Perkins', *The Guardian*, 1 November 2017, section Opinion
<<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/nov/01/great-british-bake-off-national-values-identity>> [accessed 14 November 2018].

¹³⁷ Perkins, 'It's More than Just a TV Show'.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

British Bake Off as providing ‘a window on the nation’s soul’, I argue that—much like British heritage films and the heritage industry, during the current climate of uncertainty in the United Kingdom—the aesthetics and interest in the cooking competition reflects a nation ‘consol[ing] itself with the iconography of a completely different and highly unlike era’.¹⁴⁰

The following builds on the discursive analysis of *The D-Day Darlings*’ performance on *Britain’s Got Talent* from the previous chapter. Its chief aim is to establish a fuller sense of the visual characteristics of popular factual heritage television by analysing *The Great British Bake Off*’s aesthetics and representation, revealing the cooking competition and popular factual heritage television’s close relationship with the British heritage film. Furthermore, building upon Mittell’s discursive approach to conceptualising television genres—which considers genres as ‘cultural categories’—this chapter will position *The Great British Bake Off* not only alongside other British heritage films, but considers its dynamic relationship with the wider contemporary heritage industry. The relationship between *The Great British Bake Off* and the contemporary heritage industry will be illustrated firstly by analysing *The Great British Bake Off*’s recycling of the aesthetics of the British heritage film. It will then map the ways in which both the aesthetics and activities in *The Great British Bake Off* have influenced wider popular culture. This chapter will illustrate this influence by taking into account the rise of interest in certain pastimes (such as baking, street parties, national celebrations); it will reveal some of the ways in which external parties (in the commercial and third sector) are capitalising on the popularity of the programme to sell products or promote engagement in the heritage sector; and show how national events have recycled the cooking competition’s aesthetic, in some instances quite problematically. As Annette Hill suggested, reality television is ‘caught up in what’s happening now.’¹⁴¹ I argue that *The Great British Bake Off* is of course ‘caught up’ in the contemporary heritage industry, and although it did not instigate the contemporary heritage industry, *The Great British Bake Off* has nevertheless become a touchstone, commercially and culturally, for it. Therefore, this chapter asks, what does *The Great British Bake Off* reveal about the nature of the relationship between popular factual heritage television and the heritage film? And how does factual heritage television, and *The Great British Bake Off* in particular, both reflect and shape the contemporary heritage industry?

The Great British Bake Off

¹⁴⁰ Hatherley, *Ministry of Nostalgia*, p. 12.

¹⁴¹ Annette Hill, ‘Reality TV’, p. 1.

BBC One, 24 August 2016: Open on a long shot of television presenters Sue Perkins and Mel Giedroyc in conversation, sitting on a lawn with a picnic basket. Beside Sue and Mel is a line of twelve people, the contestants, and behind them is a large white tent—the “*Bake Off* tent”—the entrance of which is decorated with Union Jack bunting. The following scene opens Season 7 of *The Great British Bake Off*. Cut to an aerial shot that establishes the Southern English countryside and a country estate from above. Travelling over the fields below, the camera’s movement is punctuated by medium and close-up scenes in which the contestants introduce themselves to the camera and to the television audience beyond. Cut to a much lower angle as the camera slowly crosses over the lawn toward the “*Bake Off* tent”, which gradually comes into view. The “*Bake Off* tent” is pitched on the grounds in front of the Welford Park mansion in Berkshire, which is positioned in the background of an extreme long shot, screen-right. Viewers might recognise the house from the previous two seasons.¹⁴² As the camera nears the “*Bake Off* tent” and the Welford Park mansion, it rises above the trees to reveal the tent, the grounds of the country house estate, and the wider southeast English countryside from above. Cut to a long shot in which the contestants can be seen walking away from the Welford mansion and entering the tent—their path directed across the lawn and away from the property by a thread of Union Jack flags visible in the foreground of the frame. Within the bunting-clad walls of the “*Bake Off* tent” are twelve individual retro-fitted workstations, each equipped with artisanal mixers and vintage fridge-freezers—consumables that can be purchased at most British high street home stores.¹⁴³ As the contestants arrive at their individual workstations, the scene breaks, and the opening credit sequence runs. *The Great British Bake Off*’s theme song plays over a montage depicting close-ups of freshly baked bread, a Victoria sponge, clotted-cream scones and fresh farm produce arranged on a red gingham tablecloth. The opening sequence ends with the image of a cake with the title of the programme placed over it in bold white font—text clearly inspired by the posters issued by the Ministry of Food (“Save the Wheat and Help The Fleet”, 1917) and

¹⁴² Viewers might recognise the Welford Park mansion from the previous two seasons of *The Great British Bake Off* (since Season 5). Before which, the programme was filmed in several other locations, including Fulham Palace (Season 1), Valentines Mansion (Season 2) and Harptree Court (Season 3 and 4).

¹⁴³ The products carefully displayed in the tent are heavily marketed at UK home stores (such as John Lewis and Currys, for example) during the broadcast of *The Great British Bake Off*. Such advertisement campaigns can be found on the individual online store websites, or through other websites. For example, during its 2016 broadcast, technology website T3 had a page advising readers on where they could buy the technology on display in the programme (‘All of the equipment used in Great British Bake Off 2016’). Moreover, as well as promoting brands associated with vintage kitchenware, such as Kitchen Aid and SMEG, *The Great British Bake Off* has also produced its own line of sponsored merchandise, including cook books and bakeware, which are readily purchasable at specialist stores, like Lakeland, and major supermarkets across the UK.

the British Government (“Keep Calm and Carry On”, 1939) during the First and Second World Wars, respectively.

After the title scene, audiences are once more situated within the grounds of the English countryside estate via an extreme long shot of the Welford Park mansion. The presenters formally welcome viewers to the mansion as the camera casts a touristic gaze on the property,¹⁴⁴ putting the setting and the shooting location on full display. Presenters Sue and Mel enter screen-right, before the camera cuts to a final establishing shot of the setting and the shooting location—the “*Bake Off* tent”—which is put on full display, the country house positioned screen-right (*Figure 2*).



Figure 2 The “*Bake Off* tent” pitched in front of the Welford Park mansion

The editing and choice of visual references in the opening scenes of Season 7 of *The Great British Bake Off* recycle the visual iconography, *mise-en-scène* and cinematography of British heritage films produced since the 1980s. British heritage films capitalised on the iconography of an imagined and idealised version of the British national past, reimagining an England that ‘no longer existed [...] as something fondly remembered and desirable’,¹⁴⁵ thus constructing the ‘heritage look’. As John Urry explains,

The attractive representation of the past through a heritage-look suitable for visual consumption, the interpretation of the past through an artefactual history which partly obscures the social relations and styles which underlay the past, the belief that the past

¹⁴⁴ Welford Park has since become a tourist attraction due to the popularity of the programme, and Welford has been quick to capitalise on its popularity, advertising it as the location of *The Great British Bake Off* on their official website. Furthermore, other websites, such as Ideal Home, Radio Times and tourism site Trip Advisor, also advertised the location in conjunction with the programme.

¹⁴⁵ Higson, *English Heritage, English Cinema*, p. 12.

is to be understood through pastiche images and stereotypes which convert the past into simple narratives and spectacles.¹⁴⁶

When comparing the opening sequence of *The Remains of the Day* to that of *The Great British Bake Off*, for example, the similarities are startling. Like *The Great British Bake Off*, *The Remains of the Day* immediately situates viewers in the Southern English countryside by way of a low-angle camera following behind several cars as they drive down a narrow country lane and through the grounds of a country house estate on their approach to the stately home of Darlington Hall (Dyrham Park). The narrator Miss Kenton (Emma Thompson) introduces the location as it comes into view, screen-right. The camera pulls away from the vehicles and on the lawn before the house we also see a large white tent (*Figure 3*).

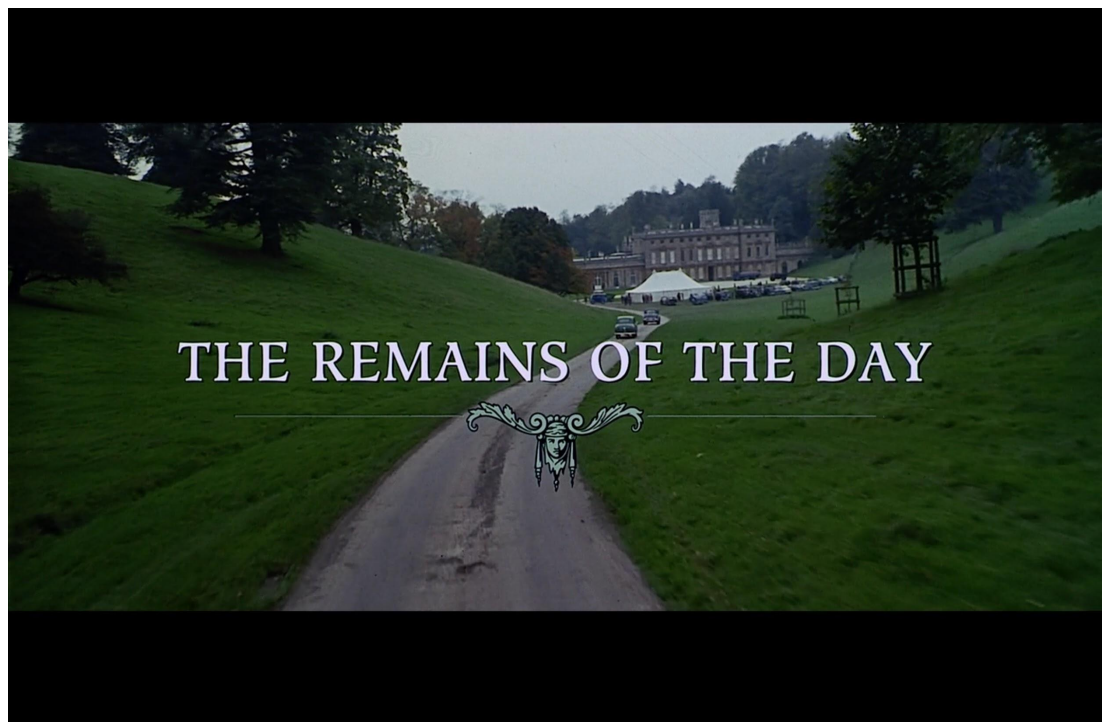


Figure 3 Title card from *The Remains of the Day*. Approaching Darlington Hall (Dyrham Park)

British heritage films are ‘identified by slow-moving, episodic narratives organised around props and settings as much as they [are] around narrative and characters.’¹⁴⁷ British heritage films put Britain’s tangible heritage assets (in the above examples, its historic properties) on display, presenting ‘an image, a spectacle, something to be gazed at.’¹⁴⁸ Heritage

¹⁴⁶ John Urry, ‘How Societies Remember the Past’, in *Theorising Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*, ed. by Sharon MacDonald and Gordon Fyfe (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), pp. 45–69 (p. 52).

¹⁴⁷ Cooke and Stone, *Screening European Heritage*, p. xviii.

¹⁴⁸ Higson, ‘Re-Presenting the National Past’, p. 605.

films do so by providing a nostalgic gaze on lavish settings, sprawling landscapes and traditional country living. The opening sequences of both *The Great British Bake Off* and *The Remains of the Day* situate the viewer in the rural English landscape, usually by way of a wide-angle or aerial-shot, before casting its gaze upon the property. Such shots establish the heritage sites within their respective surroundings, the stage upon which the drama—whether costume or cooking competition—will play out. What is on display in British heritage films is a specific ‘image of Englishness, readily consumable by international audiences’.¹⁴⁹ Within the context of the heritage industry, Raphael Samuel helps us to understand how the heritage films operate as a product:

In a consumer-led society, in which everything has its price, and market values are unchallenged, [heritage] “traffics” in history and “commodifies” the past. It turns real-life suffering into tourist spectacle, while at the same time creating simulacra of a past that never was.¹⁵⁰

In *Marketing the Museum*, Fiona Mclean echoes both Samuel and Higson’s opinions. Invoking Jean Baudrillard, Mclean writes that the past as it is presented in museums—and the same could be applied to heritage films—is ‘[...] a commodity, a marketable product devoid of any traces of meaning. All our yesterdays are today’s commodities. The past on offer is simulacra, hyperreality, a past to gaze at, but which is no longer authentic.’¹⁵¹ Here Mclean is invoking the notions of simulation and hyperreality, in which reality is abandoned altogether, and instead replaced with images and the appearance of the real. As W. M. Smith writes,

Postmodernity, fraught with computer simulations and screenally produced images, is often charged with giving up on reality and leaving us awash in computer-generated and media constructed hyperreal. Oddly enough, in a world of simulation, appearances seem “more real” than the world of people and objects. This is the condition of hyperreality, in which reality is modelled on images.¹⁵²

Invoking Baudrillard, Mclean helps us to understand the depth of the representation of the past in *The Great British Bake Off* compared to its representation in *The Remains of the Day*. In *The Remains of the Day* the past—the house and the status that it formerly represented—is the subject of the narrative, whereas in *The Great British Bake Off* the house is superficial: the shooting location has changed several times without ever impacting on the narrative or production; we never see inside the houses featured, only the tent on the lawn before them; and beyond

¹⁴⁹ Cooke and Stone, *Screening European Heritage*, p. xviii.

¹⁵⁰ Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Vol 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, p. 242.

¹⁵¹ Fiona Mclean, *Marketing the Museums* (London & New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 42.

¹⁵² M. W. Smith, *Reading Simulacra: Fatal Theories for Postmodernity* (New York: State University of New York, 2001), p. 1.

acknowledging the property in name only in each season's welcoming scene, the buildings permanently occupy the space in the background of the frame, frequently positioned screen-right.

This visual motif of establishing the historic property is not only exclusive to British heritage films of the 1980s and 1990s but can also be found in more recent costume dramas. For example, in *Belle* (Amma Asante, 2013), when the orphaned child Dido (Lauren Julien-Box) is taken from the West Indies by Captain Sir John Lindsay (Matthew Goode) and brought to Kenwood House, Hampstead, the house is established in full, screen-right, within the rural English landscape. Likewise, it is also a trope that is reused in Second World War drama *The Imitation Game* (Morten Tyldum, 2014), which begins with Alan Turing (Benedict Cumberbatch) boarding a train and travelling to the nineteenth century mansion of Bletchley Park—'once the top-secret home of the World War Two Codebreakers'.¹⁵³ In the final shots of the opening sequence, the Bletchley Park mansion is framed—much like Darlington in *The Remains of the Day* and Welford in *The Great British Bake Off*—using an extreme long shot, through the trees, screen-right.

While the visual motif of framing the house is frequently used in British heritage films, it can also be found in television period dramas. For example, the opening sequence of the pilot episode of *Downton Abbey* (26 September 2010) depicts the train journey of Mr Bates (Brandon Coyle) to the Downton Abbey estate (Highclere Castle in real life).¹⁵⁴ After several interjected scenes portraying traditional English village life, the historic property of Downton Abbey is established, framed in a similar fashion to that of the aforementioned texts (see *Figure 4*).

¹⁵³ Description taken from the Bletchley Park website. *Bletchley Park. Our Story*, <<https://bletchleypark.org.uk/our-story>>, (accessed 23 November 2018).

¹⁵⁴ The opening credit sequence for *Downton Abbey* is different in the pilot compared to the rest of the programme. Compared to that of the pilot episode, the subsequent sequence offers most of the shots, however through the inclusion of more interior shots and close-ups of physical objects, seeks to establish a sense of the interior world of *Downton Abbey*, as much as the external setting. For the purpose of this thesis, I have chosen the opening sequence from the pilot episode, because I wanted to illustrate how television costume dramas are introduced to viewers in the first instance, just as heritage films are.



Figure 4 Title card from *Downton Abbey* Pilot episode – Downton Abbey house (Highclere Castle)

While *The Great British Bake Off* has much in common with earlier British heritage films, it is also worth acknowledging the degree to which the cooking competition also reflects other forms and developments of the British heritage film since its original conception in the 1990s. Following Higson's original critique and away from the politicised cultural climate in which he originally conceived the heritage film, the notion has expanded. A key figure in moving the discussion about the British heritage film forward is Claire Monk. Monk was the first to periodise heritage films, dividing those released in the 1980s from those made in the 1990s.¹⁵⁵ Monk identified that the latter body of British heritage films—what she referred to as 'post-heritage' films—were visually and symbolically different from the former cycle. The so-called 'post-heritage' films are characterised 'by virtue of their self-conscious foregrounding of strategies designed to subvert the supposed conservatism of the heritage film or to undercut the primacy of the potentially too-dominant *mise-en-scène*.'¹⁵⁶ What sets the 'post-heritage' films apart from the earlier cycle of British heritage films are their aesthetic qualities and representations of gender, sexuality, race and history. 'Post-heritage' films in the 1990s self-consciously recycle the aesthetics of the earlier body of British heritage films, but resist the nostalgic spectacle of the national past, offering instead a critical perspective on Britain's

¹⁵⁵ Ginette Vincendeau, 'Introduction', in *Film/Literature/Heritage: A Sight and Sound Reader*, ed. by Ginette Vincendeau (London: British Film Institute, 2001), p. 7.

¹⁵⁶ Vincendeau, 'Introduction', p. 7.

heritage and strived to represent a more diverse and modern Britishness onscreen. ‘Post-heritage’ films, writes Bélen Vidal, ‘suggests a celebratory turn to postmodern cultural recycling and aesthetic possibilities offered by pastiche in relation to the contemporary period film’.¹⁵⁷ ‘Post-heritage’ films not only challenge the pastoral Englishness and conservative values associated with earlier British heritage films but undermine how the British heritage film is understood conceptually. The heritage film was originally identified by Higson as ‘a characteristic way of “imagining the nation” as a “knowable, organic community” in British films of a typically “national [film] style”’.¹⁵⁸ Whereas, by contrast, ‘post-heritage’ films are able to ‘articulate an inclusive sense of Englishness, affording recognition to the differing nationalities and identities within Britain, and thus emerging as more fully representative of national complexities than ever before.’¹⁵⁹ Moving away from the ‘unified notion of national identity and culture’, ‘post-heritage’ films thus communicate ‘a much more fluid, hybrid and plural sense of “Britishness” than earlier British films generally did’.¹⁶⁰

The Great British Bake Off exists in the boundary between the early cycle of British heritage films and the ‘post-heritage’ films proposed by Monk, especially in terms of its audiovisual aesthetics and its diverse representation of British identity. On one hand, as demonstrated above, *The Great British Bake Off* is visually faithful to the earlier British heritage films in its almost exclusive depiction of pastoral Britishness, presenting the spectacle of middle- to upper-middle class Englishness and foregrounding traditions (baking) and national stereotypes. However, on the other hand, the cooking competition does include a culturally rich cast, depicting contemporary British multiculturalism and thus aligning with the agenda of ‘post-heritage’ films. With Vidal’s thoughts on the ‘postmodern cultural recycling’ in relation to ‘post-heritage’ films, one could therefore regard *The Great British Bake Off* as being, to some degree, a postmodern heritage text—one that consciously recycles the visual symbols of a bygone era in Britain’s history and identity, while at the same time subverting them with contemporary representation of Britishness. I propose that the image presented at the start of this chapter (Figure 2)—the external image of the “*Bake Off* tent” on the lawn before the Welford Park stately home—is symbolic of the consolidation of competing forms of British heritage films from a range of cultural contexts (the 1980s, the 1990s and since the late-2000s). The sum of the external shots of the “*Bake Off* tent” and the mansion, and the internal shots inside the tent—

¹⁵⁷ Vidal, *Heritage Film*, p. 100.

¹⁵⁸ Vitali and Willemsen, *Theorising National Cinema*, p. 10.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

which is occupied by a contemporary multicultural cast—is a composite image that crystallises the foreground (the presenters, contestants, the tent and its appliances) and background (the country house and estate, the wider Southern English countryside) into one coherent image: a contemporary heritage image. The heritage image presented in *The Great British Bake Off* is composed like a diorama, in which the past and present, and the iconography of both the British heritage film and the subjects of ‘post-heritage’ films have been compressed into a single consumable image in which not only the past and traditions can be consumed, but their consumption by the contestants is the subject of the programme. This image evokes Martin Heidegger’s ‘time-space compression’ phenomenon, which was used to describe modern technology’s obscuring of all sense of spatial (near and far) and temporal (past and future) distance. Heidegger writes, ‘everything is equally near and equally far [...] everything gets lumped together into uniform distancelessness.’¹⁶¹ As Jeff Malpas explains,

[Heidegger’s] account of this phenomenon, although it begins with a claim concerning the apparent abolition of distance, ends with what might appear a quite contrary conclusion concerning the apparent disappearance of nearness. In the modern world, it seems, not only is nothing at a distance anymore, but neither is anything brought close.¹⁶²

Based on Wright’s understanding, the construction of heritage depends on the withdrawal of history from its original context and its repositioning and repurposing for the present day.¹⁶³ Heidegger’s ‘time-space compression’ phenomenon becomes useful here, when combined with the idea of popular factual and reality television as a heritage diorama. Dioramas, by definition, are ‘a model representing a scene with three-dimensional figures, either in miniature or as a large-scale museum exhibit’.¹⁶⁴ Dioramas invoke the idea of the historical world being recreated, miniaturised and placed on display in a museum, for example, to return to critics’ concerns related to the ‘museumification’ of the United Kingdom and of British heritage in the heritage industry.¹⁶⁵ If we consider heritage as the subject and contemporary popular factual and reality television as the model diorama of heritage, then it is possible to return to the ideas of heritage critics, who—in their various explorations of the heightened heritage phenomena of the 1980s and that of post-2008—comment on the ‘museumification’

¹⁶¹ Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. by Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 166.

¹⁶² Jeff Malpas, *Heidegger’s Topology: Being, Place, World* (Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 2006), p. 279.

¹⁶³ Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*, p. 69.

¹⁶⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of Diorama. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/diorama> [Accessed 14 November 2018].

¹⁶⁵ Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 17.

of national identity and heritage and its repurposing for the present day, and apply them to popular factual and reality television.

The Great British phenomenon

The analysis of the opening sequence of *The Great British Bake Off* addresses the first question at the centre of this chapter—what does *The Great British Bake Off* reveal about the nature of the relationship between popular factual heritage television and the British heritage film? The relationship is aesthetic. The visual aesthetic of *The Great British Bake Off* is the result of the close visual connection between a popular factual heritage television programme and the British heritage film. *The Great British Bake Off* capitalises on the visual iconography, *mise-en-scène* and cinematography of earlier British heritage films in order to create what has become its signature look and feel, and to furthermore articulate ‘a nostalgic and conservative celebration of the values and lifestyles of the privileged classes.’¹⁶⁶ Inspired by the British heritage film, the signature aesthetic of *The Great British Bake Off* has, in turn, travelled. The visibility of the aesthetic in the heritage industry can be found in the programmes, products and activities that the cooking competition has clearly inspired. *The Great British Bake Off* has influenced a range of other television programme, including charity specials, such as *The Great Sport Relief Bake Off* (BBC, 2012; 2014; 2016), *The Great Comic Relief Bake Off* (BBC, 2013; 2015) and *The Great Stand Up to Cancer Bake Off* (Channel 4, 2018), which continue the format and visual aesthetic of *The Great British Bake Off* exactly, just replacing the amateur bakers with celebrity personalities; a talk show in the form of *The Great British Bake Off: Extra Slice*, in which presenter Jo Brand along with a panel of celebrity judges and eliminated contestants reflect on each episode of the cooking competition while engaging with *The Great British Bake Off*'s audience (this programme will be studied in the final chapter in this thesis); and spin-offs *The Great British Sewing Bee* (BBC, 2013-16) and *The Great Pottery Throw Down* (BBC, 2015), which follow a similar format as *The Great British Bake Off*, but replace the pastime of baking with other pastimes, such as sewing and pottery, also deviating away from the country house setting to locations otherwise used in the heritage genre.¹⁶⁷

Beyond aesthetics and the medium of television, the influence of *The Great British Bake Off* can be seen culturally, specifically in relation to the heritage industry. This section addresses

¹⁶⁶ Higson, *English Heritage, English Cinema*, p. 12.

¹⁶⁷ *The Great British Sewing Bee* is set in a Georgian town house in East London and *The Great British Pottery Throw Down* trades the Southern English rural setting for an workshop in the industrial setting of Middleport, Stoke-on-Trent.

this chapter's second research question—how does popular factual heritage television, and *The Great British Bake Off* in particular, both reflect and help shape the contemporary heritage phenomenon? In the following, I argue that the answer is a combination of two things: firstly, the aesthetic influence of popular factual heritage television and *The Great British Bake Off* specifically can be mapped across the contemporary heritage industry. This is the result of the effectivity of *The Great British Bake Off*'s branding strategy. Catherine Johnson's introduction to her book *Branding Television* begins with an analysis of an advert for Channel 4's on-demand service—4OD—in 2009, which depicts a young man entering a corner shop, where on the shelves are Channel 4 series packaged as consumer goods.¹⁶⁸ For Johnson, '[t]he positioning of television programmes as branded customer products [is] unsurprising given the emergence of branding as a strategy to respond to the challenges and complexities of this new television landscape.'¹⁶⁹ Television in the digital age, claims John Ellis, has entered 'a world full of brands'.¹⁷⁰ To support her opinion, Johnson calls on the opinion of John Thornton Caldwell, who has argued that "'Branding" has emerged as a central concern of the television industry in the age of digital convergence'.¹⁷¹ Television companies (such as Channel 4 and the BBC, which is a case study in Johnson's book), as well as programmes themselves, have to be constructed with a brand in mind in order to survive the oversaturated television (and convergence) landscape and platforms, and sustain interest beyond the programme itself, in the form of generating a following, guaranteeing loyalty, investment (in good related to the programme) and further engagement. In full, Johnson writes,

Television corporations now have brand strategies and television channels are being constructed with brand identities that are conveyed through logos, slogans and trailers. Even programmes are now being constructed as brands designed to encourage audience loyalty and engagement with the text beyond the act of television viewing.¹⁷²

The producers of *The Great British Bake Off* have been savvy in creating and sustaining interest in the series beyond its broadcast, ensuring people follow and interact with the series online (I will be returning to this aspect of the programme in Chapter Four in relation to spin-off *Extra Slice*), buy merchandise, rewatch on Netflix and 4OD, as well as ensured the programme's success when it was acquired by Channel 4 in 2016.

¹⁶⁸ Catherine Johnson. *Branding Television* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 1.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ John Ellis, *Seeing Things: Television in the Age of Uncertainty* (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2000), p.165

¹⁷¹ Caldwell, J. T. (2004) 'Branding' In: Newcomb, H. (eds.) *Encyclopaedia of Television: Volume 1*, New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, p.305.

¹⁷² Johnson, 2012: 2.

As established in the previous reading of the opening sequence of *The Great British Bake Off*, the cooking competition has been carefully assembled, influenced by the aesthetic of the British heritage film, thus allowing itself to co-exist alongside other heritage dramas, while also contributing to the wider brand identity of what I argue is its own brand: popular factual heritage television. As a brand and a product, therefore, *The Great British Bake Off* has, in turn, been mobilised by the heritage industry. The *The Great British Bake Off's* aesthetic can be found in the branding of consumer merchandise, where viewers and fans of the cooking competition are able to own a range of sponsored home-baking goods, ranging from branded cake forks, jigsaw puzzles and oven gloves, to the official wooden spoon (a standard wooden spoon with the name of the programme branded at the top); the programme is referenced in the promotion of other texts; the cooking competition is used to encourage certain recreational activities, particularly pastimes such as baking and afternoon tea; and the aesthetic has been borrowed in the branding of certain events. Secondly, *The Great British Bake Off* has manifested and harnessed a participatory culture around the programme. Not only does the programme encourage viewers at home to get involved, but the producers also utilise social media in order to connect to viewers, inviting them to discuss each episode using the appropriate social media vernacular (hashtags such as #GBBO, for example).¹⁷³ Viewers are invited to participate in the prescribed challenges assigned to the contestants in the programme via 'bake alongs',¹⁷⁴ or are encouraged to share photographs of their home bakes online while once more using the appropriate social media language (for example, the hashtag #TwitterBakeAlong). Once shared online, some are even selected and are asked to bring their creations to the Channel 4 (formerly the BBC) television studio to share them before the live studio audience on the talk show *The Great British Bake Off: Extra Slice* (which will be explored in the final chapter).

Viewers and internet users embrace social media platforms such as Twitter and programmes like *The Great British Bake Off: Extra Slice* to get involved in the cooking competition, forming a community around the programme and a connection to the subject and themes included. Taking advantage of select hashtags promoted during the programme's broadcast, viewers, as users, can be found across social media platforms collectively and publicly

¹⁷³ A hashtag is a social media trope in which the hash sign (#) precedes a word or phrase 'to identify messages on a specific topic.' (Oxford English Dictionary).

¹⁷⁴ As described on the official website to *The Great British Bake Off*, a 'Bake along' invites viewers of the series to get involved by baking, taking a photo of said bake, and uploading to social media 'for the whole wide world to marvel at.' *Join the Bake Along*, The Great British Bake Off, <https://thegreatbritishbakeoff.co.uk/join-bake-along/>, [accessed 25 November 2018].

participating in the programme. As illustrated below (in *Figure 5*), one user posts a photo of their home bake in their tweets, which feature the hashtags #GBBO and #heritage.



Figure 5A Twitter user shares a photo of home bake.

While another viewer uses the #GBBOTwitterBakeAlong to display their Bakewell tart in conjunction with the task assigned to the competitors in a challenge in a particular episode (*Figure 6*).



Figure 6 A Twitter user shares a photo of their home bake.

In addition to members of the public and viewers of the programme, external parties—including charities, businesses, television producers and networks—have been equally quick to exploit this participatory culture based around the programme. *English Heritage* (under the Twitter handle @EnglishHeritage), for example, posted the following tweet (*Figure 7*) to promote their own online videos—a collection of tutorial videos on Victorian recipes.



Figure 7 Tweet from English Heritage promoting their own video

Meanwhile, the *Heritage Lottery Fund* (using the Twitter handle [@heritagelottery](#)) included #GBBO in a post that showed a person participating in a bake along (Figure 8). Their tweet also includes the hashtag #BakingHeritage and the subject line of their featured image states: 'Heritage: scone but not forgotten! Celebrating all things baked and historic'. The content of the tweet suggests the conscious use of *The Great British Bake Off* and an understanding of how the programme could be used to promote engagement in the heritage sector.



Figure 8 Tweet from Heritage Lottery Fund.

Meanwhile, private businesses are also using #GBBO along with a host of popular and topical British hashtags (such as #British, #London, #Brexit) to promote their businesses and products (see Figure 9).



Figure 9 Tweet from private business

Finally, in 2017, streaming platform Netflix even exploited the popularity of *The Great British Bake Off* in the creation of a promotional video that they had produced and published online entitled ‘A Royal Slice’ ahead of the release of the second season of their heritage drama *The Crown*—an award-winning historical programme depicting the reign of Queen Elizabeth II.¹⁷⁵ ‘Ever wondered what the royal family snack on?’ asks Candice Brown—the winner of the seventh season of *The Great British Bake Off*—addressing her audience from a retro-fitted country house kitchen set (see *Figure 10*).

¹⁷⁵ ‘A Royal Slice’ was shared simultaneously on Netflix’s Facebook and YouTube accounts 6 December 2017, ahead of the 8 December 2017 release date for *The Crown* Season 2. *The Crown | A Royal Slice | Netflix*, Netflix UK & Ireland, YouTube, online video, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r1RnkVBA6tQ>>, [accessed 8 December 2017].



Figure 10 Shots from the Netflix promotional video, 'A Royal Slice'.

As Figure 10 illustrates, the opening sequence cuts between a close up of a vintage record player (top left), a traditional tea set (top middle) and the Union Jack flag (top right). These are followed by the title card (bottom left), after which we see a butler enter the frame with Candice (bottom middle), and standing on the counter beside her is the bust of Winston Churchill (bottom right). In the final still (bottom right), we see Candice staged in the appealing set of the traditional country house kitchen, complete with retro appliances and British stereotypes. In this scene, she faces the camera and asks the question that this analysis opened with—‘Ever wondered what the royal family snack on?’—inviting audiences to engage with heritage drama *The Crown* by way of the format and visual character of the cooking programme. What is interesting about ‘A Royal Slice’ is that in addition to referencing *The Great British Bake Off*—by featuring a previous winner—the promotional video also visually echoes the aesthetics and editing of the opening sequence of *The Great British Bake Off*. It features close-ups of retro appliances, tea cups, fresh bakes and bunting. I would argue that the result is a combination of popular factual heritage television, *The Great British Bake Off*, and a British heritage drama, *The Crown*, revealing the dialogue between the two formats and formation of a hybrid heritage text, or perhaps a promotional heritage film subcategory.

In the next section I have chosen to analyse *The Great Get Together*, a nation-wide event that not only borrows from the aesthetics of *The Great British Bake Off*, but also capitalises on the nature of the engaged following the programme has attracted. While considering this engaged audience—who are participants in both *The Great British Bake Off* and the contemporary heritage industry—the following analysis will explore the aesthetic journey from British heritage films to popular factual heritage television to the heritage industry, suggesting that while the heritage aesthetic can be a unifying spectacle, its use can also be problematic.

The Great Get Together

The Great Get Together is an annual nation-wide event launched in 2017 by the family of Jo Cox—a Labour Party politician who was murdered 16 June 2016 for upholding beliefs about an inclusive and united Britain (values made clear in her first speech to Parliament on 3 June 2015).¹⁷⁶ In her speech, Cox can be quoted as saying;

It is a joy to represent such a diverse community. Batley and Spen is a gathering of typically independent, no-nonsense and proud Yorkshire towns and villages. Our communities have been deeply enhanced by immigration, be it of Irish Catholics across the constituency or of Muslims from Gujarat in India or from Pakistan, principally from Kashmir. While we celebrate our diversity, what surprises me time and time again as I travel around the constituency is that we are far more united and have far more in common with each other than things that divide us.

The Great Get Together was organised to honour Cox's politics, but moreover to represent her beliefs. As the mission statement on the website reads, the aim of The Great Get Together is to put on 'the biggest neighbourhood celebrations since the Jubilee street parties [by] inviting people to get together with their neighbours to share food and celebrate all that we hold in common. It could be a street party or a shared barbecue, a picnic or a bake off.' The primary objective 'is that we have fun and bring communities closer together'.¹⁷⁷

On the banner at the top of the homepage of the official website for the nation-wide event The Great Get Together (16-18 June 2017), is the title of the occasion in tall, white, bold, uppercase font, centre-justified, and placed on a background of red gingham tablecloth (Figure 11).



Figure 11 The banner from the official website for The Great Get Together.

The branding of The Great Get Together event visually references the title card of *The Great British Bake Off*. Furthermore, like the cooking competition, it evokes the visual aesthetic of the posters of yesteryear and, I argue, the nostalgia and jingoism with which they are infused. The use of tall, white, bold, upper-case font in both the popular factual heritage television

¹⁷⁶ Cox's parliament address can be found in full at the following: "Devolution and Growth across Britain." *Hansard Online*, <<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2015-06-03/debates/15060324000002/DevolutionAndGrowthAcrossBritain#contribution-15060332000038>> [accessed 30 August 2017].

¹⁷⁷ Full details about the event can be found on the 'About' page of the official website <<https://www.greatgettogether.org/about/>> [accessed 30 August 2017].

programme (*The Great British Bake Off*) and the national event (The Great Get Together), is a design derivative of the British propaganda posters from the Second World War and period of austerity in Britain from the 1940s to mid-1950s. We know from the design notes provided by Mark Simpson—who designed the Mostra Nuova typeface used for *The Great British Bake Off*'s logo and title card—that the font was inspired principally by the style of Art Deco posters and advertisements from the 1930s.¹⁷⁸ Immediately, one might recall the lettering of the ‘Keep Calm And Carry On’ posters produced by the British Government in 1939, which, as Hatherley highlights, have surged in popularity since the late-2000s. The font is also akin to the food and ration posters designed and issued during both the First and Second World Wars, respectively (see *Figure 12*).¹⁷⁹



Figure 12 First and Second World War posters issued by the British Government and The Ministry of Food.

The image on the left (‘A clear plate means A clear conscience’) was designed by James Fitton and was issued during the Second World War, whereas the images in the middle (‘YES - COMPLETE VICTORY IF YOU EAT LESS BREAD’) and right (‘SAVE THE WHEAT AND HELP THE FLEET EAT LESS BREAD’) were created by the Ministry of Food during the First World War, and provide ‘insight into the war economy established by Lloyd George.’¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Stated by Mark Simpson on ‘Mostra Nuova’, <https://www.marksimonson.com/fonts/view/mostra-nuova>, [accessed 31 August 2017].

¹⁷⁹ Information gathered from the Imperial War Museum website. <http://www.iwm.org.uk/> [accessed 12 May 2018].

¹⁸⁰ From the Imperial War Museum website. <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/41180> [accessed 28 October 2018].

Through design alone, both the branding for *The Great Get Together* and *The Great British Bake Off*, like the British heritage film, indulge the nostalgic impulse toward the past, in this instance wartime and austerity Britain. It could therefore be suggested that the decision to capitalise on heritage branding for *The Great Get Together* redeploys a ‘banal nostalgia’ through its use of this particular visual aesthetic.¹⁸¹ The reference to this particular nostalgic aesthetic could thus invoke the rhetoric associated with wartime patriotism, austerity and activities such as street parties, which are explicitly British events associated with celebration and patriotism.¹⁸²

While stemming from a sincere place of celebration of a distinct voice and a set of values belonging to Jo Cox, *The Great Get Together* is nonetheless the product of the contemporary heritage industry. As established, it reflects the British heritage film and exploits the status of popular factual heritage television programmes such as *The Great British Bake Off*, *Sewing Bee* and *Pottery Throw Down* in popular culture. Moreover, the event makes references to the contemporary heritage industry itself, namely the renewed interest in certain pastimes (such as baking and street parties), as well as signifies the revival of a nostalgia for the past, particularly from wartime and austerity Britain (as illustrated by its reference to the vintage posters). The success of *The Great Get Together* depends on the participation of an engaged British public who value heritage and are invested in the idea of national identity in its traditional as well as contemporary definitions. *The Great British Bake Off*—as the various articles included in this thesis’ introduction indicate—has not only been adopted as a cornerstone and a reference point for the contemporary heritage industry, but it has also become a pop culture reference in recent years in discussions about identity and heritage. One can therefore see the logic of *The Great Get Together* making an explicit reference to the cooking competition—given the event’s message of re-uniting Britain and defining national identity in its modern, dynamic form. However, I argue that the choice of aesthetics in the branding of *The Great Get Together* is as problematic as it is patriotic. To illustrate how the aesthetics could potentially conflict with the aims of *The Great Get Together*, I will make reference to an episode of Channel 4 programme *The Last Leg* (Channel 4, 2012-)—a talk show that provides a ‘topical commentary on the week’

¹⁸¹ Michael Billing, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage Publications, 1995).

¹⁸² The first street party organised on mass was the ‘Peace Teas’ in 1919, which were a part of the Peace Treaty Celebrations following the First World War. They have continued to happen in correlation with national events, such as Royal coronations (King George VI, 1937; Queen Elizabeth II, 1953) and the jubilees (the silver jubilee of King George V, 1935; the silver, golden and diamond jubilees of Queen Elizabeth II, 1977 and 2012); the end of the Second World War celebrations of VE and VJ Days in 1945; 1951’s Festival of Britain; Royal weddings (Prince Charles and Diana Spencer, 1981; Prince William and Katherine Middleton, 2011); and the Queen’s 90th birthday 2016. However, street parties did exist beforehand. For more information, see ‘A History of Street Parties’, <http://www.streetparty.org.uk/history.aspx> [Accessed 31 August 2017].

(Channel 4 synopsis)—which was inspired by, and broadcast the same day as, *The Great Get Together*.

The Last Leg

On Channel 4, between 9-11pm on the first day of *The Great Get Together* event (16 June 2017), a special two-hour episode of *The Last Leg* was broadcast entitled ‘Reunited Britain’. As with *The Great Get Together*, the aim of *The Last Leg* special was to not only televise presenters and members of the public gathered on set participating in the nation-wide event held in memory of Cox—an example of a television programme operating in tandem with the time in which it was released—but an opportunity to align with the event’s interests of celebrating community and contemporary multicultural Britishness. During the episode, the programme’s main presenter Adam Hills and supporting presenters Josh Widdicombe and Alex Brooker, frequently reminded audiences of the aim of the event through carefully planned discussions around the question, “what brings us together?”. Importantly, the launch of *The Great Get Together* coincided with recent events that—at that specific time—critically divided the United Kingdom: the United Kingdom was recovering from two terror attacks that occurred in the weeks before (the Manchester Arena bombing [26 May] and the London Bridge attack [3 June]); the tragic Grenfell Tower fire (14 June 2017), which had shone a light on the disparity between Britons of different classes and races; and lastly, Brexit, which continued to divide public opinions with the initial Brexit negotiations looming ahead (19 June 2017). Collectively, these events critically divided the British public, socially, politically, economically and racially. In response to these divisions, the episode of *The Last Leg* attempted to unite Britain by reviving and reinforcing a sense of connectedness based on shared history and pre-conceptions of identity.

The special episode of *The Last Leg* was visually and thematically structured around British patriotism much in the same way as *The Great Get Together* and *The Great British Bake Off*, and the British heritage film and British propaganda films before that. As such, the episode was littered with images and references that endorsed identity and nostalgia that often relied on British stereotypes. *The Last Leg* ‘Reunited Britain’ was a collage of references that capitalised on a host of stereotypes to evoke the sense of what it means to be British, none of which included references to other cultures. The set of *The Last Leg* recycled the material iconography of the British street party, decorated with Union Jack bunting, large flags and other stereotypically British memorabilia (such as red telephone boxes). The special included the appearance of

British celebrities, politicians (from opposing political parties with competition views), athletes and musicians. Their conversations, however, did not address anything resembling a critical discussion about the current state of affairs. Instead they often fell into cliché (discussions about the weather, for example). A gimmick running through the special was the “elevator of reconciliation”—a simulated lift environment that politicians from opposing parties—Ed Balls, Nick Clegg, William Hague, Nicola Sturgeon and Ruth Davidson—were forced to share. Instead of resembling an extension of the political forum, as you might expect and which the programme does not usually shy away from, in the confined space of the “elevator of reconciliation” they shook hands, smiled moronically and ‘let bygones be bygones’ for the camera, while Tony Blair made frequent and outdated references to Cool Britannia. Finally, the discussions and activities populating the special were punctuated by musical interludes by the band Elbow, who replayed much of their set from the London 2012 Olympics opening ceremony. It is worth mentioning that while Elbow’s setlist accompanied Danny Boyle’s brilliantly choreographed display of different periods in Britain’s history and competing ideas of Britishness, in *The Last Leg* their performance served the sole purpose of evoking the feeling of pride and patriotism felt during the 2012 Olympic games.

While this episode of *The Last Leg*, and gimmicks such as the “elevator of reconciliation” appeared to be hosted with good intentions and held in good spirit, I argue that they fundamentally conflicted with *The Last Leg*’s primary objective, which is to provide a ‘topical commentary on the week’. To this extent, I make the case that, in this instance, *The Last Leg*—like British heritage films and the heritage industry more broadly—distracted from the immediate present, offering instead a harmonious, idealised version of Britain and Britishness—one comprised of cliché and stereotype—in the face of uncertainty. To put this episode of *The Last Leg* into perspective, it was broadcast at the exact time that people were protesting outside Downing Street over the issue of the growing class and racial disparity that the Grenfell tragedy highlighted. None of these protests, along with the recent terror attacks (in Manchester and London), the national election, and the impending initial Brexit negotiations, were critically discussed. Instead, *The Last Leg*—a factual talk show about current affairs—fundamentally neglected its duty. It ignored current affairs and chose not to discuss the immediate events as they were unfolding outside Downing Street, no further than a fifteen-minute walk away from the Channel 4 studios—an event symbolising tensions and critically undermined the message of a united Britain.

The Great Get Together and this special episode of *The Last Leg* were aimed as a celebration of Cox’s political vision of a Britain united through, and a contemporary Britishness

defined by, multiculturalism. However, crucially, both the branding of the event and *The Last Leg* fail to highlight this. I argue that instead—through their visual references, nostalgic sentiments and exploitation of stereotypes—*The Last Leg* and *The Great Get Together* homogenise identity and heritage, overwriting a plural sense of heritage that would reflect British multiculturalism, in favour of something universal and non-confrontational. Rather than showcasing and exploring contemporary multicultural Britishness, *The Last Leg*—like the design team for the *The Great Get Together* and the producers of *The Great British Bake Off*—chose to instead consciously recycle the iconography and reflect a longing to return to the perceived comfort and certainty of yesteryear, as imagined or remembered nostalgically through the optic of Britain’s heritage culture. *The Last Leg*, like *The Great British Bake Off*, emphasises the ideas underlining Coupland’s notion of ‘Legislated Nostalgia’ and exploits the strength of what Landsberg called ‘prosthetic memory’, using television—and events such as *The Great Get Together*—as a platform to ‘shape that person’s subjectivity and politics’,¹⁸³ which is in this case is their sense of Britishness. Throughout the episode, British heritage took centre-stage over current affairs, and *The Last Leg*—as a result of capitalising on the iconography of the heritage genre, which was used to brand *The Great Get Together*—operated much like a British heritage film, with British heritage offering a distraction from the period of uncertainty, heightened socio-political divisions and continued context of austerity.

Conclusion

The Last Leg is a good place to conclude this chapter and to reflect on the cyclical nature of the heritage industry. The heritage industry shaped a specific cycle of British films and fostered a politicised climate that invited academics and cultural critics alike to engage with heritage texts and the heritage industry more broadly. Since the financial crisis of the late-2000s, and in the extended period of austerity that has followed in the United Kingdom, there has been a resurgent interest in British heritage, resulting in what I, along with others (such as Hatherley), would argue resembles a contemporary heritage industry. Emerging from the contemporary heritage industry is a body of popular factual and reality television programmes that—due to its transparent relationship with the visual aesthetics of the heritage film—I have referred to as popular factual heritage television, in which I argue *The Great British Bake Off* is a cornerstone text. Although it was released several years into the contemporary heritage industry, *The Great British Bake Off* demonstrates a self-awareness of the position and role of heritage during times

¹⁸³ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, p. 2.

of uncertainty, and as such, consciously it is constructed with close reference to not only earlier British heritage films, but also it is constructed around and for a nostalgic popular culture.

. The relationship between *The Great British Bake Off* and the climate of the heritage industry is indeed dialogic, as the this chapter set out to prove. As well as helping to shape *The Great British Bake Off*—contributing to its physical branding, as well as its cultural branding—the heritage industry, in turn, has mobilised the cooking competition, in the form of merchandise and tourism; the programme has been used in the social media activity of third party organisations and private businesses to promote their goods or services; and, as the final part illustrated, the branding of *The Great British Bake Off*—which is in-and-of-itself mostly an emulation of British propaganda products of the 1930s (wartime posters, aesthetics of post-war austerity era)—has been adapted—quite problematically I must add—in the branding of a national event (The Great Get Together).

To conclude, this chapter locates it's analysis of *The Great British Bake Off*, and the travel of its brand, in the concerns voiced by earlier critics of the heritage industry of the 1980s. Wright describes heritage as a process by which history is extracted 'from a denigrated everyday life and its restaging or display in certain sanctioned sites, events, images and conceptions.'¹⁸⁴ Taken out of context, history revived as heritage can appear 'purged of political tension', becoming instead 'a unifying spectacle, the settling of all disputes.'¹⁸⁵ *The Great British Bake Off* recycled the historical iconography according to visual depictions of the national past in British heritage films to fit its charming vision of Britishness, providing an image of quaint, rural, middle to upper-middle-class Southern English lifestyle. However, as I illustrated at the end of this chapter, that same visual iconography associated with traditional, monocultural Englishness has been adopted for the branding of an event, the aims of which are to celebrate cultural diversity, thus conflicting with the event's overall objective. Participating in the event were the cast of *The Last Leg*, a topical critical talk show. Rather than critically engaging with current affairs and issues confronting British citizens at the exact time as the episode's broadcast, the presenters instead used heritage as a 'comfort blanket'.¹⁸⁶ Heritage was used much in the same way as it was in the 1980s, deployed 'to soothe us, protecting us from the pains of the present.'¹⁸⁷ This chapter asked, what does *The Great British Bake Off* reveal about the nature of the relationship between

¹⁸⁴ Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*, p. 69.

¹⁸⁵ Hewison, 'The Heritage Industry Revisited'.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

popular factual heritage television and the British heritage film, and how does factual heritage television both reflect and shape the contemporary heritage industry? As I have illustrated over the course of this chapter, the cooking competition's aesthetic relationship with the British heritage film translated into the production of a visual reference that has been mobilised by the contemporary heritage industry, and has helped shape popular factual heritage television. Some of these texts are explicitly nostalgic, while others—like *The Last Leg*—are more implicit. Regardless, explicitly and implicitly, these programmes use heritage as a 'comfort blanket', resisting contemporary perceptions of Britishness in favour of a safe, traditional and largely undisputed understanding. These programmes and cultural events—like the aesthetics they recycle—not only perpetuate a nostalgia for a single version of Britishness—defined by homogeneity and rooted in the past—but undermine contemporary understandings of Britishness as a fluid concept defined by multiculturalism and recent history. Combined, they form what I would characterise as a Great British patchwork quilt, which masks contemporary anxieties and conflicting ideas about Britain and Britishness and invites the British public to cosy up under the cover of heritage.

With an understanding of the context of a contemporary heritage industry—which has given platform to popular factual heritage television series, as the previous heritage industry allowed for the emergence of heritage films—and an idea of the aesthetic relationship between popular factual heritage television programmes, the British heritage film, and the heritage industry, the next chapter turns its attention to narrative. It proposes that in the same popular factual heritage television visually borrowed from heritage dramas and combined the visual aesthetics of the heritage film with the popular factual and reality television formats as a way to visually establish itself as a brand (as popular factual heritage television), programmes belonging to this television cycle also selectively borrow from heritage film narratives. How these narratives are communicated by popular factual television presenters and celebrities, it argues, has the potential to forge a connection between television viewers and heritage.

Chapter Three – Mediating Britain’s national ‘master narrative’ in popular factual heritage television

Britain’s national ‘master narrative’ is shaped by several smaller narratives that are frequently deployed in the heritage genre.¹⁸⁸ Ann Gray and Erin Bell regard the ‘master narrative’ as having the capacity to unite the British public, manufacturing a sense of connectedness through the evocation of nostalgia for the objects, lifestyles and narratives of bygone eras that. These tangible and intangible signifiers of the past and of British—due to their perceived historical significance, status in society, attachment to memory (lived or inherited), and prominence in visual media (namely the heritage film or historical dramas)—reinforce a sense of identity and belonging. In this process of national identity formation, television programmes and television presenters play a key role.

While considering the influence of the British heritage film and contemporary heritage industry on popular factual heritage television, the primary aim of this chapter is to explore the ways in which certain popular factual heritage television programmes are both constructed around, and deconstruct, British heritage narratives. As well as considering how the past is presented—visually and aurally—in a range of popular factual heritage television programmes (including architecture, food, restoration, living history, arts and crafts and television travelogues), this chapter considers how various presenters—through their experiences and their scripts—facilitate viewers’ relationship with the past. On one hand, it will illustrate how certain presenters appeal to nostalgia in their presentation of specific tangible objects and traditions from the past, or certain eras, often using the British heritage film as a catalyst. While on the other hand, I will also show the ways in which other presenters are able to potentially reconfigure our relationship with history and heritage; undermining the nostalgia and patriotism of Britain’s national ‘master narrative’ by de-romanticising and critically approaching the spectacle; problematising certain historical periods and figures; and confronting the nature of memory and the ideas of identity that are often wrapped up in it.

This chapter is divided into three parts. Part one will examine how presenters engage with Britain’s tangible heritage buildings and objects. Starting with the symbol of the stately home, through an analysis of *Mary Berry’s Country House Secrets* (BBC One, 2017-)(hereafter

¹⁸⁸ Ann Gray and Erin Bell. ‘Conclusion: Broader Themes and Televisualizaton’. In Ann Gray and Erin Bell. Eds. *Television History: Mediating the Past in Postwar Europe*(Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 248-256. P. 251.

Country House Secrets), it will show how presenter Mary Berry—by way of her experience of the country house, Highclere Castle—expresses nostalgia for a bygone era of pastoral, conservative values, and romanticises the lifestyles of the upper-middle classes. Conversely, it will also show how travelogue *Kevin McCloud's Grand Tour of Europe* (hereafter *Grand Tour of Europe*) and presenter Kevin McCloud, by way of the narrative of the aristocratic Grand Tour of Europe, is able to problematise our relationship with Britain's tangible heritage properties and landmarks. Lastly, it will focus on recreation or restoration programmes—including *Titchmarsh on Capability Brown*, *Restoration Man* and *Guy Martin's Spitfire and World War II Tank*—in which presenters and/or guests work to revive or create tangible objects from the past, sometime that no longer exist, in order to gain a better understanding and appreciation of them.

Part two traces the influence of one particular historical period that has resurfaced in popular culture and current heritage industry—the fixation on the period of post-war period of austerity between 1945 to the mid-1950s. It will look at some of the ways in which the current heritage industry is shaped by the phenomenon of 'austerity nostalgia'—how the post-war austerity period in the United Kingdom has influenced not only the aesthetics of the current austerity-nostalgic cultural phenomenon, but has also guided the narratives, governed the experiences (reflected particularly in the living history category), and restored the rhetoric (of Make Do and Mend and Keep Calm and Carry On in particular) as a way of coping with the recent period of austerity, post-2008.

Lastly, part three part three scrutinises Joanna Lumley's presentation of the narrative of the British empire in *Joanna Lumley's India*, drawing reference to the Raj Revival heritage films of the 1980s, and situating Lumley's programme within the wider context of a host of documentaries, popular factual and reality television programmes broadcast in 2017—70 years since the dissolution of the British Raj and the partition of India and Pakistan. The analysis of *Joanna Lumley's India* will reveal how heritage narratives can sometime collide. In this case, Lumley's narrativisation of the history and legacy of the British colonial rule over India is nostalgic, lacks critical perspective and in some instances is revisionist, as it completed by Lumley's own personal heritage narrative, having been born in and brought up in India while her father served as a high-ranking officer of the British crown.

Transmitting a national culture

Broadcast media—operating on behalf of the ‘national ideology of public-service broadcasting’¹⁸⁹— ‘consolidate[s], build[s] and transmit[s] a national culture’, writes Jérôme Bourdon.¹⁹⁰ As a major proponent of broadcast media, television is thought to perform ‘a pivotal role in the construction of a shared national narrative’.¹⁹¹ Jean K. Chalaby regards ‘[b]oth the organizational form of television’—what Raymond Williams allows us to understand as ‘flow’¹⁹²—and the content of its programming as being ‘central to the modernist intent of engineering a national identity.’¹⁹³ Film and television engineers this sense of a national identity through its choice of content; reflect certain trends in the contemporary heritage industry by revisiting, retelling and recreating certain patriotic historical events—events regarded for their historical significance in contributing to the national narrative and preserving the [often heroic] legacy of the nation¹⁹⁴—and exploring select aspects of its identity and heritage. In the process, popular factual heritage television makes specific reference to defining visual signifiers (the country house for example), historic figures (including members of the British Royal Family or notable prime ministers),¹⁹⁵ and historical moments taken from Britain’s national ‘master

¹⁸⁹Judith Keilbach, “Re-versioning History: National Narratives, Global Television and the Re-versioning of Holocaust/Hitler’s Holocaust”, *Image & Narrative*, 18(1)(2017), pp.80-96: p.82-3.

¹⁹⁰Jérôme Bourdon. “From Discrete Adaptations to Hard Copies: The Rise of Formats in European Television.” *Global Television Formats: Understanding Television across Borders*. Eds. Tasha Oren and Sharon Shahaf. (London/New York: Routledge, 2012): pp.111–127. p.114

¹⁹¹Isabell Veyrat-Masson. ‘Staging Historical Leaders on French Television: The Example of Napoleon Bonaparte.’ In Ann Gray and Erin Bell. Eds. *Television History: Mediating the Past in Postwar Europe*(Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 95-107. p.97.

¹⁹²Raymond Williams. *Television, Technology and Cultural Form* (1974/1992).

¹⁹³Chalaby, Jean K. “Towards an Understanding of Media Transnationalism.” *Transnational Television Worldwide: Towards a New Media Order*. Ed. Jean K. Chalaby. (London/New York: Tauris, 2005). 1–13. P. 1.

¹⁹⁴Some of the patriotic historical events to which I am referring here includes the First and Second World Wars respectively, especially the narrative of Britain’s ‘finest hour’, as well as other national calendar events, such as the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

Historical events are typically recreated in dramas, however recreations also appear in some non-fiction programmes, such as historical documentaries in which reenactments are used for illustration, for example. EXAMPLES.

¹⁹⁵Though not a comprehensive list, a selection of portrayals of the British Royal Family in period dramas includes Queen Anne in *The Favourite* (Yorgos Lanthimos, 2018)(portrayed by Olivia Colman); Elizabeth I in *Elizabeth* (Shekhar Kapur, 1998) and *Elizabeth The Golden Age* (Shekhar Kapur, 2007)(portrayed by Cate Blanchett), and *Mary Queen of Scots* (Josie Rourke, 2018)(portrayed by Margot Robbie, alongside Saoirse Ronan’s Mary Stuart); of Queen Victoria in ITV drama series *Victoria* (2016–), played by Jenna Coleman; of King George IV in *The King’s Speech* (Tom Hooper, 2010); and Elizabeth II in television dramas such as *The Crown*(Netflix, 2016–)(portrayed by Claire Foy [2016-18] and Olivia Colman [2019–] alongside a cast of characters playing an extensive list of members of the British Royal Family).

As well as the British Royal Family, one notable prime minister continues to feature heavily in heritage films and television period dramas—Winston Churchill—where he has been portrayed by many actors including Timothy Spall in *The King’s Speech*; Michael Gambon in *Churchill’s Secret*(Charles Sturridge, 2016); Brian Cox in *Churchill* (Jonathan Teplitzky, 2017) and Gary Oldman in *Darkest Hour* (Joe Wright, 2017). And in television dramas by Albert Finney in *The Gathering Storm* (Richard Loncraine, 2012); Brendan Gleeson in *Into the Storm*

narrative',¹⁹⁶ while also capitalising on the visual aesthetics, *mise-en-scène* and cinematography associated with the heritage genre. Television is then able to reenforce a national identity by fostering a sense of an 'imagined community'—to reference the work of Benedict Anderson—a concept used to address notions of 'nation, nationality and nationalism',¹⁹⁷ and an idea that is often called on in the analysis of 'the construction of national identity through symbols, narratives, literature and communication'.¹⁹⁸ As Andrew Higson writes in his initial exploration of the British heritage film in *Waving the Flag*, common to the notion of a national cinema—and here, I also argue that we can include a national television genre (popular factual heritage television)—is the idea of nationhood. As Anderson conceived (and as Higson reiterates), the experience of nationhood—the sense of belonging to a nation—is to feel part of an 'imagined community'.¹⁹⁹ As Judith Keilbach confirms,

Beyond fostering an imagined community of television viewers, individual programs also contribute to the construction of national identity through their content. The characters and locations of fictional television shows, the selection of events on which factual programs report, and the public issues that television selects and addresses in a variety of different programs, are by and large defined nationally.²⁰⁰

Through the combination of the visual iconography with select moments, objects or figures from Britain's national 'master narrative', I argue that popular factual heritage television—when visually presented utilising the film grammar of the heritage film and mediated by the presenter—has the capacity to evoke memory (memory of both lived experience and imagined), nostalgia, and a sense of identity and belonging.

One of the ways in which television affects the relationship between viewers and their national past is by creating the perception of past and present, then and now. As Raphael Samuel writes,

In one register television offers us a past that is completely static: a time when family was the backbone of society, when 'old fashioned' virtues were unquestioned and everyone knew their place; an indeterminate past, a retrospective haven of stability to which we can escape from the disorders and uncertainties of the present.²⁰¹

(Thaddeus O'Sullivan, 2009); Ian McNeice in *Doctor Who* (BBC One, 2010-11); Andy Nyman in *Peaky Blinders* (BBC One, 2013-); and John Lithgow in *The Crown*.

¹⁹⁶ Ann Gray and Erin Bell. 'Conclusion: Broader Themes and Televisualization'. In Ann Gray and Erin Bell. Eds. *Television History: Mediating the Past in Postwar Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 248-256. P. 251.

¹⁹⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁹⁸ Bondebjerg, 'The Politics and Sociology of Screening the Past', p. 8.

¹⁹⁹ Higson, *Waving the Flag*, p. 6.

²⁰⁰ Judith Keilbach, *Re-versioning History* 83

²⁰¹ Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*. p.14

At the same time as ‘offer[ing] a past that is completely static’, television also represents temporal movement—the passage of time—time that is rapidly sped up over the course of a scene, an episode, a season or an entire programme, thus provoking viewers to feel as though they are being ‘whirled about in a kaleidoscope of change’.²⁰² As Samuel illustrates,

a hundred years of American history are rushed through in a dozen episodes; inter-war Britain is encapsulated in six one-hour slots; Glasgow rises and falls in a series. In a third, the past is presented as a chamber of horrors, a sequence of catastrophic events from which we count ourselves fortunate to have escaped.²⁰³

The result of the feeling between the present and the past, and of the then and now, in the opinion of John Corner, is ‘enriched’ for audiences by television, ‘produc[ing], in its differences and commonalities combined, a stronger, imaginative and analytically energized sense of now’.²⁰⁴ Corner's opinion, on one hand, speaks to the ability of the portrayal of history on television to provoke reflection on the inseparable dynamic between historical depictions onscreen ‘from broader social, cultural or political histories’.²⁰⁵ In other words, how history—communicated through a mass media such as television—allows us to understand the present. This is an idea that governs this thesis, when considering the relationship between the heritage film and the heritage industry of the 1980s, and the relationship between this thesis' proposed genre—popular factual heritage television—and the contemporary heritage industry. While on the other hand, television's production of an ‘imaginative and analytically energized sense of now’—when projected through the nostalgic optic—suggests that we might also perceive the present as being dramatically different from the past. In *Television, Memory and Nostalgia* (2011), Amy Holdsworth explores the relationship between television and nostalgia. By way of an analysis of *Life on Mars* (BBC, 2006-7), Holdsworth demonstrates the ‘paradoxical and playful nature of nostalgia on television’ and discusses how ‘in its play with space and time, nostalgia can operate as a critique prompting reflection on patterns of change and continuity.’²⁰⁶ By comparing the past with the present, some critics—particularly those involved in discussions about heritage—might suggest that the past, to most, ‘seems a better place’,²⁰⁷ especially during times of national turbulence or uncertainty. For Hewison,

What matters is not the past, but our relationship with it. As individuals, our security and identity depend largely on the knowledge we have of our personal and family

²⁰² Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*. p.14

²⁰³ Raphael Samuel, ToM. p.14

²⁰⁴ Corner, 2003: 275

²⁰⁵ Wheatley, 2007, 4

²⁰⁶ Holdsworth, 2011: 103.

²⁰⁷ Hewison, 1987 p. 43.

history; the language and customs which govern our social lives rely for their meaning on a continuity between past and present.²⁰⁸

Hewison's opinion is echoed by Colin McArthur, in his reflection on why television persistently returns to the both the Victorian and Edwardian eras, particularly in several television programmes made in the 1970s, including *Upstairs Downstairs* (ITV, 1971-5), *The Pallisers* (BBC Two, 1974) and *The Duchess of Duke Street* (BBC One, 1976-7). In response, McArthur writes,

It seems reasonable to suppose that a society going through a period of transition and finding it immensely painful and disorientating will therefore tend to retreat, in some at least of its art, images of more (apparently) settled times, especially times in which the self-image of the society as a whole was buoyant and optimistic. For post-war Britain, faced as it is with adjustment to being a post-colonial power, a mediocre economic performer, a multi-racial society and a society in which the consensus of acceptable social and political behaviour is fragmenting (all, of course, factors which are intimately inter-related), what better ideological choice, in its art, than to return to the period of the zenith of bourgeois and imperial power or to immediately succeeding periods in which the facade of that power appeared convincing.²⁰⁹

Holdsworth continues to explain how the relationship between the viewer and nostalgia on television can go on to influence notions of identity and community. She argues that Television has the capacity to forge a connection between audiences and their past and, as a result, this connection has the potential to bind them to one-another:

It is in [its] comparative function that nostalgia plays a role in the negotiation of identities, communities and forms of historical connectivity; of how we were then, who we are now and where we want to be. Nostalgia can offer an escape from the present and idealisation of the past, but it can also be invoked to reaffirm a belief in the progress of the present, and whilst nostalgia is always about loss, recovery is not the objective and the return home is not always welcome.²¹⁰

The relationship between nostalgia and heritage is close, and in regard to film and television, they function similarly. To the same extent that Holdsworth writes about the ability of nostalgia to 'offer an escape from the present', Hewison similarly wrote on the extent to which in the United Kingdom in the 1980s, heritage was being transformed into a commodity to 'dispel [the] climate of decline by exploiting the economic potential of [Britain's] culture.'²¹¹

²⁰⁸ Hewison, 1987 p. 43.

²⁰⁹ McArthur, 1980: 40

²¹⁰ Holdsworth, 2011: 103

²¹¹ Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*, p. 9.

He suggests that in the face of ‘all sorts of insecurity and doubts, resorting to culture and heritage are a source of reassurance’,²¹² presenting the ‘view of a culture that [is] finished and complete’, non-negotiable and firmly rooted in the past.²¹³ For Hewison, the heritage industry manufactured ‘fantasies of things that never were (e.g. a rose-coloured view of "upstairs, downstairs" life in the nineteenth century),’ and this ‘put our capacity for creative change at risk [because it] stifled the culture of the present.’²¹⁴ The heritage industry produces fantasies of the past by putting experience at the forefront, providing a window to the past and a view of ‘how we used to live’ through the presentation of artefacts, architecture and historical re-enactments in staged and scripted reconstructions. The heritage industry exploits ‘the world of both reality and myth,’²¹⁵ and, as Samuel puts it, “traffics” in history and “commodifies” the past [converting it] into tourist spectacle, while at the same time creating simulacra of a past that never was.’²¹⁶ Heritage consumers—that is, visitors to museums and historical properties, tourists, people buying vintage products or styling them in vintage and retro fashions—‘purchase social and cultural transformations into elite domains [...] making heritage consumption an experience well-defined by the postmodernist critique.’²¹⁷ To heritage consumers, the past ‘is not just a place of things that have happened: it is a domain of events in which [they] invest feelings of affection or fear, particularly when [they] get older and become, in a sense, part of the living past [them]selves.’²¹⁸ As Stuart Hannabuss suggests, the past ‘can easily be manipulated and shaped into things worth selling or providing for others’, and one of the feelings heritage and the heritage experience influence is nostalgia.²¹⁹ The heritage industry is a domain of nostalgia, and nostalgia, as Hannabuss writes,

is a motive force behind our interest in antiques, preserving Victorian decoration and design, recreating working class pubs, celebrating the feudal orders of the past. It may well be infused with nostalgia for empire, past glories, past securities, the secret garden of childhood [...] mythologised by middle class cultural tourists²²⁰

Television has the capacity to evoke nostalgia by its telling of historical narratives or in its depiction of the lifestyles of people living in the past, as much as it can be provoked by the *mise-*

²¹² Ibid, p.9-10.

²¹³ Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approached*, p. 16.

²¹⁴ Stuart Hannabuss, ‘Postmodernism and the Heritage Experience’, *Library Management.*, 20.5 (1999), 295–302 (p. 296) <<https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/01435129910276280>>.

²¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 296–97.

²¹⁶ Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, Vol 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture, p. 242.

²¹⁷ Hannabuss, ‘Postmodernism and the Heritage Experience’, p. 297.

²¹⁸ Ibid, p. 297.

²¹⁹ Ibid, p. 297.

²²⁰ Ibid, p. 297.

en-scène (the decor of the film set and the inclusion of everyday objects from the past). Holdsworth signposts to the work of Joe Moran who comments on '[h]ow easily the banal objects of everyday life [...] can be invested with affective meaning'.²²¹ Whereas for Pam Cook (as Holdsworth explains) in her work on the nostalgia film, 'the audience's interaction with the representations of the past demands a cognitive response, as well as an imaginative and performative one'.²²²

Beyond the use of certain content to contribute to the creation of a national identity and community, television provides a site of identification with the past and thus, with the self, which enforces a sense of temporal distance (past and present, then and now, them and me) and unites audiences through memory (lived or created). As such, television can be thought of as a meeting place or a point at which society acquires, or the forum in which it negotiates 'a society's cultural memory.'²²³ Cultural memory performs a pivotal role within the contemporary heritage industry, particularly in helping us to understand the public's relationship with past, and the 'universal urgency of memory' at specific social, political, cultural and historical moments.²²⁴ Perhaps telling of the time in which we are living, there has been a recent growth of history programmes in film and on television. As Jerome de Groot writes,

Over the past decades 'history' and genres of the 'historical' have grown exponentially as cultural artefact, discourse, product and focus. 'History' as leisure pursuit boomed. The historical as a cultural trope developed largely unchecked and unconsidered. As a culture, across a bewildering amount of media, the past seems incredibly interesting.²²⁵

For Peter J. Verovšek, '[t]he current obsession with the past seems to confirm Friedrich Nietzsche's [...] appraisal that "we are all suffering from a malignant historical fever."²²⁶ 'Wherever one looks,' writes Andreas Huyssen, 'the contemporary public obsession with

²²¹ Moran, 2002: 159. Quoted in Holdsworth, 2011: 101-2.

²²² Cook, 2005: 4

²²³ Judith Keilbach, 83, channelling the ideas of Stuart Hall in relation to news programmes. In full, Keilbach writes,

In his discussion of news programs, Stuart Hall (1989) points out television's function in integrating the different groups of a complex society and describes how the news explores and negotiates the views and opinions of its audience. Although his analysis dates back to the early 1970s, it can be argued that television programs about contemporary history engage their viewers in a similar manner. These documentaries cater to the different experiences of their (national) audience and in doing so contribute to the negotiation of a society's cultural memory.

²²⁴ Jacques Derrida (2001, 28)

²²⁵ De Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture. Second Edition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), p.2

²²⁶ P. J. Verovšek, 'Collective memory, politics, and the influence of the past: the politics of memory as a research paradigm' 2016: 530

memory clashes with an intense public panic of oblivion'.²²⁷ Memory—though widely studied across an array of disciplines— is, of course, difficult to define, let alone to know how to approach, methodologically. Such a conclusion has lead Huyssen to write, 'memory is one of those elusive topics we all think we have a handle on. But as soon as we try to define it, it starts slipping and sliding, eluding attempts to grasp it either culturally, sociologically, or scientifically.'²²⁸ One thing made clear in the approaches to memory is that while it is perceived as being rooted in the past, the study of memory is useful in present-day discourses as a way of 'posing important questions about both the present and future.'²²⁹ To explain, Verovšek includes a quotation from Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, who write, 'Our understanding of the past has strategic, political, and ethical consequences. Contests over the meaning of the past are also contests over the meaning of the present and over ways of taking the past forward.'²³⁰ As Verovšek, summarises,

While the politics of memory is rooted in the past, its illocutionary content, that is, the desired communicative effect of these discourses, is motivated by contemporary political considerations. In many cases, memory has real perlocutionary consequences, changing the way that important actors think about and react to situations in the present.²³¹

The other consideration to also make in regard to cultural memory, is of course its focus on the collective over the individualist paradigm of thinking about memory. This has led to the revival of the notion of a 'collective memory'—*mémoire collective*—developed by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. As Verovšek helps us to understand,

As a student of Emile Durkheim (1982, 8), Halbwachs inherited his mentor's understanding of sociology as the study of how individuals living together "expresses a certain state of the group mind (l'âme collective)." He applied this insight remembrance, arguing that it is impossible to separate individual memories from the effects of society at large.²³²

As Verovšek notes, in his 1925 work *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Halbwachs 'argued that collective memory is socially constructed'.²³³ As Halbwachs writes, 'the idea of an

²²⁷ Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (2003), p.17

²²⁸ Huyssen, 2003, 3

²²⁹ P. J. Verovšek, 2016: 530

²³⁰ Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, 2003, quoted in P. J. Verovšek, 2016: 530

²³¹ P. J. Verovšek, 2016: 530

²³² P. J. Verovšek, 2016: 531

²³³ P. J. Verovšek, 2016: 531

individual memory absolutely separate from social memory, is an abstraction almost devoid of meaning'.²³⁴ For Halbwachs, Verovšek explains,

collective memory is always mediated through complex mechanisms of conscious manipulation by elites and unconscious absorption by members of society. These social frameworks not only give meaning to individual memories; they also provide the broad historical imaginary that shapes the selection and interpretation of formative events.²³⁵

What is of interest to this chapter is that Halbwachs 'identified collective memory as a [...] way of preserving the past that is different from modern historical consciousness'.²³⁶ Furthermore, given its foundations in 'both personal identities and public allegiances,' Verovšek writes, 'collective memory is related to social phenomena such as ethnicity, nationalism, and cultural identity, which build on shared understandings of the self (Ego) over and against the other (Alter).'²³⁷ This idea—of the ability of collective memory to underlie ideas of ethnicity, nationality or cultural identity—enables us to understand how communities are forged or at least strengthened through the 'web of relationships and the enacted stories' that the 'collective memory' conjures,²³⁸ which has the potential to 'bind the community together together while allowing human beings to differentiate themselves from each other.'²³⁹ Heritage evokes certain cultural and collective memories viewed as important in the historical context, and valuable in the context of the present-day, for the benefits of underscoring and negotiating a contemporary sense of identity. As well as the select aspects of the national 'master narrative' being presented in popular factual heritage television, this chapter is equally interested in how presenters communicate the past to audiences. Could television—and specifically popular factual heritage television—be regarded as providing the 'social framework'—to borrow from Verovšek—that 'not only give[s] meaning to individual memories [but] also provide[s] the broad historical imaginary that shapes the selection and interpretation of formative events', and can television presenters therefore be regarded as the manipulative 'elites' that mediate the narrative, resulting in its 'unconscious absorption by members of society', thus forming a collective memory and a unifying sense of identity?²⁴⁰

²³⁴ Halbwachs quoted in Claudio Fogu and Wulf Kansteiner, 'The Politics of Memory and the Poetics of History', in Richard Ned Lebow, et al. Eds. *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 284-311: p. 287

²³⁵ P. J. Verovšek, 2016: 530

²³⁶ P. J. Verovšek, 2016: 531-2

²³⁷ P. J. Verovšek, 2016: 532

²³⁸ Hannah Arendt, 1998, 181

²³⁹ P. J. Verovšek, 2016: 532

²⁴⁰ P. J. Verovšek, 2016: 530

Country House Secrets, Grand Tours of Europe and the emptiness between

'Britain is world famous for its stately homes, and when it comes to food our country houses were the taste makers.' This is the opening statement to the four-part programme *Country House Secrets*, in which the celebrity baker Mary Berry—known for her long career in food television and her six-season role as a judge on *The Great British Bake Off* (between 2010-16)—'discovers the rich history of our nation's greatest stately homes through the prism of food.'²⁴¹ Berry's voice-over narration sounds over a sequence of internal and external shots that—as Chapter Two established—we have become accustomed to seeing in heritage dramas in film and television: an extreme long shot of a country house estate; a aerial shot of the sprawling English countryside; a medium tracking shot of Berry walking through a large hall gazing up at the architecture of ostentatious interiors with hung portraits of gentry on the walls; close-ups of meals being prepared; and later, a shot in which the camera tilts downwards, overlooking a well-attended feast being enjoyed in an opulent dining hall, everyone dressed in formal attire being served by the various footmen who work for the estate. Berry's voice-over continues:

In this series, we'll sample delicious dishes and enjoy the lavish hospitality that these homes were celebrated for. I'll show you how to cook tasty modern recipes inspired by the history of our great houses. Join me as I meet the families who own these exceptional homes and find out what it is really like to live, work, and party in the nation's most beautiful stately homes.

In the episode analysed—Episode 1 (broadcast 4 December 2017)—Berry visits Highclere Castle, the world-famous country house known for its use in film and television programmes, most famously *Downton Abbey*. 'This week I'm visiting Highclere Castle, the home of the Victorian house party', Berry announces, as she puts on a pearl necklace, turns to camera and says, 'I feel just like Lady Mary'. She explains that she will be attending a 'very special dinner' before inviting the audience at home 'to dine at some of Britain's grandest tables, in some of the most beautiful houses in the land.'

From the opening title sequence, the camera cuts to a tracking shot following Berry—whom, in this programme, is almost a caricature of rural upper-middle class Englishness, dressed head to toe in Barbour tweed, with leather gloves, hunting boots and a large hat—being chauffeured in a car through the empty and untouched English countryside. 'I'm in Hampshire,

²⁴¹ Description from the programme's official webpage for *Mary Berry's Country House Secrets*. *Mary Berry's Country House Secrets*, BBC One, <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09gv241>> [accessed 1 November 2018].

sixty miles west of London, and I'm on my way to explore one of the most famous houses in England,' says Berry, as audiences are given a peek at the location of the episode. 'It's Highclere Castle,' Berry says, and with this statement, Highclere Castle can be seen in the distance; an extreme long shot captures the house, which is also framed through the trees in exactly the same way as the opening sequence to its drama counterpart, *Downton Abbey*. Robin Nelson writes about the significance of the stately home in heritage dramas, and discusses the partnership between visual spectacle and viewer response:

Stately homes typically provide the settings for frocks and bonnets of costume dramas, affording wide-angle establishing shots of magnificent parks and buildings, [and also provide an extension of] the pleasure of sensual luxury in the spectacular, segments of a plural audience might delight primarily in the sumptuousness of the costumes and sets'.²⁴²

After introducing Highclere Castle, Berry adds, 'it's probably better known to millions of tv viewers around the world as Downton Abbey.' In the same way that audiences 'might delight primarily in the sumptuousness of the costumes and sets', Berry gasps in awe as the car approaches Highclere Castle. The external shot is repeated as Berry excitedly describes her experience as she approaches the house;

There it is peeping between the trees, Highclere Castle. It is truly magnificent. For nearly 200 years it has hosted some of the most glamorous and influential weekend house parties in British high society. Now I've been invited in too. It feels so familiar from watching Downton, but it is also somehow different.

The opening sequence to *Country House Secrets* is effective in illustrating not only the visual travel of British heritage films across the subcategories of popular factual and reality television, but it also reveals the narrative strategies that certain presenters deploy as a means of mediating a specific relationship between audiences and heritage (in this case Britain's tangible heritage properties). Visually, the opening sequence of *Country House Secrets* and its *Downton Abbey*-inspired scenes—like the ITV drama—capitalises on the iconography and cinematography of earlier British heritage films to construct a 'visually spectacular pastiche',²⁴³ in which the signifiers of the past (the country house estate, decor, vintage furniture) are all reduced—in the Jamesonian sense—to 'a vast collection of images designed to delight the modern tourist historian'.²⁴⁴ Like the British heritage genre, *Country House Secrets* visually and narratively articulates 'a nostalgic and conservative celebration of the values and lifestyles of the privileged

²⁴² Robin Nelson, *The Television Genre book. Third Edition*, 2015. p.53

²⁴³ Higson, 'Re-Presenting the National Past: Nostalgia and Pastiche in the Heritage Film', p. 109.

²⁴⁴ Jameson, *The New Left Review*, 146, 1984.

classes'.²⁴⁵ Similar to *The Great British Bake Off*, *Country House Secrets* fetishises—through its filmmaking choices, supporting voice-over narration, and the narrative shaped by conversations that Berry has with occupants, expert historians and genealogists—the lifestyles of the English aristocracy and the environments they occupy—environments in which the British heritage film narratives normally play out and narratives that typically 'focus on a highly circumscribed set of traditions, those of the privileged, white, Anglo-Saxon community who inhabit lavish properties in a semi-rural Southern England'.²⁴⁶

Sequences depicting Berry gazing with excitement as she approaches historical properties, or observing their interior spaces—spaces that are understood by Iris Kleinecke-Bates as providing a 'gateway into the past'²⁴⁷—appeals to what John Caughie calls 'pleasures in detail [in which] our engagement [is] held not by the drive of the narrative but by the observation of everyday manners and the ornamental'.²⁴⁸ Thus, the country house and the glamorous lifestyle that it symbolises is considered a spectacular pastiche that evades critical engagement with the lifestyles of the upper-middle classes that occupy them, and the eras and history that such houses represent. Instead, it grants audiences the visual pleasure so often on offer in heritage films, deploying the same visual grammar 'to place everyday heritage artefacts on display'²⁴⁹. Through programmes such as *Country House Secrets*, the past serves for the purposes of nostalgia. The depiction of the past, in the opinion of Higson—and it can quite easily apply to the houses and artefacts on display in *Country House Secrets*—is 'flat, depthless pastiche',²⁵⁰ which 'attends only to the façade of fashion'.²⁵¹ In full, Higson writes,

What masquerades as the authentic in costume drama is always of course pastiche. In the case of the English heritage film, we are presented with an imagined Englishness, an imagined national past ... a pot-pourri of imitations, homages, gestures [...] the past produced as flat, depthless pastiche, where the reference point is not the past itself, but other images, other texts. The evocation of past-ness is accomplished by a look, a style, the loving recreation of period details. The image of the past becomes so naturalized that it stands removed from history. The past as referent is effaced, and all that remains is a self-referential intertextuality.²⁵²

²⁴⁵ Higson, *English Heritage, English Cinema*, p. 12.

²⁴⁶ Higson, *English Heritage, English Cinema*, p. 27.

²⁴⁷ In *Victorians on Screen* (2014), Iris Kleinecke-Bates writes: 'Recalling [Gaston] Bachelard's 'notion of miniature and the concept of the microcosm encapsulating a macrocosm, the detail of private, intimate Victorian life is used as a gateway into the past. As the symbol of the private domestic space comes to represent a "real" past of ordinary people.

²⁴⁸ Caughie, 2000: 215.

²⁴⁹ Helen Wheatley 'Rooms within Rooms: ITV and the studio heritage drama of the 1970s', in Catherine Johnson and Rob Turner. Eds. *ITV Cultures: Independent Television Over Fifty Years* (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2005), p.148.

²⁵⁰ Higson, *English Heritage*, p.64.

²⁵¹ Ryan Trimm. *Heritage and the Legacy of the Past in Contemporary Britain* (

²⁵² Higson, *English Heritage*, p.63-4.

In this first episode of *Country House Secrets*, the past—that is, the tangible past of the country house, Highclere Castle, and the intangible, the customs of the upper-middle classes—is communicated—visually (in the film grammar) and verbally (by the presenter, Berry, and some of the people she converses with)—through references to popular culture, namely *Downton Abbey*. This is not exclusive to *Country House Secrets*, however, but can be found in several popular factual heritage television programmes. Take Sky Arts competition programme *Landscape Artist of the Year* (2015–), for example, in which both amateur and trained artists from over the United Kingdom compete for the title of landscape artist of the year. The painting competition, like *Country House Secrets*, is shot exclusively in the grounds of famous country house estates, including Lyme Park, Waddesdon Manor, Trelissick, Scotney Castle, Wray Castle and Stowe—a number of which have featured in British heritage films. The programme makes explicit reference to this connection. In episodes where particularly recognisable locations are used, presenters Frank Skinner and Dame Joan Blackwell introduce the country houses and estates, and make reference to films and television programmes that viewers might recognise them from. For example, in Season 1 Episode 3, Waddesdon Manor is used as the shooting location and the presenters mention its use in *The Queen* and *Downton Abbey*. Whereas in Season 1 Episode 4, the exterior of Lyme Park sparks a conversation about the BBC adaptation of *Pride & Prejudice*, in which the house’s façade is used for the exteriors of Pemberley—the fictional home of Mr Darcy (Colin Firth). In the episode, the conversation about *Pride & Prejudice* splits the narrative, creating three parallel narratives in the episode of *Landscape Artist of the Year*: firstly, we have the drama of the painting competition; secondly, the narrative of *Pride & Prejudice* (specifically the scene in which Darcy emerges from the lake); and lastly, we have the contestant’s memory of watching—and re-watching—both *Pride & Prejudice* and this particular scene multiple times since it first aired on British television in 1995.

In addition to the conscious recycling of the iconography, *mise-en-scène* and cinematography of heritage drama *Downton Abbey* in the opening shots of *Country House Secrets* as Berry approaches the grounds of Highclere Castle, along with Berry’s expression of feeling ‘just like Lady Mary’, so much of the programme relies on intertextuality to create—or at least to complete—an image of the past. What is important to acknowledge is that it is not the creation of an image of the past rooted entirely in fact—sourced from documents from the time, such as private accounts, diaries, sketches for instance—but it is a version of the past rooted in an impression of the past as dictated by a heritage drama (*Downton Abbey*). It is a perception that resulted in Berry’s expression of a bond with a fictional television character in a heritage drama

(Lady Merry), as opposed to an actual person from history. This phenomenon—to experience Highclere Castle as Lady Mary does—is one that is marketed by the estate to guests who also stay at Highclere Castle. In a conversation with Lady Carnarvon (Fiona Herbert, the 8th countess of Carnarvon), for example, Lady Carnarvon tells Berry that when staying at Highclere, guests are able to ‘walk down the stairs and pretend like they are Lady Mary if they want to be.’

In *Country House Secrets*, Berry assumes several roles: as spectator, she gazes upon heritage properties, basking in the spectacle; in an investigatory position, Berry—through conversations with experts and occupants of the historical properties (such as Lady Carnarvon)—uncovers the history of British houses and customs with an eye on the past; as a tourist, she experiences the places under the guidance of tour guides; and she experiences places as a television viewer, viewing such houses as Highclere Castle from the perspective of the present and through the optic of the British heritage dramas (such as *Downton Abbey*). To conclude this analysis, I would also like to suggest that Berry also performs another role—a more discrete role, perhaps. In *Country House Secrets*, British heritage is communicated by a celebrity associated with what I am arguing in this thesis is an example of a newly emerged British heritage television genre (popular factual heritage television) and one of that genre’s defining texts (*The Great British Bake Off*), where she is using references to British heritage dramas in a popular factual heritage television programme (*Country House Secrets*) constructed using the visual grammar and narratives of the heritage film (borrowing, once more, from *Downton Abbey*, which, in turn, recycled the likes of *Remains of the Day* and so on). *Country House Secrets* is a heritage text constructed in dialogue with, and around, British heritage films, and is operating to the same effect, and therefore, one has to consider that Berry brings with her an association with British heritage genre (popular factual heritage television), imbued with her own legacy as a television chef of traditional British recipes.²⁵³

Berry’s presentation and curation of Britain’s tangible heritage properties is underlined by a nostalgia, reinforced by the combination of Berry’s own romantic view of the settings and lifestyles of Britain’s aristocracy, and her viewing of them often through the optic of British heritage dramas. Visually, this nostalgia was emphasised by the re-use of the iconography, *mise-en-scène* and cinematography of the heritage film, and in terms of its cast, I propose that nostalgia is possibly brought to *Country House Secrets* by way of Berry’s own status and association as a

²⁵³ Mary Berry has appeared as a guest on numerous British cooking series, and has hosted several of her own, including *Mary Berry Cooks* (BBC Two, 2014), *Mary Berry’s Foolproof Cooking* (BBC Two, 2016), and *Classic Mary Berry* (BBC One, 2018), to name but a few.

celebrity of popular factual heritage television, given her legacy from *The Great British Bake Off*. This section will now consider the ways in which certain presenters are able to problematise our relationship with Britain's tangible heritage, using television travelogue *Grand Tour of Europe* as a case study. Before proceeding to analyse *Grand Tour of Europe*, however, it is useful to define and explore the television travelogue, and to understand its aims and associated presentation styles.

The television travelogue is a genre comprised of documentary film, educational programming and lifestyle television, and is rooted in 'travel literature, travel tourism and anthropological films'.²⁵⁴ Travelogues are widely produced in the United Kingdom, possibly due to the availability and affordability of modern filmmaking technology,²⁵⁵ appearing regularly on terrestrial television (BBC, ITV, Channel 4) and dedicated channels (Travel Channel, Food Network), and are readily available to viewers via multiple on-demand platforms (BBC iPlayer, ITV Hub, All 4, YouTube and Netflix, among others). Travelogues frequently depict the journeys of presenters 'travelling to distant and often exotic places around the world, pointing out the sights, meeting some of the local people and sampling the native customs and cuisine.'²⁵⁶ It is also worth mentioning here that as well as describing specific programmes as travelogues, it is also possible to position the television travelogue in other television categories, such as one-off special episodes of sitcoms or soap operas, for example, in which characters travel to other locations and are confronted with other cultures,²⁵⁷ or to apply the label to segments embedded within a host of programmes, where presenters film separate scenes in which they explore travel and indulge a fascination with the exotic and the perceived 'authentic'. An example of the latter is what came to be known in the press and referred to online as the 'history segment' in *The Great British Bake Off*. The 'history segment' was a staple feature in each episode of the first six seasons of *The Great British Bake Off* before its move to Channel 4. In such segments, the presenters traveled to destinations associated with that week's cooking category to provide the history of a given food specialty, an insight into its production process, and usually a discussion

²⁵⁴ Anne Marit Waade, 'Travel Series as TV Entertainment', *Media Kultur*, 25.46 (2009), 100–116 (p. 101).

²⁵⁵ Jeremy Orlebar, *The Television Handbook, Forth Edition* (London & New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 105.

²⁵⁶ Glenn Creeber, *The Television Genre Book*, Third Edition (London: Palgrave on Behalf of the British Film Institute, 2015), p. 156.

²⁵⁷ Some examples of this might be *One Foot in the Algarve* (BBC, 1993), a vacation special of *One Foot in the Grave* (BBC, 1990–2001), or more recently *Kat and Alfie: Redwater* (BBC, 2017), a six-part mini-series in which characters Kat (Jessie Wallace) and Alfie Moon (Shane Richie) from the long-running soap opera *EastEnders* (BBC, 1985–), travel to Ireland to look for their long-lost son.

with an expert (in the form of a specialist chef or a food historian, for example) of that food's cultural significance (its local as well as wider importance). For example, in Season 7 Episode 3, presenters Sue and Mel travelled to Germany to uncover the history of the dampfnudel—a German bread pudding specific to the small town of Freckenfeld, which dating back to the 1600s where it 'played a big role during the Thirty Years' War, a time where food was scarce.'²⁵⁸ In Germany, Sue and Mel—and by extension us, the viewer at home—acquire this knowledge as it is given, first hand, to the presenters in the episode from the head chef as they try their hand at making it. In relation to the 'history segments' in *The Great British Bake Off* specifically, and travelogue more generally, Sue Beeton—who has written extensively on film-induced tourism—breaks down television travelogues as '[c]elebrity chefs tak[ing] us to different parts of the world chasing authentic regional cuisine in exotic surroundings', before commenting on the tourism potential that such scenes as the 'history segment' and travelogue programmes more broadly, offer. When a programme takes us to an exotic location for a specific reason—for example to Freckenfeld to find out about and how to make dampfnudel—they also 'incorporate touristic elements of the surrounding regions.'²⁵⁹

As well as providing an insight into other cultures, travelogues 'include distinctive ways of relating oneself to the rest of the world'.²⁶⁰ Part of the responsibility of the presenter is to mediate between presentation styles and subjects in order to facilitate this particular kind of connection between the viewer and the rest of the world. Often the personality of the presenter is a primary draw to the television travelogue and celebrity presenters are thought to 'pull in big audiences'.²⁶¹ Celebrity personalities in travelogues not only provide audiences with a familiar face and character, but they also act as a travel guide, leading the viewer through key sites and inviting them to experience destinations and other cultures. The presenter-guide's 'capacity to create a good mood and the audio-visual pleasure given are important concepts' when considering a television travelogue, not just in terms of their entertainment value and the relationship they forge with their audience, but because of their commercial potential.²⁶² Of course, for scholars such as Anne Marit Waade and Beeton, this means the tourism potential of

²⁵⁸ Taken from BBC Newsbeat page 'Great British Bake Off: What is dampfnudel and why is everyone obsessed?' 8 Septemebr 2016. Accessed 20 April 2019.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/article/37306054/great-british-bake-off-what-is-dampfnudel-and-why-is-everyone-obsessed>

²⁵⁹ Sue Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, 2nd Revised edition (Buffalo: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 279.

²⁶⁰ Waade, 'Travel Series as TV Entertainment', p. 101.

²⁶¹ Orlebar, *The Television Handbook*, p. 105.

²⁶² *Ibid*, pp. 101–2.

the television travelogue. Specifically, they identify in the presenter the capacity to market destinations and sell the idea of other cultures to viewers in a manner similar to an advertisement for a travel company, a tourism campaign, or a director's influence over the perception of a place or culture in film.²⁶³ As well as entertaining, it is also the presenter's responsibility to provide viewers at home with a glimpse of other cultures through their eyes. As such, the journeys of presenters can be thought of as, and sometimes criticised for, catering completely around the needs of the 'armchair traveller',²⁶⁴ whose experience of other places, countries and cultures is accessed almost exclusively through the internet, literature, film and television. Joe Moran's book *Armchair Nation*, for example, historicises the British television viewer's relationship to the rest of the world through the medium of television at specific moments and through particular genres, such as documentaries and soap operas.²⁶⁵ Whereas for Monica Hanefors and Lena Mossberg, television travelogues work in unison with the tourism sector, providing 'armchair travellers'—or what they refer to as the 'dream traveller'—with a 'pre-taste' of what a destination and its culture is like before they decide to visit.²⁶⁶ However, these responsibilities can conflict with the celebrity personality when the celebrity becomes the focus of the television programme rather than the place or the subject (this is an idea I will return to in my study of presenter Joanna Lumley later in this chapter). This is the concern of David Dunn, who writes on the celebration of the celebrity in relation to British television holiday programmes,²⁶⁷ whereby 'consumption, personalization and the performance of first person narratives have been privileged.'²⁶⁸

²⁶³ Waade, 'Travel Series as TV Entertainment', pp. 100–116.

²⁶⁴ The *Collins Dictionary* defines an 'armchair traveller' as 'someone who finds out what a place or location is like by watching travel programs on television, looking at the internet websites about travel or reading books about travel.'

²⁶⁵ Joe Moran, *Armchair Nation: An Intimate History of Britain in Front of the TV* (London: Profile Books, 2013).

²⁶⁶ Monica Hanefors and Lena Mossberg, 'TV Travel Shows – a Pre-Taste of the Destination', *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 8.3 (2002), 235–46 (pp. 235–36).

²⁶⁷ David Dunn, 'Tabloid Tourists: Celebrity, Consumption and Performance in British Television Holiday Programmes', in *Leisure, Media and Visual Culture: Representations and Contestations*, ed. by Eileen Kennedy and Andrew Thornton (Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association Publication 83, 2004), pp. 113–30; David Dunn, 'Playing the Tourist: Ideology and Aspiration in British Television Holiday Programmes', in *Ordinary Lifestyles: Popular Media, Consumption And*, ed. by David Bell and Joanne Hollows (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2005), pp. 128–42; David Dunn, 'Singular Encounters: Mediating the Tourist Destination in British Television Holiday Programmes', *Tourist Studies*, 6.1 (2006), 37–58; David Dunn, 'Television Travels: Screening the Tourist Settler', in *Tourism and Social Identities: Global Frameworks and Local Realities*, ed. by Peter Burns and Marina Novelli (London: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2006), pp. 185–93.

²⁶⁸ Dunn, 'Singular Encounters: Mediating the Tourist Destination in British Television Holiday Programmes', p. 39.

When it comes to communicating and exploring history and heritage, the subjects can be enhanced by the celebrity of the presenter. According to Orlebar, the presenter in contemporary popular factual television ‘is now a guide and a friend, who helps to realise the dreams of ordinary people or guide the viewer through potentially yawn-inducing terrain such as ancient history.’²⁶⁹ Here, Orlebar is referencing one particular kind of presenter and communication mode—the factual entertainment mode—however in popular factual television there are typically three modes playing out simultaneously: the ‘factual entertainment mode’, ‘documentary mode’ and the ‘consumer mode’.²⁷⁰

The ‘factual entertainment mode’ is standard in a range of ‘*feel good* TV, including a wide range of subcategories, such as lifestyle programmes, life experience programmes, docu-soaps, game shows and makeovers’.²⁷¹ In this mode, the presenter ‘addresses the viewer as a friend’,²⁷² whereas with the ‘documentary mode’ the viewer is addressed ‘as a citizen’ and the focus is

on the information, enlightenment and journalistic argument. This form typically uses a male, authoritative host, who informs the viewer, sometimes by using a journalistic conflict and argument, as well as facts and themes, illustrative camera and sound and also the role of participants as, for example, expert, victim and journalistic informants.²⁷³

Some examples of presenters who adhere to the documentary mode are Simon Schama, Jeremy Paxman and Dan Snow, who—as journalists and historians—present documentaries such as *A History of Britain* (BBC, 2000-2) and *Empire* (BBC, 2012). The third presentation style in factual television is the ‘consumer mode’. As the name suggests, the presenters in this mode ‘addresses the viewer as consumer’, with the content focussing on spectacle—be it the spectacle of ‘destinations, types of tourists, food and sights, features of the country being visited and its specific culture and nature, as well as encounters with tourists and locals.’²⁷⁴ A clear example of this mode can be found in what could be described as home abroad travel programmes, in which the presenters take on the role of tour guide and estate agent for British families looking to relocate.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁹ Orlebar, *Television Handbook*, p. 105.

²⁷⁰ Waade, ‘Travel Series as TV Entertainment’, p. 103.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁷⁵ For examples of the home abroad subcategory, see presenters Jasmine Harman and Jonnie Irwin in *A Place in the Sun: Home or Away* (Channel 4, 2000–), where both presenters show families homes in Britain and mainland Europe, or Nicki Chapman in *Wanted Down Under* (BBC, 2007–), in which she provides British families who are thinking of emigrating to Australia or New Zealand with a two-week trial run.

Often in television travelogues of recent years, presenters have shown an interest in, and a tendency to revisit, certain historical periods, narratives and locations specifically connected to Britain's imperial past, frequently partaking in experiences typically associated with the British upper-middle-classes. Television travelogues and British heritage films are similar in this regard, placing importance on certain historical periods and emphasising their contribution to a lasting understanding or perception of identity.

The following considers how travelogues help viewers relate 'to the rest of the world', but expands it to consider how travelogues belonging to the popular factual heritage television cycle of programmes might influence a viewer's relationship with identity and heritage. With Berry—a celebrity of popular factual heritage television—we saw that her non-confrontational presenting style, in which she assumed the role of the tourist being guided through Highclere Castle, indulging in the spectacle, when combined with her nostalgic view of traditional rural and upper-middle class lifestyle, resulted in the communication of a nostalgic and romanticised view of country houses, with an indisputable past and held in high regard for their contribution to the fabric of British identity. In the following however, while architect-turned-television presenter Kevin McCloud (of *Grand Designs* fame) has an undeniable appreciation for Britain's heritage properties—in the episode analysed, St. Paul's Cathedral (in Episode 2, entitled 'Florence & Rome' [broadcast 27 September 2009])—his exploration of its design, when traced through the journey of its architect Christopher Wren, compromises its status as a "British" architecture and signifier of British identity, when he reveals it to be the product of cultural and architectural appropriation from the masters of the Italian school of architecture. Thus, unlike Berry, whose exploration attempts to reenforce an appreciation for Britain's country houses, and suggests a nostalgic yearning to return to the past, McCloud potentially problematises our relationship with certain British heritage properties by confronting the aristocracy and their history of cultural appropriation.

Grand Tour of Europe

In *Grand Tour of Europe*, McCloud travels to Venice, Florence, Rome, Naples, Paris and Greece, following in the footsteps of British aristocrats, architects and artists and exploring the legacy of the European Grand Tour on British culture and architecture. In the opening shot of each episode, viewers are introduced to McCloud, who is stood at the centre of the city of London before the Bank of England, his head tilted upwards, mouth agape and eyes staring at the imposing columns and classical European architecture. Without directing his gaze away from

the buildings, McCloud's starts to talk, and over some subsequent shots depicting London's architecture, he says,

All over Britain, our towns and our cities are dominated by buildings like this [referring to Bank of England]. Buildings which control the space around them; which set the character of a place. And yet, so many of them look like classical temples. What are they doing here? How come so many of Britain's buildings look like this? Everywhere around us, from our country houses to our high-street banks, Britain's landscape has been shaped by the experiences of a pioneering group of hedonistic young aristocrats, travelling through Europe 300 years ago on history's equivalent of the gap year, the Grand Tour. It's a journey I've always wanted to recreate; a journey in search of art and enlightenment, adventure and debauchery. Experiences which turned arrogant boys into the men who changed the world in which we live [...] Now, I'm heading south on the trail of the next wave of Grand Tourists, to the great Renaissance cities of Florence and Rome, in search of art and architecture that would assault the senses, and which would inspire the rebuilding of London after one of the greatest disasters in its history: the Great Fire.

With the aid of architectural sketches, a selection of journal entries, information found in biographies and guidebooks, and conversations had with various experts in the field, over the course of the programme McCloud visits specific sites of historical significance in the United Kingdom—tangible heritage properties and signifiers of Britishness—and traces their roots to the places, sites and experiences on the Grand Tourist itineraries that influenced them.²⁷⁶ According to Anglophone scholarship, the European Grand Tour is 'a British-led consumption of Italy's art, antiquities and history.'²⁷⁷ As Rosemary Sweet et al. write in the introduction to their collection *Beyond the Grand Tour*, the Grand Tourist's adventure through to Rome

represented the culmination of a youth's education and his passage to adult manhood, the Grand Tour involved sending young noblemen southwards to acquire a taste in the fine arts, to study the remains of Roman antiquity, to improve their command of French or Italian, to hone their diplomatic skills and to master the noble arts of dancing, fencing, horsemanship and conversation.²⁷⁸

For Bruce Redford,

A Grand Tour is not a Grand Tour unless it includes the following; first a young British male patrician (that is, a member of the aristocracy or the gentry); second, a tutor who accompanies his charge throughout the journey; third, a fixed itinerary that makes

²⁷⁶ British aristocrats were able to follow in the footsteps of earlier British Grand Tourists who had translated their experiences, itineraries and recordings (notes, stories, routes and sketches) into published travel guides for others to learn from and, if financially able, to follow. Famous publications, which were as influential then, as they are still today, include George Bradshaw's *Bradshaw's Handbook* (1863) and *Bradshaw's Continental Railway Guide* (1913) and Verlag Karl Baedeker's *Baedeker* travel companions, which have been published since 1832.

²⁷⁷ Rosemary Sweet, Gerrit Verhoeven, and Sarah Goldsmith, *Beyond the Grand Tour: Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour* (London & New York: Taylor & Francis, 2017), p. 1.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 1.

Rome its principal destination; fourth, a lengthy period of absence, averaging two or three years.

The Grand Tour is, of course, famously depicted in heritage film *A Room with a View*. Set in early-1900s in Florence and Surrey, England, *A Room with a View* is about the sexual awakening of a young Englishwoman, Lucy Honeychurch (Helena Bonham Carter), following her romantic encounter with George Emerson (Julian Sands) who she meets in Florence while their families are touring Italy (this case study will make frequent references to *A Room with a View* at various points in its analysis of *Grand Tour of Europe*).

Away from the country houses of *Country House Secrets*, in Episode 2 of *Grand Tour of Europe*, McCloud focusses on architect Wren and St. Paul's Cathedral in London—a UNESCO World Heritage site and famous British architectural landmark. Rather than reference the World Heritage site visually, by utilising extreme-long shots to frame it against London's skyline, emphasising its status as a defining architecture in the United Kingdom's capital city, after the opening sequence, *Grand Tour of Europe* opens with McCloud inside the structure, standing on a viewing platform at the top of the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral overlooking the city of London. As the camera pans over the city, McCloud says, 'the view from the top of St Paul's Cathedral tells a story', before continuing to describe how the Great Fire of London destroyed the city in 1666. McCloud explains that despite being a catastrophe, the Great Fire presented 'an opportunity for London to rebuild itself as the greatest city since ancient Rome.' The shots that follow—illustrated below in *Figure 13*—show that it is only when McCloud has established the narrative background of St. Paul's Cathedral, that we—as viewers—are granted the expected shot of the architecture, which is framed in the same way as the other heritage properties analysed in this thesis thus far.



Establishing Shot of St. Paul's Cathedral.



Inside St. Paul's Cathedral, looking down.



McCloud lying underneath dome structure.



Establishing Shot of the inside of the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Figure 13 External and internal scenes of St. Paul's Cathedral in the opening scenes of Kevin McCloud's *Grand Tour of Europe*

An establishing shot of the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral is perfectly centred and shot like a tourist attraction through the trees (top-left). The camera then cuts to an interior shot, looking down upon McCloud from above as he walks down the centre of the hall (top-right). The voiceover (from McCloud) narrates the destruction of the old St. Paul's Cathedral and, as McCloud lays on the floor below St. Paul's dome, looking up, he explains that it was also an opportunity to recreate London's 'crowning centrepiece, intended to rival any other on Earth' (bottom-left and bottom-right). McCloud explains that Wren was given the chance to redesign what McCloud refers to as the 'un-British St. Paul's'. McCloud explains that what is unique about St. Paul's Cathedral is that instead of building a spire that 'points to God', Wren introduced Britain, architecturally, to the dome structure, having taken inspiration from his own Grand Tour of Europe.

McCloud's intentions from the start is to disrupt Britain's relationship with St. Paul's Cathedral and the perception that is a symbolic marker of British identity, by locating its inspirations elsewhere, specifically in Italy. St Paul's Cathedral is directly inspired by Brunelleschi's Il Duomo in Florence and Michelangelo's St. Peter's in Rome. Just as McCloud forensically analyses St. Paul's Cathedral with the help of a film grammar that takes us behind the scenes, as opposed to indulging the spectacular impulse to showcase the dome against the backdrop of the city of London, *Grand Tour of Europe* is also careful to avoid, as much as possible,

the impulse to nostalgically romanticise the narrative of the Grand Tour of Europe as it was so often romanticised by British aristocrats. In the heritage film *A Room with a View*, for example, novelist Miss Eleanor Lavish (Judy Dench) is a fictional example of this relationship with the European Grand Tour. In *A Room with a View*, Lucy's experience of Italy and romantic endeavours with George Emerson catch the attention of a writer Lavish, who is among the group of British expats on their Grand Tour of Florence. She has observed Lucy for a character in her novel *Under a Loggia: a Romance Set in Italy*, which we hear an excerpt from later in the story when the narrative moves to Surrey, England. Lavish's study and narrativisation of Lucy's personal journey reveals how Florence functions for the benefit of her story—as pathetic fallacy for Lucy's personal and romantic development. Whereas in television, George Bradshaw's account of the aristocratic Grand Tour—a tour guide of its day when it was published as the *Bradshaw's Handbook* in 1863—prescribes the journey followed by member of parliament-turned-television presenter Michael Portillo in *Grand Continental Railway Journeys*. In the opening sequence of *Great Continental Railways Journeys*, Season 6 Episode 3 entitled 'Pisa to Lake Garda' (broadcast 30 October 2015), Portillo can be seen clutching his copy of the Bradshaw's guide as he boards a train bound for Florence. His voiceover explains,

For Victorian Britons, George Bradshaw was a household name [...] I'm using a Bradshaw's Guide to understand how trains transformed Britain, its landscape, its industry, society and leisure time. As I crisscross the country 150 years later, it helps me to discover the Britain of today. I'm embarking on a new railway adventure that will take me across the heart of Europe. I'll be using this, my Bradshaw's Continental Railway Guide, dated 1913, which opened up an exotic world of foreign travel for the British tourist. It told travellers where to go, what to see and how to navigate the thousands of miles of tracks criss-crossing the Continent. Now, a century later, I'm using my copy to reveal an era of great optimism and energy where technology, industry, science and the arts were flourishing. I want to rediscover that lost Europe that, in 1913, couldn't know that its way of life would shortly be swept aside by the advent of war. On this journey, I'm heading to one of the most popular destinations on an Edwardian traveller's itinerary, to a country whose famous sights had, in 1913, already attracted British grand tourists for more than 200 years. A century ago, foreign tourists in Italy, armed with their Bradshaw's guide, regarded the country as a museum.

Portillo informs audiences of the self-imposed limitations of his personal journey, which is to only visit the places and see the sites documented in his copy of the Bradshaw's guidebook. His experience can be compared to that of the character of Miss Bartlett (Maggie Smith) in *A Room with a View*—who only wishes to explore Florence as it is prescribed in her Baedeker travel

companion (another famous guidebook of the day).²⁷⁹ Portillo is more than content to undertake the Grand Tour as it is outlined in Bradshaw's guidebook, and to have the same experience as former Grand Tourists. Considering the desired outcome of his Grand Tour, Portillo not only hopes to discover more about 'the Britain of today', but also to embark on the same European Grand Tour in order to better connect with previous generations of Britons. His intention is to reveal and reclaim 'an era of great optimism and energy where technology, industry, science and the arts were flourishing' before the war. The dynamic between the popular factual heritage television travelogues is exposed in the aims of the individual Grand Tours that the presenter embarks on. There is a sense from Portillo's introduction of a nostalgia that he feels has since been lost, whereas for McCloud, in *Grand Tour of Europe*, he wishes to disrupt this idea—breaking away from the nostalgia and the idea of certain architectures being symbols of British national identity, by redefining what are widely regarded British customs and architectures as quintessentially European.

Grand Tour of Europe establishes the aristocratic Grand Tour as an influential trip for designers and architects like Wren, and rather than recreating Wren's Grand Tour, McCloud sets out to instead visit specific sites in order to tell an explicit story of inspiration and cultural appropriation in regard to British architecture and some other aspects of its culture. Over the course of his journey, through conversations (mostly spoken in Italian) with the people of Florence, experts and historians, McCloud studies the relationship between the British Grand Tourists and their integration within Florentine culture. This leads McCloud to be more critical of the extent to which British architects and aristocrats appropriated Florentine (and wider European) culture and heritage, provoking him to question the degree to which perceived "British" architectures (such as St. Paul's Cathedral) can indeed be considered "British".

From the viewing platform on top of the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, McCloud travels to Florence. As he approaches the city limits driving a Fiat 500, McCloud, positioned in the foreground of the scene, pulls over and gazes out onto the city from afar (see *Figure 14*).

²⁷⁹ During the time in which Forster's novel and the film adaptation were set, Baedeker guidebooks would have been very popular and followed strictly by British Grand Tourists. As Neil Hallows explains, '[w]hen the novel was published in 1908, Baedekers were at the peak of their influence over where and how the middle classes found their tea, culture and lodgings abroad.' Neil Hallows, 'Are the Old Ones the Best Ones?', *BBC News*, 7 January 2008 <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/7174904.stm>> [accessed 22 April 2018].



Figure 14 Presenter McCloud looks over the city of Florence in Grand Tour of Europe

He gazes at the view of Florence that we are familiar with from its many cinematic depictions, not least the aforementioned texts *A Room with a View* and *Great Continental Railway Journeys*. In *A Room with a View*, for example, with the opening of the window shutters of the Emerson's former bedroom at the *Pensione Bertolini* by Lucy on the morning after George Emerson offers to swap rooms with a frustrated Miss Bartlett (Maggie Smith), the picture postcard view of Florence—complete with all of the touristic sites (the Arno, Il Duomo, Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore)—is perfectly framed and presented to Lucy for the first time, as it is to viewers (see *Figure 15*).



Figure 15 Lucy Honeychurch look out of her window in *A Room with a View*

In *A Room with a View*, Florence is often viewed from the tourist perspective, as characters gaze out onto the landscape and up at architecture, as they stare at statues and art, and observe the *other* culture going about their day-to-day, which is viewed with charm or curiosity. The initial unhappiness of Miss Bartlett at the beginning of the story reveals the value placed on the view, whereas the first visual introduction to Florence through the window at the *pensione* illustrates its display for tourist's gaze. For Miss Bartlett, the view fulfils her desire to provide Lucy with the touristic experience of Florence, giving her access to the guidebook view, framed like a post-card through the tourist optic. Central to the guidebook experience of the Grand Tour is the scenic view of the city. The desired view of Florence symbolises the picturesque 'post-card' image—the city and all of its attractions, on display and enclosed within the square frame of the window, its limits tangible. Florence serves to be looked at from the distance of the *pensione* and gazed upon by the British Grand Tourists, who will recount it in stories to the British public on their return to the United Kingdom. This is affirmed later in the story, for example, when the view is immortalised in Lavish's novel, an excerpt of which is read aloud by Lucy's fiancé Cecil (Daniel Day Lewis) back in England. In the excerpt it is revealed that Lavish was witness to Lucy's Italian romance, and in her novel, Lucy's relationship with the view takes on additional value as she forges an internal, intimate connection with the city. It is therefore from this moment in the narrative (of the film and in Lavish's novel) that Lucy embarks on a cultural and sexual transformation, the product of her time in Florence.

Likewise, we see the desire for the tourist experience of Florence play out in *Great Continental Railway Journey*, which—in its opening scenes—presents several similarly picturesque postcard views of Florence as seen in *A Room with a View*. *Great Continental Railway Journey* is the product of the confluence of the tourist experience of place, marrying postcard images of the city with a presenter-tourist regimentally following his guidebook. If we observe the introduction to the episode, for example (depicted in *Figure 16*), we can see some of the ways in which Portillo engages with Florence, and how the programme is constructed around subjects like the Grand Tour.

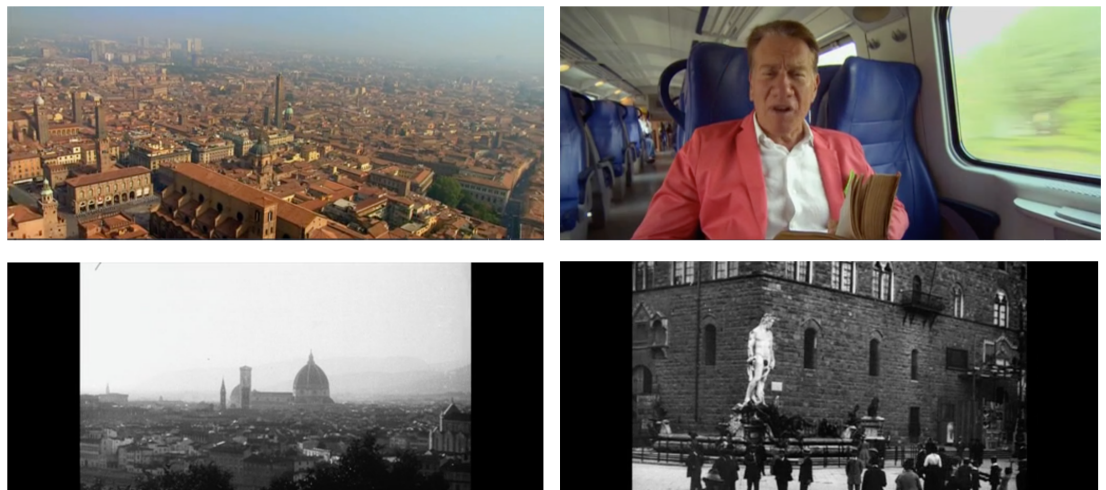


Figure 16 Shots from the opening scenes of Michael Portillo's Grand Continental Railway Journey

Top-left, we see a post-card view of the city, containing many of the sites that featured in the scenes previously analysed in *A Room with a View*. Then, top-right, we see Portillo consulting his Bradshaw's guide, referring to it to explain what the Grand Tourists themselves must have observed in earlier eras. He does so with the aid of documentary footage that depicts views and tourist hotspots (bottom-left), and footage of Grand Tourists themselves observing Florentine architecture and statues (bottom-right) much like the characters in *A Room with a View*. Like *A Room with a View* and *Grand Tour of Europe*, the introduction to *Great Continental Railway Journeys* sees Florence framed in a similar fashion, often through the tourist gaze, to invoke John Urry's notion (see *Figure 17*).



Figure 17 Michael Portillo and historian discussing an aspect of the history of Florence

As Figure 18 illustrates, similar to the view from Lucy and Miss Bartlett's room and the view observed by McCloud in *Grand Tour of Europe*, Florence is framed like a postcard, containing all of the must-see tourist sites. What is different, however, is that the scene contains presenter Portillo engaging with a guide of the city, in this case a historian, as they talk about the impact of tourism upon its culture and architecture. Portillo is not the voice of authority on Florence in *Great Continental Railway Journeys*, rather he conforms to the role of tourist as he is educated about Florence by experts. In contrast to Portillo's experience of Florence, in *Grand Tour of Europe* McCloud's experience is more authoritative and investigatory. When he is not telling the story of Wren's Grand Tour, or taking us through his own personal experiences and memories of Florence from when he was a backpacking student, McCloud approaches and analyses both British and Italian architecture, he interacts with locals, historians and architects, and spends even more time drifting through the city and sketching. Over the view of the city limits, McCloud says,

This is the cradle of the Renaissance, where it all started. Without this, there is no Grand Tour. And I love this city. I lived here. I know it. Rising out of the middle of it is this extraordinary object, this great big edifice, the church, the cathedral, the Duomo of Santa Maria del Fiore 'St Mary of the Flowers. It is one, I think, of the greatest buildings in the world. In 1666, Sir Christopher Wren, at 54, was a fledgling architect who'd never built a dome. So, for inspiration, he looked to the great Renaissance domes of the continent. And the greatest renaissance dome is this one Santa Maria del Fiore. Built nearly 600 years ago by the architect Filippo Brunelleschi, it is still the largest masonry dome every built. Its construction was so advanced that it would become

essential for Wren to study its secrets if he was successfully to build St Paul's. Guiding me around this marvel of engineering is local architect Massimo Ricci.

Unlike the view of Florence in *A Room with a View*, where the setting functions as background image or as pathetic fallacy for Lucy's burgeoning sexuality, or as tourist attraction in *Great Continental Railway Journeys*, in *Grand Tour of Europe* McCloud purposefully selects aspects of the city and contextualises them within a wider narrative about design inspiration and cultural appropriation. McCloud's exploration of Il Duomo, for example, leads him to enter a conversation with a fellow architect, Massimo Ricci, which permits him access to not only Il Duomo's design blueprints, but also special access to the architecture itself. McCloud, under Ricci's lead, goes behind closed doors for an exclusive look at the architecture up close, rather in the background as it is presented in other texts analysed. Ricci's invitation to McCloud to go inside Il Duomo removes the distance between spectator and the setting, taking the presenter—and by extension the viewer—on a behind-the-scenes exclusive look at the architecture close-up, inside, and from a secret viewing platform. After exiting onto the viewing platform, which is closed off to the public, the camera shows us the view from the top of the dome. The view from the viewing platform confronts the tourist spectator—Lucy gazing out of the window in *A Room with a View* and Portillo from the lookout point in *Great Continental Railway Journey*—by effectively reversing the gaze and looking back, across the river and in the direction of the *pensione* and the lookout point, respectively. These scenes in *Grand Tour of Europe* illustrate the degree to which McCloud, though his interaction with architect Ricci, is able to have a unique experience and to access the dome from inside. Both McCloud and the audience are granted a behind-the-scenes look at what has been, until now in heritage dramas, the subject of the spectacle, and with the aid of sketches and architectural perspective, McCloud deconstructs the subject. McCloud's experience thus exceeds that of the tourist, as he examines sketches of the dome, explores its history and interviews experts in order to gain a better understanding of not only the physicality of its design, but its importance for Florentine identity and culture. As a result, McCloud is able to measure the structure's contribution to architecture and then to specifically trace its influence on early British Grand Tourists, namely on architect Wren and his design for St. Paul's Cathedral.

The outcome of *Grand Tour of Europe* is a more comprehensive look at the dialogue between Europe and the United Kingdom through the subjects of history and architecture. In regard to the Grand Tour itself—through visiting physical sites, examining archival material, partaking in conversations with experts, and constructing and communicating a narrative about cultural appropriation—the programme illustrates the specific influence that the Grand Tour

and Florence had on British architects. McCloud is able to take St. Paul's Cathedral—a landmark British architecture and architectural symbol of the city of London—and reveal its defining characteristic—its dome structure—to be little more than a copy of Il Duomo in Florence. Thus, by following in the footsteps of the British Grand Tourists, McCloud problematises the nature of the romanticised Grand Tour of Europe, by exploring its links with cultural appropriation and essentially undermining the perceived Britishness of one of Britain's most recognisable tangible heritage properties. In the process of doing so, however, I would position McCloud (and to some degree Portillo) as a contemporary Grand Tourist, his journey—while an examination of cultural appropriation—has gone on to inspire a television programme (*Grand Tour of Europe*) and a spin off book that, I would argue, resembles a new form of cultural product, documenting the journey of a contemporary Grand Tourist.²⁸⁰

In *Country House Secrets* and the travelogues exploring the Grand Tour of Europe, the presenters have informed and facilitated our relationship with Britain's tangible heritage properties through observation, tourism and conversation with experts and historians. Their relationship has been as a spectator of the tangible objects from the past that are still standing and existing in the present, which they have been able to gaze upon, study and discuss. The following considers programmes in which the presenters have been challenged with the task of presenting the history and facilitating our relationship with Britain's tangible heritage that no longer exist, or exist but in part (for example the remains of a castle). I would like to briefly consider the role that presenters assume in programmes where there are gaps in historical timelines (such as family trees) or where the restoration or recreation of the past is the objective, analysing how the narrative is constructed and how, visually, the programmes work to realise it. Annette Kuhn writes

The past is gone forever. We cannot return to it, nor can we reclaim it now as it was. But that does not mean it is lost to us. The past is like the scene of a crime: if the deed itself is irrecoverable, its traces may still remain. From these traces, marks that point towards a past presence, to something that has happened in this place, a (re)construction, if not a simulacrum, of the event can be pieced together. Memory work has a great deal in common with forms of inquiry which – like detective work and archaeology, say – involve working backwards – searching for clues, deciphering signs and traces, making deductions, patching together reconstructions out of fragments of evidence.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ In regard to the series included in this chapter, each presenter—inspired by former Grand Tourists—continued in this tradition of documenting their own Grand Tours. McCloud, for example, wrote an architecture and history guide (published in 2010) and Portillo's journey inspired two books—a condensed version of the *Bradshaw's Handbook 1863* (published in 2012), which is an edited version of the original Grand Tour guidebook, and a tie-in to the television series, *Great Continental Railway Journeys* (published in 2015).

²⁸¹ Kuhn, 1995: 4

Kuhn's reflection suggests a change in the way that a presenter communicates the past to audiences at home when confronted with the limitations of exploring and presenting history on screen, particularly when aspects of past no longer tangibly exist, or are incomplete. She suggests an investigatory turn, in which presenters—and perhaps the idea can be extended to the audience watching at home—have to work with the existing knowledge (gathered through research and conversations with experts) and clues (fragments of objects, the remaining structures or foundations of former properties) to work backwards—like a detective or an archeologist—to piece them together to develop a fuller account of the past. Simon Schama once declared that historical television presenters 'are in the business of representing something that is no longer there'.²⁸² As Holdsworth notes, '[t]he problem is partly resolved by what we might refer to as an "iconography of memory"; graves, ruins, memorials, weeds.'²⁸³ The emptiness of spaces, the fragments of an object, the site where a building once stood, the broken connections in a family tree, conjures in the imagination an awareness that something was once there. Television—as Holdsworth goes on to explore—'is [therefore] left with the problem of filling this empty space'.²⁸⁴ This is a particular challenge in a programme like *Who Do You Think You Are?*, for example, a successful programme that ignited a televisual trend of familial history programmes on television and the production of numerous versions of the programme all around the world. *Who Do You Think You Are?* led a widespread cultural phenomenon, which—as Waddell highlights in his book *The Blood Detective*—'is the third most popular pursuit on the internet' (behind personal finance and pornography).²⁸⁵ With reference to Robert and Taylor's *The historian, Television and Television History* (2001), Holdsworth's explains that in order for television programmes and their presenters to get around the absence of history—tangible or narrative—they need to depend on storytelling and to appeal to the imagination.²⁸⁶

Where popular factual heritage television is concerned, I argue that part of the way in which it constructs its story and appeals to the imagination is through the familiarity of the 'master narrative' and the drama and spectacle of heritage films. As illustrated already with Berry, intertwined with the history of the country house Highclere Castle was the history and experiences of the characters of *Downton Abbey*. Likewise, the experiences and visual grammar of *A Room with a View* helped us to contextualise the aristocratic Grand Tour, providing a visual reference that allowed us to understand the experiences of Edwardian Grand Tourists—and by

²⁸² Simon Schama in Champion 2003, 166

²⁸³ Holdsworth, 2011: 79

²⁸⁴ Holdsworth, 2011: 79

²⁸⁵ Waddell 2004, 10

²⁸⁶ Holdsworth, 2011: 79.

extension, presenters like Portillo in particular, but also McCloud—and to conclude their position as contemporary Grand Tourists. The other part is an appeal to myth, to the romanticised patriotic nation narrative (the select narrative of the British dominance in regard to the British Empire, for example, or the heroic narrative of Britain's 'finest hour' in WWII), and reference to other cultural signifiers (famous people or works of literature, for example, that have cultural value).

To start with, re-treading some of the same ground as Berry in *Country House Secrets* is celebrity gardener Alan Titchmarsh who—in his horticultural mini-series *Titchmarsh on Capability Brown* (Channel 4, 2015)—‘celebrates the 300th anniversary of his horticultural hero by helping to create one of [Capability] Brown’s lost masterpieces at Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire.’²⁸⁷ In the programme, Titchmarsh looks at the horticultural legacy of famous British landscape architect Capability Brown (1716-83) and his mark on heritage locales such as Belvoir Castle, Highclere Castle, Longleat and Wotton. Titchmarsh visits the famous sites and with expert gardeners and historians he discusses Brown’s influence on the landscape, and on Britain’s gardens more broadly. Titchmarsh then takes that knowledge and applies it to one of Brown’s unfinished gardens at Belvoir Castle. Thus, Titchmarsh revisits the past and connects it to the present by finishing the project today. Likewise, this is a feature of the narrative of various restoration programmes, such as *The Restoration Man* (Channel 4, 2010—), for example. In *The Restoration Man*, presenter-architect George Clarke works in partnership with property owners to bring their historically significant architecture back to life, often repurposing them as luxury family homes. While the home is also the subject of television historian Lucy Worsley's *Jane Austen Behind Closed Doors* (BBC 27 May 2017), in which she explores the houses that shaped Austen’s life and novels. While the programme opens with the recycling of several shots previously established in this thesis as key tropes in the opening sequences to countless heritage dramas and popular factual heritage television programmes (namely the approach to the large stately home and the spectacle of the reveal), later in the programme Worsley returns to the site where Austen's birth home once stood (now it is now an empty field). Stood on the grounds, the scene in the programme uses computer generated imagery to reconstruct the floor-plan for the home, based on geographical surveys and blueprints of other houses from that time, as well as information gathered from Austen’s own writing. Overlaying computer generated image of the floor-plan over the existing site—the open field—crystallises the past and the present, and

²⁸⁷ Synopsis taken from Channel 4 webpage for *Titchmarsh on Capability Brown*. *Titchmarsh on Capability Brown*, Channel 4, <<https://www.channel4.com/programmes/titchmarsh-on-capability-brown/episode-guide/>> [accessed 1 September 2018].

the reality of the present with the imaginary past, into a consumable image and creating a visualisation that gives audiences an impression of the size of the home in which Austen grew up. In the following, we see Worsley discussing the site with an archaeologist. Together they establish the floor-plan for Austen's family home (see *Figure 18*).



Figure 18 Lucy Worsley and an archeologist reconstruct Jane Austen's childhood home in *Jane Austen: Behind Closed Doors*

As well as buildings and gardens, in popular factual heritage television programmes this also applies to tangible heritage objects. *Guy Martin's WWI Tank* (Channel 4, 2017) and *Guy Martin's Spitfire* (Channel 4, 2014) are two examples of this. In either programme, presenter-engineer Guy Martin conducts research into Britain's wartime engineering legacy and revisits original plans in order to build working replicas of a First World War tank and a Second World War spitfire plane, to be operated on days of national remembrance. Both programmes combine elements of the restoration programme (such as *The Restoration Man*, which Martin regularly appears on) with research-based factual programmes (such as *Who Do You Think You Are?*). Through Martin's interviews with historians and experts, the research process is used to manufacture or uncover narratives about the projects themselves. For example, in the case of the programme featuring the First World War tank, research allows Martin to discover more

about the manufacturing process and the conditions for tank operators inside the body of the vehicle. In the case of the restored spitfire—the remains of which was found in France—research helps Martin to uncover details about its pilot so that he can tell his story the audiences at home, thus completing the narrative. Expectantly, both *Guy Martin's WWI Tank* and *Spitfire* have an underlying patriotism and celebration of Britain's wartime heroism, told through the subject of engineering and gathered research (journals, archive material, oral histories), which we see play out in the episode through the development of the wartime vehicles, as well as the depiction of the research process itself (Martin meeting with expert historians, looking at archive photographs, visiting museums, and so on).

By exploring earlier periods and the lifestyles of those living in the past, and reconstructing or reviving tangible heritage objects and properties in the present, this study has been able to show how—through various interactions with the past and with heritage—popular factual heritage television presenters have been able to facilitate a connection with Britain's tangible objects and properties. By way of presenters' narrativisation and curation of the past, this section has shown how certain presenters emphasise the value of historic properties, celebrating their former status in society, while others undermine the identity with which certain architectures are imbued. It then showed how—even when tangible heritage objects do not exist—presenters—with the aid of experts, computer generated imagery, or unique skills (such as engineering)—have been to reconstruct the past, in doing so completing the narrative and forging a new connection with the past and with heritage.

The next section traces the influence of one particular historical period that has resurfaced in contemporary popular culture—the period of post-war period of austerity between 1945 to the mid-1950s—and aims to make the connection between the current heritage industry and certain austerity-inspired popular factual heritage television programmes and presenters. It will examine how the phenomenon of 'austerity nostalgia' has not only inspired the revival of the material iconography of the post-war decade, but also how the phenomenon is influencing the kinds of narratives being told; governing the experiences being had; and restoring the rhetoric of post-war Britain—Make Do and Mend and Keep Calm and Carry On in particular—as a way of coping with the recent period of austerity, post-2008.

Part Two: Making Do and Mending; Keeping Calm and Carrying On

In 1943, the British Ministry of Information issued ‘Make Do and Mend’ pamphlets to British homes. Aimed primarily at housewives, the pamphlets included ‘useful tips on how to be both frugal and stylish in times of harsh rationing.’²⁸⁸ The ‘Make Do and Mend’ pamphlets contained

thrifty design ideas and advice on reusing old clothing, the pamphlet was an indispensable guide for households. Readers were advised to create pretty ‘decorative patches’ to cover holes in worn garments; unpick old jumpers to re-knit chic alternatives; turn men’s clothes into women’s; as well as darn, alter and protect against the ‘moth menace’.²⁸⁹

In 2009, British retailer John Lewis published an updated version of the ‘Make Do and Mend’ pamphlet, which ‘offer[ed] similar frugal advice for 21st century families’.²⁹⁰ The reissue of the ‘Make Do and Mend’ pamphlet—like the mass-production of ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’ posters—coincides with the growth of the ‘austerity nostalgia’ phenomenon, tapping into the nostalgic zeitgeist that has emerged since the austerity measures put in place following the economic recession of 2008; representing how ‘austerity in 2015 dreams of austerity in 1945’.²⁹¹ In popular factual heritage television, this contemporary dream of ‘austerity in 1945’ is predominant in living history, arts and craft and food programmes.

Kirstie’s Vintage Home (Channel 4, 2012) is a prime example of such an austerity-nostalgic popular factual heritage television programme. In *Kirstie’s Vintage Home*, presenter Kirstie Allsopp—one half of the presenter duo Kirstie and Phil Spencer of *Location, Location, Location* (Channel 4, 2000-)—helps ‘people turn their houses into homes, with a bit of vintage inspiration, their own bare hands, and that little bit of homemade magic.’²⁹² Like her other programme *Kirstie’s Handmade Britain* (Channel 4, 2011-), in *Kirstie’s Vintage Home*, history is all but absent. Instead, the programme trades in nostalgia for the idea of austerity, rooted firmly in aesthetics, and inspired by the ‘Make Do and Mend’ mentality that is perceived to have helped Britons to get through the strict measures imposed by the government during the post-war period of austerity. Television personalities like Allsopp have led some critics, such as Hannah Hamad, to use the term ‘austerity celebrity’ to describe those who have capitalised on ‘austerity nostalgia’ and used their television programmes as a celebrity vehicle. In Allsopp’s case, the

²⁸⁸ Description taken from *British Library* page dedicated to the ‘Make Do and Mend’ pamphlets. ‘Make Do and Mend’, *British Library* <<http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item106365.html>> [accessed 31 October 2018].

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Hatherley, *Ministry of Nostalgia*, p. 12.

²⁹² Sam Wollaston, ‘TV Review: Kirstie’s Vintage Home’, *The Guardian*, 8 November 2012, section Television & radio <<https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2012/nov/08/tv-review-kirsties-vintage-home>> [accessed 6 November 2018].

austerity-nostalgic popular culture has ‘enabled a new profile for her, centred on home handicrafts, arguably in some accord with recessionary directives toward thrift.’²⁹³ Allsopp’s exploitation of the contemporary austerity period in the United Kingdom has been met with criticism, however. Deborah Philips, for instance, not only criticises the ‘profoundly gendered’ nature of the body of television Allsopp is involved in—calling it the ‘feminised version of Cool Capitalism’— but takes aim at Allsopp’s problematic referencing of the rhetoric of Second World War period of austerity.²⁹⁴ Philips writes,

Kirsty’s *Homemade Home* directly references the Make Do and Mend campaign of the Second World War in its subtitle – but it has not earned the slogan. While the Make Do and Mend campaign was a publicly supported, collective effort to save resources in the service of the national interest, the focus of Kirstie’s *Homemade Home* is entirely on the private and the domestic, the response to the economic downturn is to retreat into the home, where it becomes the woman’s responsibility to ‘make do and mend’ in order to rescue the family finances.²⁹⁵

Previous cultural critics and scholars—such as Hewison, Wright and Higson—commented on the ‘potent marketing of the past as part of a new enterprise culture’ in regard to the heritage industry of the 1980s.²⁹⁶ In light of Philips’ critique, it is possible to read Allsopp as being a beneficiary of the contemporary heritage industry, in the same way as the private sector was the beneficiary of the heritage industry of the 1980s. Allsopp is another example of a wealthy presenter—a Notting Hill resident and successful businessperson—exploiting the national economic recession and the revived spirit of the 1940s period of austerity to promote herself as a television presenter, as well as her home business.

Allsopp’s programmes are part of a wider cycle in the United Kingdom released after 2008 that speak to a working or lower-middle class during a time of uncertainty and financial hardship. Such ‘Make Do and Mend’-inspired programmes as *Kirstie’s Vintage Home* and *Back in Time For Dinner* coexist alongside their drama counterparts (*Downton Abbey* and *Call the Midwife* for example), which not only depict an idealised imagined British national past, but in terms of class ask viewers—the proletariat—‘to admire a strong, struggling but basically deferent working class that knows its place.’²⁹⁷ In the context of popular factual and reality television, Allsopp belongs to a group of television presenters, along with Jaimie Oliver, who have taken

²⁹³ Hannah Hamad, ‘Age of Austerity Celebrity Expertise in UK Reality Television’, *Celebrity Studies*, 4.2 (2013), 245–48 (p. 247) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392397.2013.791056>>.

²⁹⁴ Deborah Philips, ‘Making Do and Mending – Domestic Television in the Age of Austerity: Kirsty Allsopp’s *Kirstie’s Homemade Homes*’, in *DIY Utopia: Cultural Imagination and the Remaking of the Possible*, ed. by Amber Day (Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Lexington Books, 2017), pp. 191–207 (p. 202).

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁶ Quote from Higson, *English Heritage, English Cinema*, p. 1.

²⁹⁷ Hatherley, *Ministry of Nostalgia*, p. 8.

inspiration from the period of austerity during and after the Second World War, and exploited it in the present-day for private gain. Following *Jaimie's School Dinners*, for example, Oliver famously branded a television programme, a book, and a chain of stores as *The Ministry of Food* (Channel 4, 2008). Taking its name 'directly from the actual wartime ministry charged with managing the rationed food economy of war-torn Britain', Oliver's endeavour is seen by some—such as Hatherley—as an attempt 'to teach the proletariat to make itself real food with real ingredients.'²⁹⁸ Hatherley reflects on Oliver's position as a presenter of what he describes as a 'micro-industry of austerity nostalgia aimed straight at the stomach.'²⁹⁹ However, as Hatherley explains, Oliver was not as obvious as some because of his involvement:

One could argue that [Oliver] was the latest in a long line of middle-class people lecturing the lower orders on their choice of nutrition, part of an immense construction of grotesque neo-Victorian snobbery – How Clean Is Your House, Benefits Street, Immigration Street, exercises in Let's laugh at Picturehouse Prole Scum – but Oliver got in there, and 'got his hands dirty'.³⁰⁰

Fundamentally, however, in his reflection on Oliver's endeavour, Hatherley brings his analysis back to the claim of *The Ministry of Food* emphasising aesthetic above narrative:

Much more influential than this up-by-your-bootstraps attempt to do a TV/charity version of the welfare state was the Ministry's aesthetics. On the cover of the tie-in cookbook, Oliver sits up to a table laid with the 1940s 'utility' tablecloth in front of some bleakly cute post-war wallpaper, and MINISTRY OF FOOD is declared in the same derivative of Gill Sans as the Keep Calm poster.³⁰¹

While these 'Make Do and Mend'-inspired programmes directly reference the wartime era of austerity, nostalgically, they often represent the extraction of the aesthetics from their contexts (the 1940s and 50s) at the expense of narrative altogether. Aesthetics combined with the ethos of 'Make Do and Mend' and 'Keep Calm and Carry On' result in popular factual heritage television programmes that celebrate and nostalgically remember the past as it is imagined, not how it was actually experienced. This, I argue, has the potential to influence perceptions of the contemporary period of austerity in the United Kingdom, by shaping audiences' relationship with heritage and establishing a sense of connectedness based on an aesthetic and rhetoric relationship to the past. Popular factual heritage television programmes and their presenters emphasise unitedness by way of the empty narrative and 'unifying spectacle' of shared circumstantial hardship under the extended period of austerity due to economic recessions.³⁰² However, the illusion is shattered where there is no real history being presented.

²⁹⁸ Hatherley, *Ministry of Nostalgia*, pp. 23–24.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

³⁰² Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*, p. 69.

Instead history is replaced by the aesthetics, jingoistic and nostalgic rhetoric of yesteryear, repurposed for the present day by middle to upper-middle class presenters—private profiteers of the contemporary heritage industry.

Beyond lifestyle, craft and food programmes, this section is also interested in how they are paired off with the experiential dimension. Specifically, it is interested in how life under post-war rationing translates into the living history subcategory, which—like other subcategories of popular factual heritage television—has enjoyed a relationship with austerity, as a theme and as a narrative.

In the late-1990s and early-2000s—corresponding with the history television boom that de Groot describes in *Consuming History*—there was the rise of a range of living history programmes on British television that situated modern families into the past via simulated environments and controlled living conditions. These included *1900 House* (Wall to Wall/Channel 4, 1999), *1940s House* (Wall to Wall/Channel 4, 2001), *Edwardian Country House* (Wall to Wall/Channel 4, 2002), *The Trench* (BBC2, 2002). Living history or re-enactment subcategories of reality television depict the experiences of ‘ordinary’ people forced to ‘live in an environment that to some degrees re-creates life in the past’.³⁰³ Above just resembling an exercise ‘in the authentic replication and living through of an earlier era’,³⁰⁴ the experiences had are usually pitched by producers and narrators as experiments to see how much their lives in the present-day conflict with the lifestyles of previous generations. Of course, this is not a new trend. As Bell and Gray remind us, ‘[r]e-enactment as a historical pastime also predates television [...] and in its televised form in Britain, non-actors playing people of an earlier generation appeared in *Culloden* in the 1960s, *Living in the Past* in the following decade, and in a range of programmes from the later 1990s in Europe, North America and Australasia.’³⁰⁵

This section will now explore an episode of *Back in Time for Dinner*. In *Back in Time for Dinner*, ‘One British family embark on an extraordinary time-travelling adventure to discover how a post-war revolution in the food we eat has transformed the way we live.’³⁰⁶ Each episode focuses on a specific decade, limiting the family to certain conditions during that specific period. These limitations include living on the wages of the past, conforming to certain gender roles, and experiencing the food, entertainment and other recreational activities of the time. The journeys of the family at the centre of *Back in Time for Dinner* are guided by presenters Giles

³⁰³ Erin Bell and Ann Grey, 2010: 250.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid, 250-1.

³⁰⁶ Taken from the BBC’s synopsis on the programme’s official website. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b05nc5tv> Accessed 21 April 2019.

Coren and food historian Polly Russell. Coren and Russell introduce the family to each decade at the start of each episode, and intervene when appropriate to provide background information to the family in order to contextualise their experiences (for example, explaining how a family kept food cold without a fridge).

In Season 1 Episode 1, entitled ‘The 50s’ (broadcast 17 March 2015), the family in *Back in Time for Dinner* experience life under the conditions of postwar austerity—the very conditions so selectively remembered by the heritage industry in the programmes of Allsopp. In the episode, the family are fashioned and styled according to the decade and ported into the simulated environment of a 1950s terraced house (which is a redecorated version of their existing home, complete with the decor, furnishings and technology of that era). ‘This week it’s back to the austerity of the 1950s,’ Coren introduces, ‘as they [the family taking part in the experiment] discover how Britain’s changing relationship with food has shaped our lives.’ Coren continues,

On an ordinary street, and extraordinary experiment is about to take place. The Robshaw family have decided to give up their modern diet and spend the next six weeks eating only the food of the past, starting in 1950. But it’s not just the meals that will be different. The entire ground floor of their house is being ripped apart and remodelled to reflect the average family home of the era [...]

The camera captures the presenters—Coren and Russell—walking down the road. Coren explains that he will be ‘running the family’s time-travelling adventure with the help of food historian Polly Russell’, before lightly contextualising the year 1950 as ‘the year George Orwell died, Princess Anne was born, and Attlee beat Churchill to win a second term in government.’ Already we see the Royal Family and historical and culturally significant figures being included in the narrative.

When introducing the family, rock and roll music plays as their names, occupations and interests are read out by Coren. The scene in which the family are dressed in their 21st Century attire transitions into the next, in which they are dressed in 1950s costume. Mum, Rochelle, speaks: ‘Older people that I’ve met have said that the ‘50s was better, that they had a good time, that the food was good, and I’m curious, really, to find out if it was true.’ Son, Fred, says, ‘I’m most looking forward to what my dad would have had to do, or my grandma.’ With Fred’s line, we cut to his father; ‘I think it’ll be a great experience for my family. I often tell my kids about the “olden days” and what it was like growing up back then, and I would just love them to live through it with me.’ From these three testimonies there is a desire to peek back in time to see what it was like for previous generations. Curious is traded for apprehension, however, when Ros, one of the daughters, expresses her concerns about the experiment, explaining that she

thinks her mother will find it difficult when it comes to cooking, as her father does most of the cooking at home. Already the episode foregrounds the tensions that will come to the surface, specifically how contemporary ideas of family gender roles, particularly in regard to house labour, will conflict with previously established gender roles in post-war British society.

After their introduction to their refitted home, Coren enters in a shirt and jeans, visually contrasting the family's fashion, thus emphasising past and present and forcing us—the viewer at home—to be aware of the difference in dress (and, perhaps, to even compare fashion styles between then and now). Coren has brought the family a 'survival guide to the life in the 1950s' in the form of a purpose-made '1950s Manual', which includes a guide to the family's roles and the things they will and won't be able to do while undertaking the experiment. As Coren explains,

If you wind the clock back to a less-enlightened time, you'll [points to Dad] go to work and come back and want to know what's on the table, and you'll [points to mother, Rochelle] have cooked stand you'll be serving it, and there's no real getting around from that. The war was over, the women came back from the work they'd been doing straight back in the kitchen.

Once more, there is a stress on the gender dynamic, hinting toward possible tensions that might occur later in the episode, and which we can expect to ease as the programme progresses—as the progression through the decades reflects the changing socio-political tides. Herein lies part of the drama of *Back in Time for Dinner*. Over the course of the episode analysed, these tensions play accordingly, at least at in the beginning. Mum, Rochelle—having to spend most of the day in the kitchen—becomes increasingly bored. However, as the episode progresses—and as events, such as the Queen's coronation of 1953 approaches—her spirits are uplifted by the prospect of entertainment others—older guests who lived through the 1950s—and she becomes increasingly excited by the idea of experiencing the historical televised event with her family. The family and neighbours gather around the television set to watch the event—recreating the conditions explored by Henrik Örnebring in his extensive work on archiving reactions to the Queen's coronation in 1953, gathered from oral histories collected from audiences who watched the coronation live.³⁰⁷ Rochelle says,

It was nice to be with other people, because a lot of the time, I've been on my own, so actually having other people to talk to has been really nice. And I can imagine that people would really look forward to events like the coronation because it would just take them out of this rather mundane kind of existence.

³⁰⁷ See Henrik Örnebring, 'Revisiting the coronation: A critical perspective on the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953', *Nordicom Review*, 25 (1-2), 2004, p. 176; and 'Writing the history of television audiences: The Coronation in the Mass-Observation Archive' in Wheatley, H. Ed. *Re-viewing Television History: Critical Issues in Television History* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), pp. 170-184.

While the chance to reconnect to others is a moment of release for Rochelle, I cannot help but comment that her release appears to also be attributed to the historical event itself, and therefore, I locate at least some of happiness in the fact that she's reconnected via an historical event that united Britains around the act of watching a national patriotic symbol, the British Monarchy (the British monarchy will be explored further in Chapter Four), and spectacle. Through the experience of watching the coronation on an old television set by way of their experience of the simulated past in the television programme (*Back in Time for Dinner*), time, I feel, is spliced together for the Robshaw family, and, through the recreation of others' memory of watching the coronation live, I believe that they, themselves, now feel as connected to that memory—as if experienced back in 1953. If true, it means that in *Back in Time for Dinner* we are able to record the transference of memory and witness the creation of a prosthetic memory (to invoke Alison Landsberg's concept), an instance of 'legislated nostalgia' (to recall Douglas Coupland) whereby memory is passed on from generation to the next without having the need to have experienced it in the first place. Secondly, it is through the combination of watching the broadcast and living the experience of living as a family under the conditions of post-war rationing and lifestyle, that allows for an empathetical bond with the past to be formed. In regard to the historical moment, and the experience of recreating and experiencing it, the episode is able to forge an empathetic bond between the family and the memory of the past. In relation to Reality television and re-enactment programmes, Bell and Grey discuss the role that re-enactment on television play, and articulate the bond it creates between those involved with the events and figures of past. The 'idea of mental re-enactment has been used by historians directly involved in televised re-enactments, but it may also be used as a means to consider other ways in which historians and celebrities are seen to empathize with people living in the past (see, e.g., de Groot, Corner and Holdsworth).'³⁰⁸ Rochelle's reflection—'I can imagine that people would really look forward to events like the coronation because it would just take them out of this rather mundane kind of existence'—all but confirms this empathetical link with previous generations, of especially women, living in the United Kingdom during this time.

Toward the end of the episode, as the year 1954 arrives, Mary Berry appears as a guest, selling Rochelle an electronic oven, reflecting the mid-1950s trend that saw the inclusion of consumer electronics in the household. The episode then jumps to 1957, and Coren repeats Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's claim that 'most people have never had it so good, and

³⁰⁸ Erin Bell and Ann Gray, 251

women across the country were falling for the latest must-have kitchen gadgets.’ We follow food historian Russell walking down the street and toward the family home carrying a Kenwood Chef food processor, which she dubs ‘a piece of magic [...] every woman's best friend’. Placed on the kitchen counter, it becomes the object of the camera's gaze, framed very much like the KitchenAid artisan mixers that feature on the counters in the "Bake Off tent". With the introduction of labour-saving kitchen technologies into the home, the women of the Robshaw household embrace a new outlook on the 1950s and women's labour in the house. All the tensions introduced at the start, and which are worked through over the course of several scenes in the episode, subside. Rochelle says, ‘[f]or me, coming from the early-1950s to the late-1950s with one of these [gestures to Kenwood Chef] would be the most extraordinary thing to have.’ In the final scene, Rochelle is visibly happy, taking pleasure in using the Kenwood Chef, her outlook positive, and she is more than content to host her husband's boss who is coming to dinner. In the end it appears that the tensions brought about by the conflicts raised between modern life versus life in the past—and the digressive experience for the women of the family in particular, as all of all the progressions since the 1950s were undone for the sake of the experiment—seem to be patched up as they seek solace the technology and material iconography of retro appliances that are popular today.

Joanna Lumley's India

To return briefly to the notes on the presenter in television travelogues, Orlebar suggested that more often than not the personality of the presenter is a primary draw to the television travelogue³⁰⁹ They not only provide audiences with a familiar face and character, but they also act as their perspective on the other destinations and culture. Like a travel company advertisement, a tourism campaign, or a film or director's influence over the perception of a place or culture in the film, presenters, according to Waade and Beeton, have the capacity to market and shape viewers perceptions of a place, providing them with a pre-taste.³¹⁰ However, as Dunn warns, sometimes the personality of the presenter, and their own subjectivities, can become the focus of the programme, resulting in the privileging of ‘consumption, personalisation and performance of first person narrative’ in travelogues.³¹¹ This, as I argue, is the case for our next and final case study of this chapter, in its analysis of *Joanna Lumley's India*.

³⁰⁹ Orlebar, *The Television Handbook*, p. 105.

³¹⁰ Waade, ‘Travel Series as TV Entertainment’, pp. 100–116.

³¹¹ Dunn, ‘Singular Encounters: Mediating the Tourist Destination in British Television Holiday Programmes’, p. 39.

At the Southern-most tip of India, Kanyakumari Beach, stands a windswept Joanna Lumley, actress and celebrity personality. Addressing the camera directly, Lumley informs viewers that Kanyakumari Beach is at the junction where the three seas surrounding India—the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean—meet. Lumley is in the company of thousands of people who—whether engaged in dance or bathing in the water—are celebrating in their various traditions the new dawn. Lumley describes the scene in her voiceover as ‘the beginning of the new day, the start of [her] journey,’ and then turns to the camera and invites us—the viewer—to join her on her passage through India. This scene opens the first episode of *Joanna Lumley’s India* (broadcast 5 July 2017). *Joanna Lumley’s India* is a three-part travelogue in which Lumley

returns to the country of her birth for a deeply personal journey around the vibrant and unique country of India [...] In this series she travels the length and breadth of the country, for an immersive and extraordinary exploration of its diverse landscapes, varying cultural traditions and incomparable spirit. Along the way, she meets an eclectic mix of people and discovers how independence has shaped India into the constantly evolving and endlessly fascinating country it is today.³¹²

Following this opening sequence is a montage of scenes that we have come to expect from visual depictions of India and its culture in film and television: sunlight shines through colourful silks as they poetically wave in the breeze; the camera cuts to an aerial shot above the city of Kolkata, then follows Lumley as she walks through a bustling market square; and a series of close-ups reveal the smiling faces of the city’s population who—as Lumley’s voiceover informs us—are ‘celebrating seventy years of independence’. An old-fashioned train enters the shot with wooden side panels, which Lumley boards. In recent years, Lumley has been regularly involved in television travelogues, including *Joanna Lumley’s Postcards* (ITV, 2017), *Japan* (ITV, 2016), *Trans-Siberian Adventure* (ITV, 2015), *Greek Odyssey* (ITV, 2011) and *Nile* (ITV, 2010). The presenter’s identity is significant when considering the programme *India*, however. As Lumley tells us from the comfort of a private train carriage while looking at photographs of her family taken one-by-one from an open vintage suitcase, she was born in Srinagar in Jammu and Kashmir. Furthermore, Lumley is part of a long-line of British family members who lived and served under the British Crown in India. As is revealed later in the programme, some members held high-ranking positions of power within the British Crown who—as history tells—violently exploited India, culturally and financially. How Lumley responds to her family heritage will be explored. This opening scene is important, however, as it establishes Lumley’s roots and the

³¹² Overview of the series from the official ITV Press Centre. *Joanna Lumley’s India*, ITV Press Centre, <<https://www.itv.com/presscentre/ep1week27/joanna-lumleys-india>> [accessed 15 November 2018].

impetus for her journey, which is entrenched in a colonial narrative. How Lumley chooses to interact with this narrative, and how she communicates both her family and Britain's imperial legacy in India, is therefore of immediate interest to this thesis. What Lumley reveals on the train is practically all she discloses about her family. From this scene forth, Lumley barely references her personal heritage or includes her family's history in the narrative in the programme, other than mentioning them by name only and including very little detail beyond their military rankings and occupations. The programme noticeably omits any details of not only Lumley's family's part in the British Empire's exploitation of India, but fails to comment on the wider problematic nature and history of the British Raj. If explored, this narrative would have exposed the degree to which the British Empire—and families such as Lumley's—exploited India during its colonialist rule. By omitting the exploitation narrative, Lumley extracts her family and the British Empire's wrongdoings from India's narrative.

The subsequent scenes in the introduction to *Joanna Lumley's India* focus on the disparities of wealth and the contrasting living conditions in modern India. Scenes depicting the everyday chaos of the marketplaces, overcrowded public spaces, and people living in squalor are juxtaposed with an excited Lumley as the passenger in the Maharaja of Dungarpur's elaborate vehicle (which is also the subject of another programme on offer from the BBC that year, *The Maharaja's Motor Car* [2017]) as they drive through poverty-stricken villages. The scene featuring Lumley and the Maharaja in his opulent car is, in turn, juxtaposed with a shot of Lumley as a passenger in an auto rickshaw battling intense traffic. The natural and manmade spectacle of India is shown from the air via an aerial shot of a mountainside village, before the camera cuts to Lumley gazing down over ancient ruins and up at the sacred temples. Such shots advertise just a handful of India's thirty-six UNESCO World Heritage sites included in the programme, which certain travel providers have since capitalised on in response to the popularity of Lumley's programme.³¹³ 'Sometimes I shall be walking in my family's footsteps,' Lumley explains, as we cut to the presenter excitedly recognising a photo of her uncle Ivor hung on the walls of *The Times of India* newsroom, where he was the last British editor of the newspaper seventy years earlier. The camera then returns its gaze on picture postcard India, using an extreme long shot of Lumley walking through and looking at an extravagant temple, described by Lumley as 'the opulent splendour of India's royal past'. Scenes featuring India's wealth are then juxtaposed

³¹³ Some examples of bespoke travel providers exploiting the series include Wendy Wu Tours <https://www.wendywutours.co.uk/blog/india/joanna-lumleys-india/> ; Greaves Travel <https://www.greavesindia.co.uk/joanna-lumleys-india-follow-footsteps-bespoke-greaves-itinerary/> ; Travel with Jules <http://travelwithjules.co.uk/holidays/joanna-lumleys-india-holidays/> ; and Camel Travels <https://cameltravel.co.uk/joanna-lumleys-india/> .

with scenes of poverty, revealing the conditions in which a large part of India lives. In one scene we see Lumley viewing one of India's many skyscrapers currently in development, while in another scene Lumley tears up as she witnesses what life is like for a community of homeless people, demonstrating what she characterises in her narration as 'the kaleidoscope of contradiction that makes modern India so captivating.' This scene quickly transitions to Lumley gasping at the colour of a tiger and meeting with the Dalai Lama, before a final shot which frames Lumley through a decorative window, standing on the rooftop of a tower overlooking a city and welcoming viewers to India.

The opening sequence to *Joanna Lumley's India* is emblematic of the programme as a whole. With the omission of the narrative of the British exploitation and corruption of India—which her own family benefitted greatly from—what we are left with, and what India is reduced to in the programme, is a combination of stereotypical iconography and customs. Furthermore, in regard to India's current situation—which is exemplified in scenes depicting the country's extreme poverty and growing class divide, attitudes toward India's transgender communities, poor working conditions, and systemic corruption—Lumley simply observes what is, in effect, the aftermath of the British Raj without culpability for the previous generations of British people—and members her own family—who caused such problems in the first place.

The narrative and visual iconography in *Joanna Lumley's India* is not only in-keeping with a collection of contemporary television travelogues, but also has commonalities with a specific body of British heritage films referred to as 'Raj revivals'.³¹⁴ Elena Oliete-Aldea conceived the term 'Raj revival' to describe a cycle of films produced in the 1980s at the height of Thatcher's government, in which 'the imperial past was seen as a point of reference in the search for a sense of "Britishness"'.³¹⁵ India was especially a common setting and narrative in British heritage films, where there was 'a quasi-obsessive generalised interest in the Raj and its nostalgic portrayal on screen.'³¹⁶ While it is worth noting that some British heritage films such as *Gandhi* (Richard Attenborough, 1982) and *A Passage to India* have a lot in common with *Joanna Lumley's India*—in regard to their shared iconography and romanticised visual aesthetic depicting the exotic—both Richard Attenborough and David Lean's films differ in that they are somewhat critical of the British Raj. Given its reduction of the British Raj to a set of poetic visual iconographies that come at the expense of critical engagement, I would compare *Joanna Lumley's India* in this regard

³¹⁴ Elena Oliete-Aldea, *Hybrid Heritage on Screen: The 'Raj Revival' in the Thatcher Era* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

³¹⁵ Ibid, p. 2.

³¹⁶ Ibid, p. 2.

to *The Jewel in the Crown* (ITV, 1984), *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (John Madden, 2011) and *Viceroy's House*. This judgement is based on their shared perspective of the last days of the British Raj and India under colonial rule, which is reflected on from the position of the present-day through a nostalgic optic.

An early critic of cinematic depictions of the British Raj in British heritage films was author Salman Rushdie. Rushdie criticised this period in British cinema for its 'zombie-like revival of the defunct British Empire' in which the British Raj was depicted as a fantasy, rather than exploring the reality and its consequences.³¹⁷ Rushdie writes that 'Raj Nostalgia pervaded film projects such as *Octopussy*, *Gandhi* and *The Jewel in the Crown*'.³¹⁸ Beyond the films 'hung the fantasy that the British Empire represented something "noble" or "great" about Britain; that it was, in spite of all its flaws and meanness and bigotries, fundamentally glamorous'.³¹⁹ With reference to the British heritage cinema of the 1980s, Amit Chaudhuri of *The Guardian* recognises that the same 'Raj nostalgia' is experiencing a renaissance today, particularly in contemporary television. Such narrative representations of the British Raj are particularly prevalent in popular factual and reality television programmes, especially travelogues, providing the backdrop to a range of programmes, including *A Cook Abroad: Tony Singh's India* (BBC, 2015), *The Real Exotic Marigold Hotel* (BBC, 2016), *Great Canal Journey India* (Channel 4, 2014-2017) and *My Family Partition and Me* (BBC, 2017), to name but a few. Looking at the BBC's popular factual entertainment catalogue alone—which, between late-2007 and 2018, was the channel that broadcast most non-fiction programmes about India—I am able to identify thirty programmes that explore the legacy of the British Raj. These programmes explore the British Raj via a range of subject matters, including transport infrastructure, specifically the railways, in *Bombay Railway* (2007), *India's Frontier Railways* (2015), *Great Indian Railway Journeys* (2018) and *World's Busiest Railway* (2015); food in *Rick Stein's India*, *A Cook Abroad* and *Royal Recipes* (2017); history, in particular the partition in *My Family, Partition and Me: India 1947* (2017), *Seven Days in Summer: Countdown to Partition* (2017); the British East India Company in *The Birth of the Empire: The East India Company* (2014) and *The East India Company* (2014); cities and landmarks in *Kolkata with Sue Perkins* (2015), *The Ganges with Sue Perkins* (2017) and *Sacred Rivers with Simon Reeve* (2014); antiques in a special episode of the *Antiques Roadshow* (1979-) broadcast

³¹⁷ Salman Rushdie, 'Outside the Whale', *Granta*, 11 (1984), 125–38.

³¹⁸ Amit Chaudhuri, "'Did the Empire Do Any Good?' British TV Is Revising India's History. Again", *The Guardian*, 13 October 2015, section Opinion
<<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/oct/13/empire-british-tv-india-dan-snow-jeremy-paxman>> [accessed 3 February 2017].

³¹⁹ Rushdie, 'Outside the Whale'.

in 2016; personal history in *Who Do You Think You Are?* (Season 12 Episode 8, 'Anita Rani', 2015); travel in *Around the World in 80 Gardens* (2008); and film-induced tourism, as is the case with *The Real Marigold On Tour* (2016), in which a group of older British celebrity personalities embark on the same journey as the characters in the earlier film *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*.

The programmes belonging to the Raj revival subcategory of popular factual heritage television, like their heritage film equivalents, have been criticised. On behalf of Indian viewers of Raj revival films, Chaudhuri provides a personal reflection upon viewing and experiencing the 'zombie-like revival' of the British Empire in films, dramas and documentaries about India:

Admittedly, watching films and documentaries about India on British television has long been agony for the Indian viewer. (I presume it's agony for the intelligent British person too.) What's interesting is how recent documentaries about India, like *Kolkata* (featuring the amiably upbeat Sue Perkins) or *World's Busiest Railway and The Birth of Empire* (in which the crumpled-linen-shirt-wearing Dan Snow is our guide), feel like a private conversation some English people are having with each other: sweeping remarks that pass for historical research coupled with a fluent personal impressionism.³²⁰

While there are certain texts that explore the problematic depictions of British heritage, a large amount appears to fall back on the same nostalgia as in the original cycle of British heritage films. In relation to the recent cycle of historical documentaries being produced in the United Kingdom about the British Empire with a particular leaning toward India, Chaudhuri suggests that in addition to being an agonising viewing experience, their aim is to 'slyly reconsider empire and its legacy'.³²¹ Regarding the programme *Empire*, for example, Chaudhuri calls attention to a moment where presenter Paxman asks former Conservative politician Michael Howard, 'Did the Empire do any good?' The conversation that follows is, of course, revisionist, with Howard replying, 'Yes, there was a lot wrong with Empire, but we did give them the railways.' This response is characteristic of recent British popular factual television, in which presenters increasingly attempt to revise Britain's colonial narrative, imbuing it with what he describes as 'a tone of gentle indulgence toward empire' and 'a soft-spoken reminder that it wasn't "all bad".'³²²

Given her own family heritage, I would go as far as to accuse Lumley—especially in scenes in which she makes reference to her family or upbringing—of gazing upon India and its culture through her own colonial gaze, reconstructed through nostalgic personal reflection. The idea of Lumley projecting and narrativising India through a colonial gaze aligns with the ideas put

³²⁰ Chaudhuri, *Did the Empire Do Any Good?*.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² Chaudhuri, *Did the Empire Do Any Good?*.

forward in Helen Wheatley's work on the depictions of natural history (particularly safaris) on television in the 1950s, commenting on the position of both presenters and the camerawork. In relation to the natural history documentaries of Armand and Michaela Denis, Wheatley scrutinises their exploitation of 'ethnographic spectacle'.³²³ Wheatley describes such spectacle in the films of the Denises as 'render[ing] black Africans without a voice; they become literally a narrated image, the object of the imperial gaze, without agency and subject to what Aimé Césaire calls "the thingification" of colonial discourse (2000:42); in the natural history programme of the 1950s, the subaltern literally cannot speak.'³²⁴ Lumley's documentaries—while they do allow people to speak—does not make room for a critical discussion about the British rule in India, even though it is concerned with discussing some of the issues caused by the British Crown in the first place. Significantly, though, Lumley's narration, accompanied by the observational camerawork in *Joanna Lumley's India*, mostly renders India voiceless, to borrow from Wheatley's observation of the natural history programmes of the 1950s, and thus the spectacle of India 'the object of the imperial gaze'.

Joanna Lumley's India is thus a further example of the kind of revisionist narrative that Chaudhuri describes. Lumley's take on India presents the conventional visual depictions—of famous heritage landmarks, bustling cities and market places and exotic cultural traditions—popular in films. When juxtaposed with images of present-day India with its economic and social problems, Lumley's programme constructs a representational binary. From the opening sequence, the programme promises to update the narrative about the country, celebrating India's distinct heritage (both tangible and intangible), while also criticising Britain's imperial past and its part in shaping India's history—especially when considering Lumley's family's direct participation in, and exploitation of, it. However, the programme does not strike this balance in regard to its position on the British Raj, and in terms of its reception, *Joanna Lumley's India* provoked a good deal of discussion in the media, including interviews with Lumley herself, as to whether Lumley's travelogue is guilty of 'airbrushing history?' On this basis, Desirée Baptiste holds the programme accountable for omitting the full story about British colonialism, and Lumley's family's explicit involvement in, exploitation of, and profiting from it.³²⁵ Baptiste

³²³ Wheatley, Helen. *Spectacular Television: Exploring Televisual Pleasure* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2016), p. 93

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 93-4.

³²⁵ Desirée Baptiste, 'Joanna Lumley's India: Is Her TV Show Guilty of Airbrushing History?', *The Guardian*, 2017 <<https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2017/jul/19/joanna-lumley-india-is-tv-show-guilty-of-airbrushing-history>> [accessed 30 October 2018].

substantiates this claim with reference to specific scenes from the programme in which Lumley can be seen

[s]trolling through Kolkata, formerly known as Calcutta, she points out the British-inspired architecture. But she fails to mention that St John’s Church, the first Anglican cathedral on the subcontinent, was built by James Agg, her great-great-great-great grandfather and the first of her ancestors to arrive in 1777. Perhaps she isn’t aware of the lineage. But it is not hard to trace it back. Or maybe it’s because of the four chilling words: British East India Company – the trading corporation turned ‘aggressive colonial power’, as the historian William Dalrymple put it, whose activities brought the word ‘loot’ (from the Hindustani *lut*) into the English dictionary, and from which Agg seems likely to have made his fortune.³²⁶

Baptiste’s concerns about Lumley’s programme lie with its avoidance of a critical position on the British Empire in favour of presenting an exotic travel account by a personable host, accompanied by the expected visual references inherent from earlier ‘Raj Revival’ films and other cinematic depictions of India. To an unknowing viewer, there is the fear that *Joanna Lumley’s India* might leave them with the impression that the British East India Company were not all that bad as a result of programme’s ‘revised history’.³²⁷ Furthermore, Lumley can be accused of being irresponsible when it comes to discussing her family and should be called out for omitting the problematic aspects of their legacy almost entirely. While, yes it is true that the narrative presented in the programme is accurate—as Baptiste puts it, that the ‘East India Company “bought some land” in Bengal, “started exporting” and then Kolkata “grew richer and richer”’—Lumley fundamentally neglects to question who benefitted from it? Of course, the answer in this case implicates Lumley directly, as it is men like her relative Agg who profited from the exploitation. Agg was personally known by the Indian population by the label *nabob*, which translates as ‘Englishmen who flourish.’³²⁸ In the programme, Lumley experiences first-hand the extreme poverty and discrimination that a large portion of India’s population face every day, in response to which she asks how a ‘modern country can tolerate such discrimination?’ Without the information about Lumley’s family and the context for the poverty—that it was the British who ‘helped to entrench caste prejudice, giving a final shape to it as a means of control’³²⁹—Lumley can be viewed in such moments as moralising in her presentation, offering profound sympathy. However, we must be reminded that Lumley is fully aware of her heritage. Her knowledge of her family’s position in the country, along with her own position of privilege,

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Ibid.

however, suggests that Lumley is in denial. When the programme makers at ITV were approached by Baptiste and *The Guardian* with these claims, they responded accordingly:

The series is an exploration of modern-day India with Joanna as the guide revisiting some of the places connected to her upbringing, her parents and grandparents, and sharing her personal memories of people she knew. The series does not set out to be an in-depth exploration of Joanna's ancestry.³³⁰

Meanwhile, in an interview with the *Radio Times*, Lumley has personally responded to the programme's position on the British Empire, referring to it as 'tricky territory.'³³¹

First of all we must start by saying that I don't think there's a country in the world who would relish being ruled by outsiders [...] But at the same time there were obvious things that the British did in India, too: railways, schooling, law courts. They brought in a kind of civil service and the bureaucracy, which Indians would have taken to like ducks to water. These are the good stories. The bad stories are, in essence, that nobody wants to be ruled by someone else.³³²

In the above, Lumley falls back on the defence of other revisionist presenters, echoing the same points raised in defence of the British Empire in the conversation between Paxman and Howard in programme *Empire*, for example. According to Lumley, 'India's colonial past is now largely an irrelevance':

Most of the population today never knew India under British rule, so it's a part of history for them, they don't talk about it anymore than we sit here talking about the Second World War [...] We know about it, but it doesn't affect us. So those we met were always thrilled to hear that we were from Britain, but there was no overweening sense of either curiosity or shame or anger or resentment.³³³

Reflecting on Chaudhuri's earlier account of watching films and documentaries about the British Raj as being an agonising experience for the Indian viewer—as presenters made 'sweeping remarks that pass for historical research coupled with a fluent personal impressionism'³³⁴—forces us to place Lumley alongside presenters like Snow, Paxman and Perkins. However, as Baptiste acknowledges, this is unusual for Lumley, who 'has shown the world what she can do when she gets behind a cause, such as the admirable campaign to give the

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ 'Joanna Lumley on India: A Land of Tech Billionaires and Untouchables, Breathtaking Beauty and Giant Rats', 5 June 2017 <<http://www.radiotimes.com/travel/2017-07-05/joanna-lumley-on-india-a-land-of-tech-billionaires-and-untouchables-breathtaking-beauty-and-giant-rats/>> [accessed 4 May 2018].

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Chaudhuri, *Did the Empire Do Any Good?*

Gurkhas a home in Britain.’³³⁵ Thus, Baptiste regards *Joanna Lumley’s India* as a ‘missed opportunity’,³³⁶ appeals to the presenter to consider a more critical response to India and the British Empire in future programmes that she hosts. Baptiste writes,

Why not campaign to give the truth a home in Britain, by adding to the school syllabus an unvarnished history of empire, not the nostalgic dream, the glory that only fuels ambition – but a compassionate version, honouring the tragedy that empire inflicted on its subject people.³³⁷

While well-intentioned, in her travelogue Lumley provides audiences with an outdated understanding of the past, in this case the legacy of the British Raj. Due to her own romanticised memory from growing up in India as a child, and the nostalgic personal gaze through which she constructs her India narrative, Lumley ends up communicating a revisionist narrative that fails to acknowledge the exploits of the British Empire, and neglects to further explore her own family’s part in shaping contemporary India (and not for the best). To an unaware viewer, *Joanna Lumley’s India* has the potential to overwrite the atrocities of Britain’s imperial past, reinstating instead a nostalgic position and perspective on the British Empire. Likewise, Lumley’s programme provides a passive experience of India and its culture—one superficially constructed, recycling the kinds of images of India that audiences might have come to expect based on visual depictions of the country in the ‘Raj revival’ films. Furthermore, like some ‘Raj revival’ films, *Joanna Lumley’s India* is uncritical in narrating the country’s history and development (or in this case its recovery or lack of recovery from British interference). Perhaps one could accuse Lumley of playing into the expectations of the ‘armchair traveller’, to return to Moran’s earlier notes on the television travelogue, providing the picturesque postcard India; presenting it as a tourism destination, rather than providing a history lesson. As illustrated by the critiques, *Joanna Lumley’s India*—along with other travelogues and popular factual entertainment programmes more broadly—has the capacity to spark critical discussion, revealing an obligation to confront such revisionist opinions and narratives in the present-day.

Conclusion

The narratives in popular factual heritage television borrows heavily from Britain’s national ‘master narrative’, which is frequently referenced due to its capacity to evoke profound nostalgia for the objects, lifestyles and narratives of bygone eras that reinforce unity and a sense

³³⁵ Baptiste, ‘Joanna Lumley’s India: Is Her TV Show Guilty of Airbrushing History?’.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid.

of identity and belonging. It was the aim of this chapter to explore the ways in which certain popular factual heritage television programmes are both constructed around, and deconstruct, British heritage narratives, by considering how presenters—through their interactions with tangible heritage objects, places, traditions and narratives from the past—facilitate a relationship between television viewers, history and heritage. This chapter approached this interest from three angles. Firstly, it examined how some presenters engaged with Britain’s tangible heritage buildings and objects. Starting with the symbol of the stately home, through an analysis of *Mary Berry’s Country House Secrets*, it showed how presenter Berry—as a result of her experience being led through Highclere Castle, which she often compared with the fictional Lady Mary’s experience in British heritage drama *Downton Abby*, along with her status as a celebrity of popular factual heritage television—was able to enforce a nostalgia for a bygone era of imperial England through her nostalgic gaze and a narration that reinstated the country house as a signifier of Britishness. On the other hand, using travelogue *Kevin McCloud’s Grand Tour of Europe*, it explored how presenter McCloud attempted to break the association of identity and Britain’s landmark architecture and sought to disrupt the romantic idea of the Grand Tour of Europe, by telling instead a narrative of cultural appropriation. While to some degree McCloud was successful in doing so, I came the conclusion that in the end—due to his production of a television programme and accompanying book, full of sketches, scribbles and observations of other regional European cultures—fundamentally McCloud was performing less of a journalistic role, and more the role of the Grand Tourist. Turning its attention to recreation and restoration programmes, this part then wanted to explore how presenters narrativise the past and are able to facilitate viewer relationships with narratives, properties and objects that do not exist, or do exist but are not intact. Considering *Titchmarsh on Capability Brown*, *Restoration Man* and *Guy Martin’s Spitfire and World War II Tank*, this part explored how, through the process of recreation, the individual presenters—and I suggest, by proxy, viewers—were able to gain a heightened appreciation for the tangible heritage of the past (objects, properties), and to even develop an empathetical relationship with those who lived, used and occupied them.

Part two examined the relationship between an aspect of the contemporary cultural phenomenon of the heritage industry—‘austerity nostalgia’—and traced its influence not only on the aesthetics of recent popular factual heritage television programmes, but also considered how the phenomenon shaped the narratives, governed the experiences had by presenters and guests, and restored the rhetoric wartime and immediately post-war Britain as a way of coping with the recent period of austerity, post-2008. It revealed two things: firstly, the ways in which the heritage industry not only distracts the public from the present though nostalgic material

iconography (as established in Chapters One and Two), but how the heritage industry also benefits private interests. In the context of recent heritage industry, it emphasised the rise of the ‘austerity celebrity’, who replaced the businesses that benefitted from the heritage industry of the 1980s. While on the other hand, this section also studied examples of living history programmes, showing how families—thought complete immersion in the past, specifically the 1950s and the era of rationing—were able to forge an empathetical link through the act of experiencing it in a simulated environment and through controlled lifestyle measures (rationing, performing to expected gender roles). While a valuable experiment for the family, who expressed an appreciation for people who lived in the 1950s, in the end their happiness was rooted in experiencing watching the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II on television alongside older people who had experienced it the first time as children, and in the comfort of familiar—what we regard now as retro—kitchen appliances, which have since returned in popular consumer culture.

Lastly, part three scrutinised Joanna Lumley’s presentation of the narrative of the British empire in *Joanna Lumley’s India*, drawing reference to the Raj Revival heritage films of the 1980s, and situating Lumley’s programme within the wider context of a host of documentaries, popular factual and reality television programmes broadcast in 2017 exploring 70 years since the dissolution of the British Raj and the partition of India and Pakistan. The analysis of *Joanna Lumley’s India* revealed how heritage narratives can sometime collide. In this case, Lumley’s narrativisation of the history and legacy of the British colonial rule over India was criticised for its nostalgic outlook, lacking in critical perspective and in some instances being outright revisionist. It emphasised that Lumley’s subjective narrative was the product of the collision between Lumley’s own personal heritage narrative, having been born in and brought up in India while her father served as a high-ranking officer of the British crown and her relationship with it since, as a tourist of its World Heritage sites, mingling with its celebrities, indulging in the romance of its materials, and enjoying its food.

With the respective chapters belonging to Parts One and Two establishing popular factual heritage television’s aesthetic and narrative relationship with earlier British heritage films, the focus of the chapter belonging to Part Three is what I claim to be an emergent body of popular factual heritage television series challenge its own form, threatening to disrupt or reconfigure audiences’ relationship with heritage as a result of popular factual heritage television and suggesting the future of the cycle beyond this thesis.

PART THREE
NEW HERITAGE TEXTS

Chapter Four – Self-referentiality, self-reflexivity and popular factual heritage television

With time, genres evolve. Gradually they break from what Jeremy G. Butler defines as their ‘classical period’³³⁸—where they have become identifiable based on shared characteristics (aural and visual traits, recurring themes and narratives)—and enter what certain scholars have referred to as a period of self-reflexivity.³³⁹ Regarding television in particular, Butler writes,

After the classical period comes a time of self-reflexivity that is often accompanied by genre decay or even death, though not necessarily. In the self-reflexive period, the genre turns inward and uses its own conventions for subject matter. It becomes self-conscious, in a sense, and the result is often genre parodies.³⁴⁰

The self-reflexive period in the cycle of a television genre allows for its conventions to be exaggerated, which, as Butler suggests, is frequently the case with parodies. But in order for genres to succeed in this phase, ‘prior knowledge of the genre’ is essential.³⁴¹

Popular factual and reality television are composite genres—each ‘self-consciously and self-reflexively mixes generic forms’.³⁴² It is possible to think that popular factual and reality television might not conform to the same evolutionary cycle of other television genres—particularly falling within the ‘classical period’—given that their foundations are hybridised from the start and flux is thought to be among their ‘key attributes’.³⁴³ This position might be confirmed if one was, for example, to take Jason Mittell’s discursive approach to television genre into account, which understands television genre as ‘operat[ing] in an ongoing historical process of category formation’.³⁴⁴ Genres are in a constant state of fluidity, claims Mittell, thus their analysis should be ‘historically situated’. Genres are associated with certain historical moments and places.³⁴⁵ For example, in the United Kingdom, one might group comedy programme *Porridge* (BBC, 1974-7), *Rising Damp* (ITV, 1974-8) and *Fawlty Towers* (BBC, 1975-9) as ‘Golden Age’ British sitcoms, given their emergence during the perceived ‘Golden Age’

³³⁸ Jeremy G Butler, *Television: Critical Methods and Applications*, Fourth Edition (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 380.

³³⁹ Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, Third Edition (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001); Anita Biressi and Heather Nunn, *Reality TV: Realism and Revelation* (London: Wallflower Press, 2005); Butler.

³⁴⁰ Butler, *Television: Critical Methods and Applications*, p. 380.

³⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 380.

³⁴² Kavka, *Reality TV*, p. 7.

³⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 8.

³⁴⁴ Jason Mittell, *Genre and Television: From Cop Shows to Cartoons in American Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), p. xiv.

³⁴⁵ Mittell, *Genre and Television*, p. xiv.

of British situational comedies in the 1970s.³⁴⁶ To the same degree, one might group together programme produced by HBO [Home Box Office] in the late-1990s and early-2000s—such as *Sex and the City* (Darren Star, 1998-2004), *The Sopranos* (David Chase, 1999-2007) and *The Wire* (David Simon, 2002-8)—under the widely-disputed pseudo-genre ‘quality television’,³⁴⁷ given their emergence from that specific historical moment defined by HBO’s drive to ‘redefine television’.³⁴⁸

As explored in Chapter One, Mittell’s discursive approach is useful for defining popular factual heritage television in accordance with the specific time and place from which the cycle of programmes emerged and is shaped by. The discursive approach allows us to describe popular factual heritage television by ‘historically situating’ it in the United Kingdom during the contemporary heritage industry, post-2008. This is particularly useful given the generic diversity of popular factual heritage television as a cycle, and the generic hybridity of individual popular factual heritage television programmes. However, Mittell’s discursive approach is not exclusive when it comes to categorising popular factual heritage television, due to the fact that it is possible for the corpus of television programmes to be identified and grouped together aesthetically—as popular factual heritage texts—despite their individual associations with various other generic subcategories (popular factual heritage television is made up of cooking competitions, travelogues, game shows, reality television, lifestyle television and documentaries). To elaborate, as well as being able to ‘historically situate’ popular factual heritage television in a particular historical moment in the United Kingdom, popular factual heritage television is also identifiable according to a number of shared generic attributes.

Over the course of this thesis I have constructed popular factual heritage television by analysing a selection of television programmes and establishing a set of shared generic attributes and narratives with earlier British heritage films. Furthermore, this thesis has also explored the

³⁴⁶ Phil Wickham, ‘BFI Screenonline: Sitcom’ <<http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/445368/index.html>> [accessed 7 November 2018].

³⁴⁷ ‘Quality Television’ – as Janet McCabe and Kim Akass map out in their essential reading *Quality TV: Contemporary American Television and Beyond* – is a contentious term that has traversed several interpretations over several generations of television. ‘Quality television’ first emerged in the 1980s with the offerings from MTM (Mary Tyler Moore) Enterprises, with dramas such as *Hill Street Blues* (Steven Bochco, 1981-7) signalling a dramatic shift toward adult entertainment and a realist aesthetic. The 1990s, as Robert J Thompson’s book *Television’s Second Golden Age* (1996) describes, was television’s second wave of ‘quality television’, marked by dramas such as *Ally McBeal*, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *ER* and *The West Wing*. With the emergence of new televisual technologies and services in the 1990s, principally cable television and the subscription-based service HBO, the third generation of ‘quality television’ entered, setting a new precedent for how television can look – different to ‘regular television’ Robert J. Thompson, *Television’s Second Golden Age* (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1996), p. 13.

³⁴⁸ Marc Leverette, Brian L. Ott, and Cara Louise Buckley, *It’s Not TV: Watching HBO in the Post-Television Era* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), p. 1.

evolving role of popular factual heritage television within the contemporary heritage industry. It has shown how popular factual heritage television has been able to capitalise on the recent phenomenon characterised by Owen Hatherley as ‘austerity nostalgia’ in the years following the economic recession in the United Kingdom,³⁴⁹ and has explored the degree to which—through recycling the iconography and narratives associated with an earlier cycle of British heritage films—popular factual heritage television is able to harness the same nostalgia for yesteryear and underline a traditional sense of a national identity. This final chapter of the thesis however wishes to take stock of how popular factual heritage television has developed since its emergence, and how certain developments have challenged how the cycle operates culturally within the contemporary heritage industry. In this final chapter of the thesis I propose the emergence of what I claim are a new or alternative cycle of popular factual heritage television programmes, which are interacting with heritage and the heritage industry, as well as with their own form and generic conventions, in interesting and experimental ways. This cycle not only capitalises on the generic characteristics of popular factual heritage television, but—as a result of the cycle’s awareness of its place in the evolution of popular factual heritage television and its position in the historical moment of the contemporary heritage industry—exploits these same generic characteristics. Moreover, this recent cycle calls attention to the form and structure of popular factual heritage television programmes, exaggerating the existing aural and visual characteristics, and manipulating the narratives being communicated (either by the presenter and their script, or by the audio-visual grammar). As a result of their fluid approach to genre and manipulation of existing codes and conventions, I argue that this recent cycle obscures the definition of what constitutes a popular factual heritage text, and this could potentially have a detrimental effect in redefining the role of popular factual heritage television in the contemporary heritage industry. Due to their post-modernist tendencies—their self-referential and self-reflexive nature—, where it is necessary in this chapter to distinguish this particular cycle from the former body of popular factual heritage television programmes, I will use the term ‘post-popular factual heritage television’. Pertaining to the idea of genre fluidity and the situation of a genre historically, this development in popular factual heritage television is as much a response to the texts mentioned throughout this thesis, as it is the product of the contemporary heritage industry, with which—as established over the course of this thesis—popular factual heritage television has a close relationship. True to Butler’s explanation of the need for self-reflexive genres and their audiences to have prior knowledge of that genre in order

³⁴⁹ Hatherley, *Ministry of Nostalgia*, p. 18.

for it to succeed, this chapter will illustrate the dependency of certain programmes on the audiences' awareness of popular factual heritage television. Post-popular factual heritage television relies on audiences to have a prior knowledge of the way popular factual heritage television looks and sounds; the specific narratives that its programmes and presenters tell and the way that they are told; how the programmes are structured; and the position of popular factual heritage television within wider popular culture (specifically their emergence from, and place within, the contemporary heritage industry).

Brooke E. Duffy et al writes that self-reflexivity makes itself known under a number of guises and for a number of reasons;

These tropes of reflexivity purport to shatter the illusion of transparent representation popular in mainstream media; narratives that are highly reflexive foreground their own production and call attention to their status as textual constructs [...] Reflexivity makes a stylistic virtue of revealing 'behind-the-scenes' processes to audiences, such as showing camera operators and microphones in reality television shows [...] and including directors commentaries on film productions as DVD extras [...] Such reflexivity seems to promise audience empowerment by making explicit the ways in which media texts are constructed. It may, however, be employed to further obscure the nature of media production.³⁵⁰

The following chapter uses Duffy et al's description of self-reflexivity as the foundation to explore the potential influence of this alternative cycle of popular factual and reality television programmes on understandings of heritage, the British heritage film, the contemporary heritage industry, and, significantly, of popular factual heritage television itself. When considering the degree of self-reflexivity and self-referentiality in this specific cycle of television programmes—which often gives viewers a 'behind-the-scenes' look at their own production context and the cultural following that they have generated—I ask, do these programmes empower audiences by 'call[ing] attention to their status as textual constructs' (in this case as heritage texts), or is it the case that the use of this same ostensibly transparent perspective actually obscures their identity as heritage constructs? While more broadly asking, since their emergence in the late-2000s, how has popular factual heritage television, discussions about its programmes, and its place within the contemporary heritage industry evolved?

In order to address these questions, this chapter takes a three-part approach to the study of the confluence of the contemporary heritage industry, modern-day communication technologies (namely social media), and what I argue to be examples of this alternative cycle of popular factual heritage television programmes with a growing self-awareness of, and flexible

³⁵⁰ Duffy, Liss-Mariño, and Sender, 'Reflexivity in Television Depictions of Media Industries', p. 298.

approach to, not only their form, but their position within a wider popular culture. The first part considers the relationship between popular factual heritage television and the internet, principally how viewers engage with certain popular factual heritage texts online. This part considers how popular factual heritage television not only reflects the contemporary phenomenon of ‘austerity nostalgia’—engaging viewers in the heritage industry (as explored early on in this thesis)—but provokes them to engage with the texts and the version of heritage and identity depicted onscreen. On one hand it will show how a programme like *The Great British Bake Off: Extra Slice* has the potential to connect audiences, manufacturing a sense of community and belonging. Whereas on the other hand it will illustrate how other programmes—such as Rick Stein’s *India* and *Taste of Shanghai*—have provoked some to take to social media to critically explore representations of heritage onscreen. Not only are audiences using contemporary communication platforms to voice their concerns but, I argue, social networks are being used to connect viewers to one another—forging a community of heritage critics with their comments, when combined, forming a contemporary heritage discourse that challenges depictions of British heritage on television and assesses its value today.

Meanwhile the second part of this chapter focuses on the evolution of popular factual heritage television as a form. Analysing historical mockumentary *Cunk on Britain*, it argues that the programme signifies the emergence of a new cycle of popular factual heritage television that explicitly and self-consciously draws reference to its own form as a heritage text belonging to the heritage category. It argues that *Cunk on Britain*—through its emphasis and manipulation of existing conventions and narratives belonging to popular factual heritage television programme of a similar nature—challenges its own boundaries as a popular factual heritage programme, thus potentially disrupting the dynamic of the relationship between popular factual heritage television and the recipient in the contemporary heritage industry.

The final part of this chapter puts Chanel 4 reality television programme *Gogglebox* under the spotlight, using the programmes to argue that—in this instance,—popular factual heritage television has evolved altogether, rejecting the existing audio-visual conventions and narratives of popular factual heritage television, that are inherited from the British heritage film, and repacking nostalgia and patriotism for consumption in another way. Furthermore, what is interesting about *Gogglebox* is that, in turn, the programme (like *The Great British Bake Off* in Chapter Two) has been consciously referenced, and its characteristics recycled, by the heritage industry, used as the inspiration for an historical documentary about the Royal Family, in which the aesthetics, settings, and format of *Gogglebox* have been mobilised as a vehicle for British heritage.

Interacting with popular factual heritage television online

The contemporary heritage industry—as this thesis has come to understand it based on the work of previous heritage commentators who have explored Britain’s heritage cultures—provides the cultural backdrop, and British heritage films and popular factual heritage television the visual and narrative reference points, which help to create and harness a collective sense of belonging based on a shared history and tangible and intangible signifiers of identity. The focus of this section is engagement, specifically how certain popular factual heritage television programmes have engaged audiences online via social media. Building upon the previous work done in Chapter Two (online engagements with *The Great British Bake Off*), this section considers how certain programmes have formed communities of likeminded viewers online, who act not just as fans of certain programmes, participating in conversations about particular episodes or cast members, but who express allegiance with the programme's core values. While on the other hand, it also examines how other programmes and their presenters have provoked some to scrutinise the representations and explorations of British heritage in certain popular factual heritage television programmes. These critical responses, when combined with the approach to popular factual heritage television put forward in this thesis, I argue, resemble an emerging contemporary heritage discourse from contemporary heritage critics. To what extent do some popular factual heritage television programmes respond to the contemporary heritage industry (and in what ways does the heritage industry respond to certain popular factual heritage television texts)? Furthermore, in what ways does the contemporary heritage industry and popular factual heritage television engage audiences, and to what degree could viewer engagement shape understandings of identity and emphasise or delimit the value British heritage today?

As mentioned previously, common to the notion of a national cinema is the idea of nationhood, a principle underlining Benedict Anderson’s concept of the ‘imagined community’,³⁵¹ an imagined community constructed ‘through symbols, narratives, literature and communication’.³⁵² However, it is important to also consider Roger Rawlings opinion that

³⁵¹ Higson, *Waving the Flag*, p. 6.

³⁵² Bondebjerg, ‘The Politics and Sociology of Screening the Past’, p. 8.

national identity 'is by no means a fixed phenomenon, but constantly shifting, constantly in process of becoming.'³⁵³ In regard to film, Higson writes,

The concept of national cinema is equally fluid, equally subject to ceaseless negotiations: while the discourses of film culture seek to hold it in place, it is abundantly clear that the concept is mobilized in different ways, by different commentators, for different reasons.³⁵⁴

As explored throughout this thesis, in the 1980s and 1990s, commentators used the concepts of the heritage films and heritage industry to critique the deployment of heritage across popular visual and consumer culture, especially during the years of Thatcher's premiership. Since the late-2000s, this thesis proposes that popular factual and reality television have also mobilised heritage to construct a sense of nationhood, capitalising on the phenomenon of 'austerity nostalgia' in the branding and focus of certain programmes (using the aesthetics of 'Make Do and Mend' to brand and inform the rhetoric of programmes with a specific focus on giving tips on living on a budget, for example) and selectively referencing key aspects of Britain's heritage (pastoral aristocratic lifestyle, Britain's wartime heroism, the British Empire) to equally reinforce and challenge traditional ideas about identity, specifically British identity. Higson writes that

modern nations are forged through organised systems of language, education, and mass-communication, and it is through these that the people inhabiting a nation-state come to know themselves as a community and as different to others outside their community. The narratives of belonging which language, education, and mass-communication put into circulation are the means by which national communities are forged.'³⁵⁵

For Higson, who considers the filmic language of a particular cycle of quality costume dramas made in a 'national [film] style',³⁵⁶ the transmission of narratives depends on the communications systems of the twentieth century, which play a major role in the process of interrelating a heterogeneous mass public as a knowable, self-contained national community.³⁵⁷ Cinema—both as a cultural experience and entertainment form—is one of these mass-communications systems and a dominant means by which the public can be engaged and constructed on a national scale. Higson writes,

Individual films will often serve to represent the nation to itself as a nation. Inserted into the general framework of the cinematic experience, such films will construct

³⁵³ Roger Rawlings, *Ripping England!: Postwar British Satire from Ealing to the Goons* (New York: SUNY Press, 2017), p. 171.

³⁵⁴ Higson, *Waving the Flag*, p. 4.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁵⁶ Vitali and Willemsen, *Theorising National Cinema*, p. 10.

³⁵⁷ Higson, *Waving the Flag*, p. 6.

imaginary bonds which work to hold the peoples of a nation together as a community by dramatizing their current fears, anxieties, conceits, pleasures, and aspirations.³⁵⁸

While films still occupy such a position of influence over shaping perceptions of national belonging, as this thesis has suggested, popular factual and reality television also shares this position of influence—as two of the most dominant television genres of the twenty-first century. Popular factual heritage television operates in tandem with contemporary mass-communication services (social media) and technologies, to strengthen and in some instances challenge the communication of heritage and its influence over perceptions of nationhood. I propose that while connecting to one another and interacting with popular factual television via social media, viewers become active participants in the wider contemporary heritage industry and symbolise a new ‘imagined community’. This community might, for instance, choose to express allegiance with the programme and with its values; just as they might respond to an event in an episode, such as commenting on an encounter between a presenter and a custom belonging to another culture while travelling; they might show support for a particular cast member, if a competition programme for example; or identify with a pervading theme, which in the case of certain programmes could be nationality and heritage. Whereas on the other hand, popular factual heritage television programmes also provoke critical responses and discussions about identity and heritage online.

Public engagements with popular culture and the media (film, television and radio) via social media is part of a recent cultural phenomenon, though its roots are in early online chat forums. In recent years, as demonstrated by the use of British-related hashtags on social media, a host of external parties—the entertainment industry, newsgroups, celebrities, politicians, tourism boards, societies and charities —have attempted to capitalise on British national and sporting events, news items films and television programmes, often encouraging participation and provoking discussions. Some examples of successful Twitter campaigns and popular subjects in recent years related to Britain, British heritage and national identity include #iamteamGB, which was used during the broadcast of the London 2012 Olympic Games and the various Olympic, Paralympic and Winter Olympic games since; recent Royal Weddings ensure the popularity of #RoyalWedding, inviting people to comment on the pageantry and coverage of a royal wedding or share photos from their own celebrations at home; and in reaction to recent British politics, social media has been mobilised for public debate, especially in regard to Brexit (#Brexit). #iamteamGB is a strong indication of the formation of an ‘imagined’ British

³⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 7.

community online in recent years. Over the course of the 2012 London Olympics Games—as well as all subsequent Olympics, Winter Olympics and Paralympic games—#iamteamGB trended on Twitter.³⁵⁹ The growth of users embracing the hashtag #iamteamGB not only illustrates a genuine camaraderie, support and sense of belonging to a nation, but also signals a prevailing nostalgia for a traditional sense of Britishness—specifically Britain as a global dominant power. According to columnist Kehinde Andrews, the widespread embrace of #iamteamGB coincides with the cultural phenomenon that Paul Gilroy characterises ‘postcolonial melancholia’,³⁶⁰ which is used to describe ‘the yearning for a time when Britain was great and a leader in the world’.³⁶¹ Andrews’ article references Gilroy’s notion in reaction to a tweet from Conservative MP Heather Wheeler. In response to the number of British medal wins during the Olympic games, Wheeler tweeted an image that included the words ‘Empire Goes for Gold’ with the Union Jack flag placed between the ‘Rest of the World’ and ‘EU post Brexit’, positioned as if to mimic the three-tiered medal podium associated with the games, the United Kingdom in first place. Andrews suggests that Wheeler’s tweet is the product of an inevitable ‘swell of national pride’ that came with Team GB (Great Britain) being declared a ‘sporting superpower’. However, Andrews views Wheeler’s tweet as exposing ‘the darker side of British imperial pomp’. Andrews writes;

Britain’s place on the world stage was built off the back of the empire, and when former colonies gained their freedom, it dented not only the power of the nation, but also its psyche. The loss of the empire heralded the decline of Britain’s prowess and has left British nationalism looking for a symbolic pick-me-up ever since.³⁶²

For Andrews, in the face of rhetoric that characterised the Brexit campaign, the Olympics games—and I argue popular factual heritage television—serve as a ‘symbolic pick-me-up’ for the United Kingdom, reminding its population of their ties to one another by capitalising on nostalgia for its imperial past and the swell of patriotism that comes with national events, be they sporting or entertainment. As Andrews explains,

³⁵⁹ On Twitter, when certain hashtags have a surge in popularity, used by a large population during a given time, they are known to ‘trend’. As Twitter’s help centre explains, ‘Trends are determined by an algorithm and, by default, are tailored for you based on who you follow, your interests, and your location. This algorithm identifies topics that are popular now, rather than topics that have been popular for a while or on a daily basis, to help you discover the hottest emerging topics of discussion on Twitter.’ <https://help.twitter.com/en/using-twitter/twitter-trending-facts> [accessed 21 November 2018].

³⁶⁰ Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (New York and West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2005).

³⁶¹ Kehinde Andrews, ‘Colonial Nostalgia Is Back in Fashion, Blinding Us to the Horrors of Empire’, *The Guardian*, 2016 <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/24/colonial-nostalgia-horrors-of-empire-britain-olympic?CMP=fb_gu> [accessed 12 November 2018].

³⁶² *Ibid.*

A driving force behind the leave campaign was to “take the country back” and return to its former glories. With the insistence that we could make trade deals with the Commonwealth, this was an open call to return to the times when Britannia ruled the waves.³⁶³

In popular factual heritage television, this nostalgia for, and longing to return Britain 'to its former glories', is reflected in several ways: the choice to recycle the iconography of the British heritage films, which are populated with images of pastoral middle- to upper-middle class Englishness (as explored in Chapter Two); the return to narratives connected with the days of British dominance, which, as Chapter Three argues, often indulges, celebrates or revises Britain's imperial narrative; and the revival of traditional pastimes and recreational activities and experiences (as we've seen with the swell of programmes with a focus on baking sewing, craft and thrift).

The relationship between television audiences and media content via the internet is illustrative of people connecting to a wider community with a common interest in certain programmes by using social media platforms and utilising the social media-specific vernacular. For example, as Chapter Two illustrated, *The Great British Bake Off* benefitted from social media exposure to successfully engage viewers, who not only used the hashtag #GBBO to take part in discussions about the programme, but who regularly combine it with other hashtags—such as #TwitterBakeAlong—to get involved, baking alongside contestants and taking part in the weekly challenges assigned to them in each episode (for example, baking a cake during 'cake week' or bread during 'bread week'). This kind of engagement, I argue, is not only illustrative of viewers interacting with television programmes publicly, but suggests the formation of a community online, to which viewers—via social media—connect on the basis of a shared subject (in this case a popular factual heritage television programme) and collectively participate in the subject featured in that programme. Thus, the social media community are—both physically and digitally—part of a wider culture, symbolic of an aspect of the contemporary heritage industry. More than just platforms through which users are able to engage with certain television programmes, social media is also being used to underscore a sense of connection to something bigger—a community with a shared identity and heritage. Given the utilisation of a twenty-first century communication mode (the internet and social media) and the appropriate vernacular (Twitter handles and hashtags), the direct interaction with new heritage forms (namely popular factual heritage television), and discussions about identity and heritage, I am inclined to refer to this context and online phenomenon as the 'heritage industry 2.0.', (though

³⁶³ Ibid.

more work in this area is needed). For the time-being, I conceive the heritage industry 2.0. as a way to characterise the modern methods of engaging with Britain's heritage culture and interacting with heritage texts specifically online. What is of particular interest to this section, however, is that while popular factual heritage television programmes, such as *The Great British Bake Off*, have been the catalyst for viewers taking to social media and forming wider connections, popular factual heritage television programmes have also responded. In particular, certain popular factual heritage television programmes take viewers' engagements with television online and recycle the content to form new television programmes. An explicit example of this is *The Great British Bake Off: Extra Slice* (hereafter referred to as *Extra Slice*)—a spin-off from *The Great British Bake Off*— which is a weekly panel talk show broadcast alongside the cooking competition. Each week presenter Jo Brand is joined by celebrity guests and ex-contestants and over the course of each episode they reflect on that week's events in the "Bake Off tent". *Extra Slice* is filmed before a live-studio audience, which consists of general as well as invited members of the public, and a considerable amount of the content of the programme is sourced from online, using tweets, questions that have been emailed to the programme and shared photographs.

Extra Slice is constructed with an awareness of its genre and the texts that have inspired it; its cultural background of the heritage industry, which is interested in nostalgia and pastimes; and importantly, the wider active audience and culture around *The Great British Bake Off*. *Extra Slice* is the product of the confluence of popular factual heritage television, generally and *The Great British Bake Off* specifically; the contemporary heritage industry and the phenomenon of 'austerity nostalgia'; and the engaged community—especially online—who interact with the popular factual heritage television programme and with its version of heritage using the technologies, platforms (social media) and vernacular of the heritage industry 2.0. If we analyse the opening sequence of *Extra Slice*, this combination becomes more evident.

The opening images of *Extra Slice* recalls those of its source programme *The Great British Bake Off* (analysed in Chapter Two) practically shot-for-shot. The opening sequence begins with an aerial shot as the camera pans the same English countryside from above, gliding over the same rolling green hills before arriving at the same "Bake Off tent" pitched on the lawn before the stately home of Welford Park. Crucially, however, in the case of the opening sequence of *Extra Slice*, the recycled shots from *The Great British Bake Off* are intercut with clips from the most recent episode of the cooking competition. These shots are followed by a series of internal sequences from inside the television production studio, revealing the stage, studio lighting,

filmmaking equipment and production crews. This is the production studio in which *Extra Slice* is filmed before the live-studio audience, who we see in full in a final panning shot, left to right.

Following the scene described above, the familiar opening credit sequence and theme tune from *The Great British Bake Off* plays. However, when it plays in *Extra Slice* the live studio audience can be heard applauding over the top of it, confirming that their presence is not only visible throughout the programme, but also audible. Through the combination of frequent visual shots of the audience and the consistency of their cheers, jeers, applauses and laughter throughout, *Extra Slice* creates the impression that we—as viewers at home—are fellow audience members sharing the experience of watching *Extra Slice*, while collectively reflecting on moments from the previous episode of *The Great British Bake Off*. After the opening sequence, the camera returns to the stage, on which there is a large dining table in the centre. Around the table is a reconstructed country-house kitchen set equipped with many of the appliances seen in the cooking competition. Presenter Brand sits at this table and before her—in the immediate area surrounding the stage—are a number of small dining tables, at which are sat a selection of invited members of the public. On the tables before them are cakes—their home bakes—which they have brought in to the studio for the camera to film and to be a part of the show. Thus composed, the stage and its surrounding area resemble an extension of the inside of the “*Bake Off* tent”. Beneath Union Jack bunting and before retro appliances and rustic kitchen worktops, the dining tables mimic the contestants’ workstations. ‘Did we all enjoy cake week?’ Brand asks the live studio audience in the episode analysed (Season 4 Episode 1, broadcast 31 August 2017), to which the audience collectively replies ‘Yes! The participation of the audience in the programme resembles that of a live show or pantomime. These pantomimic elements—the direct address to the audience, to the camera and to the viewer at home—themselves signal back to the live cooking demonstrations of television chefs such as Fanny Craddock, Julia Childs and Marguerite Patten, whose address to the audiences was conversational and might prompt engagement beyond the studio (viewers talking the to screen).³⁶⁴ Before former contestants, *Bake Off* judges and celebrity personalities are invited to the stage, the viewers of *Extra Slice* are shown previously unseen behind-the-scenes footage from the previous episode. The behind-the-scenes footage is juxtaposed with close-ups of the live-studio audience, capturing their emotional responses to the footage presented as they, like us, see it for the first time.

³⁶⁴ The gendered dimension of Marguerite Patten is explored by Rachel Moseley, for example, who explores Patten’s persona and her direct address to the post-war working woman. Rachel Moseley. ‘Marguerite Patten, Television Cookery and Postwar British Femininity’. In Gillis, Stacey, and Hollows, Joanne. eds. *Feminism, Domesticity and Popular Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 17-33.

As stated, *Extra Slice* is the product of the convergence between a text (*The Great British Bake Off*) and a culture (in this case the engaged viewership who are active participants in the contemporary heritage industry). This is reflected firstly in the viewing experience of *Extra Slice*, which is unlike that of *The Great British Bake Off*. *The Great British Bake Off* allows for a degree of passivity from its viewers. Viewers of *The Great British Bake Off* are able to watch bakers compete week-in week-out as they progress through (or are eliminated from) each feat of the cooking competition, interacting only if they so choose to. Interactions can come in two forms: private and public. In the domestic space, audiences might choose to participate in the challenges assigned to contestants each week in their own kitchens, take part in inspired competitions with a group of friends or a cooking club, for example, or they just discuss the programme with others. On the other hand, audiences might choose to publicly engage with the programme, taking to social media, for instance, to communicate with other fans, to dispute the elimination of a contestant that week or to share photos of their home bakes, recipes, methodologies or cooking-related anecdotes. *Extra Slice* on the other hand capitalises on active viewer engagement with both the source programme (*The Great British Bake Off*) and the panel programme. *Extra Slice* revolves around the audience and their participation in the programme and with the heritage industry. To this extent, the audience is indeed the subject of *Extra Slice*. *Extra Slice* exists due to, and operates in tandem with, the engaged viewers and culture that *The Great British Bake Off* has sparked. As mentioned in the description of the set—specifically in regard to the smaller tables and members of the public gathered around the stage—viewers are encouraged to bake alongside the programme and—if invited to appear on *Extra Slice* based on photographs shared via emails or on social media platforms (Twitter, Instagram, Facebook)—they are asked to bring their home bakes to the studio to share, taste and discuss. In essence, the programme brings the very culture—the group of engaged audience members inspired by the cooking competition—to the screen, placing them on the stage and inside an emulation of the “*Bake Off* tent”.

Self-referentiality is evident in the introductory cinematography of the opening sequence of *Extra Slice* and extends to the general aesthetic of the production area of the television studio set. *Extra Slice* directly echoes the visual iconography of *The Great British Bake Off*, which—as we have established—is a continuation of the visual conventions of British heritage films. Moreover, *Extra Slice* exercises its self-reflexive muscle through its deconstructionist tendencies. Distinguishing itself from *The Great British Bake Off*, *Extra Slice* deliberately and self-consciously reveals the constructs of both popular factual heritage television and the heritage film. Like the satirical film *Tristram Shandy: A Cook and Bull Story* (Michael Winterbottom, 2006) or certain

episodes of television sitcom *Extras* (BBC, 2005-7)(specifically the episodes in which Ricky Gervais' character Andy Millman is cast in period dramas), *Extra Slice* breaks down the construct of the cooking competition with the inclusion of shots of the production studio and of the live-studio audience, exposing the look and feel of the interior of the tent as a façade. *Extra Slice* is aware of its relation to other programmes, chiefly *The Great British Bake Off* (but one might also include *The Great British Sewing Bee* or *Pottery Throwdown*) and the category to which such programmes belong (popular factual heritage television). Thus, *Extra Slice* conforms to Mittell's discursive approach to television genre, as it is explicitly defined in relation to other texts and the specific historical moment of the contemporary heritage industry, post-2008. Furthermore, *Extra Slice* is also aware, and exploits the position of popular factual heritage television in the contemporary heritage industry by inviting the very culture that the cooking competition creates and perpetuates—a culture of engaged viewers fixated on nostalgic renderings of national identity, rooted in the iconography and traditions of yesteryear—to be its subject matter. *Extra Slice* isn't therefore a popular factual heritage television programme about *The Great British Bake Off* and about British heritage, but it is a post-popular factual heritage television about its audience who are part of a wider popular heritage culture.

Extra Slice's is an example of a popular factual heritage television programme that operates directly in partnership with the contemporary heritage industry. *Extra Slice* embraces the fandom around *The Great British Bake Off*, capturing and sustaining a community with a common interest in the cooking competition, and capitalises on the historical moment of the contemporary heritage industry and phenomenon of 'austerity nostalgia' to generate content. In contrast, however, I have also been able to locate some instances in which certain popular factual heritage television programmes have sparked online discussions about the representation of British heritage onscreen—critiques about Britain's heritage culture that echo those voiced by earlier academics and cultural commentators in response to the heritage industry of the 1980s and the British heritage films produced during this time. What is different, however, is that the placement of the iconography and narratives associated with the British heritage films within highly popular and accessible television genres and the availability of a technology (the internet) and platforms (social media) that provide an instant environment for expression, have democratised the discourse about heritage beyond the academic sphere and journalism, putting it more in the public sphere.

As suggested in the introduction to this chapter, responses to identity and Britain's historical legacy in television, online, are equally as divided. As described in regard to *The Great British Bake Off*, for example, popular factual heritage television audiences are engaged online,

joining in discussions about certain programmes and sharing photos of themselves participating in activities while utilising the appropriate social media vernacular in order to connect to one-another. The degree to which audiences interact via social media, is reflected onscreen too. For example, the activity surrounding the *The Great British Bake Off* directly influences the content of its spin-off programme, *Extra Slice*. This example reveals that not only are British heritage films referenced in the formation of *The Great British Bake Off*, but the content inspired by the popular factual heritage television programme—including online discussions, shared photographs of home bakes, opinions expressed—has gone on to form a new popular factual heritage television programme (*Extra Slice*).

It is worth acknowledging that as well as uniting audiences and manufacturing a sense of an ‘imagined community’, certain programmes have provoked some viewers to take to Twitter to start or participate in conversations that engage with contemporary understandings of Britishness in response to certain popular factual heritage television and their presenters. In regard to *The Great British Bake Off*, for example, in the same way that Nadiya Hussain’s win in the 2015 season of the cooking competition was met with controversy by many red-band newspaper or right-wing media outlets—caused by growing concerns over multiculturalism in the United Kingdom and its effect on British identity and values³⁶⁵—season seven contestant Rav Bansal faced similar racist abuse, mostly online, via his Twitter account (@RavSBansal (see *Figure 19*))

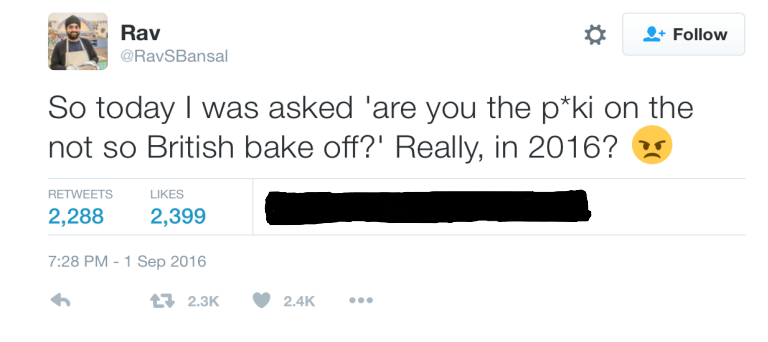


Figure 19 The Great British Bake Off Rav Bansal tweeting of racist abuse.

³⁶⁵ For example, as an interview between Nadiya and Michael Hodges of *The Radio Times* reveals, *The Sun* newspaper ‘complained that the BBC producers would be doing a “multicultural jig of politically correct joy”’, whereas *The Daily Mail* inferred that her faith and ethnicity ‘disqualified her from making jam sponges’, labelling her ‘a smiley Muslim head-dress wearer’. In spite of this harmful rhetoric, Nadiya’s recipes are regularly published in *The Sun*, and in 2016, she was given her own television series called *The Chronicles of Nadiya* (BBC, 2016), which was ‘both a travelogue and a chance for her [Nadiya] to play around with her Anglo-Bangladesh heritage’. Featured in an interview with Michael Hodges. “The Spice of Life”. *The Radio Times*. 20-26 August 2016. pp.11-15.

Bansel's tweet—and the racial abuse that he received because of his involvement in *The Great British Bake Off*—reveals that multiculturalism and attitudes toward other races under the umbrella term 'Britishness' are contended issues that underscore many discussions about identity and heritage current being had by certain figures in British politics and in the media.

As well as certain cast members of popular factual heritage television being targeted regularly on social media, presenters can also sometimes be the focus of user's opinion, with some being held accountable for their conduct and opinions on television. Rick Stein's programme *Taste of Shanghai* (BBC Two, 2016), for example, sparked a complex discussion about heritage on Twitter. On the 8 February 2016, BBC Two broadcast *Taste of Shanghai* as part of its 'China Season', coinciding with the Chinese New Year. During the broadcast, Ruby Tandoh—an ex-contestant of the *Great British Bake Off*—was live-tweeting while watching the episode. Tandoh's tweets—sent via her Twitter handle @rubytandoh—came in response to certain comments made by Stein, his conduct, and the nature of his experience of China in the episode. Tandoh's tweets offered an ongoing criticism of the nature of the interactions of television presenters with other cultures, particularly in television food travelogues. Specifically, her comments took aim at the opinions of presenter Stein and interrogated the nature of his engagements with China's culture and traditions. Interrogating the chef abroad trope, Tandoh described such programme as *Taste of Shanghai* as a brand of 'new colonialist food TV', which she urged her Twitter followers not to 'pander to' (figure 20).

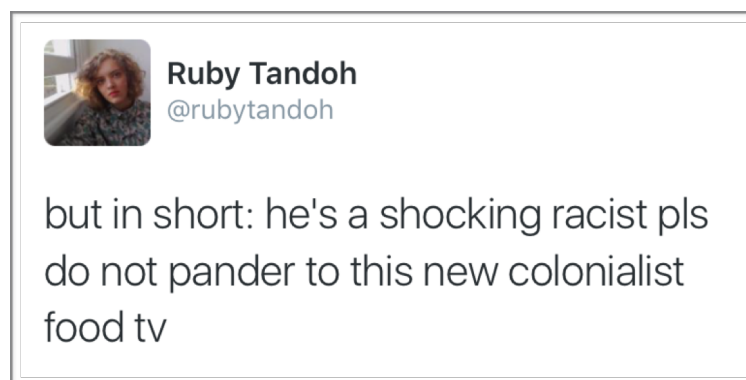


Figure 20 Tweet from Ruby Tandoh

Previously, Tandoh had criticised various British television programmes of a similar nature on Twitter, challenging the conduct of the presenters and the nature of their various engagements with other cultures. Following her tweet regarding *Taste of Shanghai*, Tandoh and her online following involved themselves in a discussion concerned with the middle to upper-middle class status of the presenters of popular factual television, generally, and called out the imperialist attitudes that they sometimes express toward identity and Britain's imperial past.

Furthermore, they criticised the manner in which the presenters interact with other places, communities and their heritages. For example, in the following tweets, Tandoh—who is of West-African heritage herself—expresses discomfort with the ‘foodie world’, referring to television presenters as pillagers, their journeys resembling a new form of cultural appropriation ‘without a second thought, without respect’ (*Figure 21*).



Figure 21 Tweet from Ruby Tandoh

As Tandoh’s opinion in *Figure 21* suggests, these attitudes and engagements with ‘other’ cultures are not confined to Stein, but are characteristic of a range of presenters across the genre. These presenters generally tend to be white, middle to upper-middle class, middle-aged and largely male, whose journeys resemble those undertaken by the British aristocracy who embarked on Grand Tours, their attitudes toward other cultures echoes those of the British Grand Tourist (such as those explored in Chapter Three).³⁶⁶

Continuing on from Tandoh’s presenter as pillager comments, over a series of subsequent tweets, she also elaborated on the idea of food television as a form of plundering, specifically highlighting its relationship with heritage (these tweets are represented in *Figure 22*).



Figure 22 Tweets from Ruby Tandoh.

In *Figure 22*, Tandoh explains the problematic ‘colonialist thinking’, ‘classism and snobbery’ prevalent in popular factual heritage television. Interestingly, the comments that

³⁶⁶ Other examples of presenters from this category of television who arguably fit this ‘Grand Tourist’ role include, but are not limited to Stein’s mentor, the late Keith Floyd, Michael Portillo, Joanna Lumley, Mary Berry, Paul Hollywood, Sue Perkins, Kevin McCloud, Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall, Nigella Lawson, and the ex-*Top Gear* (BBC, 2002-14) team (comprised of Jeremy Clarkson, Richard Hammond and James May), whose Amazon Original series is unsurprisingly called *The Grand Tour* (2016–).

came in response to these tweets from two users agree with Tandoh's stance, calling Stein's programmes out for their 'cultural appropriation' (see *Figure 23*), whilst at the same time interrogating the conduct of the presenter, which in this instance is Stein again (see *Figure 23*).

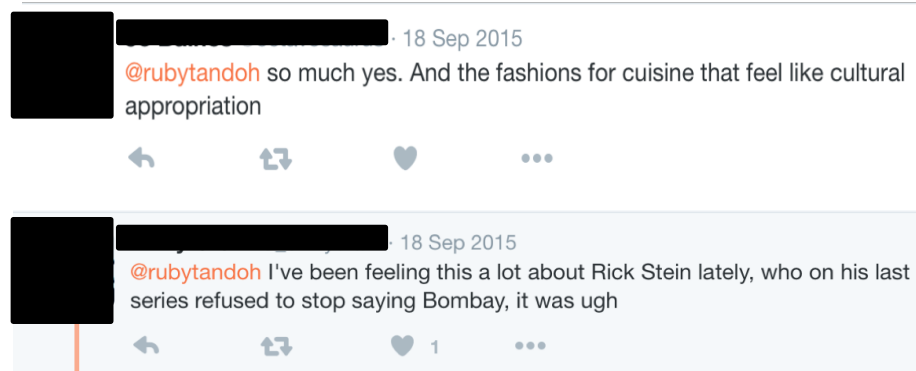


Figure 23 Two Twitter users responding to Ruby Tandoh's remarks

In *Figure 23*, Stein is challenged for his use of an inherent form of colonialist language, this time, with Twitter users referring back to his earlier programme *Rick Stein's India*. Specifically, the second Twitter user in *Figure 23* takes issue with Stein's persistent use of the term 'Bombay' instead of Mumbai, which has not been used to describe the city since 1995 when the newly elected right-wing Hindu nationalist party Shiv Sena pushed for the renaming of the port city, arguing that the name 'Bombay' 'was a corrupted English version of "Mumbai" and an unwanted legacy of British Colonial rule.'³⁶⁷ In using the term repeatedly, Stein rejects the political renaming of the port city in favour of continuing a specific reference from Britain's colonial past in that part of the world.

Such conversations are similar to the replies to Tandoh's tweets that came in response to Stein's programme *Taste of Shanghai*. As illustrated by the various replies to Tandoh's tweet regarding the 'new colonialist food TV', a discussion developed between two Twitter users over what could be regarded as the 'colonialist' elements in the episode (see *Figure 24*).

³⁶⁷ Christopher Beam, "Mumbai? What about Bombay?", *Slate*, 2006
<http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/explainer/2006/07/mumbai_what_about_bombay.html> [accessed 22 August 2017].



Figure 24 Two Twitter users discuss *Taste of Shanghai*

As illustrated in *Figure 24*, one user asks, ‘what’s colonialist about’ Stein’s programme, to which another responds with a reference to both Stein’s fashion (of brand Ralph Lauren) and choice of recreational activity (namely afternoon tea). The comment regarding Stein’s fashion immediately points to the perception of class that the brand Ralph Lauren conjures, given its association with middle to upper-middle class English lifestyle and heritage. Designer Lauren himself, though American, drew on the connection between his brand and English heritage when discussing the catalogue for his 2013 ‘fall collection’, for which he intentionally used the *Downton Abbey* filming location Highclere Castle.³⁶⁸ As Lauren explains, ‘I have always loved the heritage and romance of England. I am inspired by its timeless elegance and authentic way of living’.³⁶⁹ Secondly, the Twitter user’s response in *Figure 24* also references Stein’s choice of recreational activity whilst in China. Specifically, he takes aim at Stein’s participation in the perceived aristocratic tradition of afternoon tea, which, as Stein himself remarks in the episode, ‘we Brits can lay claim to.’ Furthermore, Stein’s choice of location to have afternoon tea, the Fairmont Peace Hotel, is a 1920s Art Deco icon and architectural symbol of China’s imperial national past, which ‘historically served as a glamorous playground for the elite’.³⁷⁰

Stein’s experience of Shanghai and the discussions that it sparked between users on Twitter, prompts many questions about heritage and identity in popular factual heritage television, challenging representations, the role and conduct of the presenter, and the kinds of experiences that the programmes promote to their audiences as a result of the presenters’ engagements. In this example, viewers chose to interrogate the version of British heritage perpetuated by British heritage films and the heritage industry. To do so, they referenced *Taste of Shanghai* and *Rick Stein’s India* as a way of bringing attention to, and discussing the implications

³⁶⁸ Highclere Castle is the backdrop to fashion house Ralph Lauren’s fall 2013 collection, which corresponded with the release of the series third season in the US.

³⁶⁹ Lauren’s quote is taken from the brand’s website.

<http://www.ralphlauren.com/shop/index.jsp?categoryId=18157656> Accessed: 8 April 2016. Moreover, the brand’s association with television, specifically with British period dramas, goes further, as in the US it is the sponsor of *Downton Abbey* on the PBS (Public Broadcasting Service) network’s ‘Masterpiece Television’ collection

³⁷⁰ Quote taken from the official website for the Fairmont Peace Hotel. <https://www.fairmont.com/peace-hotel-shanghai/> [accessed 10 June 2017].

of, the inherent traditional values and imperial undertone's in Stein's opinions, his conduct and his interaction with other cultures, which could be quite easily extended to other presenters in other travelogues.

This section has reflected on the relationship between popular factual heritage television and the contemporary heritage industry via the internet. Specifically, it has considered how viewers engage with certain popular factual heritage texts online, and how certain texts have been able to facilitate such engagements—whether forging communities or critically discussing the nature of representations of British identity and heritage onscreen. *Extra Slice* illustrated how certain programmes harness the idea of an 'imagined community' and unite people through a common interest in *The Great British Bake Off*, while also capitalising on the current interest in, and nostalgia for, bygone British traditions and periods. Whereas the responses to Rick Stein's *Taste of Shanghai* illustrated how popular factual heritage television has the ability to spark wider critical discussions about representations of heritage onscreen. It demonstrated how viewers—as a community of what I would argue show signs of resembling contemporary heritage critics—are using contemporary communication platforms to voice their concerns, starting a discussion about heritage that challenges depictions of British heritage on television, or the conduct of certain popular factual heritage television presenters, like Stein, calling them out for the inherently imperial overtones of their narration and undermining any nostalgia for Britain's imperial national past with which their journeys are laced.

Cunk on Britain

Cunk on Britain is a five-episode satirical mockumentary written by Charlie Brooker. Brooker has a history of writing satires and socio-political commentaries for television, often taking aim at factual entertainment and reality television, among other popular television genres. For example, from the living room set in *Screenwipe* (BBC, 2006-8), Brooker watches and comments on excerpts from television programmes—including dramas, comedy programme, news items, current affairs and reality television—often making fun of and sometimes deconstructing what is being broadcast; *Brass Eye* (Channel 4, 1997-2001) is a parody of current affairs programmes, which takes its title from the combination of two British investigative programmes, *Brass Tacks* (BBC, 1977-88) and *Public Eye* (BBC, 1965-75); *Dead Set* (Channel 4, 2008) is a zombie drama set in the *Big Brother* house; and *Black Mirror* (Channel 4, 2011-14; Netflix, 2016–) is an anthology programme that explores the impact of technology on modern society. Even *Black Mirror* isn't completely disassociated with popular culture and television in particular. Early in its run, it featured an episode entitled 'Fifteen Million Merits'

(Season 1 Episode 2, broadcast 11 December 2011), which depicts a dystopia Britain inspired by the likes of George Orwell's *1984* and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, and included a talent programme that bares an explicit resemblance to British television talent programme, such as *Pop Idol* (UK, ITV, 2001-3) and *The X Factor*. Like some of Brooker's other programmes, *Cunk on Britain* assumes the mockumentary form, taking viewers on a journey through British history. Richard Wallace characterises mockumentary comedies as a complex genre,³⁷¹ which Jane Roscoe writes, can be understood as 'fictional texts which to varying degrees "look" (and sound) like documentaries'.³⁷² However, Wallace argues that the mockumentary requires a more nuanced definition to capture its complexity. Alexandra Juhasz and Jesse Lerner help us to understand some of the genre's complexities. With regard to what they refer to as 'fake documentaries', Juhasz and Lerner describe mockumentaries as

fiction films that make use of (copy, mock, mimic, gimmick) documentary style and therefore acquire its associated content (the moral and social) and associated feelings (belief, trust, authenticity) to create a documentary experience defined by their antithesis, self-conscious distance.³⁷³

In emphasising their fictional dimension, Juhasz and Lerner highlight the interventions that shape the construct of the mockumentary—how mockumentary filmmakers 'control some aspects of the profilmic with the scripting, performance, direction of actors, manipulation of *mise-en-scène*'.³⁷⁴ Mockumentaries manipulate the conventions associated with various documentary forms, processing them through comedy to achieve a specific effect and create a humorous and reflective experience.

Cunk On Britain is the product of Brooker's own cynicism and awareness of British history programmes, and of how British heritage operates in them. *Cunk on Britain* manipulates the conventions belonging to this particular type of documentary. Brooker's script for *Cunk on Britain* plays with the conventions of documentaries that have a particular focus on the history of Britain and British identity. Furthermore, the script also takes aim at certain popular factual entertainment programmes in the United Kingdom that investigate personal heritage, for example *Who Do You Think You Are?* and Britain's cultural heritage: an example of the latter is BBC Four special *Jane Austen: Behind Closed Doors* (BBC, 2017), in which television historian Lucy

³⁷¹ Richard Wallace, *Mockumentary Comedy: Performing Authenticity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 5.

³⁷² Jane Roscoe and Craig Hight, *Faking It: Mock-Documentary and the Subversion of Factuality* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 1.

³⁷³ Alexandra Juhasz and Jesse Lerner, *F Is for Phony: Fake Documentary and the Truth's Undoing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), p. 7.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 5.

Worsley surveys the houses that Jane Austen occupied over her life in what is a part-history, part-travelogue, part-re-enactment programme.

An example of the kind of history documentary that *Cunk on Britain* references is *Simon Schama's A History of Britain*. Written and presented by historian Simon Schama, *A History of Britain* is a fifteen-episode documentary that spans three seasons, tracing the history of Great Britain from 300 BC to 1965. *A History of Britain*—and specifically its presenter Schama—follow in the televisual tradition established previously by historian-turned-broadcaster Sir Kenneth Clark, who—with his 1969 BBC programme *Civilisation*—established the historical documentary genre as we recognise it today. As well as establishing a television documentary standard, *Civilisation* also created a particular presentation style, pioneered by Clark and since adopted by television historians such as Schama, Niall Ferguson, David Starkey and Dan Snow, to name but a few. Clark's style was that 'of the urbane Englishman walking and talking in beautiful or striking historical sites, enlightening the viewing public.'³⁷⁵ Clark's presentation style establishes the celebrity presenter as an authoritative figure who audiences are expected to follow and believe. This, Ann Grey and Erin Bell write, is especially useful where presenters are exploring periods that existed before any form of archival reference (i.e. photos, videos, newspapers), in which case the authoritative voice is there to fill the gap. On this matter, Grey and Bell write,

The presenter is a known expert and is produced as a 'knowledge brand'. In this newly revived genre of history programming the presenter is essayist or lecturer. Schama is at great pains to insist that this is a subjective view and that it is *A History of Britain* and not *The History of Britain*, arguing that the most compelling history is unapologetically engaged and not objective.³⁷⁶

As Colin McArthur outlines, '[t]he central ideological function of the narrator is to confer authority on, and to elide contradictions in, the discourse of the history programme.'³⁷⁷ Re-treading some of the same defining events and figures from Britain's past as featured in *A History of Britain*, *Cunk on Britain* explores the role of the television presenter—subverting the archetype of the well-spoken, overwhelmingly middle-aged male presenter in history programming, and exploiting their position as authoritative voices and presumed experts in their field. *Cunk on Britain* is presented and narrated by Philomena Cunk, a character played by comedian Diane Morgan, who made her first appearance on another of Brooker's earlier programme *Weekly Wipe*

³⁷⁵ Peter Stansky, "'Simon Schama: 'A History of Britain'"', *The American Historical Review.*, 114.3 (2009), 684–91 (p. 684).

³⁷⁶ Gray and Bell, *History on Television*, p. 74.

³⁷⁷ Colin McArthur, *Television and History*, 1980.

(BBC, 2013-15). Referencing the likes of Clark or Schama, Cunk attempts to emulate their presentation styles. However, as Simon Hattenstone remarks, she ‘is as ill-informed as she is rude and fabulously po-faced. Take Lucy Worsley, add sprinklings of Mrs Malaprop, Mrs Merton and Larry David and you might end up with Philomena Cunk.’³⁷⁸ True to Gray and Bell’s account of presenters’ unapologetic engagement with history through a subjective perspective, Cunk is clearly not an expert in the field of British history and takes advantage of her position as presenter to interpret fact and present her opinion on matters of historical figures or milestone events in Britain’s history.

In addition to exploiting the role and position of the presenter in history documentaries, *Cunk on Britain* also explicitly deconstructs their format. *Cunk on Britain* does this by drawing explicit reference to the form of the historical documentary itself, and to the internal structures of both the history documentary and popular factual television programmes alike, including their editing, pacing and narratives. Beyond the documentary and popular factual television models, *Cunk on Britain* also explicitly experiments with popular factual heritage television. On one hand, the mockumentary accomplishes this through its playfulness with the aural and visual conventions of popular factual heritage television. Whereas on the other hand, the presentation style and narration of the script by Cunk manipulates the telling of the history of Britain, its identity and its culture. Through her oversimplification of history and comedic performance, Cunk often undermines historical knowledge and the authoritative voice, and diffuses any sense of nostalgia with which certain historical figures or periods might be instilled. As Rebecca Nicholson writes, essentially *Cunk on Britain* is ‘a piss-take of a documentary, it picks out clichés and runs with them, squashing complex and tangled periods of history into brief montages.’³⁷⁹

The nature of *Cunk on Britain* is exemplified by its opening sequence, which starts, as all the episodes do, in the same way as most of the popular factual heritage television programmes analysed in this thesis. Each episode opens with an aerial pan of the English countryside, a Union Jack flag can be seen blowing in the wind, and these scenes are intercut with views of Britain’s tangible heritage assets, including world heritage sites, stately homes and castles. Cunk’s clumsy voiceover can be heard as she comes into view, stood on the top of a mountain gazing over the green rolling hills:

³⁷⁸ Simon Hattenstone, ‘Diane Morgan: “Philomena Cunk Is Who I’d Love to Be If I Had the Balls”’, *Radio Times* <<https://www.radiotimes.com/news/tv/2018-05-01/cunk-on-britain-philomena-cunk-diane-morgan/>> [accessed 9 November 2018].

³⁷⁹ Rebecca Nicholson, ‘Cunk on Britain Review – Look out, Philomena’s about’, *The Guardian*, 4 April 2018, section Television & radio <<https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2018/apr/04/cunk-on-britain-review-look-out-philomenas-about>> [accessed 9 November 2018].

Today, Britain stands at a fork in its crossroads, and its people are asking questions – now we’ve got our country back, what actually is it? Who are we? And Why? The best way to find out where Britain’s heading, is to look behind us, into something called history – a sort of rear view mirror for time. So that’s where I’m going. Back there. It’s a journey that’ll take me the length and width of the country. On my odyssey, I’ll be starting sentences in one location—³⁸⁰

At this point in the voiceover narration, the camera cuts to Cunk on an old train – not too dissimilar to the shots from popular factual heritage programme *Michael Portillo’s Great Continental Railway Journeys* or *Joanna Lumley’s India*, and even dramas, such as *Downton Abbey* (to recall the journey of Mr Bates to the Downton Abbey estate). With the following sentence, which concludes ‘—and finishing them in another’, the camera cuts to Cunk within the grounds of a castle. Here we see the playfulness of *Cunk on Britain*, as Cunk manipulates the narration and editing of the popular factual and documentary formats, self-consciously and self-reflexively drawing attention to itself. Specifically, Cunk references the presentation style attributed to Clark, which is a defining characteristic of the history documentary (the ‘urbane Englishman walking and talking in beautiful or striking historical sites’). But rather than focusing on what the presenter is saying and enlightening viewers, Cunk instead draws attention to the staging and editing of such sequences. We see this motif repeated throughout the programme.

As well as being experimental with her presentation style, the content of Cunk’s narration is equally manipulative. Cunk’s opening narration situates viewers in the present, referring to Brexit, and highlighting some of the topics that might have been provoked by the vote to leave the European Union—questions about identity and what it means to be British for example. In this regard, Cunk invokes the same sentiments of earlier heritage critics who accused the heritage industry and British heritage films of ‘look[ing] at the present through a rear-view mirror’ when confronted with uncertainty.³⁸¹ Cunk’s opening monologue explains the aim of her journey as the presenter, and by extension the journey that the audience will undertake over the course of the programme, which is to look to the past ‘through a rear-view mirror’ in order to locate a sense of identity to move forward with, post-Brexit. Such moments in the script are indicative of the function of heritage in popular culture, particularly in film and television, and speaks to the tendency of the heritage industry and heritage films to look to the

³⁸⁰ All of Cunk’s script has been transcribed verbatim in her strong Yorkshire-based regional dialect. Quotes attributed to Cunk were taken from my own analysis of the series, with the subtitles on, and then cross referenced against the transcript for the series as it is included on Learning On Screen. While it can be sometimes jarring to read, I have included all instances where Cunk uses expletives, colloquialisms, repetitions, and confusions over names, titles (i.e. she says ‘King William, instead of Prince William) and tenses.

³⁸¹ McLuhan and Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage*, pp. 74–75.

past with longing during times of uncertainty over national identity. In cinema, particularly, we can see how heritage film narratives reflect the current climate around British identity in response to Brexit. For example, films such as *Darkest Hour* and *Dunkirk* attempt to recover a sense of national identity by indulging what Gary Younge characterises as ‘Britain’s imperial fantasies’.³⁸² These films indulge ‘Britain’s imperial fantasies’ by revisiting the ostensibly unifying patriotic historical moment during the height of World War Two—what Winston Churchill referred to as Britain’s ‘finest hour’ (from his speech ‘This was their finest hour’, delivered 18 June 1940). Younge equates the cinematic fixation on the Britain’s ‘finest hour’ to Brexiteers’ ‘fixat[ion] on the Second World War’,³⁸³ which, as Gilroy helps us to understand, signals a ‘need to get back to the place or moment before the country lost its moral and cultural bearings.’³⁸⁴

As this thesis has demonstrated to this point, popular factual heritage television often indulges these same ‘British imperial fantasies’ in order to recreate and underscore a nostalgic sense of Britishness by revisiting similar periods depicted in onscreen fictions. The analysis of *The D-Day Darlings* performance on *Britain’s Got Talent* at the start of this thesis, for example, showed the extent to which television taps into the same Blitz spirit as *Darkest Hour*, *Their Finest* or *Dunkirk*. As well as Britain’s World War Two history, the other examples featured throughout this thesis illustrate how popular factual heritage television also capitalises on other aspects of British history and heritage, such as the depiction and interaction with traditional pastimes (baking, sewing and pottery making in *The Great British Bake Off*, *Sewing Bee*, and *Pottery Throwdown*); explorations of aristocratic lifestyle and travel (*Kevin McCloud’s Grand Tour of Europe*); and the revisiting and revising of Britain’s imperial history (as is the case with *Joanna Lumley’s India*). *Cunk on Britain* revisits all of the same historical periods detailed above and highlights the roots of certain cultural traditions in the same way as the popular factual heritage texts explored throughout this thesis. However, unlike most popular factual heritage television programmes, *Cunk*’s script and narration often calls attention to nostalgic British heritage narratives with a tongue-in-cheek present-day perspective. Take for example the last episode in the programme entitled ‘The Arse End of History’ (Season 1 Episode 6. Broadcast 1 May 2018). ‘The Arse End of History’ explores British history from the 1960s to the present-day, covering the period and the socio-political context of the earlier heritage industry (1980s and 1990s) as analysed by previous heritage critics, and drawing connections to the contemporary heritage

³⁸² Younge, ‘Britain’s imperial fantasies have given us Brexit’.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁴ Gilroy, *After Empire*, pp. 96–97.

industry with which this thesis is situated (2008- present-day). The episode begins with a recap of the historical journey as explored in the previous episodes in the programme. This recap is told by Cunk's voiceover and visually recycles earlier scenes of the presenter walking around world heritage sites, cutting regularly to portraits of British gentry and the monarchy, and including archive photographs and film reels. After the recap, the episode begins with archive footage depicting scenes of London after the Second World War. Cunk narrates,

Britain had been uptight ever since the Victorian times and having two World Wars on top of that knocked the fun out of everyone. Men had to wear bowler hats issued by the government and their only form of entertainment was reading boring newspapers. [...] But all that was about to change thanks to four boys from Liverpool [...] Britain was cool, not just the weather. Britain even decided to be cool as a sport. England, the posh bit of Britain, brought back memories of the war by beating the Germans again. This time they bounced a ball into a net, rather than a dam, killing far fewer civilians and coining the infamous phrase 'they think it's all over'.

Cunk's narration establishes the context of the episode—the 1960s—as a break away point from the Britain of the past, and the customs and the costumes of yesteryear, with the emergence of a new popular culture that rebelled against tradition. However, as Cunk highlights, just as quickly as cultural phenomena such as The Beatles and The Sex Pistols disrupted traditional English life in the United Kingdom, events such as England's win over Germany in the 1966 FIFA World Cup final started to recapture the national identity instilled in the sentiments of the inter- and post-World War years (described in Younge's article). This is exemplified in Cunk's reference to the British Second World War film *The Dam Busters* (Michael Anderson, 1955), which some—such as historian and television presenter Snow—suggests is a film that reveals a great deal about our 'national character', showing 'us how Britain wanted to see itself in 1955.'³⁸⁵

Following a brief history of the cultural rupture of the 1960s, the episode quickly transitions to the 1970s, which Cunk describes as 'a time of great change', starting with the economy. At this point in the episode, a link is established between the past of the 1970s and the present-day on both the lines of economic crises and the subject of the European Union. Cunk's introduction to the 1970s comes by way of a reference to Prime Minister Edward Heath (1970-4), under whom Britain experienced high inflation, growing unemployment and a shrinking industrial sector. Cunk's narration paints a portrait of the United Kingdom

³⁸⁵ Dan Snow, "The Dam Busters Is Brilliant on so Many Levels", *The Telegraph*, 29 March 2018 <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/films/classic-british/dam-busters-by-dan-snow/>> [accessed 9 November 2018].

reminiscent in Hewison's characterisation of Britain in the 1980s— as in a 'climate of decline'—, which provided the background to, and the foundation upon which, his theory of the heritage industry is rooted.³⁸⁶

In the next scene, Cunk is dressed as Margaret Thatcher as she informs viewers about Thatcher's election in 1979 and her economic plan for Britain. Juxtaposing the scenes of industrial strikes, poverty, and Britain in disarray in the 1970s segment of the episode, the 1980s starts with archive footage of the marriage of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer in 1981. 'The sense of jubilation continued during the royal wedding of the century', Cunk says. These scenes of celebration and investment in the British institution of the Royal Family are immediately juxtaposed with archive footage from the Falkland Islands. As Cunk explains, 'while people waved flags like idiots at home, trouble was brewing overseas, at a faraway corner of foreign Britain known as the isle of Falklands Island.' Here Cunk reveals the distracting quality of heritage. In particular, she comments on how the British Royal Family operate as the manifestation of British heritage during troubled times; how they are deployed to emphasise a sense of tradition and continuity between the past and present. Higson writes on the function of the Royal family in heritage films in *The British Monarchy On Screen*:

Heritage is not politically neutral – heritage artefacts, events and representations always carry with them particular ideas about how we might view the past, and how the past might be used in the present. One of the most vital features of Britain's royal heritage is the sense of longevity and tradition; to mobilise it is in part to establish a sense of continuity between past and present, to insert the national present into a national tradition.³⁸⁷

I argue that Cunk's statement about the British public's jubilant celebration of the Royal wedding while there was trouble in the Falkland Islands, echoes Higson's remarks about the mobilisation of the British monarchy as a distraction from socio-politically turbulent contexts, due to the sense of tradition and British identity that they embody. This is an idea that Cunk later repeats in regard to the recent media presence of the British Royal Family in recent years.

Following Thatcher's removal from office in 1990, the episode returns to exploring Britain's young emerging cultural icons as it did with the 1960s at the start of the episode. This time around, the focus is on Oasis, The Spice Girls, Chris Evans, Jamie Oliver and Alexander McQueen. In the 1990s there was focus on Britain's pop-cultural re-emergence, which was

³⁸⁶ Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*.

³⁸⁷ Andrew Higson, 'From Political Power to the Power of the Image: Contemporary "British" Cinema and the Nation's Monarchs', in *The British Monarchy On Screen*, ed. by Mandy Merck (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 339–62 (p. 340).

being exploited by the likes of Tony Blair to communicate and conjure ‘a new British optimism.’³⁸⁸ As with the earlier periods explored by Cunk, the episode quickly contrasts the spectacle of a positive and progressive nation united by the ‘Cool Britannia’ brand, with the death of Princess Diana (1997), the start of the War on Terror (2001 –) and the 2008 financial crisis. It is this point that brings *Cunk on Britain* and Britain’s history in line with the timeline of this thesis—up to date with the the years following the 2008 financial crisis and the contemporary heritage industry. Cunk highlights that following the election of David Cameron and Nick Clegg with the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government in 2010, Britain experienced a cyclical relationship with the past, particularly with the late-1970s to 1990s. Cunk comments that certain national events—namely the Royal Wedding between Prince William and Kate Middleton and the London 2012 Olympics—attempted to recreate and nostalgically revive some of the patriotism of the 1960s and 1980s:

Everything was going swimmingly. There was a new Diana, in the form of Kate Middleton, who married king William in a high definition reboot of the royal wedding. By the time the Olympics come to Britain the country was riding the crest of a wave. Suddenly, it seemed like we could do anything if we put our mind to it, even stop moaning. It was a great time to be British. Unless you’re Scottish. Scotland wasn’t sure it wanted to be British anymore.

Cunk on Britain is a post-popular factual heritage text that shines a light on the mobilisation of British heritage in a range of television genres, especially during times of uncertainly. Over six-episodes, *Cunk on Britain*—like other British history documentaries, heritage films and popular factual heritage programmes—presents a portrait of Britain and a narrative that underscores a sense of Britishness according to a shared history and heritage. However, Cunk’s conclusion—which includes scenes and references to the Scottish Independence referendum and Britain’s Brexit campaign—undermines the ‘unifying spectacle’ of heritage.³⁸⁹ *Cunk on Britain* does this by exploiting the dynamic established throughout the programme, which is to juxtapose optimism, nostalgia and patriotism, with pessimism, uncertainty and an indifference to, or criticism of, the past, illustrated by portraits of Britain in various states of conflict, identity crisis, or socio-political and economic fragmentation.

That Cosy Gogglebox feeling

³⁸⁸ John Harris, ‘Cool Britannia: Where Did It All Go Wrong?’ <<https://www.newstatesman.com/1997/2017/05/cool-britannia-where-did-it-all-go-wrong>> [accessed 9 November 2018].

³⁸⁹ Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*, p. 69.

Gogglebox is a reality television programme broadcast weekly on Channel 4, which captures British audiences watching and discussing the previous week of television aired in the United Kingdom. *Gogglebox* belongs to the Channel 4 group's extensive popular factual and reality television catalogue,³⁹⁰ which is increasingly populated with programmes that depict a Britain that is far grittier and divided than the cosy world and sense of unity presented in *Gogglebox*. Many of the programmes belonging to these categories are shaped by issues currently being widely discussed in the media. Combined, these topics result in the presentation of a Britain on screen that appears uncertain and fragmented, socially, politically and economically. *Immigration Street* (2015) and *Extremely British Muslims* (2017), for example, explore some of the anxieties surrounding multiculturalism and its perceived negative impact on British identity and culture; *Skint* (2013-15) and *How'd you get so rich?* (2017) represent Britain's growing class divide; whereas *Benefit Street* (2014) and *A Very British Hotel* (2017- present) show the impact of the financial crisis of the late 2000s and the subsequent period of austerity on the lives of British people—from life on the poverty line to the lavish lifestyles of those who visit the hotel. Combined, the issues featured in Channel 4's popular factual entertainment and reality television catalogue underline the perception of a 'broken Britain'—a term introduced in 2011 by the then Prime Minister David Cameron.³⁹¹ Along with *The Great British Bake Off* (as of 2016) and the programmes of Kirstie Allsopp, *Gogglebox* generally differs from Channel 4's other popular factual and reality television offerings. In fact, *Gogglebox*'s creators Caroline Aherne and Craig Cash go as far as to actively challenge the perception of a 'broken Britain', positioning their programme as an argument against it. In the introduction to the companion book to *Gogglebox*, Aherne and Cash write, 'When so much of TV would have us believe that Britain is broken, you only have to watch *Gogglebox* to realise that it isn't broken at all. It's alive and well, with the biggest and warmest of hearts.' (2014) Aherne and Cash's statement conjures an image of Britain that contrasts the version being widely depicted across various channels and genres on British television. Aherne and Cash's view of *Gogglebox* echoes the opinions of earlier cultural critics like Hewison, who commented on the mobilisation of British heritage as a means of combatting the perceived 'climate of decline' (as the subtitle to his 1987 book describes), an idea that similarly conjures the perception of a fragmented Britain and the corrosion of

³⁹⁰ The Channel 4 Group includes Channel 4, More 4, E4, 4Seven and Film4 across the UK, and S4C in Wales, as well as their online on demand service All4.

³⁹¹ 'Broken Britain' is a term introduced by David Cameron in 2011 in his speech delivered at the House of Commons in the aftermath of the riots happening across England following the death of Mark Duggan who was shot by police 4 August 2011.

traditional British values in the 1980s. Against the backdrop of the 1980s, British heritage films were viewed as being used to dispel the notion of a ‘climate of decline’ and ‘concerns over the present’,³⁹² by presenting a nostalgic image of Britishness rooted in specific periods of the past, visually depicting rural England and privileging the narratives and traditions associated with the English upper-middle classes. As well as being visually and narratively distracting from the present, according to Harrison, British heritage films also have the potential to distract the British public ‘from developing an interest in contemporary art and critical culture.’³⁹³ Considering Aherne and Cash’s view of *Gogglebox* as a counterpoint to the perception of a ‘broken Britain’, in my opinion, I regard the programme as occupying a similar position to British heritage film and carrying out a specific cultural function within the wider contemporary heritage industry.

***Gogglebox* and Nostalgia**

If one is to compare *Gogglebox* to a British heritage film—or indeed some of the popular factual heritage television programmes explored in this thesis—it could be easy to dismiss the idea of the reality television programme as a heritage text. Visually, *Gogglebox* appears to reject the spectacle of the British heritage film altogether, swapping ostentatious manor houses, detailed-period costumes, elaborate set designs and depictions of upper-middle-class lifestyle, in favour of portraying working to lower-middle-class everydayness, communicated through external and internal sequences that depict the cast, the settings they occupy, and the activities that they partake in. The start of each episode of *Gogglebox* draws viewers into its setting by way of a series of external shots of everyday urban terraced houses and internal shots showing people entering their respective living rooms. Unlike *The Great British Bake Off* and *Extra Slice*, viewers of *Gogglebox* are not brought into a space resembling the inside of a “*Bake Off* tent” via an aerial pan of the countryside, nor are they brought into a retro-fitted kitchen constructed in a television production studio as with *Extra Slice*. Instead, *Gogglebox* trades ‘[t]he luxurious country-house settings, the picturesque rolling green landscapes of southern England, the pleasures of period costume, and the canonical literary reference points’ recognisable in heritage films,³⁹⁴ for modern, mostly urban domesticity, contemporary fashions and the depiction of the everyday activity of television watching.³⁹⁵ Through the intimate *mise-en-scène* of the living room setting—

³⁹² Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 16.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ Higson, *English Heritage, English Cinema*, p. 1.

³⁹⁵ This description only accounts for the opening credit sequence, however, as later it is revealed that some of the cast do indeed live in large country houses and quaint cottages more synonymous with the heritage film.

complete with furniture and people assembled around a centralised television set—viewers are invited to join the families and groups of friends as they sit down to watch an evening of television. Moreover, unlike British heritage films, which are typically set in the past, *Gogglebox* is firmly anchored in the present day—a sense of time emphasised by the inclusion of references to recent television broadcasts and the occasional discussion about current affairs. The present day is also emphasised by the modern homes and furnishes, some of the casts’ contemporary fashions, and the programme’s form—its genre—reality television. However, I argue that beneath the aesthetic veneer of contemporary British everyday life, *Gogglebox* is a nostalgic text. While *Gogglebox* is a reality television programme that depicts a cross-section of everyday British viewers in modern domestic settings, dressed in contemporary wear while watching and discussing recent broadcasts and present-day issues, beneath the surface, the reality television programme actually rejects the present day in favour of the traditional. Nostalgia in *Gogglebox* is a retaliation against modernity, specifically in regard to contemporary television-watching practices and the modern-day family dynamic. In the same way that British heritage films are constructed around the nostalgic idea of British identity—located in the reimagined national past—*Gogglebox* is constructed around a sentimental and traditional perception of, and relationship with, television. *Gogglebox* repositions television as a social medium—a technology that is the centrepiece of the living room and is watched and discussed as a collective (with family or with friends)—and defers to an earlier mode or encounter with it (*Gogglebox* recreates the conditions of sitting down each evening to watch scheduled television as it is broadcast, as opposed to recorded or on-demand or on personal devices). *Gogglebox* reconstructs the mid-twentieth century family and its relationship with the television set, television content and the rituals associated with the pre-internet television viewing experience. Despite their differences (social, political, economic, religious, regional identity and ethnicity), the cast of *Gogglebox* are united in the act of watching television. In *Gogglebox*, television viewing is a shared experience not only in the homes of the cast, but also with the viewer at home. One might regard the viewers at home as an extension of the onscreen living room settings on *Gogglebox*. As a result, audiences might choose to compare the families and friends *on Gogglebox* to themselves, and to their own families. As a result, a wider sense of connectedness is potentially forged. It is through this sense of connectedness that *Gogglebox* rejects the perception of a ‘broken Britain’ onscreen, while also rendering a unifying spectacle of a community that its audience are invited to connect with, if they so choose.

Gogglebox is the manifestation of the memory or the idea of how television was traditionally watched and discussed. The reality programme yearns for the way television has

been historically broadcast, consumed and understood. The title of the programme speaks to this nostalgia, in its deployment of the British slang term for the television set—the ‘goggle-box’—the origins of which can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s.³⁹⁶ Furthermore, *Gogglebox* is sentimental for the position that the television set once occupied in the home, particularly in the living room. The *mise-en-scène* of the living room and the positioning of the cast around a centralised television set in *Gogglebox* appeals to the traditional notion of television as a ‘domestic medium’,³⁹⁷ a perception that comes from the fact that

It [the television] is watched at home. Ignored at home. Discussed at home. Watched in private and with members of family or friends. But it is part of our domestic culture in other ways too, providing in its programming and its schedules models and structures of domestic life, or at least of certain versions of domestic life. It is also a means for our integration into a consumer culture through which our domesticity is both constructed and displayed.³⁹⁸

In *Gogglebox*, the placement of the television pertains to the idea of television as the ‘electronic hearth’, an idea put forward by Cecelia Tichi to describe the embedding of the television as a physical object within the private domestic space of the living room, and therefore its position in ‘the cultural life of the public’.³⁹⁹ Tichi’s work builds on that of Lynn Spigel, who previously wrote about the arrival of television into the living room of the American home by way of her analysis of the front cover of a 1951 issue of *American Home* magazine. Spigel writes that the scene on the magazine cover

employed the conventionalized iconography of a model living room organized around the fireplace, but this time a television set was built into the mantelpiece. Even more radically, the television was shown to replace the fireplace altogether, as the magazines showed readers how television could function as the center of the family attention.⁴⁰⁰

It is important to remember that *Gogglebox* was not produced in the 1950s. It has been broadcast on Channel 4 since 2013, during the time of high-speed internet and the wide availability of twenty-first century portable internet technologies (smartphones, tablet computers, laptops and handheld consoles) and streaming services (such as All 4, BBC iPlayer, Netflix, Amazon Prime Instant Video and YouTube) that make television content available to individuals on demand via a wide choice of personal devices at any given time. It could be argued

³⁹⁶ <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/gogglebox>

³⁹⁷ Roger Silverstone, *Television And Everyday Life*, 1 edition (London ; New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 24.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 24.

³⁹⁹ Cecelia Tichi, *Electronic Hearth: Creating an American Television Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 7.

⁴⁰⁰ Lynn Spigel, *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 38.

that such technologies and on demand services challenge the perception of television as a ‘domestic medium’ by allowing for television content to be viewed on a range of devices other than the centralised television set, and beyond the limits of the living room.⁴⁰¹ Yet, in spite of their availability, such technologies are nowhere to be seen in *Gogglebox*. Instead, *Gogglebox* is constructed around what might be for some older viewers a memorable and identifiable twentieth century tradition—that of watching television with family and friends, all gathered around a single television set in the living room during a certain time and day. *Gogglebox* thus recreates not only the social dynamic between groups of people and the television set, but also a traditional perception of the viewing experience. The traditional television viewing experience refers to the organised system of broadcast media—the schedule or ‘flow’ (to recall Raymond Williams)—which has historically and conceptually helped to define both radio and television. Williams writes, ‘[i]n all developed broadcasting systems the characteristic organisation and therefore the characteristic experience is one of sequence or flow.’⁴⁰² In his study of television, Williams distinguishes the nature of the experience of broadcast media from other forms of entertainment. While other entertainment forms such as reading a book, watching a play at the theatre or a film at the cinema are typically experienced as isolated events, radio and television ‘makes available a variety of things – a comedy, a book programme, news, film and so on – as a programmed sequence’.^{403 404} *Gogglebox* continues to perpetuate the illusion of television as a wholly fluid medium and structure, as opposed to also being a nominated encounter between a viewer and an on-demand service and interface. Williams’ well-documented account of watching television in Miami during a trip—where he became

⁴⁰¹ For instance, consider the likely scenario of a modern family during a television broadcast. While two parents might be watching one series on the central television set, their children might choose to watch another programme on another device (such as a smart phone or tablet computer).

⁴⁰² Raymond Williams, *Television, Technology and Cultural Form*, Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 86.

⁴⁰³ John Eldridge and Lizzie Eldridge, *Raymond Williams: Making Connections* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 25–26.

⁴⁰⁴ Flow has been an ongoing point of reference and debate for television scholars who have revisited, revised and measured the legacy of Williams’ notion in regard to emerging technologies and patterns of consumption. For example, John Corner describes television broadcast as a ‘steady outpouring’ (1999: 60); John and Lizzy Eldridge use the concept to analyse the internal elements of television – conventions, narrative devices, character arcs and so on (1994: 27); and John Fiske comments on the how flow is exploited for the benefit of the economic interests of television producers and advertisers (1989: 102). Also, for further discussion of how contemporary television technology, new interfaces and patterns of consumption impact Williams’ notion, particularly in response to Netflix, see my Masters by Research thesis ‘Transmission, Text, Reception: Reinvestigating ‘Flow’ and the Viewing Experience in the Age of Quality and in the ‘Era of Plenty’, which can be found at The National Archives at Aberystwyth University. A copy is also available from the Raymond Williams Foundation’s collection at the Sylvia Pankhurst Library, Wortley Hall, Sheffield. The last chapter and the conclusion of my thesis entitled ‘Time Wasting and the Contemporary Viewing Experience’ was published in *The University of Toronto Quarterly*. 86(4)(2017): 78-89.

consciously aware of the flowing structure and nature of the television viewing experience—records the range of content that he witnessed during a single evening of watching television.⁴⁰⁵

As Silverstone explains,

Williams, newly landed by boat from Europe, found himself entirely bemused by the flow of U.S. television, a flow in which one programme blended into another, in which advertisements were seamlessly threaded through the texts of soap operas, and in which trailers for one film provided a kind of invasive sub-text for the unfolding of another.⁴⁰⁶

Over the course of an episode of *Gogglebox* the families and friends (and by proxy us, the viewers) experience a similar range of television content as a concentrated ‘flow’. In *Gogglebox*, the content viewed is symbolic of a weeks’ worth of television: selected, the order of broadcast retained, and several days’ worth of content condensed into a single episode. Although this content is pre-recorded and distributed to the cast on DVD to watch and comment at a pre-agreed time and day, *Gogglebox* nevertheless manufactures the perception of people actually gathering to watch television as it is broadcast live. It does so with verbal reference (from the narrator) to the channel and time of broadcast of specific content,⁴⁰⁷ and the cast always appear to be watching television in the evening, which is visible in the external shots, all shot at night, and from inside the living rooms looking out, where it is always dark outside.

Gogglebox’s relationship with television, and television’s relationship with viewers, goes deeper than the above. To return to the idea of television as the ‘electronic hearth’, according to Kathleen M. Ryan and Deborah A. Macey, in replacing the hearth, the television also embodies the values that the traditional hearth is symbolic of: ‘patriotism, abundance, family cohesiveness, domesticity’.⁴⁰⁸ As the new hearth, television is not only responsible for continuing these traditional values that the hearth is symbolic of, but has a part to play in the ‘ideological construction of what it means to be a member of a particular culture’.⁴⁰⁹ In the context of cinema, the role of the British heritage film, for example, was to ideologically construct a sense of ‘what it means to be a member of a particular culture’, namely what it

⁴⁰⁵ Raymond Williams account of his television viewing experience in Miami forms the foundations of his concept of flow as explored throughout *Television, Technology and Cultural Form*. London: Fontana, 1974.

⁴⁰⁶ Roger Silverstone and Raymond Williams, “Preface to the Routledge Classics Edition”., in *Television, Technology and Cultural Form*, Routledge Classics Edition (London & New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. vii–xiv (p. vii).

⁴⁰⁷ For example, in Season 9 Episode Seven (broadcast 7 April 2017), narrator Cash uses the line, ‘On Thursday night, Channel 4 took us into the kitchen’ as an introduction to a clip from series *Kitchen 999: Emergency Chefs* (2017–).

⁴⁰⁸ Kathleen M. Ryan and Deborah A. Macey, *Television and the Self: Knowledge, Identity, and Media Representation* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Lexington Books, 2013), p. 1.

⁴⁰⁹ Ryan and Macey, *Television and the Self*, p. 3.

means to be British. In *Film England*, Higson speaks to cinema's capacity to construct and 'maintain' a sense of national identity;

Cinema is one of the means by which national communities are maintained, the people of a nation are reminded of their ties with each other and with their nation's history and traditions, and those people are invited to recognise themselves as national subjects, distinct from people of other nations. Cinema does this by creating particular types of stories that narrate the nation imaginatively, narratives that are capable of generating a sense of national belonging among their audiences.⁴¹⁰

Part of the way in which British heritage films create 'a sense of national belonging among their audiences' is by depicting what Belén Vidal characterises as 'a highly selective vision of Englishness attached to pastoral and imperial values where the past as spectacle becomes the main attraction.'⁴¹¹ However, as Higson goes on to suggest, in addition to the creative reimagining of the national narrative, heritage films also traffic in the familiar and the everyday:

Cinema also establishes a sense of the national through presenting familiar images, images of the mundane, the quotidian, the unremarkable, but which are at the same time steeped in the habitual customs and cultural fabric of a particular nation, signifiers of national identity that are, as Michael Billing puts it, so banal that we take them for granted. Viewed in this way, cinema is then one of the means of narrating nations, telling stories that enable audiences to imagine the nature of particular nations, demonstrating how a nation appears, what its people look like, and how they speak and behave and dress.⁴¹²

Gogglebox trades in the same representation of the banal, as Michael Billing describes, which we can take for granted; a banality that is evoked by the often-used synopsis of *Gogglebox* as "watching people watch television". While we might take for granted the habit and tradition of watching television as a collective, and the everydayness of the aesthetics and characters of the reality programme, we must be reminded of the nostalgic image and sense of national identity that they have the potential to evoke. The British heritage film portrays a banal lifestyle that—however nostalgic and imbued with a sense of tradition and identity it is—might appear strange to contemporary audiences. Whereas with *Gogglebox*, because of its depiction of a recent tradition and its contemporary face (modern homes, living rooms, fashions, characters), I argue it has the potential to be more relatable and thus more effective in harnessing a sense of

⁴¹⁰ Higson, *Film England*, p. 1.

⁴¹¹ Vidal, *Heritage Film*, p. 8.

⁴¹² Higson, *Film England*, p. 1.

belonging due to its universal (and possibly relatable) depiction of everyday life for a sizable portion of its audience.⁴¹³

Gogglebox is a simulacrum of the ordinary life. The cast of *Gogglebox* represent ordinary people partaking in the everyday activity of watching television in their conventional homes. To this extent, one might choose to categorise *Gogglebox* as ‘ordinary television’.⁴¹⁴ Frances Bonner uses the term ‘ordinary’ to conceptually link a broad range of television programmes belonging to different categories – cooking programme, reality television, travelogues, and soap operas – under the umbrella term ‘ordinary television’ on the basis of their representation of the everyday, the familiar and the routine.⁴¹⁵ With *Gogglebox*, there is the possibility that viewers might relate to the everyday and ordinary life due to the diversity of its cast and the accessibility of the custom of watching television. Thus, I estimate that the opportunity for a connection to be forged can be greater than the possibilities of a connection with the depiction of the past and the lifestyles of generally higher social classes in the British heritage films. *Gogglebox* reminds people of their ties to each other through the deployment of popular television genres, by referencing specific television programmes, and through its depiction of a shared cultural tradition that exists in popular memory—watching and discussing television as a collective.

As well as through its depicted activity, *Gogglebox* could also be effective in establishing a sense of connection and community through its use of television genre. *Gogglebox* is inspired by British soap operas, sitcoms, chat and clip shows. British soap operas, according to James H. Wittebols,

are produced in the tradition of public service, and thus story lines in British soaps are geared toward social realism and are set in working-class environments. Set in friendly and supportive communities, British soaps embrace a nostalgic past in which characters offer care and concern for each other.⁴¹⁶

Gogglebox takes its cue from the soap opera tradition of depicting communities onscreen, putting closely bonded families and groups of friends in front of the television set. Likewise, the British sitcom is generally rooted in the same everyday world as the soap opera. John Ellis proposes that through certain television genres— the sitcom and soap opera in particular— television viewers are able ‘to work through the major public and private concerns of their

⁴¹³ There is the possibility here for empirical research to be conducted to substantiate these ideas – to see measure exactly what percentage of the audience asked identify with the certain families in the reality series and how this influences their relationship with the series as a result.

⁴¹⁴ Frances Bonner, *Ordinary Television* (London: Sage Publications, 2003).

⁴¹⁵ Bonner, *Ordinary Television*, p. 29.

⁴¹⁶ James H Wittebols, *The Soap Opera Paradigm: Television Programming and Corporate Priorities* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), p. 41.

society'.⁴¹⁷ These concerns in either genre usually play out in specific locations. As Phil Wickham writes, that '[t]he everyday situation of the sitcom – whether it was the factory, the family, or the suburban avenue – enhance[s] this conversation, placing “working through” within the recognisable rhythms of day-to-day life.'⁴¹⁸ The influence of the British soap opera and sitcom on *Gogglebox* is evident in its depiction of the everyday setting of the home in which ordinary people go about their ordinary lives, while collectively the cast is symbolic of a microcosm of a contemporary British community. Meanwhile, *Gogglebox* is also influenced by a third genre, the clip show, in which a presenter reviews and comments on excerpts from other television programmes. An interview between Stefania Marghitu for *Critical Studies in Television Online* and Tania Alexander (the Director of Factual Entertainment at Studio Lambert and the reality programme's executive producer) explains *Gogglebox*'s generic formula and maps the influence of specific texts on the reality television programme:

The best way to have described the idea to someone at the point of inception was to imagine the visuals and tone of *The Royle Family*, the hugely successful BBC sitcom that focuses on a northern working class family who sit around all day watching television and discussing the latest goings on in their lives, and blend this with the wit and tonality of Harry Hill's *TV Burp*, a clever and funny scripted commentary of some of the week's television delivered by Harry Hill with clips to illustrate.⁴¹⁹

While it is possible to recognise the influence of *Harry Hill's TV Burp* (ITV, 2001 –) in *Gogglebox*'s intercutting between clips from other sources and the cast's commentary in response, the reality programme is more inspired by sitcom *The Royle Family* (BBC, 1998-2012). *The Royle Family* is

[s]et in a Manchester living room, the mundane reality of this ordinary working-class family was captured by the observational style of the comedy. The action rarely left the space of the living room, though it occasionally ventured to the kitchen, and at the heart of the family was the television.⁴²⁰

The Royle Family directly influenced certain production decisions such as the choice of shooting locations, the choice of subjects, use everyday people (though in *The Royle Family* these are actors performing the role of an everyday family) and informed *Gogglebox*'s visual perspective. *Gogglebox* relates to its audience through the presentation of the recognisable image

⁴¹⁷ John Ellis, *Seeing Things: Television in the Age of Uncertainty* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000), p. 74.

⁴¹⁸ Phil Wickham, David Forrest, and Beth Johnson, 'Twenty-First Century British Sitcom and 'the Hidden Injuries of Class.', in *Social Class and Television Drama in Contemporary Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 201–13 (p. 202).

⁴¹⁹ Stefania Marghitu, THE WOMAN BEHIND GOGGLEBOX: AN INTERVIEW WITH TANIA ALEXANDER, 2015 <<http://cstonline.tv/the-woman-behind-gogglebox-an-interview-with-tania-alexander>> [accessed 27 February 2017].

⁴²⁰ A. Holdsworth, *Television, Memory and Nostalgia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 17.

of similar families and groups of friends partaking in the everyday activity of television watching. Though such activities might be considered mundane and unremarkable for some, for others they are possibly ‘steeped in the habitual customs and cultural fabric’.⁴²¹ The visual perspective in *Gogglebox* facilitates this relationship between the viewer, the text (*Gogglebox*), and the subjects of the text (the cast). To understand the perspective in *Gogglebox*, Amy Holdsworth’s exploration of its chief inspiration, *The Royle Family*, is useful. For Holdsworth, the decision to film the subjects of *The Royle Family* from the perspective of the television set ‘illuminates the programme’s forms of televisual identification and engagement’ and allows for ‘audiences to potentially identify with the familial ritual of television watching.’⁴²² For Holdsworth, *The Royle Family*’s ‘biggest draw’ is that it ‘managed to situate television not just as part of daily life but as part of a system of everyday memory-making; the family’s squabbles, laughter, banalities, celebrations and tragedies all caught in the act of viewing.’⁴²³ *The Royle Family*—and by extension *Gogglebox*—exploits the relationship between people in the domestic sphere and television (the television set as well as the broadcast content) by depicting ‘the interplay between the television setting and the television text’.⁴²⁴ *The Royle Family* and *Gogglebox* do this by utilising the viewpoint of the television itself, by cutting between clips from television broadcasts obtained from different channels and by capturing the responses of the people watching them.⁴²⁵ As well as the perspective of the television set, which frames the living room environment and records viewers in the act of watching television, for Spigel, the television set within the context of an episode of television or in a photograph is considered a ‘black mirror’.⁴²⁶ Analysing American sitcoms *The Burns and Allen Show* (CBS, 1950-8) and *I Love Lucy* (CBS, 1951-7) in particular, Spigel writes that the programme often exploited the same perspective adopted later by *The Royle Family* and *Gogglebox*. Rather than being a black mirror—a dark blank screen reflecting the audience back at itself—Holdsworth (citing Spigel) argues that the television set in sitcoms such as *The Burns and Allen Show* and *I Love Lucy* ‘did not present a mimetic

⁴²¹ Higson, *Film England*, p. 1.

⁴²² Holdsworth, *Television, Memory and Nostalgia*, p. 18

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴²⁵ A scene that illustrates this is from the episode ‘Barbara Finally Has Enough’ (Season 2 Episode 5. Broadcast 21 October 1999) in which the characters interact with the quiz show *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* [UK, ITV, 2002 – 2014]. An excerpt from *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* is shown, in which a question is asked of a contestant. The camera then cuts to characters Jim (Ricky Tomlinson) who shouts his guessed answer at the television set, which is then disputed by his daughter, Denise Royle (Caroline Aherne).

⁴²⁶ Lynn Spigel, ‘Installing the Television Set: Popular Discourses on Television and Domestic Space’, in *Private Screenings: Television and the Female Consumer*, ed. by Lynn Spigel and Denise Mann (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), p. 19.

representation of the audience's home life, but acted as a continuation of the spatial arrangement of the television within a "home theatre". Therefore, the sitcoms presented the home as 'a theatrical stage and thus depicted highly abstract versions of family identity'.⁴²⁷ The theatrical approach possibly undermines *Gogglebox's* status as a reality television programme, which is supposed to be an authentic image of reality, exposing it instead as a construct—a performance of everydayness in the same way that *The Royle Family* is understood as a sitcom inspired by the everyday. Identifying with other people, other families, plays to the voyeuristic impulse to watch other people, to observe where and how they live and to then compare the personalities and lifestyles depicted onscreen to our own. Marianne Hirsch conceptualised the 'familial gaze' as a way to address this dynamic between viewers and images. Though conceptualised in response to family photography, Hirsch used the 'familial gaze' to describe the situation of the 'human subject in the ideology, the mythology, of the family as institution and projects a screen of familial myths between the camera and the subject'.⁴²⁸ The 'familial gaze' 'refers both to the way we frame family photographs and how they frame us'.⁴²⁹ Thus the 'familial gaze' has the potential to forge an us and them dynamic between the viewer and the image, whether still (photography) or in this case moving image (film and television). The 'familial gaze' in *The Royle Family* invites audiences of the sitcom to locate themselves and to recognise their everyday lives and practices in the world and characters onscreen. If the viewer is able to locate themselves in the text, then the text has the potential to establish a personal connection with that audience member. This could be a connection that manifests itself in a comparison between the behaviour of certain members of the Royle family and their own family, or it could be a memory of a particular décor, the layout of furniture in a living room or of a certain form of technology (such as an old television set). *Gogglebox* also plays to the impulse to gaze upon families or groups of friends. Unlike *The Royle Family*, however, viewers of *Gogglebox* are given the same access to the private lives of actual people rather than characters played by actors, thus, I would suggest, there is the potential for a more authentic connection based on shared values as well as other identifiers, such as social class, regional identity, ethnicity and political allegiance.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ Spigel, 'Installing the Television Set: Popular Discourses on Television and Domestic Space', p. 19; A. Holdsworth, p. 16.

⁴²⁸ *The Familial Gaze*, ed. by Marianne Hirsch (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 1999), pp. 10.

⁴²⁹ Timothy D. Adams, 'Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory (Review)', *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, 44.4 (1998), 1054–57 (p. 1054) <<https://doi.org/doi:10.1353/mfs.1998.0087>>.

⁴³⁰ 'Other identifiers' could be a viewer comparing their living room to that of a family in *Gogglebox's*; it could be a viewer recognising similar characteristics in a cast member and family member (for example, a sibling that resembles a character in *Gogglebox*); or it could be a likeness of opinion or reaction to the content being viewed (for example a cast member and a viewer sharing a similar reaction to two animals fighting in a nature documentary such as *Planet Earth II* [BBC, 2017-8]).

In this chapter's positioning of *Gogglebox* as a heritage text, one of the standout identifiers is identity itself—specifically, how audience might relate to certain cast members or the collective cast of *Gogglebox* based on their regional or even national representation onscreen. As mentioned in the introduction to this section, on the surface *Gogglebox*'s cast features a diverse cross-section of contemporary British identities, made up of people from various regions, classes and ethnic backgrounds. Based on this, *Gogglebox* certainly looks different to most British heritage films, which, as Higson describes, favour the depiction of 'privileged, white, Anglo-Saxon community who inhabit lavish properties in a semi-rural Southern England'.⁴³¹ Regarding the representation of national identity in the British heritage film, Vidal also writes;

the versions of nation on display in the critically valued quality films privileged 'Englishness', or more specifically a distinctive Southern take on white middle-class Englishness, at the expense of other national (Scottish, Welsh and Irish) and regional identities within the UK; these films were explicitly consensus-seeking as they highlighted the 'elements of "national character" that were regarded as binding the community together'.⁴³²

After scrutinising *Gogglebox*'s representation, I have found that there are similarities in its portrait of British identity to that of the British heritage film. Most notable is that apart from a single Welsh couple, the latest seasons of *Gogglebox* do not feature anyone from Ireland or Scotland.⁴³³ Like the British heritage film, in *Gogglebox* Englishness is privileged, and in regard to its depiction of regional identities, *Gogglebox* perpetuates a number of stereotypes. The Welsh representation, for example, is accounted for by a single couple from South Wales, Dave and Shirley, who could be described as the valleys stereotype, which characterises a particular form of Welsh identity often caricaturised in British film and television.⁴³⁴ When viewed in the context of the English characters in *Gogglebox*, the personalities of Dave and Shirley are notably different. In the context of film, Dave and Shirley could be compared to the character Spike performed by Rhys Ifans in *Notting Hill* (Roger Michell, 1999); Spike embodies the valleys stereotype that is synonymous with a typically uneducated South Wales working-class identity. Spike's working-class Welshness differentiates him from the other characters in *Notting Hill*, which represent an educated, affluent middle-class Englishness (with one exception, William Thacker's [Hugh Grant] sister, Honey (Emma Chambers), an eccentric and rather dim character who naturally becomes the love interest of Spike). When compared to Grant's William

⁴³¹ Higson, *English Heritage, English Cinema*, p. 27.

⁴³² Vidal, *Heritage Film*, p. 23.

⁴³³ If viewers seek to find Irish representation, they can be found exclusively on spin-off series, *Gogglebox Ireland* [TV3, 2016–].

⁴³⁴ The valleys stereotype is popular in sitcoms, for example *Satellite City* (BBC, 1996-9), *High Hopes* (BBC, 2002-8), *Gavin and Stacy* (BBC, 2007-10) and *Stella* (Sky One, 2012-17).

Thacker, Hugh Bonneville's Bernie or Gina McKee's Bella, for example, Spike's Welshness does not serve to contribute to an equally diverse representation of British national identities in *Notting Hill*. Rather, Spike's stereotypical identity highlights the universal form of Englishness—the easily identifiable and exportable Britishness—that *Notting Hill*, like most British heritage films, perpetuates. Positioning Dave and Shirley in the context of the other English characters in *Gogglebox* is equally problematic and I would argue tokenistic. Beside Welsh stereotypes, some of the English cast members in *Gogglebox* are equally typecast. Those cast members located in the north of England, for example, mostly echo the working-class-ness and northern hospitality visible in characters of *The Royle Family* or from the long-running soap opera *Coronation Street* (ITV, 1960 –). Whereas the southern English representation—with the exception of those cast members located in central London—accounts for mostly middle to upper-middle class characters who occupy quaint cottages and large houses in the country—interestingly, settings that are absent from the programme's opening sequence. Through the binary of stereotypical depictions of northern and southern Englishness in *Gogglebox*—which appear 'at the expense of other national [...] regional identities with the UK'⁴³⁵—, the reality programme could be accused to some degree of trafficking in a similar version of Englishness disguised as Britishness as the British heritage film, which in the context of British national cinema is used to re-establish a sense of a 'national character'.⁴³⁶ On the other hand, it is worth acknowledging that *Gogglebox* does depict inner-city English characters and life. Likewise, as previously mentioned, *Gogglebox* also extends its representation beyond the limited and 'distinctive Southern take on white middle-class Englishness' in heritage films.⁴³⁷ However, fundamentally *Gogglebox* is like *The Great British Bake Off* when it comes to representation. While both *Gogglebox* and *The Great British Bake Off* have diverse casts, rather than redefine contemporary Britishness by incorporating a range of cultural traditions and displaying a melting pot of individual heritages onscreen, instead the programme consolidate the individual identities and heritages into a particular version of Britishness that is defined by stereotypes and rooted in shared nostalgia and cultural traditions. This is particularly evident during episodes that correspond with national events, such as memorial days, sporting events, or events such as Royal Weddings, for example. The undercurrent of nostalgia that informs the version of Britishness in *Gogglebox* is illustrated in a scene that depicts the cast watching an excerpt from documentary

⁴³⁵ John Hill, 'Contemporary British Cinema: Industry, Policy, Identity', *Cineaste*, xxvi.4 (2001), 30–33 (p. 33).

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*

Dame Vera Lynn: Happy 100th Birthday (BBC, 2017)(hereafter referred to as *Dame Vera Lynn*).⁴³⁸ As one might expect, the episode of *Gogglebox* selects scenes from *Dame Vera Lynn* in which her famous wartime songs ‘We’ll Meet Again’ and ‘White Cliffs of Dover’ (which were analysed in conjunction with the D-Day Darlings’ performance on *Britain’s Got Talent* in Chapter One) are played. In the episode of *Gogglebox*, the documentary *Dame Vera Lynn* is introduced twice: once at the start before the opening credit sequence, which includes a scene of Lynn performing in the 1943 British propaganda film *We’ll Meet Again* (Philip Brandon), and again later in the episode, where an extended segment dedicated to the Vera Lynn documentary closes the episode.

In the episode’s final minutes, *Gogglebox*’s narrator Cash introduces the documentary to its audience, before we view a clip in which a BBC announcer introduces the documentary to its BBC Two audience. The camera cuts to *Gogglebox*’s Malone family (husband and wife, Tom and Julie, and their two sons). Julie talks about Lynn, listing her most well-known songs (including ‘The White Cliffs of Dover’ and ‘We’ll Meet Again’) before explaining to her sons the significance of Lynn and her songs for the war effort (‘It was for the war, for the soldiers’ she says). ‘Well Meet Again’ plays as the documentary shows an extended scene of Lynn singing the title song in the British propaganda film *We’ll Meet Again*. In the clip from *Dame Vera Lynn*, the documentary’s presenter Katie Derham describes Lynn as ‘One of Britain’s greatest national treasures [...] the working-class girl from the east end of London who became the voice of a nation.’ The sequence then intercuts between scenes from the documentary in which Lynn herself, at 100 years old, can be seen singing along to the song. In response to Lynn singing, various members of the *Gogglebox* cast join in. Cut to *Gogglebox*’s Mary saying to her friend Marina, ‘I’m glad they’re honouring her hundredth birthday, aren’t you? Because she done a lot in the war and it’s nice, innit, to be recognised?’ The scene then cuts to *Gogglebox* regulars Giles and Mary. Mary says, ‘Just the sight of her is enough to make me burst into tears, because she represents [clears throat] the days when everyone, the general person was very nice, unlike today.’ The scene then cuts back to the documentary and an interview with a war veteran telling a story of how he travelled with other servicemen to attend a Lynn concert during the war. The veteran then starts singing ‘We’ll Meet Again’ and begins to cry, in response to which the cast of *Gogglebox* also cry. The crying symbolises a connection between the subject of the documentary, the veteran, and the subjects of *Gogglebox*, the cast members. Cut to the documentary in which Lynn is now singing ‘The White Cliffs of Dover’ as the *Gogglebox* cast are

⁴³⁸ Dame Vera Lynn: Happy 100th Birthday featured in *Gogglebox* Season 9 Episode 5 (broadcast 24 March 2017).

introduced to another veteran's story: 'To hear her say "there'll be bluebirds over the white cliffs of Dover", I could see those cliffs and I thought we are going home.' Cut to *Gogglebox's* Jenny and Lee. Sobbing, Jenny says, 'I bet there's a lot [of soldiers] that never saw them [the white cliffs of Dover], don't you?' 'The White Cliffs of Dover' plays out over a sequence depicting war veterans nodding and singing along as well as the various *Gogglebox* cast members who are also participating in the singalong. Cut to June and Leon in their living room. June says to Leon, 'There's a real mixture of emotion there, isn't there? It's really nostalgia, laughing, crying, all at the same time.' Cut to Mary and Giles. Mary says, 'If only we had someone now like Vera Lynn in public life, to boost morale by singing and uniting us all as Britons.'

The scene described above, in which the cast of *Gogglebox* watch *Dame Vera Lynn* and sing along to 'We'll Meet Again' and 'The White Cliffs of Dover', indulges what Higson calls the 'heritage impulse'.⁴³⁹ The 'heritage impulse', Higson writes,

is not confined to Thatcherite Britain, but is a characteristic feature of postmodern culture. The heritage industry may transform the past into a series of commodities for the leisure and entertainment market, but in most cases the commodity on offer is an image, a spectacle, something to be gazed at [...] In this version of history, a critical perspective is displaced by decoration and display, a fascination with surfaces, an 'obsessive accumulation of comfortably archival detail' [...] in which a fascination with style displaces the material dimensions of historical context. The past is reproduced as flat, depthless pastiche, where the reference point is not the past itself, but other images, other texts [...] The heritage films, too, work as pastiches, each period of the national past reduced through a process of reiteration to an effortlessly reproducible, and attractively consumable, connotative style. The films turn away from modernity toward to a traditional conservative pastoral Englishness.⁴⁴⁰

The inclusion of clips from *Dame Vera Lynn* in *Gogglebox* do not invite critical interpretation from the cast. The testimonies from surviving veterans discussing their personal relationship with Lynn's music puts Lynn's songs into perspective by embedding them in the historical moment of the Second World War. For the duration of 'We'll Meet Again' and 'White Cliffs of Dover', both the documentary and *Gogglebox* are able to revive, in 2017, the Blitz spirit and nostalgia with which Lynn's songs are instilled. The songs and the figure of Lynn and their association with the Second World War provide the cast included in the Lynn documentary, the cast of *Gogglebox*, and in turn *Gogglebox's* audience, with an event of shared remembrance, nostalgia and patriotism. The scenes in the documentary and in *Gogglebox* invite viewers to join

⁴³⁹ Higson, *English Heritage, English Cinema*, p. 95.

⁴⁴⁰ Higson, 'Re-Presenting the National Past', p. 606.

in, to sing along to the songs which are widely known,⁴⁴¹ and to consume, with relative ease, the nostalgic images, memory and rhetoric with which they are infused. The scenes in *Dame Vera Lynn* are visually and aurally coded to provoke an emotional response from viewers, delivering the memory—though for the vast majority of the cast of *Gogglebox* this memory is indeed ‘prosthetic’⁴⁴²—, patriotism and nostalgia that the songs ‘We’ll Meet Again’ and ‘White Cliffs of Dover’ are associated with. The documentary does so with the aid of oral histories from the veterans, capturing the memory and patriotism in the emotional scenes inserted between the choruses of ‘We’ll Meet Again’ and ‘The White Cliffs of Dover’, respectively. In *Gogglebox* we can evidence just how effective this aural and visual manipulation is in the reactions of the cast, who cry, sing along and express nostalgic sentiments that signal a desire to return to the perceived good times of Britain’s wartime past.

The scenes in *Dame Vera Lynn* and their reuse in *Gogglebox*—to use Higson’s words—‘turn away from modernity’ and avoid modern references to the songs in popular culture. For example, there is no sense of the paradoxical use of the song ‘We’ll Meet Again’ in the closing scenes of *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (Stanley Kubrick, 1964), in which the Blitz spirit and optimistic lyrics are juxtaposed with scenes of hopelessness as a cascade of atomic bombs are released from B-52 bomber planes. Instead, the song’s use in *Dame Vera Lynn* and reuse in *Gogglebox* are packaged as ‘an effortlessly reproducible, and attractively consumable, connotative style’, revisiting the place of the songs in popular culture during the Second World War and re-establishing Lynn and her songs as historically significant to the nation and to British identity – a ‘Britain’s greatest national treasure’ as described by Katie Derham in *Dame Vera Lynn*. To this extent, *Dame Vera Lynn* is an extension of historical documentaries and classic newsreels (such as the British Movietone newsreel footage in ‘V E Day in London – 1945’), and is, I argue, the non-fiction equivalent of the 1943 propaganda film *We’ll Meet Again*, in which Lynn—as character Peggy Brown—famously performs the song in full, ‘giving her all for the war effort.’⁴⁴³ As with the D-Day Darlings’ use of Lynn’s songs in their performances on *Britain’s Got Talent* (analysed in Chapter One), *Dame Vera Lynn*—and by proxy *Gogglebox*—deploys the same visual references (images and footage from the Second World War), not to mention the inclusion of Second World War veterans, to evoke nostalgia

⁴⁴¹ I say that audiences will be familiar with Dame Vera Lynn’s song based on its wide use ‘We’ll in popular culture. Some examples of where it has featured include *We’ll Meet Again* (Philip Brandon, 1943), *The Ship That Died of Shame* (Basil Dearson, 1955), *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, *The Simpsons* episode ‘Sideshow Bob’s Last Gleaming’ and television programme *We’ll Meet Again* (ITV, 1982)

⁴⁴² Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*.

⁴⁴³ Film synopsis provided by the MUBI streaming service. *We’ll Meet Again*, MUBI, <<https://mubi.com/films/well-meet-again>> [accessed 18 October 2018].

and provoke a collective patriotism with which her songs are instilled. The result is the unifying spectacle of Second World War veterans in *Dame Very Lynn* and cast members in *Gogglebox* united in a sing-song and participating in a moment imbued with patriotism and a collective sense of heritage and connectedness to one another based on memory (though I would like to again suggest that for the majority of the cast this memory is ‘prosthetic’, passed down from previous generations who have communicated what they think they remember).

To this point, this section has established *Gogglebox* as a nostalgic text, illustrated its close relationship to the heritage film, and touched upon the reality programme’s function in the contemporary heritage industry in regard to community and memory making. The following will now consider how *Gogglebox* has in turn been used and referenced by that same heritage industry. Specifically, the following explores how the British monarchy—who are usually subjects of the British heritage film—have capitalised on the popularity of *Gogglebox* and exploited its relationship with audiences in order to communicate their own heritage narrative.

A Royal night in

The British monarchy has long-been a regular feature of British heritage films and television costume dramas (including *Elizabeth*, *The Queen*, *The Young Victoria* [Jean-Marc Vallée, 2009], *The King’s Speech*, *A Royal Night Out*, *Victoria* and *The Crown*). Likewise, the British Royal Family have been the subject of multiple documentary films and docuseries,⁴⁴⁴ including *Royal Family* (ITV, 1969), *The Royal House of Windsor*, *Diana: 7 Days that Shook the World* (BBC One, 2017), *The Story of the Royals* (ABC Studios, 2018) and *Queen of the World*, to name but a few. As Higson writes, the heritage industry ‘transform[s] the past into a series of commodities for the leisure and entertainment market, but in most cases the commodity on offer is an image, a spectacle, something to be gazed at.’⁴⁴⁵ In dramas and documentaries Mandy Merck applies this idea to the depiction of The Royal Family on screen, in which, she writes, their appearance in person or representation by actors is ‘designed for the dynamics of traditional cinematic spectatorship, with the (on- and off-screen) commoner as onlooker and the monarch as the object of the gaze.’⁴⁴⁶ But while Merck indicates the superficial use of the image of the British Royal Family

⁴⁴⁴ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* definition, a docuseries refers to ‘[a] television series that follows a particular person or group of people and their involvement in real events and situation over a period of time.’ In recent years, this format has been incredibly popular, especially with regard to true crime. Standout examples includes *The Staircase* (Canal+, 2004; Netflix, 2018), *Making a Murderer* (Netflix, 2015), *The Jinx* (HBO, 2017) and *Wild Wild Country* (Netflix, 2018)

⁴⁴⁵ Higson, ‘Re-Presenting the National Past’, p. 606.

⁴⁴⁶ Merck, p. 11.

in non-fiction and fiction alike, for Higson, their presence on screen carries with it ‘particular ideas about how we might view the past, and how the past might be used in the present.’⁴⁴⁷ The image of the British Royal family connotes a ‘sense of longevity and tradition; to mobilise it is in part to establish a sense of continuity between past and present, to insert the national present into a national tradition.’⁴⁴⁸ While a number of the aforementioned texts feature the British Royal Family as spectacle, it is also worth acknowledging that over the course of the twentieth-century, members of the British monarchy have also been proactive (though quite reluctant at times) in increasing their visibility to the public in the media, controlling their own representation and narrative.⁴⁴⁹ George V led this drive, being the ‘first British monarch to broadcast on radio’ with the delivery of the first Christmas Broadcast in 1932. Another landmark moment was the decision of Prince Phillip, as Chair of the Coronation Commission, to televise Queen Elizabeth II’s Coronation on 2 June 1953. Ever since, Royal events—including the Christmas Broadcast, Royal tours of other countries, sporting events, weddings and the first public appearances of new Royal babies—have been broadcast live on British television. As well as formal events, in recent years the Royal Family have been more directly involved in more popular television formats. Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Charles, for example, have both appeared on the competition programme *Britain’s Got Talent*, and the Queen appears opposite Sir David Attenborough in *The Queen’s Green Planet* (ITV, 2018), part conservation documentary, part horticultural lifestyle programme, in which the duo walk around the gardens of Buckingham Palace in conversation, studying the nature around them.

In the recent documentary *Elizabeth at 90: A Family Tribute* (hereafter *Elizabeth at 90*), instead of opting to make a conventional documentary about the British monarch’s life and reign, the Royal Family worked in partnership with filmmaker Jon Bridcut—who is responsible for a number of documentaries about the British Royal family—to create a documentary whose aesthetic and format borrowed heavily from *Gogglebox*.⁴⁵⁰ On one hand, *Elizabeth at 90* includes a number of key characteristics from a range of different types of documentary modes of

⁴⁴⁷ Higson, ‘From Political Power to the Power of the Image: Contemporary “British” Cinema and the Nation’s Monarchs’, p. 340.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁹ Especially in the earlier years of her reign, Queen Elizabeth II was particularly reluctant to make the private lives of the British Royal Family public. Camera teams were not allowed at her wedding in 1947, nor were her first Christmas addresses filmed. Such information is documented on <https://www.history-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/The-Coronation-1953/> and dramatised in Netflix drama *The Crown* (in Season 1 Episode 5).

⁴⁵⁰ John Bridcut also produced *A Jubilee Tribute to the Queen by the Prince of Wales* (BBC, 2012); *The Prince and the Composer* (BBC, 2011); *Charles at 60: The Passionate Prince* (BBC, 2008); and *Queen and Country* (BBC, 2002).

filmmaking. It borrows heavily from the expository documentary mode—‘the mode that most people identify with the documentary in general’, which ‘emphasizes verbal commentary and an argumentative logic’.⁴⁵¹ The conventions associated with the expository mode—which *Elizabeth at 90* redeploys—are identifiable in newsreel footage, such as *The March of Time* (1935-51) which was shown during film screenings at the cinema, documentary films such as *The Spanish Earth* (John Ivens, 1937), and television documentaries such as *The World at War* (ITV, 1973-6). Characteristics of this mode include the ‘voice-of-god’ narration style, a voice of authority that accompanies and curates the images; the use of images that illustrate narrative or the argument; editing that logically progresses and maintains continuity; and the inclusion of interviews that contribute to the narrative. *Elizabeth at 90* includes a narrator in the form of Prince Charles’s voiceover; the clips correspond with the topics of discussion, whether the Royals are talking about growing up or the Queen reminiscing about her feelings during her Coronation; the documentary progresses logically, from the Queen’s childhood to the more active role of the younger generation of the Royal family; and the narrative is contributed to by sporadic interviews between the filmmaker and various members of the Royal Family (including Prince Charles, Prince William, Prince Harry and Princess Anne). Underlying these expository documentary conventions, however, *Elizabeth at 90* also draws on the poetic mode of documentary. The poetic mode ‘moves away from the “objective” reality of a given situation or people, to grasp at an “inner truth” that can only be grasped by poetical manipulation.’⁴⁵² The poetic mode manipulates the conventions to ‘emphasize visual associations, tonal or rhythmic qualities, descriptive passages, and formal organization favours mood, tone and texture.’⁴⁵³ Though the poetic mode generally tends to be more abstract, the poetic impulse is nonetheless indulged in *Elizabeth at 90*, especially in the musical score that runs through it that is regularly used to emphasise mood and emotion. For example, the score is sombre during scenes in which The Royal Family reflect on emotional footage, such as the moments from King George VI’s funeral from the newsreel *His Last Journey* (1936). Such scenes correspond with cinematic depictions of similar events. Just months after the broadcast of *Elizabeth at 90*, for example, scenes from *His Last Journey* were recreated in drama *The Crown* (Season 1 Episode 3, ‘Windsor’, broadcast 4 November 2016), utilising a very similar score for similar emotional gain. In another example, Elgar’s ‘Dreaming’ provides the score to the introduction of the documentary accompanying the Queen’s entrance via a journey down a long hallway. As the Queen walks

⁴⁵¹ Ibid, p. 33-4.

⁴⁵² Nichols, p. 162.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

down the hallway at the start of the documentary, footage of key moments from the Queen's life are superimposed onto the shot in post-production. As the Queen stops at various intervals the score swells, stressing the nostalgia and patriotism instilled in the footage, which contains moments from home videos of the Queen as a child, to scenes from her coronation. The voiceover provided by Prince Charles explains that Elgar's 'Dreaming' was dedicated to the Queen when she was just five years old, before he provides an introduction to the documentary: 'Now, as we celebrate her [the Queen's] 90th Birthday, she, like all of us, can reflect on a life that has inspired and encouraged millions of people in the United Kingdom, the commonwealth and around the world.' Prince Charles' narration plays to two documentary modes: the expository, in that Prince Charles speaks as an authority on the matter of his mother's life, and the reflexive documentary, which addresses how the historical world is talked about. The reflexive mode, according to Nichols, 'emphasizes the interaction between filmmaker and subject.'⁴⁵⁴ The excerpt from Prince Charles' opening narration, for example, addresses how we celebrate, reflect and value the Queen, while later he discusses the process of working with the filmmakers to gather footage from the Royal Family's extensive archive. *Elizabeth at 90* is also participatory, in that it invites the Royal Family to engage with the archival material. For *Elizabeth at 90*, Bridcut had special access to the Royal Family's personal film archive and his intent with the documentary was to give the Royal Family a platform on which to 'contribut[e] their own personal insights and their memories of the woman they know both as a member of their own close family and as queen.'⁴⁵⁵ Lastly, *Elizabeth at 90* is performative as it 'emphasizes the subjective or expressive aspect [...] reject[ing] notions of objectivity in favor of evocation and affect.'⁴⁵⁶ This is perfectly exemplified by the use of music or the inclusion of close ups that capture the emotions the various members of the British Royal Family.

As well as borrowing heavily from the range of documentary modes outlined above, *Elizabeth at 90* is also indebted to popular genre television, in particular reality programme Gogglebox. On two large armchairs, positioned in front of a projector screen, sit Prince Charles and next to him Queen Elizabeth II (*Figure 25*).

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 34.

⁴⁵⁵ Information gathered from the BBC webpage, *Elizabeth at 90 – A Family Tribute*, BBC, <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07891d0>> [accessed 21 November 2018].

⁴⁵⁶ Nichols, p. 34.



Figure 25 Prince Charles and Queen Elizabeth II in Elizabeth at 90: A Family Tribute

Smiling, Prince Charles and the Queen talk, emotionally reacting to and discussing the visuals being projected onto the screen in front of them. They are watching archive footage from the Queen’s life that includes a mix of personal moments and key events from her reign. If we momentarily put aside the status of subjects in *Figure 25*—the Queen and Prince Charles)—, this scene could quite easily describe a scene from *Gogglebox*.⁴⁵⁷ Take for example *Figure 26*.

⁴⁵⁷ I am not the first to refer to the similarities between *Elizabeth at 90* and *Gogglebox*. Such references have been lightly made in several articles and discussions on social media following the documentary’s broadcast. For other articles that reference *Elizabeth at 90* as ‘Royal Gogglebox’ (or words to that effect), see Sam Wallaston 2016; Jennifer Read-Dominguez, ‘Royal Gogglebox! The Queen and Prince Charles watch home movies in a new BBC show’ (Digital Spy, 2016); Ash Percival, ‘The Queen At 90’ Viewers Call For The Royals To Join ‘Gogglebox’ As They Watch Home Movies Together’ (Huffington Post, 2016); ‘Viewers loved that Elizabeth at 90 was basically a really, really posh Gogglebox’ (The Herald, Scotland, 2016); Beth Allcock, ‘The Royals do Gogglebox’: Telly fans compare the Queen and her family to the Channel 4 show stars as they give their take on the monarch’s 90 years (The Sun, 2016).



Figure 26 June and Leon in *Gogglebox*.

Note the composition of the subjects from *Gogglebox*—June (left) and Leon (right)—and compare them to the positioning of Prince Charles and the Queen in *Figure 25*. In both *Gogglebox* and *Elizabeth at 90*, full-body shots establish the subjects and situate them within the familiar surroundings of the living room, complete with appropriate furniture assembled around the screen. From the perspective of the screen—to be precise, the projector screen in *Elizabeth at 90* and the television set in *Gogglebox*—the subjects are established as the viewers of the content (whether they are watching archive footage in *Elizabeth at 90* or television content in *Gogglebox*).

The *mise-en-scène* and cinematography of *Elizabeth at 90* is directly inspired by *Gogglebox*, containing a replica set of a living room and utilising a fly-on-the-wall camera perspective, which is widely used in reality television ‘in an attempt to show reality directly and objectively.’⁴⁵⁸ Stylistically, *Elizabeth at 90* uses mostly stationary, observational viewpoints, ‘plac[ing] its faith in an unobtrusive, fly-on-the-wall perspective held by an objective observer.’⁴⁵⁹ The result is the capturing of reactions and emotions as they occur, organically and objectively. The perspective of the ‘objective observer’ is achieved by the fixed-camera, whose stationary status encourages an impartial viewing relationship between the viewer (the audience), the subjects (those viewing the content) and the content itself (clips from television in *Gogglebox* or archive

⁴⁵⁸ Kavka, p. 15.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

footage in *Elizabeth at 90*). Like *Gogglebox*, *Elizabeth at 90* does close the gap between the subjects and the screen from which the fixed-camera is positioned, when it intercuts full body and medium shots with close-ups of the respective subjects' faces during their viewing of emotional scenes, for example. Close-ups are used in film and television to capture emotional reactions 'and give us access to the mind or thought processes' of the subjects in the scene.⁴⁶⁰ Here, the camerawork in *Elizabeth at 90* is responsive. The combination of shots attempts to construct an emotional subject position as the objective truth. As well as communicating emotion, close-up shots also potentially forge an emotional connection between the audiences and the subjects viewing the content on screen.

Borrowing the *mise-en-scène* and cinematography from *Gogglebox*, *Elizabeth at 90* repositions the British monarchy as the spectators and narrators rather than the subjects and objects of the gaze. *Elizabeth at 90* does so by mobilising *Gogglebox's* format, tone and intimacy as a vehicle for the various Royal family members to curate Queen Elizabeth's life over 90 years and thus tell a British heritage narrative to the public. The result shifts the gaze away from the Royal Family as the spectacle, to a more empathetic subject onscreen—humanising the British monarchy (which is a subject explored by Colin McArthur in relation to the programme *Edward the Seventh* [1975] in his monograph *Television and History* [1978]), making them relatable and therefore 'enabling the spectator to enter the scene.'⁴⁶¹ Merck transposes this idea to the home movies of the Royal Family, which, as she writes, negotiate the relationship between the viewers at home and the British Royal Family by inviting them into the scene. For example, '[h]ome movies of the royal visits accidentally brea[ch] the fourth wall between the royal entourage and the crowd to capture the smoking, chatting, fidgeting spectators themselves.'⁴⁶² Therefore I suggest that the Royal Family not only reference *Gogglebox* in *Elizabeth at 90*, but use the format to modify the dynamic between themselves and the viewer. This modification results in the Royal Family becoming the subject gazing upon themselves as the subjects of the home movies, controlling the narrative with their curation and commentary. The Royal Family break the fourth wall, or at least mediate between the heritage image and the recipient, who in this case is concurrently themselves—as consumers of the heritage image—and the television viewer at home. Thus, they become both the object and subject of the gaze simultaneously. While the footage is watched by the television audience, through their simultaneous depiction as active

⁴⁶⁰ Susan Hayward, *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts*, Fifth Edition (London & New York: Routledge, 2017), p. 328.

⁴⁶¹ Merck, p. 11.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*

spectators, the spectacle on screen is either reinforced or dismantled by their narrative intervention. In *Elizabeth at 90*, scenes that illustrate this are those in which the Royal Family view footage from Queen Elizabeth II's coronation. In between black and white sequences from the original broadcast of the coronation ceremony on ITV in 1953—images that have been widely included in other documentaries and recreated in heritage dramas (such as Netflix's *The Crown*)—are sequences from the home movie footage shot by various members of the Royal Family and their entourage behind-the-scenes, most of the footage captured in colour using handheld cameras. The sequences depict the Queen getting into her gold carriage before her journey between Buckingham Palace and Westminster Abbey, where the coronation ceremony takes place; documents preparations, such as costume checks before the ceremony; and after the ceremony, we see footage of the whole Royal Family preparing for a family photo in the Throne Room of Buckingham Palace.

The narrative about the day of the Queen's coronation is provided by Princess Anne and Princes William and Harry in separate scenes. As Queen Elizabeth II steps into her gold carriage, Princes William and Harry joke. 'It's one way of travelling isn't it?' says William to Harry, who responds, 'The carriage is amazing isn't it?' Likewise, in regard to the scene in which the Royal Family gather in the Throne Room for the family photograph in elaborate costume, Princess Anne can be heard as saying, 'It is an impressive sight, isn't it?' And in another shot William jokes, 'Everyone's just sparkling. Look at all the jewellery [...] Look at those dresses, they look incredible.' Such visual scenes and commentaries reinforce the spectator gaze upon the customs, figures, costumes and lavish lifestyles of the British monarchy. Furthermore, they are sentiments that are possibly echoed in the homes of a portion of viewers at home. However, some other remarks made by the same Royal family members explore the tension between spectacle—the heritage image—and reality. These remarks usually include exclusive behind-the-scenes information or biographical notes that accompany the images on screen. For example, in the scene in which the family gather in the Throne Room for the family photograph, the camera pans the Royal's standing in wait for the photographer to take the photo. In relation to this, Princess Anne remarks, 'Can you imagine how hot it was and how long this must have gone on for?' Whereas, in response to some later footage in which Prince Phillip can be seen ordering people to get into position during the photograph, Prince Harry jokes; 'Grandpa trying to do some ushering.' Imitating Prince Phillip, Harry says, 'Will you get in. Come on!' to which William replied, 'He always got fed up during family photos.' Such comments as these provide extra access to the Royal Family and serve to undermine footage depicting ceremony, tradition and respect with humour – distracting from the opulence and glamour on screen and humanising

its subjects. This is done particularly by the new generation of the Royal Family, themselves represented by Prince William and Prince Harry.

In terms of the format of *Elizabeth at 90*, it is easy to see the influence of *Gogglebox* not just on the documentary's mise-en-scène and cinematography, but also in its editing. The following provides a side-by-side analysis of both *Elizabeth at 90* and *Gogglebox* that considers how each programme and their narratives are visually constructed. Furthermore, this analysis will demonstrate how both texts reinforce nostalgia and British identity by capitalising on heritage. In both *Elizabeth at 90* and *Gogglebox*, their respective narrators (Prince Charles and Craig Cash) first introduce the clip before it is shown. As the clip is being played, we see the reactions of the various viewers, which are intercut at different moments. *Figure 27* provides a shot-by-shot illustrated breakdown of the sequences from each show that I will subsequently analyse from each show.



Figure 27 Side-by-side comparison between *Elizabeth at 90* (left) and *Gogglebox* (right)

The left column in *Figure 27* includes shots taken from a sequence of *Elizabeth at 90*, in which Prince Charles and the Queen review archive footage from the Queen's childhood. The footage was shot in the gardens of 145 Piccadilly, the Queen's childhood home, which was

destroyed in the blitz.⁴⁶³ Meanwhile, the right column breaks down a sequence from *Gogglebox*. In this episode, friends Mary and Marina and couple Dave and Shirley watch *Dame Vera Lynn*. As Shots 1 in *Figure 27* illustrate, both sequences in *Elizabeth at 90* and *Gogglebox* open with the viewing of the source content (archive footage from the Queen's childhood and a clip from *Dame Vera Lynn*). The clips are then followed by medium shots (Shot 2), which establish who is watching the screen (this is the Queen in *Elizabeth at 90* and in *Gogglebox* Mary and Marina). The medium shots are followed by close-up reaction shots (Shot 3), which establish an emotional connection between the viewer in the scene and the content that they are watching. In this example, we see close-ups of Prince Charles and Marina. The close-ups are followed by another clip from the source materials (Shot 4), before returning once more to medium shots of the viewers (Shot 5). This shot pattern repeats itself in both texts until the sequence comes to an end (see Shots 6 and 7).

The side-by-side shot-by-shot comparison between *Elizabeth at 90* and *Gogglebox* reveals that the two texts are identical in regard to the editing of their sequences, the *mise-en-scène* and the choice of shots. In regard to the integrated clips intercut between the reaction shots, both texts incorporate heritage narratives that provoke nostalgic responses from the viewers. *Elizabeth at 90* indulges the 'heritage impulse' by transforming the past into a 'vast collection of images',⁴⁶⁴ converting history and heritage into spectacles 'designed to delight the modern-day tourist-historian.'⁴⁶⁵ For example, in addition to the visual presence of the British monarchy—a heritage image themselves—audiences of *Elizabeth at 90* will also recognise certain historical images, such as the funeral procession of King George VI (captured in the newsreel *His Last Journey*) or scenes from the Queen's coronation. For some audiences, perhaps younger viewers or viewers with little historical knowledge, the visual spectacle of scenes such as those mentioned above, might prompt them to relate to other texts in which the scenes have been recreated. For example, a viewer might see footage from King George VI's funeral and recall its recreation in *The Crown*, in the same way an historically aware viewer might have recalled the *His Last Journey* newsreel during the episode of *The Crown*. This prompts a return to Mittell's discursive approach to genre, allowing for *Elizabeth at 90* to be grouped alongside British heritage films on the basis of shared visual iconography and historical reference points, despite their respective genres (documentary and fictional historical drama). *Elizabeth at 90* casts a

⁴⁶³ Certain parts of 145 Piccadilly were recreated in heritage film *The King's Speech* (Hooper, 2010).

⁴⁶⁴ Raphael Samuel, 'Preface', in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, Vol 1: History and Politics*, ed. by Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge, 1989), p. x-xvii. (p. xvii).

⁴⁶⁵ Higson, 'Re-Presenting the National Past', p. 606.

spectator's gaze on the past through the images selected from the home videos and the discussions about them. In the videos from her childhood, we can recognise the iconography of certain British heritage films in the presentation of the physical properties that the young monarch inhabited, for example 145 Piccadilly in the 1930s, the country house at Balmoral in the 1950s and Windsor Castle.⁴⁶⁶ Meanwhile, in regard to narrative, *Elizabeth at 90's* retelling of history often relies on memory, and is uncritical, selective and nostalgic in its remembrance of specific moments and events.⁴⁶⁷ On multiple occasions the past is remembered by Prince Charles and Princess Anne in particular, quite sentimentally, with both often repeating the phrase 'those were the days.'

As with the version of the British past commodified by the contemporary heritage industry, *Elizabeth at 90* presents a 'sanitised' version of the past infused with nostalgia.⁴⁶⁸ *Elizabeth at 90* bridges past and present through its primary subject, the British Royal Family, showing archive footage of historical and patriotic moments in the United Kingdom's shared history, accompanied and reinforced by nostalgic memories and anecdotes. In the same way that *Gogglebox* manufactures an image of Britain and Britishness by consolidating the differences that define contemporary Britishness into a shared identity rooted in nostalgia and traditional British values, *Elizabeth at 90* does the same using the British monarchy as a unifying symbol. Beyond being a signifier of 'longevity and tradition',⁴⁶⁹ the bond between the British monarchy and the British public is re-enforced in *Elizabeth at 90* by a shared history. In *Elizabeth at 90*, Prince Charles' introduction to the documentary forges this relationship between the viewers, the Royal Family members and the shared past, inviting all to 'celebrate' the Queen's ninetieth birthday and to 'reflect on a life that has inspired and encouraged millions of people in the United Kingdom, the commonwealth and around the world.' However, what is significant about *Elizabeth at 90* is that rather than resorting to a conventional documentary or a public address, the Royal Family—in partnership with filmmaker Bridcut—chose to utilise the visual language of reality television, and *Gogglebox* specifically, to communicate to a contemporary television audience. *Elizabeth at 90* tries to recreate this interactive aspect of *Gogglebox*,

⁴⁶⁶ In the case of 145 Piccadilly, such footage provided by the Queen could be regarded as bringing a heritage artefact, though destroyed during the blitz, from the past into the present.

⁴⁶⁷ For example, footage from a visit by the Royal Family to India shortly after the country gained independence is practically void of any narrative. Rather, it is reduced to scenes of the British Monarchy riding elephants, attending military parades and horse and cattle shows, which the Queen and Prince Charles reminisce about fondly. Like *Joanna Lumley's India*, and before that certain heritage films, *Elizabeth at 90* romanticises Indian culture, omitting any criticism of Britain's brutal involvement in its history.

⁴⁶⁸ Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 17.

⁴⁶⁹ Higson, 'From Political Power to the Power of the Image: Contemporary "British" Cinema and the Nation's Monarchs', p. 340.

attempting to make the footage and indeed the British monarchy more accessible by replicating the visual aesthetic and format of *Gogglebox*, and by placing the various Royal Family members—who are usually the spectacle in heritage films and costume dramas—in a more active position. The result, I argue, is the creation of a new kind of heritage text. It is a new type of heritage text that ironically plays on its influences—by referencing *Gogglebox*, *Elizabeth at 90* inherently references *The Royle Family*, which presented an everyday spin on The Royal Family. The British Royal family are a national image, symbolic of British heritage. Whereas *The Royle Family* is an amusing invocation of the British Royal family and a critique of the version of Britishness that they are associated with (respectability, nobility, tradition, upper-class values). British national identity, however, has more in common with the characters and life depicted in *The Royle Family* than the Royal Family. It is amusing therefore that in *Elizabeth at 90*, the British Royal family has appropriated the iconography and tone of *The Royle Family*, therefore appearing to appropriate *The Royle Family's* image as a symbol for contemporary, everyday Britain and Britishness. *Elizabeth at 90* builds upon British heritage films, self-consciously selecting historical and visual moments used in British heritage dramas to create a point of registration for its audiences, who might make the connection between the scenes in the documentary and heritage dramas. *Elizabeth at 90* merges archive footage, documentary and reality television into a single form for the purposes of reframing heritage subjects—the British monarchy—and communicating a heritage narrative—that of the connection between the long-reigning monarch and British history—to a contemporary television audience.

For the most-part, *Elizabeth at 90* succeeds in recreating *Gogglebox's* look, feel and potentially its bond with television audiences. However, a later scene in the documentary reveals itself as a pastiche of everyday life. In the scene, the camera pulls back from the living room setting where Prince Charles and Queen Elizabeth are sat on two armchairs. Via a slow zoom out, the shot shatters the illusion of the living room environment by revealing the boundaries of its set. The camera zooms out from the intimacy of the living room set-up, the emotional close-ups and medium shots that have defined the frame up to this point, that have helped to humanise the various members of the British monarchy. Pulling back the curtain, so to speak, the scene and shots reveal the intimacy of the domestic space as superficial. As the camera pulls back into an extreme shot, we are given a different perspective in the *mise-en-scène*. We see that beyond the pastiche of the 'living room'—which now appears small in the shot—the true setting that the Royal Family inhabit: a large, regal hall overpowering the intimate domestic space.

Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, and to reflect on what I have argued to be a new cycle of popular factual heritage television made up of self-aware and self-reflexive popular factual and reality television programmes, I return to the quotation provided by Duffy et al who write, the ‘tropes of reflexivity purport to shatter the illusion of transparent representation popular in mainstream media’ through their reworking of narrative conventions, stylistic devices and other perspectives.⁴⁷⁰ The reflexive aspects of certain texts ‘promise audience empowerment by making explicit the ways in which media texts are constructed. It may, however, be employed to further obscure the nature of media production.’⁴⁷¹ In regard to narrative reflexivity, texts such as *Cunk on Britain* and *Elizabeth at 90* ‘foreground their own production and call attention to their status as textual constructs’ through their visual references,⁴⁷² but moreover their playful approach with visual conventions in particular. *Cunk* explicitly does so, manipulating and commenting how British history is told through narration, visual iconography and editing. Whereas *Elizabeth at 90* exposes its superficiality at various points, revealing the construct of the everyday, which references the environments of programmes like *The Royle Family* and *Gogglebox*, within the opulent Royal dwellings – locations typically reserved for British heritage dramas. *Extra Slice* is particularly effective when exposing the stylistic coding of reflexive texts, showing the recreation of the “*Bake Off* tent” within a television studio complete with a live-studio audience in the frame, surrounding the stage. *Extra Slice* provided not only a behind-the-scenes look at its source programmes, *The Great British Bake Off*, but revealed the popular factual heritage television construct more generally, deconstructing its elements and – in partnership with the cooking competitions engaged following – reflects on its own form as a heritage construct. Collectively, *Extra Slice*, *Cunk on Britain* and *Gogglebox*, while manipulating its own form as a heritage construct, through experimental filmmaking and the inclusion of a commentary (voiceover narrators, presenters, contestants, panellists, fans) and each providing a forum for reaction and reflection, but more significantly, for connection.

⁴⁷⁰ Brooke E. Duffy, et al., ‘Reflexivity in Television Depictions of Media Industries’, 298.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

At 8pm on 28 August 2018—having recently edited my earlier analysis of the opening sequence of Season 7 of *The Great British Bake Off* just days before—I sat down to watch the premiere of Season 9 on Channel 4. The ninth season of *The Great British Bake Off*—the second season to air on Channel 4 since its move from BBC One—begins in a slightly different way to the previous seasons. Season 9 Episode 1, entitled 'Biscuit Week', opened with presenters Noel Fielding and Sandi Toksvig stood before the “*Bake Off* tent” dressed as the characters Doc Brown (Christopher Lloyd) and Marty McFly (Michael J. Fox) from the *Back to the Future* trilogy (Robert Zemeckis, 1985, 1989 and 1990) (see *Figure 28*).



Figure 28 Noel Fielding (left) and Sandi Toksvig (Right) dressed as Doc Brown and Marty McFly from Back to the Future

After a brief sketch on the grounds of the Welford Park estate—the country house nowhere to be seen—they step into a DeLorean DMC-12, the car and time-travel machine from the *Back to the Future* film franchise. Remaining in character, the following script plays out between Toksvig and Fielding:

Toksvig: Why are we going back to the future? Is something terrible about to happen?

Fielding: Terrible!

Toksvig: Is Donald Trump getting that peace prize?

Fielding: It's worse!

Toksvig: No? Are One Direction getting back together?

Fielding: It's worse than that!

Toksvig: Oh no! Prue is about to tweet the name of this year's winner!

Toksvig's line is a tongue-in-cheek reference to Prue Leith's accidental spoiler from the previous year, in which she revealed the winner of Season 8 on Twitter before it was announced in the season finale. Following Toksvig's line, the scene cuts to presenters Leith and Paul Hollywood sat on a sofa in what looks like a scene from *Gogglebox* (see *Figure 29*).



Figure 29 Prue Leith (left) and Paul Hollywood (right) in a scene reminiscent of Gogglebox

Leith is on her phone and Hollywood has a cup of tea and a biscuit in his hands. The scene consciously recreates the living room set and utilises the same *mise en scène* and camera viewpoint as *Gogglebox* (what I argued in Chapter Four is a repacked heritage text). 'What are you doing Prue?' asks a suspicious Hollywood. Leith is about to tweet the winner of the ninth season of *The Great British Bake Off*. Following Hollywood's question to Leith, the scene cuts back to Fielding and Toksvig acting with a sense of urgency, as they are under the impression that it is too late and that Leith has already tweeted the winner of Season 9. 'We have to go back to the future!' Fielding shouts, as he pulls down his Doc Brown goggles. Cut to the DeLorean's dashboard, which emulates the time travel interface from *Back to the Future*, which contains the date stamps for the final episode at the top (the timeline that Fielding and Toksvig are pretending to be in), and the broadcast date and time of Season 9 Episode 1 at the bottom.

After this amusing introduction, the opening sequence resumes the form of the previous seasons of *The Great British Bake Off*, reverting back to the popular factual heritage television mould (established in Chapter Two). Following the introductory sketch are a series of talking

head shots of each of the contestants introducing themselves to the viewers at home, punctuated by the visual imagery that we have become accustomed to seeing in popular factual heritage television (and *The Great British Bake Off* in particular); shots depicting '[t]he luxurious country-house settings, the picturesque rolling green landscapes of southern England' evoke Higson's description of the visual characteristics of British heritage films,⁴⁷³ meanwhile the "Bake Off tent" is either framed through the trees or lingers beyond the focus of the shot. Inside the "Bake Off tent" we are treated to the same artfully-composed shots of vintage objects while the twelve amateur bakers enter one-by-one in the background, out of focus. The familiar opening credit sequence of *The Great British Bake Off* plays (as described in Chapter Two), remaining unchanged. After the opening title sequence and theme song plays out, the "Bake Off tent" is displayed in full. However, unlike its earlier depiction—pitched on the lawn before the Welford mansion, which is positioned behind it (*Figure 2*)—this time we view the "Bake Off tent" from above. We look down on the "Bake Off tent" from inside the Welford mansion; the spectator gaze upon the tangible heritage property is denied. In regard to my original analysis of *Figure 2*, I used Martin Heidegger's theory of 'time-space compression' as a way of justifying the creation of a contemporary heritage image, formed in the convergence of past and present, external and internal images, fused with the popular factual and reality television formats to form popular factual heritage television. I then moved to describe the image presented in *The Great British Bake Off* as a diorama of heritage—blending the British heritage film with popular factual and reality television—and putting it all—as a complete heritage image—on display. However, what the opening sequence to Season 9 appears to suggest is the reversal of the heritage image, by reconfiguring the relationship between the past and the present, alternating the external and internal perspectives, controlling the heritage gaze, and through the use of specific camera angles and effects—such as close-ups and shallow depth of field—that prioritise the foreground for the background.

This thesis set out to address the following research questions: What is the nature of the relationship between popular factual heritage television and the contemporary heritage industry, and how does it compare with the relationship between earlier British heritage films and heritage industry of the 1980s? Secondly, in what ways have popular factual heritage television programmes and their role within the wider heritage industry evolved? I started by considering The D-Day Darlings performance on *Britain's Got Talent* and earlier seasons of *The Great British Bake Off* in Chapters One and Two. Through close textual analysis I was able to start

⁴⁷³ Higson, *English Heritage, English Cinema*, p. 1.

mapping the relationship between the genres (popular factual, reality television and the British heritage film) and begin to conceptualise popular factual heritage television by establishing a set of shared audio-visual characteristics that ‘accentuate a golden, frequently early twentieth-century past, and evince a profound nostalgia for a bygone imperial England.’⁴⁷⁴

With a shared set of generic attributes established, Chapter Three was keen to analyse if the relationship between popular factual heritage television and the British heritage film extended the aesthetic realm. Therefore, it considered narrative, identifying multiple prevailing themes and narratives across several popular factual heritage television programmes and how they are communicated by the presenters. By way of several case studies of variable length, this chapter was able to analyse the various ways in which presenters facilitated the relationship between audiences and heritage, questioning how their interactions and communication had the potential to enforce or challenge their relationship with it.

At this point in the thesis, it was clear that within the climate of the contemporary heritage industry that popular factual heritage television was a product of, and was capitalising on, the aesthetics, narratives, rhetoric and representation of Britishness of earlier British heritage films in order to recapture and harness the same nostalgia and patriotism with which their film grammar and narratives are infused. Certain popular factual heritage television programme not only look and sound like British heritage films but communicate similar narratives and to the same effect—functioning as vehicles for nostalgia and perpetuating an unwavering, traditional sense of British identity in the contemporary climate. The final chapter, however, was keen to consider what it proposed as an alternative body of popular factual heritage television programmes that challenged the very form of popular factual heritage television itself. These alternative popular factual heritage programme could be viewed as pushing the boundaries of popular factual heritage television. Furthermore, as a result of their willingness to experiment with, exaggerate and deconstruct the genre’s original characteristics, I argue that they have the potential to reconsider the wider cultural function and potency of popular factual heritage television programme as nostalgia vehicles in the contemporary heritage industry. Chapter Four therefore began by reflecting on the evolutionary cycle of genres, from their emergence to a state of parody and pastiche, which often comes with a genre’s growing self-awareness and self-reflexive impulses. It then applied this idea to the study of the proposed alternative body of popular factual heritage television programme, which the chapter referred to as ‘post-popular factual heritage television’. It found that the programme *Extra Slice* offered

⁴⁷⁴ Childs, *Cultural Heritage/Heritage Culture*, p. 9.

not only a behind-the-scenes look at the production of *The Great British Bake Off*, its chief inspiration, but was entirely formed around, and included, the community that the cooking competition has created and sustained over the years. While illustrating how a popular factual heritage television programme has the potential to unite an ‘imagined community’ through a common interest in a programme (such as *The Great British Bake Off*) and encourage their continued participation in the contemporary heritage industry, the chapter paired off *Extra Slice* with *Taste of Shanghai*, to reveal how a programme can also unite viewers online by way of a critical response to representations of heritage, the underlying imperial overtones of certain kinds of popular factual heritage television programme (food television in particular) and their presenters. In terms of the texts themselves, the study of *Cunk on Britain* allowed me to explore how certain programmes are constructed around their own self-awareness of popular factual heritage television, and of how heritage operates in the contemporary heritage industry. In this case, *Cunk on Britain* showed how a satirical script, combined with the performance of the fictional presenter Philomena Cunk (played by comedian Diane Morgan), was able to pick apart the conventions of popular factual heritage television; reveal how they each work to tell a story or to manipulate emotions (such as national pride, sense of belonging and nostalgia); and then reassemble them, only through the process voiding them of all of their nostalgic value by converting them into comedy. While *Cunk on Britain* deconstructed and analysed the form of popular factual heritage television bit-by-bit, the final analysis of *Gogglebox* showed how—rather than recycling the conventions of popular factual heritage television (which by proxy recycled the conventions of the British heritage film)—the reality television programme is able to repackage the nostalgia in a new way. Just as this thesis has followed the journey from the heritage industry of the 1980s to British heritage film to popular factual heritage television, this final analysis suggested the next trajectory for the form and how it is, in turn, recognised and referenced by contemporary heritage industry, as illustrated in the analysis of the use of *Gogglebox*’s aesthetic by the British monarchy to characterise their documentary, *Elizabeth at 90*.

To conclude, while watching the premiere of the ninth season of *The Great British Bake Off* on Channel 4, it was becoming increasingly clear that over the course of this 4 year research project, *The Great British Bake Off*—what I considered at the start of this process as being one of the cornerstone texts that inspired me to originally conceive the idea of popular factual heritage television—to my surprise, had transitioned to a post-popular factual heritage television programme. While it contained all of the same ingredients that make up a popular factual heritage text in the first place (the presence of the English countryside, the country house, the tent, bunting, vintage appliances and a competition formed around the pastime of baking), the

opening sequence to Season 9 Episode 1 was different to former seasons, not least Season 8 (the first season to air on Channel 4 in 2017). Season 8 mediated between *The Great British Bake Off*'s former identity on the BBC, preserving the same nostalgia, respectability and quaintness, thus keeping the 'elite conservative vision' intact, while also navigating new terrain: the programme was on a new channel (Channel 4); it had to potentially engage a new demographic; its internal structure had to be slightly rethought to accommodate for the advertisement breaks; and, with the exception of Hollywood, it had a duty to welcome a new group of celebrity personalities to audiences. Despite this, it appeared to me that Season 9 had strayed substantially from the programme's original format, reconfiguring the heritage iconography and nostalgia that the programme is known for.

While the British past is tangibly present in Season 9 Episode 1, visually it is obscured. Whereas the opening sequences of former seasons of *The Great British Bake Off* are faithful to British heritage films—replicating scenes and reusing framing devices of British heritage properties from the likes of *The Remains of the Day* and *Downton Abbey*—Season 9 turns its attention to popular culture, instead referencing the cult 1985 film *Back to the Future* through the visual presence of props and costumes from the film (the DeLorean, Fielding and Toksvig's outfits). The self-referential script of the *Back to the Future*-inspired sketch at the start not only mentions the contemporary figure of Donald Trump—introducing politics and a divisive character into the utopic world of *The Great British Bake Off*, threatening to problematise the programme's status as an escapist fantasy—, but its tongue-in-cheek reference to Leith's accidental spoiler from the year before demonstrates the programme's awareness of the place of *The Great British Bake Off* in contemporary popular culture, breaking away from nostalgia and situating the programme in reality. Lastly, the reverse perspective from the house symbolises the dynamic shift from heritage as spectacle. No longer do we gaze on the mansion—a symbol of Britain's imperial legacy and signifier of national identity—but instead we look out onto the tent below, onto the production of *The Great British Bake Off*, from the alternative perspective of an upstairs room in the mansion.

The premiere of Season 9 of *The Great British Bake Off* left me reflecting on several questions about the programme, and about the current state of popular factual heritage television more generally: does the latest season of *The Great British Bake Off* symbolise the rejection of the cooking competition as it has come to be identified, as a signature popular factual heritage television text? Could the opening sequence of Season 9 be read as the dismissal of the formula established over eight seasons, breaking away from its roots in the British heritage film and signifying an attempt to modernise, to give a new face to British identity and heritage? And

does its playfulness and inversion of the film grammar of the earlier seasons have the potential to decode the heritage aesthetics passed on from the British heritage film to popular factual heritage television, and the nostalgia and identity with which they are imbued? Before answering, intrigued by the new season of *The Great British Bake Off*, I decided to watch more, tuning in the following week for Episode 2.

Sat under a tree, the trunk of which all-but obscures the Welford mansion behind it, are presenters Fielding and Toksvig. Fielding is dressed as Marie Antoinette, visually channelling Kirstin Dunst's version of the historical title character in Sofia Coppola's contemporary period drama *Marie Antoinette* (2006) (see Figure 30). It is 'Cake Week' and therefore the costume is a reference to Antoinette's supposed famous last line "*qu'ils mangent de la brioche*/let them eat cake".



Figure 30 Fielding as Marie Antoinette (left) and Toksvig (right)

At this point, and on this image, I reflected again the questions I had asked myself the week before. I have come to the conclusion that Season 9 is the start of a completely new version of *The Great British Bake Off*. Confirming my earlier suspicion, the programme has indeed transitioned, and is now an example post-popular factual heritage television programme that—like *Cunk on Britain*—not only dismantles popular factual heritage television, reducing it to its basic characteristics, reassembling it as a form, but also reconsiders its relationship with the past, the television category's roots in the British heritage film, and the role of popular factual heritage

television in the contemporary heritage industry. It feels to me that the programme realised the limits of popular factual heritage television as a form with Season 8, before it took a moment to reflect and decided to divert the genre in a slightly new direction. Season 9 does not reject the aesthetics and format of the previous seasons, just revises them, repositions them, and reimagines what the programme can be. The effect is the denial of the traditional and somewhat rigid British heritage form, and instead signifies the embracing of a more progressive, flexible relationship with the iconography of Britain's past and representation of its heritage, particularly onscreen. Of course, there is a danger to this, in that audiences might find the new format alienating, thus problematising popular factual heritage television's effectivity as a vehicle of nostalgia in the contemporary heritage industry going forward. However, on the other hand, Season 9—along with the body of post-popular factual heritage television texts analysed in Chapter Four—could signal to the future of popular factual heritage television beyond this thesis.

In response to the contemporary heritage industry, Owen Hatherley describes the 'nightmarish situation where an entirely twenty-first-century society [...] appears to console itself with the iconography of a completely different and highly unlike era'.⁴⁷⁵ This accounts for the particular nostalgic use of the British heritage film iconography in previous seasons of *The Great British Bake Off*, which is, as Sarah Crompton of *The Telegraph* describes it, 'a comfort blanket for the soul of the nation.'⁴⁷⁶ Rather than find itself in what Hatherley describes as a 'nightmarish situation' awash in the iconography of distant and strange time, Season 9 avoids the temptation to act on its 'heritage impulse'—overriding the past and nostalgia with modern references and comedy. Therefore, in my opinion, *The Great British Bake Off* Season 9 signifies the restarting of the cycle of popular factual heritage television. Rather than inheriting and continuing the coded film grammar of earlier British heritage films, and positioning them in the popular factual and reality television formats, Season 9 shakes off the dust of the heritage genre; it resists tradition, in the process replacing references to the literature of E. M. Forster and Jane Austen with pop culture references, such as *Back to the Future* and *Marie Antoinette*, and it exposes the function of heritage to viewers, thus breaking *The Great British Bake Off's* nostalgic spell. Yet, I believe the programme still remains a place for escapism, but a different kind of escapism. Perhaps in its absurdity audiences will find solace over the comfort of heritage. Season 9, I argue,

⁴⁷⁵ Hatherley, *Ministry of Nostalgia*, p. 12.

⁴⁷⁶ Sarah Crompton, 'GBBO Is the Best of British', 7 October 2014, section Culture <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/11137088/GBBO-is-the-best-of-British.html>> [accessed 25 November 2018].

is the product of all the texts analysed in this thesis. It represents the explosive clash of popular factual heritage television and its later incarnation, post-popular factual heritage television. It is a clash that immediately disrupted the popular factual heritage television form, dismantling its iconography and shattering its nostalgia, leaving it naked and vulnerable. By taking away the nostalgic value of the conventions of popular factual heritage television, its cultural function in the heritage industry has thus been exposed. In the fallout of the explosive convergence of the two forms, what you are left with—and what Season 9 of *The Great British Bake Off* has to work with—are the former pieces that once comprised the British heritage film and characterised popular factual heritage television. In both episodes of Season 9 analysed, the props (vintage objects, bunting, costumes) and settings (the tent, the country house) feel like leftover iconographies from the heritage genre. The image of Fielding dressed as Marie Antoinette sat under a tree that all-but obscures the Welford mansion behind it, signifies that although the material iconography of the heritage genre is present—included in shots and worn by presenters—fundamentally it is void of all sense of history and nostalgia. Its use is therefore symbolic of postmodern culture and specifically post-popular factual heritage television's conscious recycling of heritage genre. The inclusion of the material iconography in the sequences in Season 9 are a nod to popular factual heritage television's past, albeit brief, and its own heritage—the British heritage film—as well as an indication of their value and the form of popular factual heritage television going forward.

Filmography

Films

- A Hand Full of Dust.* dir. by Charles Sturridge (New Line Cinema, 1988)
- A Passage to India.* dir. by David Lean (Thorn EMI Screen, Entertainment, Columbia Pictures, 1984)
- A Room with a View.* dir. by James Ivory (Curzon Film Distributors, 1985)
- A Royal Night Out.* dir. by Julian Jarrold (Lionsgate, 2015)
- Annie Hall.* dir. by Woody Allen (United Artists, 1977)
- Back to the Future* dir. by Robert Zemeckis (Universal Pictures, 1985)
- Back to the Future: Part II.* dir. by Robert Zemeckis (Universal Pictures, 1989)
- Back to the Future: Part III.* dir. by Robert Zemeckis (Universal Pictures, 1990)
- Belle.* dir. by Amma Asante (Fox Searchlight Pictures, 2013)
- Chariots of Fire.* dir. by Hugh Hudson (20th Century Fox, Warner Bros., 1981)
- Churchill.* dir. by Jonathan Teplitsky (Cohen Media Group, 2017)
- Darkest Hour.* dir. by Joe Wright (Focus Features, Universal Pictures, 2017)
- Diana.* dir. by Oliver Hirschbiegel (Entertainment One, 2013)
- Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb,* dir. by Stanley Kubrick (Columbia Pictures Corporation, 1964)
- Drive.* dir. by Nicolas Winding Refn (FilmDistrict, 2011)
- Dunkirk.* dir. by Christopher Nolan (Warner Bros. Pictures, 2017)
- E.T. Extra-Terrestrial.* dir. by Steven Spielberg (Universal Pictures, 1982)
- Elizabeth.* dir. by Shekhar Kapur (Gramercy Pictures, 1998)
- Emma.* dir. by Douglas McGrath (Miramax Films, 1996)
- Gandhi.* dir. by Richard Attenborough (Columbia Pictures, 1982)
- Ghostbusters.* dir. by Paul Feig (Columbia Pictures, 2016)
- Girl with a Pearl Earring.* dir. By Peter Webber (Pathé, 2003)
- Halloween.* dir. by David Gordon Green (Universal Pictures, 2018)
- Howards End.* dir. by James Ivory (Mayfair, Sony Pictures Classics, 1992)
- It Follows.* dir. by David Robert Mitchell (RADiUS-TWC, 2014)
- It.* dir. by Andy Muschietti (Warner Bros. Pictures, 2017)
- Joyeux Noël.* dir. by Christian Carion (UGC Fox Distribution, Sony Pictures Classics, 2005)
- Marie Antoinette.* dir. by Sofia Coppola (Columbia Pictures, 2006)
- Maurice.* dir. by James Ivory (Cinecom Pictures, 1987)

Notting Hill. dir. by Roger Michell (Universal Pictures, 1999)

Poltergeist. dir. by Tobe Hooper (MGM/UA Entertainment Co., 1982)

Pride & Prejudice. dir. by Joe Wright (Focus Features, 2005)

Sense & Sensibility. dir. by Ang Lee (Columbia Pictures, 1995)

Shakespeare in Love. dir. by John Madden (Miramax Films, Universal Pictures, 1998)

Stand By Me. dir. by Rob Reiner (Columbia Pictures, 1986)

Super 8. dir. by J. J. Abrams (Paramount Pictures, 2011)

Testament of Youth. dir. by James Kent (Lionsgate, 2014)

The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel. dir. by John Madden (Fox Searchlight Pictures, 2011)

The Dam Busters. dir. by Michael Anderson (Associated British Pathé, 1955)

The Goonies. dir. by Richard Donner (Warner Bros., 1985)

The Guest. dir. by Adam Wingard (Picturehouse, 2014)

The Imitation Game. dir. by Morten Tyldum (The Weinstein Company, 2014)

The King's Speech. dir. by Tom Hooper (Momentum Pictures, 2010)

The Queen. dir. by Stephen Frears (Pathé Distribution, 2006)

The Remains of the Day. dir. by James Ivory (Columbia Pictures, 1993)

The Ship That Died of Shame. dir. by Basil Dearden (Ealing Studios, 1955)

The Spanish Earth. dir. by Joris Ivens (Contemporary Historians Inc., 1937)

The Young Victoria. dir. by Jean-Marc Vallée (Momentum Pictures, Apparition, 2009)

Their Finest. dir. by Lone Scherfig (Lionsgate, 2016)

Tristram Shandy: A Cock and Bull Story. dir. by Michael Winterbottom (Redbus Film Distribution, 2006)

Viceroy's House. dir. by Gurinder Chadha (20th Century Fox, Reliance Entertainment, 2017)

Victoria & Abdul. dir. by Stephen Frears (Universal Pictures UK, 2017)

War Horse. dir. by Steven Spielberg (Walt Disney Studios, Motion Pictures, 2011)

We'll Meet Again. dir. by Philip Brandon (Columbia Pictures, 1943)

William & Kate: The Movie. dir. by Nancey Silvers (Lifetime, 2011)

Television programmes

'The 50s', *Back in Time for Dinner*, BBC Two, 17 March 2015

A History of Britain, BBC One, 2000-2

A Jubilee Tribute to the Queen by the Prince of Wales, BBC One, 2012

A Place in the Sun: Home or Away, Channel 4, 2000-

A Very British Hotel, Channel 4, 2017-present

Airport, BBC One, 1996-2008

Ally McBeal, FOX, 1997-2002

America's Got Talent, NBC, 2006-

An American Family, PBS, 1973

'Anita Rani', *Who Do You Think You Are?* [UK edition], BBC Two, 1 October 2015

Antiques Roadshow [UK edition], BBC One, 1979-

'The Arse End of History', *Cunk on Britain*, BBC Two, 1 May 2018

'Barbara Finally Has Enough', *The Royle Family*, BBC One, 21 October 1999

Benefit Street, Channel 4, 2014

Big Brother, Channel 4, 2000-2010; Channel 5, 2011-

'Biscuit Week', *The Great British Bake Off*, Channel 4, 28th August 2018

Bombay Railway, BBC Four, 2007

Brass Eye, Channel 4, 1997-2001

Brass Tacks, BBC Two, 1977-88

Buffy the Vampire Slayer, The WB, 1997-2001

'Cake Week', *The Great British Bake Off*, BBC One, 24 August 2016

'Cake Week', *The Great British Bake Off*, Channel 4, 4 September 2018

Call the Midwife, BBC One, 2012-

Charles at 60: The Passionate Prince, BBC One, 2008

Civilisation, BBC 2, 1969

Cops, FOX, 1989-2013; Spike 2013-

Coronation Street, ITV, 1960-

Dame Vera Lynn: Happy 100th Birthday, BBC Two, 2017

Dead Set, Channel 4, 2008

Diana: 7 Days that Shook the World, BBC One, 2017

Downton Abbey, ITV, 2010-15

'The East India Company', *The Birth of Empire*, BBC Two, 2014

Elizabeth at 90: A Family Tribute, BBC One, 21 April 2016

Empire, BBC One, 2012

'Episode 1', *Joanna Lumley's India*, BBC One, 5 July 2017

ER, NBC, 1994-2009

Extremely British Muslims, Channel 4, 2017

Fawlty Towers, BBC, 1975-9

'Fifteen Million Merits', *Black Mirror*, Channel 4, 2011-14, 11 December 2011

'Florence & Rome', *Kevin McCloud's Grand Tour of Europe*, Channel 4, 27 September 2009

Garden Secrets, BBC Two, 2010

Gavin and Stacy, BBC Three, 2007-10

Glow, Netflix, 2017-

Gogglebox Ireland, TV3, 2016-

Gogglebox, Channel 4, 2013-

Grand Designs, Channel 4, 1999-

Great Canal Journey India, Channel 4, 2014-17

Great Indian Railway Journeys, BBC Two, 2018

Ground Force, BBC Two, 1997-8; BBC One, 1998-2005

Guy Martin's Spitfire, Channel 4, 2014

Guy Martin's WWI Tank, Channel 4, 2017

Halt and Catch Fire, AMC, 2014-17

Harry Hill's TV Burp, ITV, 2001-

High Hopes, BBC One, 2002-8

Hill Street Blues, NBC, 1981-7

'The Home Front', *The 1940s House*, Channel 4, 4 November 2002

How'd you get so rich?, Channel 4, 2017

Howards End, BBC One, 2017-18

I Love Lucy, CBS, 1951-7

Immigration Street, Channel 4, 2015

'India', *Around the World in 80 Gardens*, BBC Two, 10 February 2008

'India Special', *Antiques Roadshow* [UK edition], BBC One, 13 March 2016

India's Frontier Railways, BBC Four, 2015

Indian Summers, Channel 4, 2015

Jane Austen: Behind Closed Doors, BBC Two, 2017

Joanna Lumley's Greek Odyssey, ITV, 2011

Joanna Lumley's India, BBC One, 2017

Joanna Lumley's Japan, ITV, 2016

Joanna Lumley's Nile, ITV, 2010

Joanna Lumley's Postcards, ITV, 2017

Joanna Lumley's Trans-Siberian Adventure, ITV, 2015

Kevin McCloud's Grand Tour of Europe, Channel 4, 2009

Kirstie's Handmade Britain, Channel 4, 2011-

Kirstie's Vintage Home, Channel 4, 2012

Kitchen 999: Emergency Chefs, Channel 4, 2017-

Kolkata with Sue Perkins, BBC One, 2015

'Live Semi Finals', *Britain's Got Talent*, ITV, 28 May 2018

Location, Location, Location, Channel 4, 2000-

Made in Chelsea, Channel 4, 2011-

Mary Berry's Country House Secrets, BBC One, 1 December 2017

Michael Portillo's Great Continental Railway Journey, BBC Two, 2012-

My Family Partition and Me, BBC One, 2017

My Family, Partition and Me: India 1947, BBC One, 2017

Porridge, BBC One, 1974-7

Pride & Prejudice, BBC One, 1995

Public Eye, ITV, 1965-75

Queen and Country, BBC Two, 2002

Queen of the World, ITV, 2018

Queen's Garden, ITV, 2014

Red Oaks Amazon Studios, 2014-17.

Rescue 911, CBS, 1989-96

'Reunited Britain', *The Last Leg*, Channel 4, 16 June 2017

Rising Damp, ITV, 1974-8

Royal Family, ITV, 1969

Royal Recipes, BBC One, 2017

Sacred Rivers with Simon Reeve, BBC Two, 2014-

Satellite City, BBC Two, 1996-9

Screenwipe, BBC Four, 2006-8

'Season 1 Episode 3', *Landscape Artist of the Year*, Sky Arts, 6 October 2015

'Season 1 Episode 4', *Landscape Artist of the Year*, Sky Arts, 13 October 2015

Season 9 Episode 7, *Gogglebox*, Channel 4, broadcast 7 April 2017

Seven Days in Summer: Countdown to Partition, BBC Two, 2017

Sex and the City, HBO, 1998-2004

'Sideshow Bob's Last Gleaming', *The Simpsons*, Fox, 26 November 1995

Skint, Channel 4, 2013-15

Stella, Sky One, 2012-17

Stranger Things, Netflix, 2016-

Taste of Shanghai, BBC One, 2016

The 1900 House, Channel 4, 2000

The Americans, FX, 2013-18

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