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**Media representation of nationalism and
immigration: a case study of *Jamie's Great
Britain***

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MSc in Global Media and Communications

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Dissertation submitted to the Department of Media and Communications, London School of Economics and Political Science, August 2013, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MSc in Media, Communication and Development. Supervised by Dr. Maria Kyriakidou

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Published by Media@LSE, London School of Economics and Political Science ("LSE"), Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE. The LSE is a School of the University of London. It is a Charity and is incorporated in England as a company limited by guarantee under the Companies Act (Reg number 70527).

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Media representation of nationalism and immigration: a case study of *Jamie's Great Britain*

Xin Liang

ABSTRACT

The viability of nationalism is under threat from the impact of globalization. The academic study of cultural collision within nation-states generally includes exclusion, domination, or hybridity. While the latter appears organic and peaceful, it can also become problematic as nuanced cultural imperialism that dominates cultural minorities domestically, when it assimilates cultural minorities in a deliberate and forceful manner. Within the conceptual framework of globalization, media representation of nationalism and immigration, postcolonial discourse, and modernity and diaspora, this paper uses the empirical case study of *Jamie's Great Britain*, a popular TV cooking series on Channel 4, UK, to examine this phenomenon.

This cooking show is different from other ones in the sense that it follows a distinctive rationale of legitimizing domestic cultural imperialism by historically tracing back the construction of modern nationalism that has been shaped by foreign influences. Also, through critical audio-visual and semiotic analysis of still images sampled from the show, this paper finds that not only will this rationale be supported by texts, but also that the unbalanced power relations between the national and the immigrants can be revealed by analysing the denotation of images. Britishness has been represented as those who are being served upon, in control, masculine, resourceful, innovative, skilful, sociable, playful and sexually humorous, while immigrants are serving, observed, studied, and improved upon. The ambiguity of defining the national and the foreign can also be observed from the analysis, which will demonstrate the cultural instability that derives from a lack of a shared history or a shared future, both of which are essential for the construction of a world cultural system under the cosmopolitan perspectives of embracing alternative modernities.

INTRODUCTION

The experiences I have enjoyed the most during my one-year stay in London as an international student are Sunday dinners with my flatmates. Every week, one of us would volunteer to introduce the culinary culture of his/her country, by taking up the responsibility as chef, making up the menu and recipes, and coordinating the rest of us to help with the cooking. French, Italian, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Ecuadorean; crepe, risotto, lasagne, curry, jerk chicken, and so many other dishes that are not defined as typically national but are what we have learned to make from family and friends, what we have had as we grow up and move to other places away from home. We have also had amazing experiences seeking out greatly diversified cuisine around London. Malaysian, Japanese, Pakistani, Brazilian; Leicester Square, Chinatown, Elephant and Castle, Brick Lane. I have always been amazed by the welcoming and embracing attitude of London towards foreign cultures, languages, and foods. The dynamics of mobility and settlement, migration and fusion, give the city a brilliant vibe of a modern metropolis.

Jamie Oliver's cooking show, *Jamie's Great Britain* on Channel 4, has made me think about my food adventure in London. It was released in 2011, just before the opening of 2012 Olympics, when the world was eager to know more about Great Britain; not only the historic legacies of the former empire, but also the modern UK, a nation the rest of the world has heard so much about but learnt so little. The representation of British food in the show is nuanced from the conventional way of presenting the ingredients and recipes as they are. Instead, Jamie drives a military truck that has been converted into a mobile pub/kitchen, which he calls the *Cock in Cider*, travelling through England, Wales and Scotland to look for inspirations from foreign cuisine brought in the UK by immigrants, and integrates exotic culinary ideas into his own recipes that he defines as the new British classics.

The show follows a rationale based on a historical interpretation of the evolution of British food culture. The notion is that the whole idea of British culinary legacy is built upon integrating foreign cuisines. Therefore the existing diversified food cultures in the UK in modern times, no matter when or how they are introduced, or from where they originate, are legitimately defined as British from now on, once given a twist of local produce and British elements through the creation into new recipes. Not only does the series acknowledge the merits and influence of foreign food cultures on British cuisine, it goes further than this, attempting to assimilate all the traditional foreign recipes and techniques of processing food gathered through Jamie's road trip across the island into one stew: the 'Britishness'. Jamie Oliver, as the presenter of the TV show, represents the authority of British culinary culture.

He steps out into the mysterious and unknown fields around the country, introducing the histories of immigration in the local communities, judging and taking in foreign, *their*, recipes, creating *his* new British classics, serving, dining and socializing with *his* people. The show is not only about food; it is also about the politics of cooking, dining and community. It is about the dynamics among immigrants and *us*, the people involved in the show besides the immigrants, including people who represent and introduce the British twist to Jamie, and also the audience who are watching, even if this classification is sometimes quite ambiguous and arbitrary in the story telling. It is also about the media representation of nationalism and immigration, cultural exclusion and assimilation.

This paper aims to analyse how nationalism and immigration are represented in the show. There is no construction of nationalism without contrasting *us* with *the other*, who are different, who *we* judge and study (Said, 2003), and then cultivate and educate. Media representation of nationalism is not only relevant during war times or conflicts, through the fervent exclamation of patriotism. The covert flagging of nationalism, theorized by Billig (1995) as banal nationalism, goes unnoticed but remains powerful. Using critical audio-visual analysis, this paper will examine how the sense of Britishness is constructed through representation of unbalanced and differentiated power-relations between Jamie Oliver and the audience, people who represent the 'British' element, and those who represent the 'foreign'. In contrast with the cosmopolitan perception of accepting alternative modernities and appreciating cultural diversity (Beck, 2002), to which my personal experiences of food adventure in London relate, Jamie's Great Britain series still holds the nation-state as the container of power and influence, approaching globalization with resistance by assimilating foreign cultural elements into nationalism.

This study will focus on empirical analysis of media material to contribute to the argument that nationalism is still relevant in the globalized world, leading not only *either* to homogenization *or* to heterogenization, but also the third possible consequence: assimilation and hybridity (Rantanen, 2005). Also, adding to the studies of media representation of nationalism and immigration in news, especially war and conflict coverage, and movies, this paper demonstrates that TV shows should also be given adequate attention in this matter. Furthermore, in theoretical and empirical research into globalization, global flows and disjunctures among nation-states serve as the major focus, whereas the influences of globalization on the local and the national, as well as the response and reaction towards globalization, are also relevant to everyday life and politics. Therefore they ought to be brought to the limelight of the academic arena of media and communication studies.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH STATEMENT

In this part, the conceptual framework of this research is outlined, the rationale of the case study is explained, and findings are presented.

Globalization

The motto of London 2012 Olympic Games, *'Inspire the World'*, imagines a common future of the world as a whole, demonstrating the good will of such global events to draw the world together, through satellites, cameras and digital media, into a peaceful organic unifying one. The phenomenon of local happenings being shaped by distant events (Giddens, 1990) and increasing consciousness and awareness of the world that is beyond the immediate local experience (Robertson, 1992) is theorized as globalization. It serves as a gravitational force potentially bridging trade, knowledge, and communication of the world together, while at the same time bringing about disjunctures on the landscapes of media, finance, ethnicity, technology, and ideology (Appadurai, 1990: 6-7). Globalization is an institutional pursuit to incorporate and maximize the flow and exchange of information, capital and resources among localities, incurring synthesis and resistance, or more probably, a mixture of both. The dialectic between the local and the global is caught in the dilemma between the subtracted physical and social distances and the stretching coverage towards the idea of a unifying society (Tomlinson, 1994). Compressed distance and time bring differences together physically and temporally, leading to intensified conflicts, controversies, fickle choices and replacement (Harvey, 1990), while the superstructural unification aims at the elimination of differences and alternatives.

Modernity, Diaspora and Social Imaginaries

As much as some may want the world to be singular, differences cannot be eliminated, since differences make meanings (Hall, 1997). Instead of eroding the existence of nation-states (Tomlinson, 1994), the exposure of the national coherence to challenges from foreign influences, in some cases, evokes resistance and recuperation of nationalism, both overtly and covertly. Feverish nationalist discourse during wartime, conflicts, and social upheavals overshadows ordinary reminders of nationalism that often go unnoticed (Billig, 1995). The complex themes about *us*, the homeland, and the ideological values that hold *us* together - the establishment of nationhood in everyday life, have been theorized by Billig (1995) as *banal nationalism*, that is, banal social, cultural and media habits that reproduce the sense of nation-state. In the modern world the bonds among individuals of a national identity are

sustained by an imagination that has been established through a collection of images obtained from media representation, since it is impossible for everyone to know about everyone in a country (Anderson, 2006). Nationalism is constructed through constant reminders that, not only do we share a unified *us*, but also are we different from the *other* as one. The myths (Barthes, 1993) constructed through the accumulation of historical discourse, the fixation and redistribution of meanings and representation, and constant reminders of nationalism and immigration, function fundamentally as social imaginaries (Chavez, 2008: 22).

The second modernity is reflexive modernization, with the dualism between the national and the foreign imploding and the borders of nation-states pluralized (Beck, 2002: 19). The second modernity is about mobility, movement, change, and unpredictability (Lash and Friedman, 1991: 1), with nation-state borders no longer pre-determinate. Conventional geographic, ethnic, and linguistic frontiers no longer function as the boundaries of nation-states, which need to be constantly redrawn and reminded. With diaspora phenomena taking place all over the world, media studies have focused greatly on how diaspora and spatiality, with the global media system serving as the catalyst, react together into forming and transforming modern identities and communities (Georgiou, 2006). While the research about diaspora all around the world that traced the relationships between scattered people and a real or imagined community sustained by a sense of homeland (Georgiou, 2006: 3) are grounded on the assumption of a somewhat shared history rather than an imagination of a common future, globalization theories hold on to a shared future of the entire human race, but without a shared memory of a global past (Beck, 2002: 27).

Mobility and Settlement: Non-place and Postcolonial Discourse

However, instead of focusing on the global flow of communications, this paper is interested in the influences of mobility on the local, of how the imagination of a shared future negotiates with the memories of a shared past, how flux negotiates with continuity, how the *other* is brought into the local context, and how, under the challenge of globalization, the national identity evolves and survives through adaptation and hybridity. The separation of physical place from social place (Meyrowitz, 1985) creates non-places in cosmopolitan metropolitans, where shopping malls look identical, immigrants move in and out, and Chinatowns, Koreatowns and Little Tokyos mushroom and re-territorialize locality. The compression of time and space (Harvey, 1990) reinforces the comparison and awareness of the specialities among places in the world as a whole; however, in the local space, the settlement of these non-places erodes the distinctions that bear meanings and the differences that define

identities. Cultural exclusion and assimilation works hand in hand in creating new dynamics between the local and the foreign and between mobility and settlement.

If we picture the landscape of global food assortment in London described in the introductory chapter, in particular, a cosmopolitan metropolis like London is in particular a non-place for culinary culture, where specialities are not so special anymore. Chinese food is no longer only accessible in China. Indian curries can be family favourites in any country in the world. Pasta is no longer labelled only as iconic Italian food, but also as what children across Europe have growing up. In this sense, Jamie Oliver's cooking show, *Jamie's Great Britain*, is not only a cooking show about food in the United Kingdom; it also represents a means of coping with the erosion of national identity under the challenge of globalization by reclaiming what is British. It represents the third approach towards the collision of cultural diversity, which avoids being homogenized or resisting through heterogenization by assimilating what is different into what is indigenous through cultural hybridity. Britishness has long been associated with its former empire, constituted by excluding or absorbing all the differences (Hall, 1991: 22). Its encounter with the alterity, with *otherness*, throughout history has imprinted greatly on its modernity. This continuity of its historical relationships with the rest of the world condensed within its own geographic territory is still a comforting reminder of the glorious days when the sun never set on the British Empire.

Jamie's Great Britain: A Case Study

On one hand, the hybridization represented by the manoeuvre in *Jamie's Great Britain*, avoiding extreme exclusion or domination, takes a peaceful and transitional cultural and media approach to cope with the impact of globalization without severely compromising nationalism by keeping the imagination of a national community viable. It provides an opportunity for cultural diversity to imagine an integrated future with nationally shared memories of the past within the boundaries of the nation-state. It provides an opportunity for the marginal, the unclassifiable, and the peripheral to be culturally and socially seen, heard and accepted, and to be included into the imaginaries of a national community that is so emotionally, psychologically, economically and politically important for everyday life.

On the other hand, the hybridization process is not balanced. It is a sort of cultural domination that instead of physically occupying distant places, representing disproportionate power relations between nationalism and immigration through media. The rationale this hybridization strategy proposes takes on risks, in the long run, of eroding the relationships between the diaspora groups and their origin that they relate to. This is a nuanced form of

cultural imperialism. Different from the widely applied definition of concept, which refers to the outward cultural aggression to obtain economic, political, cultural and social advantage by conscious promotion or unconscious infiltration (Boyd-Barrett, 1977), cultural imperialism here means the domestic cultural domination of the indigenous, and the national over the diaspora. In other words, it accentuates the alterity, the *otherness*, through conscious media strategies and promotion.

Jamie's Great Britain is different from other studio cooking shows in the sense that it tells a story stretched across the British Isles as an adventure of alternative experiences. It is about creativity and imagination versus tradition and legacy, mobility versus settlement, social interactions versus isolation. It is not only about the food, but also about how people cook, dine and socialize. It is also about learning and influencing and how to obtain authority and power through learning and adapting knowledge. Jamie's role in the story, that of a celebrity chef seeking foreign twists and local produce for his innovative new British classic recipes by driving a converted military truck around the island, resembles the old empire conquering exotic lands seeking different experiences. He studies, judges, and compares the foreign ways of cooking that he learns from immigrants invited to the show with what he is familiar with, and then decides whether or not these methods are good enough, and comes up with something better, something British, something that deserves to be preserved and passed down through generations.

This process resembles the old way of observing, obtaining knowledge, judging and comparing Western societies with the indigenous cultural and social phenomena of the colonized (Said, 2003), and then mapping out the unknown by bringing the discovery of new things into civilized society (Ashcroft, *et al.*, 1998: 31-32). The postcolonial discourse is still relevant in this sense, demonstrated in the empire discourse undergirding the rationale of the show.

All societies look back to history to seek a way forward; the British looked back to Rome (Brendon, 2007: xv). In Jamie's Great Britain, Jamie mentions multiple times that everything we take for granted as British nowadays are not originally British at all; they came from the Romans, the Vikings, the diaspora of Jews, from Asia, Middle East, or from the Indian Subcontinent. Therefore, if we look back to the composition of the modern Britishness, it is a collection of different identities, cultural traits and social orders. If we thus look forward into the future, what we have now within the geographic border should be defined as British, by fixation of certain meanings behind signs, which will be constantly repeated and reminded through media representation. Through Jamie's Great British classic recipes, from now on

curry will be associated with the historical British Empire and traditional Sunday roast. Pasta will be remembered as an adaptive international food that children from all over the world enjoy. Foreign cuisine will be imagined as traditional, rigid and non-imaginative, that needs to be improved, adapted and integrated. British people are imagined as hardworking, devoted to family values and communities, sociable, charming, resourceful and adventurous. British nationalism is everything that is found when it is still primitive and natural, then rationalized, improved, professionalized, packed in a tin and made popular among the rest of the world - even better than the original version in its original homeland.

A Third Way Out: Nuanced Cultural Imperialism?

The third approach towards cultural fusion demonstrated in Jamie's Great Britain, institutionally combines cultural phenomena without allowing for a future of mutual existence within the boundaries of the nation-state. In other words, the third approach demonstrated in Jamie's Great Britain is about the elimination of alternatives, and the strengthening of the nation-state as the major container of power, instead of embracing the alternative modernity or ways of doing things as they are (Beck, 2002). Identity is nothing when it is not singular (Hall, 1991). Everything that comes in the borders of the nation-state, things that national people accept and practice as habits, everyday routines, or as part of who we are, must be stamped with identification of nationalism. Otherwise the meanings behind the identity, of what we do, of who we are, would be vulnerable to the challenges of globalization. Cosmopolitan perspectives that accept diversity as a characteristic of the world cultural system are not acceptable. Lines have to be drawn and sides have to be picked.

It is worth mentioning that the analysis of this research is not personally about Jamie Oliver, even though his name is often mentioned in this paper. The analysis and discussion is based on the production of the show, its settings and plot, and the arrangement of camera positions, etc. Also, it is worth acknowledging the merits of this show that compared to other celebrity chef cooking shows, does credit people who have contributed to the personal achievements of the chef. Undoubtedly Jamie's Great Britain, from an aesthetic and media production angle, is a successful TV show, integrating entertainment, presentation, education and cultural values together. Instead of adopting the conventional approach of presenting cooking as a complicated, fancy, inaccessible activity for rich people's delicate, dainty tastes, food in this show is presented as abundant, full of flavours and colours, easy to get access to and prepare, dining is a joyful social event, and cooking is a simple, mobile, enjoyable activity for everyone to share with those they love. It is a rather accessible portrait of British life, full of energy and enthusiasm. Also it is a great example of one perspective of dealing with social problems that

comes with immigration, which remains a heated topic in the political and media arena. This approach is much friendlier: immigrants should be gradually integrated into the national imagination, should be given attention to who they are and what they do, and then eventually institutionally absorbed into the national identity as one, since although we cannot eliminate the differences we can certainly include the differences as part of who we are as a whole.

The notion of promoting cultural imperialism within the nation-states over cultural minority into a singular national identity in Jamie's Great Britain is not only constructed through texts, but also through the representation of the rationale of the story telling, of how people interact with each other, how and where meetings are arranged. Within the conceptual framework of globalization and cosmopolitanization, media representation of nationalism and immigration, modernity and identity, and postcolonial discourse, this research aims to explore how nationalism and immigration is represented as unbalanced power-relations, how within postcolonial discourses the practices of colonization are reproduced to dominate minor cultural elements. It aims to present evidence about the Britishness represented in the show as family oriented, moral, masculine, adventurous, resourceful, sociable and in control, while immigration as traditional, ambiguous, something that is marginal and needs to be judged and improved. The discourses of colonization and empire can be identified throughout the theme, and the rationale of legitimizing the shared future by adopting unreflectively the history of assimilating foreign influences is problematic.

This research is engaged in discussion about the dynamics between the global and the local under the effect of the media, by contributing to the inadequate empirical research focus on the local. A lot of studies have focused on the global flows and disjunctures as a system, rather than the flux and influences that this bears on the local or the nation-state, which, despite the juggernaut tendency of globalization, is still the major container of influence and power in national and global issues. It also places more significance on popular culture, such as TV shows, which have been greatly ignored, rather than news coverage on conflicts or international disputes and humanitarian issues. Mediation and culture is no longer superstructural; they are omnipresent and infiltrated into every aspects of daily life (Silverstone, 2006).

The study of myths and fixation of meanings should also be directed towards what we do not recognize as radical or unusual, what we would accept and imagine as real, what would unconsciously influence our imagination of who we are and which people are different. Furthermore, cooking and dining are social activities that include implications about division of labour, gender, race, politics and culture. Attitudes towards food, to some extent, influence

their perceptions towards social life. Therefore, social imaginaries constructed around cooking, dining and food through assimilation of media representation are of great significance to the study of media in the globalized world.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

To answer the research question, this paper adopts visual analysis as the main methodology, and the detailed research design is presented in this part.

Research Strategy and Rationale of Methodology

The myth of immigration and nationalism is built upon a system of speech, of discourse, of ‘a mode of signification’ through time (Barthes, 2000: 109). It is constructed through constant mentioning and reminding, in covert or overt manners, leading to a generalized, biased and fixed imaginary of people, behaviours, cultures and societies (Hall, 1997). Compared with print media forms, which in nature provide readers with logic, sequence, objectivity and detachment, visual media forms such as images, videos, films, and TV programs aim to simulate or to imagine, setting up a simultaneous presence and intimacy (Postman, 1993: 16). The medium itself bears implication (McLuhan, 1967). Audio-visual media provides more information than the literal words and the images themselves.

Through a multi-layered reception of information, through seeing, hearing, the feeling of continuity, transition or transformation, what we receive is more than just what we ‘see’. The human sensory system convinces us to believe the audio-visual information package more than messages processed through other senses. Moreover, we tend to let our guards down when dealing with the blurred boundary ‘between entertainment and information’ (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 38) of TV shows, films, and music, etc., whereas would remain alert of media bias when processing information from more serious sources such as news. Therefore, to reveal the covert influence of media representation in TV shows, this study focuses on the analysis of images to provide more detailed insight into the issue.

To achieve deeper comprehension of the bias and influence of media representation, it is necessary to examine closely under the surface of images to illustrate their deeper layer of meanings – denotation - behind connotation - the compositional dimension of meanings. Images deliver meanings in a nuanced way as words do (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006), and the grammar of images (Halliday, 1994: 101) is the cognitive tool for human beings to process

significance from the outside world and form imagination. Images can be reduced into signs using grammatical tools, into elementary units of meaning, layered into connotation and denotation.

Thus, the analysis of images in this study will take two steps. First, using the compositional interpretation methods introduced by Gillian Rose (2012), the site of still image itself will be studied in terms of contents, colours, and spatial organization, etc., to demonstrate the connotation. Next, in order to further explore the denotation behind the *obvious*, to explore what is ignored but important behind what is conceived as normal and common sense, behind what ideologies, conventions and social orders precondition wide acceptance and maintenance, semiotic analysis will be adopted to challenge the normalized view. The symbolic power mobilized through media and communications to maximize the hegemonic interests lies in the capability to determine what meanings are to be legitimized, distributed and fixed through production, distribution and repetition of media products. In order to crack down the unjust codes behind social conventions, to challenge the ideology and hegemonic power, semiotic studies of media representation aim to expose the prejudice, the unbalanced power-relations and inequalities embedded in the well-established images and imaginaries. Discussion of denotation behind the connotation of the images sampled from the TV show will be based upon the semiological analysis checklist by Dyer (1982: 96-104), and social semiotics theories of Hodge and Kress (1988).

The main purpose of this study is to examine the production aspect of media representation of nationalism and immigration in Jamie's Great Britain, instead of the reception or consumption, because even though the meanings of the images are discussed in the analysis, how the audience would actually receive, interpret and reflect on the messages can be quite arbitrary. The appropriation of the media product by the *agency* cannot be over-generalized simply by rationale and theoretical analysis; it can be influenced by personal feelings, voluntary and active understandings and application. In this sense, the response, consumption and appropriation of the media product by the audience is better analysed through survey, in-depth interviews, and experimenting and/or quantitative analysis of survey results to obtain the data distribution pattern and description of individual or focus group attitudes and/or behaviours towards sampled images.

In comparison, the study of media representation in this paper intends to produce potential hypotheses within the relevant theoretical framework and academic legacy of the area, to contribute to the academic discussion about the potential media effects the power of which spreads and penetrates into the depth and width of everyday life (Silverstone, 2006). It is an

attempt to explore the possible, to reveal the hidden and the unnoticed, to link the seemingly irrelevant with the widely accepted, rather than to declare the intended, to predict the responsive, or to generalize the typical. Hence the combination of critical audio-visual analysis and semiotic analysis serves as a preferable set of research tools to accommodate the discussion of the research question.

Sampling Strategy and Method

Still images will be analysed in this study using audio-visual analysis. They are snapshots taken using PC software, from video forms of the series online, obtained from the official website of Channel 4.

There are six episodes in the whole series, each of about 50 minutes, based on a similar structure of storytelling about Jamie's adventures in a different region each week. Each individual episode can be divided, according to the development of the storyline, into ten sections, including the opening of the episode, the introduction of the historical and culinary characteristics of the region that Jamie has been visiting that week, meeting new people for both foreign and local inspiration, inventing new recipes combining local and foreign inspiration, and finally preparing a feast to conclude and to thank all the people who have provided him inspiration and assistance during the week. Considering the classification of the relationships between Jamie and the people that he meets with, the scenes of Jamie meeting people can be grouped into Jamie searching for local elements, Jamie searching for foreign influences, and Jamie's themed feast at the end. The opening sections of the episodes are slightly different but can be analyzed as one group of data. There are also scenes when Jamie shows off his version of new British classic recipes, sometimes with people invited to assist, sometimes by himself, classified into one group.

Therefore, still images from the show will be sorted into these five groups, simply labeled as *opening*, *foreign*, *local*, *feast* and *recipes*. Six images have been chosen for the *opening* group, more than other groups, in the sense that the opening sessions of the show represent the main rationale and style of the entire show. Four of the most typical images that are suitable for critical audio-visual analysis have been chosen from all six episodes for *foreign* and *local*, three for *feast*, and two for *recipes*. Therefore, in total, nineteen images are analyzed in the discussion and data analysis chapter.

The selection strategy of the images is to ensure the qualitative value instead of the quantitative. They are chosen to illustrate the typical media representation strategy adopted

in that particular scene in order to explore the research question and contribute to future discussion of relevant theories, rather than to provide a definite answer or conclusion that can be unconditionally applied and generalized in other media studies of TV shows. In this sense, the structure and approach of the general methodology adopted in this project can be applied in similar or relevant studies of media representation; however, the results of the study cannot be generalized to address other issues. Case-based reflection is required to process general media representation issues or discussions concerning nationalism and immigration.

Pilot Study and Reflection on the Methodology

A pilot study was conducted at the beginning of the current project, adopting this methodological structure of critical audio-visual and semiotic analysis to discuss comparatively how different marketing strategies influence the media representation of genders in two Chinese movies about Nanjing during Sino-Japanese War. The pilot study has successfully concluded that between the two sets of sampled images from the two movies, in the one mainly targeting Western film markets, the media representation of genders is highly sexualized, while in the one targeting domestic market is not so much. Obstacles were encountered during the pilot study, including the difficulty for the researcher to eliminate subjectivity and bias stemmed from biological and cultural background, and also the limited time and resources to provide a more exhaustive and resourceful study.

However, to reflect on the first problem encountered in the pilot study, critical audio-visual and semiotic analysis is inevitably subjective in nature, since it is essential for the researcher to sense, to feel, to fill in the blanks of the logical and rational, in order to challenge the obvious and the normalized. In fact, in the particular case of this project, the foreign cultural background (as in relation to the Britishness studied in this paper) provides the researcher with fresh eyes, cultural sensitivity, and the capability to accomplish keener observation of the taken-for-granted.

As for the second difficulty of limited time and resources, the pilot study suffers from a limited sample size and more detailed comparison. In the current study, the sample covers all six episodes of the series, and all sections in each episode in terms of the story development. However, it is fair to admit that some comparing and contrasting with other TV shows of other celebrity chefs among Jamie Oliver's peers would provide more insight into the discussion of media representation of nationalism and immigration. There are TV cooking

shows, that although also target a national audience, present food, cooking and dining without the discourse of immigration and nationalism, of *us* and the *other*, of differences and assimilation, such as Saturday Kitchen on BBC One (first started in 2002 on BBC Two until the program was changed to its present slot on BBC One). It would also be interesting to compare Jamie Oliver's other TV cooking shows, for example, Jamie's 15-Minute Meals on Channel 4 in 2012, produced in a similar but also nuanced style, targeting a national audience without so much of an emphasis on national food based on the discourse of immigration and nationalism. It would also be interesting to conduct comparative audio-visual analysis between Jamie's Great Britain and one or both of the two other TV cooking shows mentioned above, to examine how different media representation strategies are with or without the theme of nationalism and immigration.

DISCUSSION AND DATA ANALYSIS

In this part, sampled images are analysed, implications are discussed, and conclusions are drawn.

Opening (6 Images)

The discussion of this group of images is slightly different from other groups. The opening sections of the six episodes, except for diversified thematic elements according to the contents of individual episodes, provide a universal narrative framework for the central theme of the series as a whole. In order to analyse the overarching introductory chapter of the series that aims to construct the overall narrative of the local and the foreign, of nationalism and immigration, and of the notion of Britishness through media representation, typical images and texts have been sampled from all six episodes instead of one image from each episode to enhance relevance and to avoid repetition.

Image 1



(O-1)

This image is of thematic significance for the entire series, appearing at the beginning of each episode and also in between sections. The shot starts with the full-screen animated motion of assembling the national flag of the Great Britain with stripes of blue and red paper on the white background like doing a scrapbook. Then the camera moves backwards to give a longer shot with the rectangular of the national flag in the centre of a dining table with cutlery beside it, and corners of small plates and a chopping board at the edge of the shot. Next, the blue parts and the edges of the red part of the national flag begin to be replaced by representative portions of national flags of other countries, the United States, China, Italy, Israel, etc., and the camera zooms in until the rectangular occupies the entire screen again. In the end the centre of the scrapbook page is torn off to reveal the caption of the series, *Jamie's Great Britain*, the still image of which is presented here. Even though at the first sight this image is composed of multiple national flags, the organization of all these national flags remains distinctively the pattern of the national flag of the Great Britain, implying the notion of the culinary Britishness being composed of different cultures, thereby legitimizing the assertion of the series that all foreign food cultures can viably be recruited under the wings of the Britishness.

Image 2



(O-2)

In this image, Jamie's 'kitchen on wheels' is shown in the centre slightly to the left and the bottom, to avoid the sense of intrusion and rigidity. It is a converted military truck with a wooden cabin replacing the trunk at the back, with a chimney on top, windows on the sides, and a door and a staircase at the end. The vehicle is parked on a piece of grassland stretching far into the flat green wilderness with a few trees in sight, and met with the blue sky without a single cloud at the top.

The colour combination of green and brown, the functionality and the sturdiness of the military truck imply a sense of conquering, aggression and masculinity. Being in the open field of wilderness gives a hint of adventure, exploration, and unpredictability. The presenter of the show, Jamie Oliver, drives this truck to seek out new flavours and inspiration to be added into the scrapbook of today's culinary Britishness. In this sense, this truck symbolizes the tool and the driving force to actively and diligently take in what is good from the foreign, just like in the old times when the empire conquered the world.

Image 3



(O-3)

This is a zoomed-in shot for the board on the side of the wooden cabin that has been attached to the military truck to serve as both a kitchen and a pub. It is named *The Cock in Cider*, and on the board, which is in the middle slightly to the left occupying all the way from the top to the bottom of the screen, an illustration of a rooster roaming beside a wooden barrel, stepping in some orange liquid leaking from the barrel, which seems to be cider, both because of the implication of words, *The Cock in Cider*, and also of the apples drawn at the corner of the board. The word *cock* is distinctly British English to refer to a male bird, as in American English, a rooster. It can also be used as slang in British English to refer to the male genital organ. Cider is a particular type of alcoholic drink made of fermented apple, which is very popular in UK and a major part of British culture. The image of a chicken specifically called a *cock* walking in cider leaking out from a wooden barrel hints disorganized and chaotic environment, further implying careless entertainment and sexualized rough sense of humour associated with masculinity.

Image 4



(O-4)

This shot from the opening chapter shows the inside of the wooden cabin, the 'kitchen on wheels' called *The Cock in Cider*. The overall lighting is natural daylight shed through the windows, combined with the colour brown of the wooden panels on the wall into a colour of warm orange, creates an atmosphere of relaxation and intimacy. In the background we can see a traditional open fire stove in central-left, unmatched and disorganized kitchen utensils beside it, a wooden barrel to the right, and then a clothes hanger with a bag and clothes on it further to the right end of the screen.

In the foreground there is a dining table full of food contained in plain and unmatched plates, jars and bowls, and a couple of bottles of beer. Around the table there are four or five males (depending on the range of the shot) dining, with Jamie sitting in the middle of the screen. According to the explanation in the show, they are the crew sharing the food Jamie just made. Instead of being well-dressed and preened to be shown on TV in front of the national audience, their, including Jamie's, clothing is plain-looking, with hair and beard rather unattended and messed up. Instead of Jamie, who is using a knife to carve what looks like a whole chicken, the rest of the men are all eating with their hands.

The mobile kitchen-pub presented in this image is not a planned, posed, well-organized, passive cooking space, but a realistic, lifelike, active dining and partying space, for hardworking men who could not care less about their appearance, representing the type of

masculinity that has a good appetite for robust and rich flavours, tearing apart meat with hands and washing down the food with beers straight from the bottles.

Image 5



(O-5)

There are several shots in the series that zoom directly in to show the miniature national flag on the bumper of the truck. The national flag, rather than shown right in the centre of the picture, is put at the bottom left corner of the screen. Although proportionally and locationally speaking, the national flag is not in the most eye-catching position. The front of the truck takes two thirds of the close-up shot, attracting the attention of the audience; however, there is no particularly meaningful details about the truck, except the national flag at the corner, which, in a tactful and subtle manner, invites the audience to locate their focus on the national flag without overtly doing so. The front of the truck, with its distinct features, big lights, big air vent, protective bars and the an overall colour of military green, associated with sight of British national flag, represents the spirit of the military and the old British empire, of power, exploring, conquering, and taking over; of universality, materiality, and earthliness; of memories, history, and legacies.

Image 6



(O-6)

In this image, the truck, in the middle of the lower part of the screen slightly to the left, is running on the road on the edge of a mountain, with a valley in the background. Lush trees in deep green colour take up most of the screen, with occasional clearings of grassland in between, and a white strip of river in the top left part in contrast. No clear trace of human settlement can be seen in this image, only the stretching of greens, a mountain road and the military truck. There are a lot of other scenes like this in the show, with the truck running in an open area in a long shot, in undisturbed natural parts of the island, with refreshingly beautiful scenery of the wilderness. It is almost like the adventure of exploring the unknown in search for new things that have not been introduced to civilization, in search for something crude and rudimentary that can be polished, improved and eventually possessed.

Foreign (4 images)

In the series, some plots are designed to interact with people who represent foreign food brought to Great Britain by immigrants. This group of images contains typical snapshots of interaction between Jamie Oliver as the presenter of the show and the *immigrants*. One image from each episode has been sampled.

Image 1, Episode 1



(FR-1)

This scene happens when Jamie is visiting a Vietnamese street food stand in the East End of London in search of foreign flavours. The contrast of lighting between the left and the right side of the image, between the shadow under the awning and the bright daylight beyond, creates a strong sense of reality and presence. The two visibly young Vietnamese girls running the street food stand are standing in the left part of the picture facing the camera, with Jamie Oliver at the right edge of the shot, closer to the camera, only part of the left side of his face visible in the image. The camera is shooting at the angle from next to Jamie towards the girls, putting the audience in an observation position next to Jamie, basically sharing his viewpoint, looking at the girls.

The distance between the girls and Jamie would be the physical space taken up by the food stand, dividing the practiced space into the serving end, where the girls are standing, and the end of being served, where Jamie and the camera, thus the audience, are positioned. Jamie is gesturing over the food stand using his right hand in an all-inclusive and inquiring manner, actively and authoritatively asking and judging, whereas the young girls are standing passively behind the stand, being asked, judged, observed, ready to answer and to serve.

Image 2, Episode 2



(FR-2)

This is when Jamie visits an innovative beer brewery, where the head brewer is a young Indian man, who after cleaning the inside of a massive brewing tank is trying to get out to meet Jamie. The brewing machine divides the picture into two parts, the left part with the head brewer inside the tank in darkness facing the camera, and the right part with Jamie standing next to the camera facing the brewer. The camera shoots from the angle next to Jamie towards the brewer, putting the audience in the position where both the movement of the brewer and Jamie's facial expressions from the left side can be seen, creating a sense of presence and identification with Jamie's viewpoint. The brewer is awkwardly climbing out from the inside of the machine on all fours with noticeable inconvenience, while Jamie is watching from outside of the tank in an amused and detached manner, without any visible intention to help.

The camera shares Jamie's angle, therefore shoots the event with detachment and amusement, like simply recording something strange and interesting. And not only is Jamie observing, but also he comments, when watching the young boy climbing out of the tank, isn't this like the scene in the movie *Slumdog Millionaire*? The detached, amused, and stereotyped approach of this image demonstrates inequality and a lack of appreciation towards the immigrants, as well as a subtle sense of superiority of the Britishness.

Image 3, Episode 3



(FR-3)

In this scene Jamie is visiting a Welsh-Italian family for inspirations. After learning about the traditional recipe of Bolognese in the kitchen from the hostess of the household, Christine, who can be seen in the very top left corner of this picture, Jamie has joined the family for dinner. Jamie is sitting in the centre slightly to the left of the picture, completely facing the camera, while the rest of people sitting by the table are either shown from their side or from their back. Hence Jamie naturally becomes the centre of attention in this image. The hostess of the household, Christine, is serving food with a white bowl in her hands approaching the table from the left of where Jamie is seated, and her husband is serving wine from the right.

This arrangement consequently places great significance and attention to Jamie over the rest of the family, even though in the narrative of the beginning of the section Jamie is crashing the family party as a guest. He is gesturing with his right arm in a decisive and authoritative manner while the rest of the Italian family are listening to him talking with close attention. Even though the presentation of the show is designed to show him giving credits to the foreign contribution in his new British classic recipes, the fact that he is constantly being the centre of attention over the rest of the family contradicts with this intention. This represents an unbalanced power-relation between the Britishness that he represents and the immigrants.

Image 4, Episode 4



(FR-4)

Worcestershire sauce is iconic British flavour with a long history. It originated in England, introduced by two chemists, John Wheeley Lea and William Henry Perrins in the early 19th century. Surprisingly, in the series the scriptwriter identifies Worcester sauce as a foreign flavour, tracing back to its story as a failure of Lord Sandy's attempt to recreate an Indian flavour that he so longed for after returning home. The team visits the Lea and Perrins factory, where Worcestershire sauce is manufactured, and this image is taken when Jamie is using a shovel to move the ingredients from a plastic bucket. He and another man in this image are wearing uniform white gowns plastic caps, indicating quality, control, and professionalism. The background looks industrial with mechanical control units, something that assembles an assembly line, and some warning signs, which are associated with standardized manufacturing.

The way Jamie interacts with the machines, large quantities of ingredients and industrialized production procedure, demonstrates the fact that the flavour, once possessed by Great Britain, has been very well developed, managed and promoted. This, with the logical twist of identifying the local as foreign, in turn supports the argument of the series that everything British used to be taken from the foreign; therefore now everything foreign in Britain should be called British.

Local (4 images)

In order to complete the logic chain of Britishizing the foreign in this cooking series, not only do the crew visit people who represent the foreign twist of the culinary culture, but also they go exploring the local produce, something native and therefore ultimately British, to be combined with the foreign, the fusion of which represents the contemporary Britishness in food culture. This group of images has been sampled from scenes when the team seeks to meet with people who represent the local, the native, and the British elements of food.

Image 1, Episode 3



(L-1)

In episode 3 the team is visiting South Wales, and this image happens when Jamie and the crew are fishing for lobster with two local fishermen. Jamie and two other males, father and son, are on a small fishing ship with simple devices. The land can still be seen; therefore the ship is not far off the shore, indicating the accessibility of the local produce. Jamie is standing in the middle of the ship, obviously on some high step or platform of the ship, reaching his hand up high with one finger sticking out gesturing number one, and exclaiming, one lobster, straight into the camera, which seems to be positioned on a different ship, as if shouting at the audience directly. The arrangement of the camera brings the audience right into the scenario as if they were there on the other ship beside Jamie's, therefore more prone to be affected by the excitement of succeeding in catching one lobster expressed by Jamie. The small-scale local father-and-son family businesses represents the values of hard-working,

legacy, close relationships with the local community, trustworthiness, freshness and quality, in comparison with other integrated, more professional and better equipped fishing teams that usually aim at greater markets beyond the local community.

Image 2, Episode 4



(L-2)

In episode 4 the show is set in England, and this is when the crew go to visit a local asparagus farm in Vale of Evesham. The image has been divided into two parts, the small farm shack on the left half, and the giant military truck, Jamie's mobile kitchen/pub on the right. The camera is shooting from afar facing the shack and the truck, directing the audience to watch from a distance before the actual meeting begins, while Jamie is just arriving at the site, pulling over, getting out and coming to greet the local farmer, Billy.

This arrangement of perspective distances the audience from Jamie, but pulls Billy closer, who is also already watching, leaning against the doorframe leisurely as if he were unaware of the camera. This time, the angle of the camera assembles the viewpoint from a neighbour of the local community, watching what is happening over the fence, instead of someone from the team that comes along with Jamie. The size contrast between the shack and the truck is so dramatic that the naturalness, the leisureness, the peace of the countryside is greatly emphasized. The overwhelming intrusion of the military truck into the isolated countryside

does not seem to be disturbing the relaxing vibe of the place; rather, it is calmly observed and mocked.

Image 3, Episode 5



(L-3)

In episode 5, before hosting the big feast at the end of the episode, Jamie goes to meet with a local chef and forager, Toby, to learn about local produce and cooking techniques. This image happens when they go into the woods to collect natural mushrooms with Toby being the guide. They explore into the depths of the woods, looking for secret, different, rare and precious mushrooms. They actively go out into the wild and the unknown, instead of depending on the modernized suppliers or markets, they go out there, *do it yourself*, get their hands dirty to earn the flavour. They are also playful and enthusiastic about things they do, like when Jamie asks Toby, *when you carry a basket, do you like to swing it?* The Britishness that they represent is resourceful, open-minded, organic, keen about quality and value, playful, active, adventurous, masculine and adaptive.

Image 4, Episode 6



(L-4)

In episode 6, Jamie goes with Hector Stewart and his family to catch scallops for his cooking. This chosen image is taken after the 18-year-old scuba diver, sitting on the right in this picture, collects scallops in the sea, Jamie cooks black pudding and scallops to say thank you. Again, legacy, tradition, naturalness and bloodline of family business represent the local, the indigenous and the traditional. Apart from Jamie, all four of the family are male, of different ages, with the little boy sitting in the middle, representing the future, the continuity of the legacy and the bloodline. The vessel that they are on board looks rather spacious, and the cooking table with utensils on it can be seen in the bottom right corner. The arrangement of cooking on a boat in the sea together with a traditional family of fishermen demonstrates the resourceful, active, adventurous and sociable masculinity that Jamie Oliver represents in this show. He also represents the Britishness that craves for new, fresh, and different experiences and adventures.

Feast (3 images)

At the end of every episode, a major party is designed to introduce the ultimate British-foreign fusion recipes of Jamie's new British classics, to express Jamie's gratitude towards people who have contributed to his culinary innovations, and to celebrate the great Britishness that the series has demonstrated.

Image 1, Episode 1



(FS-1)

At the end of the first episode, Jamie invites his parents and grandma to the beach in his hometown, Essex, to create the scenario of a family get-together, and to establish the context about memories and old times. The beach chairs, their clothes, and the way they dine, are realistically simple and spontaneous, creating a family scene that ordinary families can easily relate to, therefore leading to a sense of intimacy and understanding with the audience. In this image, Jamie is eating from his plate in a detached, disinterested manner, actually just after telling a half-hearted joke about his childhood, while his mother and father are visibly laughing heavily.

This is a very typical and real-life scene of a British family dining joyfully at sunset (judging from the lighting in the picture) on a beach. The notion is that Jamie's new British classic recipes, even though with unconventional foreign elements mingled in, are for family occasions like this, and are accompanied by childhood stories and memories of old times. It ignites an imaginary of having peaceful, relaxing and joyful holiday dinners with loved people, of integrating Jamie's new British classic recipes into future family traditions, of legitimizing his logic of identifying culinary cultures that are related with memories, family occasions and happiness as national, as British, and as classic, no matter where it originally comes from.

Image 2, Episode 3



(FS-2)

After going fishing for lobsters with the father-and-son fishing team, Jamie invites their family and some other surfers around the neighbourhood to have a beach party with food and beers. There are ten or eleven people, including Jamie, in this image, each holding a plate of food, standing and facing towards the camera. Out of these people, only one woman can be seen. Two senior white males are standing next to Jamie, closer to the camera, while the rest of the crowd look relatively young, standing in the background. Jamie is proposing a toast, raising a beer bottle high above his head, and shouting, “*to Wales, everyone!*” Apart from part of the crowd responding to Jamie’s toast, there seem to be little interaction among the crowd themselves. They seem to be randomly assembled together just to show the size of the group, to demonstrate the sociable aspect of dining and partying, rather than authentic connections or genuine feelings.

Image 3, Episode 4



(FS-3)

At the conclusion of the England trip of this episode, the story ends with the legacy of both food and culture exchange of the old empire. Jamie organizes a cricket game, between the team of England and the team of the subcontinent, and then after the game he serves afternoon tea for the players. In this still snapshot, the camera is shooting a long shot in the cricket pitch in front of the wickets, towards the cricket club, with the scoreboard in the middle, and two teams dining separately by two tables on each side of the scoreboard. Cricket, according to Jamie in the show, represents the cultural exchange of the old empire. In fact, it also represents colonization, domination, and cultural imperialism. The cultural exchange in the expansion of cricket to countries colonized by the historical British Empire is far from mutual and balanced. One makes the rules and the other follows. One leads and the other plays along. One sets up the standards and the other strives to catch up.

Recipes (2 images)

Interesting representations of nationalism and immigration can also be observed in scenes when Jamie introduces his new British classic recipes throughout the show. This study samples two images in this session for the analysis.

Image 1, Episode 1



(R-1)

This image is chosen from episode 1 when Jamie is introducing one of his new British classic recipes inside the cabin attached to the military truck. He has named this one *Kate and Will's Wedding Pie*. And then he says, '*there is nothing more British than a pie*' and '*I want this to be the pie that my kids' kids' kids' would be eating*'. By relating the pie with the image of the British iconic event of Kate and Will's wedding, and the national flags hanging above the stove, the introduction of the recipe has already painted the colour of nationalism heavily on the food. The memories of omnipresent media coverage, rampant mentioning and reminding of Kate and Will's wedding all around the world immediately flush back with the sound of cheers, the sight of flowers, and parties and celebrations of Britishness. This is the shared past of the nation, something the national people will remember and imagine each other remembering as a community. The expression that he hopes this recipe will be passed on through generations as a culinary legacy, at least within his bloodline, constructs a shared future, when this recipe will become a bond with the past, something people share and recognize as British. Unnoticeable strings of national flags in the corners, along the fences, in front of stores, has always been given the focus of the camera in the show, just for a glimpse but constantly reminding the audience that this is what this show is about, Britishness, nothing else.

Image 2, Episode 2



(R-2)

In episode 2, when Jamie's team go to look for local inspirations, ironically, they go to a Chinese community to meet with a Chinese cook, Chu, the one sitting on the right in this image. Chu cooks for a local Chinese community centre in Leeds, and he integrates British local produce in Chinese recipes, which is similar to what Jamie is doing in this show. When Jamie comes to visit, Chu cooks a dessert using rhubarb that grows prolifically in Yorkshire. After tasting Chu's imagination of combining Chinese cooking and British produce, Jamie is not very impressed. Therefore he decides to create a proper British recipe of rhubarb dessert and show it to Chu.

This image is chosen when Jamie invites Chu to watch him cooking outdoors in the countryside. From the position where they are seated, we can see that Chu is sitting to the right but slightly behind Jamie, therefore also more like in the background than in an equal position as Jamie's. They are not partners, not a team, not equal. One is cooking while the other one is told that this is actually the proper way to do it. One has studied and judged the other, and now it is high time that the other was shown how creativity and imagination is really about, how to improve and do better.

CONCLUSION

The *third* cultural approach to deal with globalization is to use hybridity to assimilate immigrant identities and cultural elements into the stewing pot of nationalism. Jamie's Great Britain serves as a perfect example of this third approach. Jamie proposes that historically speaking, culinary Britishness is based upon foreign influences; therefore we can no doubt imagine a shared future of Britishness by deliberately doing so. However, this paper renders the *third* approach problematic, through a theoretical discussion of globalization and cosmopolitanization theories, modernity, diaspora and identity theories, cultural imperialism and postcolonial discourse, as well as media representation of nationalism and immigration.

This paper identifies the way nation-states remain the major power retainer, and the way in which the national culture dominates cultural minorities domestically into an imagined singular identity as a nuanced way of cultural imperialism. The analysis of Jamie's Great Britain has revealed that this cultural imperialism, through an unbalanced media representation of power-relations between nationalism and immigrants, resembles a modern colonization process, which formulates a controversial perception of nationalism and immigration.

Besides the texts in the show which demonstrate the rationale of legitimizing the domination of nationalism over the cultural minorities through looking back into the history of Britishness, typical still images from the show have been chosen and analyzed using the research tool of critical audio-visual and semiotic analysis. The sampling strategy of the data was designed to choose typical images for the analysis based on the theoretical framework, and the analysis process itself revealed the denotation instead of generalizing the results into other media studies or visual analysis. The sample covers all six episodes, and is divided into five groups according to the general structure of the episodes.

The results of this analysis reveal unbalanced power relations between Jamie Oliver, the local people and the immigrants. The Britishness that Jamie and local people represent is masculine, resourceful, innovative, adventurous, family oriented, sociable, skilful, active, playful and humorous in a sexualized way, while immigrants are always represented as observed, studied, judged, serving, traditional, unimaginative, and needing improvement. The way that local elements and foreign twists are defined in the show is quite ambiguous. On the one hand this ambiguity supports the rationale that what is national could have been foreign, therefore what is foreign now will be national; on the other hand it is due to an instability from a lack of a shared past or a shared future. The imaginary of a national whole requires both.

This study has made an empirical contribution to research on media representation of nationalism and immigration in TV cooking shows. Movies and news have been given much more attention than TV shows, whereas the influence of the latter cannot be ignored. As cooking shows are becoming more popular and more multidimensional, programmes such as Jamie's Great Britain have become important indicators of the politics of gender, race, family and communities, rather than simply shows about recipes and how to cook.

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