

**COGNITION AND IDEOLOGICAL EFFECTS IN THE INTERACTION BETWEEN
VIEWERS AND BBC TRAVEL AND CULTURAL DOCUMENTARIES: COMBINING
MULTIMODAL CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND AUDIENCE RESEARCH.**

by

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Abstract

My research integrates Audience Research (e.g. Schröder *et al.*, 2003) in Multimodal Critical Discourse Studies (Machin and Mayr, 2012; Machin, 2013, 2016; Ledin and Machin, 2018) to investigate “*how individuals discursively constitute themselves*” (Castaldi, 2021, p. 56). My approach takes a narrow reading of Gramsci’s concept of *hegemony*, where ideological dissemination is seen as the work of civil society, rather than political society, and therefore focuses on the mass-mediated genre of travel and cultural documentaries. The research assumes that multimodal semiosis is infused with ideologies, as the choice of signs is always motivated (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The approach, however, acknowledges the *agentive position* of the individual in ideology formation and, through the analysis of three case studies, aims to shed some light on the whole process of mass-mediated communication, from reception to production.

This is attempted through a qualitative analysis of the unique interaction of the viewers with the programmes of their choice, explored by means of pre- and after-viewing questionnaires and follow-up interviews, as well as critical multimodal analyses of the programmes. Through the investigation of how social actors and events are represented during the interactive experience and drawing on theoretical and analytical concepts from social semiotics (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, 2006; van Leeuwen 2005; Kress, 2010) and the cognitive-pragmatic model of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1995), the research explores how individuals use media discourses to build their ideological positions. Furthermore, the societal struggles associated with those discourses are also investigated.

Findings suggest not only that the BBC documentaries analysed reinforce neoliberal and neo-imperialistic ideologies, but also that the documentaries had *ideological effects* on the viewers. The research analyses the conditions under which this phenomenon occurs by focusing on the multimodal manipulation of the viewers’ *epistemic vigilance* (Sperber *et al.*, 2010).

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1. Introduction

1.1 *Genesis of the research project*

The inspiration for this project comes from an observation made by Antonio Gramsci (and other leftist intellectuals and politicians of the time) regarding the socio-political situation in Italy and internationally at the beginning of the 20th century: how is it possible that the working class does not rebel against a political and social system which works against their interests (Bates, 1975, p. 360)? Gramsci was a founding member of the Communist Party in Italy, Member of Parliament and the founder of a leftist newspaper, *L'Unità*, which was published in different guises as the official newspaper of the left and centre-left Italian political parties until its latest bankruptcy in 2017. In 1926, when Mussolini's Fascist State was gaining momentum, he was arrested and then tried for accusations spanning from conspiracy to overthrow the state to fomenting a class-driven civil war. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison but put under house arrest in 1934 due to his precarious health condition. He was eventually freed on 21st April 1937, six days before dying, aged 46. The answer to the question he posed himself pushed him to conceive and theorise the concept of *hegemony*, that is "leadership based on the consent of the led" (Bates, 1975, p. 352). This is to this day a key theoretical concept in a number of post-Marxist approaches in disciplines such as Discourse Theory (e.g. Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), Critical Discourse Studies (e.g. Fairclough, 1992b; and also many of the contributions in Wodak and Meyer, 2016), Political Sciences (e.g. Harvey, 2005) and Media Studies (e.g. Hall, 1980/2005), only to name the ones that form the interdisciplinary backbone of my research.

Although we now live in different times, a similar set of questions can be raised in order to interpret the social reality that is predominant in our globalised world: how is it possible that the 99% of the population who, at best, has to work most of their adult life in increasingly precarious conditions just to make ends meet (Joyce and Xu, 2019) does not demand structural changes in order to reduce inequality gaps? An intuitive answer could be that, in fact, inequalities in Western countries are not as pronounced as in other, developing countries, and that the majority of people in Western countries actually feel that the national political systems that govern their lives *are* protecting their interest, thus making it unnecessary, and even counter-productive, for people to desire a change in the status quo. Don't people in Western countries experience a high standard of democratic and personal freedom after all? Some observers, however, have pointed out that it is only thanks to the exploitation of the so called "third countries" that people in the West can afford the standards of living they enjoy (Harvey, 2005, p. 76). If this is the case, then, an ethical question springs to mind: how is it possible that people in the West accept the exploitation of less powerful people in other parts of the world and find this a legitimate way of guaranteeing their privileged lives? These two questions, which I relate to the socio-economic inequalities dictated by predominant neoliberal economic policies and to the lack of empathy towards the conditions of the billions of people whose exploitation

guarantees the Western standards of living, represent the social problems at the heart of this project. The Gramscian concept of hegemony, as entangled with the workings of media discourse, is the explanatory force as to why and how neoliberal ideologies and a lack of empathy are justified in the consciousness of those who benefit from the status quo.

1.2 *Aims and research questions*

The two questions posed in the previous section are indeed very complex to tackle from both a theoretical and methodological point of view: this project has got no pretence to achieve any solid conclusions, but simply to investigate some related issues in what I believe to be a crucial *locus* of hegemonic struggle: mass-mediated discourse. It is fair to say that a great deal of our knowledge of and opinions on events, places and people that are out of our direct experiential reach are created through *mass-mediated discourses* (Fairclough, 2000, p. 165). Following from Ott and Mack (2010, p. 2) and Paxson (2010, pp. 2-3), mass media can be defined as the technological infrastructures through which messages can be delivered to a vast, heterogeneous and remote audience both while events are occurring (i.e. live shows) and after they have been recorded. They circulate the stories and narratives that other agencies (the news media, infotainment programmes as well as scholarly and popular printed publications, to name a few) create and distribute using the means and technologies available and pertinent to the genres through which those stories are told. However, mass-mediated discourse is still too large an area of research for the scope of this project and I therefore chose to focus on one particular genre: travel and cultural documentaries.

There are three main reasons for the choice of this particular genre, all of which will be discussed in detail in the theoretical and methodological chapters of the thesis. For the moment, it will suffice to introduce what these reasons are: the first reason is the reach of these types of documentaries. Often time, they are part of television series that see a popular host visiting different places in a particular country (e.g. case studies #1 and #3) or a number of different countries in one particular region of the world (e.g. case study #2). These TV series are regularly available on very popular media outlets, such as the BBC (all case studies), and can reach a high number of people (e.g. 1.47 million for case study #1 and 1.97 million for case study #3 on their first broadcast).¹ Since the Gramscian concept of *hegemony* entails building up as wide a consensus as possible around the worldview of the dominant classes, it follows that the more people a particular genre or TV programme can reach, the better it will serve the hegemonic purpose.

The second reason is dictated by a narrower reading of the concept of hegemony, that sees ideological dissemination as the work of civil society, rather than political society. Civil society is

¹ Figures available at <https://www.barb.co.uk/> (Accessed: 2 March 2020). Unfortunately, I could not find viewing figures for the third programme.

made up of “those ‘private organisms’ - schools, churches, clubs, journals, and parties - which contribute in molecular fashion to the formation of social and political consciousness” (Bates, 1975, p. 353). The focus of the research is therefore to look at texts that are produced by the civil society to discuss activities, e.g. travelling or discovering cultural aspects of a certain country, with which an audience would not necessarily interact wearing their ‘political hat’, but rather as a means to gain some knowledge about a particular place or culture which is outside their experiential reach, whilst at the same time escaping the mundanity of their everyday life. As my case studies suggest, these are certainly amongst the main reasons why the participants chose the programmes they watched and why they watch this kind of programmes in general.

The third reason is of a cognitive-pragmatic nature: it is partly connected to the first reason and attempts to address a powerful criticism raised against one of the implicit assumptions of Critical Discourse Studies, namely that the trained analyst is in a better position to unearth ideological and manipulative discourses than someone who is not trained in such type of analysis (Chilton, 2005, p. 27). Based on insights from the field of Evolutionary Psychology, this criticism relies on the idea of *Machiavellian intelligence*, that is the ability of both humans and primates to understand if an interlocutor is attempting to deceive them during an interaction. The argument goes that not only do humans possess such an ability, but that such ability is so central to the way we function that it has been a driving evolutionary force in the history of our species. If this is the case, then chances are people would naturally be able to detect deception and manipulation when it occurs.

However, there is research that complicates this assertion within the very field of Evolutionary Psychology as well as in the fields of Experimental Psychology and Experimental Pragmatics. For example, after surveying the results of primatologists working on tactical deception, Whiten and Byrne (1988) proposed that the findings in the literature suggest that, when trying to deceive, primates were taking into account “certain psychological states of their protagonists, such as their intentions or what they could or could not see” (Whiten, 2018, p. 439). We can transfer this scenario to human communication and analyse it from the point of view of the addressee. An individual may not be able to see, or rather access, aspects connected to specific social actors and events that other participants in the communicative event either chose not to include or ignored existed: these aspects I call *contextual filters* (see *Chapter 4*) and, if not accessed, may lead to deception or manipulation. Furthermore, an individual may be focusing their attention on certain aspects of the communicative event, thus (at least unconsciously) failing to notice other elements. This could also lead to deception or manipulation, as “it is easy to miss something you are not looking for” (Oswald, 2014).

In a similar, but unrelated, fashion the “Invisible Gorilla” psychological experiments by Chabris and Simons (e.g. 2010) highlighted the importance of attention in order to be able to perceive things, again implying that if our attention is focused on a specific goal, we may not notice other elements that co-occur at the same time. It is not implausible that similar cognitive mechanisms happen when

processing discourse and it is for this reason that I have chosen a genre that has not got political argumentation as its main pragmatic purpose, but that could nonetheless embed political ideologies related to socio-economic and intercultural matters. It may be that with such genres the Machiavellian counter-deception mechanisms are not fully alert due to the elements of entertainment and escapism involved as part of the participants' intentions in watching the programmes. Moreover, the multimodal nature of documentaries further complicates the attention issue, as meanings are created and conveyed through different modes and processed through different sensory channels simultaneously. As research in the field of Multisensory Processing suggests, when conflicting signals occur, "the emergent percept is typically dominated by the most persuasive sensory cue in that particular context" (Calvert, Spence and Stein, 2004, p. xii). However, research also shows that "[i]nformation in one sense modality [e.g. aural] can influence the information processing in another sense modality [e.g. visual] at a very early stage of perceptual processing" (Nanay, 2018, p. 126). Possible consequences of such cognitive processes are that a multimodal text may convey ideological messages through non-dominant modes that are not consciously scrutinised by our counter-deception mechanisms, but that are still part of our perceptual processing or that may even be processed unconsciously.²

Finally, in the field of Experimental Pragmatics, as of lately also partly supported by neuroscientific studies (see Lombardi Vallauri, 2019, p. 216ff. for a discussion), there is a growing body of research that has been focusing on how different linguistic structures are processed by the human brain. Lombardi Vallauri (*ibidem*) reviews a number of studies primarily looking at the difference between the processing of *presuppositions* and *assertions* on the one hand, and between *topic* and *focus* positions on the other. He concludes that there are two major take-home messages from his review of the literature: first, that presuppositions and items in topic position are processed more quickly (and therefore more superficially) than assertions and items in focus position; presenting information in such a way would therefore lower the *epistemic vigilance* (Sperber *et al.*, 2010) of the audience, that is the set of cognitive skills at their disposal to avoid being misinformed by others (the Machiavellian counter-deception mechanisms I referred to earlier). Second, after processing an utterance, it takes more time and effort to recognise its untruthfulness if the false information was conveyed through a presupposition or if in topic position, than if it was conveyed as an assertion or if in focus position; this implies that untruthful information presented as presupposition or in topic position will more easily enter the memory of the audience unquestioned (Lombardi Vallauri, 2019, pp. 204-205). This kind of research again suggests that the Machiavellian intelligence cognitive mechanisms can indeed be bypassed.

² Whether or not *unconscious perception* occurs is a highly debated claim. See Prinz (2015) and Phillips (2018) for recent elaborations of arguments, respectively, for and against.

Although I draw on some of the work mentioned above, my research does not position itself within the neurocognitive, psychology and experimental pragmatics fields of enquiry. Instead, it aims to contribute to the work done in those fields by exploring the cognitive-pragmatic process of manipulation within the field of Critical Discourse Studies and, most specifically, its multimodal approach. My contribution takes two forms. First of all, I address the process of manipulation from a multimodal perspective: most of the work done on manipulation in CDS and pragmatics has focused on the linguistic aspects of manipulation (e.g. de Saussure, 2005, 2011, 2013; Hart, 2013; Maillat, 2013; Maillat and Oswald, 2009, 2011; Oswald, 2011, 2014, 2016; Oswald and Hart, 2013). The genre chosen, travel and cultural documentaries, and the multimodal approach adopted have allowed me to explore how manipulative processes occur through the integration and cross-sensorial influence of the different modes available in the audio-visual filmic text. Secondly, through the integration of Audience Research and Relevance Theory in the methodological framework (see further below), my research provides empirical evidence of how manipulative processes can occur and further develops the idea of manipulation as a phenomenon better investigated by shifting the focus “*to that of the hearer*” (Oswald, 2014, p. 102, *emphasis in original*).

Having clarified the general aims of the projects and justified the choice of genre, my research specifically attempts to answer the following research questions:

- RQ1.** How do viewers interact with travel and cultural documentaries and to what extent do these types of programmes affect their ideologies?
- RQ2.** What ideologies do travel and cultural documentaries reproduce or challenge and how is this done multimodally?
- RQ3.** To what extent do the semiotic and cognitive mechanisms at play in the media interaction bypass the viewers’ *epistemic vigilance* and how is this achieved?

1.3 Theoretical and methodological overview

As mentioned in the previous section, the research is positioned within the field of Critical Discourse Studies (henceforth CDS). It relies on a social constructivist epistemology, that is a belief that there is no one univocal way to construct and interpret social reality and the material world, but that constructions and interpretations are the result of an incredibly complex web of societal and individual practices and ideologies. The validity and legitimacy of such practices and ideologies are of a contingent nature, that is susceptible to change based on spatio-temporal circumstances. More specifically, CDS (or at least some approaches within the field) align with a *critical realist* epistemology (Bhaskar, 1998) that recognises “that the natural and social worlds differ in that the latter but not the former is dependent on human action for its existence - it is socially constructed” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 355). However, when the aim is to bring to the surface the ideological positions

embedded in a text and those brought about by the audience and myself as a researcher, the ‘social worlds’ need to be further unpacked for analytical purposes. It is for this reason that, within the constructed social reality, that is the part of our world that relies entirely on human action, in *Chapter 2* I propose a further differentiation between a *basic social reality* and a *constructed discursive reality*. This is based on van Dijk’s (1998) theorising around the concept of ideology and his reference to *knowledge* as being the set of “factual beliefs” and *opinions* as being the set of “evaluative beliefs” that, together, form social ideologies (p. 48). In *Chapter 4* I integrate these two concepts within a cognitive model for exploring media effects and manipulation.

Another theoretical observation to be made, and indeed one I value as central in this project, concerns the fact that the analysis of any social practice cannot do without taking into consideration not only the texts found therein and those who produced those texts, but also those individuals who *chose* to engage with particular texts: I believe this also holds for the genre I decided to analyse. Although I accept that mass-media communication, particularly within the private sector, is heavily monopolised (Ott and Mack 2010, p. 25) and that the offer of texts and related discourses is not as ‘free’ and democratising as some argue (see Curran, 2002 for a very good discussion of the different *media narratives* in the British media industry), *audiences* still maintain the decisional power to engage with one programme rather than another, or not to engage altogether. For this reason, elements of audience research, most notably the freedom to choose whatever travel or cultural documentary participants watched, have been integrated within the theoretical framework proposed and discussed in *Chapter 2*; this gave me the opportunity to ‘close the circle’ between production-distribution-reception-interpretation (cf. Fairclough, 1992c, p. 28) in the context of the social practice analysed. This does not mean that the interpretations provided for the case studies are the only possible ones, nor that the research instruments employed allowed me to have an objective and truthful understanding of the individuals who took part in this project and the texts they chose. The interpretations I provide are simply that: interpretations. I am aware of this, and I do not make claims of generalisability or indeed to have univocally made sense of the participants’ interactions with their programmes and the various ideological positions at play – such claims will be in contrast with the epistemological bases stated at the beginning of this section.

However, I do believe that the integration of audience research as proposed in my research allowed me to investigate the genre of television travel documentaries and their role in the hegemonic struggle at a deeper level. First of all, the level of engagement of the participants with the text is assumed to be higher as the text has not been imposed onto them: the motivation for choosing a particular programme, the media outlet and text producer(s) and the settings in which the interaction with the text takes place are all essential elements of one’s social practice. By giving the participants (almost) complete freedom of choice, I hope to have made the artificial task of participating in a research project a little closer to their authentic media experiences. Secondly, the fact participants

chose their programmes gave me further indications with regard to their ideological positions: choosing a particular media outlet as well as a particular country and culture to watch will provide important information against which I can analyse the way they interact with the text and the extent to which the latter aligns with the ideologies they hold vis-à-vis socio-political and intercultural matters. Thirdly, the participants allowed me to check my interpretation of the texts against another independent one, thus working towards *investigator triangulation* (Denzin, 1970; Flick, 2004; Archibald, 2016): this does not mean that if the interpretations coincide, the texts will necessarily affect the participants in the intended way (the *preferred reading*, following Hall, 1980/2005), but it will at least force me to question my work as an analyst and possibly enhance the strength of the interpretation offered by highlighting common and different readings. Finally, the fact that participants are not *primed* before, during and after watching the programme gives me the opportunity to analyse certain cognitive aspects, especially in terms of focus and what elements of the programme have left more of an impression with the participants.

In order to investigate the cognitive aspects at play in the media interaction, some of the theoretical assets of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1995) are integrated in the analytical framework, which will give some indication of which content from the programme is hypothesised to have produced a *contextual effect* on the participants and which content has not, either because it only reflected existing assumptions or because the cognitive effort required was too high. However, for the purpose of ideological investigations I find the concept of *contextual effect* too vague. It is for this reason that in *Chapter 4* I propose a more nuanced differentiation between *evidential* and *ideological effects* and, for the latter type, a further distinction between *modifying ideological effects*, *explicit improving ideological effects* and *implicit improving ideological effects*. These are then integrated with the concepts of *real*, *basic social reality* and *constructed social reality* adapted from Critical Realism within a cognitive model that I propose can be used to explore media effects and manipulation.

A brief summary of the methodological framework will help clarify how the theoretical positions adopted are put into practice. As stated, the purpose of the research project is to investigate how audiences interact with travel and cultural documentaries, how ideologies are embedded in such programmes as part of the struggle to conquer, maintain or resist hegemonic ideologies, and whether the texts produce some effects on the audience. The broader framework is Audience Research (e.g. Schröder *et al.*, 2003), as this allows me to establish the non-deterministic stance of my research, to investigate the idiosyncratic characteristics of each of the three media interactions and to triangulate my textual analysis and interpretation against that of the participants, thus providing empirical evidence for the analytical constructs used (see section 2.5). The second level of analysis is the textual one: here principles as well as analytical and interpretative constructs are borrowed from the multimodal approaches of Social Semiotics and Multimodal Critical Discourse Studies (e.g. Kress

and van Leeuwen, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2005a; Machin and Mayr, 2012) applied to filmic texts (see sections 3.4 and 5.3.2). Finally, the cognitive analysis, based on principles borrowed from Relevance Theory and with a focus on manipulation (see sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5), provides the final level of analysis by exploring media effects.

Given the critical realist epistemology discussed in the previous section, the study takes the form of a qualitative investigation of three case studies. Although I do not dismiss the value of quantitative analysis altogether, I do believe that a qualitative approach works best to address the three analytical levels specified above, due to the complex relationship between an audience and their social practice as well as the intended depth of analysis. Moreover, since the element of choice taken from audience research has been integrated in the theoretical framework, I decided to carry out individual case studies, so as to make it feasible to address all the analytical points and still provide a variety of data within the limited time and space of a doctoral project.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is divided in ten chapters and the next three provide the theoretical background of the thesis as well as reviews of the relevant literature. *Chapter 2* discusses key concepts in CDS and their connection with my project: these are *discourse and ideology, critique, Critical Realism, hegemony* and *power*. Moreover, this chapter provides an overview of the mass media landscape in the UK and addresses the concepts of *mass media, ownership* and *control* within a neoliberal paradigm. It is also here that the role of audience research is analysed and the decision to integrate it within the theoretical framework is discussed in detail and justified.

Chapter 3 reviews the field of multimodal research. After a brief overview of the different approaches and after positioning my research within the Social Semiotics and MCDS approaches, the chapter reviews the following key concepts in multimodality and provides the definitions I adopted: *media, semiotic modes, semiotic resources, sensory channels, materiality, affordances* and *multisensory processing*. Then, the work done in CDS, Social Semiotics and Multimodal Research for the analysis of filmic texts is reviewed and discussed in relation to the focus of my research.

Chapter 4 discusses how cognition has been integrated in MCDS. After a review of the relevant literature, the chapter focuses on the cognitive-pragmatic process of manipulation, which is central to the thesis. It is also here that the communication model of Relevance Theory is discussed, and a theoretical contribution is made toward the establishment of a cognitive model for the analysis of ideological effects and manipulation; the model is mapped against the concepts of *real, basic social reality* and *constructed social reality* adapted from Critical Realism and discussed in *Chapter 2*.

Chapter 5 introduces the methodological framework, the research instruments and analytical constructs, the participants and data collection as well as ethical considerations; the concept of *genre*

is also addressed in this chapter in order to justify the limitations imposed on the participants with regard to the data selection.

Chapters 6 to 8 offer the analyses of the three case studies: for each of them the results of both the audience research and the critical multimodal analysis are presented as well as a cognitive analysis. Case-bound conclusions are drawn with regard to the participants' motivations, expectations and reactions to the programme, semiosis and meaning-making, discursive representations and recontextualizations, ideological positions and effects.

Chapter 9 pulls the threads together from the three case studies and explores commonalities and differences between them, suggesting connections with existing literature in the fields of study that form the interdisciplinary skeleton of the research. Finally, *Chapter 10* provides the closing remarks by highlighting the contribution made by the research, discussing issues and shortcomings, and suggesting trajectories for future research.

2. Critical Discourse Studies and the Mass Media Landscape in the U.K.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the theoretical approach taken in my research, which I position within the broad discipline of Critical Discourse Studies (henceforth CDS). Section 2.2 provides a brief overview of the common principles shared by the many approaches that are situated within the discipline; however, the approaches I am predominantly drawing on, which are Social Semiotics and Multimodal Critical Discourse Studies, will be analysed in detail in *Chapter 3*. There are a number of key concepts in CDS and these are discussed in 2.3: it is here that I will also talk about Critical Realism (Bhaskar, 1998) and how its differentiation between the natural and social worlds provides the epistemological basis of my research. 2.4 outlines the mass media landscape in the U.K. so as to provide the relevant context for the genre I chose, travel and cultural documentaries, and the research participants' background. Finally, 2.5 reviews some of the studies within CDS that make use of a reception element, and it is here that the argument for employing an audience research methodology is advanced.

2.2 CDS: common ground and main approaches

In the initial theorisations of CDS there were two main assumptions: the first is that “language is inextricably bound up with ideology and cannot be analysed or understood apart from it” (Gee, 1990, p. xx:); the second is that “the exercise of power, in modern society, is increasingly achieved through ideology, and more particularly through the ideological workings of language” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2; see also Kress and Hodge, 1993, p. 6). Accordingly, the primary aim of CDS is to explicate the, often, implicit ideologies and power structures that texts and discourses inevitably carry with them, having been produced at a particular time, in a particular place, by a particular person/agency, with a particular purpose (sometimes different from the one publicly stated) and for a particular addressee (Schäffner, 1996, p. 5; Wodak, 1996, p. 16). In turn, the ultimate purpose of showing the implicit ideologies in a text is to increase people’s awareness of such power games and to enable them to resist the perpetuation of power that, principally through language and the media, is put forward by the ruling elites (Fairclough, 1989, 1992a, 1995; Kress and Hodge, 1993).

More recently, when discussing similarities between the different approaches in CDS (or CDA, Critical Discourse Analysis, the original name by which some authors still prefer to call the discipline) Wodak and Meyer (2016, pp. 17-18) note that one of the aspects that differentiate CDS from other approaches (and that is the same across CDS approaches) is the overt socio-political agenda of the researchers, who tend to address social issues with the ultimate goal of contributing to social change. Furthermore, Wodak and Meyer (*ibid*, p. 20, *emphasis in original*), maintain that “CDS and other DA approaches also differ in respect to assumptions about the *relationship between language and society*.”

CDS do not believe this relationship to be simply deterministic but invoke the concept of *mediation*". What this means is that CDS researchers are not interested in analysing language *per se* or social structures *per se*, but rather in investigating the intermediate level between the two and how, through this mediation, issues of ideology, power, manipulation and control are imposed, resisted and challenged.

Finally, all CDS practitioners agree that CDS is not a method, but different methodologies and methods need to be employed depending on the research questions, the theoretical assumptions and the type of data to analyse (van Dijk, 2013). To summarise, different approaches within the field of CDS share a number of tenets. Language is a social phenomenon and, because of this, it reflects and contributes to shaping the ideologies, values and beliefs of a given society at a given moment in time. Because of its potential in shaping ideologies, values and beliefs, it is assumed that language *is* used both as a means to exercise power and as a means to resist it and challenge it. From a positionality point of view, it is important that researchers clearly state their agenda when embarking on an investigation that relies on CDS approaches: together with the type of research questions identified, the overt ultimate goal of the research gives a more scientific stance to what could be seen as a mere political analysis. In addition, the ability of researchers to reflect on the methods and outcomes of their research and to identify weakness and biases are also an essential characteristic of CDS practice. From an analytical point of view, the role of the *context* is as important as the text(s) and discourse(s) investigated: once it is established that every text and discourse is the product of specific agents at a specific time, it follows that everything that surrounds the production and reception of the product contributes, to varying degrees, to give it the qualities it has; *context*, however, is also a variable to clearly define as it may include different dimensions, e.g. macro, meso and micro (Reisigl, 2013, p. 80). Since the context will include factors and processes that fall within the remit of different scientific disciplines, CDS can only be *interdisciplinary*. In fact, we can push this argument forward as to say that the fewer factors and related disciplines are taken into consideration during the analysis, the greater the limitation of the analysis.

The concept of *mediation* (i.e. the existence of an intermediate level between discourse and society that includes cognitive, psychological, socio-political and historical-economical factors and processes) is a central point of investigation, as this is the *locus* of the dialectical exchange between language and society. It is the perspective that is taken to analyse *mediation* which allows one to "distinguish between more cognitive-sociopsychological and more macro-sociological-structural approaches - although admittedly this is a rough distinction" (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 20). In the first group we find approaches such as Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (e.g. van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983; van Dijk, 1998, 2016), the Cognitive Linguistics CDA approach (e.g. Chilton, 1985, 1987, 2004, 2005; Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004; Musolff, 2004, 2016; Semino, 2008; Hart, 2010, 2014; Polyzou, 2015, 2018) and the Spatial Cognition approach (Cap, 2006, 2013). The second group comprises

approaches such as Fairclough's socio-dialectical approach (e.g. 1989, 1992c, 2010), Social Semiotics and Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (Hodge and Kress, 1988; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; van Leeuwen, 1999, 2005a; Machin, 2007, 2014; Machin and van Leeuwen, 2007; Kress, 2010; Machin and Mayr, 2012), the Discourse-historical approach (e.g. Wodak, 1996, 2009, 2015; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Krzyżanowski, 2010) and Positive Discourse Analysis (Bartlett, 2012).

My research predominantly follows the Social Semiotics and MCDA approaches, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3; at the same time the methodological design integrates elements borrowed from the cognitive-pragmatic framework of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986, 1995) and the intersection between multimodal research and cognition will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2.3 Key concepts in CDS

Having established the common principles across the various CDS approaches, we can now turn to discussing the key concepts that form the theoretical backbone of the field: *discourse and ideology*, *critique*, *Critical Realism*, *hegemony* and *power*.

2.3.1 Discourse and ideology

Many definitions of discourse (uncountable) and discourses (countable) have been given over the decades in the fields of Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Studies (see Reisigl, 2013, pp. 76-79 for an overview of definitions of this term in the major CDS approaches). A first major theoretical and methodological differentiation was precisely to distinguish between *Discourse* (or discourse, uncountable) and *discourse* (or discourses, countable), i.e. between “language use conceived as social practice” and “way[s] of signifying experience from a particular perspective” (Fairclough, 2010, pp. 95-96).

Inevitably, some differences have emerged in the understanding of the concept of *discourse* amongst the different approaches to CDS, although often more in the way discourses are approached rather than on the nature of discourses themselves: the number and types of levels of discourse, e.g. with Jäger and Meier's distinction between *discourse levels*, *discourse strands* and *discourse fragments* (2016, pp. 121-122); the mono- or poly-perspectivity concerning social actors and how they constitute discourse (Reisigl, 2013, p. 79); the focus on more than one semiotic sign, e.g. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2001). However, all the different approaches seem to agree with the double nature of discourse as socially constituted and constitutive, with the dependence on contextual factors and the “actional or ‘practical’ character of discourses” (Reisigl, 2013, p. 79). To summarise, Fairclough (2016, p. 87) identifies three main ways in which scholars see *discourse*:

Discourse is commonly used in various senses including (a) meaning-making as an element of the social processes, (b) the language associated with a particular social field of practice

(e.g. ‘political discourse’), (c) a way of constructing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective (e.g. a ‘neo-liberal discourse of globalization’).

From a methodological point of view, it is very important to distinguish what level of discourse is being primarily analysed, as this would inevitably influence the research methods employed, the research questions and the transdisciplinary resources, i.e. the theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches that have resulted from the *dialogues* between different disciplines the research draws upon (Fairclough, 2010, p. 4). Although it can be argued, and to a certain extent rightly so, that all the three levels of discourse need to be taken into consideration, it should be likewise clarified from the onset which is the primary level of analysis and how the other two are functional to the investigation of the primary one.

For example, the goal of this research is to investigate the extent to which viewers construct their ideologies through interacting with television travel and cultural documentaries, and the extent to which the latter play a role in initiating or perpetrating prejudices and ideologies that are functional to the neo-liberal agenda of creating, physically and psychologically, the idea of more advanced countries, cultures or parts of the world, and less advanced ones. The benefit of this would be to make “less advanced” countries, cultures or parts of the world appear not as worthy as the “more advanced” ones in the eye of those who belong to the latter societies.

This can in turn influence the critical judgement of people in these societies when it comes to opposing or embracing the decisions taken by governments and international organizations. These decisions can be implemented through social actions, be these physical (i.e. wars, illegal detention and use of torture and de-humanisation of ‘terrorist suspects’), financial (i.e. through austerity measures imposed by world economic organisations such as the International Monetary Fund or the World Trade Organization, or through labour exploitation of the workforce in the so-called third world countries by multinational and international manufacturing companies) or cultural (i.e. the imposition of a lingua franca in the educational systems of countries which did not historically have it or the imposition of quality assessment criteria for educational, and other, purposes). A diminished level of empathy towards other peoples can facilitate a level of physical, financial and cultural aggression that perhaps would be deemed unacceptable if perpetrated onto the “more advanced” peoples and societies.

If investigating all the above is the ultimate goal of the proposed research, it follows that the primary level of discourse analysis should be the third one in Fairclough’s list, i.e. analysing discourse as “a way of constructing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective” (Fairclough, 2016, p. 87). In fact, if we were to look more closely to the three definitions of discourse listed by Fairclough, we could even argue that the third one is the only one that should actually be the primary analytical focus of CDS, with other *orders of discourse*, that is all the discursive, generic,

stylistic and textual resources available for meaning-making (Fairclough, 2010, p. 74), seen as functional to provide an adequate explanation of the highest level of discourse.

A particular social perspective is another way of calling an *ideology*. This is a particularly disputed concept across the social sciences and one for which trying “to compress [the] wealth of meaning[s] into a single comprehensive definition would [...] be unhelpful even if it were possible” (Eagleton, 1991, p. 1). Thompson (1990, pp. 53-54) talks about two different approaches to the concept of ideology, a ‘critical conception of ideology’, predominantly based on post-Marxist approaches, and a ‘neutral conception of ideology’. This differentiation is based on whether or not the concept of ideology is linked to the idea of power relations, thus with a political connotation and the implication that *ours* is the truth and *yours* is the ideology (van Dijk, 1998, p. 2), or is intended, more broadly, as “the set of factual and evaluative beliefs – that is, the knowledge and opinions – of a group” (van Dijk, 1998, p. 48).

Most of the CDS literature sees ideology in the critical acceptance described above (van Dijk, 1998, p. 135; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 27; Wodak, 2001, p. 10) and attempts through the practice of discourse analysis to address it in this fashion, i.e. trying to show how ideology works through discourse to maintain relations of domination. Similarly to other social constructs, ideology can be seen in a dialectical relationship with discourse, as each has an influence on the creation, reproduction and challenge of the other. For the purpose of my research, both views of ideology are equally tenable. The ‘neutral’ conception of ideology will be initially used in a descriptive fashion to highlight the “factual and evaluative beliefs” (van Dijk, 1998: 48) that underpin the ideologies that emerge in both the television documentaries and the participants. The ‘critical’ conception of ideology will then evaluate the way in which such ideologies operate to the benefit of certain groups and to the detriment of others.

2.3.2 Critique

Defining the *levels of critique* and the intended implications of a *critical* approach to discourse and ideology is perhaps key to understanding the ultimate goal of CDS. The consensus amongst CDS practitioners seems to be that the *critical* element has been influenced by the *Frankfurt School*, and scholars such as Jurgen Habermas and Max Horkheimer. The latter (Horkheimer, 1937) sees Critical Theory as directed to a type of social theory that should work towards not only understanding and explaining society, but also towards making social change possible. As a consequence of this, core concepts of Critical Theory include the need to look at society in its entirety and within its historic specificity, and a multidisciplinary effort to combine all the social sciences in the quest for critique and social change (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 6). Although the premises above seem to take the concept of *critique* in a very specific direction, the range of working definitions given by CDS practitioners is fairly wide, going from “making visible the interconnectedness of things” (Fairclough,

1995, p. 747) to “having distance from the data” (Wodak, 2001, p. 9), to referring to the transparency of both research methods and the researcher’s stand (van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 293) and showing “the means by which a discourse makes particular statements, actions and things seem rational and beyond all doubt” (Jäger and Maier, 2016, p. 119).

Sayer (2009, pp. 769-770) identifies three different levels of critical enquiry. A basic level that entails a critical attitude to other approaches – this should be so distinctive of academic thinking and practice that using the word critical in this sense is superfluous at best. A second level of criticality that goes beyond academia and tries to show the inadequacy of certain scientific explanations when applied to society and to the real world – this is described as “critique as oriented towards *the reduction of illusion* in society itself” (p. 769). This level of criticality already requires a normative standpoint, i.e. a set of ethical values that are considered to better serve society as a whole. This idea has been heavily criticized as it implies some form of truth bearing on the part of the researcher (e.g. Pennycook 2001, p. 84; Widdowson, 1995, p. 159) and we will look at it more closely. A third level, or *explanatory critique*, which “tries not only to identify false beliefs and the practices they inform but *why* those false beliefs are held” (Sayer, 2009, p. 770) and, I would add, the effect that these practices have on the people partaking in them.

Sayer advocates for the third level of criticality to be the force that drives academic enquiry and adds that “the targets of the critiques developed by substantive CSS [critical social studies] are not merely false ideas and their supports and consequences, or lack of freedom, but injustices and avoidable suffering” (2009, p. 775). Fairclough (2016, p. 88) eloquently frames this idea within the field of CDS:

Critical social research aims to contribute to addressing the social ‘wrongs’ of the day (in a broad sense - injustice, inequality, lack of freedom etc.) by analysing their sources and causes, resistance to them and possibilities of overcoming them [...] Critique is oriented to analyzing and explaining, with a focus on these dialectical relations, the many ways in which the dominant logic and dynamic is tested, challenged and disrupted by people, and to identifying possibilities which these suggest to overcome obstacles to addressing ‘wrongs’ and improving well-being.

There are a couple of considerations to make here which have a bearing 1) on the object of enquiry and 2) on the risk for such an approach to be seen as merely subjective or arbitrary if employing a normative standpoint (Sayer 2009, p. 775). With regard to the first point, one has to be very careful to appropriately identify the nature and role of different agencies and how they contribute to injustice and avoidable suffering. More specifically, one should differentiate between actions, ideas and practices that may have a *direct* involvement in creating injustices, and actions, ideas and practices

that contribute *indirectly* by supporting and promoting a hegemonic discourse whose aim is not to produce injustice, but to decrease people's ability to react to it or even to see an injustice in the first place. Examples of indirect contributions to injustice (but direct contributions to the hegemonic discourse that facilitates suppressing resistance to it) would be de-sensitising people towards an issue, helping construct a negative image of other people so that they are seen as different and not equal, and reinforcing prejudices and ideals that are in line with the hegemonic agenda of the ruling elites and related supporters. In all these scenarios, it is not possible to find a direct correlation between, for example, the audience of a TV programme and the avoidable suffering of people in exploited third world countries. However, political consensus in democracies benefits from the apathy and uncritical alignment of those who possess the right and means to support one political agenda rather than another, i.e. the voting people. Such apathy and uncritical alignment can also be the result of exposure to and participation in social practices, e.g. watching a TV programme, that contribute to reinforce the hegemonic prejudices and ideals of those in power who, through legislation or lack thereof, are directly responsible for the injustices and avoidable sufferings caused.

With regard to the second issue highlighted, i.e. the connection between subjectivity and relying on a normative standpoint, the questions are who decides what to include among the norms and based on which criteria. Reisigl touches on this issue when he argues that all the different CDS approaches “found their concepts of critique on ethical (e.g., democratic) principles and norms” (2013, p. 75). The vagueness of this assertion, however, does not help solving the normative problem, as Reisigl does not actually spell out these ethical norms and the only one he uses as an example, i.e. *democracy*, is presented as unproblematic. Roderick (2018) also points out this blind spot in CDS, claiming that “the ethical frameworks that guide CDS have remained largely under-theorized and taken for granted” (p. 155). His own solution, in agreement with Macgilchrist (2016) is “a contingent and intersubjective ethical framework [which] entails the establishment of values on the basis of the recognition of an other and the needs of the other” (Roderick, 2018, p. 166). As Fairclough (2015, p. 12) also argues:

Normative critique of discourse is ‘immanent’ critique, as opposed to ‘transcendental’ critique. Unlike transcendental critique, immanent critique does not go outside the social reality it is critiquing to find a measure or standard against which reality can be evaluated and criticized (e.g. to religion or philosophy). Rather, it identifies internal contradictions within the social reality, including those between what is supposed or said to happen and what actually does happen.

Given the specific nature of the individual case studies in my research project, I agree that this would be the most appropriate way to establish the ethical implications of the ideological positions of both

the programmes and the participants within the remit of the social reality under investigation. However, as a guiding normativity, following Sayer's suggestion (2009, p. 776), I would also argue that Nussbaum's version of the *Capabilities Approach* (2000) is an excellent starting point.

Before looking at its underlying principles, it is important to clarify why I think an explicit normative standpoint is useful from a methodological point of view. A clear list of principles can direct us to discourses and genres that may work towards undermining them. For example, part of the seventh point on the list, under the heading *affiliation*, says that one of the human capabilities that needs preserving is: "having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails, at a minimum, protections against discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, religion, caste, ethnicity, or national origin" (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 78). Analysing TV travel programmes can "monitor" whether this principle is adhered to since this is a genre that, among other things, deals with relations between different races or nationalities (and related cultures). Since relations are also characterised by issues of power, what becomes of interest to the analyst is some sort of ideological analysis of the culture with more power in order to establish whether this power is abused, e.g. by looking at who gets a voice in the narrative, what is actually represented and through which semiotic resources. The full list of the normative principles is reproduced in *Appendix 2.1*: Nussbaum argues that such a set of principles is the only way to accurately judge the quality of life in a community (regardless of the size) since it does not look at averages the way some other approaches to assessing quality of life do (for example the Gross National Product per capita), but uses the "*principle of each person as end*" (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 56).

However, adopting a normative standpoint may lead to accusations of judgmental relativism. Judgmental relativism entails that different investigations, explanations and constructions of reality are equally valid and truthful (Fairclough, 2010, p. 355). Since it can be argued that we all select and analyse data in such a way that it fits our research agenda and our set of ethical values (our normative standpoints), the reliability of anyone's research, and the justification of the norms themselves, should always be treated for what they are, i.e. a subjective interpretation based on one's normative standpoint, which is itself justified on selected data and ethical values. This would in turn lead to a subjective and partial interpretation of reality, which is a common criticism of CDS (e.g. Widdowson, 1995). A Critical Realist epistemology (Bhaskar, 1998), however, provides a possible solution to this problem.

2.3.3 *Critical Realism*

A *critical realist* epistemology recognises "that the natural and social worlds differ in that the latter but not the former is dependent on human action for its existence - it is socially constructed" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 355). However, when the aim is to bring to the surface the ideological positions

embedded in a text and those brought about by the audience and myself as a researcher, the ‘social worlds’ need to be further unpacked for analytical purposes. It is for this reason that, within the constructed social reality, that is the part of our world that relies entirely on human action, I propose a further differentiation between a *basic social reality* and a *constructed discursive reality*.

The differentiation between a *basic social reality* and a *constructed discursive reality* follows van Dijk’s theorising around the concept of ideology and his reference to *knowledge* as being the set of “factual beliefs” and *opinions* as being the set of “evaluative beliefs” that, together, form social ideologies (1998, p. 48). Therefore, I define the *basic social reality* as the constructed reality that has the status of *knowledge* in the societal ideological constellations of the participants in the communicative event. Part of this basic reality would be, for example, the laws regulating the functioning of a state at a particular point in time, economic differences between countries or individuals within a country based on a set of specific metrics, non-contested nation borders, linguistic and other semiotic systems that are conventionally employed for communication. Far from being value-judgement free, or “objective” in any way, this reality has the characteristic of having reached a very high level of *epistemic certainty*, i.e. factual value (Chilton, 2014, p. 119), and is tapped in predominantly to address *who*, *what* and *when* type of questions, although *how* and *why* type of questions may also be addressed at this level, especially for procedural matters (e.g. ‘How does a court case work?’) and cause-effect processes (e.g. ‘Why were they imprisoned? *Because they were found guilty of breaking the law*’). On the contrary, I define the *discursive reality* as the constructed reality that has the status of *opinions* in the individual and societal ideological constellations of the participants in the communicative event, or at least in some of them to the point that its veracity is disputed. This reality has the characteristic of having a lower level of epistemic certainty and is accessed to address predominantly *why* and *how* type of questions as well as, as part of the critical endeavour, *in the interest/ to the benefit of whom* type of questions. At this level, subjectivity and being value-judgement laden represent the defining features of the discourses engaged in the construction of the social reality.

The relationship between the two levels of social reality is indeed a very close one and presents two fundamental characteristics: *dialecticality* and *contingency*. Similarly to what has been argued with respect to the relationship between society and discourse (Fairclough, 2010, p. 4), *basic* and *discursive* realities stand in a dialectical relationship, whereby each one contributes in shaping, maintaining or challenging the other. To use a current ‘hot topic’ as an example: legislation regulating *hate speech* in the UK, e.g. the Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006, will have an influence on the discourses with which individuals will engage in public discussions about race and religion. At the same time, discursive constructions of the concepts of race, religion and hate speech influenced the way legislation was shaped, including the very idea that legislation was necessary to regulate discourses on those topics, and may influence future amendments to such legislation. The

dialecticality of the relationship between the two realities results in its contingent nature: since subjectivity and value-judgements define one of the two interlocking planes of social reality, and since subjects and the value-judgements they express are of a defined temporal and spatial nature, it follows that the relationship between the two realities, and thus each part in the relationship, are also dependent on the same spatio-temporal limitations. Both levels of reality are accounted for in my analysis, as establishing what counts as the *basic social reality* allows one to focus on the *constructed discursive reality*, which is where the hegemonic ideological struggle of building consensus is deemed to occur. Conversely, the *basic social reality* is the terrain that hegemonic ideologies have already managed to conquer, albeit never totally and permanently as hegemony can only be partial and temporary, that is contingent (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 7; Fairclough, 1992, p. 49).

The *basic social reality* as defined above, therefore, will likely include elements of shared knowledge amongst the text producer and the audience. Within the mass-mediated discourse of TV travel and cultural documentaries, this would predominantly be at the levels of knowledge defined by van Dijk (2005) as *national* and *cultural*. National knowledge “is knowledge shared by the citizens of a country. It is typically acquired at school and through the mass media, and presupposed by all public discourse in the country” (p. 79). Cultural knowledge is “acquired by all discourses of the culture, first in the family, then through schools and the media and in interaction with friends [; it] is the fundamental Common Ground for all other discourse [...] and presupposed by all discourses [...] of the cultures” (p. 80). However, van Dijk also points out that not all national and cultural knowledge will revolve around ‘factual beliefs’ but also around ‘evaluative beliefs’ and suggests the category of *presumptions* for the latter aspects of shared ideological assumptions (*ibid*, p. 88). This understanding of *presumptions* is also what Chilton (2004) defines as one of two dimensions comprising this cognitive phenomenon: “[p]resumptions can be linked to belief systems of various kinds – to formalised ideologies, to implicit ideologies, to consensus as to a political constitution and [...] to religious beliefs” (p. 80). What is more to the point in terms of ideological alignment between participants in a communicative event is that this dimension of *presumptions* involves value judgements of ‘propriety’ (Hart, 2014, pp. 63-65), which “concerns how far beyond reproach someone is” (*ibid*, p. 50). Hart’s definition is useful to the methodological and analytical architecture of my research, as it starts shifting the focus from the presumptions (or assumption) inherent in the text and its producers, to the addressee as the person whose positive evaluation of the text producers’ presumptions signals an ideological alignment with the text producers. Therefore, an uncritical recontextualization of the presumptions comprising the *basic social reality* of the discourse under investigation may suggest ideological alignment between the text and the interlocutor and an acceptance of the meanings conveyed not only as truthful, but also as appropriate given the circumstances.

Bekalu (2006) takes the addressee-oriented perspective even further by discussing a very similar concept in the analysis of news discourse, *discourse presuppositions*. Advancing a model that integrates Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995) and CDS, he defines *discourse presuppositions* “as those taken-for-granted pieces of information that are relatively more salient than others for the quick and ‘economical’ understanding of the message communicated in the discourse” (p. 152). The marked shift to the addressee is accomplished by stating that *discourse presuppositions* “are the ones *the reader* must find uncontroversial in order to find the assertions relevant” (*ibidem*, *emphasis added*). What this entails is that if an issue has been considered as *relevant* and the addressee agrees with it (in RT terms, see section 4.4. for a more exhaustive discussion), it follows that s/he was also in agreement with its *discourse presuppositions* (or *presumptions*).

Polyzou (2015, 2018) also discusses *discourse presuppositions* as part of her socio-cognitive approach to the concept of *presuppositions* as an analytical construct in CDS. A very important point advanced in her model is that *discourse presuppositions* do not only concern belief systems and ideologies, but also genre expectations, since “the text producer, seeking to fulfil their purposes and to express their stance, is aware of the audience’s expectations in respect to generic conventions of form and function” and this will influence “decisions on what beliefs will be presented, and how” (2015, p. 133). If we look at this aspect from the addressee perspective, it becomes necessary to establish whether their genre expectations facilitated or hindered the level of cognitive effort required to access and potentially challenge the discursive presuppositions. For example, it can be hypothesised that within the genre of travel and cultural documentaries, whose topics are predominantly cultural, political discursive presuppositions, despite being traceable under closer analysis, may go unchallenged because of their non-salience from a generic point of view. The generic issues will also need to be taken into consideration when analysing my research participants’ interactions with the television documentaries.

To summarise, the concept of *critical* adopted in my research is based on the idea of *explanatory critique* (Bhaskar, 1998): this presupposes a will not only to identify discourses and practices that result into injustices and sufferings, but most importantly to explain why such discourses and practices are in place and what effects they have on society. In order to do so, my research will not look at discourses that directly participate in creating the sufferings, but discourses that do so indirectly by working hegemonically towards suppressing or decreasing the possibility to see injustices for what they really are. The *explanatory critique* will work on three distinct, but interlocked, planes in line with a critical realist epistemology: the *real*, the *basic social reality* and the *constructed discursive reality*: in *Chapter 4* I will integrate these concepts within a cognitive model for exploring *ideological effects*. The normative standpoint, i.e. the values and beliefs the drive the research and also represent the pillars of the desired social change, is based on Nussbaum’s version of the *Capabilities Approach* (2000), as at this point in time I feel that it largely mirrors my personal ethical values.

In order to better appreciate the contribution my research can make to the CDS endeavour to expose and resist hegemonic discourses it is necessary to look closer to the concept of *hegemony* as different interpretations of it may result in different theoretical and methodological directions.

2.3.4 *Hegemony*³

The concept of hegemony is central to this research and, more broadly, to Critical Discourse Studies. If we go back to the etymological roots of the word, the meaning of hegemony can be simply equated with the concept of leadership. Gramsci expands this meaning slightly to envisage hegemony as “leadership based on the consent of the led” (Bates, 1975, p. 352). However, in his eyes, this process has a very clear purpose, which is embedded within the concept of democracy:

Amongst the many meanings of democracy, I believe the more realistic and concrete to be the one connected with the concept of hegemony. In the hegemonic system there is a democratic relationship between the leading group and the groups that are led in so far as the economic progress, and the legislation that supports it, facilitates the molecular transition from the groups that are led to the leading group (Gramsci, Q8, §191).

The connection with democracy and how this can only exist if it benefits the ruling groups is interesting, as it undermines the value of democracy as it is generally intended, i.e. all people having equal access to the administration of societies. Rather, it presents hegemony as a *strategy* to advance and consolidate certain power groups over others. Moreover, it has to be stressed that, although hegemony is depicted negatively as part of the capitalist endeavour to control economies and minds, the concept itself has not got any negative value judgements attached, but is instead seen as comprising the opposing, but complementary, strategies of consensus building and coercion (Filippini, 2017, p. 18). The main implication here is that whoever is attempting to preserve and defend existing power structures would eventually resort to restrictive and potentially violent measures if the quest for consent fails:

The ‘normal’ workings of hegemony within the established settings of parliamentary regimes we find today, is characterised by a balanced combination of coercion and consent, so that coercion does not overpower consent, but rather appears to be supported by the consent of the majority, as portrayed by the so-called forums of the public opinion (which, therefore, are artificially multiplied in certain circumstances) (Gramsci, Q1, §48).

³ For the Gramscian quotes, *Q* stands for Quaderno (notebook) and *§* stands for the paragraph number. A well-known English translation of the *Prison Notebooks* is provided by Buttigieg (Gramsci, 1992), but I have provided my own translation here.

The reference to the “so-called forums of the public opinion” seems a clear reference to the media, and the fact that they can be “artificially multiplied in certain circumstances” a clear reference to the propagandistic use that the ruling groups can make of media. Gramsci was well aware of the propaganda mechanism through which Mussolini’s fascist party had gained power and had managed to keep it for such a long time, to the point that it mentions his party as the only one who successfully created a balance between action and propaganda. The latter, similarly to hegemony, is not seen in a negative way, but is defined as having “clear principles, ability to seize the moment, [...] organic reliability, balance between [political] tactics and strategies” (Gramsci, Q3, §119), and hence as a strategic hegemonic technique.

Finally, Gramsci places the hegemonic struggle on a specific battlefield: “‘hegemony’ refers to a specific system of moral values” (Gramsci, Q8, §227) and hegemonic struggle becomes therefore the struggle to gather consent over a specific system of moral values. He introduced and elaborated on the concept of hegemony in Marxist theory in order to answer a very simple question: how is it possible that the ordinary people are indifferent to the appeals of a revolution (we are obviously talking about a specific historic period, early 20th century Europe) that would improve their standards of living? The answer to this question was to be found in the subordination of people, not only to “the force of the state, but also to the world view of the ruling class” (Bates, 1975, p. 360). This type of subordination, according to Gramsci, is achieved not through the political society but through the civil society, which “is composed of all those ‘private organisms’ - schools, churches, clubs, journals, and parties - which contribute in molecular fashion to the formation of social and political consciousness” (Bates, 1975, p. 353). Hegemony is therefore cultural, rather than political leadership, which is instead intended as the exercise of political power by specific agencies (parliament, governments, etc.), and is part of “the conceptual constellation of ideology” alongside other key elements such as *common sense* (Filippini, 2017, pp. 18-23).

The notion of *common sense* is very closely related to the concepts of *presumptions* or *discursive presuppositions* discussed in the previous section and can be defined according to the same socio-cognitive parameters. Gramsci talks about *common sense* as a type of social ideology that stands between scientific knowledge (philosophy) and popular belief (folklore):

Every social stratum has its own ‘common sense’ which is ultimately the most widespread conception of life and morals. Every philosophic paradigm leaves behind a layer of ‘common sense’: this is the evidence of its historic validity. Common sense is not rigid and static, but in constant motion, fuelled by scientific notions and philosophical opinions that become part of traditions. ‘Common sense’ is the folklore of ‘philosophy’ and lies between the real ‘folklore’ (that is, as it is understood) and the philosophy, the science, the economics of scholars. ‘Common

sense' creates the future folklore, which is a fairly stable stage of a specific time and place (Gramsci, Q1, §65).

The social nature of common sense seems straightforward enough, as the most widespread ideologies are influenced by scientific knowledge and popular beliefs, both of which are made by societies and are of a contingent nature. Gramsci also hints at the cognitive dimension of *common sense* when he states that “common sense is made to believe that what is today has always been” (Gramsci, Q6, §78), thus suggesting a specific mental connection established by commonsensical ideologies. The connection between the concept of common sense and *presumptions* or *discourse presuppositions* is made clear by van Dijk (1998) who equates it to *cultural knowledge* and argues that it functions “as the basis for specific group beliefs, and also [...] as the general base of presupposed beliefs in all accounts, explanations and arguments” (p. 106). Analysing hegemonic discourse should therefore also (predominantly?) entail exploring commonsensical or naturalised ideologies.

CDS has largely acknowledged the concept of hegemony since the main goal of this approach has been to uncover unequal power relations and how these are created and sustained also through discourses that attempt to represent dominant ideologies as natural or commonsensical (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 24; Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 9). However, there are two points that would align the CDS enterprise to the closer reading of the Gramscian articulation of hegemony as outlined above. These are the mechanisms and strategies, from the point of view of text/genre/discourse production and interpretation, that enable them to play a part in hegemonic efforts; and which genres are particularly effective in allowing these mechanisms to take place.

With regard to the first point, i.e. which mechanisms and strategies are employed in hegemonic discourse, van Dijk (1998) identifies compliance and consent as the goals these strategies aim to achieve, so that “power and dominance will seem natural, legitimate and commonsensical, and will be taken for granted without significant opposition” (p. 274). Van Dijk also specifies, however, that

without a much more detailed study of the social, cognitive and discursive elements of the structures, strategies, processes or representations involved in this form of the 'modern' reproduction of dominance and ideologies, [...] analyses barely go beyond easy slogans or superficial social analysis and critique (*ibidem*).

It follows that the pragmatic areas that need to be investigated in hegemonic discourse analysis are the processes of *legitimation*, *persuasion* and *manipulation*, all of which can be addressed, from the point of view of multimodal analysis, using both Functional and Cognitive linguistic analytical tools. My research aims to contribute to the study of *manipulation* and this will be discussed in detail in 4.3 after

having reviewed, in the same chapter, some of the contributions made by the application of cognitive constructs to multimodal research.

Finally, the second point stems from Gramsci's belief that hegemony is predominantly exercised through the work of *civil society* and this calls for a more conscious and explicit focus on cultural and popular discourses. The focus on these particular agencies (and related discourses and genres) allows CDS to reply to one of the criticisms raised by Chilton (2005, p. 27), namely that humans possess what has been called Machiavellian intelligence and should therefore be able, at least in principle, to recognise the tactical deception which is at the basis of manipulation. A possible counter-argument would be that what hegemonic discourse does is exactly to come in forms (read *genres*) that would not necessarily alert the counter-deception mechanisms because perceived as non-threatening. These genres would therefore be in a privileged position to reproduce dominant ideologies, as people will interact with them, to use a boxing metaphor, when the guard is low.

This is plausible for two reasons: first of all, whereas not everyone is necessarily interested or involved in the works of the political society in the form of legislation, parliamentary proceedings, political debates, political news, etc., everyone is involved in one way or another in the works of the civil society. This is because some of these contexts are a compulsory step in everyone's upbringing, e.g. family and school education, and some others we are in one way or another compelled to take part in as part of our socialisation, e.g. work and entertainment in its many different forms. The second reason, I argue, is that from a cognitive point of view our levels of *epistemic vigilance* (our counter-deception mechanisms, see 4.4.) are likely to be higher if we are faced with overt political discourses than if we are with covert ones. Political discourses are not just found in political genres and fora and, in fact, it is there that they are more likely to be treated as problematic, as political genres are often dominating by competing political perspectives on different matters. Very rarely do political fora treat political and social issues as 'natural', although there can of course be *discursive presupposition* (Bekalu, 2006; Polyzou, 2015, 2018) at play in political forums too.

The need to focus on the ideological workings of popular media is a point that has been made both in media research (Corner, 2016, p. 268) and multimodal critical research (Machin and van Leeuwen, 2016). Furthermore, the focus should also be on texts, genres and discourses which, within a given society or even as a global format (for example TV programmes like the *Big Brother* or *X-Factor*, which have been exported and, we may say, *recontextualised* in many different countries), have the possibility to reach wide audiences and thus create larger consensus around dominant worldviews. My research aims to contribute to this research agenda by focusing on TV travel and cultural documentaries.

2.3.5 Power

Power is of central importance to CDS. Foucault's definition, upon which much of the CDS understanding of power is based (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 11), is very neutral: he defines power as "a whole series of particular mechanisms, definable and defined, that seem capable of inducing behaviours or discourses" (Foucault, 1996, p. 394). Power, therefore, does not need to have a negative connotation (see also Fairclough, 2015, pp. 26-27), but it does if it creates or sustains differences amongst people in access to knowledge, wealth, and physical, psychological and emotional well-being. When this happens, power can be seen as "relations of domination" (Thompson, 1990, p. 55; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 24), and their most common structural manifestation is that of a hierarchy. Hierarchies and power relations are constructed, reproduced and challenged through discourse and the semiotic traces left during this process are part of the 'evidence' CDS researchers investigate in order to explain society and its interactional dynamics (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 12). The role of CDS thus become to expose these relations of domination, the way they are created and reproduced and, ideally, ways in which they can be opposed and overcome so that the differences among people or groups disappear.

One may object that power can only have a negative connotation as the concept of power itself presupposes that some have power and some do not, but I would argue that power forces that work toward the suppression of power relations can be seen in a positive way. Fairclough (2015) also discusses other circumstances in which 'power over people' is not inherently bad: "when we go to a doctor or to a school or university, we recognize that the doctor or teacher has certain legitimate powers over us" (p. 26). In order to fully appreciate the possibility of a positive connotation of power, it is useful to differentiate between the power *of* discourse and the power *over* discourse (Jäger and Maier, 2016, p. 117).

The first refers to the potential of discourse to form individual and mass consciousness: in this acceptation it is possible to find discourses who challenge and wish to free societies from negative conceptions of power, hence establishing themselves as the positive counterpart. The second refers to the individual and collective ability to construct, promote and sustain discourses: it can be argued that this form of power is inherently negative as, at some point, it may create some form of domination by suppressing other competing discourses. However, they need not be: if competing discourses are not suppressed but confronted and delegitimised, one could see this dialectical relation of *power over discourse* as positive. However, based on the normative standpoint discussed in 2.3.2, hegemonic power dynamics can be seen as a negative force if, by exercising *power over discourse*, they aim to preserve societal hierarchies, be these between social classes within national boundaries or, as is the case within the globalised world we live in, between different countries and geographical areas. Although our societies would probably experience hegemonic power dynamics at both levels, national

and international, it is the latter that will be at the centre of my analysis. It is in fact through international imbalances of economic power (supported by hegemonic practices at national levels) that national powers and groups of nations, particularly in the Western world, can mitigate the effects of inequalities at national levels at this particular time in history.

Since the 1970s and in correspondence with a marked shift from pre-globalised to globalised economies, many Western societies have witnessed an increase in the levels of income inequalities within their national boundaries (Alderson and Nielsen, 2002, p. 1246). At the same time, the plan of capitalist enterprises to continue to increase their sources of income has meant that, among other initiatives, the relocation or outsourcing of the manufacturing processes have become necessary in order to decrease significantly production costs and make goods affordable to people with lower incomes, thus expanding the customer base (Hollifield, 2004, p. 89; Shaikh, 2005, p. 48). In the so-called advanced societies, the scale of consumerism and the standards of living connected to it can only be possible thanks to the exploitation of cheaper labour in other parts of the world (Harvey, 2005, p. 76). This enables the majority of people within the (internationally dominant) society to possess goods (and to a great extent foods) that they would not be able to possess within the boundaries of a nationally bound manufacturing economy. This in turns means that the ruling classes within their nation boundaries can continue to prosper and dictate their political agenda without the imminent pressure, fuelled by the lack of basic goods, that the lower classes in their own societies would put on them.

The hegemonic power element in media discourse enters the equation as a contribution to cloud the judgement of people in dominant countries, so that the exploitation of other countries' labour is not perceived as such. A part in this effort is no doubt played by not divulging information about how the international system of production and distribution of goods and foods works in the first place. However, I would also argue that this is also facilitated by creating a perception of other countries as being less culturally, technologically and socially advanced, in order to legitimate the interference with their economies, cultures and societies. The present study aims to contribute to shed some light over this aspect of hegemonic power by looking at how this perception can be created or reinforced through the genre of TV travel and cultural documentaries. Hegemonic power dynamics can be seen as the subtle working force of dominant ideologies.

2.4 The Mass Media landscape in the U.K.

2.4.1 Mass Media Communication

Mass Media Communication can be seen as the evolution of the ancestral need human societies have developed to share information in order to organise themselves into communities and to gain an advantageous position compared to other species (Pinker and Bloom, 1990, p. 712). At a very basic

level, this need is fulfilled through face-to-face verbal and non-verbal interactions between individuals. Through the centuries, however, communication has occurred in increasingly more sophisticated ways due to technological advances that have allowed humans to share information, both in spoken and written form (here including non-linguistic semiosis), through novel means with capabilities to reach very large audiences. The label *mass media* is used to highlight the reaching capabilities of some contemporary communication means, not only in terms of the size of the audience, but also in spatial and temporal terms. Ott and Mack (2010) focus on the spatial aspect when they define mass media as “those communication technologies that have the *potential* to reach a large audience in remote locations” (p. 2, *emphasis in original*). Paxson (2010, pp. 2-3) instead focuses on the capability of mass mediated communicative events to reach vast and remote audiences “often simultaneously”. Mass media could therefore be defined as the technological infrastructures through which messages can be delivered to a vast, heterogeneous and remote audience both while events are occurring (i.e. live shows) and after they have been recorded.

Although mass media communication can be seen as the technological evolution of face-to-face communication, there are significant differences between the two. First of all, as the word *media* (the neuter plural of the Latin *medius*, meaning ‘in the middle’) suggests, the audience receives the message after it has been mediated. As van Leeuwen (2005a, p. 172) puts it, a mediated representation (a photograph in his account) can “only carry the signifiers of its *claim* to Truthfulness”. The implication of the mediation process is that the representation of some aspect of ‘reality’ may be altered by the subjective interpretation of those who deliver the mediated version. Mediation itself, however, occurs at two different levels: the first one, which we can call *abstract mediation*, is identical in all types of communication, and it is the mediation between the original (or, more often than not, a mediation of a mediation) event, idea or piece of information, and its representation; in other words, the understanding and conceptualisation of an event by the agent delivering the message. The second one, which we can call *physical mediation*, derives from the technical means (be these the vocal chords or a radio transmitter) through which the message is delivered. In this case, although the mediation occurs in any form of communication, the range and type of semiotic resources that can be utilised to deliver the message is greatly influenced by the medium we choose: a routine face-to-face interaction will mainly exploit linguistic and non-verbal semiosis (including gestures and facial expressions), whereas a TV programme will make greater use of visual and musical semiosis. Some of the cognitive implications of this, both from a representational and neuroscientific point of view, will be discussed in *Chapter 3*.

Both levels of mediation require analytical tools that will be employed in this research. This first level of mediation will be particularly relevant in order to answer questions regarding the ideological positioning of the text and the *preferred readings* (see below) expected from the audience. Looking at the *physical mediation* will shed some light on the choice of semiotic resources employed (and

possible alternatives), bearing in mind the limitations and possibilities (the *affordances*, see 3.4.2) of the medium through which the messages are conveyed. It will also help us establish the cognitive effort required on the part of the audience and how much *representational freedom* the audience is allowed based on the semiotic resources utilised. It has to be stressed, however, that the distinction between abstract and physical mediation is purely analytical, as the two levels of mediation clearly influence each other. The text producers' abstract mediation will be influenced by the affordances of the medium and semiotic resources at their disposal; likewise, the choice of the semiotic resources, and possibly the medium altogether, will be influenced by the type of representation the text producers wish to convey as well as the interpretative signposting they think are required for the preferred reading to be comprehended and agreed upon.

The concept of a *preferred readings* in mass-mediated communication comes from Stuart Hall's non-deterministic view of the relationship between media and audiences. Hall's *encoding/decoding* model (1980/2005) approaches media analysis from a neo-Marxist perspective, seeing media as one of the instruments through which the ideologies of the ruling classes are reproduced and spread in the hegemonic attempt to naturalise them. *Preferred readings* therefore

have the institutional/political/ideological order imprinted in them and have themselves become institutionalised. The domains of 'preferred meanings' have the whole social order embedded in them as a set of meanings, practices and beliefs: the everyday knowledge of social structures, of 'how things work for all practical purposes in this culture', the rank order of power and interest and the structures of legitimation, limits and sanctions (p. 124).

The non-deterministic dimension of Hall's model is given by the fact that the uptake of these *preferred readings* is not a given and he discusses *dominant*, *oppositional* and *negotiated* codes as possible positions at the receiving end of a mediated interaction. A *dominant code* entails viewers recognising the message conveyed and accepting its validity; an *oppositional code* sees viewers recognising the message, but deciding to reject it for not fitting in with their worldview; a *negotiated code* involves viewers accepting the message under certain circumstances (e.g. at a global or national level), but not under others (e.g. within the specificity of their lives), hence negotiating its validity. *Preferred readings* are a key analytical concept in my research, although the concept will be used in a more generic fashion to include any of the meanings embedded in the texts and not only those that reflect the ideologies of the ruling classes.

2.4.2 *Media ownership in the U.K.*

Media companies in the U.K. can be privately and state-owned. Some argue that the difference in ownership carries a number of often contrasting assumptions, principles and outcomes in how the

organizations are run and what their ultimate purpose is, which has been often summarised in the dichotomy *public interest* (state owned media), “according to which government ownership cures market failures” vs. *public choice* (privately owned media) “according to which government ownership undermines political and economic freedom” (Djankov *et al.*, 2003, pp. 341-342). State-owned media comprise both televisions, radio and newspapers (both online and through more traditional distribution methods, such as airwaves and cable), but mainly broadcasting (*ibid*, p. 341). State-owned media can vary in the degree of direct control from the government, with the BBC in the UK being cited as an example of loosely controlled media and the largest TV station in Myanmar, MRTV, being cited as an example of media directly controlled by the government (*ibid*, p. 351). It is interesting to look at some of the conclusions Djankov *et al.* (2003) reached as a result of their research, since they aptly frame the discussion around the social consequences that different models of media ownership may have on societies. The main goal of their research was to establish, through a comparison of countries and the nature of the ownership of their media, whether it is the *public interest* (state-owned media) or the *public choice* (privately owned media) model that results in “greater freedom of the press, more economic and political freedom, and better social outcomes” (p. 343). Amongst the variables included to assess the consequences of the different media ownership models are criteria such as *gross national product per capita*, *media freedom*, *political and economic freedom* and *health outcomes*, some of which naturally tend towards the *public choice* model (e.g. the *gross national product* or the *state-owned enterprise index* criteria) as they are based on the same economical premises of free market and competition (see section 2.4.4 for a discussion of neoliberalism and its principles). Here is the summary of their results (p. 373):

We then show that countries that are poorer, more autocratic, with lower levels of primary school enrollment, and with higher levels of state intervention in the economy also have greater state ownership of the media. In addition, countries with greater state ownership of the media have less free press, fewer political rights for citizens, inferior governance, less developed capital markets, and inferior health outcomes.

Although they do concede that “none of this evidence can be unambiguously interpreted as causal” (p. 378), which, incidentally, was the core of their research question, they nonetheless conclude that “the results do provide support for the public choice against public interest theory of media ownership in an environment where [...] the public interest case is especially strong. Yet the data [...] reveal no benefits of state ownership” (p. 378). This conclusion is very controversial for two reasons: first of all, the criteria chosen as evidence of better or worse quality of governance are themselves part of a neoliberal discourse that favours a non-interventionist role of the state in any market-related matter (Harvey, 2005, p. 2) and this provides an analytical and methodological bias towards the *public choice*

model. Secondly, the fact that it is not possible to establish a causal relation between the type of media ownership and the quality of governance poses a serious problem in suggesting the interpretation given by Djankov *et al.*

Research on media ownership such as the study carried out by Djankov *et al.*, notwithstanding the neoliberal stance and premises that undermine its conclusions, is still useful to highlight the ideological weight connected with the nature of ownership of the media and gives us the opportunity to discuss the points of intersection between the two types of ownership by looking closer at the British Broadcasting Corporation.

2.4.2.1 *State owned media: the BBC*

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) started their radio transmissions in 1922 and their television transmissions in 1936. It is predominantly funded by licence fees and the income for the whole corporation, including BBC Commercial Holdings Group, was just around £6.5bn for the financial year 2019/20 (BBC, 2020a, p. 168). A Royal Charter, which is renewed approximately every 10 years, and which spells out the rights and duties of the corporation, regulates the BBC and its relationship with the British government; the most recent Charter came into effect in December 2016. The evolution of the BBC from an entirely publicly funded corporation to one that has come to possess commercial arms operating entirely within the neoliberal paradigm of free market and open competition, is a very interesting one. Different reasons have been suggested at the base of this process, most of which can be classified as external forces in the form of a) political intervention; b) the wish of privately owned media organisations to challenge what, up to the 1950s, was essentially a monopoly; c) global neoliberal discourses of austerity, balanced government budgets, etc.

Tracey and Herzog (2014, 2015) give an account of how different political leaders and their governments played a very important role in changing the nature and structure of the BBC starting with Margaret Thatcher and the Peacock Inquiry and Report in 1986, and continuing through the Major and Blair governments in the '90s and '00s, often with clear examples (predominantly from the Thatcher era) of political interference in the editorial choices of the BBC's board of directors (Tracey and Herzog, 2014, pp. 71-74). Throughout the last thirty years or so, government-initiated inquiries have looked into how the BBC fits within the neoliberal dogma of the free market and, more crucially, at whether public funding can be justified to sponsor the corporation. Herzog and Tracey (2016) highlight how, over this lapse of time, the discourse pertaining the BBC's cultural and societal role moved from being "centrally concerned with television and the moral standards of society" to one where the focus is on "privatization and how to achieve a level playing field with commercial competitors" (p. 22). Moreover, legislation has also been passed that pushed the BBC toward a market and competition lenient stance, first with the introduction by the Thatcher government of a quota (25%) of programmes to be purchased from independent producers (Saundry, 1998, p. 153), and then

with the relaxation of the laws regulating the diversity of media ownership, through the Broadcasting Act of 1996 passed under the second Major government (Herzog and Tracey, 2016, p. 20)⁴.

At the time when neoliberal capitalism started to be increasingly advocated as the economic paradigm the UK should abide to, i.e. during the first Thatcher government (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 146-147; Palley, 2005, p. 24), some observers pointed out that scholars had long underestimated the potential influence of the British government, which is granted by the power to legislate over the corporation lifeblood, that is the compulsory licence fee every household with a TV set connected to an aerial must pay (Murdock, 1982/2005, p. 117). Indeed, one of the main reasons for establishing the Peacock Inquiry was precisely to assess whether the compulsory license fee was the optimal way to fund the corporation or whether alternatives that were more in line with the free-market doctrine should be favoured (Tracey and Herzog, 2014, p. 65). Issues connected to the running and funding of the BBC are addressed by a Charter that is negotiated and agreed upon approximately every ten years by the corporation, represented by the Director General with the assent of the Board of Directors, and the fee-paying citizens, represented by whichever government is in power at the time of negotiations, in the person of the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport.

Propelled by the external forces of the neoliberal marketplace, the effects of this sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of the Directors General in power at the time of Charter renewal are evidenced by the themes and keywords that make up the Charter Manifestos, that is the documents produced by the BBC during the renegotiations of the Charters. D'Arma (2018b, pp. 222-223) takes a close look at the last three Charter Manifestos and notices how the keywords changed from being centred around the concept of *public purpose* and *quality* in the 1992 Manifesto, to *value*, *market failure* and *public good* in the 2004 Manifesto, and to *distinctiveness*, *creative industry* (with reference to the economic value the BBC brings to this national industry) and *British* (and synonyms, again with reference to the contribution of the BBC to the national economy) in the 2015 Manifesto. Essentially, the will to comply with neoliberal principles of competition and free market, resulted “in the encroachment of a competition discourse and in growing demands for PSB [public service broadcasting] organizations to evidence their value for money” (*ibid*, p. 208). Evidence of this development of the BBC as a corporation is the creation of commercial arms that are not funded by the public licence fee, such as the BBC Commercial Holdings Group, BBC Worldwide Group and, more recently, BBC Studios. This can be seen as “the culmination of a 30-year-long process” which could well result in policy changes requiring the licence fee to be won or distributed on a contestable basis to all commercial broadcasters (D'Arma 2018a, pp. 444-445), a category that describes the BBC a lot better today than it did thirty years ago.

⁴ Herzog and Tracey seem to imply the Broadcasting Act of 1996 was also in line with New Labour's ideology as conceived by Tony Blair.

The political intervention outlined has been itself instigated by two connected spheres of influence: competing private media organisations operating in the UK, and prevailing economic theories with related economic policies. Murdock (1982/2005, pp. 116-117) notices how the activities of the big multinational conglomerates influence the BBC in terms of its allocative policies, i.e. how much of the resources are spent on certain types of programming. The fact that all media companies are fighting over audience shares forces the BBC to broadcast programmes that will compete with those produced by private media corporations. As it has been widely argued, the latter work by the principle of viewers-as-advertisements-consumers as the basis of their economic existence (Kim, 1994, p. 1415; Doyle, 2002, p. 67). This means that programming will not necessarily take into consideration the viewer's welfare, but rather provide content which will attract as wide an audience as possible in order to deliver advertisers the return they expect from their investment, even if this means relying on violent content which is seen as drawing larger audiences (Bushman and Phillips, 2001, p. 45)⁵. Although being funded by licence fees rather than advertising (as is the case for the BBC) allows the media producer/broadcaster to distance themselves from such economic logics, the fact that they need to compete within this context for audience shares implies that the issue of what type of content attracts viewers needs to be factored in when deciding what programmes to produce, commission or buy. It is interesting to note at this point that the creation of the BBC Studios, a fully commercial entity sitting outside the publicly funded corporation whose role is to generate profit by selling their products to external broadcasters, has incorporated all the in-house production units, with the exception of news, current affairs, sports and children's (D'Arma, 2018a, p. 438). This means that all the content and programmes that fall within the entertainment (and infotainment) category, including documentaries, TV-series and drama, will be produced with the intent to appeal to advertisers, thus having to compromise between the *quality/market share* dichotomy. In addition to this, D'Arma also reports the decision by the BBC "to open up around 80% of the BBC's overall TV network slate to competition from external suppliers (excluding news, current affairs, sports and children's)" (*ibidem*). The combination of these two strategies means that a significantly higher percentage of the content produced and broadcasted by the BBC will need to abide to the values and commercial restrictions of the free market and the way commercial television is funded. It will be interesting to see whether the principle of public interest, which was behind the production of content by the BBC up to the time these strategies were implemented, will manage to find its way amongst the type of content deemed to be appealing for advertising/consuming purposes in the global free market, or whether the principle of profit-making at the basis of the capitalist industry of advertising will gain even more dominance by infiltrating the once sheltered fortress of publicly funded broadcasting.

⁵ Interestingly, Bushman and Phillips (2001) show evidence that watching violent programs impairs viewers' retention of the advertisements embedded in the programs, which means violent programs are not good for advertising.

Alongside the pressures posed to the BBC from its commercial competitors domestically and internationally, one last factor to take into consideration when looking at the relationship between the corporation and the State through which it is primarily funded is the influence of global and regional (i.e. European) macroeconomics and related economic policies at regional and national level. As part of both the theoretical economic principles of neoliberalism and of the supranational politico-economical architecture of the European Union, the United Kingdom, regardless of what political party is in power, has committed itself to targets of fiscal balance in the running of the state. More specifically, these fiscal targets entail a balanced budget, i.e. expenditures not exceeding income; limits for the levels of public debt, i.e. the overall amount of money the state is borrowing from domestic or foreign lenders, to be kept below the threshold of 60% of the Gross Domestic Product; and limits of budget deficit, i.e. the difference between expenditure and income forecasted for every annual budget, to be kept below threshold of 3% of the Gross Domestic Product (Bruff, 2014, p. 122; de la Porte and Heins, 2015, p. 2). Particularly during periods of economic crisis or recession, the fiscal targets force governments to make cuts to their expenditures, which, as far as the BBC is concerned, resulted in two measures being implemented recently (Smith, 2017, p. 208): cuts for about £700m a year for 5 years imposed by the Conservative government in 2010 as part of similar savings in other cultural institutions and the decision of the Conservative government included in the 2015 budget to have the BBC pay for all those citizens who are exempt from paying the licence fee (which is something the government had covered up to that point), resulting in an annual cost for the corporation of over £600m.

Although not directly *owned* by the state, the financial policies proposed and implemented by UK governments do exert a great potential (with the possibility of reviewing the license fee funding arrangements) and actual (with budgetary legislation) influence on how the BBC is run. This influence, coupled with the neoliberal macroeconomic principles that dominate the capitalist countries of the Western world, could be interpreted as a form of more or less direct *control* over the corporation, an issue that deserves further discussion, as it is at this level that the differences between privately and state-owned media are nullified.

2.4.2.2 *Private media ownership*

Although the programmes chosen by the research participants and analysed were all broadcast by the BBC, private media ownership will be briefly discussed so that some parallels can be drawn between state owned and privately owned media. Moreover, a discussion of this type of ownership will provide a fuller description of the media landscape in the U.K and will also allow me to explore the difference between the related, but distinct, concepts of *ownership* and *control*.

There is one striking fact that should be clarified from the onset when discussing private media ownership: on a global level, mass media “have gone from being dominated by 20 companies just 20

years ago to being dominated by five today. Time Warner, Disney, Viacom, News Corporation, and Bertelsmann comprise the first tier of corporate mega giants” (Ott and Mack, 2010, p. 25).⁶ This is what is also known as *concentration* or *oligopoly*, which is defined as “an organizational state in which the ownership and control of an entire industry, such as the mass media, is dominated by just a few companies” (*ibidem*). Moreover, since privately owned media companies operate entirely within a neoliberal paradigm in which open competition, fighting over market shares and increasing profits are the overarching principles and goals, it comes as no surprise that some scholars see their agenda as simply “to make money” (Paxson, 2010, p. 28). Although it would be an oversimplification to only look at financial aspects and dismiss the heterogeneous fabric of media corporations, especially in terms of the professional and creative individuals (with their own agendas) they employ, it is nonetheless essential to understand how the dominant economic paradigm restricts media organisations in their choices and influences the content and delivery of media products.

A first important distinction to make is the difference between *legal ownership* and *economic ownership*. This differentiates between two types of shareholders within a company: *legal owners* do not possess voting rights when it comes to elect the board of directors, i.e. the decision-makers; those who do possess voting rights are the *economic owners*. For small, limited or sole proprietor companies, the two types of ownership overlap: a sole proprietor or a small group of partners will, generally speaking, be both *legal* and *economic* owners, as the figures of owner(s) and executive director(s) will generally tend to be the same people. In case of larger corporations with multiple shareholders and elected boards of directors, however, the two types of ownership rarely overlap. Each share with voting rights counts as one, so the largest holders of shares with voting rights have, effectively, *economic* ownership of a company, in the sense that they can make financial and strategic decision through their elected representatives (Murdock, 1982/2005, pp. 118-119). Djankov *et al.* (2003, p. 350) provide an example of such a type of private ownership, showing how the Schneider family (an American family) ultimately holds economic ownership of the Norwegian television station TVN through a series of controlled companies, the last of which has 50.7 percent of the voting share of TVN. Being able to track to whom the media outlets and production companies belong is essential if we want to contextualise what/who made it possible for a given media product to be broadcast, as this will be one of the factors shaping the ideological position of their content.

Ott and Mack (2010) identify three other patterns of ownership besides *concentration*: conglomeration, integration and multinationalism. From the point of view of contextualising the ideologies supporting the production of media content, each of these patterns carry some importance. *Conglomeration* is defined as “the corporate practice of accumulating multiple, though not

⁶ There have been a few mergers since 2010, but the overall concentration of market share and profit has not changed significantly (see Forbes 2015).

necessarily media, companies and businesses through startups, mergers, buyouts, and takeovers” (p. 26). Here the ideological/operational assumption to make is the following: if a media company is part of a group that owns other unrelated products and services, their media content will tend not to undermine the legitimacy of those products and services (Hollifield, 2004, p. 101). This entails, as a general rule and with due exceptions, showing the positive attributes and ignoring the negative attributes of those products and services. *Integration* can be described as “an ownership pattern in which the subsidiary or branches within a corporation are strategically interrelated” (Ott and Mack 2010, p. 29). Integration can occur on a *vertical* axis, which allows companies to oversee the whole media process from production to distribution, or on a *horizontal* axis, which allows companies to reduce competition by becoming dominant in a specific stage of the media process. In terms of ideological/operational assumptions, *vertical integration* allows for greater ideological conformity, as the same *economic owners* manage the cultures and professional ethos of the different companies within the chain of media production; *horizontal integration*, on the other hand, allows dominant ideologies to undermine the success of competing ideological media content, for example by restricting its production, distribution or broadcasting. Either models of *integration* result in ideological conformity. *Multinationalism*, finally, can be defined as “a corporate presence in multiple countries, allowing for the production and distribution of media products on a global scale” (*ibid*, p. 31). The ideological/operational process that this pattern of ownership allows is to spread ideologies from the big media conglomerates to smaller media companies in a number of different countries, thus facilitating the global spread of the dominant ideologies.

An awareness of these ownership patterns is also necessary when approaching state-owned companies, as these operate within the same economic paradigm and are influenced at different stages of the media process by what privately owned media company do.

2.4.3 *Control within the neoliberal paradigm*

As it will be argued in this section and as pointed out when differentiating between *legal* and *economic* owners, *ownership* and *control* do not necessarily overlap. A classical view of control within the media industry distinguishes two basic levels of control: *allocative* and *operational* (Pahl and Winkler, 1974, pp. 114–115; Murdock, 1982/2005, p. 118). *Allocative control* refers to the prerogatives of the Boards of Directors, CEOs, Senior Managers or Owners (depending on the size and organisational structure of the media company) to decide the overall strategy of the company, how resources are secured and distributed among the different departments, and the overall aims and objectives of the company both in the short and long terms. It is at this level that the ideological positioning of the company is established and that internal policies, regulations and practices are conceived so that the people who work for the company and, to a large extent, other stakeholders entering in a partnership or other commercial relationships with it know the goals the company has

set to achieve and the way it will endeavour to achieve them. *Operational control*, on the other hand, refers to “decisions about the effective use of resources already allocated and the implementation of policies already decided upon at the allocative level” (Murdock, 1982/2005, p. 118). Although a certain degree of freedom may be granted (or indeed gained) at this level, restrictions are nonetheless in place both at a financial level by the resources allocated to the department or production team, and at an ideational level by the overall aims and objectives the executives have set for the company.

Allocative control is connected with those individuals that in the section concerning *ownership* we have identified as the *economic owners* (Murdock 1982/2005, p. 119). As we have seen, when it comes to privately owned media companies the economic owners can be more or less easily identified by looking at the structure of the companies or conglomerates themselves. For small companies, whose shares are not publicly available on stock markets, the economic owners will usually be the proprietor(s), who may or may not rely on CEOs or Directors’ advice when it comes to establishing the ideological and strategic positioning of the company. For larger corporations and conglomerates, whose shares can be publicly bought and sold on the stock markets, those individuals or groups who possess the majority of shares have the prerogative to elect members of the Board of Directors, presumably amongst people with whom they share ideologies and principles, and whom they can trust will embed those ideologies within the strategic planning and implementation of the operations.

When we look at state-owned companies, however, the connection between those possessing allocative control prerogatives and the economic owners of the companies or corporations is not as straightforward. If we look at the BBC, an example of loosely controlled state corporation according to Djankov *et al.* (2003, p. 351), we notice that there are no economic owners as such, that is individuals who can directly control the ideological positioning of the corporation, as, in theory, all of the fee-paying citizens are the economic owners with an equal distribution of shares (one per household). Their rights as economic owners are delegated to the Members of Parliament representing their constituency who, whether from the government or the opposition benches, exercise those rights. As we have seen, the right of the BBC to exist is granted by a Charter that is negotiated and agreed upon approximately every ten years; the Charter also addresses the way in which the corporation has to operate and what economic principles to follow. The agreed Charter, then, is what effectively sets out the ideological and legal positioning of the corporation and the Director General is the person in charge of ensuring this positioning is adhered to through strategic planning and the implementation of the related policies, processes and operational frameworks. I believe that the temptation to dig further into who the Board of Directors and the Director General are and how they have been chosen should be resisted, as this will allow me, so to speak, to cut off the head of the king. More interesting is to look at the ideologies included in the Charter itself, since whoever is in power at a given point in time has to operate within the ideological and legal boundaries set by the Charter (Great Britain

2016a, §20(3), §56(1)) and the Framework Agreement to which the Charter abides (Great Britain 2016b, §3(2), §56(1)).

Both the Charter and the Framework Agreement support egalitarian notions such as the ones included under the definition of *public purposes*, which, together with the *mission*, represent the *object* of the corporation and provide the binding criteria by which the BBC is granted the status (and public funding) it has. The *public purposes* (Great Britain 2016a, §6(1-5)) of the BBC are: “(1) to provide impartial news and information to help people understand and engage with the world around them [;] (2) to support learning for people of all ages [;] (3) to show the most creative, highest quality and distinctive output and services [;] (4) to reflect, represent and serve the diverse communities of all of the United Kingdom’s nations and regions and, in doing so, support the creative economy across the United Kingdom [;] (5) to reflect the United Kingdom, its culture and values to the world”.

However, a closer look at the context within which these *purposes* need to be achieved, as set out by the documents themselves, shows some of the legal and ideological boundaries limiting the scope and range of the BBC. *Appendix 2.2* summarises some of the most important themes included in the two documents and highlights phrases that show how the themes are connected to the neoliberal ideology of free market and competition, which provides the overarching economic principles the corporation has to abide to. Particular attention is given to the point that, regardless of which part of the corporation and their related activities is discussed, i.e. the publicly funded company offering the public services or the commercial subsidiaries offering “non-service activities”, the whole provision of the BBC corporation and its dealings must not “distort the market or gain [or create] an unfair competitive advantage” (Great Britain 2016a, §18(b), §20(5), §46(6); Great Britain 2016b, §23(5d, 14b), §26(2), §28(1)), must “avoid adverse impacts on competition” (Great Britain 2016a, §11(2a); Great Britain 2016b, §7(7b); §8(1b, c), §8(2), §10(3c, d), §10(4), §12(1, 2, 3, 4), §16(6), §17(1b, c), §17(2), §19(3c, d) §19(4), §21(1, 2, 3, 4), §61(3), §64(b)) and that all commercial services “are undertaken in line with *normal market principles* [emphasis added], including making a commercial rate of return” (Great Britain 2016a, §46(6); Great Britain 2016b, §28(1a)). Similarly, it is the responsibility of Ofcom, the telecommunication regulatory body established with the Communication Act 2003, to “have regard of” [and] “protect fair and effective competition in the United Kingdom” (Great Britain 2016a, §45(2)). The penalty for not complying “strictly and faithfully” with the Charter and Framework Agreement is that “anyone who is aggrieved and/or adversely affected may be entitled to seek an appropriate remedy” (Great Britain 2016a, §56(1-2)). This vague proposition leaves the corporation open to various types of actions, including having to prove to competing private

media providers that their initiatives are in line with current legislation protecting market principles, e.g. the 1998 Competition Act.⁷

This analysis of the most recent Charter and Framework Agreement of the BBC seems to reflect the shift toward neoliberal economic policies in the UK that has occurred since the 1970s and that was discussed in 2.4.2.1. The question at this point is: does allocative control for both privately and state-owned media companies reside in their economic owners, as suggested by Murdock (1982/2005, p. 118), or is the scope for control at this level limited by the dominant economic philosophy that the most powerful countries of the world (United States *in primis*) have adopted over the past 40 years⁸? Curran (2002) hints at the second possibility when attempting to find an explanation as to why privately owned, independent media became progressively subject to elite control: “one part of this explanation is that the free market was itself a system of control rather than an engine of freedom” (p. 35). In light of the analysis carried out, I believe the same can be said for the BBC as both the major political parties in the UK have embraced and support, in varying degrees, *normal market principles* (Fairclough 2001, p. 213). It is therefore at the macroeconomic level manufactured by the dominant neoliberal paradigm, that allocative control really resides. It is at this level that the differences in the ideological positioning of both privately owned and state-owned media in the UK (and potentially in other countries with a similar media landscape) are subject to the same boundaries that ultimately result in a representation of reality and agencies which does not challenge the paradigm on its core tenets. As Chomsky, Barsamian and Naiman (1998) put it:

[t]he smart way to keep people passive and obedient is to strictly limit the spectrum of acceptable opinion, but allow very lively debate within that spectrum - even encourage the more critical and dissident views. That gives people the sense that there’s free thinking going on, *while all the time the presuppositions of the system are being reinforced by the limits put on the range of the debate* [*emphasis added*].

2.4.4 Neoliberalism

Over the course of the exposition so far I have referred to *neoliberalism* and related principles at different points with the aim to ground certain political and financial policies to some form of overarching ideology. It is therefore necessary to briefly clarify what neoliberalism is, how it has become the dominant economic theory, and what kind of socio-political consequences it has brought about.

⁷An example of this is the investigation that followed the BBC decision to enter a joint venture with other media companies, *YouView*. See the BBC Trust Review on the matter (BBC, 2014).

⁸Gurevitch *et al.* (1982/2005, p.111) pose a similar question, but referring to the “socio-political environment” rather than an economic philosophy.

The origins of this economic theory can be traced back to the 1940s when Friedrich von Hayek and a small group of like-minded academics created what is known as the Mont Pelerin Society. The group was inspired by the liberal ideologies of personal freedom and on the neoclassical economic theories that revolved around the idea of free market principles, as opposed to the Keynesian principles of state intervention in matters of economics, employment and welfare (Harvey, 2005, pp. 20-21). Although initially mainly discussed within academic circles, the neoliberal ideology, backed by well-financed think-tanks such as the Institute of Economic Affairs in London and the Heritage Foundation in Washington, started to gain ground in mainstream politics in the UK (with Margaret Thatcher) and US (with Ronald Reagan) towards the end of the 1970s in the wake of the economic and employment crisis that troubled these countries over that decade (*ibid*, pp. 22-23). This new ideology was extended to many areas of societal organisation including, as we discussed in 2.4.2.1, the media landscape and the role of the state-owned BBC, gradually demanding that the corporation be able to justify its right to exist not only on the basis of the public purpose it serves, but increasingly on its competitiveness on the market and its contribution to the British economy.

Unlike capitalism or feudalism, neoliberalism does not concern itself with modes of production (Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005, p. 1), but it is rather “a particular organisation of capitalism, which has evolved to protect capital(ism) and to reduce the power of labour” (*ibid*, p. 3). It is characterised by the free movement of goods, finance and people on a global scale (Fairclough, 2001, p. 204) as well as

a new discipline of labour and management to the benefit of lenders and shareholders; the diminished intervention of the state concerning development and welfare; the dramatic growth of financial institutions; the implementation of new relationships between the financial and non-financial sectors, to the benefit of the former; a new legal stand in favour of mergers and acquisitions; the strengthening of central banks and the targeting of their activity toward price stability, and the new determination to drain the resources of the periphery toward the centre. (Duménil and Lévy, 2005, p. 10)

Saad-Filho and Johnston (2005) identify both internal and external forces at work to ensure that the necessary changes to national and international laws and regulations, as well as attitudes toward the neoliberal ideology, take place. Internal forces refer to those agencies that mainly operate from and within the industrialised, advanced economies in North America, Europe and Japan (the so-called *centre*), with the objective to consolidate the legal, commercial, economic and ideological premises that allow them to continuously increase their wealth and power: these “include the coalition between financial interests, leading industrialists, traders and exporters, media barons, big landowners, local political chieftains, the top echelons of the civil service and the military, and their intellectual and

political proxies” (p. 3). External forces, on the other hand, refer to the initiatives carried out by those agencies from the centre to expand their area of influence on, and hence get access to the resources of, the so-called developing countries, the *periphery*: these include “the diffusion of Western culture and ideology, foreign support for state and civil society institutions peddling neoliberal values, the shameless use of foreign aid, debt relief and balance of payments support to promote the neoliberal programme, and diplomatic pressure, political unrest and military intervention when necessary” (*ibidem*). When analysing my research participants’ interactions and potential media effects, it will be interesting to explore the extent to which the television programmes and the BBC as the broadcaster support the consolidation of the neoliberal ideology in the UK, so that the activities carried out toward the periphery are not perceived for what they are, i.e. the attempt to impose “a specific form of social and economic regulation based on the prominence of finance, international elite integration [and] subordination of the poor in every country” (*ibid*, p. 4).

2.5 CDS and Media Discourse: from reception studies to audience research

Although many approaches within CDS have based their investigation on textual analysis, the use of research participants to investigate people’s comprehension and interpretation of media discourse is not new. Some CDS practitioners have used reception methods in what I will call *recontextualisation studies*. *Recontextualisation* refers to the way “texts [...] move between spatially and temporally different contexts, and are subject to transformations whose nature depends upon relationships and differences between such contexts” (Wodak and Fairclough, 2010, p. 22). These studies involve showing a text to a group of participants and then investigating their reactions through how they recount and evaluate (i.e. recontextualise) what they saw (Richardson, 1994, 2000; Chouliaraki, 2000, 2003; Phillips, 2000; Benwell, 2007; Kosetzi, 2007; Kalyango, 2011; Edward, 2016; Paterson, Coffey-Glover and Peplow, 2016). These studies, however, used texts chosen by the researchers, thus making it difficult to establish any prior interest or whether different interpretations were driven by the text or already existing ideologies.

A second strand of CDS research, which I will call *engagement studies*, partly addressed the methodological shortcomings of the recontextualization studies. Here participants had spontaneously engaged with the texts chosen by the analysts, thus showing a genuine interest in the text (e.g. Angouri and Wodak, 2014; Demetriou, 2018; He, 2019). These studies, however, tend to be based on comments left by readers of online newspapers or other fora and could still not investigate the extent to which the text had an *effect* on the audience. Overall, the CDS reception studies validated two main theories in media communication, Hall’s (1980/2005) *encoding/decoding* model, in so far as the participants did or did not align with the *preferred readings* identified by the analysts, and Condit’s (1991) concept of *polyvalence*, in so far as the participants unambiguously understood the denotative message of the texts but applied their own connotative filters by expressing different opinions. A full-

blown Audience Research (henceforth AR) methodology with participants *as agentive subjects* and qualitative instruments to investigate the media interaction in-depth, is what I propose to investigate the thorny issue of *media effects*.

AR can be defined as “the empirical study of the social production of meaning in people’s encounter with media discourses” (Schröder *et al.*, 2003, p. 147), a task achieved through qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews and open-ended questionnaires. Its basic tenet is that “meaning is never just transferred from the media to their audiences” (*ibid*, p. 122), which is in line with the non-deterministic stance shared by CDS with regard to the relationship between discourse and society (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 20). AR was initially carried out with the issue of *media effects* in mind. By the 1980s scholars in media and cultural studies had reached three main conclusions: 1) media are only one of the variables influencing audiences; 2) media influence is itself dependent on other facilitating factors; 3) different groups and individuals may react differently to the same media message (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1982/2005, p. 234). Subsequent work attempted to unpack those conclusions. Starting with Hall’s *encoding/decoding* model (1980/2005) discussed in 2.4.1, AR-based media and cultural studies shifted the focus from the text to the recipients through concepts such as Fiske’s *polysemy* (1986), that is the idea that the texts themselves are open to more than one interpretation; Condit’s concept of *polyvalence* (1991), that is the idea that the denotative message of a text is unambiguously received by the audience who then applies unique connotative filters; Fish’s idea that a text only has meaning once interpreted by an audience and his concept of *interpretative communities* (1980), which sees text producers and receivers as one entity.

Epistemologically, AR can be associated with social constructivism as it sees empirical data as a discursive construction emerging from the interaction between researcher and participants (Schröder *et al.*, 2003, p. 147). AR and CDS are thus compatible from an epistemological point of view and integrating a focus on the audience provides a number of advantages for CDS from a methodological point of view. Being able to triangulate the analyst’s interpretation with that of an audience reflects, better than text analysis alone, the non-deterministic stance of the critical practitioner. That is, it gives the opportunity to explore how discourse and society interact by taking into consideration not only the *potential meanings* found in texts, but also the *actual readings* of those who interact with them. Furthermore, AR can reduce the researcher’s bias at two stages: at the point of choosing the text and at the point of evaluating the analytical methods applied for the text interpretation, which are criticisms that have been raised against critical approaches to language and multimodal research alike (e.g. Widdowson, 1995; Stubbs, 1997; Forceville, 1999).

Finally, AR allows one to analyse media interactions in their *individuality*. This is not a minor point to consider if we are to reach a better understanding of how media discourse works in shaping society whilst acknowledging that different individuals may have different interpretative experiences (Whitehouse-Hart, 2014, p. 5). Research on multimodality with a focus on *reception* suggests that

interpretations differ depending on a number of individual factors: “the task or goal of the [text] examination, previous knowledge and expertise, expectations, emotions and attitudes. Apart from viewer characteristics, even the context in which [texts] are displayed, perceived and interpreted plays a role” (Holsanova 2014, p. 340). A first generation of studies using eye-tracking and/or other psychophysiological measures (e.g. heart rate, skin conductance, facial electromyography) highlighted that multimodal interpretation occurs through the interplay between bottom-up (i.e. text-driven) and top-down (i.e. participant-driven) processes (e.g. Chua, Boland and Nisbett, 2005; Holsanova, Rham and Holmqvist, 2005; Bucher and Schumacher, 2006). A second generation of studies integrated psychophysiological measures with qualitative research instruments (e.g. retrospective interviews, think-aloud protocols and knowledge tests) to triangulate their data and provide fuller explanations of how multimodal texts are interpreted (e.g. Bucher and Niemann, 2012; Gidlöf, Holmberg and Sandberg, 2012; Müller, Kappas and Olk, 2012). This second generation of studies showed interpretative variance based on the factors mentioned above, urging some to talk about multimodal discourse interpretation as a *dynamic* and *nonlinear* phenomenon (Bucher 2017, pp. 94-7). This is particularly true with regard to how a text fits people’s existing ideologies and which aspects of the text may go to confirm or reject assumptions therein.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the broad theoretical underpinnings of CDS, which is the broad discipline of reference for my research. I have discussed the concepts of *discourse*, *ideology*, *critique*, *hegemony* and *power*, and highlighted the normative standpoint and agenda of my research. I have also positioned myself within a Critical Realist epistemology; further connections between this philosophical paradigm and my theoretical and analytical framework will be further developed in *Chapters 3 and 4*. Furthermore, the chapter provided the socio-economic context in which the objects and agents of my investigation reside. Here I discussed the phenomenon of mass communication in the U.K. and argued that, despite the differences discussed in the media literature between state owned and privately owned media, the overarching principles of what has been the dominant socio-economic paradigm, neoliberalism, have limited the operational and ideological perimeter of both. One of the points my research will consider is therefore the extent to which neoliberal discourses are negotiated in the interactions between the research participants and the television travel and cultural documentaries they chose to watch. This is of particular interest as the participants in the case studies chose the BBC, a broadcaster whose Charter and the Framework Agreement support egalitarian notions such as the ones included under the definition of *public purposes*, and in principle at odds with many neoliberal principles.

Finally, I discussed the role of reception theory in CDS approaches to media discourse. I have argued that the *recontextualisation* and *engagement* studies reviewed have provided important

insights on how participants comprehend and interpret media texts as well as validated some media theories such as Hall's (1980/2005) *encoding/decoding* model and Condit's (1991) concept of *polyvalence*. However, I have also argued that both types of study could not really explore *media effects*, that is changes in the participants' ideologies as a consequence of a specific media interaction. This is one of the main objectives of my research and the reason why I have decided to integrate a full-blown AR methodology that puts my research participants in an *agentive position*. Given the multimodal nature of television documentaries my research aligns more specifically with the multimodal approaches to CDS, namely Social Semiotics and Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis. These, as well the broader field of multimodal research, will be the topics discussed in *Chapter 3* with a specific focus on the analysis of filmic texts.

3. Multimodality

3.1 Introduction

In *Chapter 2* I have discussed the broad discipline in which I position my research, CDS, and argued that my research questions will be best answered by integrating an Audience Research methodology. However, the nature of the genre and medium I have chosen to investigate, travel and cultural documentaries, calls for a specific type of textual analysis, one which is informed by the growing field of multimodal research. This chapter aims to achieve three specific purposes: first of all, I will briefly outline different approaches in multimodal research and position my research within the Social Semiotics and Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis traditions. Secondly, I will discuss key concepts in the field of multimodality: *modes*, *semiotic resources*, *media*, *sensory channels*, *materiality*, *affordances* and *multisensory processing*. Finally, I will review the work done on filmic texts in the fields of Social Semiotics, CDS and multimodal research; the literature review will follow the classic differentiation between film *comprehension* and *interpretation* made by Bordwell (1989) and a final argument will be made for the methodological approach I have chosen as a way to address both levels at the same time with the objective to explore media-based ideological effects.

3.2 Approaches to multimodal analysis

Although there are now a number of approaches within the field of multimodal analysis, the primary shared assumption behind all of them is that communication, whether mediated or face-to-face, is largely achieved through the simultaneous use of different *modes* (Djonov and Zhao, 2013b, p. 1). Pirini, Matelau-Doherty and Norris (2018) identify five main approaches to multimodal analysis: *Multimodal (Inter)action Analysis*, *Mediated Discourse Analysis*, *Multimodal Conversation Analysis*, *Systemic Functional Multimodal Discourse Analysis* and *Social Semiotics*. I will briefly introduce each of them and outline where and how my research is positioned in relation to them.

Multimodal (Inter)action Analysis (e.g. Norris, 2004, 2011) focuses on social actors as a unit of analysis and “a central form of data is video recordings of social actors” (Pirini, Matelau-Doherty and Norris, 2018, p. 641). The multimodal data analysed is then used to “provide an understanding of the interaction(s) studied and are used to address research questions relating to multimodal interaction” (*ibidem*). The main concept in this approach to multimodal analysis is *identity production*, which “emphasize[s] an ever-present creative aspect within the actual performance of actions by individuals” (Norris, 2011, p. 1). Although the social factors that influence such identity production are not dismissed or underplayed, this approach is more interested in how (*inter*)actions, that is “each and every action that an individual produces with tools, the environment, and other individuals” (*ibidem*), produce identity.

Mediated Discourse Analysis (e.g. Scollon, 2001) focuses on the actions (rather than the social actors) that are produced through the mediated social events, and that are inherently multimodal (Pirini, Matelau-Doherty and Norris, 2018, p. 643). One of the main analytical concepts in this approach is that of the *nexus of practice*, by which Scollon (2001) refers to how “a number of social practices intersect, never perfectly, never in any finalized matrix or latticework of regular patterns, but as a network which itself is *the basis of the identities we produce* and claim through our social actions” (p. 142, *my emphasis*). The nexuses of practice are the *moments* in which identities are formed and negotiated and occur alongside *communities of practice*, which are instead seen as fixed practices that have been “objectified by social actors as bounded communities into which one can gain access and membership, have that membership ratified, or be expelled from.” (*ibid*, p. 142). As for the previous approach, the focus here is still on identity production and Scollon’s approach also comprises the theoretical background of Multimodal (Inter)action Analysis, although in this approach there is more of a focus on ethnographic methods of data collection (Pirini, Matelau-Doherty and Norris, 2018, p. 644).

Multimodal Conversation Analysis (Deppermann, 2013; Mondada, 2006, 2009) stems from the well-established field of Conversation Analysis, with which it shares a number of features, from the analysis of naturally occurring interactions to the focus on the sequentiality and temporal unfolding of social actions (Pirini, Matelau-Doherty and Norris, 2018, p. 647). Unlike Conversation Analysis, however, researchers “include embodied and material resources beyond language” (*ibid*, p. 648). Data is collected through participant observations and recording whilst striving not to interfere with the natural progression of the social action, as the main focus of this approach is to explore the mechanism through which multimodal communication occurs in conversational settings.

As the name suggests, *Systemic Functional Multimodal Discourse Analysis* has as its starting point Halliday’s model of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL). SFL looks at language use on three levels: *ideational* - which refers to the grammatical and lexical resources available to users to describe what surrounds them; *interpersonal* - which refers to issues such as level of formality, distance between participants and speech acts (i.e. the function and intention of an utterance) among others, and therefore touches on social relations and identities; *textual* - which looks at features such as cohesion and coherence, within the text and at contextual level, and it is therefore connected to the idea of institutionalised and conventionalised language use (Halliday, 1978). In this approach, “the analysis and interpretation of language use is contextualized in conjunction with other semiotic resources which are simultaneously used for the construction of meaning” (O’Halloran, 2004a, p. 1) and, in terms of data, the focus is on the *text* which can be “broadly defined as a meaning-making event” (Pirini, Matelau-Doherty and Norris, 2018, p. 645). Pirini, Matelau-Doherty and Norris also note that data is not generally collected regarding the way “a participant engages with the text”, but rather that analysts aim to highlight “assumed reading paths” that are identified by looking at how the

different, interconnecting semiotic resources are used (*ibidem*). The latter point is particularly of interest to me, as one of the aims of my project is indeed to integrate the role of an audience in the analysis of a text, not simply as participants asked to watch a programme chosen for them by the researcher, but in the agentive subject position of initiators of the whole mediated social practice of watching a travel or cultural documentary.

Social Semiotics (e.g. Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2005a; Kress, 2010) shares with the previous approach its origins in SFL, but also relies quite heavily on concepts and analytical methods conceived by the Critical Linguistics group active at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s and spelled out in one of the key publications in the field (at the time and for long after), *Language and Control* (Fowler *et al.*, 1979). Although previous scholars (e.g. Wittgenstein, 1958; Ruesch and Bateson, 1951; Goffman, 1959; Austin, 1962; Garfinkel, 1967) in the fields of philosophy, anthropology and sociology had already discussed the centrality of language as an agency for social construction and change, CL encouraged a distinct social turn in the field of linguistics, by calling for the addition of a sociological dimension to the study of language (Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones, 2008, p. 2). This sociological dimension would entail both a macro level in which language contributes to constructing society in all its facets and a micro level that looks at specific contexts and communicative events. The main changes brought about by CL included: a shift from the study of language as an abstract entity to the study of language in use; the move from basic units of language such as morphemes (and phonemes), words, clauses and sentences to larger units of communication like texts; the realisation that research should also look at higher levels of language use, such as discourses, communities of practice and institutions; the focus on concepts such as *speech acts*, *genre* and *context*, and an urge to investigate them both discretely and as constituting elements of communicative events; an interest in the cognitive processes that take place in communicative events (whether they are spoken or written); the idea of language as a social phenomenon which as well as conveying meanings, also conveys values, opinions and beliefs; an interest in researching how language can be used as a means of control and manipulation (Kress, 1989).

Social semiotic analysis expanded the sociological study of language to the sociological study of semiotic resources at large, where language is just one of the available options (Kress, 2010, p. 79). Social semiotics is thus interested in three different aspects: cataloguing semiotic resources, their history and their meaning potentials; investigating how resources are used in specific context; contributing to the development of new resources or to novel uses of existing ones (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 4ff.; 2005a, p. 3). Critically, van Leeuwen did not explicitly include the study of the ideological use of semiotic resources, which would have connected social semiotics to CDS more markedly, and explicitly addressed this issue more recently by stating that “[t]oday multimodal critical analysis still remains relatively marginal and tentative within the field of multimodality, and at times little more than an afterthought” (van Leeuwen, 2014, p. 285). The lack of *Multimodal*

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth MCDA) as an approach in Pirini, Matelau-Doherty and Norris' overview of the field (2018) seems to suggest that this is still the case. One possible explanation for such omission is that the authors include MCDA within the remit of the social semiotic approach and, arguably, rightfully so, considering the strong connections of its two most prominent figures, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, with Critical Linguistics and CDS respectively. However, in recent years attempts have been made to establish MCDA as an approach in its own right. This will be discussed in the next section, as it is here that my research can be positioned.

3.3 *From Social Semiotics to Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis*

In the introduction to a special issue of the *Journal of Language and Politics* Machin and van Leeuwen (2016) identify three stages for the semiotic analysis of contemporary multimodal discourse: the analysis of the signifier, the analysis of the signified and the connection of such analyses to social theory; a cycle that can start at any of the three stages (p. 251ff.). The main purpose of the special issue of the journal was to broaden the analysis of political discourse, moving from a "narrow 'institutional' definition of politics" (*ibid*, p. 244), by which it is meant "parliamentary discourse, election campaigns, party programmes, speeches, etc." (*ibid*, p. 243) to all the linguistic manifestations that can be considered political. The authors argue that the media, due to their power both in financial and circulation terms, are in a prime position to "disseminate dominant political ideologies" (*ibid*, p. 244). This is also the stance I take by employing a narrow reading of the Gramscian concept of hegemony. Although ideologies are then clearly a matter of analysis for social semiotics, this does not necessarily imply that the whole analytical enterprise starts from the need to address some form of social injustice, which, as we have seen in *Chapter 2*, is one of the characteristics shared by the different approaches to CDS (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, pp. 17-18).

However, given Kress and van Leeuwen's close connection with the fields of Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis as founding figures, it is not surprising that ideology and power were always part of their research agenda, despite not being necessarily the central focuses. Towards the end of their introduction to the first edition of *Reading Images*, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) explicitly refer to the CDA enterprise as one of the potential applications of their project and express the hope that their work on images will be useful to expand the enquiry in that field from the linguistic to the visual mode (pp. 12-13).⁹ Similarly, during the discussion of *discourses* as one of the strata for multimodal analysis in their *Multimodal Discourse* (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001), they refer to discourses as knowledges that have been *socially constructed*, meaning:

⁹ The introduction to the second edition of the book reiterated such hope (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 14-15).

that they have been developed in specific social contexts, and *in ways which are appropriate to the interests of social actors in these contexts*, whether these are very broad contexts ('Western Europe') or not (a particular family), explicitly institutionalised contexts (newspapers) or not (dinner-table conversations), and so on. (p. 4, *my emphasis*)

The *interests* they mention, however, may not be necessarily ideological, but functional to "the communication situation in which [the speakers] find themselves" (*ibid*, p. 21); this reflects the stated purpose of their project to "find a common terminology for all semiotic modes" (*ibid*, p. 1) rather than focus on the ideological nature of semiosis. Finally, van Leeuwen's *Introducing Social Semiotics* (2005a) which, as noted, does not prioritise the analysis of ideologies, nevertheless reinstates the centrality of social theory for this approach (p. 1) and suggests that "[s]ocial semioticians can, of course, go beyond these [stylistic] meanings and interpret social styles not just as markers but also as expressing feelings and attitudes, this time *social* feelings and attitudes, or ideologies" (*ibid*, p. 144, *emphasis in original*). Again, ideological interpretation is seen as one of the possible applications of the social semiotic approach to multimodality, but not its only, or even primary, focus. Nevertheless, the contribution that Kress and van Leeuwen have made to our understanding of how different semiotic systems work is inestimable, particularly with regard to images (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996/2006; 2001; Kress, 2010), sound (van Leeuwen, 1999) and colour (van Leeuwen, 2011). I think it is fair to say that without their ground-breaking and inspiring work, discussions around the application of multimodal approaches for the critical analysis of discourse would have not reached the status and legitimacy they enjoy at present.

Machin and Mayr's (2012) book is arguably the first publication to explicitly attempt to integrate a multimodal approach within the field of Critical Discourse Analysis. The focus on *critique* as discussed in 2.3.2 is at the core of their approach, with the latter "seek[ing] to 'denaturalise' representations on other modes of communication" (*ibid*, p. 9). This first articulation of MCDA is heavily influenced by Kress and van Leeuwen's *Social Semiotics* and it only focuses on visual images and their interrelation with language, thus addressing predominantly two modes of communication, i.e. images and writing. Images, moreover, are predominantly analysed through the SFL lens, a move dictated by the desire to "facilitate more precise, systematic and careful description that would in turn allow more accurate analysis" than what had been done to that point in Media and Cultural Studies (*ibid*, p. 7). Machin and Mayr analyse visual elements in their texts in this fashion, while at the same time acknowledging that this can be problematic (*ibid*, p. 8; Hart, 2016, p. 337). Bateman, Delin and Henschel (2004), for example, challenge some of the classifications Kress and van Leeuwen applied in *Reading Images* (1996); more specifically, they focus on the compositional *left/right - given/new* association borrowed from SFL (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001, p. 148; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 179-185) and maintain that "we have not so far found it to be supported by designers and layout

professionals in practice. It is certainly not used as a design criterion in layout” (Bateman, Delin and Henschel, 2004, pp. 66-67; see also Bucher, 2017, p. 104, for another set of contrasting empirical findings). Bordwell and Thompson (2006) express similar reservations with regard, for example, to using linguistic concepts to discuss issues as framing and camera angles in filmic texts. They maintain that “to rely on formulas is to forget that meaning and effect always stem from the film, from its operation as a system. [...] We must, as usual, look for the *functions* the technique performs in the particular *context* of the total film” (p. 192, *emphasis in original*; see also Bateman and Schmidt, 2012, pp. 12-13). This is a point that, as we shall see in 3.5 when looking at multimodal analysis of filmic texts, has also been explored by SFL-inspired approaches to the study of how films make meaning. However, some empirical research on visual semiosis with participants whose first language directionality is right to left (Oyama, 1998 with Japanese and Hayik, 2011 with Arabic) seem to align with Kress and van Leeuwen’s theory, which suggests that the issue may be more complex than a simple ‘it always/never works like that’. Van Leeuwen himself has recently clarified that when he talks about given (the person on the left of the frame) and new (the person on the right of the frame) in televised interviews, for example, he only refers to *staged* interviews, and not impromptu ones (2019, *personal communication*).

Issues with (critical) multimodal analysis do not end with the criticism of using SFL principles to discuss modes other than language. Machin (2013, pp. 347-348) for example calls for a better dialogue between multimodal research as developed from the linguistic perspective and the analysis of the different modes as advocated in other disciplinary traditions, particularly referring to the work done in traditional semiotics and media studies with regard to the analysis of (moving) images. The risk of not partaking in such interdisciplinary dialogue is not only to create a whole range of terms for processes and features that have already been identified and analysed before, but also to miss the opportunity to use the explanatory power of other approaches, whether cognitive, psychological or psychoanalytic, that may offer a better understanding of how semiotic resources are exploited in text production and interpretation. To this purpose, Machin (2016, p. 326) and Ledin and Machin (2018, p. 63) suggest that the *affordances* of the different semiotic resources are taken into account as well as their *meaning potentials*. Affordances can be defined in terms of what the environment that surrounds us, whether of a natural or artificial type, allows us to do (Gibson 2015; see 3.4.2 for a detailed discussion of this key concept). The focus here is particularly on the *materiality* of the semiotic resources, e.g. the television medium allows the delivery of messages using audio and visual stimuli. The idea of affordances assumes that not all semiotic resources are the same in (ideological) meaning-making and help focus on “why they are deployed in contexts for specific ideological purposes” (Ledin and Machin, 2018, p. 63).¹⁰ The concept of meaning potentials, on the other hand,

¹⁰ Kress (2010, p. 82) makes a similar point, but without stressing the ideological dimension.

is at the core of Kress and van Leeuwen's Social Semiotic approach and refers to how semiotic signifiers signify "*potential* rather than specific meanings, and need to be studied in the social context" (van Leeuwen, 2005a, p. 5; *emphasis in original*). Finally, Ledin and Machin (2018) also stress the importance of analysing the semiotic resources at play in a text not in isolation, but in their interconnectedness, as they are "co-articulated in communication and evolved in this multi- or inter-semiotic way [. They] have affordances, possibilities and limitations and have inherent dependencies on each other" (p. 63). However, as we will see when discussing *multisensory processing*, analysing the interconnection between different semiotic modes is not only relevant in relation to meaning-making as it occurs at text-production stage, but also to *meaning-processing* as it occurs at text-interpretation stage. The latter point is of relevance to this research, as it allows me to explore the participants' interaction with the programme and their understanding of and reactions to the events and actors therein.

Based on what has been discussed so far, then, if we were to combine short descriptions of what multimodal analysis does and what CDS does, a combined approach could be described as the analysis of discourse in its different semiotic modalities with the aim to highlight how multimodal discourses maintain or resist social inequalities and power imbalances. This definition is in line with the one given by Jancsary, Höllerer and Meyer (2016), who do not see MCDA as "a particular analytical approach, but, on a very basic level, [...] the acknowledgement that discourse is not just verbal, but combines a variety of modes" (pp. 183-184). What is missing in such definitions, however, are two crucial aspects that indeed differentiate MCDA from CDA: 1) a marked distinction between and analytical preoccupation towards not only the representational power of the signifiers (regardless of the semiotic resource) but also their *materiality*; 2) a significant analytical and interpretative focus on the *affordances* of both the semiotic resources *and* the media the gives the text its physical form (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 6). Moreover, if we were to adopt a cognitive approach to MCDA, it would be necessary to have an additional focus on how the combination of different modes of message delivery impacts on both meaning-making *and* the *meaning-processing* of an audience. The concepts of *materiality*, *affordance* and *multisensory processing* will be discussed next together with the still debated central notion of *modes* and other key concepts in multimodal research.

3.4 Key concepts in Multimodal Analysis

3.4.1 Media, semiotic modes, semiotic resources and sensory channels

Although the concept of *semiotic mode* is of key importance to the study of multimodal discourse, a review of the literature in the field shows, at best, contrasting definitions and, at worst, the suggestion that a clear understanding of what modes are may be of no use at all. The last stance is the one taken by Machin (2013) who asserts that, since it has been proved very difficult to ascertain what constitutes modes, "MCDS may turn out to have less use with the issue of what modes are in themselves as with

how different kinds of semiotic resources can play a part in realising discourses since they are good at doing different things” (p. 349). Notwithstanding the importance of the last part of his assertion, I believe it may be equally difficult to establish what different things modes are good at if we do not first establish what they *are*, which is why I will attempt to provide a working definition within the remit of the project at hand. I will first offer a short overview of how the literature has treated some of the key concepts surrounding the sphere of *modes* and then clarify what the working definitions of these terms will be in my project.

3.4.1.1 *Media*

A first, mostly agreed upon, distinction is made between *modes* and *media* and, accordingly, between *multimodality* and *multimediality*. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), for example, refer to the media as “the material resources used in the *production* of semiotic products and events, including both the tools and the materials used (e.g. the musical instrument and air; the chisel and the block of wood)” (p. 22, *my emphasis*) and connect media to the sensory system (*ibid*, p. 67). O’Halloran (2005), on the other hand, focuses on the *distribution* and *reception* of media, by defining them as the “material resources of the channel” (the latter being the sensory channels) and presenting, as examples, platforms such as the radio and websites (p. 20). Elleström (2010), perhaps due to his home being in film and media studies, offers a very sophisticated view of media and also attempts to clear the air with regard to defining modes, which he rejects being “[e]ntities such as ‘text’, ‘music’, ‘gesture’ or ‘image’” (p. 16). He sees media as the starting point and maintains that, in order to fully appreciate and analyse how media work, one needs to consider four different *modalities* that are all necessary conditions for any medium to exist: a *material modality*, a *sensorial modality*, a *spatiotemporal modality* and a *semiotic modality*. These “are to be found on a scale ranging from the tangible to the perceptual and the conceptual” (*ibid*, p. 15) and, although not chronologically or hierarchically ordered, can be approached in that order as each modality depends on the existence of the previous one to be accessed (*ibid*, p. 17).

The *material modality* concerns the interface of the medium and, of direct relevance to my project, “[t]he material interface of television programs and motion pictures, for instance, consists of a more or less flat surface of changing images (in a wide sense of the notion) combined with sound waves” (*ibid*, p. 17). This, of course, only refers to the medium of *distribution*, but the modes that he believes to be part of this modality, i.e. animate bodies, inanimate objects and manifestations of non-material phenomena (e.g. sound and light waves), allow us to also identify the materiality of the media of *production*, that is the technological equipment, people and objects that have made it possible for the television programme to be produced. The *sensorial modality* is defined as “the physical and mental acts of perceiving the present interface of the medium through the sense faculties” (*ibidem*) and, not surprisingly, the modes he identifies are the five senses of seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting

and smelling. Elleström, however, clarifies that this modality is not as straightforward as it may appear, but that three different levels must be attended to: the *sense-data*, which is what actually originates from objects and events; the *receptors*, which are the cells that capture the sense-data and transfer it to the brain via neurological transmitters; the *sensations*, which are the effects produced by the sensory stimuli. The senses through which media are experienced have indeed an important role to play from a cognitive point of view as we will see in 3.4.3. when discussing *multisensory processing*. The *spatiotemporal modality* is what gives shape, in the form of mental representations, to the sensory data. The two modes that comprise this modality are space and time and, more specifically, they rely on the four dimensions of width, height, depth and time (*ibid*, p. 19). Again, very aptly, Elleström provides the case of films as an example, stating that “[t]he interface of a movie [...] has three dimensions: width, height and (fixed sequential) time, but usually an illusion of depth is created” (*ibid*, p. 20). Both space and time, finally, need to be considered at three different levels: as a trait of the interface of the medium, as an aspect of cognition and as the “interpretive aspect of what the medium represents”, i.e. virtual time and space (*ibid*, p. 21). Finally, the *semiotic modality* is the one that attends to meaning, with the latter to “be understood as the product of a perceiving and conceiving subject situated in social circumstances” (*ibidem*). This modality is what allows people to interpret signs through two different ways of thinking: an abstract one directed by *propositional* representations “created by conventional, symbolic sign functions”, that is signs that have no resemblance or association with the object they refer to (e.g. words or a red light to imply ‘stop’);¹¹ a direct one directed by *pictorial* representations “created by indexical and iconic sign functions” (*ibid*, p. 22), that is signs that have an association with the object they refer to (an *index*, e.g. emojis) or that refers directly to the object (an *icon*, e.g. the photo of a specific person or animal). Using terminology from Peirce’s semiotics, Elleström therefore suggests “that convention (symbolic signs), resemblance (iconic signs) and contiguity (indexical signs) should be seen as the three main modes of the semiotic modality” (*ibid*, p. 22). Elleström’s discussion is centred around the focal concept of *medium* and the term *modalities* can create confusion in a social semiotic approach to multimodality where modality is used to refer to the degree of epistemic value of the signs (e.g. van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 170). However, I believe that his unpacking of what makes media what they are is the most compelling one to date, as it touches on all the elements (materiality, senses, cognition and semiosis) that need to be considered in a multimodal approach to communication, particularly if the interaction of an audience with the media is also analysed. With Elleström’s discussion in mind we can now turn to the thorny concept of *semiotic modes*.

¹¹ Although some words can be described as ‘iconic symbols’ (e.g. onomatopoeic words) and ‘indexical symbols’ (e.g. deictic words) (Chandler, 2017, p. 56).

3.4.1.2 *Semiotic modes*

The most problematic issue with defining and categorising modes seems to be the difficulty to establish clear boundaries between them (Machin, 2013, p. 349). Within multimodal research, however, modes have been generally equated to the systems of signs, e.g. speech, writing, gestures, sounds, etc. (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 6; Forceville, 2009, p. 23; Page, 2009, p. 6; Kress, 2010, p. 79). One notable exception is O'Halloran (2005, pp. 20-21) who maintains that modes are related to the sensory channels of communication, while defining the systems of signs as *semiotic resources*. Furthermore, Bateman (2011) and Bateman and Schmidt (2012), in some agreement with Elleström, claim that the materiality of the medium as well as that of the semiotic signs, need to be taken into consideration for a full account of what modes are and therefore do not provide a categorisation of modes but, rather, a breakdown of the layers of a “three-stratal organisation” that comprise modes, namely i) a material substrate; ii) paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of organisation (e.g. a lexicon and a grammar in the case of language); iii) a discourse semantics through which the ‘semiotic code’ (defined as the combination of *i* and *ii* above) becomes interpretable, and hence a “fully fledged semiotic mode” (Bateman, 2011, pp. 20-22).

Since the definitions regarding what modes *are* differ significantly, considering *what they do* and *how they are realised* can help shed some light on the properties suggested in recent years. Bateman’s “three-stratal organisation” introduced above clearly goes in that direction and proposes the following properties for a mode: i) the materiality of both signs and media; ii) the existence of some form of lexicon and structural rules; iii) the requirement of a discursive context for the code to be interpretable and interpreted. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) also stress the importance of the discursive dimension of modes by stating that these “allow the simultaneous realisation of discourses and types of (inter) action” (p. 21). Page (2009) focuses on the idea of modes as a “system of choices used to communicate meanings” (p. 6), which is a definition more in line with Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2001) idea of *semiotic resources* as options available to users of a particular culture, at a specific time and used with a greater or lesser degree of freedom (p. 112). Kress (2010, p. 87) identifies both a *social* and a *formal* dimension of modes, with the former relating to specific communities and their contingent “social-representational needs”, and the latter aligning with Halliday’s three metafunctions as described in 3.2. The formal dimension in Kress’ formulation (built on Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) has been since criticised on the grounds that not all modes seem to be able to fulfil all the three metafunctions (van Leeuwen, 1999, pp. 190-191) and that not all modes can/should be treated in the way language has within the SFL tradition (Machin, 2016, p. 327).

To summarise, then, semiotic modes have generally been equated with semiotic systems and the stress has been placed both on their flexibility as a set of options with different meaning potentials and on their contingent nature in terms of cultural, functional and temporal relevance. Moreover, there

has been an increased interest in their *materiality* and on how this constrains and enables modes through their *affordances*. At the same time, however, there has been scepticism with regard to the way different modes were approached through a systemic functional linguistics lens¹² and to the (dis)similarity of different modes, with suggestions that “modes are impossible to isolate” (Machin, 2016, p. 326). Finally, there still seems to be a lingering overlap between modes and semiotic resources, which is the concept I now turn to for a brief discussion before clarifying my own working definitions of these terms.

3.4.1.3 *Semiotic resources*

As van Leeuwen (2005a, p. 3) states, the idea of semiotic resources is taken from Halliday’s SFL, in which grammar is described as a “resource for making meanings” (Halliday, 1978, p. 192). Van Leeuwen then goes on to give a detailed description of what this means:

in social semiotics resources are signifiers, observable actions and objects that have been drawn into the domain of social communication and that have a *theoretical* semiotic potential constituted by all their past uses and all their potential uses and an *actual* semiotic potential constituted by those past uses that are known to and considered relevant by the users of the resource, and by such potential uses as might be uncovered by the users on the basis of their specific needs and interests. Such uses take place in a social context, and this context may either have rules or best practices that regulate how specific semiotic resources can be used, or leave the users relatively free in their use of the resource. (van Leeuwen, 2005a, p. 4; *emphasis in original*)

The way semiotic resources are defined in the quotation above means they encompass pretty much anything that can be used to make meaning, provided that they are one of possible options from which users can choose and that they can be used following a more or less strict set of rules. It is for this reason that Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) suggest that not only modes but also media are examples of semiotic resources, once the “principles of semiosis [of media] begin to be conceived of in more abstract ways (as ‘grammars’ of some kind)” (pp. 21-22). O’Halloran (2005), on the other hand, does not include media amongst semiotic resources and lists “speech, music and diegetic sound” (in effect what almost everyone else defined as *modes*) amongst examples of semiotic resources (p. 20). Bateman (2011) defines semiotic resources as “semiotically charged organisations of material that can be employed for sign-construction”, which in his theorisation equates to the first tier of the “three-strata organisation” of semiotic modes (p. 20). Machin and Mayr (2012), finally, do not define

¹² However, see Bateman and Schmidt (2012, pp. 30-38) for a discussion of how the social semiotic approach to language has changed the way the linguistic modes themselves are treated.

semiotic resources as such, but talk about lexical and visual repertoires, which are the two dealt with in their book, in lieu of semiotic resources. There is therefore either considerable overlap between modes and semiotic resources to the point that one of the terms becomes redundant or a lack of clear boundaries, which conflates very different concepts under the same broad umbrella.

3.4.1.4 *Modes, semiotic resources, media and sensory channels defined*

Section 3.4.2 below will provide a full discussion of the concept of *materiality*, but a brief look at its role from a semiotic point of view will enable me to differentiate between *modes* and *semiotic resources* and provide definitions that are both tenable and distinct. Moreover, I would like to argue that modes and semiotic resources stand in a dialectical relationship whereby each influences the development of the other, based on “social/cultural/political histories” as highlighted by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001, p. 112).

As we have seen from the literature in multimodal studies, *modes* are generally equated to systems of signs, e.g. speech, writing, music, still images, and so on. All these systems of signs have in common the following properties: a set of *signifiers* that are expressed through one specific materiality, i.e. phonological units for speech, graphemes for (alphabetic) writing, notes for music, printed or digital visuals for images, etc.; a set of *signifieds* to which signifiers refer, either iconically, indexically or symbolically; paradigmatic and syntagmatic properties that allow actual and potential meanings to be constructed; a shared cognition of all of the above amongst a community of practice that allows meanings to be negotiated. *Figure 3.1.* below graphically represents the components of a semiotic mode. I will therefore define *semiotic modes* as systems of signs composed of abstract or concrete signifieds and of material signifiers that refer to them, which are organised paradigmatically and syntagmatically to enable actual and potential meanings, and whose mechanisms are cognitively shared by the participants in a communicative event. Each component of the semiotic mode is not fixed but affected by the socio/cultural/political developments within any given society at any given time.

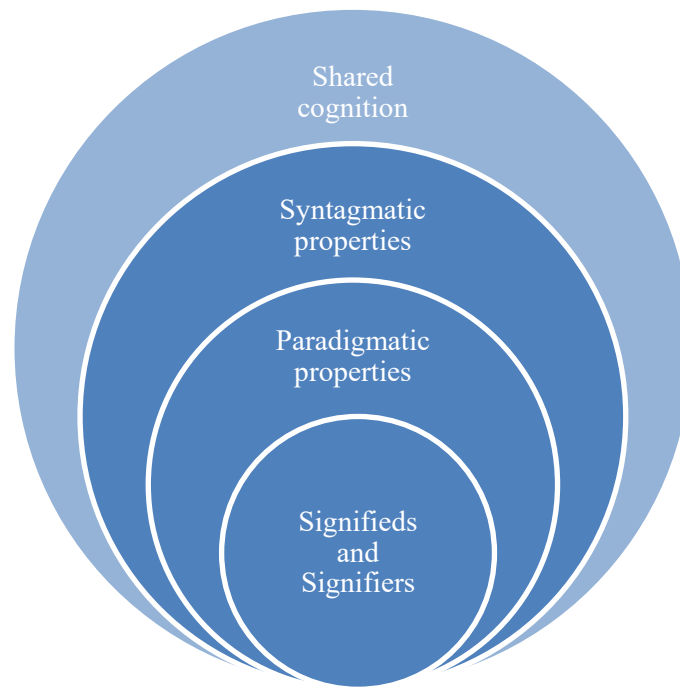


Figure 3.1 Elements of a semiotic mode

Semiotic resources, on the other hand, are defined as abstract communicative constructs that can be realised through different materialities and/or semiotic modes. I propose to arrange these resources into four macro areas: discursive, pragmatic, stylistic and textual. Discursive resources allow conceptualisation: they primarily attend to the *content* of communicative events and can be roughly equated with the SFL’s *ideational* metafunction. Examples of discursive resources are aspects of discourse semantics (e.g. van Dijk, 1995), metaphors, denotation and connotation, re-contextualisation, intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Pragmatic resources allow purpose: they primarily attend to the *function* of communicative events. Examples are text types¹³ (narration, report, description, exposition and argumentation), genres (travel documentaries, sci-fi films, etc.) and communicative acts (e.g. invitation, offer, command, request, etc.).¹⁴ Stylistic resources allow *agency*: they primarily attend to *identities* in communicative events. Examples are formality, involvement vs. detachment, directness vs. indirectness and inclusivity. Pragmatic and stylistic resources can be roughly equated with the SFL’s *interpersonal* metafunction. Finally, textual resources allow *organisation*: they primarily attend to the *structure* of communicative events and can be roughly equated with the SFL’s *textual* metafunction. Examples of textual resources are structure,

¹³ The differentiation between text types and genres follows the German school of text linguistics applied to translation (Nord, 1991, p. 18).

¹⁴ I am using *communicative acts* in place of the most commonly used *speech acts* to extend the pragmatic concept to non-linguistic modes (see also Bucher’s definition of multimodality as *communicative action*, 2017, p. 110 ff.).

composition, temporal and spatial development. Equating SFL's metafunctions to the semiotic resources rather than to the semiotic modes gives the theoretical advantage to be able to account for those semiotic modes that arguably do not present all three metafunctions (van Leeuwen, 1999, pp. 190-191), since these properties are now part of the semiotic resources.

The newly defined concepts of *semiotic modes* and *semiotic resources* are regarded as separate elements because they are ontologically different: the former being a combination of material and abstract (or referential); the latter having no materiality of its own, but the ability to manifest itself through a number of different materialities. We could look at the concept of *genre* as an example of semiotic resource. Genre can be defined as *social action* (see 5.5 for a detailed discussion) and, as such, does not come in one specific material form. The materiality of specific genres depends on a number of factors, including the semiotic modes and the media used as well as the communicative purpose and the social practice in which they occur. The materiality of genres is therefore historically contingent and resulting from the need to perform a specific function; for example, a cookbook recipe expressing the function to 'give instructions on how to prepare a dish' is a historical development of the abstract social action of imparting knowledge regarding food preparation. This social action has been performed through different *genres* over the millennia, starting from aural instructions (probably combined with actual training) before the invention of writing, to notes passed on within family generations, to printed cookbooks for larger audiences (without pictures at first), to digital webpages with text and images, to videos where the recipe is actually acted out, and so on. However, the contingent materiality becomes itself a defining feature of a particular genre at a particular time and place. For semiotic modes, on the other hand, the materiality of the sign is an essential component of the sign itself, and hence of the system of signs at large.

Furthermore, materiality is also a defining feature of *media* and *sensory channels*. Media can be divided, following Elleström (2010), into animate bodies, inanimate objects and manifestations of non-material phenomena. Moreover, different media are used at the different stages of the multimodal communicative event, i.e. production, distribution and reception, and will have an impact on the communicative event itself through the *affordances* they allow both in terms of meaning-making and in terms of cognitive *multisensory processing*. In *Chapter 2* I defined *mass media* as the technological infrastructures through which messages can be delivered to a vast, heterogeneous and remote audience both while events are occurring (i.e. live shows) and after they have been recorded. However, as the discussion thus far has shown, a full definition of media has to take into consideration the three different stages of a communicative event, i.e. *production*, *distribution* and *reception* (cf. Fairclough, 1995, pp. 197-199), whereas the definition above is limited to the *distribution* stage. Taking into account Elleström's typology of media and all three stage of a communicative event, media can now be defined as the material channels, be these animate or inanimate, through which communicative events are produced, distributed and received.

The final concept to define are *sensory channels*, which are the five experiential senses through which we interpret and construct the world and events surrounding us, that is hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting and touching. As for the media, access to the sensory channels may differ between the production of the multimodal text and its reception across the multimodal communicative event. The relationship between the four aspects discussed in this section, i.e. *semiotic modes*, *semiotic resources*, *media* and *sensory channels* is shown in *Figure 3.2*. below. The arrows going in both directions represent the dialectical relationship between the different elements, as each of them will, to a certain degree, influence choices in the other dimensions.

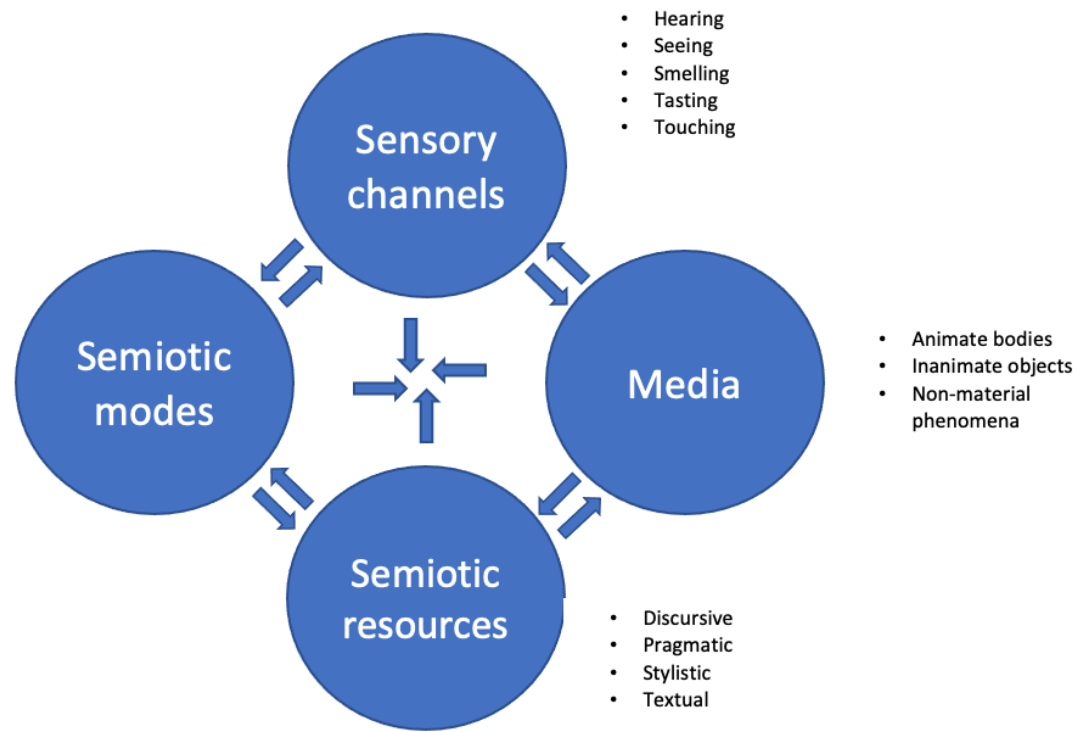


Figure 3.2 Elements of a multimodal text

Finally, we can apply the model above to the type of texts in this project, travel and cultural documentaries, and identify more accurately the semiotic modes, semiotic resources, media and sensory channels involved, as shown in *Figure 3.3*.

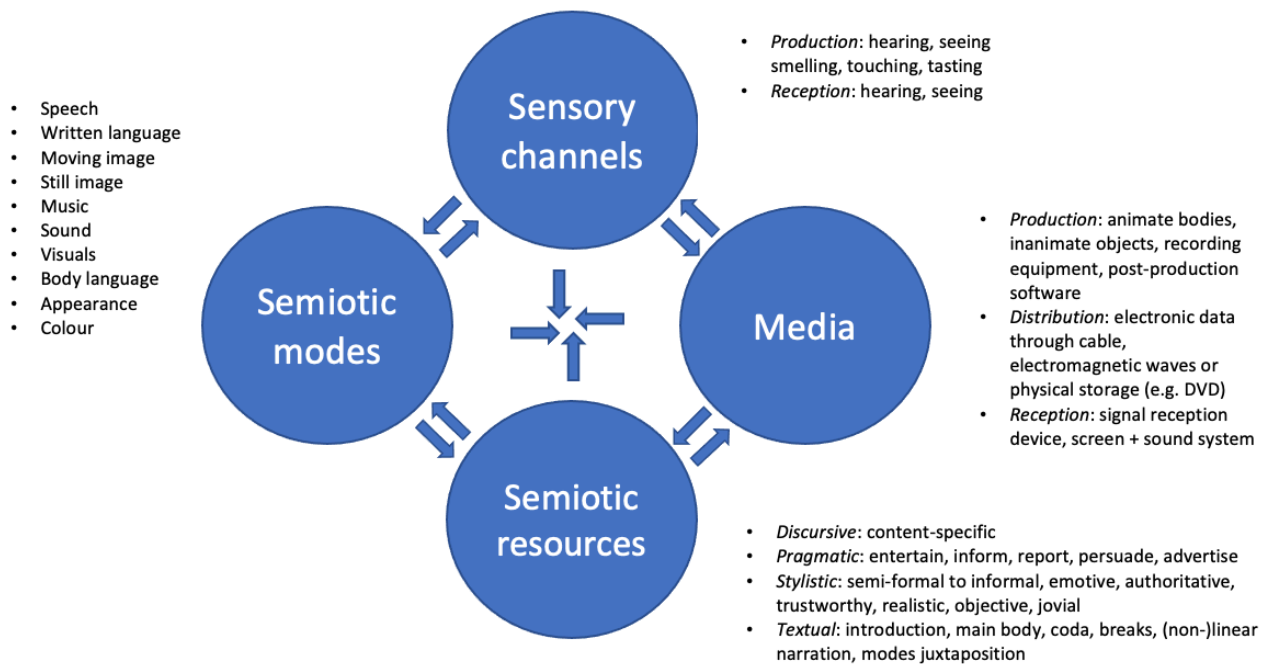


Figure 3.3 Elements of multimodal travel and cultural documentaries

To summarise, this section has provided definitions for some key terms in multimodal research, namely semiotic modes, semiotic resources, media and sensory channels. One of the fundamental points to bear in mind is the contingent nature of the first three concepts: semiotic modes, semiotic resources and media are in constant development and their values and validity are subject to the spatiotemporal factors that drive historical changes in societies. In order to define these key terms, I have introduced the concept of *materiality* as a defining feature of semiotic modes, media and sensory channels, *but not* of semiotic resources. Moreover, I have noted that these four concepts stand in dialectical relationships, where each one influences to a certain extent the choice of the others due to their *affordances*. In addition, I have hinted at some cognitive consequences related to employing certain semiotic modes and sensory channels, which are connected to the domain of *multisensory processing*. Materiality, affordances and multi-sensory processing will be discussed in the next two sections.

3.4.2 Materiality and affordances

Materiality has played a key role in multimodal research since the very first discussions of the theoretical and analytical preoccupations of this line of scientific enquiry. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) highlight this very clearly:

[a] semiotics which is intended to be adequate for the description of the multimodal world will need to be conscious of forms of meaning-making which are founded as much on the physiology of humans as bodily beings, and on the meaning potentials of the materials drawn into culturally produced semiosis, as on humans as social actors. All aspects of materiality and all the modes deployed in a multimodal object/phenomenon/text contribute to meaning. (p. 28)

The idea of *what* materiality needs to be taken into account has been developed fairly adequately in the literature over the past twenty years and the subsections that follow will briefly cover this aspect. Indeed, outside the field of multimodality but still within the remit of Discourse Theory, Carpentier (2017) has advanced a theoretical framework that sees the discursive and the material as equals, that is not in a hierarchical relationship, with other two dimensions, agency and structure, embedded within what he calls the ‘discursive-material knot’. Carpentier’s model is applied to researching community media and, for this reason, the materiality he discusses includes “(proto-) machines, bodies, organizational structures, and spatial orderings” (*ibid*, p. 38). Some of these ‘materials’ have also been researched within multimodal studies since, in principle, they could be categorised either as modes (e.g. spatial ordering and organizational structures) or as media (e.g. machines and bodies). Roderick (2016), for example, analyses workplaces as one of the semiotic modes used by a job recruiter in their promotional videos to appeal to both employers and prospective employees and argues that they contribute to an underlining neoliberal discourse regarding employment. On the media side, some recent research looked at PowerPoint and highlighted its functionalities as a reflection of contemporary global corporate culture (van Leeuwen, Djonov and O’Halloran, 2013), its use as a semiotic resource to recontextualise signifying practice and subjectivity in the classroom (Zhao and van Leeuwen, 2014), and its affordances and constraints as resources for meaning-making (Zhao, Djonov and van Leeuwen, 2014). Bodies are also a key focus of analysis in the multimodal (inter)action approach: Pirini (2016), for example, specifically focuses on the body materialities drawn upon during tutoring interactions to perform intersubjectivity, and classifies them in three tiers, where the first one concerns *durable materialities* (e.g. proxemics), the second one relates to *adjustable materialities* (e.g. body posture) and the third one attends to *fleeting materialities* (e.g. utterances, gazes and gestures).

Before looking at how materiality pertains the multimodal aspects of modes, media and sensory channels that we identified at the end of the previous section, it is worth discussing *why* it is important for the material to be part of a multimodal approach to discourse. There are a number of reasons for wanting to pay close attention to materiality, but one of those discussed almost in all approaches to multimodal research is the idea of the *affordances* of materials. As briefly discussed above, affordances can be defined in terms of what the environment that surrounds us, whether of a natural or artificial type, allows us to do. As Gibson (2015) puts it, “[t]he different substances of the

environment have different affordances for nutrition and for manufacture. The different objects of the environment have different affordances for manipulation” (p. 120). Amongst the objects that allow for manipulation, multimodal scholars have routinely included the modes and media of communication. Moreover, Gibson argues that these affordances are neither subjective nor objective, or rather, that they can be both depending on the context and the observer/user (*ibid*, p. 121); this is a property that can also be found in the Hallidayan concept of *meaning potential*, which has prompted some to see affordances as synonym of semiotic resources (van Leeuwen, 2005a, p. 5). This issue of what the affordances of modes and media are has certainly been the one discussed the most in the literature, either in terms of “abstract distinctions and commitments” (Bateman and Schmidt, 2012, p. 94; but see also Kress, 2010, Ch. 5) or in terms of their ideological load (Machin, 2013, pp. 349-350).

Describing affordances as being both subjective and objective depending on context and user, however, points to two other characteristics, their social contingency and their cognitive realisation. As for the first one, the social-semiotic multimodal approach advocated by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) clearly accounts for this aspect: if signs and their materiality are neither global nor a-historical (p. 217), their affordances must share those characteristics too. As for the second point, however, there has not been much of a discussion regarding how different affordances may influence the cognitive interpretation of a message. Kress and van Leeuwen do point in this direction when discussing the transition from recording to synthesizing technologies and the related transition from referentiality to signification in representing the world. They comment on how the production of photographs depicting alleged abuses of the British troops in Iraq resulted in more of an outcry than the same alleged abuses simply reported in writing (*ibid*, p. 218). It may be interesting, though, to explore further the cognitive dimension of affordances, especially in view of recent calls for an “affordance-based multimodal approach driven by the social” (Machin, 2016) as an alternative to language-based approaches. The discussion of *multisensory processing* may take us a step further in this direction. Indeed, the importance of the correspondence between the materiality of modes and media with sensory channels is another reason advanced as part of the ‘material turn’ in social semiotics (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 66) as well as the idea that the materiality of modes is always embodied, thus “getting beyond separations of those other abstractions, mind and body, of affect and cognition.” (Kress, 2010, p. 83).

From a critical perspective, a focus on the material can also facilitate ideological analyses by providing two very valuable entry points in the social and structural relations that surround communicative events. The first entry point relates to the issues of power and control over the choice and meaning of materials and stems from the assumption that signs and their materiality are always motivated, an example of this being statues that commemorate heroic figures made out of durable

material such as bronze, stone or marble (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 225). As Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) put it:

[t]he point is rather that material qualities relate to social practices of transforming material. Material qualities inhere in material substances but they are then transformed: they are socially (re)produced. They are too controlled, in a form of control which is ultimately control over meaning, and over social values - which may rest with the individual or with large and powerful institutions. (p. 69)

Analysing what materials have been used out of those available and their related affordances, can thus shed some light on the processes of mode and media production, use and interpretation. This is the type of analysis, for example, that Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, pp. 226-228) carry out when discussing the historical development of colours and how they are made, showing how they went from a *collection* of discrete items signifying specific values depending on their cost of production in the Middle Ages, to a *system* that could be applied to different media once it became possible to produce them more cheaply from the 1600s. Another interesting example of the potential ideological use of materials is temporal sequence, whose materiality dictates that something comes first, something else second and something else last; however, “what meanings may be attached to that ordering is quite another matter, a matter for makers of signs in their cultures” (*ibid*, p. 226). Temporal sequence can certainly be exploited for ideological purposes: if a culture has a *first/cause then/effect* mental scheme, inverting the temporal sequence in a text (e.g. through editing or other medium-specific techniques) may induce false cause/effect relations in the viewers/readers.

The motivated and socially (re)produced nature of materials provides the basis for the second entry point. Since the choice, uses and affordances of materials are socially configured, the degree to which their conventional nature is established can provide an opportunity to explore the boundaries between individual expression and social semiosis (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 217). According to this line of thinking, choices that go against established conventions may reflect the intention to resist certain dominant ideologies, as for example with street art and graffiti that resist the idea of art as something to be consumed in specific places (e.g. museums) that may have issues of accessibility (e.g. entrance tickets) or expected social behaviours (e.g. keep silent) that are inherently exclusive. In this case, the materiality of both tools (e.g. colour sprays rather than, say, watercolours) and surfaces (e.g. train carriages or urban walls) carry not only meaning, but also a specific ideological stance.

Finally, a focus on materiality allows to place MCDA within a critical realist epistemology (Bhaskar, 1998), by establishing the existence of a material reality which, although potentially and actually manipulated by agentive beings, possesses nonetheless characteristics that go beyond subjective will and thought, e.g. sensory organs and chemical structures making up minerals and the

natural world. Nellhaus (1998) makes this point when discussing semiosis in general and points out that Peirce's three-part representation of a sign, composed of *object*, *representamen* and *interpretant* and hence a material, extra-cognitive dimension, provides the ontological structure of Critical Realism with a concept, *semiotic*, which in his analysis can replace Bhaskar's original concept of *subjectivity*, accused of potential ethnocentrism for being treated as a "culturally limited phenomenon" (*ibid*, p. 9). Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer (2002), likewise, indicate points of mutually beneficial connections between Critical Realism and CDA through the concept of semiosis, which allows to look beyond human perception and cognition, as "though languages and other semiotic structures/systems are dependent on actors for their reproduction, they always already pre-exist any given actor (or subset of actors), and have a relative autonomy from them as real objects, even when not actualised" (p. 3). The multiple materialities that a multimodal approach to discourse concerns itself with allow us to expand the connection between MCDA and Critical Realism even further, by locating the material not only within the signs of semiotic modes, but also within the media and sensory channels that make up the multimodal (or monomodal, monomedial and monosensory, for that matter) communicative event. I now turn to the three concepts of modes, media and sensory channels, focusing specifically on their materiality and affordances in relation to the type of text chosen for this research, i.e. a television programme.

3.4.2.1 *The materiality of modes*

As argued in 3.4.1.4, modes are defined as systems of signs composed of abstract or concrete signifieds and of material signifiers that refers to them, which are organised paradigmatically and syntagmatically to enable actual and potential meanings, and whose mechanisms are cognitively shared by the participants in a communicative event. From such definition, materiality in modes can be identified in three distinct places: in the signs, in their paradigmatic structure and in their syntagmatic structure.

The materiality of the sign has been debated for over a century, since the first modern elaborations of linguistics and semiotics. Generally speaking, two initial 'camps' can be found, neither of which granted the materiality of the sign the credit it deserves as a resource for making meaning: Saussurean linguistic semiotics with its bi-dimensional structure of the sign (signifier + signified) and Peircean semiotics with its three-dimensional structure of the sign (representamen + object + interpretant). Although both theories recognised the material substance of signs, Saussure argued that this materiality affects neither the linguistic system, which is based on completely arbitrary (but conventional) correspondences between signifiers and signifieds, nor the process of signification (Chandler, 2017, p. 59). Peirce, on the other hand, argued that materiality is a characteristic of the sign that has an effect on our cognitive system, but still maintained that such materiality has no effect on signification (*ibid*, p. 60). Peirce's position, however, is already a step forward, not only because

he identified cognition as a necessary condition for semiosis to work, but also because he anticipated that cognition may be influenced by the materiality of the representamen, an idea that will be explored further in the section on *multisensory processing*. The Russian linguist Voloshinov (1973) puts even more emphasis on the materiality of signs: grounded in Marxist materialist philosophy, he argues that such materiality is granted by elements external to the world of ideas through which the signs are expressed (e.g. sound waves, graphite, etc.) and that this concrete materiality of the signs matters (p. 65). Finally, Hjelmslev's further differentiation for both signifier (*expression* in his terminology) and signified (*content* in his terminology) in the two sub-dimensions of *substance* and *form* also highlights this property of signs, granting it, unlike with Saussure and Peirce before him, potential for signification (Chandler, 2017, p. 65). Hjelmslev's model is also credited in some multimodal literature as the first one to finally afford the materiality of the signifier its potential for signification (Bateman, 2011, p. 21; Machin, 2016, p. 330).

Bateman (2011), however, still finds the above discussions around the materiality of the sign somewhat limiting, as they do not take into account how such materiality influences the paradigmatic structure of the system, and argues that "differing physical substrates will support different possible articulations; this is of considerable semiotic interest because multimodal analyses now address an increasingly diverse range of substrates" (p. 21). The materiality at the level of paradigmatic structure, i.e. the lexicon of a language, the individual colours of the colour mode or the notes of the music mode, can be exemplified using the linguistic phenomenon of *sound symbolism* (or phonosymbolism), a field of enquiry that investigates "the direct linkage between sound and meaning" (Hinton, Nichols and Ohala, 1994, p. 1). *Onomatopoeic words* and *synesthetic sound symbolism* are two phenomena in which the paradigmatic structure of a signifier and/or its manipulation draw directly from the materiality of the sounds used to produce them and have the meaning-making function of reproducing other material sounds (in the case of the onomatopoeic words) or of alluding to (and thus cognitively associating) material properties accessible through other sensory channels. As well as straightforward onomatopoeic words such as *tweet* or *knock* reproducing, respectively, the singing of birds and the noise made by banging against a door or other hard surfaces with one's knuckles, Lombardi Vallauri (2019, p. 29) discusses examples of car names (e.g. *Astra*, *Vectra*, *Escort*) using the phoneme combinations /consonant + r/ or /r + consonant/ that remind the hearer of a mechanical roar and, consequently, create a mental association with a powerful engine. The second phenomenon, synesthetic sound symbolism, is defined as "the process whereby certain vowels, consonants, and suprasegmentals are chosen to consistently represent visual, tactile, or proprioceptive properties of objects, such as size or shape" (Hinton, Nichols and Ohala, 1994, p. 4). An example of this phenomenon can be sustaining vowel sounds to highlight temporal length, e.g. 'it's been a *looong* time', or accentuating phonemes to imitate the feeling of struggling while doing something, e.g. 'I was *Pushing Really* hard' (see also Kress, 2010, p. 80).

If we move to the syntagmatic level, i.e. the syntax of a language, the combination of colours or the phrasing of musical notes, it is possible to note how the temporal or spatial positioning of the signs within a more complex structure, which relies on material properties, can be used for meaning-making purposes. Cognitive linguistics, for example, has offered a number of examples in which the position of an element in a sentence produces a particular cognitive effect in the hearer or reader. The *agent/patient* dichotomy is one such example, where the positioning of a subject at the beginning of a sentence or in secondary or tertiary position becomes meaningful as it provides a particular mental representation, as in the following three options describing the same situation: *the groom hugged the bride* vs. *the bride hugged the groom* vs. *the couple embraced* (Langacker, 2008, pp. 114-115). Another example from cognitive linguistics would be the mental association that is encouraged by spatially positioning different subjects in a sequence, as in the classic example of ‘women, fire and dangerous things’ discussed by Lakoff (1987). In music, the phenomena of *consonance* and *dissonance* can also be seen through the material quality of the spatial and temporal arrangements of the musical notes. Notes are played with different frequencies and, in case of dissonance, they cause amplitude fluctuations that result in ‘beating’ or ‘rough’ sounds (Vassilakis, 2005, pp. 121-123). A phenomenon such as dissonance then becomes meaningful both if it is suppressed as in the Western musical tradition or if it is intentionally used as a means of resistance to dominant canons, as done by the composer Schoenberg (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 83).

To summarise, the materiality of the modes can be found in the signs, in their paradigmatic structure and in their syntagmatic structure. Such materiality not only provides meaning-making potential to the text producers, but also affects the cognitive processing of the text receivers. Moreover, such materiality can be exploited not only for representational purposes but, of great importance to MCDS, for ideological purposes.

3.4.2.2 *The materiality of media*

As already pointed out, materiality is a defining feature of media and the latter have been defined as the material channels, be these animate or inanimate, through which communicative events are produced, distributed and received. As already shown in *Figure 3.3*, the following breakdown can be provided for the media involved in the communicative event of television travel and cultural documentaries: *production* – animate bodies, inanimate objects, recording equipment, post-production software; *distribution* – electronic data through cable, electromagnetic waves or physical storage (e.g. DVD); *reception* – electronic data reception device, whether through signal, cable or physical storage player, screen and sound system. A closer look at each stage of the communicative event will facilitate a discussion of how the materiality of the different media involved affects meaning-making and interpretation.

Starting from the *production* end of the communicative event, we can analyse the affordances and constraints that the media place on the semiotic modes. The animate bodies, i.e. all the people and animals that are chosen to construct the text's representation of reality, allow the text producers to exploit the modes of speech, body language (including facial expressions and gestures) and appearance (limited to physical traits). Inanimate objects can be further divided into those that are part of the recording, i.e. attributes, possessions, buildings, places, and those that allow recording and editing of the recording, i.e. camcorders, microphones, extra lighting and post-production software. As a whole, inanimate objects allow the producers to use the modes of appearance (as far as clothing and accessories are concerned), still and moving images (e.g. in terms of composition, focus and framing), other visuals (e.g. maps, graphs, etc.), writing (e.g. subtitles, credits, captions, etc.), colour, music and sound. Very importantly, post-production software allows the text producers to juxtapose the different modes whilst at the same time placing them in a hierarchical structure, with some being more foregrounded or backgrounded than others, an affordance that carries both ideological and cognitive relevance (see discussion in 5.3.3.3 regarding soundscape design).

I would argue that the high number of modes that can be utilised and manipulated at the production stage (including post-production) allows television travel and cultural documentaries to construct a representation of reality that is ideologically and cognitively effective for two reasons. First of all, it allows the representation to be accessed, under normal circumstances (i.e. provided the viewers are not deprived of one or more senses), through more than one sensory channel, i.e. through hearing and seeing. This allows the text to reinforce *preferred readings* constructed through the different modes by *anchoring* techniques (Barthes, 1977). Secondly, being able to utilise more than one mode at once has the consequence to reduce the representational freedom enjoyed by the viewer. By *representational freedom* I mean the possibility to fill in contextual and representational gaps that are not overtly present in the text. One thing is to hear the description of a beautiful tropical beach, another thing is to see a still picture of it, and yet another is to see a moving image of it shot from a drone. In the first case our mind has got the freedom, within the limitations posed by the verbal description, to imagine the shades of the colour of the water, how many and what kind of people are on the beach and the weather conditions; in the second case we may see what the colour of the sea is and who is on the beach, but still wonder how large or long the beach is, what other facilities are nearby and what kind of noises there are; in the case of the moving image shot by the drone, there will be even more detail provided to us and fewer left to our imagination. In brief, the more encompassing the representation, the smaller the cognitive effort required on the part of the viewer to process the information within the context provided. This idea has ideological and cognitive consequences and will be explored and justified when discussing *Relevance Theory* and the idea of cognitive effort in 4.4.

At the stage of *distribution*, the materiality of electronic data and the various material channels through which the data can be circulated, make it possible for television travel and cultural documentaries to be mass-communicated, which entails the temporal and spatial capabilities that our definition of *mass-media* in *Chapter 2* has highlighted. Depending on the media outlet, its reaching capabilities and its status in society, such far-reaching dissemination potential has, yet again, important ideological advantages: the ability to reach a large number of people has the potential effect of creating mass consciousness with regard to certain themes.

Finally, at the stage of *reception* the materiality of the devices used by the viewers allows them to access the information through two sensory channels simultaneously and to do so in a private environment, i.e. one's home, a space that is not affected by the societal pressure that one may find when watching televised programmes in public spaces, e.g. cinemas or pubs. The idea of "home as a psychosocial space and TV as a psychosocial object" (Whitehouse-Hart, 2014, p. 46ff) addresses this issue and highlights how programmes watched in the privacy of one's home are engaged with in a different way to programmes watched in public spaces, as "[t]here is something about the home setting that means there is more possibility for viewers to be themselves" (*ibid*, p. 47). It could be argued that the comfort of one's home allows for a more perceptive cognitive state and this, coupled with the low-cognitive effort required to process information in multimodal texts, puts the viewer in a better position to interact with the content of the programmes and the ideologies therein.

3.4.2.3 *The materiality of sensory channels*

Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) highlight the importance of the human bodies, and related sensory organs, both in the production of texts and in their interpretation. They reflect on the close relationships between media and sensory channels due to the fact that "each medium is characterised by a particular configuration of material qualities, and each of these material qualities is grasped by a particular set of sensory organs" (p. 66). Furthermore, they maintain that certain qualities can only be accessed perceptively (e.g. smells and colours), others can only be accessed through touch (e.g. weight and softness), and still other can be accessed by both (e.g. texture) (*ibidem*). An aspect that needs to be stressed is that there may be a mismatch between the sensory experience and their contribution to meaning-making at the stage of text production and those at the stage of text interpretation. As shown in *Figure 3.3.*, this is often the case with television programmes, where, for example, the host of a travel programme will be able to smell odours, taste foods or handle objects around the places they visit, whereas the viewer will have to utilise their perceptive senses (seeing in this example) to analyse the bodily reactions of the host (e.g. a disgusted or ecstatic expression for odours and flavours). Needless to say, this mismatch may also be exploited for misrepresentations as a host could fake an ecstatic reaction to odours or flavours, e.g. for marketing purposes.

If we focus on the text interpretation sensorial experience, it is also important to recall Elleström's (2010) differentiation, within the sensorial modality, of three separate aspects, *sense-data*, *receptors* and *sensation*, where the first refers to the stimuli perceived through the material interface of the receiving media, the second to the cells that capture the stimuli and send nerve impulses to the brain and the third to the effect of the stimulation (pp. 17-18). With regard to television programmes, the *sense-data* will only be made up of visual and auditory stimuli, but these will be captured and processed simultaneously, a phenomenon known as *multisensory processing*. Since most of the research on multimodal communication within the SFL tradition has focused on the text producers and the texts themselves (Pirini, Matelau-Doherty and Norris, 2018, p. 645), multisensory processing, an analytical concept that may facilitate investigating text interpretation processes, has not been discussed in the literature as a *key concept* (Gibbons, 2012, being a notable exception), a gap that the next section intends to fill.

3.4.3 *Multisensory processing*

This section could have been included in *Chapter 4*, which looks at some of the cognitive concepts and models that have been used in CDS and in Multimodal Research. I do feel, however, that multisensory processing should be included amongst the key concepts in multimodal analysis for two reasons. The first is that it represents the mirror image of multimodal meaning-making: by this I mean that interpreting multimodal discourse predominantly requires multisensory processing, even when different modes rely on the same sensory channels (Khateb *et al.*, 2002), for example images and text in a book (Gibbons, 2012, p. 40). Remley (2017) makes a similar point when discussing the neuroscience of multimodal persuasive messages, when he asserts that “[t]he term ‘multisensory integration’ is the biological equivalent of the term ‘multimodal’ in rhetoric” (p. 9). The second is that an understanding of multisensory processing can be (and presumably is) exploited at the stage of text-production as a resource for meaning-making, with all the ideological consequences that entails. Especially for those studies, such as this one, that place themselves within a critical paradigm, the second reason demands that this aspect is closely scrutinised. As Ledin and Machin (2018) argue:

it is fruitful to view different kinds of semiotic resources as existing in a way that is always tightly interwoven. Semiotic resources are co-articulated in communication and evolved in this multi- or inter-semiotic way. Breaking this into isolated modes risks compromising this idea. Semiotic resources must be conceived in the first place of as interdependent. They have affordances, possibilities and limitations and have inherent dependencies on each other. (p. 64)

These ‘inherent dependencies’ between semiotic resources and modes are perceptually interpreted through our senses, often in a holistic way through Gestalt principles (Gibbons, 2012, pp. 43-44; Holsanova, 2014, p. 338). Multisensory processing allows us to analyse such interwoven semiotic resources by focusing on how the different sensory channels affect our perception of multimodal and multisensorial stimuli.

Multisensory processing is a well-established field of research within the neurosciences, with studies that go back over 50 years and that explored cognitive processes that are now widely recognised. One such process is the ‘McGurk effect’, a phenomenon in which the perception of certain phoneme combinations is altered if lip movements for a different combination are visible at the same time (McGurk and MacDonald, 1976). Another is the ‘ventriloquist effect’ (Howard and Templeton, 1966), where the location of a sound source is influenced by simultaneous visual stimulations. This combination of auditory and visual stimuli, which is what we find in television programmes, has since been investigated empirically in many different ways.

An overview of a number of these studies concluded that the research findings “emphasizing the strong influence of visual signals on other modalities (and a weak or absent reverse cross-modal¹⁵ effect) have been consistent with the commonsense notion that humans are primarily vision-dominant animals” (Shams, Kamitani and Shimojo, 2004, p. 27). However, a review of other studies exploring the effect on vision by other sensory stimuli (e.g. O’Leary and Rhodes, 1984; Stein *et al.*, 1996), as well as the results from their own research, led Shams, Kamitani and Shimojo (2004) to conclude that “[v]ision may be the most important modality in the perceptual world of humans. Nonetheless, visual perception is not exempt from cross-modal influences” (p. 28). Although a valuable starting point, the studies mentioned above, by only attending to space-time coordinates, may not be as relevant to the complex set of audio-visual stimuli provided by the different modes in a television programme.

There are other studies, however, that have investigated more complex phenomena, such as, for example, the *emotional influence* of one stimulus over another in ‘event identification’. Event identification entails attributing values to the stimuli to which we are exposed, for example identifying happiness or anger in audio-visual speech pairings by focusing on facial expressions or on phonological features such as intonation or volume. A scenario which is far more similar to watching and making sense of a television programme. De Gelder, Vroomen and Pourtois (2004) note that

[w]hen event identity is at stake, cross-talk between the senses is induced not so much by the requirement that the information arrives within the same space-time window, as is

¹⁵ Generally speaking, a *mode* in the field of multisensory processing is equated to what I have defined as sensory channels, i.e. seeing (visual mode), hearing (auditory mode), etc. Whenever the studies I cite talk about ‘cross-modal’ influence I will report the phenomenon as ‘cross-sensorial’ influence to avoid terminological confusion.

typically the case in laboratory experiments with simple stimulus pairings, but by the fact that each modality contributes to event identification. Recognition of event identity is thus an important ingredient of multisensory perception of complex stimulus pairings. (pp. 581-582)

Within this line of multisensory research, there is evidence that stimuli in one sensory modality can reinforce *affective values* perceived through stimuli in a different sensory modality, a phenomenon known as ‘stimulus-reinforcer association learning’ (O’Doherty, Rolls and Kringelbach, 2004, p. 564). What is of interest from an ideological point of view is that the affective transfer may happen even if the conditioned stimulus is affectively neutral (*ibid*, p. 573). In other words, it is not just that two corresponding, e.g. positive, stimuli reinforce the overall perception, but a neutral perception can also be influenced by an affective non-neutral stimulus in another sensory modality. To give an example which is relevant to my research, this evidence supports the idea that a visual stimulus which may be neutral in itself, as a train journey, can be rendered positive if an associated stimulus, for example fast-paced accompanying music in a major key, is perceived as positive. Although O’Doherty, Rolls and Kringelbach’s paper mainly focuses on the amygdala part of the brain and on the emotions of fear, one could speculate that something similar also happens for other emotions and parts of the brain.

Other interesting findings from research on the relation between cross-sensorial influence and emotions are summarised by de Gelder, Vroomen and Pourtois (2004) and one of these is that “a wealth of recent empirical data supports the notion that stimuli that carry emotional information are perceived nonconsciously. [...] [W]e now know that recognition of emotional stimuli proceeds in the absence of awareness” (p. 582). Moreover, their own research explores the difference between prosodic and semantic influence of auditory stimuli over the identification of visual stimuli. The results “indicated that the time course of responses face-voice pairings differs from that of responses to face-word pairings” (p. 590), with the former occurring earlier than the latter. These results suggest that prosodic features (e.g. the tone of voice and the rhythm or melody of music) have more of a cross-sensorial influence than semantic features (e.g. the meaning of words in speech or the lyrics of a song). Furthermore, a study by Spreckelmeyer *et al.* (2006) looked at more complex scenes than face-voice pairings and concluded that “audio-visual integration of affect is not reduced to face-voice pairs but also occurs between voices and pictures of complex scenes” (p. 167). Moreover, both the studies by de Gelder, Vroomen and Pourtois (2004) and Spreckelmeyer *et al.* (2006) found attention to the visual stimulus to be paramount in order for the cross-sensorial affective transfer to happen, a requirement that is easily met by engaging with a television programme, where the visual stimulus is the dominant one, as opposed, for example, to an animated podcast, where it can be argued that the auditory stimulus is as important (if not more) than the visual one. Finally, a study by Logeswarana

and Bhattacharya (2009) supports the idea that the two stimuli do not necessarily need to co-occur for cross-sensorial affective transfer to happen, since their findings “show [...] that such interaction could also occur for non-simultaneous processing, i.e. when the emotional auditory stimuli precede the emotional visual stimuli” (p. 132).

To summarise, research on multisensory processing has identified the visual stimuli to be the dominant one, but not exempt from cross-sensorial influence. This influence has been noted both in simpler audio-visual pairings that only attended to space-time coordinates and in more complex set of audio-visual stimuli, as in speech/voice and facial expression identification, and voices and pictures. Moreover, there are indications that cross-sensorial affective transfer occurs not only with simultaneous stimuli, but also when the stimuli are sequential. The majority of the research on more complex audio-visual stimuli has revolved around the identification of *emotions*, an aspect of particular interest from the point of view of ideological construction, since the latter often happens through individuals being persuaded that a particular representation of reality is the ‘true’ or ‘real’ one. As scholars have highlighted, one of the ways through which persuasion is achieved is through *pathos* (appeal to emotions) (Remley, 2017, p. 8): music, an auditory stimulus that is an essential component of travel and cultural documentaries, is well-known for its emotive qualities and is “often considered as the language of emotion” (Logeswarana and Bhattacharya, 2009, p. 129).

3.5 *Multimodal analysis of films*

Research within the field of multimodality has covered a variety of topics and genres: *advertising and marketing* (Brookes and Harvey, 2017; Andersson, 2019; Graakjær 2019); *identity and intercultural aspects* (Hayik, 2011); *the news* (Knox, 2007; Machin and van Leeuwen, 2007; Milner, 2007; Bednarek and Caple, 2012; Hiippala, 2017; Pérez-Arredondo and Cárdenas-Neira, 2019); *music and sound* (van Leeuwen, 1999; Machin, 2010; Machin and Richardson, 2012); *toys* (Machin and van Leeuwen, 2009); *short promotional videos* (Mayr, 2015); *websites* (Moran and Lee, 2013); *posters* (Roh *et al.*, 2018); *comics* (Velooso and Bateman, 2013); *business reports* (Xinyun, 2018); *PowerPoint presentations* (Zhao, Djonov and van Leeuwen, 2014). Here, however, I will only review what multimodal research has so far explored regarding filmic texts and then review research at the intersection between multimodality and cognition, including of filmic texts, in *Chapter 4*. My review will focus on work done in the three main fields related to MCDS: Social Semiotics, CDS and Multimodal Research.

Although a rough distinction, the literature surrounding filmic texts can be divided in studies that focus on film *comprehension*, predominantly in Multimodal Research, and those that focus on film *interpretation*, predominantly in CDS, with principles from Social Semiotics broadly shared by both approaches. The distinction between film comprehension and interpretation is found in Bordwell (1989) with the former being “concerned with apparent, manifest, or direct meanings, while [the

latter] with revealing hidden, nonobvious meanings” (p. 2). The main departing point of his theorisation is that “[t]he text is inert until a reader or listener or spectator does something to and with it” (*ibid*, p. 3). Bordwell also specifies that this does not entail a difference in cognitive and interpretative abilities between naïve and trained viewers, but simply that the individual viewer’s approach to the film may lead to different levels of comprehension or interpretation (*ibid*, p. 9).

The distinction is a rough one in the sense that often the studies reviewed touched on both levels of film understanding, despite focusing on one. One thing, however, that none of the studies did is to include a reception element with the participant in the *agentive position*, as discussed in 2.5 and as done empirically in my research.

3.5.1 CDS and film interpretation

Works in CDS have largely looked into what Bordwell (1989) calls *film interpretation*, which comprises *implicit meanings* (often thought of as *themes*) and *symptomatic meanings* (higher-level ideological or psychoanalytical connections that may or may not be intended by the text producer) (p. 9).

A publication by van Leeuwen, which followed shortly the first edition of *Reading Images*, tentatively uses the words the *visual language of films* (van Leeuwen, 1996a). Building on the work done with Kress on still images and drawing on the SFL metafunctions described earlier in this chapter, this paper looks at what other meaning-making potentials are offered by the dynamic character of the moving image. *Motion, sequences* and the *combination of modes* (e.g. images, sounds and music) are listed under the *ideational* metafunction; *zooming* for distance, *tilting* and *craning* for camera angles, *addressing* both within characters and between characters and viewers, are semiotic resources highlighted in the dynamic version of the *interpersonal* metafunction; finally, elements of ‘composition in space’ such as *information value* (i.e. the given/new or ideal/real dichotomies), *salience* and *framing*, and elements of ‘composition in time’ characterised by the *conjunctive relations* described in van Leeuwen (1991), represent the semiotic resources described for the *textual* metafunction. This paper represents an attempt to expand the reach of Hallidayan linguistic semiotics on to a different ‘language’ and provided further theoretical and analytical grounding for researching films using SFL constructs.

Iedema’s (2001) study could be considered as one of the first empirical attempts at a multimodal critical analysis of films. The chapter analyses a documentary about a Melbourne hospital and, through a social semiotic analysis of both shots and language, argues that the clinicians’ perspective is favoured over that of the hospital managers within the discourse of hospital budgets and cuts to the healthcare system in Australia. This paper was pivotal in providing an analytical framework that moved along six different levels of analysis, going from the micro (*frame, shot, scene, sequence*) to the macro (*generic stage* and the *work as a whole*) (*ibid*, p. 189). Indeed, these levels of analysis I

take into consideration both at the multimodal transcription stage for the breakdown of the documentary in different thematic parts, and at the analysis and interpretation stages to discuss what I believe to be the *preferred readings* and their ideological stance.

Rheindorf (2004) carries out a multimodal analysis within a cultural and media studies framework to explore the way in which the film *Dirty Dancing* represents issues of class and gender in American society. More specifically to the issue of multimodal representation, the paper seeks to establish whether the distribution of modes is “significant for the realisation of a generic structure [...] the ‘dance film’”, the way in which the modes combine to that effect and whether such newly defined genre topologically relates to other genres (*ibid*, p. 138). Due to the specific genre under investigation, the analysis focuses on the modes of dancing and non-diegetic music and sound, and shows how when combined with short shot cuts, they establish a conventionalised ‘training or preparation sequence’ (*ibid*, p. 147), which is also present in other film genres and can be therefore categorised as a film narrative sub-genre. The analysis in its entirety both supports some of the social semiotics concepts it is based upon and argues that dancing and music in the film are used not only to signal class belonging, but “are furthermore combined to charge the body of the lower classes with sexual meanings” (*ibid*, p. 149). Although perhaps lacking some more detailed analysis of the modes highlighted and overlooking some others altogether, e.g. *appearance* and *colour*, this study represents a fruitful integration of multimodal analysis in cultural and film studies and also highlights some ideological constructions, thus placing it among the *critical* approaches to discourse, with discussions around issues of class, gender and heteronormativity.

Although focusing largely on the linguistic modes, Castaldi (2007) provides an early attempt to define the documentary sub-genre he labels ‘politically committed’ and to explore how the combination of language and images is used by the text producer for persuasive purposes. The text under investigation is the documentary *Fahrenheit 9/11* by Michael Moore: the analysis looks at five *text types* (narration, report, description, exposition and argumentation) and seven *linguistic features* (naming conventions, epistemic modals, deontic modals, personal pronouns, agentless structures, evaluative lexicon and pre-nominal modifiers) and quantitatively and qualitatively analyses their distribution in the whole documentary. The results of the analysis support the claim of documentaries performing both informative and persuasive purposes: this was highlighted not only by the linguistic analysis and the frequent use of ideologically loaded linguistic futures in the narrative, argumentative and expository text types, but also by the visual analysis which “showed how, particularly in the interview genre, the way interviewees were presented also contributed to the persuasive purpose of the documentary” (*ibid*, p. 46). Partly due to the limited scope of the research, the study only analysed visuals as an ancillary mode and did not consider at all other modes such as music, although *songs* were analysed as a sub-genre of the documentary and their role identified as often adding a sarcastic dimension to the images (*ibid*, p. 21).

Pollak (2008) explores the analysis of documentary films from a theoretical point of view and from a social semiotic standpoint. One of the most important contributions of this paper is the idea of ‘roles’ that are performed by the social actors in documentary films. He identifies the roles of *commentators*, who guide through the film sequences, *moderators* who “are responsible for explaining and justifying the significance and meaning of the documentary and for setting contexts that influence the perception of viewers” (*ibid*, p. 89), *experts*, i.e. people with specific knowledge around topics discussed and *witnesses* who provide real-life examples and testimonies of some of the points put forward by the documentaries. These roles are very important in the addressee-oriented cognitive methodology I am employing, as they help establish trust with the viewers and hence provide fertile grounds for changes in their ideologies.

Bednarek (2010) offers a comprehensive study of an American series, *Gilmore Girls* and focuses on the representation of character identities. As well as analysing the language used in the dialogues through the use of corpus linguistics, she looks at the overall ‘multimodal performance’ of the characters, highlighting how paralinguistic elements such as facial expressions and gestures provide cues to aspects of their personality that would not necessarily come across through the linguistic mode alone. Although the study focuses on fiction and is primarily concerned with comparing the language therein with real occurrence of language in use found in two other corpora, it is nonetheless an excellent example of how television programming contributes to the creation and resistance of hegemonic discourse. The analysis includes a critical discussion around themes that both foster societal change, for example by offering emancipated representations of the female characters, and others that tend to reaffirm existing dominant discourse, e.g. with regard to the necessity to eat meat as part of a healthy diet.

A volume edited by Piazza, Bednarek and Rossi (2011) explores fictional telecinematic discourse from a number of perspectives. Although predominantly focusing on the linguistic elements, some of the contributions also made use of concepts from multimodal research and audience research. Montoro (2011), for example, compares the linguistic and multimodal representations of *mind style*, that is the representation of a character’s cognitive make-up, in McEwan’s novel *Enduring Love* and its cinematic adaptation. In terms of multimodal representation, Montoro suggests that gestures and cinematic techniques such as camera angles, close-up shots and POVs (point-of-view), act as “cinematic mind style indicators” (*ibid*, p. 81) and allow the viewer to understand the way some of the characters think and relate to others and the outside world.

In the same volume, Piazza (2011) analyses communicative deviance in horror films, combining Gricean and post-Gricean pragmatics (Relevance Theory) “with a parallel focus on multimodality” and a focus on the visual sensory channel (*ibid*, p. 88). She highlights how over-informative communication, which signals lack of cooperation, is accompanied by frontal shots of the deviant killers which are equated to high visual modality, and “suggest[s] the killer[s]’ adherence to the

propositions [they are] uttering” (*ibid*, p. 103). This, in turn, encourages the viewers to believe in their words even if the first impression is that they are being uncooperative and deviant, and provides evidence of cross-sensorial influence of the visual stimulus (the shots) over the auditory (the words uttered). This latter point is also supported by the neuroscience research on multisensory processing reviewed in 3.4.3.

Bousfield and McIntyre (2011) provide a multimodal analysis of a scene from Martin Scorsese’s *Goodfellas*. As well as analysing the language used by the character through the lens of (Im)politeness Theory, the chapter provides a multimodal transcription of paralinguistic visual and audio elements, and non-linguistic elements (although some of these seem to overlap, e.g. *gazes* appear under both paralinguistic and non-linguistic visuals). Camera angles and distance from the characters, as well as their body language, are analysed to highlight power relations between the characters in the way they should be interpreted by the viewers. At the same time, they are also seen as dictating the emotional responses in the viewers by positioning them in the middle of the group conversation and in close proximity of characters who appear to be threatening other characters in the scene.

Still in the same volume edited by Piazza, Bednarek and Rossi (2011), Toolan (2011) explores how multimodal integration of visuals, body language and speech facilitates dialogue understanding in a TV series, *The Wire*, which often makes use of opaque slang language. Toolan carries out a comprehension test with participants to explore the extent to which the dialogues are understood and argues that the relatively high comprehension scores are due to a number of factors: the design of the test itself, with two consecutive viewings of the extracts; the high frequency and repetition of certain lexical items within the text; the multimodal integration of the dialogue. On this latter point, the author recognises the rudimentary nature of his multimodal analysis (*ibid*, p. 177), but claims are nonetheless put forward that particularly the integration of gestures in the shots functions to facilitate dialogue comprehension.

Machin and Mayr (2013) carry out a multimodal investigation of a British crime television programme, *Crimewatch*, using social actor and transitivity analysis of language and images. Their study suggests that the programme they analyse, which is deemed to be typical of the whole series and possibly similar formats in other countries (pp. 358-359), reproduces a discourse of retribution towards the criminals, whose individual negative characters is foregrounded to the expense of discussion around structural societal issues that may have an effect on crime rates. The linguistic and visual analysis suggests a strong focus on the individual deviant characters of the criminals and in portraying the opposing side, the police, as “a measured institution with approachable staff” (p. 361).

Bednarek (2013, 2014) builds on her previous work on the construction of identities in fictional films and on her use of corpus linguistics, but instead focus on a specific part of the filmic texts, the title sequence. This is the opening sequence of a television series episode and “is a relatively short, recurring multimodal composite, usually including music and the title of the television series and

often also credits” (2014, p. 126). As well as identifying key characteristics of this part of television series, including setting the scene, captivating the audience and establishing a particular mood (*ibid*, pp. 127-128), the quantitative research suggests that title sequences do differ, for example by using both non-realistic and realistic styles of representations, with potential consequences on the viewers’ perception of the TV series and their sub-genres. Indeed, the study of audience’s reception is a point Bednarek posits as a venue for further research into this specific filmic component (2013, p. 52; 2014, p. 141).

Eriksson (2015) investigates issues of social classes in Sweden by analysing a docu-soap that follows the participants’ consumption and consumer behaviour. The multimodal analysis focuses on “spoken discourse (talk), audio (music, sound effects), visuals (camera work) and editing” (p. 26) and follows the social semiotics and MCDA framework described earlier in the chapter. The critical conclusions the author reaches are that the programme ridicules the Swedish working class and attaches to them a “moral underclass discourse”; moreover, he argues that it is not consumption itself which is criticised by the programme, but the working-class exaggerated behaviour towards it (pp. 34-35). Finally, and highly relevant to the Gramscian theoretical approach my research advocates, stress is put on the importance of analysing ideological work in entertainment media (p. 35; see also Machin and van Leeuwen, 2016).

Piazza (2017) provides a multimodal analysis of three British TV documentary programmes about the ideological representation of gypsies and her central argument is that “documentaries are not impartial nor are they particularly accurate in their depiction of the travellers’ community and the truth they offer is only one-sided” (p. 86). In order to support her argument, Piazza analyses the documentaries from three different angles: following Fairclough (1995, pp. 54-55), she looks at both the ‘primary discourse’, that is the language used for “representing or reporting discourse” (mainly the voice-over), and the ‘secondary discourse’, that is “the discourse represented or reported” (mainly interviews with subjects). She then triangulates the linguistics analysis with “a brief foray into the visuals of the film trailers” (Piazza, 2017, p. 69). The results of her analysis show differences in the level of partiality between the programmes and the author concludes that “while objectivity reflects the ethos of public television, in the case of commercial providers ideology is realised through a multimodal discourse that sacrifices impartiality and accuracy to sensationalism and entertainment.” (p. 86). Since the three travel documentaries I analyse in this project are all from the BBC, a public service broadcaster, it will be interesting to see the extent to which they offer an objective representation of the issues discussed and therefore support Piazza’s results.

The studies above provide evidence for some general points. First of all, they highlight the importance of carrying multimodal analyses of filmic texts, as analysing one of the modes in isolation will simply not suffice. Secondly, they show that whether at the more pragmatic level of the communicative purpose or at the levels of ideational and interpersonal signification, all the texts

analysed seemed to embed a *preferred reading*. This does not mean that all viewers will necessarily interpret them as intended by the text producers, but it nonetheless allows the researcher to connect the texts to certain ideological positions. Finally especially those studies with a more pronounced critical perspective (e.g. Bednarek, 2010, 2013, 2014; Eriksson, 2015; Piazza 2017) explicitly address this level of analysis by suggesting a number of ideological positions the texts reproduce or resist. As it was for the reception end, this does not necessarily mean that the reproduction of certain ideologies was intended by the text producers but, at the very least, it points towards ideologies that are so naturalised as to be well embedded in these fictional or documentary genres that are often approached for entertainment purposes. I therefore strongly agree with the point made by both Eriksson (2015), and Machin and van Leeuwen (2016) that political ideologies should also be investigated in non-political genres, as these also (or even predominantly) contribute to the creation of hegemonic ideologies. A final point to consider is that, although very useful towards enabling the researcher interpretation of filmic discourse on the different levels summarised above, none of the multimodal studies reviewed addressed the crucial question of how ordinary viewers *actually* engage with the film genres analysed, taking into account not only their interpretation, but also their motivations for engaging with a specific programme and possible effects these have on their ideologies. The latter considerations drive the theoretical and methodological approaches to my project.

3.5.2 *The Bremen School of multimodality and film comprehension*

Scholars primarily based at the University of Bremen have worked on the analysis of films over the past decade. Their theoretical roots are in Social Semiotics and Systemic Functional Linguistics, and one of their intentions is to “‘reclaim’ a place for an appropriate semiotics adequate for the task of analysing film and able to do full justice to the range of forms and meanings at issue.” (Bateman and Schmidt, 2012, p. 24). The Bremen scholars, moreover, aim to contribute to the cognitive-semiotic approach to film interpretation pioneered by Christian Metz and David Bordwell. Unlike most of the work reviewed in the previous section, however, the focus of their analysis is on Bordwell’s *comprehension* level as they “claim that this is *the basis for any further consideration that a viewer (or analyst) can reasonably undertake*” (Bateman and Schmidt, 2012, p. 3, *emphasis in original*). This level of understanding is concerned with *referential meanings* (the film’s spatio-temporal world) and *explicit meanings* (as overtly stated in the films) (Bordwell, 1989, p. 9).

Metz (1973, 1974, 1991) has been one of the first film scholars to talk about a *language of film* and his idea of the *grande syntagmatique* attempted to provide a set of higher-level organising and mutually exclusive options for the construction of meaning within any filmic text, in order to outline a “semiotics of the narrative films” (1991, p. 144). His theoretical framework combines both the analysis of smaller units, the shots, and larger units, the syntagmas (hence the name *grande syntagmatique*), that provide the chronological and narrative structure of films.

Van Leeuwen (1991) shows an early interest in the analysis of the moving image and provides one of the first studies, within the field of multimodality, at the level of film comprehension. He applies the SFL concept of ‘conjunctive relations’, that is the way sentences are connected by means of logical connections such as contrast, addition, cause-effect, and so on, to the analysis of documentary films (van Leeuwen, 1991). The focus of this analysis is specifically on montage and follows Metz’s (1991) *grande syntagmatique* framework for the analysis of film narratives. The paper aims to provide a taxonomy of the possible conjunctive relations in film, and it includes, for example, the options of *detail* and *overview* under the category of ‘elaboration’ (van Leeuwen, 1991, p. 111). Moreover, van Leeuwen discusses the relationship between the spoken word and images, and notices that whereas in the news “the authoritative text of the anchorperson precedes ‘images of the world’, [in television documentaries] the voice over section directionality is reversed: the visual authenticates, particularises and exemplifies the verbal” (p. 113). Although this model has been subsequently criticised on different grounds, e.g. the lack of cross-classification, that is how different dimensions may occur simultaneously (Bateman and Schmidt, 2012, p. 168), it nonetheless represents an early attempt, within social semiotics, to explore how meaning is constructed in film.

Following in Metz and van Leeuwen’s footsteps, it is mainly this structural approach to film comprehension that John Bateman and colleagues have been developing by adapting concepts from Systemic Functional Linguistics and Discourse Semantics, with the aim to describe “the *textual* logic of understanding a film’s narrative” (Bateman and Schmidt, 2012, p. 5). Through their close analysis of the referential and explicit meanings, Bateman and Schmidt support one of the key analytical constructs of my critical multimodal analysis, which is the concept of *preferred readings*. Although Bordwell rightly points out that without the meaning comprehension and interpretation processes of a viewer the film is ‘inert’ (1989, p. 3), this does not mean that the text producers did not have any meanings they wanted the potential viewer to understand. Bateman and Schmidt (2012) eloquently articulate this concept:

a work establishes a potential for interaction between the artefact constituting the work and its receivers and [...] that potential is *intended* by its creators. Intending effects is only possible, however, against a background of shared expectations, and this is a large part of the work provided by a semiotic system. Thus creators do, certainly, put something into an artefact that is intended to be seen and reacted to, i.e., they leave material traces of semiotic ‘decisions’. Interpreters can find these cues or miss them, but the cues are nevertheless intendedly ‘immanent’ to the work. Meaning, in this sense, is not then solely the preserve of the recipient, even though the work of *following* the traces, and filling out the potential they open up, can only be undertaken by some concrete observer. (p. 72, *emphasis in original*)

The multimodal analysis of the text, therefore, enables the researchers to identify those traces left by the text producers and assign meanings to them at both the *comprehension* and *interpretative* levels. In my research, however, the text analysis is mainly concerned with the *interpretative* task, as *comprehension* is carried out by means of triangulating my understanding of referential and explicit meaning with that of my participants. Finally, Bateman and Schmidt's framework is also compatible with Condit's (1991) concept of *polyvalence* that was discussed in the previous chapter. The differentiation between *comprehension* and *interpretation* can roughly be equated to, respectively, *denotative* and *connotative* meanings in Condit's model. Although the first level of understanding may be consistent amongst different viewers, this "in no sense precludes subsequent, possibly divergent interpretations of knowledge, motives, and so on" (Bateman and Schmidt, 2012, p. 60) by individual viewers.

Tseng (2013) represents a step forward in the direction paved by Bateman and Schmidt (2012) and an evolution of her own work (e.g. Tseng 2008). The theoretical framework of reference is still SFL and the focus of her work is on cohesive devices in films and on how they structure the narratives and guide the viewers along the preferred interpretative paths. Her research has provided further evidence not only of how meaning is constructed (and needs to be analysed) multimodally, but also of how text producers guide the viewers through the 'correct' comprehension of the multimodal ensemble by exploiting both the co-text and the knowledge that viewers "have construed somewhere else, either from their previous film viewing experiences or from other life experiences" (p. 153).

Wildfeuer (2014) combines SFL and discourse semantics to investigate discourse interpretation. Her starting point is that film interpretation follows an *abductive* logical process, whereby viewers continuously reassess their understanding of the film content based on the multimodal cues the text provides over the unfolding of the film narrative (pp. 4-5). The objective of her work is to show how "film can be understood on the basis of the viewers' world, film and context knowledge and with the help of basic textual principles" (p. 18). More specifically, the author describes four domains of knowledge: *general world knowledge*, *domain knowledge / specific expert knowledge*, *film knowledge / narrative knowledge* and *discourse content knowledge* (pp. 187-189). However, she does recognise that the type of textual analysis she advocates can only produce generic results "since the inference process is based on situated interpretations depending on the actual context, which can only be assumed according to very general principles, but which cannot be entirely verified without empirical testing" (*ibidem*). Nonetheless, it is fair to assume that most viewers with a similar socio-cultural make-up would at the very least comprehend the *referential* and *explicit* meanings encoded in the text based on the shared knowledge outlined above. What is less predictable from carrying out text analysis alone is the way viewers will engage with the *implicit* and *symptomatic* meanings; as with Bateman and Schmidt (2012), this indirectly supports Condit's (1991) concept of *polyvalence*.

The SFL methodologies used by the authors from the “Bremen School” have represented an incredible leap forward when it comes to analysing Bordwell’s level of film *comprehension* and their claim that any effort at analysing the level of *interpretation* must be preceded by such detailed analysis of the text is both powerful and rigorously defended. However, they also recognise that the type of analysis they advocate is incredibly laborious if applied to whole films (Bateman and Schmidt, 2012, p. 246) and, I would add, not strictly necessary if the research design includes an element of *reception analysis* through which the analyst’s comprehension of the film is triangulated with that of the viewer. Moreover, the text analysis alone cannot provide a satisfactory investigation of the viewer’s prior knowledge which, particularly in the “realistic” world of documentaries, would play a very important part in the overall interpretation of the programme and, more importantly in the ability to access higher (ideological) levels of representation of the programmes. The first two knowledge sources described in Wildfeuer (2014), that is *general world knowledge*, *domain knowledge / specific expert knowledge*, are what manipulative discourse would most likely attempt to exploit. Integrating audience research will provide the viewer’s recontextualisation of the text and thus support my multimodal textual analysis at the level of *comprehension*, whereas a cognitive analysis based on Relevance Theory principles (see 4.5) will provide cues as to their *interpretation* of implicit and symptomatic meanings.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has briefly discussed the most important approaches in multimodal research and positioned my research within the Social Semiotic and MCDA traditions. Secondly, it provided a theoretical discussion of the key concepts in multimodality: *modes*, *semiotic resources*, *media* and *sensory channels*. In doing so, I have reviewed some of the contested areas in the literature, provided my working definitions for all the concepts and discussed their application to the specific genre of television documentaries. Moreover, I have looked at another two key concepts, *materiality* and *affordances* and their relation to *modes*, *semiotic resources*, *media* and *sensory channels*, and highlighted their importance with regard to matters of representation and perception as well as the epistemological connections with Critical Realism. In addition to this, I explored the domain of perception further by discussing the cognitive mechanism of *multisensory processing* and reviewed some research in the neurosciences that has empirically tested the phenomenon of cross-sensorial influence, offering connections to the film documentary genre where appropriate. Finally, I reviewed the work done with filmic texts in Social Semiotics, CDS and Multimodality and, following Bordwell’s (1989) differentiation between *comprehension* and *interpretation*, I have discussed the results of a number of studies and their connection to some of the analytical constructs from Audience Research that I will be using, namely Hall’s (1980/2005) *preferred reading* and Condit’s (1991) *polyvalence*.

The next chapter will explore further the contribution that cognitive and pragmatic models of communication can make in the analysis of media effects and discuss one model in particular, Relevance Theory, which I believe provides, together with Audience Research and multimodal text analysis, a methodological framework that allows me to research both *comprehension* and *interpretation* at the same time.

4. Multimodal Critical Discourse Studies and Cognition

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 provided an overview of the field of multimodality and key concepts, positioned my research within the Social Semiotics and MCDA traditions and offered a review of the literature covering the CDS and multimodal analysis of films. *Chapter 4* will instead explore the connections between multimodal studies and cognition, since the methodological design includes analytical concepts borrowed from the cognitive-pragmatic model of communication of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995). The chapter will start with a brief overview of the integration of cognitive linguistics in CDS and look in more detail at those multimodal researchers who have attempted to apply cognitive concepts beyond the linguistic modes. The key concept of manipulation will then be discussed and integrated within the theoretical framework of the project. Moreover, I will justify the choice of Relevance Theory as the cognitive-pragmatic model of communication chosen to investigate the participants' interaction with the travel documentaries and possible ideological effects occurred as the result of such interaction. Finally, the Relevance Theory concept of *contextual effects* will be further unpacked to provide more nuanced tools for the analysis of ideological effects, and a connection with Critical Realism and the Gramscian concept of *common sense* will also be made.

4.2 Cognition in CDS and Multimodal Research: An overview

4.2.1 CDS and cognition

Through his *socio-cognitive approach*, van Dijk (van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983; van Dijk, 1998, 2016) was one of the first to apply cognitive and psychological concepts to the critical study of discourse, although more as a variation of a model of memory than as a cognitive model in its own right that applies cognitive theories of language (Hart, 2010, p. 23). Chilton (1985, 1987, 2004, 2005) has also long been calling for the addition of a cognitive dimension of analysis in CDS, which he first approached through the study of metaphors for ideological purposes. In his view, without cognitive insights into what happens in the text receiver's mind it is not possible to verify whether potentially deceptive and manipulative messages succeed in their purpose. One reason for this is that, drawing on insights from evolutionary psychology, it is possible to speculate that if humans' intellectual abilities have evolved to be able to employ tactical deception, by the same token they should also be able to resist it, applying the same *critical screening* that CDS analysts do, when taking part in a communicative event (Chilton, 2005, p. 27). Consequently, cognitive analytical tools make it possible for the analyst's interpretation of a text to be corroborated by investigating the receivers' (as well as the producers') mental representation of an event. The cognitive analysis looks at how "representations are both stored and generated, those that are generated online being in part a function

of long-term knowledge stored as social information about ideas, values and practices” (Chilton, 2004, p. 51). If we wanted to link this theory to my research, what we would be looking at is how an ideology, e.g. “non-Western people have not got the same intellectual abilities of Western people”, can be instilled in the minds of an audience watching travel documentaries. Such an ideological representation of reality could be created in the audience’s short-term memory while watching a programme and, potentially through being exposed to the same representation of reality repeatedly through different discourses, the representation could then become crystalized in long-term memory, hence affecting the individual’s beliefs and attitudes towards the issue. But how would this happen?

In recent times, a number of scholars have taken on the challenge to integrate cognitive linguistics within CDS to a greater extent, in order to take the field forward from merely investigating the ways in which language encodes ideology to “*how* ideology may be enacted through discourse” (Hart, 2014, p. 187, *emphasis in original*). From an analytical point of view, cognitive studies rely on concepts borrowed from a variety of linguistic traditions (Hart, 2014, p. 11), such as the study of metaphors initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (2008) and Langacker’s *Cognitive Grammar* (2002, 2008). This work has been done with different genres, e.g. parliamentary and political speeches (Chilton, 2004; Maillat, 2013; Hart, 2014), newspapers (Hart, 2010; Oswald and Hart, 2013), online newspaper forums (O’Halloran, 2011) and women’s magazines (Polyzou, 2013, 2018). However, with the exception of O’Halloran (2011), these studies do not corroborate the analyst’s interpretation by finding out what the receivers’ response to the text is, which is something my research sets to achieve.

Moreover, some cognitive CDS practitioners have started to investigate cognition and ideology empirically. Hart (2018), for example, reports on two experiments looking at the framing effects of fire metaphors in newspapers, one using multimodal (writing + images) texts and the other writing only, the results of which suggest “that media representations in both language and image can influence public opinion on matters of policing” (p. 293). Hart draws on the well-established study of metaphors in CDS, particularly in relation to political discourses (Charteris-Black, 2004; Chilton, 2004; Hart, 2010, 2014; Koller, 2004; Musolff, 2004, 2016; Semino, 2008), but takes the further step of empirical investigation to address sceptical claims concerning the actual activation of the source frames in newspaper readers.

Furthermore, theoretical and analytical insights have also been taken from communication theories such as Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1995), Argumentation Theory and Rhetoric more broadly, especially when it comes to tackling cognitive-pragmatic areas such as *persuasion* (de Saussure, 2011, 2013; Hart, 2013; Oswald, 2011, 2016; Oswald and Hart, 2013) and *manipulation* (de Saussure, 2005; Maillat, 2013; Maillat and Oswald, 2009, 2011; Oswald, 2014; van Dijk, 2006). The concept of manipulation and the theoretical framework of Relevance Theory are the ones that apply to my research and will be discussed in more detail in sections 4.3 and 4.4. Before doing so,

however, it is necessary to review the work that has been done with regard to cognition in multimodal research, as this is also one of the directions taken in the field of multimodality (Djonov and Zhao, 2013b, p. 3).

4.2.2 *Multimodality and cognition*

Forceville's (1996) book is the first publication to take a decisive cognitive perspective in the field of multimodality. The research looks at how *metaphors* are constructed in static advertising texts and one of the chapters focuses on the interaction of words and images, which places the research into the multimodal domain, "drawing on Barthes' [...] concept of *anchoring*" (p. 2, *emphasis in original*). Moreover, Forceville frames his discussion within the communicative model of Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory (1986/1995), a framework that, as we will see in 4.4, belongs to the field of cognitive pragmatics. In fact, not long ago Forceville reiterated his "plea [...] that multimodal research be embedded in a theory of communication; only then can issues whether something is, or is not, a 'sign', and where freedom of interpretation begins and ends, be resolved. My candidate is Relevance Theory" (Forceville, 2010, p. 2607). His most recent monograph focuses on the use of Relevance Theory for the analysis of mass communication (Forceville, 2020). Indeed, many of the points he highlights in the issues for further research refer to audiences and their interpretations of mass-mediated texts (*ibid*, pp. 253ff.). Finally, Forceville (1996) also includes an investigation of participants' reactions to some of the billboards he analyses to explore "whether the participants understood the pictorial phenomena in the billboards as metaphors and, if so, to what extent they agreed on the metaphors' interpretations" (p. 167). Although the experimental nature of his investigation is different from my research design in that participants did not choose their own texts (hence not allowing the researcher to take into account motivation for engaging with the text, selection criteria, etc.), the generally correct interpretations of the metaphors by the participants fulfil Forceville's intention to have his own interpretation 'checked' by other people. This is a step that I also believe to be very important in reinforcing a researcher's hermeneutic exercise. *Multimodal metaphor* is perhaps the better explored cognitive area to date, with another edited collection that investigated their nature and use in a variety of multimodal texts and domains, from advertising to cartoons and from 'speech plus gestures' to film to name some (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009).

Yus (1998, see also 2016) provides a discussion of a visual-verbal model of communication, based on Relevance Theory, to analyse media discourse. The paper uses humorous comics as examples of multimodal texts. Sixteen categories are introduced with four basic qualifying parameters: whether the exchange is spectator or character-oriented, whether it is verbal or nonverbal, whether it is intentional or unintentional, and whether the efficiency is maximal or minimal in terms of the addressee's interpretation. The aim of the model proposed is to explain how interpretation is negotiated between the author and the reader, sometimes also through the added layer of the fictional

characters. Yus highlights the difficulties posed by the fact that, unlike in face-to-face communication, in mass-mediated communication the text producer can only hope that the readers will make the correct interpretation for the humorous effect of the comics to work, and the readers are aware they cannot obtain any further clarification regarding the intended interpretation than what they can find in the text.

Infantidou and Tzanne (2006) analyse one of the 2004 Olympic Games television advertisements in Greece. The paper argues that the advertisement is an instance of multimodal metaphor (the Games as a festival) and given the minimal presence of verbal signs, the study is characterised as “a genuine non-linguistic experiment assessing viewers’ reaction to an exclusively non-verbal multimodal stimulus” (p. 204). Relevance Theory is then used in combination with a reception study element to investigate how both Greek and non-Greek participants understood the message of the advertisement and whether they found it successful. In both cases there was a very high level of correct interpretation of the advertisement, which supports the idea that Relevance Theory principles can be successfully applied for the analysis of non-verbal communication in a similar fashion as the original theory did with face-to-face communication.

Gibbons (2012) represents another attempt to integrate cognitive linguistics in multimodal research, this time with a focus on poetics and “on cognitive-scientific and neuroscientific research concerned with the relationship between linguistic processing and embodied understanding” (p. 37). As part of her endeavour, she draws on one of the concepts we introduced earlier, i.e. *multisensory processing*, as well as on the concepts of *embodiment* and *visual perception*. Embodiment refers to the idea that “it is the body’s physical, sensory, and perceptual interactions within the world that influence the way in which the mind structures and conceptualises human experience” (*ibid*, p. 41), a process that she sees as central also in the act of reading, especially given the fact that multimodal texts enable readers to access meaning through different sensory channels and hence draw on multiple sensory experiences. Visual perception refers predominantly to the concepts of *figure and ground*, which “is a cognitive mechanism which enables us to discriminate between subjects or objects of focus, figures, and the background against which they are presented [and] is part of human perceptual organisation” (*ibid*, p. 42-43). Visual perception is related to the psychological Gestalt principles of *proximity*, *similarity*, *(good) continuity*, *closure* and *smallness*, which guide the “cognitive restructuring of our perceptual environment in order to make sense of it” (*ibid*, p. 44) as a whole. The aim of *Multimodal Cognitive Poetics*, grounded in the principles outlined above, is “to explore multimodality from an experientialist perspective, leading to greater understandings of the way in which we see, read, and make sense of both literature and the world around us” (*ibid*, p. 45). Gibbons

applies her novel methodology to four multimodal printed texts¹⁶ and, for one of them, also includes some empirical research analysing the interpretation of 25 readers, with the most significant findings from the empirical data being “evidence of the process of bistable oscillation [i.e. looking both *at* the material of the multimodal book and *through* it to access the content] occurring in the perceptual experiences of real readers [and] a difference in the reading experiences of multimodal and so-called traditional literature, particularly in terms of attention, sonic imagination, and visualisation” (ibid, p. 219).

Feng and O’Halloran (2013) integrate cognitive approaches and SFL to explore the way in which emotions are represented in films. The authors suggest “a three-stage model of emotion representation involving the *eliciting condition* (EC), the *feeling state* (FS), and *expression* (Ex)” (p. 82, *emphasis in original*): these are achieved both through linguistic and visual semiosis as well as through camera and editing techniques. The authors leave music out of their analysis, which is an interesting choice, as the neuroscience studies reviewed in 3.4.3 suggest that it is the prosodic rather than semantic stimuli that carry most of the emotional cognitive load. Finally, another interesting point to consider is whether the model can be applied to non-fictional film genres: the authors note that “*expressions of emotion are not spontaneous as in real life, but are semiotic discursive constructs designed by filmmakers*” (p. 81, *emphasis in original*). I would argue that documentary films may have some technical limitations in this sense (e.g. organising reverse shots), but this can still be done in those shots that are staged, as for example interviews. Failing the possibility to stage some of the eliciting conditions at the time of shooting, editing techniques and prosodic stimuli can then be added in post-production to compensate for ‘live’ technical deficiencies.

A recent collection of work integrating multimodality and cognition is the edited volume by Pinar Sanz (2015). This collection is unique in as much as it includes cognitive work from three multimodal research traditions, namely multimodal metaphor research, the SFL tradition and multimodal interaction. Of particular interest to my research are two papers, both from the SFL tradition, that look at the establishment of interpretative expectations in films (Bateman and Tseng, 2015) and the multimodal construction of meaning in digital narratives (Alonso, Molina and Porto, 2015). The first paper looks at the issue of attention when watching films and argues that attention is secured not only through the connection between film perception and natural perception, which is a key element of films, but also through “the entire scaffold of potential interpretations constituting textual organisation” (Bateman and Tseng, 2015, p. 132). The focus is on the beginning of films and the authors show that non-linear films (i.e. films that do not have a sequential temporal development)

¹⁶ These are not just books with illustrations, but they use a number of multimodal features such as concrete realisation of text, varied typography and others (see Gibbons, 2012, p. 2).

“require highly specific, multimodal cohesive chains to direct viewers’ recognition of elements across underspecified interpretations of discourse relations between sequences” (*ibid*, p. 144).

The second paper (Alonso, Molina and Porto, 2015) analyses verbal, pictorial and musical resources in the relatively new genre of ‘digital narratives’, that is short compositions made by amateur videographers, and integrates the cognitive approaches of Mental Spaces and Conceptual Integration Theory. The authors conclude that “[t]he oral channel has proved to be the leading mode, supported by images and music. Visual metaphors, cultural symbols and identifications provide additional meanings beyond the mere factual content of the texts. The music, when present, frames and contextualises the whole story” (*ibid*, pp. 159-160). They also point out, however, that integrating production and reception analytical methods would reinforce their interpretation (*ibid*, p. 160).

Piazza and Haarman (2016) use Relevance Theory to propose a model for the classification of verbal-visual relations. The focus is on news programmes and, given the need for news programme producers to address as wide and diverse an audience as possible, the “interest [...] is not in the actual reception of any particular viewers, but rather in identifying the potentialities inherent in the television text for creating meaning” (p. 462). The model builds on Barthes’ (1977) concepts of *anchorage*, *illustration* and *relay*, and on Montgomery’s (2007) Principles of Intelligibility for new reports, which comprise two rules: the first is that viewers will search for a relevant referent in the visual track for any referring expressions in the verbal track; the second states the opposite. Piazza and Haarman conclude that in the examples they analysed “[c]omprehension is based on inferring and providing the inexplicit links between textual elements” (2016, p. 481). The visual and verbal tracks stand in a reciprocal relation that allows implicatures to be inferred and the model proposed enables the analyst to both describe the type of relations used and their function in the meaning-making process.

Tseronis and Forceville (2017) expand on their earlier work on, respectively, rhetoric and metaphor and analyse *antithesis* as a conceptual figure in a particular type of documentary film, the Direct Cinema type, which “dispenses with voice-over narration, non-diegetic sound, and the staging of events” (p. 166). The authors explore how antithetic representations for argumentative and persuasive purposes can be created at different levels of the filmic text, that is between sequences, between shots and within shots as well as through the film as a whole. These antithetic constructions are seen as being not unequivocally identifiable, but “to be checked against background knowledge regarding the values attached to the entities being contrasted on screen” (p. 185). This latter remark indirectly emphasises the necessity of reception studies as a way to explore the extent to which cognitive frameworks for the representation of discursive realities, such as *antithesis*, are actually processed by the viewers.

Gibbons and Whiteley (2020) use the cognitive framework of Text World Theory (Werth, 1999) to analyse direct address in a British TV series, *Fleabag*, by focusing on the speech mode (the word *you*) and the paralinguistic feature of gaze. One of the aims of their analysis is to explore the viewer’s

ontological positioning as a result of the direct address of the main character in the film breaking the fourth wall (i.e. the screen). In the films analysed the viewers are put both into an extradiegetic position as narrative confidants and into an intradiegetic one as part of the main character's imagined world, thus accessing what the authors label the split-text world (pp. 26-27). As part of the extradiegetic position, the direct address also creates intimacy between the character and the audience, thus working at the level of the interpersonal metafunction. This latter point is particularly important when analysing documentary films as the direct address of the viewer is a very common feature of this genre, especially in what Nichols call the *expository mode* (2010, pp. 154-155). This creates an *in-group* type of rapport between the documentary film presenters and the viewers that can enhance intimacy and shared purpose, hence lowering the viewers' levels of *epistemic vigilance towards the source*.

Finally, Tseng (2021) reported on recent experimental research in film comprehension: the participants in the experimental group were shown sequences from films where visual or sonic cues had been deleted in order to investigate the extent to which their interpretation of the narrative would be affected. Eye-tracking devices showed the attention focuses of the participants and the results suggest that visual clues alone may not be enough for the correct interpretation of narrative elements in the filmic multimodal ensemble.

The work and findings from the integrated approaches of multimodality and cognition have given us some very useful insights on the interpretation of multimodal texts, and also shown how Relevance Theory principles can be fruitfully applied beyond face-to-face communication. However, there has not been a specific interest in matters of manipulation. Some scholars more or less closely affiliated to CDS have identified Relevance Theory as the communication model most apt to explore and explain how persuasion and manipulation work in the linguistic modes (de Saussure, 2005, 2011, 2013; Hart, 2013; Maillat, 2013; Maillat and Oswald, 2009, 2011; Oswald, 2011, 2014, 2016; Oswald and Hart, 2013). The following two sections will build on this work and advance some theoretical and analytical entry points for the investigation of manipulation in multimodal audio-visual texts.

4.3 *Manipulation*

Manipulation can be seen as an equivalent process to persuasion from a pragmatic point of view, but with the difference that the former involves "truth-functionally defective" (*type T*) propositions that "are *wrong* in some way: false, unlikely, doubtful, inaccurate, inconsistent with the common ground; and therefore should be rejected by the hearer under normal circumstances" (de Saussure, 2005, p. 120). This is how de Saussure defines manipulation:

[a] manipulative discourse is a discourse produced in order to persuade the addressee of a set of propositions P1. . . Pn of type T with appropriate strategies S. (ibidem, emphasis in original)

According to de Saussure, the most important feature of manipulative discourse lies in the *intention* of the speaker, “an intention which is not cooperative in the Gricean sense (in particular regarding the respect of the maxim of quality)” and “entails a kind of content which is not fully adhered to by the speaker: not necessarily a lie proper, but something wrong on one level or another of the communication going on” (*ibid*, pp. 118-119). De Saussure also goes on to identify what he believes to be some of the mechanisms that enable manipulation: first of all, manipulators use global (i.e. macro-level) non-linguistic strategies to create an image of themselves “as super-competent, either because they manifest in some way that they have some information that the hearer does not have, or because they are viewed as uncommonly skilled” (*ibid*, p. 130). Similarly to what was discussed in the section about the materiality of media at the stage of distribution, this mechanism has the purpose to win the confidence of the hearer and to bypass one level of *epistemic vigilance* (Sperber *et al.*, 2010). Secondly, he mentions the use of *emotional devices* “at the level of the general attitude of the speaker, and relative to the propositional contents of the utterances [...] which [seem] fair and motivated, since the addressee belongs to a group assumed to be integrated in a common fate with the speaker” (de Saussure, 2005, p. 134). Within the context of television programmes and audio-visual stimuli, the discussion of *multisensory processing* in 3.4.3. pointed at how music can play such a manipulative role by affecting the perception of other visual or aural stimuli. Expanding on the first of these two mechanisms, and drawing on the communicative model of Relevance Theory, de Saussure reaches the following conclusion as regards the success of manipulative discourse:

[t]he more costly it is for the hearer to retrieve correctly the information communicated, and to evaluate the truth, the likeliness or the ethical acceptability of it, the less likely the hearer is to resist manipulation. [...] I suggest that manipulation in discourse is clearly a pragmatic and contextual problem, where the notion of context is understood as the subset of the hearer’s cognitive environment which allows for the interpretation to be constructed. (ibid, pp. 139-140, emphasis in original)

Maillat and Oswald (2009) agree with de Saussure on many points, but not on the importance of the *intentionality* of the speaker as a defining characteristic of manipulative discourse, or at least of the *stronger* notion of manipulation de Saussure talks about (2005, pp. 119-120). They too see manipulation as a pragmatic issue, but they propose a definition which is “addressee oriented” (Maillat and Oswald, 2009, p. 359). This means that the deceptive intention of the speaker, which is often not accurately identifiable in the first place, is not relevant anymore. As Oswald (2014) puts it: “how could a theory positing that communication is a matter of intention recognition capture a phenomenon whose success precisely rests on the concealment of an intention?” (p. 99). An

addressee-oriented view of manipulation, now defined “as a set of constraints limiting the processes of contextual selection” (Maillat and Oswald, 2009, p. 361), allows the researcher to include all those cases where the intention of the speaker is not retrievable or even malevolent, but that may nonetheless result in some form of manipulation of the hearer.

There is also one issue with this perspective, however, namely the assumption of an ‘ideal manipulated’. If we pose that manipulation revolves around withholding critical information and that, following Relevance Theory principles, the (in)ability to access this information depends on the cognitive environment of the hearer and on the amount of effort she is willing to put in order to access such information, it follows that different hearers will respond differently to the same manipulative communicative event (see also Holsanova, 2014, p. 333). This is evident not only at an abstract level, where we cannot claim that everyone will get manipulated by the same communicative exchange in the same way, but also from the specific example Maillat and Oswald (2009) use. Referring to the manipulative discourses that the US government disseminated after 9/11 in order to justify a war in Iraq, they report that “a nationwide survey showed that roughly half of the American population thought that Saddam Hussein was connected with the 9/11 events” (p. 367). This certainly suggests that manipulation worked, but only for half the population; the other half was not manipulated in the same way, if at all.

Maillat (2013), again drawing on Relevance Theory, recognises this to be an issue when he says that

[a]s the quest for optimal relevance only selects a small portion of all the assumptions manifest to a hearer, it follows that given the very unlikely situation in which two addressees of the same utterance would have two identical cognitive environments in terms of the assumptions that are manifest to them, they might still differ with respect to the degree of manifestness (or accessibility) to which these assumptions are activated in their cognitive environment. As a result, the same utterance *U* could lead to a different interpretation for these two individuals simply because different assumptions will be selected first depending on their degree of manifestness. (p. 193)

Integrating a focus on the reception of texts in the qualitative research design can fine-tune the type of cognitive, Relevance Theory based and addressee-oriented analysis that the authors advocate in order to explore how manipulation works by shifting the perspective “*to that of the hearer*” (Oswald, 2014, p. 102, *emphasis in original*). However, it may not be appropriate to simply define a text as manipulative, but we should rather look at manipulation as a *scalar phenomenon*, and try to determine to what extent or, even better, with regard to what themes, has a hearer been manipulated by a text.

4.4 Relevance Theory

As seen from the discussion so far, Relevance Theory (henceforth RT, Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995) has been used both in some multimodal approaches (Forceville, 1996, 2010, 2020; Yus, 1998, 2016; Ifantidou and Tzanne, 2006; Piazza and Haarman, 2016), and in CDS particularly with regard to the analysis of manipulative (but also persuasive more broadly) discourse. The points that mostly attracted the interest of researchers in those areas are the way *context* is treated as an analytical variable, the concept of *epistemic vigilance* (Sperber *et al.*, 2010), the fact that it is a model of communication that does not favour one mode over another and the fact that it allows us to analyse communicative events from the perspective of the hearer. Moreover, I would add that the idea of *contextual effects* can also be exploited to explore a very contentious issue in media studies, that is to what extent specific media texts have an effect on audiences. After providing a brief overview of RT as a model of communication, I will look at each of those points individually and relate them to my research.

RT (1995) developed from Grice's pragmatic model of conversational maxims (e.g. 1989) and can be defined as a "cognitive theory of meaning" (de Saussure, 2011, p. 783). Both models attempted to integrate previous theorisations of communication as encoding and decoding messages, by conceiving an *ostensive-inferential model*, according to which "communication is achieved by producing and interpreting evidence" (Sperber and Wilson, 1995, p. 2). The exchange of information within the model of RT happens between two or more (depending on the number of participants in a communicative event) *cognitive environments*. The latter term refers to the "set of facts that are manifest" to an individual, whereby 'manifest' means that the individual is capable at the time the communicative event occurs "of representing [facts] mentally and accepting [their] representation as true or probably true" (*ibid*, p. 39). The exchange of information between the participants occurs on the assumption, as it was for Grice, that the participants expect the exchange of information to be mutually beneficial, i.e. it is in the interest of both parties, whether consciously or not, that communication is effectively and efficiently achieved (*ibid*, p. 49). For this to happen, old information stored in the participants' cognitive environments interacts with the new one "as premises in an inference process" so as to derive further new information (*ibid*, p. 48). When the new information is successfully derived it is because it was *relevant* for the participants. Relevance is based on two factors: the extent to which the new information *modifies* or *improves*¹⁷ the old one (the *contextual effect*) and the extent to which the effort required to process the new information is small (the *processing effort*). Hence, the greater the modification or improvement and the smaller the effort, the greater the relevance: "[w]hen such a balance is achieved, we will say that the assumption has been

¹⁷ *Improve* here does not entail a positive outcome, e.g. agreement, but simply an addition to the cognitive environment.

optimally processed” (*ibid*, p. 144, *emphasis in original*). *Contextual effect* can be defined as the alteration of one’s cognitive environment through a communicative exchange. Moreover, contextual effect, as well as reflecting the accommodation of completely new information in one’s cognitive environment, can come in two types: “[o]n the one hand, new information may provide further evidence for, and therefore strengthen, old assumptions; or it may provide evidence against, and perhaps lead to the abandonment of, old assumptions” (*ibid*, p. 109).

The idea that communication is based on the interaction of different cognitive environments, each of which possesses set of facts that are manifest to them, entails that the *contexts* available during a communicative exchange will vary depending on who the participants are. Moreover, participants will only access certain contexts amongst all those available in their encyclopaedic memory, based on the information they are receiving and with the ultimate goal of reaching optimal relevance, i.e. minimum processing effort and maximum contextual effect (*ibid*, p. 138). This means that, for analytical purposes, “relevance [...] is treated as given, and context [...] is treated as a variable” (*ibid*, p. 142). As Maillat (2013) notes, this has very important consequences when dealing with manipulative texts, because being able to direct the hearer’s cognitive efforts towards a context which is more easily accessible (thus requiring less effort), but that still produces contextual effects means being able to direct how the new information is going to be interpreted: “in a relevance-theoretic framework, manipulation could be analysed as an attempt to control the hearer’s context selection process” (p. 193). As already argued, however, the very fact that each hearer will approach the same text with a different cognitive environment means that we cannot simply define a text as manipulative, but we can only explore to what extent the manipulative phenomenon has been successful. My research attempts to do this by analysing the aspects of the documentaries that the participants deemed to be relevant, and by exploring both the potential available contexts surrounding them and the actual contexts provided by the text producer through the multimodal representation, in order to investigate which *contextual filters* have been applied. By *contextual filters*, therefore, I refer to all those aspects that are connected to a specific topic, available in other discursive representations, that the text producers of the documentary under investigation either chose not to include or ignored existed. Moreover, by discussing the programme with the audience, I aim to establish whether the actual context provided by the programme was understood by the viewer and whether s/he questioned its validity. This enables me to test the analytical tools of the multimodal analysis, through the participant’s recontextualisation, and explore to what extent manipulation occurs, through their questioning (or not) of specific ideological representations.

Connected to this idea of manipulation is also another notion that has been developed within the remit of RT: *epistemic vigilance* (Sperber *et al.*, 2010). This focuses on two levels, ‘vigilance towards the source’ and ‘vigilance towards the content’. I have already referred to the first type of vigilance and to how aspects such as the materiality of the media distribution and the macro-level strategies of

manipulators to portray themselves as super-competent and somehow in a position of superiority work towards by-passing this level of epistemic vigilance. While Sperber *et al.* claim that “[a] reliable informant must meet two conditions: she must be competent, and she must be benevolent”, they also recognise that the same informant could be more or less reliable depending on topics, audiences and circumstances; generally speaking, hearers would apply a general evaluation of an informant rather than going through the process of establishing for each communicative event whether the informant is trustworthy or not, as this requires too much cognitive effort (*ibid*, p. 369). Moreover, television programmes such as the ones chosen by my participants rely on “jovial and entertaining programme hosts who act as mediators between the destinations, their inhabitants and the audience” (Bakøy, 2017, p. 54). This specific type of personality and the private settings of the viewing experience for such programmes, coupled with the familiarity with the hosts and the type of interactional techniques they employ, such as looking in the camera and directly addressing the viewer, can have an effect on the source being seen in a benevolent way. However, with regard to mass-mediated text, this level of epistemic vigilance needs to be directed not only to the informants that are directly visible to the viewers, e.g. the programme hosts, but also to those who wrote, produced and broadcast (or distributed otherwise) the programmes (cf. Forceville, 2020, pp. 255-256). Finally, as Forceville (2020, p. 118ff.) also points out “genre governs the interpretation of discourse”. This implies that one important aspect to establish with the participants is what their expectations are when it comes to travel and cultural documentaries. Within my research design, this information is gathered by finding out who the sources are and contextualising the work under analysis within their broader *opus*, as well as exploring the viewers’ relation with both the hosts of the programmes, the media outlet that broadcasted or distributed the programmes, and the genre of travel and cultural documentaries. The idea being that the more trustworthy the source is, the easier it is that the viewers also trusted the content and the representations in the programmes.

As for the *vigilance towards the content*, this is first and foremost seen as a parallel mechanism to that of establishing relevance, “involving the automatic activation of background information in the context of which the utterance may be interpreted” (Sperber *et al.*, 2010, p. 374). According to Sperber *et al.*, the three possible outcomes of this mechanism when dealing with new information are: i) if the source is regarded as unreliable, the content is rejected; ii) if the source is regarded as reliable and existing conflicting beliefs are not held with much conviction, then the beliefs can be changed; iii) if the source is regarded as reliable and conflicting existing beliefs are convincingly held, then some reassessment of either the source or the existing beliefs is unavoidable (*ibid*, p. 375). Moreover, and rather aptly for the purpose of mass-communicated texts, Sperber *et al.* differentiate between face-to-face interactions, to which the discussion above applies, and communication on a population scale, where “culturally transmitted contents” are at stake and where “communicators use their own individual authority not so much to endorse the content as to vouch for its status as a

commonly accepted cultural assumption” (*ibid*, p. 380). On this issue, they review some research that points to the fact that people generally do not apply very strong epistemic vigilance, mainly due to the socio-psychological need of fitting in and being accepted in a community. A complementary hypothesis is then put forward that perhaps epistemic vigilance of both source and content is predominantly exercised in face-to-face interactions and less so in communication on a population scale (*ibid*, p. 381). Since the mechanisms governing the epistemic vigilance of content are the same as those establishing relevance (*ibid*, p. 374), the analysis of the context for both the text and the viewer, as outlined above, should also yield some insights into the way the content was ‘vetted’ by the viewers.

Although the great majority of the discussion in Sperber and Wilson (1995) revolves around verbal communication, the authors make it clear from the onset that what they are really attempting to advance is a “general theory of communication” or, at the very least, to integrate an inferential model of communication with what they define as the *code model* of communication, i.e. encoding and decoding messages (pp. 1-3). Moreover, by adding into the communication puzzle elements such as ‘encyclopaedic memory’, ‘cognitive environments’, ‘physical environments’ and ‘cognitive abilities’, RT distances itself from language and linguistic analysis alone and opens up to any stimuli, experiences and perceptions that contribute to human cognition. The focus is on *ostensive stimuli* (see also Kress, 2010, pp. 44ff., for a very similar description of the communicative process) and these can be defined as such if they a) attract attention; b) focus such attention on the communicator’s intentions and c) reveal the communicator’s intentions: “[t]his applies not just to speech but to *all forms* of ostensive communication” (Sperber and Wilson, 1995, pp. 153-154, *my emphasis*). As stimuli can come through any sensory channels and in any modes, RT is therefore able to cater for multimodal analysis, a point also made by Forceville (1999, p. 174). At the same time, and as pointed out by Oswald (2014, p. 102) when discussing manipulation, RT allows to shift the analysis towards the perception of the hearer, which makes RT also compatible with the audience research focus of my investigation.

4.5 *Contextual effects revised: evidential effects and ideological effects*

Finally, I would like to focus on the idea of *contextual effect*, which has been defined as the alteration of one’s cognitive environment through the accommodation of new information derived from a communicative exchange (Sperber and Wilson, 1995, p. 109), and unpack it further in order to introduce the concepts of *evidential effects* and *ideological effects*.¹⁸ In order to accomplish this, I

¹⁸ Elsewhere (Castaldi, 2021) I called the *evidential effects* ‘contextual effects’; however, I have decided to resort to the new term not to create confusion with the original RT terminology and to stress the fact that both my *evidential* and *ideological effects* are parts of RT’s contextual effects. The term *ideological effects* has been used in film studies with the broad Althusserian meaning of ‘mystification’ (Baudry and Williams 1974). Here, however, it specifically refers to a change in one’s cognitive environment at the level of *opinions*.

propose the analysis of new information at two different levels: the level of *knowledge* and the level of *opinions*. This differentiation is based on van Dijk's (1998) concept of ideology and his definition of *knowledge* as being the set of "factual beliefs" and *opinions* as being the set of "evaluative beliefs" that, together, form individual and social ideologies (p. 48). *Evidential effects*, then, is equated to modification or improvement of the old information, by virtue of the new, at the level of *knowledge*, whereas *ideological effects* refer to modification or improvement of the old information at the level of *opinions*. I would argue that in order for some lasting effect to occur, there needs to be both evidential and ideological effects. However, I would argue that only *modifying* ideological effect can be attributed to a specific text, whereas *improving* ideological effect reflects pre-existing ideologies that may have been reinforced by a specific text.

Furthermore, through the audience research element of my research design, *improving ideological effect* can be further divided into *explicit ideological effects* and *implicit ideological effects*. The former will be identified through the acknowledgement of the *preferred reading* of the programme with regard to a particular topic or ideology, found in the participants' responses to or recontextualisation of the text. What this means, in RT terms, is that the participants found a particular topic or ideology *relevant* because it improved information already existing in their cognitive environment. *Implicit improving ideological effects*, on the other hand, can be defined as implicit alignment with the *preferred reading* of the programme with regard to a particular topic or ideology, by way of not challenging it. In RT terms, this type of effect reflects the fact that a particular topic or ideology was already present *in the same form* in the participant's *cognitive environment* and was therefore not deemed to be *relevant*. This would very likely happen, for example, with ideologies that are highly naturalised or presupposed (e.g the discursive presuppositions discussed in 2.3.3) in both the interacting cognitive environments (the participant's and the programme's in our case).

This latter type of effect, however, can only be assumed to have occurred. The participant might have not found a *preferred reading* highlighted by the multimodal analysis *relevant* as, perhaps, it required too much *cognitive effort* to interpret it in the context of the viewing experience, although they might have found it relevant in a different context: this would not be unusual with regard to political or socio-economic ideologies in travel programmes, as the generic expectations may direct the viewer's attention towards other types of *preferred readings*, for example aesthetic or cultural ones. Secondly, the participants may find a certain topic or ideology relevant, but not as much as others and therefore do not prioritise them in the questionnaire or interview. Finally, it could be that a *preferred reading* highlighted by the textual analysis is simply not part of the participants' cognitive environment, thus making it impossible for them to notice it.

Ideological effects bear some resemblance to Oswald's (2014) concept of 'discursive influence'. The latter, however, is not clearly defined and seems to be roughly equated to the effects of persuasive (whether deceptive or not) messages on a hearer. What I propose here is a much more nuanced

categorisation in Critical Realist terms. In *Chapter 2*, based on van Dijk's (1998) differentiation between 'factual beliefs' (*knowledge*) and 'evaluative beliefs' (*opinions*), I proposed a distinction within the realm of the 'social' between a *basic social reality* and a *constructed discursive reality*. The former I defined as the constructed reality that has the status of *knowledge* in the individual and societal ideological constellations of the participants in the communicative event. An example of this would be the laws of a country at a particular point in time; what characterises it is not 'objectivity', but a higher degree of *epistemic certainty*. The *constructed discursive reality*, on the other hand, I defined as the constructed reality that has the status of *opinions* in the individual and societal ideological constellations of the participants in the communicative event, or at least in some of them to the point that its veracity is disputed. An example of this would be whether an existing law applies under specific circumstances; at this level, subjectivity and being value-judgement laden represent the defining features of the discourses analysed. Then, in *Chapter 3* I also discussed how the material aspects of multimodal semiosis create an epistemological connection between semiotics and Bhaskar's (1998) Critical Realism (see also Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer, 2002), and how the 'real' and the 'social' fit within the semiotic process of mediation. I argued that the 'real' equates to the material aspects of both the *signified* and the *signifier*.

What I propose here is an integration of those planes of reality, the *real*, the *basic social reality* and the *constructed discursive reality*, with the concepts of *evidential* and *ideological effects* that I have adapted from Relevance Theory, as in *Figure 4.1*:

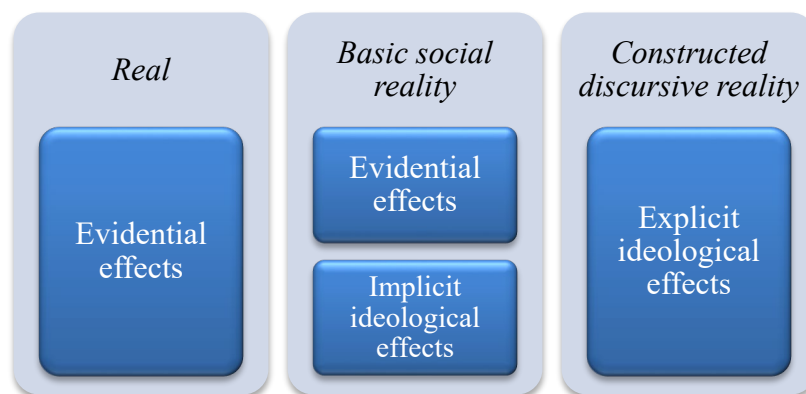


Figure 4.1: Cognitive analytical model integrating concepts from Critical Realism and Relevance Theory

Let me explicate the model using one of the topics from the first case study, *Burma with Simon Reeve*: this documentary, in short, explores the recent Rohingya (a Muslim ethnic minority) crisis in Myanmar (also known as Burma) and attempts to summarise its roots and consequences, as well as its key players. The Rohingya people, the Burmese people and military, Kutupalong refugee camp, etc. would be the *real* and part of the *evidential effects*. The fact that the Rohingya are not recognised

under the current Citizenship Act as one of Myanmar ethnic minorities, and hence as citizens, would be the *basic social reality* since everyone agrees that this is the current legislation in Myanmar: this is also part of the *evidential effects*. The laws themselves, however, are based on a number of ideological constructs that, without having the 100% epistemic certainty of bodies and tents in a camp, have nonetheless a very high degree of epistemic certainty and often represent the presupposed or commonsensical ideologies, e.g. the idea of citizenship and national borders or even the idea that a country must have an army. These would often have a bearing on the cognitive environments by means of what I labelled *implicit ideological effects*. The opinions concerning whether or not granting citizenship status to the Rohingya is right or wrong or whether their immigrant status under current laws justifies their forced expulsion from the Burmese national borders are all part of the *constructed discursive reality* and relate to the *explicit ideological effects*.

We can therefore postulate that manipulation can occur at three different levels: at the level of ‘real’ by omitting or altering evidential information related to desired *evidential effects*; at the level of *basic social reality* by omitting or altering information related to the desired *evidential effects* and *implicit ideological effects*; at the level of *constructed discursive reality* by omitting or altering information related to the desired *explicit ideological effects*.

Finally, whereas the idea of discursive influence (Oswald, 2014), by being equated to persuasion *senso latu*, seems to imply a successful change in one’s cognitive environment, my definitions of evidential and ideological effects do not restrict the possible outcomes. Rather, they accommodate all the options proposed by RT with regard to *contextual effects* including the one in which persuasion is not necessary, as the new information does not *modify* the cognitive environment, but simply *improves* it. The way in which my research attempts to do so is by analysing the cognitive environment of the audience, vis-à-vis the content of the programme they choose, by finding out what knowledge and opinions were already there, and which ones seemingly resulted from the interaction with the text.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced cognition into the research project and, more specifically, the cognitive-pragmatic model of communication of Relevance Theory and the cognitive-pragmatic process of manipulation. A brief overview of the application of cognitive concepts to CDS and a more detailed review of the way multimodal researchers have moved the cognitive discussions from verbal modes to other, non-verbal ones, have highlighted both the necessity and the appropriateness of applying cognitive concepts to the study of mass-mediated audio-visual texts such the travel and cultural documentaries chosen for my project. Given the focus of the project on ideological effects resulting from the interaction between the participants and the programmes, the cognitive process chosen is that of manipulation. The latter has been explored in CDS-related literature drawing on the

communicative model of Relevance Theory and the final part of the chapter has argued that such a model can also be fruitfully applied to the study of mass-mediated communication. Furthermore, the concepts of *evidential effects* and *ideological effects* have been introduced as a development of the RT's *contextual effects* and defined based on van Dijk's (1998) differentiation between *factual* and *evaluative* beliefs. Finally, I proposed a model for the analysis of manipulation in multimodal texts that integrates the concepts of *real, basic social reality* and *constructed social reality* adapted from Critical Realism, and the RT-based concepts of *evidential* and *ideological effects*. The next chapter will outline the methodological framework I used in my research.

5. Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the methodology and methods of my research. The research investigates how viewers construct their ideological positions through the interaction with television travel and cultural documentaries. More specifically, the aim is to explore the extent to which the research participants' ideologies are affected by the programmes they choose to watch, and which semiotic and cognitive mechanisms facilitate the successful bypassing of their *epistemic vigilance*. The research questions are as follows:

- RQ1.** How do viewers interact with travel and cultural documentaries and to what extent do these types of programmes affect their ideologies?
- RQ2.** What ideologies do travel and cultural documentaries reproduce or challenge and how is this done multimodally?
- RQ3.** To what extent do the semiotic and cognitive mechanisms at play in the media interaction bypass the viewers' *epistemic vigilance* and how is this achieved?

The first section will outline the epistemological basis of the research and justify the use of the three different approaches used to answer the research questions: audience research for RQ1, multimodal critical discourse analysis for RQ2 and a Relevance Theory based cognitive analysis for RQ3. Section 5.3 will then discuss the research instruments and their role in the research design. Section 5.4 will outline the rationale for the selection of the research participants. 5.5 will justify the generic boundaries imposed on to the participants for their selection of the television documentaries: this also requires a brief discussion of *genre* from structural and pragmatic perspectives and the discussion of the concept of *super-genre* (Steen, 1999). Finally, data collection procedures and ethical considerations will be discussed, respectively, in 5.6 and 5.7. When necessary, examples from the first case study, *Burma with Simon Reeve*, will be used to elucidate specific points.

5.2 Methodological approach

As discussed in the previous chapters, my research draws on a Critical Realist epistemology (Bhaskar, 1998), which maintains that the reality we experience is composed of a *natural world* and a *social world*. The former comprises those objects and phenomena that exist independent of human agency. The latter is the reality which exists *because* of human agency, including discursive reality. In 2.3.3, based on van Dijk (1998), I argued that the social world can be further divided in what I called a *basic social reality*, defined as the constructed reality that has the status of *knowledge* in the social ideologies of the participants in the communicative event, and a *constructed discursive reality*,

defined as the constructed reality that has the status of *opinions* in the social ideologies of the participants in the communicative event. I believe that both levels of the social world can be analysed and interpreted.

However, it can be difficult to establish what belongs to the *basic social reality* and what belongs to the *constructed discursive reality*. By way of example, the way I have approached this during the analysis of the first case study text is by looking at what aspects of the *discursive reality* (i.e. the text) seem to be ‘accepted’ by all the actors and agents involved. By *actors*, following van Leeuwen (1996b), I refer to the people and organisations that are directly involved with the events occurring in the *basic social reality* and represented in the text; in the first case study, some of these are the MaBaTha monks, the Rohingya people, Ang San Suu Kyi. By *agents*, I refer to the people and organisations that are involved with the *mediated* construction of the discursive reality; still in the first case study, these could be Simon Reeve and the BBC, P1 and myself as the researcher. At times, of course, actors and agents can be the same people and organisations; e.g. the MaBaTha monks can be regarded both as actors since they are directly involved with some of the events discussed in the text of the case study, and as agents since they offer their own mediated representation of those events. It is also important (and often difficult) to ascertain whether the status of *actors* is a genuine one or one assigned by the mediated construction of the discursive reality; that is, are MaBaTha monks really involved in the Rohingya crisis as discussed in the programme or are they *made* to be involved by the discursive representation of the text?

Looking again at the first case study, all parties seem to accept that a large number of Rohingya Muslims are not in their initial location (i.e. the Rakhine State) but are now in the Kutupalong refugee camp in Bangladesh or in other locations; this is what I considered as part of the *basic social reality*. The reasons why they are in a different location, what happened during this process, whose decision it was to change the location of the Rohingya people and whether or not they can/will return to the original location are all aspects that belong to the *constructed discursive reality*, as they are all contended to a lesser or greater extent by the parties involved and influenced by the different parties’ ideologies and interests.

It needs to be stressed at this point, however, that the differentiation between *basic social reality* and *constructed discursive reality* does not imply that the former is not influenced by ideologies or other interests. The *basic social reality* is itself the result of ideological (and discursive) struggles, i.e. the reasons, whatever they are, for the change of location of the Rohingya people; however, it can be argued that the *basic social reality* has reached a higher level of epistemic certainty and is accepted as valid by all parties involved at a specific point in time.

The methodological framework explores the natural and social worlds of both the participants and the documentary programmes. The broader framework is Audience Research, as this allows to establish the non-deterministic stance of my research, to investigate the idiosyncratic characteristics

of each of the three media interactions and to triangulate my textual analysis and interpretation against that of the participants, thus providing empirical evidence for the analytical constructs used (see section 2.5). The second level of analysis is the textual one: here principles as well as analytical and interpretative constructs are borrowed from the multimodal approaches of Social Semiotics and MCDS applied to filmic texts (see section 3.4 and section 5.3.2 below). Finally, the cognitive analysis, based on principles borrowed from RT and with a focus on manipulation (see sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5), will provide the final level of analysis with a focus on media effects. *Figure 5.1* below provides a visual representation of the methodological design: the headings provide the research questions, framework and (research instruments); the boxes summarise the primary objectives and focuses of each level of analysis.

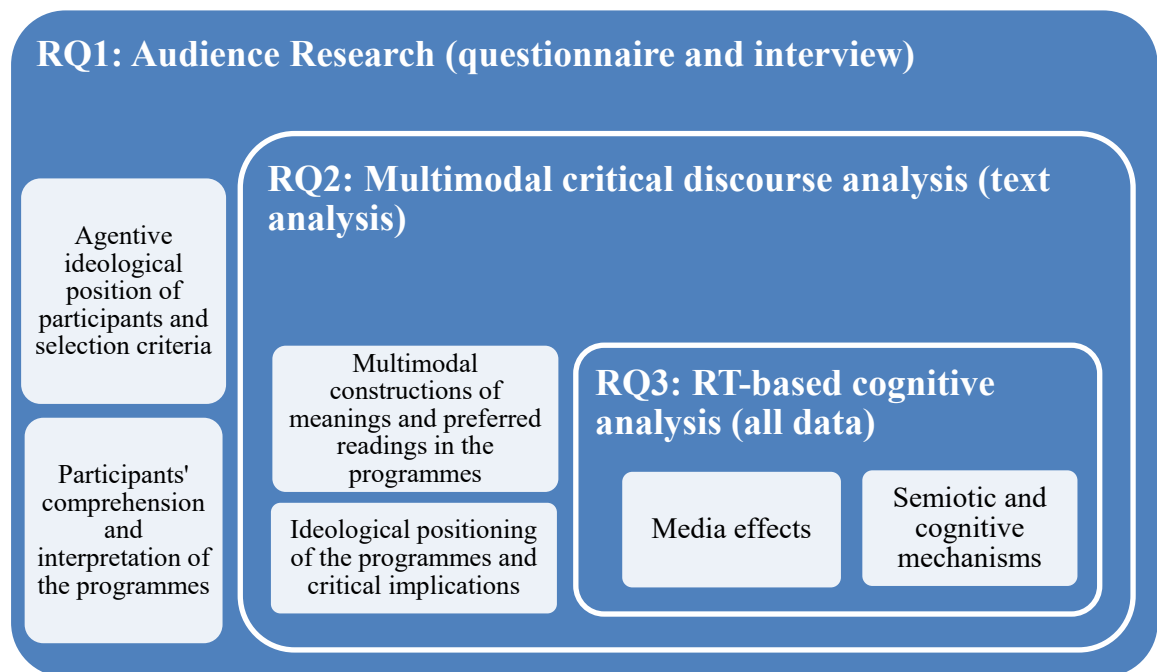


Figure 5.1: Methodological design of the research with RQs, levels of analysis and primary objectives

5.3 Research methods and instruments

5.3.1 Questionnaire

Although questionnaires are often listed under the quantitative research methods tools (e.g. Schröder *et al.*, 2003; Priest, 2010; Berger, 2011), the one designed for my research is intended as a qualitative instrument, presenting the participant with a mix of multiple choice options, open-ended questions and note-taking boxes that aim to give a fuller description of the participants as *viewers* and to understand how they interacted with the programme before, while and after watching it, thus

addressing *RQ1*. The questionnaire (*Appendix 5.1*) comprises a cover page and three sections over a total of 4 pages; it can be described as self-completed and indirectly administered (Schröder *et al.*, 2003, p. 246). It is worth looking at the different parts separately to explain the way they were designed and their function.

The cover page is intended to set out the basic information regarding the study, the text selection and instructions for the completion of the questionnaire, as well as a final box for the details of the participant and of the programme they have chosen. After thanking the participant for taking part in the study, the first paragraph clarifies the desired (although not invalidating if missed) timeframe and deadline for completing the tasks, and the ways through which the participant can return the completed questionnaire to me. The second paragraph outlines the main criteria for the selection of the programme, which are for it to take place in the country or place of interest, to be non-fictional and to be delivered predominantly in the English language. This paragraph also gives some examples of both travel and cultural programmes, which I have chosen from a variety of media outlet, whether more “traditional” (e.g. the BBC or ITV) or less so (e.g. Vice Media); it ends by stressing, however, that they are just examples and that the participants can choose anything they like of a similar kind. The third paragraph introduces the three sections of the questionnaire, highlighting at what point of the viewing experience they should be completed: the first part investigates the general viewing habits of the participant and can therefore be completed at any time; the second part has to be completed after choosing the programme, but before watching it; the final part has to be completed after watching the programme. The final paragraph, which comes before the box for the details of the participants and the programme they watched, reassures the participant about the confidentiality arrangements and explains why they need to provide some personal information, i.e. for the purpose of ease of reference and in order for me to be able to contact them for the follow-up interview.

The first section of the questionnaire is entitled *general viewing habits*: it comprises eight items, five of which provide multiple choice options and three of which are open-ended questions. Item 1 (“*How often would you say you watch travel or cultural programmes?*”, multiple choice) asks for the frequency with which participants watch the type of programmes being investigated. This will inform me about whether the participant does this regularly and, combined with whether or not s/he uses these kinds of programmes to gain some knowledge about the world (item 2 in the questionnaire and also one of the follow-up interview questions), will give me an indication in relation to the contribution such programmes make in forming the participant’s ideology.

Item 2 (“*Why do you watch travel and cultural programmes?*”, open-ended) aims to find out the reasons why the participant watches these types of programme: as mentioned above, the main point of interest for me is understanding whether travel and cultural programmes are used by the participants to learn about the world, thus affecting their ideologies.

Items 3 (“*How do you generally watch travel or cultural programmes?*”, multiple choice) and 4 (“*Do you have a preferred medium (i.e. one of the items in question 3) to watch travel or cultural programmes? Why or why not?*”, open-ended) come as a pair and ask about the medium the participant generally uses to watch the programmes (e.g. the TV set or a tablet) and whether they have a preferred one. One reason for these two items is the intention to find out whether the medium of preference of the participant, and indeed the one that was actually used for the study, is a “hot” or a “cold” one (McLuhan, 1994). McLuhan relates “hot” and “cold” media to two important aspects, the first being the level of *definition* (i.e. detail) the medium allows and the second, a consequence of the first, the level of *participation* required on the part of the viewer. The argument goes that the higher the level of definition (the “hotter” the medium), the lower level of participation is required on the part of the viewer to engage with the message conveyed. Conversely, the lower the level of definition (the “colder” the medium), the higher the level of participation required (*ibid* pp. 22-23). The implication in the context of this study is that a hotter medium will leave less room for the participant to negotiate the message, and the latter may be interpreted more closely to the text producer’s *preferred reading*. It needs to be stressed, however, that McLuhan’s definition of *medium* is quite loose and refers simultaneously to technical equipment (e.g. radio vs. telephone), genres and type of texts (e.g. photographs vs. cartoons), and are sometimes even mixed (e.g. film is compared to TV). Although this can appear analytically confusing as different things are compared, it still expresses the very valid point that *definition* and *participation* are aspects that can be enhanced or reduced by different “media” or, more likely, by a combination of them. To give an example, it can be argued that the same documentary may be hotter if watched at the cinema, with surround speakers, than if watched on a smartphone, which has a less isolating power; likewise it can be argued that the same technological medium, say the tablet, can be used to watch a genre with higher definition such a video news report, which combines more semiotic modes, or lower definition such as a podcast, which often only relies on the spoken word. It is important, therefore, that the combination of both technical means and genre features is taken into consideration when discussing the level of definition and related participation of the viewers. Finally, whether or not there is *consistency* between answers to items 3 and 4, and the medium they actually chose for the study may carry some interesting information, as the choice of a non-preferred medium could suggest a less naturalistic experience or having selected the programme (perhaps unavailable on their preferred medium) more for the purpose of the research than for the participant’s own interest and enjoyment.

Items 5 (“*Where do you generally watch travel or cultural programmes?*”, multiple choice) and 6 (“*Do you have a preferred channel or platform (i.e. one of the items in question 5) to watch travel or cultural programmes? Why or why not?*”, open-ended) are also presented as a pair and they investigate the participant’s preferred channels or platform, and whether these are generally accessed *live* or *on demand*. There are different reasons for these two questions to be there. The first relates to

the matter of *consistency* as discussed for items 3 and 4: whether or not the participant has chosen their favourite channel and type of broadcast may give some indication as to the extent to which the experience was an authentic one. A second reason is connected to the ideas of *distribution* and *ownership* that were discussed in *Chapter 2*: knowing which type of broadcaster the participant regularly watches and prefers may give some indication of their ideological positions. For example, do they only trust the established media companies that can be watched on TV or on paid subscription channels, or do they also trust media outlets (or even individuals) who produce low-budget programmes and distribute them freely on channels like YouTube or Vimeo? Finally, a third reason for these two items lies in the difference between *live* and *on demand* type of channels and is related to the possibility for the viewer to interrupt the viewing experience, both for futile reasons (e.g. to get a glass of water from a different room) and for reasons connected with some of the content being watched (e.g. to check some of the information presented through a different source).

Item 7 (“*Do you generally watch travel or cultural programmes with*”, multiple choice) aims to find out more about the social circumstances in which the participants watch the programmes. The relevance of this question lies in its value in profiling the participants as viewers, since it is relevant to understand whether the practice of watching travel and cultural programmes is more of a private or public one. Lemish (1982) discusses an important domain connected to the private vs. public viewing dichotomy: the *sociological aspects of context*. This refers to “physical arrangements and stimuli in the setting, social forces, and in terms of the pre-selection of individuals with appropriate behavior possibilities” (*ibid*, p. 10). Physical arrangements can influence the quality of the viewing experience, e.g. a smaller vs. a wider television screen. Social forces and behaviour possibilities, based on Goffman’s concept of *face* (Goffman, 1967), refer to the behaviour which viewers can express in the privacy of their homes as opposed to public spaces: behaviour will tend to be more restrained by social and interactional rules in public settings and freer in private settings (Lemish, 1982, p. 12), e.g. commenting aloud would be perfectly acceptable at home but frowned upon in a cinema. One consequence of the sociological aspects of context in relation to the ideological influencing of the viewers may be the level and frequency of interactions with other viewers’ comments or reactions, and how the viewers perceives their own positioning in relation to others’. For example, if a particular scene in a documentary had the effect to shock other members of the audience (whether in a private or public setting), a viewer who did not have such a reaction may perceive themselves to be somehow at odds with the people around and be influenced by this experience in some way. Moreover, an inclination towards privacy may suggest that the participant wants to be able to fully concentrate during the viewing or perhaps that s/he is not comfortable with other people knowing the type of programmes and content s/he likes to engage with. The first scenario may reinforce the importance the viewer places on the viewing experience in accessing “knowledge” and hence shaping their ideology; the second may suggest the viewer feels certain topics are better

kept for the private rather than public sphere. It can also be, of course, that completely unrelated reasons come into play, for example the viewer lives on their own or other people in the household do not enjoy a particular type of programme or there was nowhere else more “public” where the viewer could have watched that same programme. Some caution needs to be taken when interpreting this kind of information.

Finally, item 8 (“*Do you discuss programmes you or others have watched with*”, multiple choice) investigates whether or not content from the television programme form part of the viewers’ topics of conversation with people they may engage with at different levels of their social circle. The reason behind this question is again connected to whether or not such programmes contribute to the ideological formation of viewers, which may be not limited to the viewing experience itself but taken further and shared within the social circle of the viewer. Indeed, as one of the participants in the study commented in the follow-up interview, this may be the reason why the viewing of a particular television programme takes place in the first instance:

A conversation with friends, just a normal chat would sometimes spark an interest. So, if it is something that I may have touched myself before and they tell me a little bit more, and it really captures my attention. I’ll be like “ah”, so I’m gonna make the effort to go out and watch a documentary or I might read a book (P1, I, lines 344-347)

I would argue that the confidence to go and talk about a topic learned from the media to someone else in one’s social circle can be interpreted as a sign of the message contained in television programmes having been *ideologically internalised* by the viewer. This does not necessarily mean that the message has been accepted by the viewer, but that it has had an impact on the viewer’s ideology and is worth discussing with others.

The second section of the questionnaire is to be filled in after choosing the programme, but before watching it. It only consists of three questions (items 9-11), the first two being open-ended questions and the third being a note-taking box. Item 9 (“*Why did you choose this particular programme?*”, open-ended) investigates the reason for choosing the specific television programme that will be watched, hence exploring the motivations of the participant. I am aware that possibly the foremost motivation when selecting the text for the study was participating in the study itself and I am also aware that this might have influenced the choice of programme to a certain extent. It may be expected, for example, that the participants will want to choose a programme that in their opinion fits the context of a piece of academic research, and this may push them to discard certain types of programmes as unsuitable. The hope was, however, that even if that was the case, participants would still choose a topic which is of interest to them and use platforms and media outlets that they would normally use. As already mentioned, consistency of answers to items 3-4 and 5-6 with the medium and channel

actually chosen will give an indication of how much the programme chosen for the study is different to the ones normally watched by the participants. Moreover, answers to this item may also include generic expectations that the participants had when choosing the programme.

Item 10 (“Do you know something already about the programme (e.g. by having watched a promo or because a friend told you about it or because you have read a review somewhere). If so, what do you know already?”, open-ended) addresses the participant’s *cognitive environment*, prior to watching the programme (including existing discursive representations), of the subject matter of the programme chosen. As with most of the items in the questionnaire, this area is further investigated during the follow-up interview, where participants are asked to expand on what they already knew about the topic of the programme and also about other contextual knowledge they may have not put down on the questionnaire, but that may have been triggered by watching the programme or by the discussion with me during the interview. Moreover, answers to this question may reveal expectations the participants had regarding the genre and the content and, possibly, also their ideological positioning towards the subject matter of the programme as indicated by the words they use. Their ideological positioning, in turn, may suggest the interpretative code they may employ with regard to the *preferred readings*; for example, one of the participants’ answer to this question was:

I am familiar with Simon Reeve and have watched his programmes [unclear] other parts of the world. I have spoken with friends about the episode and know it touches up the recent Rohingya refugee crisis (P1, Q, item 10).

The fact the participant is familiar with Simon Reeve and has watched some of his programmes implies an awareness of what to expect in terms of the style and persona of the host as well as the kind of topics he likes to cover in his travel programmes, which are often connected to current political issues. The participant is probably also expecting the programme to be produced by the BBC as Simon Reeve has almost exclusively worked for them, so this gives us an idea of the ideological background of both the text producer and the participant who, probably, expects a BBC programme to adhere to certain standards of impartiality. Moreover, the participant claims to have spoken about the programme with friends, which is something that might have influenced the expectations ahead of the viewing experience. Finally, the way the “recent Rohingya refugee crisis” is worded gives out some hints with regard to the participant’s understanding of the issue and positioning toward it: 1) it is a *crisis*, that is a situation which is affecting the lives of those involved and requires an urgent solution; 2) the Rohingya are *refugees*, which suggests a perception of these people as victims of the crisis and thus worthy of sympathy and support. Presumably, these perceptions will also influence the participant’s interpretative code in relation to the *preferred readings* in the programme.

Finally, item 11 (“*What places and people do you expect the programme may talk about? Please write some very brief notes, words or phrases that you associate with the places and people you think will come up in the programme:*”, note-taking box) is a note-taking box where participants are asked to write what they are expecting to see in terms of people and places as well as phrases and words or ideas they associate with them. This item also explores the existing *cognitive environment* but, more importantly, it taps into the participant’s *expectations of the content* and of the people and events that may be depicted as part of the narrative. Moreover, this box may provide a window into the participant’s ideology, since the words that are associated with people and places may carry certain assumption and value judgements. If we look again at the participant from the first case study, these are the words written in the box (P1, Q, item 11):

<i>Places:</i> Burma and surrounding countries, Yangon
<i>People:</i> Burmese government, Colonial rulers, Rohingya, Aung San Suu Kyi
<i>Ideas you associate with them:</i> Oppressive governments and previous rulers. People, until recently, very shut off from the world outside of Burma. Now borders are more open people are more liberated.

In terms of the words used to describe historic ruling parties in the country, we can notice a contrast between the Burmese government who are described as *oppressive* and the colonial rulers (i.e. the British Empire) who are not ascribed any specific value judgement, but only the factual temporal dimension. This oppositional description seems to suggest the participant has a negative opinion of the Burmese government, but is not committed to judge the British era. Another interesting sentence is “now borders are more open people are more liberated”: this sentence seems to suggest that open borders are, in themselves, a positive state of affairs to be pursued. The participant expands on this concept during the follow-up interview by saying: “yeah, as a preconception, I thought, right, obviously, borders are open, there’s a gateway of information and opportunity coming in and out of the country” (P1, I, lines 143-144). The participant then goes on to say that the programme did not really show that to be the case in Burma, at least not beyond the major cities, but also that this was just the first episode, so maybe the second one would show that. What this seems to suggest is that the participant’s ideology is in line with some of the ideals of globalisation, i.e. that free exchange of information and trade (opportunity) liberate people, and that, when faced with contrasting evidence from the episode watched, the participant is still unwilling to accept this is the situation and that the second episode may confirm the ideological beliefs held.

The third and final part of the questionnaire is to be completed after watching the programme. It comprises four questions (items 12-15), the first being a box for note-taking and the remaining three open-ended questions.

Item 12 (“*Please write some brief notes, words or phrases to describe your impressions and feelings after watching the programme:*”, note-taking box) allows the participants to write words, phrases and sentences to describe feelings and impressions they had. The main idea behind this box is to capture what the participant found to be the most relevant information and the effects of such information on their perceptions, soon after they have watched the programme. This may highlight *cognitive salience*, which means that a concept has entered “a person's focus of attention and is being processed in current working memory” (Schmid, 2007, p. 119) and, in turn, give some hints as to which aspects of the text were deemed to be *relevant* (in RT terms) by the participants.

Item 13 (“*Did the programme match your expectations? Why or why not?*”, open-ended) asks the participants whether their expectations were met and why or why not. This item refers back to the previous section and it is useful to establish the extent to which the participant’s motivations for choosing the programme have been rewarded by the experience. Moreover, answers to this question may clarify whether the programme met the generic expectations the participant had.

Item 14 (“*Was there anything in the programme that you found particularly interesting, surprising, unusual, troubling, upsetting or memorable? What and why?*”, open-ended) has a similar function to item 12 and it allows the participants to further comment on aspects that they found particularly interesting, surprising, unusual, troubling, upsetting or memorable (i.e. *relevant*). Here the participants may decide to expand on some of the ideas jotted down in the note-taking box, which may give further indication of the aspects s/he found the most relevant. At the same time, by asking a similar question in a different way/format this item provides an opportunity to check *internal consistency of response* (Schröder *et al.*, 2003, p. 262).

Finally, item 15 (“*Did you watch the programme with someone else? If so, were there any comments made during or after the programme?*”, open-ended) serves a number of functions. First of all, it refers back to item 7 and checks whether the viewing experience of the participant is consistent with their general viewing habits, thus suggesting a more authentic practice. Secondly, in case of a positive response, it may shed some light on the ideological position of people in the social circle of the participant, which may have an influence on the participant’s own ideology. Lastly, it would also highlight aspects of cognitive salience and relevance as already discussed for items 12 and 14.

Despite providing opportunities for the participants to express feelings, thoughts and opinions about the programme they watched as well as some information to help profile the participants as *viewers*, this research instrument is clearly limited in providing a deeper understanding of the interactional processes and a deeper understanding of the participants as *individuals* and of their ideology. It is for these reasons that participants were also asked to do a follow-up interview.

5.3.2 Interview

Since *RQ1* and *RQ3* investigate how people interact with the media genres of television travel and cultural programmes, and the extent to which the latter influence the worldview of the former, the most suitable research instrument to gain a deeper understanding of this discursive practice are face-to-face semi-structured interviews. Compared to other qualitative instruments, for example participant observations, interviews have the advantage of being less intrusive during the discursive practice under investigation and grant more control over the direction of the data collection, whilst allowing a good degree of flexibility for the participants to explore experiences and thoughts of their choice (Priest, 2010, p. 101).

The interview (*Appendix 5.2*) is divided into three parts and is meant to last for approximately one hour. The first part of the interview explores in more detail some of the answers the participants have given in the questionnaire and, more specifically, in the last two sections (see items 9-15 above). It is also at this stage that further questions may be asked about certain aspects of the programme that have not been commented on by the participants when completing the questionnaire; however, those aspects that have proven to be salient and relevant from the participants' point of view, i.e. the ones they have noted down out of their own choice, are given priority. Moreover, questions in this initial part of the interview concern whether or not the participants believe that TV travel and cultural documentaries are useful to gain knowledge about aspects of the world.

The second and third parts of the interview focus on *RQ1* and *RQ3* and aim to understand the participants' broader ideology in terms of intercultural (part 2) and socio-economic matters (part 3). The main function of these two parts is to explore interculturality and politics as experienced by the participants and to gain some insights on how they perceive such matters both within the national boundaries of the UK and at the global level of international relations between the UK and other countries and cultures. The information gathered from these two parts of the interview, combined with the information collected through the questionnaire, enables me to have some insights on how the participants' representations of issues identified in the television programmes match their broader ideology, thus addressing *RQ3*.

The interviews are actually referred to as *conversations* on the information sheet and consent form the participants receive and throughout the explanatory meeting I have with them to discuss the project; the rationale behind this is that some people may have certain preconceptions about what interviews are and how they should perform, possibly based on past experiences of completely different types of interviews (Schröder *et al.*, 2003, p. 150). Finally, the interviews are recorded: participants are aware of this and have given written consent.

5.3.3 *Multimodal critical discourse analysis*

As the name of this analytical approach suggests, multimodal critical discourse analysis is interested in exploring how the combination of different semiotic modes is exploited in order to offer a specific discursive representation of an event, and to maximise the chances that the *preferred reading* (Hall, 1980/2005) of the text is accepted by the audience during the mediated interaction. In the case of the media product chosen for my research, that is TV travel and cultural documentaries, the semiotic modes that need to be analysed include spoken and written language (e.g. dialogues, voice-over commentary, subtitles, etc.), visuals (e.g. shots of people and places, graphs, maps, etc.) and audio (e.g. background music, noises, other sounds or lack thereof). In order to answer *RQ2*, however, the focus for each semiotic mode will be restricted to matters of *connotation*, *representation of actors* and *representation of processes*, to how these contribute to the creation of specific representations of socio-economic and intercultural matters, and to how the choice of specific semiotic modes may enhance the chances that the *preferred reading* is interpreted by the audience through a *dominant code*.

5.3.3.1 *Linguistic analysis*

One of the most important aspects is the choice of lexis, and the related idea of *connotation* (Leech, 1983). From a semantic point of view, the choice of certain words to describe similar events will carry a different set of meanings connected to them. An example from the first case study text, *Burma with Simon Reeve* (BBC, 2018), would be how the British Empire and the Burmese Military Government periods of power in Myanmar are described: whereas the voice-over says that “the British *ruled* Burma for more than a century” (*Appendix 6.2, part 2*), when it comes to the military, “[they] *seized power* ushering in decades of *brutal dictatorship*” (*ibidem*). Whereas the word *ruled* has got more of a neutral, factual connotation, the phrases *seized power* and *brutal dictatorship* carry negative judgement values, thus representing the Burmese military as worse than the British Empire. Since I appreciate that the evaluation of connotation as negative, neutral or positive is largely interpretative and relative, my evaluation will be anchored to the specific normative standpoint I adopt based on Nussbaum’s version of the *Capabilities Approach* (2000), which was discussed in 2.3.2 (reproduced in *Appendix 2.1*). When functional to answering the research questions, *prosodic features* will also be analysed, as the way something is said can convey a meaning rather than another (see 5.3.3.3).

A second important aspect is the *representation of actors* (van Leeuwen, 1996b). This analytical aspect is concerned with the way people, places and organisations are described, in terms of *naming conventions* (e.g. Aung San Suu Kyi vs. “the Asian Mandela”), *inclusion* vs. *exclusion* from the text (e.g. by *suppressing*, that is making it impossible to trace agency, or *backgrounding*, i.e. making it possible to understand agency from the context) and *personalisation* vs. *impersonalisation* (e.g. by naming specific individuals within an organisation, e.g. “Aung San Suu Kyi”, or the organisation as

a whole, e.g. “the Burmese Government”). The choices described above play a very important role in foregrounding or backgrounding actors, thus giving them prominence or obscurity in the eye of the viewer. For example, by referring at different points in *Burma with Simon Reeve* to the “military dictatorship” and “the Generals” instead of telling the viewers the names of the people in power at a specific time (e.g. U Ne Win, leader of Burma between 1962 and 1988), a representation can be created of the whole military organisation as being responsible for certain decisions, rather than an individual person or a restricted group of people. Moreover, the naming conventions carry semantic connotations by framing actors in one way rather than another: an example from the same text are the non-Burmese Muslim individuals who are helping ARSA (the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army), who are called “international fighters” (*Appendix 6.2, part 9*) instead of, for example, *terrorists* or *militants* (the latter term, interestingly, is used to describe the MaBaTha Buddhist monks).

The final linguistic aspect that the analysis focuses on is the **representation of processes** (or *transitivity*, e.g. Halliday, 1978). Given the cognitive focus of my research, processes are identified for cognitive rather than functional reasons. A first differentiation is made between *stative* and *dynamic* processes. The main reason behind this is that stative processes carry higher epistemological value (being thought of as akin 100% certainty, see Chilton, 2014, p.119) and suggests to the hearer situations where “[n]othing changes, and nothing happens” (Langacker, 2013, p. 147). The stative processes correspond to the SFL categories of *relational* (having attribute, having identity and symbolising), *existential* (existing) and *mental* (seeing, feeling, thinking) processes; the dynamic processes correspond to the SFL categories of *material* (happening, creating, changing, doing, acting), *behavioural* (behaving) and *verbal* (saying) processes (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, Chapter 5). An example of a stative process from the first case study is the sentence “poverty *is* still endemic here” (*Appendix 6.2, part 2*). This statement is presented as true and unquestionable and, furthermore, *poverty* itself is presented through a nominalization, a linguistic structure through which “processes are reduced to ‘things’ and thereby leave no room for information relating to participants or circumstances” (Hart, 2014, p. 33). This allows the concealment of agency and, possibly, of responsibility.

A second differentiation, relating to the dynamic processes, is made between *agentive* and *receptive* processes. These indicate whether actors are represented as doing or receiving actions, which in cognitive linguistics is referred to as *perspective* (Langacker, 2013, p. 73ff.): this is something that cognitively influences the way actors, objects and events are perceived. In one of the sentences we saw before, “the British *ruled* Burma for more than a century” (*Appendix 6.2, part 2*), the British are represented in an *agentive* position, whereas *Burma* is represented in a *receptive* position. Combined with the neutral connotation of the verb *ruled* that we noted before, this sentence creates a representation of the British as active, but as if involved in the routine and legitimate administration of another country, thus potentially facilitating a legitimised representation of the

circumstances. If we contrast this with representation of the military, “[who] *seized* power *ushering in* decades of brutal dictatorship” (*ibidem*), we notice that the military is also put into an agentive position, but the negative connotation attached to the lexicon in the sentence provides a representation of a brutal, illegitimate actor.

Although the SFL literature (e.g. Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, Chapter 5) further differentiates the agents and patients depending on the type of processes involved, e.g. *actors*, *behavers*, *sensers* and *sayers* (for agents) or *receivers*, *recipients* and *goals* (for patients), the scope of the linguistic analysis (within the broader multimodal analysis) has not allowed me to investigate this further differentiation. For this reason, the representation of processes is analytically divided only in three categories: *agentive*, *receptive* and *stative*.

5.3.3.2 Visual analysis

The same analytical categories we have described above are employed for the visual analysis of the documentaries. With reference to *connotation*, Machin and Mayr (2012, pp. 49-56) identify the following aspects: *attributes*, *settings* and *salience*.

Attributes refer to the meaning conveyed by objects and their representation; for example, the host of the programme, Simon Reeve, is often shown wearing a keffiyeh scarf (*Image 5.1*), which is a particular type of scarf associated with support to the Palestinian cause in the Arabo-Israeli conflict, thus potentially representing him as sympathetic with the Palestinian Muslim people and, by association, with the Rohingya Muslim people in Myanmar. Moreover, he is always wearing traveller type of clothes and has a backpack as his luggage (*Image 5.2*), thus conveying the idea of a genuine “backpacker” traveller and creating a bond with like-minded viewers.



Image 5.1: Simon Reeve wearing a keffiyeh scarf



Image 5.2: Simon Reeve stowing his backpack on the train

Settings indicate the physical spaces used and they, too, can have a role in creating visual-semantic association in the viewer: an example from the text analysed are the settings used to talk about the British Empire rule vs. the military rule. While talking about the British rule, there are spacious aerial shots showing the train Simon Reeve is travelling on going through the lush greenery of the Burmese countryside (*Image 5.3*); in contrast, when the host talks about the military dictatorship and its effects on the country, the setting is the cramped, almost claustrophobic interior of the train (*Image 5.4*), which helps convey the idea of a country kept prisoner by the military generals.



Image 5.3: Shot of train while talking about the British Empire



Image 5.4: Shot inside the train while talking about the military rule

Finally, *saliency* refers to the prominence (or lack thereof) given on the screen to people, objects and places and includes concepts such as *cultural symbols*, *size*, *colour*, *tone*, *focus*, *foregrounding* and *overlapping* (Machin and Mayr, 2012, pp. 54-56). These features can be used in equal measure to highlight something with positive or negative connotations, depending on the combination of the visual features with the linguistic and audio ones. The prominence of the keffiyeh scarf in many scenes is an example of a *cultural symbol*, whereas the vibrant colours of the train journey and the darkness of the train carriages are example of *colour* used in combination with words (and as we will see, music) to convey joyous vs. sad feelings to the viewer.

With regard to the *representation of actors*, the following aspects need to be taken into consideration: *gaze* and *poses* (Machin and Mayr, 2012, pp. 70-76), *distance*, *angle*, *individuals vs. groups*, *generic vs. specific depictions*, *exclusion* (*ibid*, pp. 97-102).

Gaze refers to where the actors direct their eyes: looking straight into the camera serves to create a relationship with the viewers and ‘demands’ them to respond to what is being said; in contrast, looking at someone/something else in the frame and not at the viewers puts the latter in the position of an observant, who is ‘offered’ information or objects of contemplation (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 119). A direct gaze also implies a certain level of authority which is attributed to the character on the screen (Chandler, 2017, p. 250).

Poses can be used to convey a variety of meanings, from movement and dynamism (Simon Reeve, for example is often shown on the go, either on foot or in vehicles, thus suggesting a dynamic, *can-do* type of personality) to stillness and rigidity (the MaBaTha senior monks are shown sitting while discussing their opinion about the Rohingya Muslims, thus suggesting a certain seriousness and close-mindedness), from openness and proximity to closeness and discretion.

Distance mirrors social relationships between the people on the screen and the viewer: a close-up shot will take the viewer closer to the person(s) represented, whereas a further away shot will keep a distance from them. As with any of the other categories, *distance* needs to be analysed in combination with other semiotic aspects: if, for example, the viewer is shown a close-up of a smiley person who is saying something nice, the proximity will have the effect to create a positive bond between the viewer and the person on the screen; in contrast, if the close-up is of an angry person who is saying offensive things, the effect in the viewer would be of heightened aversion and fear of being so close to a person they do not relate to.

Angle refers to how people on the screen are filmed both on a vertical and a horizontal axis. On the vertical axis, people can be represented from bottom to top (low camera angle), from top to bottom (high camera angle) or at eye level. These options can be equated to social power relations, with the low camera angle portraying the person in a position of relative power (‘look up at someone’), the high camera angle portraying the person in a position of less importance or vulnerability (‘looking

down to someone’) and the eye level angle placing the person on the screen and the viewer on a similar level (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 13). On the horizontal axis, the person being at the centre of the frame can suggest direct engagement with the viewer (if looking at the camera) or following the person on screen and their viewpoint (if the person is shown from behind). Being on either side of the frame puts the viewer in an observer, detached position (*ibid*): in this case, the combination of this camera angle with a close-up shot may suggest ‘togetherness’ (Machin and Mayr, 2012, pp. 98-99); moreover, the position on the left or right hand side of the screen may be also equated to the ‘given/new’ structure of the English language (since we are analysing programmes in English watched by a British audience), thus signalling something familiar (left, given) vs. something unfamiliar (right, new) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 180-181).

Figure 5.2 below reproduces the “basic vocabulary for describing camera movement and ‘posture’ during film shots” (Bateman and Schmidt, 2012, p. 10): this is also the terminology that is used in the transcription of shots.

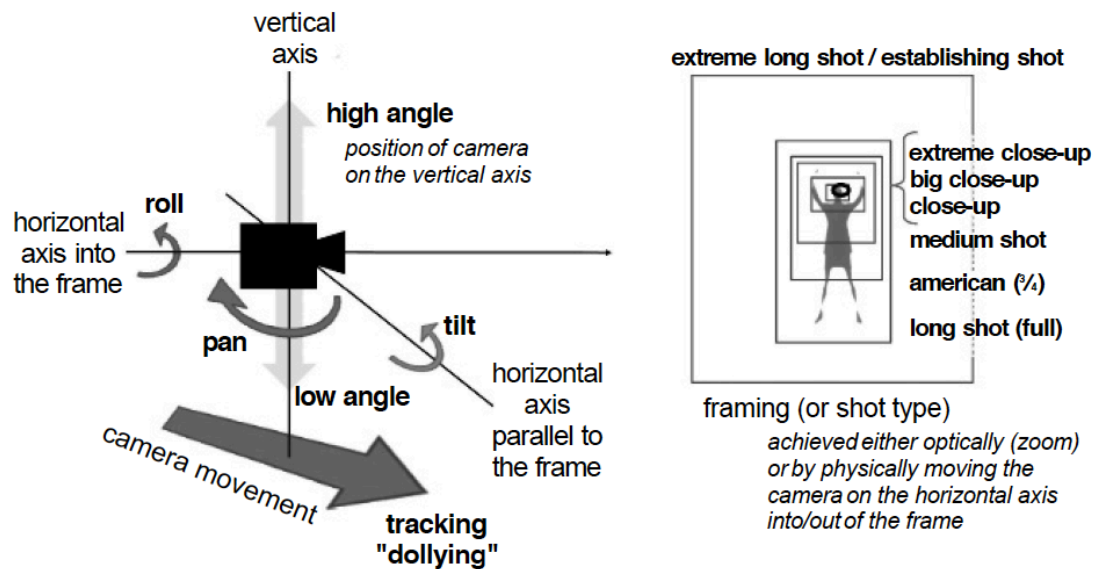


Figure 5.2: Camera angles and shot distance (Bateman and Schmidt, 2012, p. 10)

Finally, other ways of representing actors, may be to show them as *individuals* or as part of a *group*, as a *specific* member of a cultural/social/religious category or as a *generic* member, and to *exclude* them altogether from the images. All the above representations bear ideological connotations, as they may focus the viewer’s attention to specific responsibility or merit (*individual* and *specific* representations), have the opposite effect or the effect to make every member of one cultural/social group the same (*group* and *generic* representations), or exclude some from the narration altogether, thus not allowing them any voice (*exclusion*).

In terms of the *representation of processes*, the analysis of the images should be compared with the other accompanying semiotic modes (especially the linguistic ones) in order to establish matches or discrepancies (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 131; cf. Barthes' (1977) concepts of *anchorage*, *illustration* and *relay*). The train travelling in *Image 5.3* above, for example, visually matches the active linguistic processes stated over that scene the portrays Simon Reeve *travelling* and being on a journey, and the British *building* the railways in Burma during the colonial era. Moreover, the visual representation of processes can look at what "participants are represented as doing, whether there has been some deletion of agents and whether the images help to bring in an abstracted sense of what is going on" (*ibidem*). This idea mirrors the linguistic differentiation made between *agentive*, *receptive* and *stative* processes: so, for example, we notice that Simon Reeve is often shown in *agentive* position, walking, travelling, talking. His sat down pose in *part 2* while describing Burma under the military dictatorship (*Image 5.4*), can instead be interpreted as a *stative* pose, mirroring the claims that the country is still largely affected by the military political influence.

5.3.3.3 *Sound and music analysis*

Whenever functional to answering the research questions, the sound analysis covers natural (e.g. the noise of rain) and artificial (e.g. the whistle of a train) noises as well as some aspects related to the general voice quality of actors and agents. As for the music analysis, this includes both music added in post-production (non-diegetic) and music recorded while shooting the programmes (diegetic).

Before looking at some specific parameters through which each of the three areas of connotation, representation of actors and representation of processes has been analysed, it is necessary to look at four overarching meaning-making aspects that come into play when the sound semiotics are employed: *figure*, *ground and field*; *provenance*; *experiential meaning potential* and *modality* (van Leeuwen, 1999; Machin, 2014). These concepts will be used throughout the analysis as they can equally apply to connotation and to the representation of actors and processes.

Figure, *ground* and *field* refer to the stratification of the audio input both in terms of audibility on the part of the viewers and on setting the cognitive focus. Van Leeuwen (1999, p. 23) defines *figure* as the sound listeners are expected to focus on, "identify with, and/or react to and/or act upon"; *ground* is the level of sounds that is "still part of the listener's social world" but that requires minor cognitive involvement; *field* is the level of sounds that, although not directly part of the listeners' social world and therefore not requiring cognitive focus, still populates the physical reality they are experiencing. In the case of a *designed* soundscape as the one that is created for any TV programme, the arrangement of sounds into these three levels of perceptive proximity to the listeners (*perspective* in van Leeuwen's terminology) enables the text producer(s) to direct the viewers' attention towards certain aspects over others while, at the same time, potentially neutralising some the soundscape elements altogether. However, it must be taken into consideration during the analysis of the viewer's experience that the

sound arrangement and related meaning-making potentials designed by the text producer(s) can easily be jeopardised during the viewing event. The first reason is that the soundscape created by the text producer(s) will very likely be competing with the soundscape surrounding the viewer while watching the programme: although this may not be interfering with the level of *figure*, it may well have an effect on the viewer's perceptions of the backgrounded levels of *ground* and *field*. A second reason is that the viewer may not be familiar with part of the soundscape or that s/he may not be aware of some of the meaning potentials connected to it. These reasons warrant caution on the part of the researcher in giving the sonic semiotic modes interpretative or explanatory power as, perhaps more than the aspects from the other two semiotic systems, external sounds and noises would almost certainly be part of the viewer's "real" world during the media interaction. As far as this level of sound analysis is concerned, however, it will only focus on the soundscape which has been engineered by the text producers and how it might have been used a means for meaning-making.

The concept of *provenance* refers to the meaning "sounds and sound qualities" are assigned "through cultural accumulation of associations" (Machin, 2014, p. 299) based on where the sounds come from. *Provenance* therefore enables the text producer(s) to embed potential meanings not only through specific sounds and music, e.g. the sound of bagpipes carrying associations with Scotland, but also through certain audio communicative patterns that have reached a recognizable status as in belonging to a specific genre or environment, e.g. an ascending melody, which generally "express[es] 'outgoing', 'active' emotions" (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 102). Moreover, the origin of the association may not only be cultural/geographical, as the example of the bagpipes, but also *situational*, e.g. sounds associated with a specific community of practice such as the noise of school children in a kindergarten (cf. van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 46). This familiarity may give sounds and music the power to activate mental schemata and connections in the viewers, influencing their emotive, and hence possibly cognitive, state while watching a particular scene. The discussion about *figure*, *field* and *ground* above has hopefully highlighted how this concept can also be problematic from an analytical and interpretative point of view.

Experiential meaning potential is a similar concept to *provenance* in the sense that it refers to associations of meaning, but this time created by personal experiences rather than by cultural factors (Machin, 2014, p. 299). For example, the image and sounds of a small river stream in a bucolic setting may activate in the viewer peaceful memories and, similar to the case of *provenance*, influence their emotive and cognitive state while listening to one of the actors or agents in the programme telling a story. Moreover, the experiential element can also be traced back to "what we are actually *doing* when we produce the pattern" (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 46 - *emphasis in original*): for example an English speaker would instinctively know "that pitch is a contrastive marker for irony or sarcasm" (Attardo *et al.*, 2003, p. 243) and would use that experiential knowledge to interpret a similar intonational pattern they hear. An example of this from the same case study text is when the host, Simon Reeve,

says to a spirit medium he is talking to, “I get one wish and if it comes true (↑), I have you to thank (↓)” (*Appendix 6.2, part 4*, ↑ is raising intonation and ↓ is falling intonation), expressing incredulity and sarcasm, and therefore undermining the medium’s credibility (and, as we will see in *Chapter 6*, that of the military generals who trusted their advice). However, again care must be taken when interpreting such potential meaning-making signs, as the viewer may have had a completely different experience of such a bucolic setting (perhaps boredom or even solitude after having lived for a long time in a similar place) and this could affect their interaction with the text in a different way than what the text producer(s) intended. Likewise, contrastive pitch may also signify other attitudes and feelings like uncertainty (Ward and Hirschberg, 1985), which may be chosen by the listener to interpret an utterance heard in the programme.

Finally, *modality* refers to the degree of truth associated with a specific instance of communication, regardless of the semiotic sign and bearing in mind that “modality judgements are always related to the values of the social group in which they are made” (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 158). When it comes to sound, modality is not only influenced by a set of parameters,¹⁹ but first and foremost by the *coding orientation* used, which determines “the modality *value* of a particular sound - the *degree* and *kind* of truth we will assign to it” (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 170, *emphasis in original*). TV travel and cultural documentaries can be classified as a hybrid genre mixing “elements from documentary film, didactic educative television program, host-based factual entertainment genre as lifestyle series, talk shows and TV ads” (Waade, 2009, p. 101). We can therefore expect such programmes to employ *abstract-sensory* (for the didactic element), *naturalistic* (for the documentary element) and *sensory* (for the entertainment and advertisement elements) *orientations*.

Within an *abstract-sensory orientation*, modality aims to present the viewer with generic representations that can at the same time evoke emotions (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 181). This is achieved by reducing most of the audio parameters, so that sounds seem taken away from the immediate surroundings and are given a certain sense of timelessness, while at the same time preserving or even amplifying those parameters such as *absorption* and *directionality*, which will enhance the viewer’s perceptions of, respectively, the resonance and the source of the sounds. An example of this process is the exchange between Simon Reeve and a Rohingya man (subtitled) who is trapped at the border between Myanmar and Bangladesh (*part 8*):

1. SR: “What did you do before... before you came here, before you had to flee?”
2. MAN 2: “I studied for a degree in Psychology”
3. SR: “You studied Psychology”

¹⁹ I will talk in more detail about two of these parameters, *perspectival depth* and *friction range*, in the second part of this section as they relate more to my analytical framework, but a full list of all the parameters can be found in van Leeuwen (1999, Ch. 7)

4. MAN 2: “But the government won’t let the Rohingya people do these jobs. We all have documents
5. proving our citizenship, my whole family has the documents. Despite this they say we’re not from
6. there. They are killing us, but we won’t say – we can’t say that it’s not our country”.

The dialogue is almost completely isolated from the background noises and accompanying background music (which were more noticeable in the shots just preceding and following this dialogue) thus abstracting it from the immediate context and crystallising it into its own isolated soundscape. This has the effect to reinforce the message that the Burmese government discriminates against the Rohingya ethnic minority and kills them, despite the fact they are Burmese citizens themselves. At the same time the volume of the voice of the man clearly resonates through the speakers and, combined with the close-up shots, works towards creating the emotional effect that will make the viewer empathise with the man’s situation.

Within a *naturalistic orientation*, modality relies on providing a verisimilar representation of reality: “the more a representation is felt to sound like ‘what one might hear if present at the represented event’, the higher its naturalistic modality” (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 181). The ideological value of this type of setting is to increase the viewer’s perception that what they are watching is indeed the real representation of somewhere (or someone and something) they may have no direct knowledge and experience of, or that they have experienced themselves, perhaps in similar settings. As well as increasing the emotional involvement of the viewers with something they perceive as real, the feeling of authenticity may also enhance the degree of credibility of the text producer(s) and the trust the viewers have in them, thus lowering the levels of *epistemic vigilance towards the source*. Examples of these kind of sounds in the first case study text are the sounds and noises made by the train during the journey, the music played at the ceremony celebrated by the spirit medium or the noises in the crowded streets of Kutupalong refugee camp, amongst others.

With *sensory orientation*, finally, “modality presentation and representation merge, and the truth criterion lies in the degree to which a sound event is felt to have an emotive impact” (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 182). The emotive impact, and related ideological effect, is achieved by amplifying one or more of the parameters, e.g. by foregrounding the sound of the train during parts of the journey to ‘take the viewer on it as a passenger’, or by increasing the volume of the sound of rain when Simon Reeve talks about the military regime, thus heightening the sense of sadness already evoked by the slow, descending melody of the accompanying music.

Bearing in mind that the aspects described above represent the basis of the sound and music analysis, we can now turn to some specific parameters that have been used in the analysis of the multimodal text, with regard to three areas of *connotation*, *representation of actors* and *representation of processes*.

Starting with *connotation*, three important parameters are *perspectival depth*, *friction* (primarily for sounds) and *melody* or *musical notes* (primarily for music). *Perspectival depth* refers to the isolating of sounds in order to foreground them and give them an abstract rather than naturalistic character, which is the technique applied to the dialogue we looked at when talking about the *abstract-sensory orientation*. The louder this setting is, the greater the emotive effect will be (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 174). The degree of *friction* works in a similar way to *perspectival depth* in the sense that this setting enhances or suppresses those natural sounds and noises that give to whatever is shown on the screen a higher or lower degree of abstraction or specificity. Specificity here is synonym to “naturalistic representation [which] requires a certain amount of ‘grit’, or ‘noisiness’” (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 175). An example of a high level of friction, and hence naturalistic representation, in the first case study text is the train journey at the beginning of the programme: here the noises the train makes are initially kept at their natural volume (if not a little higher). This setting helps establish the train journey as a genuine one, which, in turn, will establish Simon Reeve as a genuine traveller and, potentially by association, as genuine person altogether who is credible and trustworthy.

As for music, the most important aspect to analyse in terms of connotation is the *melody* and *the musical notes* that accompany certain scenes and frames. The most important differentiation is between *major* and *minor* keys, which are associated, respectively, with happy and sad melodies (Machin 2014, p. 308). The connotational force of melodies rests on the emotive effect that they can create in the viewer and the combination between the music, the words and the images shown. However, as van Leeuwen observes “melodies are not slaved to words” (1999, p. 97) and, from the point of view of ideological analysis, this is an essential point to bear in mind. The connotation of melodies may not always match the connotation of words or images and this poses an interesting interpretative conundrum for the researcher and the viewers: if we assume that all the different semiotic modes at play carry a similar weight, which one is delivering the text producer(s)’ *preferred reading*? An interesting example of this conflict of semiotic modes is one of the train scenes where Simon Reeve introduces Aung San Suu Kyi, the *de facto* leader of Myanmar and talks to a train passenger about the country leader (*part 2*):

1. SR: Poverty is still endemic here: around a third of school age children don’t actually attend
2. school. Hundreds of thousands of youngsters work in fields, factories and trains. The
3. military dictatorship in Burma lasted for nearly fifty years. It was the generals who actually
4. renamed the country Myanmar. Now both names are still used. In 2011, the military said
5. they were stepping aside. Today the country has a new, democratically elected government,
6. led by a human rights icon, whose struggle against dictatorship earned her the Nobel Peace
7. prize.
8. SR: “De facto leader of the country, as I’m sure you know, is Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter

9. of the great independence hero, Aung San. She is loved by many Burmese as a human
10. rights hero, an Asian Nelson Mandela, if you like”
11. SR: “So, what do you think of Aung San Suu Kyi?”
12. WOMAN ON TRAIN (subtitled throughout): “I like her a lot. I watch her on the news
13. every day. We always say she looks so young. I think she’s great”
14. SR: “Are you telling me you like Aung San Suu Kyi because she is pretty and still got her
15. youthful looks?”
16. W: “She can also speak different languages. I really admire her. My life is better now and I
17. like the changes”
18. SR: “It sounds like you really quite love Aung San Suu Kyi”
19. W: “Of course, I love her. Because of Mother Su, most villages have improved”
20. SR: Aung San Suu Kyi is hugely popular across much of Burma, a country of more than 50
21. million people. When her party won the election, many saw it as the start of a new era for
22. the nation.

The passenger talks about the leader of Myanmar in positive terms and also uses a very affectionate name for her (“Mother Su”). Simon Reeve himself does not seem to challenge the woman’s view neither during the exchange, nor in his introduction (lines 1-7) and conclusion (lines 20-22), where he uses positive phrases and expressions (“a human rights icon”, “a human rights hero”, “an Asian Nelson Mandela”, “hugely popular”). If we were to evaluate the mood of the discussion about Aung San Suu Kyi and the *preferred reading* with which the text producer(s) would like the viewers to agree by only looking at the linguistic mode, we could say that the leader of Myanmar is depicted in a favourable way. There is no music played during the actual interview; before and after it, however, the music played sounds like a traditional song in a minor key, with a slow, regular tempo, which seems to have a nostalgic and melancholic feel to it. This scene comes after Simone Reeve talks to a child vendor on the train and explains how poverty is “still endemic” and forcing young people and children to work instead of going to school. This is also when the same music starts in the background, thus thematically connecting the two issues (cf. Bateman and Schmidt, 2012, p. 92). The analysis of the music, therefore, seems to be suggesting that although Aung San Suu Kyi is liked by Burmese people (as also suggested by the train passenger) and, although “[w]hen her party won the election, many saw it as the start of a new era for the nation” (lines 21-22), the assessment that is made by the text producer(s) is of continuity with the problems afflicting the country and the incapability of the new leader to change things around. The viewer is therefore already given some signals of what the text producer(s) think about Aung San Suu Kyi through the sonic semiosis and this is made clearer in the very final comment at the end of the episode (about 50 minutes after this scene) when Simon Reeve states (*part 9*):

1. I think it was because recently we've been a bit blinded by the fact that Burma has
2. Supposed to have changed into a democracy. We haven't wanted to criticise it, and we
3. haven't wanted to criticise the country's de facto leader Aung San Suu Kyi. We thought she
4. was an Asian Mandela. How wrong we were.

With regard to the *representation of actors* there are two sound settings that can convey, when analysed in relation to the actors and agents' voices, important representational features: *quality* and *pitch range*.

Machin (2014, pp. 310-313) identifies five sound qualities: tension, breathiness, loudness/softness, distortion/degree of raspiness and reverb. Since I am interested in the actors and agents' voices (rather than other sounds or music), the two qualities that are analysed are those of *breathiness* and *loudness/softness*. *Breathiness* refers to the degree of intimacy that is created by the sound of the voice. From an ideological point of view, it may convey a will on the part of the speaker to create a connection with the hearer and a divide between the speaker and the hearer as one camp and those outside the intimate space as the other, thus establishing an *us/them* divide. An example of this from the first case study text are the lines below (*part 6*)

1. SR: "So, we are just on our way to a very controversial monastery and they don't
2. want us to film, so I think we'll probably put the cameras down now, go in there, and
3. see if they'll let us film. (3) We've had some delicate negotiations, but I think, I think
4. we are going to be allowed to start filming"

The words in lines 3 and 4 (after the 3s pause) are pronounced by Simon Reeve once in the MaBaTha monastery, an organisation presented in the programme as *militant* and *controversial*, talking straight to the camera at eye-level with the viewers (does including them, on an equal basis, amongst the *us*), in a fairly breathy voice, almost whispering to the camera in order not to be heard. It is important to notice how the *us/them* polarisation is also created at the same time linguistically by the use of the pronouns *they* (lines 1 and 3) and *we/us* (in every line), an example of *anchoring* (Barthes, 1977) across modes.

Loudness and *softness* are connected with social distance (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 24) and with ideas of power, status, threat or danger (loud voice) or intimacy and confidentiality, but also weakness (soft voice) (Machin, 2014, p. 311). In contrast to *perspectival depth*, which applies to the relationship of volumes between a number of co-occurring sounds in the soundscape, *loud* and *soft* apply to the volume of individual sounds. An example of louder level of voices in the film is the scene where the MaBaTha senior monks are interviewed by Simon Reeve (*part 6*). The level of their voices while they tell their opinion about what is going on in Rakhine state between the Muslim Rohingya and the

Buddhist Rakhine population is perceived as pretty high. This, combined with shots of them from a lower angle, hence representing them in a position of relative power, and close-ups that take them close to the viewers making them feel overpowering and threatening, achieve the ideological purpose of representing these monks as part of the cause for what is happening to the Rohingya Muslims.

Along similar lines to loudness/softness, which apply to volume levels, *pitch range* refers to how the tone varies in a spoken utterance between high and low levels. As Machin (2014) maintains, “larger pitch ranges in speech are heard as more emotionally expressive whereas more restricted pitch ranges are heard as more contained, reserved or closed” (p. 305). One possible consequence of perceiving a higher pitch range variation as more emotionally involved is to attribute to the speaker a higher level of subjectivity. On the contrary, a low pitch range variation can be perceived as a feature of rational, objective speakers. The latter better describes the great majority of the utterances by Simon Reeve: his composure seems to reflect a level of objective distance from what is happening, which allows him to analyse all the information he gathers while travelling around Burma and communicate it to the viewers. The voice-over commentary (with very few exceptions, often for the purpose of humour), and summaries or remarks about something that has been talked about previously, often times spoken straight to the camera, are mainly delivered using a lower pitch range variation. Exceptions to this pattern also occur, however, whenever he is giving out to the viewer his own emotions for other actors or agents, for example when he meets Cheery Zahau (*part 3*) for the first time after many years, or when he talks to the Rohingya man trapped at the border (*part 8*).

Finally, with regard to the *representation of processes*, the two aspects that have been primarily taken into consideration, especially in the analysis of music, are *rhythm* and *pitch movement*. *Rhythm* can be analysed in different ways (Machin, 2014, pp. 313-315), but as far as the representation of processes is concerned, the two most relevant ones are the dichotomies: fast/slow, which can be equated to energy (active) vs. idleness (passive); stasis/motion which can represent *stative* vs. *dynamic* respectively.

Pitch movement in music is connected to melodies and can have upwards or downwards directions. Cooke’s pivotal publication (1959) put forward the suggestion that *ascending* and *descending* melodies can be associated with outgoing and incoming emotions respectively. Similar to what was discussed about rhythm, these can be matched to active and passive processes of transitivity. Machin (2014, p. 302) further maintains that the speed of this process in either direction can have different representational force: for example, going from “a burst of energy” in case of a rapid increase to the building up of something in case of a gradual increase. As for the visual representation of processes, the most important analytical point here is to check how well the music matches the other semiotic modes as far as the aspect of transitivity is concerned.

5.3.4 *Methods and procedure*

5.3.4.1 *Participant data*

Participants were asked to inform me of the programme of their choice as soon as they had watched it, so that I could procure a copy for myself and watch it before the follow-up interview. Notes about the themes were made during/after watching the programme as well as my initial impressions about the issues discussed and how they are represented. Some preliminary research on the text producer(s) and distribution company was carried out ahead of the follow-up interview and so was some contextual research around the topic to identify any points that may have been worth considering prior to talking to the participants. The full multimodal analysis of the programme was done after having interviewed the participant because it was a very lengthy process and it would have not been completed before the interview was held. Also, I think it was valuable not to start the interview from too high a vantage point in terms of having in-depth knowledge of the text and of the issues discussed, as the interview was also meant to be a process of discovery for me as a researcher; I felt that I would have started from a less biased position if both the participant and I discussed the programme as viewers.

As mentioned in 5.3.1 the questionnaires are self-completed and indirectly administered. This means that participants completed them at a time and place convenient to them, preferably (but with some flexibility) within two weeks of the explanatory meeting in which the questionnaire, consent form and information sheet were handed out to them in paper format. Once completed, the questionnaires were returned to me either in digital or paper format.

Interviews were performed between 3 and 5 days after the participants had watched the programmes and returned their questionnaires. This ensured that not too much time had lapsed between the two events, which made the participant's recollection of the viewing experience less arduous. In terms of the location where the interviews took place, this was somewhere the participants felt comfortable, either at their home or workplace. Interviews were recorded using a laptop computer; they were then transcribed and analysed at different stages of the data analysis, i.e. before and after the text data analysis. The transcriptions of the interviews are provided in *Appendices 6.1, 7.1 and 8.1*.

5.3.4.2 *Text data*

Once the participant data was collected, I proceeded to collect the text data, i.e. the documentaries themselves. These were available to watch both on the 'BBC iPlayer' (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer>) and on the service platform 'bob' (<https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand>). The latter I could access through the university institutional account and was particularly useful as it offers transcripts of the programmes. I used these for a first transcription of the language data and then amended it as

necessary by checking the transcripts while watching the programmes. The programmes, using some of Iedema's (2001) categories were then broken down in sequences, which I simply called *parts*, and *scenes*. The *parts* were established by assigning a specific theme and include breaks that are signalled either visually (e.g., black fadeaway shots or clear change of setting) and/or sonically (e.g., with a change in background music). Within the *scenes* the broad modes of *language*, *audio* and *visual* were transcribed with times so that the temporal integration of the modes could also be taken into account. The transcription was done over multiple views until I felt I had reach saturation point and had noted down all the relevant data.

First the language data was analysed based on the linguistic constructs (and their meaning-potentials) borrowed from the Systemic-Functional and Cognitive Linguistics traditions (see 5.3.3.1): *connotation*, *representation of social actors, places and events*, and *representation of processes* (i.e. 'transitivity'). At the beginning of each transcription in *Appendices 6.3, 7.3* and *8.3* a legend provides the key to each construct: green, red and yellow highlighting provides the coding for, respectively, **positive**, **negative** and **neutral** connotations; underlined text provides the coding for the representation of social actors, places and events; ***bold and italicised*** text provides the coding for the representation of processes. The language data was analysed in its entirety, regardless of what actors, places or events the participants had prioritised in their recontextualisation of the programmes.

The next step was to annotate the *sonic* modes, namely music and sound. The annotations of *the music keys, major and minor modes, tempo* and *provenance* (see 5.3.3.3) were all based on my own musical knowledge. Having played the guitar since the age of fifteen I am able to break down a melody and establish its key and mode. Whenever available, my analysis was cross-checked using the websites 'SongBPM' (<https://songbpm.com/>) and 'Tunebat' (<https://tunebat.com/>): however, due to the fact that most of the music was either very niche (case studies #1 and #2) or written specifically for the programme (case study #3), this was rarely possible as the songs either did not feature amongst the ones in the website databases, or I could not trace the original title and hence search for them. An initial coding of positive connotation for major modes (green highlighting) and negative connotation for minor modes (red highlighting) was applied. This was then qualitatively reassessed depending on the co-occurring linguistic and visual modes in order to discuss different possible emotional associations triggered by the music and possible meaning-potentials. Finally, the sounds were also annotated whenever they were placed at the perspective levels of *figure*, *ground* and *field* in the soundscape mix and their potential influence on *coding orientations*, *perspectival depth* and *friction* (see 5.3.3.3) was noted in the 'overall meaning-making' column of the transcription.

Finally, the visual modes were annotated. The basic unit of visual analysis was the shot: however, for the purpose of the transcription I provided descriptions of sequences of shots when these seemed connected by their function (e.g. interviews, introducing new characters or places, travelling from one place to another). The transcription of camera movement and framing, as discussed in 5.3.3.2, is

based on Bateman and Schmidt (2012) and the legend at the beginning of each transcription summarises the coding for different types of camera framing: ECU = extreme close-up, CU = close-up, MCU = medium close-up, MS = medium shot, LS = long shot, ES = establishing shot. The social actors and related processes are then summarised in the following columns and here the same colour-coding is used to highlight the connotation assigned to both actors and processes: green for positive, red for negative and yellow for neutral. The analysis of the meaning-making potentials of the visual modes was based on the analytical constructs borrowed from the social semiotic approach to multimodality and from MCDS (see 5.3.3.2): *attributes*, *settings* and *salience* for matters of connotation; *gaze*, *distance*, *angle*, *individuals vs. groups*, *generic vs. specific depictions*, *exclusion* for the representation of actors; *movement* (or lack thereof) and *directionality* for the representation of processes.

5.3.4.3 *A note on transcription*

Transcription is already part of the analysis as it “is a way of revealing both the codeployment of semiotic resources and their dynamic unfolding in time along textually constrained and enabled pathways or trajectories” (Baldry and Thibault, 2006, p. xvi). This results in every transcription, especially of multimodal texts, looking slightly different from others. There are many examples of transcription of audio-visual material (most notably for films, see Thibault, 2000; Baldry and Thibault, 2006; Bateman and Schmidt, 2012; Tseng, 2013; Wildfeuer, 2014), and all of them have the objective to highlight how the different modes integrate to create meaning and enable the viewers’ *comprehension* of the films. However, most of them work on a shot-by-shot basis since they focus on cohesive and representational aspects of the filmic text and often only short extracts (a few minutes at the most) are transcribed. My transcriptions are of a more holistic nature: they too *re-semiotise* (see Kress, 2010, and Bezemer and Mavers, 2011, for discussions around the idea of “transcription as semiotic work”) the different modes into the transcription documents, but the focus is on the viewer’s *interpretation* as the comprehension is assumed to have occurred: without it, a coherent discussion of the programmes with the participants could not have occurred in the follow-up interviews. Therefore, my transcriptions provide the entire programmes and do not work on a shot-by-shot level but, rather, on a scene-by-scene level.

Gibbons (2012, pp. 18-19), moreover, notes two crucial problems with most types of multimodal transcription: the first is that they often do not account for the *reception*, including perception and interpretation, of multimodal texts; the second is that the extreme breaking down of the different semiotic modes does not reflect the integrated processing of the multimodal ensemble that cognitive and neuroscientific studies are instead highlighting (see also section 3.4.3 here). My transcriptions of the audio-visual texts, as well as the summative analyses provided, tentatively address the points

made by Gibbons, by adding the participants' recontextualisations and comments to the scenes (in the transcriptions) and actors (in the summative analyses) they refer to.

5.4 *Participants*

Given the qualitative nature of the study and the fact that it aims to investigate the whole process of mediation from text production to text reception, the focus is on a small number of detailed case studies rather than on a large number of participants. The idea is not to come to a set of generalised conclusions about the genre of TV travel and cultural documentaries and the extent to which viewers of certain demographics are influenced by them: I believe that such a set of conclusions cannot be easily achieved in any one study due to the large number of types of programmes that fall within the genre chosen and cannot perhaps be achieved at all due to the subjective identities of the individual participants. What my research seeks to achieve is to gain some understanding on the way meaning and discursive representations are created in a multimodal text and how a viewer, with her personal and subjective identity, interacts and reacts to them as part of her identity formation – all of the above being investigated through a critical lens that explores how this is done for ideological purposes. Analogies amongst the case studies about how such representational and cognitive mechanisms work could then suggest directions for further research, both within the fields of multimodal and discourse studies, and within the field of reception and media studies.

At the same time, however, I am not ruling out that certain demographics may have some influence on the type of choice of programme and the interaction with it. Schröder *et al.* (2003, p. 160) suggest that one way to choose the participants is by focusing on what kind of characteristics may influence peoples' perceptions and constructions of reality. I am inclined to think that age and educational background (more than gender and socio-economic status) may be two such characteristics and this is the reason why out of four participants I recruited two of a younger generation (18-40) and two of an older generation (50+). In addition, within each of the two age groups I recruited one person who has had further or higher education as part of their background and one who has not. The suitability of each participant will be discussed in the report of each individual case study. Although all four participants took part in the research, I only report the results of three case studies here, as the analysis of the data, which includes both participants and texts, became too much to be carried out within the time allowed for this PhD.

The participants have been recruited amongst my acquaintances, either through my extended social circle or through sport clubs and groups to which I belong. The rationale for this is that participants are not close enough to me to know exactly what type of research I am carrying out (hence potentially influencing their responses), but are close enough for us to have a certain level of trust and for me to be able to know their approximate age and educational background without having to make these selection criteria known to them. Being acquaintances also means that I do have some

knowledge of their personalities, styles and social circles, which is something that helped me interpret their responses.

5.5 *Text genre and data selection*

In order to minimise my involvement with the participants' interactive experience with the media texts, I decided to let the participants themselves choose the programme they watched and to do so at a time and in a way that suited their schedule. This research design has the advantage of providing a more 'naturalistic' viewing experience as well as foregrounding the participants' role in the media interaction, thus not reducing them to mere (and artificially construed) subjects upon whom the media text is imposed, but as active media users who have, as in 'real life', the option to choose whatever programme they want to watch. This, in turn, should help enhance the participants' engagement with the media text as well as provide useful information on their preferences in terms of content, ideological positioning in terms of choice of media outlet/producer and attention levels in terms of the settings in which the viewing takes place.

This research design, however, has also got the disadvantage of decreasing the level of control I will have on the generic choices of the participants and, potentially, to hinder the process of comparison between the three case studies that I carried out to highlight commonalities and differences between them. In order to address this issue, it is worth looking at how the concept of *genre* has been debated in media studies and in linguistics, before outlining the main generic characteristics that limited the range of media texts participants were allowed to choose from.

5.5.1 *Genre: structure vs. pragmatics and ritual vs. ideological*

Genre is certainly one of the key concepts and research areas in both media studies and linguistics, and it has been argued that a first categorisation of genres can be traced all the way back to Aristotle, who in his treatise *Poetics* recognised three aspects by which different types of poetry could be identified: the *medium*, the *objects* and the *manner* or *mode* of imitation (Altman, 1999, pp. 1-3; Klein, 2018, p. 196). By looking at the three aspects identified by Aristotle, it is already possible to see the first very important distinction in the way *genre* has been used for analytical and methodological purposes: some researchers have looked at the structural properties of texts (i.e. the *medium* and *manner* of imitation) and analysed them from a structural point view, while others have been more concerned with the pragmatic properties of texts (i.e. the *objects* of imitation) and analysed them from the point of view of the intended purposes of the text producers, the expectations of users and the social functions genres perform (Altman, 1999; Bawarshi and Reiff, 2010, p. 3; Hiippala, 2014, p. 113; Miller and Kelly, 2016, pp. 269-270). Indeed, a number of scholars have highlighted the varied aspects that have been used to define the different genres, including criteria such as subjects or themes, manner of presentation, convention of stories and styles, genre iconography or the desired

emotional effect (Altman, 1999, p. 11; O'Halloran, 2004, p. 116; van Leeuwen, 2005b, p. 74; van Dijk, 2008, p. 22; Bordwell and Thompson, 2013, pp. 330-332). Bordwell (1989) uses this, often conflicting, analytical and methodological multiplicity to suggest that “the concept of genre is so historically mutable that no set of necessary and sufficient conditions can mark off genres from other sorts of groupings in ways that all experts or ordinary film-goers would find acceptable” (p. 147).

At a higher level, this differentiation between structure and pragmatics can also give a different explanatory dimension to genres, as these can be seen as having a ritual purpose and/or an ideological one (Altman, 1999, pp. 26-28). The ritual purpose is seen to derive from the structuralist and post-structuralist traditions associated with scholars such as Propp and Lévi-Strauss and “considers that audiences are the ultimate creators of genres, which function to justify and organize a virtually timeless society” (*ibid* p. 27). The ideological purpose, on the other hand, comes out of the Marxist tradition and particularly the work of Althusser and sees “narrative situations and structural relations [...] as luring audiences into accepting *deceptive* non-solutions, while at the same time serving governmental and industry purposes” (*ibidem, emphasis in original*). Although Altman lists himself amongst those scholars who favour the ritual explanation of the role of genres in societies, he also suggests that “Hollywood genres owe their very existence to the ability to serve both functions at once” (*ibid* p. 28). Applying a Gramscian lens to this debate, I would argue that it is not only Hollywood genres that exist in order to perform both functions at once, but any genre, regardless of the ideology driving it, that aims to conquer terrain in the hegemonic struggle.

5.5.2 *The pragmatic aspects of genre*

The pragmatic and ideological nature of genre has been central to the study of discourse and sociolinguistics more broadly and has arguably been the most prominent since the 1970s (Miller and Kelly, 2016, p. 269). Bakhtin’s *speech genres* (1986) are often referred to as the first attempt at analysing the pragmatic force genres possess (Thomson, 1984, p. 36; Eggins and Martin, 1997, p. 236; Polyzou, 2008, p. 106). The main idea behind Bakhtin’s theorising is that genres are bound to situational contexts and are used to perform linguistic acts in a similar fashion to shorter utterances. In other words, genres can be seen as *communicative action* (Machin and van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 107) or *a type of communicative event* (van Dijk, 2008, p. 148; cf. van Leeuwen’s *templates for communicative actions*, 2015, p. 457), that is, as pragmatic tools available to achieve a result and get things done. Finally, Miller’s (1984) very influential paper also contributed to expand the view and understanding of genres in the pragmatic direction. Her theorising of genre as *social action* sees “genre [as] a rhetorical means for mediating private intentions and social exigence; it motivates by connecting the private with the public, the singular with the recurrent” (Miller, 1984, p. 163; see also Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 56). The idea of genre as social action entails that, far from simply providing a formal structure that is recognised and recognisable within a specific social

practice and a communicative template to get things done, genres embed and explicate power relations between genre producers and users (Freedman and Medway, 1994, p. x; Bengtsson, 2018, p. 170).

The classification of genres as *social action* “point[s] us towards the ideological functions of genres” (Polyzou, 2008, p. 104) and four main arguments can be identified in the literature that unveil the relationship between genres and ideology. The first one asserts that genres tend to reinforce the status quo: this can be attributed to the fact that they encourage satisfaction rather than action by providing “absurd solutions to economic and social conflicts” (Wright, 1974/2012, p. 60), often by using recurrent and comforting characters and schemas (Newbold, 2002, p. 147). The second argument points at issues of access to genre resources, with issues such as ethnicity, gender and class playing a role in who is able to use what kind of generic resources for the purpose of meaning-making (Martin, 1992, p. 495). The third argument addresses power issues connected to the fact that generic norms are often established by consensus (Lee, 2001, p. 46) and institutions (Graham, 2004, pp. 55-56): as in the case of the second argument, the problem arises when not everyone who may be interested in doing so can express their opinion and influence the development of generic norms. Finally, the last argument addresses concerns of ideological construction and misconstrual that can occur through generic means (van Dijk, 1998, p. 265; Chandler, 2017, p. 247; Bateman, 2018, p. 616): the main point here being that certain genres may be perceived as unrelated to ideological matters, but still contain elements that will challenge or reinforce certain ideologies in the quest for hegemonic terrain. Newbold (2002, p. 147) for example argues that wildlife documentaries, through the depiction of animal actions, can reinforce certain ideological messages regarding human activities and societal roles attributed to female and male members. The methodology employed in this study will take into consideration all of these points, but with the proviso that it does not assume that the audience will passively be influenced by the embedded ideological content, but negotiate it based on their pre-existing experiences, knowledge and understanding of society and the world, i.e. their *cognitive environment*. Finally, the pragmatic aspects of the genres chosen by the participants will be used at analytical and explanatory levels, rather than at the level of the restrictions imposed on the participants’ data selection. That is, I will not ask participants to choose a programme based on what they wish to achieve with it (e.g. be entertained, informed, persuaded, etc.) but on certain formal properties that will give me a common platform for comparison. In other words, the structural (*ritual* in Altman’s terminology) dimension of genres will be used at the stage of text selection, whereas the pragmatic (*ideological*) dimension will be analysed at the stage of text interpretation. The structural dimension will be discussed in the following section, at the end of which the data-selection criteria will also be outlined.

5.5.3 *The super-genre of Travel and Cultural Documentaries*

Travel and cultural documentaries can be assigned to the category labelled by Nichols (2001, pp. 1-2) *documentaries of social representation* or, simply, non-fiction, which offer the audience “new views of our common world to explore and understand”. Nichols differentiates documentaries from other fictional films on two levels: firstly, he identifies their communicative purpose as being to “actively make a case or argument [and] win consent or influence opinion” (*ibid*, p. 4); secondly, he sketches a taxonomy of the norms and conventions that allow the analyst to distinguish documentaries from fictional films. He recognises, among others, the presence of a “Voice-of-God commentary [i.e. when the narrator is not actually seen by the audience], interviews [...] and a reliance on social actors, or people in their everyday role and activities, as the central characters of the film” (*ibid*, p. 26).

From a critical point of view, it is also worth noting the words Bordwell and Thompson (2013) use while arguing what documentary is, as they say that “the documentary label *leads us to expect* that the persons, places, and event shown to us exist or have existed” and “a documentary *claims* to present factual information about the world” (p. 315, *emphasis added*). As seen in 4.3 the concepts of *manipulation*, which is hinted at in the phrases highlighted in italics, is of central importance to the present research, as it may permeate the production of documentaries and be part of the expected outcome of their dissemination. Nichols (2001, p. 4) maintains that documentaries are a partial and partisan representation of the world, which we may or may not decide to believe in. One of the main purposes of documentaries is indeed to persuade the audience that the author’s representation of the world is the correct one. Nichol’s claim will be addressed as part of the analysis both in terms of the intended *preferred reading* on the part of the text producer(s) and in terms of the participants’ interaction with the alleged persuasive purpose of the programmes.

Although the characteristics described above seem to sit comfortably within the context of cinematic documentaries, other scholars have noticed how, within the context of television broadcasting, the genre of *travel series* has developed into a hybrid genre and “as a contemporary television genre, it combines elements from documentary film, didactic educative television program, host-based factual entertainment genre as lifestyle series, talk shows and TV ads respectively” (Waade, 2009, p. 101). Particularly the “lifestyle and advertisement” elements may significantly change the purpose of the documentaries, which is not only expected to persuade the audience that the representation of reality depicted is the correct one, but also to obtain some commercial gain by addressing the viewer as a consumer (Waade, 2009; Damkjær and Waade, 2014). Finally, some researchers maintain that travel television’s main characteristics are essentially to portray foreign countries and cultures in a light and jovial manner, thanks to skilful and inter-culturally competent hosts, rather than address different cultures through the perspective of critical journalism (Bakøy, 2017, p. 54).

However, in order to grant the participants a certain amount of freedom in the choice of the programme to watch, structural and pragmatic parameters cannot be applied too narrowly. As mentioned in the previous section, pragmatic parameters are disregarded altogether as criteria imposed on to the participants for text selection, although it is perfectly plausible that they are, in fact, the main criteria adopted by the participants. As far as structural parameters are concerned, one way to allow a broader choice to the participants is to look at travel and cultural documentaries as a *super-genre*. The idea of a higher level of classification above that of genre has been discussed for decades in the field of linguistics and the cognitive sciences with the first conceptualisations that go back as far as Wittgenstein’s *family resemblance* (1958) and Rosch’s *prototypicality* (1973). Rosch’s theoretical approach has been particularly influential in the linguistic study of genre, as it puts forward a simple but effective idea: there are *core* properties and *peripheral* ones when it comes to recognising objects as belonging to a higher category; objects may be perceived as sharing some but not all of those properties and still be attributed to the same higher category. Steen (1999) represents a very good example of how prototypicality theory has been applied to genre: his model identifies a *basic level* (the “true” genres) that possess the highest number of *core* attributes, and *subordinate* (the prototypes) and *superordinate* (the super-genres) levels that possess a higher number of *peripheral* attributes. Texts belonging to two different *basic level* categories will present the most differences, whereas texts belonging to different higher or lower-level categories may share a number of similar peripheral attributes (*ibid.* p. 112). *Table 5.1* below helps explicate Steen’s model applied to the media texts available to the participants, i.e. *travelogues* and *educational programmes*. These two *basic level* genres are listed in Creeber (2015, pp. 152-158) and, although only a rough list of certain attributes is presented,²⁰ it serves the purpose to explicate how the prototypical model works:

	Travel and Cultural Documentaries	
<i>Superordinate</i>	<i>Medium:</i> television, on-line, DVD, cinema <i>Participants:</i> people and/or animals <i>Purpose:</i> to inform, to persuade, to educate, to entertain <i>Content:</i> a range of issues <i>Time:</i> recorded <i>Setting:</i> out in the field (real or reconstructed, in own or other country); may have a host in a studio	
<i>Basic level</i>	Travelogues <i>Medium:</i> television, on-line, DVD <i>Participants:</i> people <i>Purpose:</i> to inform, to persuade, to entertain	Educational Programmes <i>Medium:</i> television, on-line, DVD <i>Participants:</i> people and/or animals <i>Purpose:</i> to inform, to educate <i>Content:</i> history, arts, culture, science and technology in own or other country

²⁰ For example, it does not go into technical details about camera work, use of sounds and music, etc. The attributes are loosely based on Fillmore’s *interactional frames* (1976).

	<p><i>Content:</i> travels in other countries for a variety of purposes <i>Time:</i> recorded <i>Setting:</i> out in the field in other country; may have a host in a studio</p>	<p><i>Time:</i> recorded <i>Setting:</i> out in the field (real or reconstructed, in own or other country); may have a host in a studio</p>
<i>Subordinate</i>	<p>Cooking Travelogue <i>Medium:</i> television, on-line, DVD <i>Participants:</i> people <i>Purpose:</i> to inform, to entertain <i>Content:</i> cooking and different cuisines <i>Time:</i> recorded <i>Setting:</i> out in the field in other country; may have a host in a studio</p>	<p>History Programmes <i>Medium:</i> television, on-line, DVD <i>Participants:</i> people <i>Purpose:</i> to inform, to educate <i>Content:</i> historical events <i>Time:</i> recorded <i>Setting:</i> out in the field (real or reconstructed, in own or other country); may have a host in a studio</p>

Table 5.1: A prototypical classification of Travelogues and Educational Programmes

The individual choices of the participants will fall within the *subordinate level* and it is within the boundaries of this level that the individual case studies will be analysed. The *superordinate level*, on the other hand, will allow me to compare the findings from each individual case study. Amongst the attributes at *superordinate level*, the only restriction that has been applied to the selection criteria is that the documentary *has to be set in a different country*: the reason behind this restriction is that I am investigating intercultural matter (as well as socio-economic matters) and if the documentary were set in the UK there may be no opportunities for intercultural matters to arise.

5.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations primarily concerned the interview stage of the research, and aspects of anonymity and confidentiality once the data has been collected. Ethical clearance was secured for the research instruments and research design prior to the first case study taking place. As far as the interview is concerned, the main hazards could have been that participants recalled traumatic experiences related to their intercultural experiences. In order to minimise this risk, wording of the questions in the research instruments addressed the issue of intercultural experiences sensitively; moreover, had the participants shown signs of distress or being uncomfortable about any topics that came up during the interview, I would have changed the topic immediately without dwelling on it or hinting at it again in subsequent questions; fortunately, this did not happen. As far as anonymity and confidentiality are concerned, participants were reassured in writing and verbally that no one would be able to identify them as participants of the study and were also made aware that they can withdraw from the study at any point without having to give any justification. Consent forms were given to all of them that clearly stated this and the fact that the interview would be recorded to facilitate the transcription process.

5.7 Conclusion

The chapter outlined the methodological approach, which combines audience research, multimodal critical discourse analysis and a RT-based cognitive analysis. The advantages of such an approach consist in the ability to explore the media interaction from both the perspectives of the viewers and the text producers, thus providing a thick qualitative description of this specific discourse practice. The *agentive position* of the participants, moreover, provides a more naturalistic experience and allows for a better grounded ideological and cognitive analysis of their cognitive environments before and after the media interaction. Furthermore, the research instruments and methods were also discussed in details and examples taken from the first case study, *Burma with Simon Reeve*, were used to explicate some the analytical constructs adopted.

However, as I noted elsewhere (Castaldi, 2021), the methodological approach I adopt entails ‘interpreting interpretations’, a process dubbed *double hermeneutics* (Giddens, 1979), whereby the researcher “interprets a lived reality that has always already been interpreted by the (senders and) receivers of media, and which may be reinterpreted through the intervention of research” (Jensen, 2019, p. 143). Therefore, one has to be careful with issues connected to the ‘observer paradox’, that is the possibility that participants act or behave in the way the researcher wants them to (Labov, 1972), at *two* stages: the participant’s text selection and the participant-generated data. The research design and instruments presented here attempted to minimise this effect at text selection stage by exploring the motivations behind the choice of the programme in the pre-viewing part of the questionnaire and during the interview. Likewise, during the interview the focus was on the topics and actors the participants highlighted in the post-viewing part of the questionnaire and attention was paid during the analysis to those topics or actors *spontaneously* discussed by the participants, a methodological choice also made by others (e.g. Lotz 2000, cited in Lotz and Ross 2004, p. 504). These measures, combined with the fact that I was not present before, during and after the viewing experience, were in place to minimise issues related to the observer paradox.

Finally, the chapter also provided a detailed justification for the selection criteria imposed onto the participants by discussing structural and pragmatic views of *genre* and adopting the concept of *super-genre* (Steen, 1999). I argued that the latter was necessary within the methodological approach adopted as it allows, at the same time, degrees of similarities and differences between the chosen texts. This enables the participants to choose something they were genuinely interested in and me, as the analyst, to make comparisons across the different case studies. The next three chapters will provide the analysis of each case study, whereas *Chapter 9* will provide the cross-comparison of the findings from the individual case study and attempt to highlight common threads from a cognitive and semiotic point of view.

6 Case Study #1: P1 and ‘Burma with Simon Reeve – Episode 1’ (BBC2)

6.1 Introduction

The programme chosen by the first participant is quite atypical as a travel or cultural documentary, as it revolves almost entirely around a highly political issue, the Rohingya crisis that is still current in Myanmar. Elsewhere (Castaldi, 2021) I have looked at some aspects of this media interaction, focusing on the recontextualisation of the social actors connected with the conflict and on the potential effects that the programme had on the participant. Due to the limited scope, that investigation only provided information about the actors identified by the participant and did not go into any critical detail with regard to *contextual filters* applied and the positioning of the programme within the wider social and geopolitical settings. The analysis in this chapter sets out to do this as well as to highlight a number of hegemonic ideologies embedded in the text as part of its *preferred reading*. Moreover, it will focus on instances of manipulation which also seemed to have successfully by-passed the participant’s *epistemic vigilance*. This case study therefore supports the Gramscian idea that cultural programmes work hegemonically to create consensus around a number of key ideological assumptions, namely the role of globalisation and the international community as the conditions *sine quibus non* progress, freedom, democracy and peace cannot be achieved and maintained.

6.2 Contextual information about participant and text

6.2.1 The participant

P1 is a male in his mid-30s, born in the UK and raised by white British parents. He belongs to my extended social circle and I have known him for about three years. He enjoys travelling and has done so quite extensively in the past, which is why I thought he may be interested in taking part in my research. Moreover, as written in his questionnaire, he enjoys travel programmes (Q, item 9) and watches these types of programmes approximately once a week (Q, item 1). For these reasons I believe he was suited to take part in the research as someone who is accustomed with this particular genre and whose viewing experience would be a fairly naturalistic one.

Parts 2 and 3 of the interview gave me the opportunity to explore some of his ideologies, especially with regard to issues of interculturality as well as attitudes towards his own ideology building and his relationship with the media. The conversation about interculturality revolved around two main areas: experiences abroad and experiences here in the UK. Judging from P1’s answers, the picture that comes out is of someone who has a fairly progressive view of interculturality and who values it, whilst at the same time being aware that the intercultural experiences he has had might have been influenced by other factors, such as power relations, that tainted his perception and appreciation of them. When discussing some of his travel experiences, as well as expressing a preference for destinations “off the beaten track, so places which are a bit more challenging; sunny; stuff that’s outside, not my comfort

zone, but stuff I haven't experienced, probably" (I, lines 494-496), a difference is made between being a tourist and experiencing a different culture with a more open-minded attitude (I, lines 507-523):

507. JC: And how was your... what's your approach when you go with the locals, with different
508. cultures?
509. P1: Erm, I try, I guess, to integrate myself, I try and talk. I'm not just there to meet other
510. travellers. Whereas, I know lots of people travel and you meet lots of travelling mates
511. who travel in circles. I quite like to meet people who actually live there. Not that I get a
512. great deal... I don't know, not that I get loads of information from them, but, again, it's an
513. insight into them, so maybe I speak to the guy in the café a bit longer than I, like, normally
514. would at home or, you know, I might spend time speaking with, like, a market trader,
515. which I wouldn't necessarily do at home. And I'm not going out there looking for groups
516. of travellers to meet, if you know what I mean, just wanna get by my own business and
517. maybe have some personal interactions with people, but not... yeah, 'cos it's all... yeah, I
518. wanna interact with the local people, I wanna get a taste for what they go for. I'm not
519. gonna get the real taste, because I'm not going anywhere wildly crazy, like, probably
520. tourism... probably where I'm going there is a tourism market built around it, so they will
521. be probably involved or benefit from tourism a bit, but to me is like a deceit that I have
522. engaged with a Thai person, I've engaged with... not for... not for like my benefit, I guess,
523. it's just for your growth or just to show that you can mix with other cultures

The extract as a whole suggests P1 is interested in deeper intercultural experiences when travelling. Moreover, lines 518-523 show an awareness of how power relations between tourists and service providers might affect the intercultural experiences, which is something that also emerges when P1 considers the relationship between Britain and the ex-colonies, as I will discuss a bit further below.

When it comes to reflecting on intercultural experiences in the UK, P1 describes the cities of Swindon and Bristol, where he lived and studied in the past, as examples of places where he was exposed to different cultures, whether through classmates or through particular areas in the cities where it was possible to find restaurants, cafés and shops from different national and cultural backgrounds (I, lines 540-557). His evaluation of those experiences is largely positive, and he seems hard-pressed to find any negative intercultural experiences (I, lines 580-586):

580. P1: I'm sure this is like a bias of mine, trying not to think of anything, trying, you know, to
581. double bluff, like I don't wanna... "yeah, I'm cool, I'm, like, liberal. Yeah, I've got no...". I
582. don't know, school was full of, like, erm... yeah, things, and... you had loads of... yeah, I
583. don't know, growing up I had no problem with it. Let's see... oh yeah, I got mugged once
584. in Swindon, on my way back from uni. I don't know where the people were from, and it's
585. not like a racial slur, but they were black people. Erm, but then I've been mugged by,

586. like, white people as well, so maybe that's just, like, a Swindon thing [LAUGHS]

He seems to admit that it is more his attitudes towards intercultural encounters that make him perceive the majority of his experiences as positive, as well as wanting to perform a 'liberal' identity that would not allow him to treat intercultural matters as problematic, as this would not be deemed appropriate. Nonetheless, I believe that performing a particular identity still entails a general alignment with the values that are seen as pertaining that identity, which is why I am inclined to see P1's progressive persona as fundamentally genuine.

This intercultural open-mindedness is also due to the fact that P1 was immersed into different cultures from a very young age. As a child, he spent some years in an African country and keeps fond memories of those days (I, lines 567-571):

567. P1: And this was pretty crazy, that seemed like a lot of fun. [unclear] in Kenya,
568. loads of... like we... my dad used to go to church, to various churches to give talks, crazy,
569. like, happy clapping. Churches like Pentecost or churches where people, like, tried to grab
570. my hair, 'cos I was the different person in that crowd, they were all singing and waving.
571. Yeah, loads of like, really like... some joyous moments.

To summarise, P1 seems to have a progressive attitude towards different cultures, both when experiencing them abroad and in the UK. This is due to having been immersed into a different culture and being 'the other' as a child, and to growing up in multicultural societies in the cities of Swindon and Bristol.

The only intercultural aspect that came across as fundamentally ambiguous during the interview is P1's opinion about the British empire, its legacy and the relationship with ex-colonies. The very fact the Burma was once part of the British empire is behind the reasons for choosing this particular programme (I, lines 102-111):

102. JC: so, you were aware about that before, like, that it was part of the British empire?
103. P1: yeah, yeah because at school I was quite interested in the colonial empire, Rudyard
104. Kipling and all those references relate back to Burma.
105. JC: Ah OK, so it would be, like, back to school days, I mean your knowledge about all of
106. this.
107. P1: So, yeah, about the empire. That always interested me, not in a... not like I'm mad on
108. the British empire but as a kid I was like "oh, that's quite cool about the British empire, it
109. stretches across the world", before you learn about the travesty of the empire. So, yeah,
110. it's always been... those countries have always been something very interesting and their
111. current political situation or economic/financial, just what those countries are like now.

In this extract, and especially with the phrase “you learn about the travesty of the empire” in line 109, the impression is that P1 has developed a critical stance towards the British empire, and a stance that seems to provide further evidence for the claim of P1’s ideology as being of a progressive nature. Towards the end of the interview, however, while discussing the perception of Britain abroad, including ex-colonies, a different ideological position emerges (I, lines 708-733):

708. JC: what do you think, just, again because it was part of the documentary, they say a bit
709. about the colonial past and how that was an ex-colony. I mean, do you think there’s any
710. sort of, I don’t know, bad feelings...
711. P1: animosity?
712. JC: yeah, animosity. Or do you think that is now pretty past? As... as a traveller.
713. P1: yeah, my general experience, as, obviously... for example the British empire had a
714. huge impact on three quarters of the world, or what have you, but, since that time
715. they’ve messed with other countries, other regimes have gone in, ultimately worse, or
716. more recent, but it distracts from that. So, like when I lived in Kenya, no one was bitter
717. about British people. They were more bitter about their current political climate or like
718. the Kikuyu, like the genocide... that’s not Kikuyu, but the various tribal fighting there. You
719. think like, India suffered a lot after just for poor managing. Burma, they had the militants
720. coming and messed with the country. There’s lots of like examples of like... when I was in
721. Poland, for example, they were... I was speaking to them about the Germans, because
722. they’d gone to [unclear] and taken over, they conquered Poland. But they didn’t give a
723. shit about Poland,²¹ they were pissed off with Russians. I think... I think, because perhaps
724. the British empire brought in some Western ideas, or innovations to other parts of the
725. world, they see that and there’s... I don’t know, but who am I talking to? Like people on...
726. like I’m on holiday or I’m going to places where tourists go, they’re not gonna say like
727. “ah, you dickhead, you English”.
728. JC: oh, I see OK. You think that...
729. P1: I can’t be reading too much into that.
730. JC: The direct interactions you had maybe were slightly biased towards you because
731. you’re bringing the money.
732. P1: exactly, they don’t want to necessarily be rude, but... yeah. And I also think, like... I
733. don’t know... yeah, that’s about it [LAUGHS]

In this extract there are a number of, sometimes contrasting, claims and opposing discourses. Line 715, for example, suggests that P1 believes that although the British empire was bad, it was not as

²¹ I think P1 meant *Germany* here.

bad as other regimes that ruled over some of the ex-colonies more recently, including Burma and the military dictatorship it has endured for a long time after independence. The implication being that ex-colonies do not see Britain in a negative way as a long time has passed and other regimes have occupied the people's preoccupations. P1 mentions the examples of another ex-colony, Kenya, of which he has direct experience having lived there as a child, and of Poland, which presumably he visited in the past, to reinforce his point. In these countries, people, he claims, expressed negative feelings towards more recent national and international disputes, rather than temporally more distant ones. Lines 723-725 seem to echo a very popular discourse that see the British empire as the exporter of technology and innovation, hence doing good things for the developing countries it ruled; a discourse that is so entrenched in the British imagery that recent YouGov polls (2014, 2016, 2019) show how the majority of British people still have either positive or neutral attitudes towards the British empire and think that the ex-colonies are better off as a consequence of being part of the empire. However, lines 725-727 also show a critical position towards this issue, questioning the veracity of what he stated in lines 723-725 and thus suggesting an ambiguous attitude of P1 towards the British empire. As we will see in the multimodal analysis of the text, such ambiguous representation of the empire is also present in the programme and, I argue, together with similar representations contributes to building the national imagery captured by the YouGov polls.

P1's progressive ideologies, however, seem to be evidenced also by the media outlets that he uses to access the news and form his opinions. In the interview, he mentions the BBC, *The Guardian* and *The Huffington Post* as sources he uses to keep abreast with national and international news as he "regard[s] them highly" (I, lines 603-614). Considering that the BBC places itself as an impartial media outlet and that both *The Guardian* and *The Huffington Post* have historically been closer to leftist, progressive ideologies, one can safely assume that P1 sits at the progressive end of the political spectrum, at least as far as British national politics are concerned. In the same part of the interview, he also mentions his close friends as initiators or contributors to his ideology building: "so, opinions would be judged, maybe, on what my friends are sharing, whether that's *The Huffington Post* or various sources they get their information" (I, lines 603-604). He further elaborates on this (I, lines 607-620):

607. P1: [on social media, maybe, like... I mean it could be via
608. a conversation, but I don't live in close proximity to all of my friends, so they might share
609. a source on social media, whether that'd be Facebook or Twitter. Then I'll be inclined to
610. read it, because I trust what they are showing me or what they are sharing is something
611. that I also feel the same about or interested in; we don't necessarily agree about
612. everything. In general, I'd probably check *The Guardian* and the *BBC News* website,
613. they're my two main things, but also the... Twitter is like a quick exchange of information

614. now, erm...
615. JC: you're on Twitter.
616. P1: I'm on Twitter. I don't necessarily go on there first-hand, again people would tell me
617. and then I'd go on Twitter to find these things. Erm... yeah, there's... it's a fine balance,
618. isn't it? You find yourself weighing things up, you have to present with something, but
619. then you find yourself looking at other comparable things. I look at two sources, listen to
620. three friends and then I may form my own opinion.

The final remark in the extract above (lines 618-620) is particularly interesting as it points towards two interconnected issues: the first is the idea that one source is not enough to form a valid opinion over something; the second is that even information that comes from sources considered to be trustworthy needs to be checked against other sources. Both aspects suggest a certain level of *epistemic vigilance towards the source* in P1, probably more at the level of the *benevolence* of the source, i.e. whether or not there may be ulterior motives for taking a particular position, than at the level of *competence* of the source, i.e. whether the journalists are actually capable of doing their job. This aspect will be borne in mind when analysing the specific interaction P1 had with the programme he chose to see the extent to which Simon Reeve and the BBC were considered trustworthy.

Finally, P1 seems to hold a fairly critical stance in relation to the news media, particularly with regard to the issue of *agenda setting*, that is the choice of what news is selected and thus “the power of media to influence what people are concerned with or care about” (Ott and Mack, 2010, p. 42). P1 explains how he sees news media and his relationship with it very eloquently (I, lines 666-673, 684-693):

666. P1: yeah, I was gonna say, I am, but it's... it's like living in your own bubble, it's hard
667. sometimes to have the energy to look beyond. So, if something is a headline about some
668. people around the world, then I'll read about it, but if it's not a headline, then I'm not
669. necessarily gonna know, unless, again, I hear about something through social media or a
670. chat with a friend and then I might look into it a bit further. Well, yeah I would, because
671. obviously I'm interested in this, but it's not top of... not on my radar all the time,
672. because... yeah, because I don't... if I'm only reading a couple of sources, I'm not really
673. international

[...]

684. through like the papers it seems just... a lot of the stuff is all doom and gloom and it's a
685. lot of economic news you're being fed, not really... yeah, if I'm gonna read the news... if
686. something is gonna pop up in headlines, something around the globe, it's gonna be
687. 'nuclear disaster', 'environmental disaster', erm, a genocide, a human tragedy, stats on
688. news or like a financial issue. Yeah, generally, you only hear about their real new... you
689. hear about their news, the global news... so news for Africa would be news if it impacts

690. us or something so huge that you can't ignore it. You're not really finding out more about
691. the country through the news. I don't know, it'd be very different from what I know
692. through the headlines here, from what would be reported on Al-Jazeera or local news
693. out there.

There are some interesting points emerging from the extract above. First of all, lines 666-667 support the Relevance Theory concept of *cognitive load* when it comes to *contextual effects*. Since it is hard and time-consuming to look beyond the context provided by the news media, our quest for relevance stops at the context provided therein, unless we already held some information in our cognitive environment which clashes with the new one. Secondly, throughout the extract there is a feeling that P1 is very conscious of the fact that news items are selected according to certain criteria, such as importance, proximity and negativity, amongst others (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Harcup and O'Neill, 2017). It will be interesting, however, to see if the same cautious awareness is applied to the different media genre of travel and cultural documentary, since "entertainment media also exercises an agenda-setting function" (Otto and Mack, 2010, p. 42).

To summarise, P1's ideologies seem to be fundamentally progressive: this is based both on the recollection and framing of his intercultural experiences, and on the media he accesses and considers trustworthy. At the same time, he also seems to be very critical of how the media works and believes that opinions and judgements should only be formed after accessing more than one source and viewpoint, thus showing very high levels of *epistemic vigilance towards the source*. Moreover, he acknowledges the difficulty to effectively carry out *epistemic vigilance towards the content* due to limited time and resources available to him to go beyond what is presented in the news media. It will be interesting to explore, through the analysis of his interaction, the extent to which the above also applies in the case of the travel documentary he chose to watch.

6.2.2 *The text*

Burma with Simon Reeve (BBC 2018) is a two-part travel series, which is categorised by the BBC as *factual/travel* under 'genre' and *documentary* under 'format'. The first episode, which P1 watched, is about one hour long and was broadcast for the first time on BBC2 on Sunday, 13th May 2018 at 21:00, and then shown again on five occasions before becoming available on the BBC catch-up service. The peak time slot of its 'premiere' meant that the programme was viewed by 1.47 million people on that occasion alone.²² The host, Simon Reeve, is a popular television personality and has written and presented many travel programmes for the BBC, including this one.

²² Figures available at <https://www.barb.co.uk/> (Accessed: 2 March 2020)

According to the host, the programme was planned during the summer of 2017 before the events of 25th August 2017 (Reeve, 2018). On this date the Myanmar authorities reported attacks to thirty police outposts by men belonging to the insurgent group ARSA (Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army), after which ‘clearance operations’ by the Myanmar military started that caused the mass exodus of Rohingya Muslims to Bangladesh. Although Reeve claims that they decided to press ahead with the trip despite the deepening of the crisis and not because of it, the synopsis of the programme on the BBC website states that “[i]n this first episode, Simon travels to Burma to find out the roots of this crisis - as well as heading to Bangladesh to witness the drama that is still unfolding” (BBC 2018).

6.3 *The participant’s interaction*

P1 watched the documentary at home on 6th May 2019, using the catch-up service *BBC iPlayer* and a television set. I received a scanned copy of the completed questionnaire on 7th May and the follow-up interview took place on 9th May at his house, after I had watched the programme myself.

Information in the first part of the questionnaire suggests that the viewing experience was fairly similar to the typical choices of P1 when watching this kind of programme: he watched the programme on a TV set (Q, item 3), at his chosen time and not as scheduled by the BBC (Q, item 5), and by himself (Q, item 7). The information above suggests that P1 did not act significantly differently for the purpose of the research and that his viewing experience was a fairly naturalistic one.

The second part of the questionnaire provides some reasons for choosing this particular programme as well as some indication of the information already present in P1’s cognitive environment related to the topics he expected to find. The data suggest a number of reasons behind the choice of the programme: an interest in travelling and in Burma as a destination, some prior knowledge of Burma’s history through schooling, a liking of Simon Reeve and his programmes and an interest in finding out more about Burma’s current affairs. One of P1’s answers states the motivation for choosing this documentary: “I enjoy watching travel programmes and I have always been interested in Burma and the fact [it is] so closed off from the rest of the world.” (Q, item 9). The interview gave P1 the opportunity to expand on this (I, lines 24-40):

24. P1: So, through travel I was quite interested in Myanmar, or Burma,
25. somewhere I went to to get visa renewal and there was always this mystery and intrigue.
26. JC: so, you’ve been there?
27. P1: yes, well I’ve only crossed the border...
28. JC: oh, only just to get...
29. P1: to renew my visa for Thailand for another 30 days. Yeah, it’s always somewhere that
30. has been like, I think I’ve mentioned before, behind closed doors. We don’t know much
31. about Burma, they don’t know much about us. Or that’s the perception. So yeah, it was a
32. lot about travel but also the political situation, which resulted in the Rohingya crisis they

33. are currently in.
34. JC: so, that's somewhere you would like to go as well [at some point
35. P1: [Yeah definitely, yeah I kind of wish I
36. had gone there earlier, whilst it was more off the beaten track. I'd like to travel there
37. now, but, I think, you see, like North Korea, you see, there's areas you... tourists can
38. travel to.
39. JC: Yeah.
40. P1: Yeah, so I'd love to go there.

From the above extract it is clear that P1 did not choose the documentary randomly, but on the basis that the information he could gather about it fitted his existing ideologies. Moreover, the motivations expressed seem to confirm he chose the programme because it interested him and not because he thought I would find it interesting. Finally, P1's answer hints at his understanding of the programme as a means through which he can gain insights on a part of the world and a culture he has not been able to access through direct experience. This could be interpreted as a sign of trust in both the host (Simon Reeve) and the producers (the BBC) as agents that have permission to influence his knowledge and opinions, and therefore as granting the text a licence to have some ideological effects on him.

This 'relationship' between P1 and Simon Reeve and the BBC needs to be analysed carefully, as it pertains the issue of P1's *epistemic vigilance towards the source* for this particular media interaction. As mentioned in 6.2.1., the BBC is one of the media outlets that P1 accesses for national and international news, hence suggesting a certain level of trust in it. As for the host of the programme, Simon Reeve, P1 seems to have both a certain level of familiarity with and admiration for his work. We have already noted that the host was one of the reasons for choosing the programme, as P1 had watched other programmes Reeve made in different parts of the world (Q, item 10). During the interview P1 explained what it is that attracts him to his programmes (I, lines 76-88):

76. JC: so, this guy, this Simon Reeve, I know nothing about this guy. Is this the kind of stuff
77. that he normally does? So, is it normally fairly political [this felt to me like quite political
78. sort of
79. P1: [yeah, I think it's more like compassionate
80. to the country
81. JC: alright
82. P1: so, it's less of... he's not going in from a... it's not like a tourist programme, travel
83. holiday
84. JC: yeah, I definitely didn't have that feeling
85. P1: he's not trying to sell, he's trying to give people a real insight into what is going on in

86. that country at the time or, probably, enlighten people on what the current situation is.
87. So, I wouldn't say he's overtly political, but he's just honest, and it's more genuine
88. insight, it's not just glazing over the tough issues.

This idea of the programme not being 'like a tourist programme, travel holiday' (lines 82-82) resonates with one of the ideological aspects noticed while analysing P1's intercultural experiences and attitudes, namely the idea that, when travelling, he wants to have a somehow deeper experience than just visiting places of interest. This point reinforces both the idea that P1 chose this particular programme for his own, and not my benefit, and provides some more evidence that his ideological positions when it comes to intercultural matters are genuinely set on relating and trying to understand different cultures, rather than having a voyeuristic or exoticising attitude. Moreover, we find a number of phrases in his description of Simone Reeve that provide a very positive evaluation of the host: 'compassionate to the country' (lines 79-80), 'trying to give a real insight [...] or [...] enlighten people' (lines 85-86); 'honest', 'more genuine insight', 'not just glazing over tough issues' (lines 87-88). The fact that Simon Reeve is seen as a benevolent source is even clearer in another passage of the interview (I, lines 239-269):

239. JC: and, this is what we kind of said earlier about "Simon Reeve gives the subjects the
240. opportunity to be heard"
241. P1: yeah, like, I think that he was... he was trying to expose a [INAUDIBLE]. He didn't
242. necessarily have a pre-assigned agenda, other than to let people be heard. That's what I
243. think
244. JC: Cool. Does it look like he kind of changes his mind a bit about things during the course
245. of the programme or...
246. P1: Yeah, I think
247. JC: does he look surprised by anything, do you think?
248. P1: Yeah, I think he sounds like troubled when he talks to the jihadis. Like, you can see
249. there's a conflict in him of what they're doing is clearly wrong, but if you're in that
250. situation, you might be driven to do a similar... to a similar thing
251. JC: Yeah, I think he said that somewhere, didn't he?
252. P1: Yeah, and... yeah you just see he's emotional when he met up with someone... that
253. lady who he met in his previous documentary, she smuggled them into the Chin area
254. JC: Cheery
255. P1: Yeah, yeah, that village. Because there were genuine emotions, there's a human
256. element to his contact with these people at an emotional level
257. JC: Yeah, I mean you can see he is very interested in the area, not just because he's gone
258. there to shoot, if you like, but because he actually...
259. P1: I think he's just trying to get to the heart of the place, not so much an issue, but the

260. heart of the place, the current contemporary climate there. And, also, when there's... in a
261. country that's quite dominated with, like, right-wing media, he's trying to say "actually
262. people doing this... this is why they're doing this". So, it's not just like "oh, I'm gonna join
263. jihadis who have gone radical"
264. JC: which country are you talking about?
265. P1: I'm saying in the UK, so, from all our media, if you think about the BBC turning
266. everything is "oh, they must be [inaudible]". Not right wing in the extreme, but when
267. people talk about Muslims, perhaps, Islam, people talk about extremists. They don't ever
268. look at what happened to them before, it's like "these people have done these terrible
269. crimes", not why they've been pushed to that extreme. So he's uncovering that a bit.

These positive evaluations suggest that Simon Reeve is deemed to be *benevolent* by P1, which is one of the two necessary conditions for the *epistemic vigilance towards the source* to be effectively bypassed. Moreover, the fact that P1 appreciates the progressive attitude of Reeve as opposed to what he labels 'right-wing media' in the UK (lines 259-269) is further evidence of P1's own progressive ideologies.

Finally, P1 also considers Reeve to be a *competent* host, the second necessary condition identified by Sperber *et al.* (2010) to by-pass the *epistemic vigilance towards the source*, and almost seems to relate to him on a personal level, as one of the final comments he makes about the programme suggests (I, lines 426-437):

426. JC: Cool. Anything else that you wanna kind of comment on about the actual
427. documentary?
428. P1: I think, possibly, like Simon Reeve... I've only watched a few of what he's done before,
429. but he's regarded quite highly. Again, like Wikipedias and stuff, what age he was when he
430. started and that sort of thing. I think it's quite refreshing to have like a peer, someone of
431. a similar age going out doing these quite interesting things. If you think of, like... it's no
432. disrespect to Michael Palin or anybody that's done it before, but they seem like another
433. generation, like David Attenborough, like an old gene... they've been doing it for decades
434. and then to have someone else coming. It's mainly carrying on the work they were doing
435. in a more contemporary... an age group I can relate to. Because I feel like very much that
436. me and him are... you know, like... he's not far from my age, we've been interested in the
437. same stuff as children, there is a relatability to him.

The high regard in which P1 carries the host and the fact that the BBC is one of the media outlets P1 regularly uses for the news suggest that the levels of *epistemic vigilance towards the source* are relatively low in this interaction and that the programme is therefore granted a licence to influence P1's cognitive environment and the ideologies therein.

Moving on to the *content* of the programme, based on the questionnaire and interview data, it is clear that the Rohingya crisis is the main narrative P1 identified. He summarises the programme thus (I, lines 416-421):

416. P1: I think it's pretty heavy on the Rohingya, not the current crisis as it was... not on the
417. contemporary crisis as it was in the years it's filmed, but a bit of background into how it's
418. got to this. But then, actually, that's bullshit, because he was talking very much about the
419. refugees. I think he... yeah, like he's talked a lot about the human element. He was
420. talking very much about not just as a crisis, but what's happened to people, how they've
421. been displace... displaced, the crimes that were being committed.

Answers in part 2 of the questionnaire address what P1 knew already about the programme, e.g. through reading a synopsis or watching a trailer (item 10), and what places and people he expected to find in it as well as ideas he associated with them (item 11). As for the first point, P1 wrote: "I have spoken with friends about the episode and know it touches up the recent Rohingya refugee crisis" (Q, item 10). As for the second point, the box below contains his answers (Q, item 11):

<i>Places:</i> Burma and surrounding countries, Yangon
<i>People:</i> Burmese government, Colonial rulers, Rohingya, Aung San Suu Kyi
<i>Ideas you associate with them:</i> Oppressive governments and previous rulers. People, until recently, very shut off from the world outside of Burma. Now borders are more open people are more liberated.

The interview allowed P1 to say more about what he knew and was expecting to see (I, lines 58-75):

58. JC: Cool, so you didn't really speak about this particular programme with your fr.. with
59. somebody else before watching it.
60. P1: We did talk about there being one on Burma but we didn't specifically go into the
61. details. We were just talking about the sort of areas he'd covered and visited, he'd
62. done series on Africa, I think about South America, etc.
63. JC: Cool.
64. P1: We did touch a tiny bit on it, but, you know, just generalisations, just for a little bit.
65. JC: Yeah. So, before watching it, you kind of didn't have an idea that they would talk about
66. the Rohi.. I struggle to pronounce it, the Rohingya [/ga/]
67. P1: Rohingya [/dja/]
68. JC: Rohingya [/dja/] crisis
69. P1: I think that's how you pronounce it. Yeah, I did. I saw... because it was quite
70. contemporary, I knew that was a recent crisis or issue, I did expect him to touch upon it a
71. bit. I didn't think the focus was gonna be mainly on [that

72. JC: [alright, OK
73. P1: Because what I didn't know before was that it was an episode in a larger series about
74. Burma. So, this specific one was mainly about Rohingya and the sort of political, religious
75. divide currently.

To summarise, P1 was already aware of the Rohingya crisis as something that was currently going on in Myanmar and also knew the programme would address it, but not to the extent that it actually did. From his notes, it is also clear P1 was aware of some of the history of Myanmar, here including the British colonial past, some form of oppressive government, its relative isolation from the rest of the world as well as expectations to see if things would be different now borders are open, and the fact that Aung San Suu Kyi has some kind of role in the country's history. Once again, this information confirms that the text was deemed to be 'ideologically compatible' and that P1 chose to interact with it thinking he would gain some benefits from such interaction beyond mere entertainment.

The answers in part 3 of the questionnaire focused on what P1 thought of the programme after watching it and what aspects had impacted him the most. The note-taking box with P1's thoughts is reproduced below (Q, item 12):

Sympathy to the plight of Rohingya. Shocked at the scale of the issue and how it is not a recent issue (been happening for decades). Surprised by existence of "militant" Buddhist monks. Disappointed that liberation/progress doesn't appear to have happened beyond the city. Amazed by existence of Bagan.

The next answer is also reported in full (Q, item 14):

I perceived Buddhism as a peaceful faith that co-exists with others. Did not expect militant factions to exist. I believed Rohingya crisis to be a very recent problem but it's existed for decades. The scale of 'displacement' and size of refugee camp shocked me. It's upsetting that one of the subjects had spent entire life in such a place. Anticipated more focus on military, but this could happen over the course of the series.

Looking at his notes before and after watching the programme, it is therefore possible to identify six actors that P1 discussed in connection to the Rohingya crisis: the Rohingya themselves, the ARSA militants, the Military, Aung San Suu Kyi, the International Community and the MaBaTha monks. One striking absence are the Burmese people, as if they have nothing to do with, or can do nothing about, this. I will now explore how (and if) P1's representation of these social actors changed after watching the programme and then in 6.4 I will provide my interpretation of those actors based on the

multimodal critical discourse analysis to explore the extent to which the programme contributed directly to P1's representations.

As already mentioned, P1 was aware of the existence of the Rohingya people but was not aware of how long the relationship between the Rohingya and the authorities has been problematic, nor of the scale of displacement and the size of the refugee camp (Q, item 12), which suggests some *evidential effects* in the form of newly acquired knowledge of information related to the issue. In the interview (lines 358-362), P1 expanded on this showing not so much of a change of opinion regarding the situation, but an increase in his sympathetic stance towards the plight of the Rohingya, thus suggesting *improving ideological effects*:

358. P1: Yeah. Yeah, that for me... I thought sort of Africa, like Rwanda. I don't know, like
359. Ethiopia, those areas, I thought that's where the real displacement happened. I didn't
360. think it happened in this little, sort of small corner of Asia at all, but... I thought I would
361. have heard about it, I didn't know that these many people could be displaced from one
362. tiny part of the country and the fact that it was like a city was pretty mind-blowing to me

A similar pattern can be observed with the ARSA militants, the newly acquired knowledge of whom represents the *evidential effect*. Again, however, P1 seems to have already held the opinion that violence can be justified under certain circumstances, specifically for being the victims of abuse and dramatic sufferings. The extracts below provide some initial evidence of this (I, lines 266-269, 467-469, 474-475):

259. P1: I think he's just trying to get to the heart of the place, not so much an issue, but the
260. heart of the place, the current contemporary climate there. And, also, when there's... in a
261. country that's quite dominated with, like, right-wing media, he's trying to say "actually
262. people doing this... this is why they're doing this". So, it's not just like "oh, I'm gonna join
263. jihadis who have gone radical".

264. JC: Which country are you talking about?

265. P1: I'm saying in the UK, so, from all our media, if you think about the BBC turning
266. everything is "oh, they must be [inaudible]". Not right wing in the extreme, but when
267. people talk about Muslims, perhaps, Islam, people talk about extremists. They don't ever
268. look at what happened to them before, it's like "these people have done these terrible
269. crimes", not why they've been pushed to that extreme. So he's uncovering that a bit.

[...]

467. P1: people, like, if I think when he joins the jihadis, I think they sounded like I'd... this is... I
468. don't wanna talk down on them... they sounded frustrated, which I could... you can
469. understand why they've gone into what they did.

[...]

474. P1: [yeah, there was a sort of like naivety to them, but
475. you can see that their actions were borne of that... of their situation.

Although, arguably, these opinions could be completely formed by the programme, the fact that he refers to some other media portraying a different picture of extremists and the almost commonsensical way in which he talks about the ARSA militants' actions being of a reactive, rather than active nature, seem to imply that this ideology was already part of his cognitive environment. The programme, by providing more evidence from a different case, only works to reinforce it, thus suggesting *improving ideological effects*.

As for the Military, P1's opinion of them prior to watching the programme was of an "oppressive government" (Q, item 12). The post-viewing part of the questionnaire already suggests that the programme did not provide enough information to confirm or challenge P1's opinion as he had "[a]nticipated more focus on military, but this could happen over the course of the series." (Q, item 14). In fact, P1 is so confident in Simon Reeve's journalistic audacity that he predicts that in following episode he will be focusing on them (I, lines 363-369):

363. JC: and what do you think it's going to happen in the second part?
364. P1: the second part... he's gonna talk to the military, from what I have known of him
365. previously, he might have some confrontation, even in terms of challenging what they
366. say, not physical confrontation, you'd be mad. Yeah, but I think he'll definitely be just
367. finding out what they thought of it, preconceptions that a lot of the people just say like
368. "it was just a job for me. I was just trying to keep my job. I was worried for my family. I
369. was just doing what I'm paid to do". Yeah, I think he'll just along that line.

Having watched the second episode as well, I know that Simon Reeve did not talk to the military or to any members of the civil government at all. Arguably, then, there were no *evidential effects*, that is new factual information learned about the military. However, as we will see through the multimodal analysis of this particular social actor, there are some characteristics attributed to the military and discussed in the programme, namely their cruelty and irrationality. It could therefore be argued that these were already part of P1's cognitive environment with regard to this actor, as the information provided was not deemed *relevant*.

As for the political leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, the *relevant* aspects for P1 seem to be those connected with the idea of 'progress' and 'freedom' in Myanmar. As stated in the pre-viewing notes P1 thought that "[p]eople, until recently [were] very shut off from the world outside of Burma. Now borders are more open people are more liberated" (Q, item 11), where the word *recently* presumably refers to the recent coming into power of the democratically elected leader. However, after watching the programme one of the notes in the post-viewing part of the questionnaire was: "Disappointed that

liberation/progress doesn't appear to have happened beyond the city" (Q, item 12). During the interview, P1 had the opportunity to expand on this (I, lines 143-152, 190-196):

143. P1: [yeah, as a preconception, I thought, right, obviously, borders are open,
144. there's a gateway of information and opportunity coming in and out of the country
145. JC: and did the documentary seem to kind of confirm that?
146. P1: No. [inaudible], really, but it's only based on this episode. My initial thoughts
147. were some of the cities...can't remember what the capital was called, [Lancan?] but it
148. seems like the cities, there they have the benefits.
149. JC: Yangon, where they were in?
150. P1: Yes, where they filmed, there they have the benefits of having open border there,
151. financial districts, etc., industries. But it didn't really seem throughout the country they
152. benefit from that liberation.
[...]
190. P1: Yeah, we touched upon that earlier. I thought that everything... everyone would be
191. benefitting from the reopening of the border. It doesn't look like the transparent
192. exchange of information in the country, it doesn't look any different to what it probably
193. looked like in the '30s, '40s, '50s. Not that they desire change but, the travel, the roads, I
194. guess, the trains. As you saw, the train system is dilapidated. You thought that now that
195. there is additional tourism and income, companies from outside, the Burmese would be
196. developing that infrastructure. It didn't really appear happening.

By clarifying what 'progress' and 'liberation' entails, that is 'a gateway of information coming in and out of the country' (line 144), 'financial districts, industries' (line 151), 'the transparent exchange of information in the country' (lines 191-192), 'additional tourism and income, companies from outside' (line 195), improvement of the countries' infrastructures (line 196) and 'reopening of the border' (line 191), this short extracts gives some insights into some of P1's ideologies, whereby progress and liberation are equated, in essence, with globalisation, one definition of which is "the growth of international trade, the flows of capitals, and the global (at the scale of the entire globe) economy" (Duménil & Lévy, 2005, p. 10) and a democratic regime. Moreover, although talking about Simon Reeve, P1 also mentions a certain disappointment in Aung San Suu Kyi failing to act in support of the Rohingya people (I, lines 402-405):

402. P1: I think that, probably, he was frustrated on the part of the Burmese people.
403. Frustrated that... I can't... I don't know her name, the democratic leader or saviour of
404. Burma, Aung Suu Kyi or something like that, but I think there was real... yeah, he was
405. disappointed that she wasn't being more proactive in making it stop.

It appears, then, that there were some *evidential effects* with regard to this social actor, both with regard to her role in facilitating the processes of progress and liberation in the country, and to her role in the Rohingya crisis. This in turn seems to produce the *modifying ideological effect* to challenge P1's previously held assumption of people being "more liberated" since the democratically elected government of Aung San Suu Kyi has been in power and the added disappointment of her not standing up to the military and not condemning the violence in Rakhine State.

The international community can also be assumed to be part of these processes of liberation and progress, since the international players mentioned in the extracts above either in the form of information (line 144) or business (lines 151, 195) are part of the wider globalising forces that P1 considers to be behind those processes. Arguably, the only extra information gained in this regard is that the benefits of the open borders stopped in the main cities – an issue, however, that P1 blames on the Burmese government for failing to facilitate the process by not building infrastructures rather than to international dynamics. Moreover, the fact that specific companies behind 'international investments' are not mentioned in the text is an *exclusion* (van Leeuwen, 1996b) that could serve the ideological purpose of preventing viewers from evaluating such investors, while at the same time minimising evidential and ideological effects by increasing the *cognitive effort* required to identify the investors. The international community, however, is also present in the programme in the forms of international aid organisations such as UNICEF and international political institutions such as the United Nations, drawn upon in their humanitarian and expert roles respectively. However, as was the case for the Military, these are not deemed as *relevant* by P1 who is likely already aware of what these institutions do and seemingly already holds positive opinions on them, in line, as we will see, with those expressed by the programme.

Finally, the MaBaTha monks follow a similar pattern to Aung San Suu Kyi, with both *evidential effects* and *modifying ideological effects* occurring. The former are provided by learning about the existence of such a religious faction (Q, item 12), which P1 found rather surprising (I, lines 321-324):

321. JC: erm... you "didn't expect these militant [monks]"

322. P1: [no, that was... I talked about it a few times at

323. work, like "Oh, I didn't know there's militant monks". I thought they only existing in,

324. like, comics.

Most importantly, however, is that learning about them through the programme had the effect of changing P1's opinion about the Buddhist religion as a whole, thus suggesting *modifying ideological effects* (I, lines 177-184):

177. P1: yeah, that was, you know, you always think as Buddhism as like completely peaceful

178. faith, at one with everything. When you're thinking of reincarnation and it's something
 179. that can go... a faith that can go hand in hand with any sort of religion, you don't think of
 180. it as a... yeah, you don't think of wars that have been started by Buddhism like you do
 181. with Christianity or Islam and various others. So, I was shocked by that, I just thought
 182. they were peaceful people. In my mind I didn't think about them as politically active, I
 183. guess. I thought they were separate to that, although, as I said, in Tibet they've had their
 184. struggles there but it was mainly peaceful protests for what I remember.

On a final note, as mentioned before, it may seem rather striking that P1 does not include the Burmese people amongst the social actors involved in the Rohingya crisis. However, as the multimodal critical discourse analysis of this social actor in 6.4.7 will show, this is not surprising at all, as in the programme they are only seldomly given a voice in this matter and are generally shown in receptive, rather than agentive roles.

A summary of P1's representation of the different actors *before* and *after* viewing the programme is provided in *Table 6.1* (Castaldi, 2021) together with the analysis of potential *evidential* and *ideological effects*. The table is best read vertically by column:

	Rohingya	ARSA Militants	Military	Aung San Suu Kyi	International Community	MaBaTha Monks
<i>Before watching the programme</i>	Aware of the existence of a problem but not the full scale of it.	No evidence of knowing ARSA but was aware of the existence of Muslim 'extremists'.	Aware of a military government in Burma at some point in history and thought it was an oppressive one.	Aware of such a political personality and, possibly, connects her with the idea of 'borders being now open'.	Saw international exchange as a means towards freedom and economic progress.	Not aware of the existence of 'militant' monks.
<i>After watching the programme</i>	Feels sympathetic towards the plight of the Rohingyas and was shocked and moved by the scale of the phenomenon.	Can understand why the militants committed violent acts.	Feels that there was not enough information about the military.	Does not think she is developing infrastructures to support tourism and foreign investments. Thinks Simon Reeve was disappointed at her incapacity or unwillingness to act for the Rohingyas.	Surprised that benefits of open borders did not go beyond big cities.	Surprised by the existence of this militant faction and thinks that maybe not all Buddhists are as peaceful as he thought.

Evidential and Ideological effects?	Knowledge: expanded on existing knowledge, i.e. scale of the phenomenon .	Knowledge: created new knowledge, i.e. ARSA.		Knowledge: expanded on existing knowledge, i.e. her role in the Rohingya crisis.	Knowledge: expanded on existing knowledge, i.e. only cities in Myanmar benefited from open borders.	Knowledge : created new knowledge, i.e. MaBaTha.
	Opinions: confirmed existing opinion, i.e. sympathetic to their cause.	Opinions: confirmed existing opinion, i.e. violence can be justified under certain circumstances .	Knowledge : nothing new.	Opinions: possibly challenged the opinion that people were more liberated and generally better off with her in power.	Opinions: confirmed existing opinion, i.e. open borders are a means towards freedom and progress.	Opinions: challenged existing opinion, i.e. Buddhists are all peaceful.

Table 6.1: Summary of PI’s representation of the social actors involved in the Rohingya crisis before and after watching the programme.

6.4 Multimodal critical discourse analysis of actors, places and events

The programme can be divided into ten parts, each defined by a specific theme and with breaks signalled either visually (e.g., black fadeaway shots or clear change of setting) and/or sonically (e.g., with a change in background music). Table 6.2 below summarises the different parts, including their overall theme, start and finish time in the programme, duration in minutes and percentage of space taken in the programme:

	Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9	Part 10
Themes	Intro	Historical introduction	Conversation with Cheery Zahau	Spiritism and mysticism	Burma and Buddhism	“Good” vs. “Bad” Buddhism	The Rohingya people	Life at the border	Rohingya Militants	Coda
Times	00:00-01:40	01:41-07:08	07:09-14:17	14:18-19:53	19:54-23:00	23:01-34:01	34:02-45:24	45:25-52:08	52:09-58:15	58:16-59:03
Minutes	1’40”	5’28”	7’08”	5’35”	3’06”	11’00”	11’22”	6’43”	6’06”	47”
%	2.37%	8.94%	11.99%	9%	5.18%	18.63%	19%	10.89%	10.26%	1.32%

Table 6.2: Summary of the different parts of the programme with themes, times, minutes (duration) and space allocated (%)

From the summary we can already see that there are two parts that are given more temporal salience in the programme: *part 6*, which also includes Simon Reeve’s meeting with the MaBaTha monks, and *part 7*, which includes his visit to the Kutupalong refugee camp. Excluding *parts 1* and *10*, the other six parts are all given similar space in the programme, with the exception of *part 5*, which also

includes what can be considered the only “touristy” bit of the programme, i.e. a visit to the ancient temples of Bagan. To a varying degree, all the different parts were discussed by P1 either in the questionnaire or during the interview, but the ones that left more an impact on him, that is the scale of the Rohingya crisis and the existent of militant monks, perhaps unsurprisingly coincide with the two parts in the programme that were given more space.

Since P1 identified the Rohingya crisis as the predominant narrative in the programme, the multimodal analysis will focus on those social actors that are presented in connection with it. P1 discussed all of them in either the questionnaire or interview, with the exception of the Burmese people. In a previous publication I provided a summary of the multimodal representation of the first six actors and details for the MaBaTha monks but did not provide a detailed explanation for all the others and the Burmese people are not included at all (Castaldi, 2021). *Table 6.3* below shows the distribution of each actor across the different parts of the programme; however, I have not included *parts 1* and *10* (respectively, the *intro* and the *coda*) as they either show actors and themes that are repeated elsewhere in the programme (the intro) or discuss actors and themes that will be part of the following episode (the coda):

	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9
The Rohingya		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
The ARSA Militants						✓		✓
The Military	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Aung San Suu Kyi	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓
The International Community		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
MaBaTha Monks					✓			
The Burmese People	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 6.3: Distribution of the social actors involved with the Rohingya crisis across the documentary.

By looking at the distribution of the actors in the programme, the fact that P1 did not feel there was enough said about the Military (Q, item 14) is even more striking. One possible reason is that P1 was expecting a different kind of interaction between Simone Reeve and members of the military, one that was to a certain extent confrontational (I, lines 364-369). Another reason, as the multimodal analysis will show, could be that although Simon Reeve talks very often about the military, they are very rarely actually shown in the programme and are represented almost as an invisible, faceless and nameless threat; the lack of visual stimuli may have resulted in a lowered perception of this actor in P1. Finally, another reason could be, as already pointed out in the previous section, that this particular

social actor was simply not deemed as *relevant* within this particular media interaction, since the representation given of it was already present in that same fashion in P1's cognitive environment.

I will now look at each social actor individually before providing some critical comments and observations on the Rohingya crisis. The summative analysis (*Appendix 6.1*) as well as the detailed multimodal analysis of the programme (*Appendix 6.2*) provide the key to all the actors, places and events as well as detailed analysis of how they are represented through the individual modes and overall.

6.4.1 *The Rohingya*

Although predominantly shown and discussed in the final four parts of the programme, the Rohingya (A1) are also one of the topics Reeve discusses with a dissident from another ethnic minority, Cheery Zahau (A9). The first point to note with the Rohingya is that they are also given a voice in the programme; there are interviews with Rohingya refugees in *parts 7* and *8*: with the young guide who accompanies Reeve around the Kutupalong refugee camp, with two children in one of the UNICEF children centres, with a man at the border between Myanmar and Bangladesh and also with a wounded man that Reeve and his crew help and take to a nearby hospital camp. From a linguistic point of view, connotation is generally positive and compassionate, with lexis such as *stateless people, refugees, men, women and children, an entire people (part 7)*. Agentive processes are mainly positive, portraying the Rohingya as struggling to save their lives, e.g. *have been fleeing, to escape prosecution (part 7)*. The only negative processes (with the exceptions of one instance) are spoken by the MaBaTha monks, e.g. *scare, rob, kill (part 6)*. Receptive processes and statives are largely positive in the sense that they portray the Rohingya as victims, e.g. *were split up, are desperate, need support, have very little (part 7)*. When the statives are negative, they are spoken by the MaBaTha monks, e.g. *are intrinsically mean (part 6)*. In terms of their visual representation, close-up shots are used to create an emotional connection with the viewer (*Images 6.1* and *6.2*), whereas wide and busy shots highlight the scale and nature of their present condition (*Images 6.3* and *6.4*). Finally, there is either grave music in minor keys or no music at all, especially during interviews to eliminate distractions in the soundscape. Often live sounds and noises are captured and given prominence in the soundscape to highlight authenticity. The Rohingya are therefore represented multimodally as the victims both through the host and their self-representation. The semiotic modes operate to create an emotional, sympathetic connection with the viewer. This indeed seems to be the case with P1, who, as already seen, is left with a deep emotional connection with the Rohingya and is sympathetic with their cause.



Image 6.1: Close-up shot of old woman



Image 6.2: Close-up shot of weeping mother



Image 6.3: Aerial shot of Kutupalong Camp



Image 6.4: Shot of people in Kutupalong Camp

Although the programme mentions that “there have been Rohingya in the country for centuries” (*part 7*), thus legitimising their claims to be in Rakhine State, the history of the area and its historical and ethnical development is not as straightforward as the programme implies. Some scholars, for example, highlight the role the British Empire had in the mass migration of Muslims from modern-day Bangladesh into the northern part of Rakhine State, since “[t]he colonial administration of India regarded the Bengalis as amenable subjects while finding the indigenous Arakanese too defiant” (Chan, 2005, p. 400). Others stress the fact that a ‘Rohingya identity’ has only developed since the 1950s, when “Muslim leaders and students in North Arakan (officially known as Rakhine State since 1989) began to use the term Rohingya to assert a distinct ethnoreligious identity for the region’s Muslim community, as distinct from its majority Buddhist population, to which the term Rakhine usually refers” (Leider, 2018, p. 2). Notwithstanding the atrocities the Rohingya have been enduring for decades, mentioning some of the historic responsibilities of past colonising forces and a more complete accounts of debated aspects surrounding the crisis would have provided a clearer picture of the ongoing crisis.

6.4.2 The ARSA militants

The ARSA militants (A2) are predominantly shown in *part 9*, where Simon Reeve interviews two men who allege to be part of the organisation and to have taken part in some of the attacks on Burmese

police posts. They too, therefore, are given the possibility to express their opinions on the crisis through their own voice. Connotation is generally sympathetic, with lexis such as *resistance*, *forced to* and *inspired to* (part 9) used to describe their actions and the reasons for their choice to take up arms and fight the Burmese authorities. Agentive processes are generally negative when spoken by both Simon Reeve and the militants, with verbs that crudely describe the violence of their actions against the Burmese authorities, e.g. *killed*, *slaughtered*, *slashed* (part 9). Receptive processes and statives, however, are mainly positive, in the sense that they portray the militants as victims, e.g. *have been prosecuted*, *were beaten and killed*, *were being raped* (part 9). The militants are shown either through extreme close-up shots of their eyes (Image 6.5), details of their hands and clothes or pixelated images if shown fully (Image 6.6): this can be considered as a sign of respect as it guarantees their anonymity and, hence, safety from potential retaliation from the Burmese authorities. Finally, grave and melancholic music in minor keys frames the interview, whereas there is no music at all during the interview to allow the viewer to focus completely on what the militants and Simon Reeve say. Towards the end of the part there is also heightened sound of rain, which adds to the melancholic mood. The militants are therefore represented as the part of the victims who fight back because of exasperation; within this interpretation, the violent agentive processes highlighted above are therefore justified as a legitimate reaction. The semiotic modes operate to create an emotional, sympathetic connection with the viewer. Again, as we saw, this seemed to be the effect that the programme had on P1.



Image 6.5: Extreme close-up shot of ARSA militant's eyes



Image 6.6: Shot of ARSA militants with pixelated faces

Simon Reeve directly asks the militants whether they have connections with Al-Qaida and their negative response implies that the accusation of terrorism with which the Military and Government of Myanmar have justified their actions (Prasse-Freeman, 2017, p. 2) are, in fact, an excuse. Moreover, the militants are portrayed almost as ordinary people who “coordinated a series of attacks, mostly with knives and sticks” (part 9), a representation also picked up by P1, who says that “there was a sort of like naivety to them” (I, line 474). However, some observers regard ARSA as a “well-

organised, apparently well-funded group [whose members have] international training and experience in modern guerrilla war tactics” (ICG, 2016, p. i). Again, without judging whether or not their actions are justified from a moral point view as victims of longstanding sufferings, one may expect a more thorough treatment of such a delicate issue.

6.4.3 *The military*

As already mentioned, the military (A3) is discussed in virtually every part of the programme, including the only tourist visit to the temples of Bagan in *part 5*. Unlike the previous two actors, the military, which is always linguistically represented as a *collective* actor (van Leeuwen, 1996b), is not given a voice and cannot tell their side of the story; if their views are conveyed it is through Simon Reeve. Connotation is generally negative, not so much in the names used for the military, but for the words used to describe the processes in which they are activated, e.g. *completely ruined, wrecked, jailed, imposed severe censorship (part 2), stripped, will start shooting, burning (part 7)*. Visually they are almost never represented: the only exceptions are a couple of shots of armed soldiers in the border scene in *part 8 (Images 6.7 and 6.8)*. As for the music, their representation follows two thematic lines: minor key, slow music accompanies the description of their rule and their role in the Rohingya crisis (*parts 2, 6, 7, 8 and 9*); upbeat, major key music accompanies the description of their odd and irrational decisions, connected with the account of Burma’s “deep belief in spirits and the supernatural” (*part 4*). The Myanmar military is therefore represented as the culprit and as bearing the responsibility for the current situation. They are, however, an invisible, faceless and nameless threat and the semiotic modes portray them as cruel and irrational at the same time, a representation that has also been common in other Western media (Selth, 2009); a political player that cannot be trusted.



Image 6.7: Shot of Burmese soldiers at the border with Bangladesh *Image 6.8: Shot of Burmese soldier carrying a gun*

P1’s brief recontextualisation of this actor, whom he otherwise considers not to have been discussed much, relates to the discussion about how some of the Generals paid for the renovation of temples in

Bagan “partly to atone for their sins, the crime they’d committed against their own people” (*part 5*). P1 commented (I, lines 369-372):

369. P1: And, I think

370. there was a bit in this episode where he shows some... the donations of a lot of these ex-

371. military made to... to, like, gaudy temples, stuff, as a way of expressing [inaudible

372. because I say something], yeah exactly, or recompenses, and like confession.

Whether that is the reason why some of the Generals paid for some of the renovations is hard to tell, but what is certain is that there are no positive comments or pieces of information discussed in the programme with regard to this actor. As some have noted, for example, the Tatmadaw (i.e. the Burmese military) played an important role in Burma gaining its independence from the British empire (Devi, 2014, p. 46), a narrative that is well embedded in the army ethos, alongside the belief that the military has played a “critical part [...] in saving the country from a wide range of external and internal threats” (Selth, 2018, p. 21). After the coup in 1962, the military was also the driving force towards establishing the Burmese Way to Socialism, which came with a restriction of democratic freedoms amongst the general population, but also with the nationalisation of all the key financial and productive sectors in the country, predominantly at the expenses of Indian, Pakistani and Chinese enterprises (Chan, 2005, p. 413; Devi, 2014, p. 47). The latter point is at the very least a legitimate political choice, but one that has historically been opposed by the Western neo-liberal democracies, whose economic bases, as discussed in *Chapter 2*, are free market economies with as little state intervention as possible. Moreover, the claim Reeve makes that the generals “pushed the idea that to be truly Burmese you needed to be Buddhist [and that they] tried to use Buddhism to prop up their power and they tried to put themselves at the heart of the faith” (*part 5*) is also debatable. Some scholars believe the exact opposite, that is that the generals reverted U Nu’s (the first Burmese Prime Minister) initial decision to have Buddhism as the state religion (Devi, 2014, p. 47), as this would offend other religious ethnic groups such as the Kachin and the Karen (Steinberg, 2010, p. 59). Although none of the issues above provides a justification for the atrocities committed by the military against the Rohingya people, acknowledging some of them would have provided the viewer with a better understanding of the context in which the crisis is unfolding and of its protagonists. Finally, it must be noted that the British government has spent a quarter of a million pounds in 2016 alone in training for the Burmese military, although the then junior foreign minister Mark Field reassured training only involved vocational subjects and not combat training (Field, 2017).

6.4.4 Aung San Suu Kyi

The political leader (A4) is mentioned in different parts of the programme, although her voice, or the voice of someone from her government, is never heard. If their views are conveyed, it is through Simon Reeve. Connotation is generally positive towards the beginning of the programme when Simon Reeve describes her as *human rights icon, human rights hero, an Asian Nelson Mandela (part 2)*; this changes towards the end, however, not as much in terms of the lexicon used to describe her, but in the lexicon used to describe her agentive and receptive processes, e.g. *has not condemned the Army's actions, has blamed the crisis on tensions between the Buddhist and Muslim communities in Rakhine, and violence on both sides (part 7)*. Simon Reeve's final remarks are a clear condemnation of the political leader and her actions (*part 9*):

I confess I hadn't realised how bad things are for the Rohingya until coming here. The point is, they've been bad for decades. I can't really understand why the rest of the world hasn't spoken up about their treatment more assertively. I think it was because recently we've been a bit blinded by the fact that Burma has supposed to have changed into a democracy. We haven't wanted to criticise it, and we haven't wanted to criticise the country's de facto leader Aung San Suu Kyi. We thought she was an Asian Mandela. How wrong we were.

From the point of view of her visual representation, she is hardly ever shown and only briefly shown through a newspaper photo on two occasions (*Images 6.9 and 6.10*), which gives a very institutional and distant representation of her. Finally, the sonic representation highlights the change of mood towards her, going from some gentle, traditional Buddhist-sounding music in *part 2* to grave and melancholic minor key music in *part 9*. The overall impression, then, is that Aung San Suu Kyi is represented as a travesty and accomplice to the military horror by way of not denouncing their actions. She is somehow depicted as traitor of the West who has given her attention, prizes and a way into power, but whom she is not repaying by spreading the rule of law and democracy in Myanmar, an interpretation also proposed by others (Selth, 2018, p. 34); she also cannot be trusted as a political actor to sort the Rohingya crisis. Although P1 did not express any personal opinions on her, he did interpret the representation given by Simon Reeve of her in this way, as shown earlier (I, lines 402-405).



Image 6.9: Simon Reeve showing a photo of Aun San Suu Kyi in a newspaper



Image 6.10: Photo of Aung San Suu Kyi held by demnstrators on the front page of a newspaper

One aspect that the programme seems not to fully acknowledge or appreciate is the diminished role Aung San Suu Kyi has had over the past years as the country’s State Counsellor, since the Burmese constitution assigns all matters of national defence to the Tatmadaw (Mathieson, 2017; Selth, 2018, p. 34). Reeve points out that she “has not condemned the army’s actions. She’s blamed the crisis on tensions between the Buddhist and Muslim communities in Rakhine, and violence on both sides” (*part 7*), a point raised by most foreign commentators (Selth, 2018, p. 34). Some observers, however, argue that a direct confrontation with the Tatmadaw would have jeopardised Aung San Suu Kyi’s overall agenda of political and social reforms, and that her refraining from outward condemnation of the military should be assessed within the difficult political context she has been working (Mathieson, 2017). Finally, some of the steps Aung San Suu Kyi had taken within the remit of her mandate are not acknowledged by the programme: these are the establishment of “the Central Committee for Implementation of Peace and Development in Rakhine State, [...] plans for comprehensive economic development [and] an Advisory Commission on Rakhine State [...] comprising several prominent international and Myanmar diplomats, human rights commissioners and retired officials, and with the former United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan at its head” (Mathieson, 2017; see also Kyi, 2017). On the point of the relationship between Aung San Suu Kyi and the Tatmadaw it is worth noticing that the political leader has been under house arrest again since February 2021 (BBC, 2021a).

6.4.5 *The international community*

The international community (A5) takes the form of three different actors: international business and finance, the United Nations and UNICEF. The first one is only implicitly referred to in the programme while talking about how “money and investment has poured in and this huge city [Yangon], and its skyline has started to be transformed” (*part 3*). The United Nations (UN), and the United Nation Human Rights Council (UNHRC) which is also credited at the end of the programme, is drawn upon for the archive evidence on which the programme is based. Finally, UNICEF is actually shown in *part 7* and a UNICEF employee at a children centre is also interviewed together with two Rohingya

children. Connotation is neutral or positive when talking about international business and finance and the UN, with words like *describe*, *labelled (part 3)*, *expert*, *international observer (part 7)* and *international force*, *protect (part 8)*; it is also positive when talking about UNICEF, whose children centre is described as *a vital safe haven*, *the charity*, *a sanctuary (part 7)*. Visually, the international community is hardly ever shown, the UNICEF centre (*Image 6.11*) and a member of staff there (*Image 6.12*) being the only exception, thus showing a very humanitarian face. The music used in the parts where the UN description of the crisis and the UNICEF centre are shown is either in minor keys to highlight the severity and tragedy of the situation or absent to allow the viewer to focus on what is being said. The international community is therefore portrayed as neutral, expert and humanitarian. The semiotic modes operate to instil trust in them as the only political players that are already doing charitable actions to alleviate the sufferings and that would be able to sort the situation out. As already noticed, P1 did not seem to find any of these actors and related representations particularly *relevant*, which suggests similar opinions were already part of his cognitive environment. Section 6.4.8 provides some contextual information about the geopolitical importance of Burma, which was not really addressed in the episode P1 watched and only superficially addressed in the second episode of the series.



Image 6.11: Shot of the entrance to the UNICEF 'Child Friendly Space' *Image 6.12: Shot of a UNICEF member of staff*

6.4.6 The MaBaTha monks

The MaBaTha monks (A6) are almost exclusively discussed in *part 6*, where Simon Reeve interviews what seem to be three prominent figures of this particular monastic order. Their interview and the discussion about their views with regard to the Rohingya crisis and their beliefs comes straight after a sequence where Simon Reeve visits another Buddhist monastery and sings the praises of their hard work for the Burmese society and how this “creates an extraordinary culture in the country where the monks depend on the people and to a certain extent the people depend on the monks as well” (*part 6*). This creates two connections with the following visit to the MaBaTha monastery: one is that there

is *good* Buddhism and *bad* Buddhism; the second is that because there is such a strong symbiotic relationship between Burmese people and monks, this applies to both good and bad ways of interpreting religion. The MaBaTha monks are given the opportunity to tell their side of the story and connotation is generally negative when Simon Reeve talks about them, e.g. *militant*, *rabble rousing*, *the Buddhist Bin Laden*, and positive when the monks talk about themselves, e.g. *the best and most righteous*. Agentive and receptive processes as well as stative ones follow a similar pattern to connotation, e.g. Simon Reeve talks about *extreme views coming out of the mouth of monks, spreading propaganda*, and the monks say that they *understand the suffering of people* and *people come to us asking for help if they have a problem*. Visually, they are mainly represented through close-up (Image 6.13) and slight low-angle shots (Image 6.14) to create a sense of threat for the viewer, since the words they are saying, describing Muslims as *cuttlefish* and *intrinsically mean*, create a feeling of hostility and the visual proximity becomes threatening. Sonically, the approach to the monastery is accompanied by grave solemn music in minor keys, whereas no music is added to the soundscape during interviews to eliminate distractions and allow the full force of the statements they make to reach the viewers. Thus, the MaBaTha monks are portrayed as part of the ideological justification for the suffering of the Rohingya. They are shown spreading propaganda and indoctrinating younger monks to stir them away from the true, compassionate essence of Buddhism. As already noted, P1 found the representation of this social actor particularly surprising and one that seemed to have had significant *modifying ideological effects* on his cognitive environment.



Image 6.13: Close-up shot of MaBaTha senior monk during interview



Image 6.14: Low-angle shot of senior MaBaTha monks during interview

The discussion around militant Buddhism in Myanmar, as framed by the programme, suffers from one crucial simplification, that is the conflation of different groups under the same label of ‘militant’ Buddhism: these are the *969 Movement* and *MaBaTha*, which is the acronym for A-myo Batha Thathana Saun Shauq Ye A-hpwe, or The Organization for the Protection of Race and Religion (Walton, 2016, p. 144). Reeve mentions that MaBaTha “[a]re supposed to be banned” (*part 6*) hence implying that they are still active, presumably because the authorities have not managed (or wanted)

to impose the ban, thus creating some associations of complicity. In fact, the 969 Movement is the one that was banned by the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee (SSMNC), the highest religious authority in the country (Schonthal and Walton, 2016, p. 84). However, it must be also noted that some see the formation of MaBaTha in 2013 as a response to the ban (Ferrie and Min Zayar Oo, 2013); indeed, senior figures, including U Wirathu (“the Buddhist Bin Laden”, a label he vehemently rejects, see Radio Free Asia, 2013), belong to both organisations (Walton, 2016, p. 144). Schonthal and Walton (2016), however, point out that as well as similarities in the basic ideological make-up of these groups as advocates for a Buddhist Burma, there are also significant differences between them. The 969 Movement was far more aggressive in its anti-Muslim stance, to the point of organising a boycott of Muslim businesses in the country with “the complementary goals of raising awareness about what proponents see as the threat posed to Buddhism by Muslims and Islam and, in response, strengthening Buddhism and Buddhist practice” (*ibid*, p. 85). MaBaTha, on the other hand, is more closely identified with the proposal of four controversial laws, one of which aimed at limiting religious intermarriage and the other three “dealing with monogamy, religious conversion, and population control” (*ibid*, p. 86). Moreover, some noted that, although largely endorsing the 969 Movement agenda, “MaBaTha leaders distanced themselves from the anti-Muslim violence” (Cheeseman, 2017, p. 337). One final point to make is that, although MaBaTha is portrayed in the programme as having significant influence on Myanmar society and politics through “operations across the country” (*part 6*), in reality they are in contraposition with Aung San Suu Kyi’s politics and her NLD (National League for Democracy) party, which they rallied against in the 2015 elections, and when they instead supported the military-sponsored USDP (Union Solidarity and Development Party) (Schonthal and Walton, 2016, p. 85). Both in those elections and in the 2020 ones that culminated in the most recent military coup, the NLD had a firm majority and a landslide victory respectively, which suggests that, at the very least, the great majority of the Burmese population does not consider the anti-Muslim agenda as a priority.

6.4.7 *The Burmese people*

As already noted, the Burmese people as a whole were not deemed as being particularly *relevant* in the interaction between P1 and the programme. However, if we further divide this very broad category in more specific groups, we find that P1 did comment briefly on some of them. Although not a social actor *proper*, Burma itself as a country (A7) should be analysed, as matters of *connotation* and *processes* are connected to it through the multimodal representation. Since it is not a proper social actor, the idea of being given a voice is less relevant here and the voice of the specific groups within it will be analysed instead. Connotation is generally neutral, with both of the names currently accepted, *Burma* and *Myanmar*, used by various actors as well as the neutral (*the/a*) *country*. Negative connotations are connected with *poverty* (*part 2*), *road deaths* (*part 4*) and *extreme Buddhist groups*

(part 6). Burma is almost exclusively represented through receptive and stative processes, and these are generally either neutral or negative, e.g. *ruined* and *cut off* (part 2), *imposed sanctions on the country* (part 3), *road were thrown into chaos* and *one of the highest rates for road deaths* (part 4). There is only one agentive process: this is positive and refers to *gaining independence* from the British. Visually, the country is shown through a mix of rural (Image 6.15) and urban (Image 6.16) shots, all of which provide neutral and positive representations of the country. The only exception are the shots of trains, which are shown not to be in great condition. Generally speaking, minor key melodies dominate the scenes where this actor appears, thus providing an overall grave and serious tone to its representation. Major key music is played when talking about the British Empire years and when Simon Reeve visits Bagan. Overall, the country is portrayed as a beautiful place, whose potentials have been hindered by the military regime and its rule. The shots and positive depiction of Bagan also aims to persuade people to visit, thus partly fulfilling one of the purposes of this television genre, which is to promote travel destinations. The visuals tend to provide the positive connotations, whereas the language, and even more so the music, tend to do the opposite. Although not directly relating to the Rohingya crisis, the representation reinforces the idea that two of the actors, i.e. the military and Aung San Suu Kyi, have been a hinder to the country achieving its full potential, both economically and politically. As we saw when analysing P1's interaction, there was disappointment that the country has not benefitted from the opening up of its borders: this could have been influenced but how the country itself is represented in the programme.



Image 6.15: Shot of rural Burma

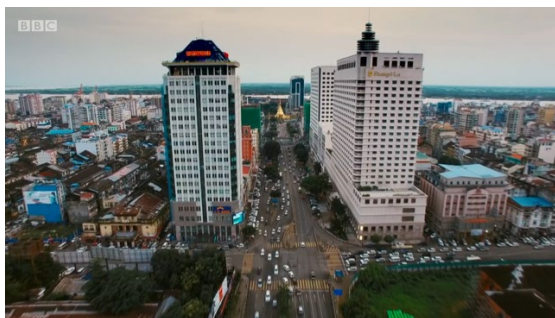


Image 6.16: Shot of urban Burma

The Buddhist Bamar ethnic majority (A8) can also be analysed as a specific actor. Three Bamar actors are given a voice in the programme and are asked to comment on their personal circumstances or on the situation in the country, but not specifically about the Rohingya crisis: these are the little boy and the lady on the train (part 2), and one of the people at the donation centre (part 6), all of whom remain unnamed (unlike many of the Rohingya and ethnic minority actors interviewed). Connotation is generally neutral, e.g. *children* and *Burmese* (part 2), *90% of the population* and *Buddhist* (part 3). However, in relation to the Rohingya crisis, there are suggestions that the Bamar majority is either

indifferent, *life goes on as if nothing happens (part 3)* or buying into the MaBaTha monks' propaganda, *millions have lapped up the propaganda (part 6)*. Agentive and receptive processes as well as stative are generally neutral. Some positive are used when it is the lady on the train speaking, *my life is better (Part 2)* and when the man at the donation point discusses why they support the monks, *we provide food, we look after them, we give them their breakfast, we've been very close to the monks (part 6)*. The negative processes are connected with children not being able to go to school and to poverty (*part 2*) as well as to the idea of being indifferent to or compliant with the abuses towards the Rohingya. Visually, Bamar people are shown in a variety of ways, mainly in everyday circumstances either working or sitting and standing in different settings. There are also shots that stress cultural differences with a British audience, for example overcrowded vehicles (*Image 6.17*) or unusual celebrations and practices, particularly in *parts 2* and *4*. The only clear positive visual representation is in *part 6*, where people are shown donating food to monks (*Image 6.18*). Generally speaking, minor key melodies dominate the scenes where these actors appear, thus providing an overall grave and serious tone to its representation. Major key music is played when talking about the Bagan kings (*part 5*) and during the thematic transition from 'good' to 'bad' Buddhism (*part 6*). Bamar people are generally shown as living a simple, if not poor, life. They are also shown both as stative (sitting, standing) and as agentive (working, driving). The only three circumstances in which they are given a voice is to confirm the hardships of their life (the child), to comment on Aung San Suu Kyi (the lady on the train) and to describe their relationship with Buddhist monks (*part 6*). They are not asked to express an opinion on the Rohingya crisis: this is instead imposed onto them by suggesting they are indifferent at best and passive accomplice at worst. The only truly positive representation of the Bamar people is expressed through their donating to and taking care of the 'good' monks. One of the reasons why P1 does not really talk about the Bamar majority in connection to the Rohingya crisis could be that the programme itself does not create that connection, for example by asking some of them what they thought about the situation, making the attitude of the Bamar people too cognitively costly to process.



Image 6.17: Bamar people on the back of a pick-up truck



Image 6.18: Bamar woman at a donation point for Buddhist monks

With regard to Burma and its people, the programme seems to focus on the economy under the military rule and states that “poverty is still endemic” (*part 2*). Since 2012, however, the country has seen one of the fastest-growing economic rates (Stokke, Vakulchuk and Øverland, 2018, p. 37), which while confirming that the military rule was indeed a hinder to economic development, it also suggests that the work done by subsequent governments, here including Aung San Suu Kyi’s, has produced good results. In fact, it has moved from being “one of the ten poorest countries in the world [...] under the military” (*part 2*) to ranking 36th from the bottom in GDP per capita in 2019 (World Bank, 2021). Moreover, looking only at economic parameters gives only a partial representation of a population’s (and wider society) wellbeing. A recent OECD (2016) report, for example, notes that although wellbeing in Myanmar is quite low in absolute terms, “when compared to how the country might be expected to perform given its level of economic development [...] Myanmar’s human capital stock, as represented by employment, health, and education outcomes is somewhat better than might be anticipated” (p. 19). Although the country scores under the expected level in the areas of *social connections*, *empowerment* and *participation*, it scores better than the expected level in every other area, including *feeling of safety*, *employment* and *satisfaction with living standards*. Once again, this suggests that the work done in recent years by the governing parties is on a par, if not better in certain areas, with comparable countries.

Cheery Zahau (A9) belongs to the Chin ethnic group, one of many minority ethnic groups existing in Myanmar (Safman, 2007, p. 51-59) and *part 3* of the programme is entirely devoted to her story of resistance to the military regime. Unlike all of the other non-Rohingya actors interviewed by Simon Reeve, she is not only given the opportunity to discuss her personal circumstances, but also to offer her opinion on the Rohingya crisis. Connotation relating to this actor is generally positive, e.g. *activist*, *friend*, *brave and brilliant*, and never negative. Agentive and receptive processes as well as statives follow a similar pattern to connotation, either describing Cheery in good terms or the Chin minority to which she belongs as victims. As was the case for connotation, there are no negative processes relating to these actors. Visually, Cheery is generally shown in agentive positions (talking,

walking, guiding Simon Reeve around the city, driving), which results in the representation of a very active person (*Image 6.19*). This, combined to many close-up shots and shots showing her in close proximity to Simon Reeve (even hugging, *Image 6.20*), provides a representation of her as an active ally. Sonically, we find traditional gentle music in minor keys for most of her representation with a major key gentle piano music accompanying Simon Reeve and Cheery's initial reunion. The overall mood connected with this actor is of suffering, but also of kindness and determination. The modes combine to provide a very positive representation of this actor, as she is shown as an active opponent of the military regime and as someone who acts to prevent sufferings for other people, more specifically ethnic minorities, in Burma.



Image 6.19: Cheery Zahau and Simon Reeve hugging *Image 6.20: Cheery Zahau driving her car*

She is also shown as very close to Simon Reeve, as they are shown in great proximity and in private settings, e.g. through showing her mother and daughter, and visiting her at her house. This close relationship is also picked up on by P1 (I, lines 252-256 and 445-447)

252. P1: yeah, you just see he's emotional when he met up with someone... that lady who he
 253. met in his previous documentary, she smuggled them into the Chin area
 254. JC: Cheery
 255. P1: Yeah, yeah, that village. Because there were genuine emotions, there's a human
 256. element to his contact with these people at an emotional level
 [...]
 445. P1: if it was someone he knew previously, he spoke to her about a life she was living in
 446. that community under the previous regime and then, he met up again, present time, and you
 447. could see how her life had changed. They met at her house; they went out together

This actor plays an important role in the narrative because, although not directly involved with the Rohingya crisis, she validates Simon Reeve's narrative and hence contributes to influencing P1's evaluation of the crisis.

In *part 4* there are other social actors that can be grouped under the overarching category of Burmese people and who are interviewed by Simon Reeve, the Nat Ga Daw (A10) and two gay men (A11). These actors are interviewed during a visit Simon Reeve makes to meet “one of Burma’s most famous spirit mediums”, the Nat Ga Daw, and where he attends one of her ceremonies, in which the two gay men also take part as performers. None of them are asked to comment on the Rohingya crisis situation but they both are allowed a voice to discuss what it is like to be a Nat Ga Daw and what it is like to be a gay person in today’s Burma. For the Nat Ga Daw (A10), connotation is generally neutral, although some lexis suggests a certain level of scepticism on Simon Reeve’s part, e.g. *baffled guests, I get one wish and if it comes true, I have you to thank* (said with a sarcastic tone). Agentive and receptive processes as well as statives follow a similar pattern to connotation. It is also worth noticing that the spirit mediums’ advice, which the Generals have supposedly relied on before taking important decisions, is connected with inconvenient, if not deadly (e.g. the road deaths) issues. Visually, the Nat Ga Daw, as well as some other corollary actors taking part in the ceremony, are shown in agentive positions (talking, performing, playing music). The results of their actions, however, are quite chaotic if not bizarre altogether, e.g. showing a lady opening the beer bottle with her teeth (*Images 6.21 and 6.22*). The chaotic nature of this scene seems to match the discussion about the chaos created by the generals in the country by following the spirit mediums’ advice. Sonically, the fast tempo music at the beginning of this part seems to suggest that something unusual or exciting is about to happen. The diegetic soundscape, that is the music, sounds and noises from the ceremony itself, contribute to add to the extraordinary, and chaotic, experience of Simon Reeve. The modes combine to produce a caricature representation of spiritism and its practitioners. Moreover, their role is explicitly connected with chaotic situations caused by the irrational choices made by the Generals who followed their advice, thus attaching this label of irrationality onto the Generals. The comment by Simon Reeve, *I have you to thank*, also suggests scepticism towards what is represented as an irrational practice.



Image 6.21: Shot of the Nat Ga Daw receiving the donation of a beer while performing a ritual



Image 6.22: Shot of a lady opening a bottle of beer with her teeth

The representation of the gay men (A11) seems to reinforce the discussion so far. Their connotation or, rather, the country's attitude towards homosexuality expressed through agentive, receptive and stative processes, is either neutral or negative when spoken by Simon Reeve, e.g. *it is still illegal to be homosexual, many face harassment*, and positive when spoken by the two gay men, e.g. *we have democracy and human rights, now gay people are accepted*. Visually, these actors represent a specific type of male homosexual, that is as men dressed as women and akin to the imagery of *drag queens* (Images 6.23 and 6.24). Homosexuality in the country is therefore shown almost as a caricature, and this has the effect of undermining the claim of political and social progress made in the country since the transition to democracy started with Aung San Suu Kyi that are made by the gay men and challenged by Simon Reeve, who claims that "being a spirit medium is one of the few occupations open to gay men".



Image 6.23: Shot of gay man getting ready for the ceremony



Image 6.24: Shot of gay man during interview

P1 briefly mentioned this part when asked what he thought Simon Reeve made of Burma as a country (I, lines 409-412):

409. P1: I think he thought some of it was just mad, that they had this sort of mystics. Yeah, that
 410. was another weird thing, where Buddhism and Mysticism sort of melded together. I think
 411. he seemed quite cheerily baffled by it, but that sort of made me think of sincere, it wasn't
 412. like a professional and this is sort of like keeping it a little bit... a bit like 'what is this?'

As discussed with regard to Cheery Zahau, although not directly involved with the Rohingya crisis, these actors serve the purpose to undermine the credibility of those actors who are involved in the crisis and who are on the opposing side, namely the military and Aung San Suu Kyi. The former by being connected to partaking in irrational practices and the latter by seeing her contribution to social and political improvements in the country being undermined.

Finally, as mentioned when discussing the MaBaTha monks (A6), *part 6* shows a contraposition between what I have labelled 'good' and 'bad' Buddhism. 'Good' Buddhists (A12) can therefore

also be analysed as a group within the Burmese people, and they are mainly represented through the people in the first monastery Simon Reeve visits at the beginning of this part. Through an interview with a senior monk at the monastery, these actors are given the opportunity to comment on their personal circumstances and to showcase the good actions they do for Burmese people, but they are not asked to comment on the Rohingya crisis. Connotations here are generally positive, highlighting the monastery staff roles as *teachers* and the fact they serve disadvantaged children who are often *orphans, from poor families* and *ethnic minorities*. There are no negative connotations attached to these social actors. Agentive and receptive processes as well as stative follow a similar pattern to connotation, e.g. *connecting most of Burmese people, teachers love the children* and *believe in what we do*. The monks and teachers are shown in agentive positions (working, talking, taking care of children). They are also shown in a receptive position as in receiving the people's food donations, thus visually reinforcing Simon Reeve's points that "the monks depend on the people and to a certain extent the people depend on the monks as well". Sonically, the gentle music and the slow, emotional music in minor keys in the first part of the scene seem to highlight both a connection between Simon Reeve and the actors represented and amongst the actors themselves, i.e. the monks and the children they take care of. The Buddhist ceremonial music in major key, moreover, seems to highlight the positive role 'good' Buddhism plays for both the children in the monastery and for Burmese people more generally. Therefore, the modes contribute to offer a positive representation of Buddhism and, more importantly, of a very strong connection between the monks and Burmese people. The latter is an important point to bear in mind: as already mentioned, the following sequence in this part talks about the MaBaTha monks, thus implying that the strong connection can also have negative consequences.

6.4.8 Critical observations

One overarching critical question could be: does *Burma with Simon Reeve* help create political consensus for a more resolute intervention of international forces and to the benefit of whom? Žižek (1998) provides a valid entry point to address this question: "the starting point of the critique of ideology has to be full acknowledgement of the fact that it is easily possible to *lie in the guise of truth*" (p. 8 *emphasis in original*). Interestingly enough, the example he uses is of intervention in Third World countries on accounts of human rights violations, which may be true, but with the ulterior motive of controlling the country's resources through political and economic interference, thus lying with regard to the cause of the intervention.

If we analyse the discursive constellation of the documentary, that is the discussions that were happening around the time of producing the text and that may have been accessible to the text producers and trusted as authoritative, we find a number of texts and fora: Reports of the UN Special Rapporteurs (2014-2017), UN Resolutions (2012-2018), the Final Report of the Advisory

Commission on Rakhine State (August 2017), a UK parliamentary debate following the heightening of the crisis (5th September 2017), Aung San Suu Kyi's speech on National Reconciliation and Peace (2017), the UK House of Common Report on the Violence in Rakhine and related UK Government response (11th December 2017 and 6th February 2018 respectively). The United Nation Human Rights Council (UNHRC) is indeed mentioned in the end credits of the programme for the archives. All the above discourses recognise that there was a serious conflict happening in Rakhine State at that time and the words *ethnic cleansing* and even *genocide* were used to describe the actions of the Myanmar military. It can therefore be argued that a humanitarian crisis is indeed happening in Rakhine State, although the scale and origins are matters of debate and different reasons are invoked by different parties. *Burma with Simon Reeve* seems to position itself more resolutely against both the military and the government of Myanmar, implicitly referring to the *Responsibility to Protect* which the House of Common Report (2017) urged the UK Government to advocate at United Nations level and whose last resort is military intervention (previous steps such as diplomatic action, economic sanctions, etc. having failed). This filters through Simon Reeve's lines towards the end of the documentary: "After all that's happened, surely the Rohingya would need cast-iron guarantees and an international force to protect them if they returned. Wouldn't you?" (*part 9*).

As regards the other half of Zizek's assertion, i.e. the ulterior motives, Reeve himself seems aware of the importance of Myanmar when he states that "Burma is also a country that really matters. It has huge natural resources but it has been largely cut off from the outside world for a long time" (2018). Indeed, the second episode of the series focuses on the resources of the country, particularly jade, oil and timber. Myanmar's importance, however, does not stop at its natural resources and its potential as a market for the globalising multinationals, which, in themselves, are very good reasons to influence the country's politics. Myanmar is of strategic importance in what some have labelled the 'new Cold War' between Western powers and Eurasian ones, predominantly Russia and China (Karaganov, 2018). The geographical position of Myanmar is central to China's strategy with regard to energy supplies of oil and gas. At present, Chinese oil tankers (as well as other trade vessels) need to go through the Strait of Malacca, a stretch of water between Malaysia and the island of Sumatra which is controlled by the U.S. and allied navy (Transnational Institute, 2016). In order to go around this potential logistical obstacle China has been sponsoring the construction of a deep-sea port at Kyaukpyu, in Rakhine State, and of a gas and oil terminal connected to a pipeline that would transport gas from Myanmar and oil from Africa and the middle East to the Chinese province of Yunnan (Bhasin, 2014, p. 35). The Rohingya crisis may provide a way for a greater involvement of Western nations in the region and a potential obstacle to China's interests in the area, an eventuality China has been keen to defuse according to some (Joy, 2018).

The special commercial relationship between China and Myanmar is indeed discussed in the second episode of the series, which also highlights past connections with the military regime, thus casting a shadow over the ethical standards of China and undermining its value in the eye of the viewer. In

conclusion, it can be argued that the programme supports an interventionist position of international organisations on humanitarian grounds, while at the same time giving some bad publicity to China and its involvement in Myanmar. This does not mean that the programme producers do this to *intentionally* support some ulterior motives, but that, at the very least, their representation fails to acknowledge the greater geo-political and economic interests at play around the Rohingya crisis.

6.5 Cognitive analysis

Table 6.4 below summarises the *preferred reading* offered by the programme for each of the different actors together with the contextual filters applied. These include both the ones P1 seems to have found the most *relevant*, i.e. the Rohingya, the ARSA militants, the Military, Aung San Suu Kyi and the MaBaTha monks, and those whose recontextualisation has been either marginal or implicit, i.e. the International Community, Burma, Cheery Zahau and Spirit Mediums. The table also provides P1's *recontextualisation* of these actor as well as a summary of the type of *effects* that seem to have taken place and the *interpretative code* used by P1. The table is best read vertically, by column:

	Rohingya	ARSA Militants	Military	Aung San Suu Kyi	International Community	MaBaTha monks	Burma	Cheery Zahau	Spirit Mediums
Preferred readings conveyed by the multimodal representations	The Rohingya are represented as the victims both through the host and their own representation. The semiotic modes operate to create an emotional, sympathetic connection with the viewer.	The militants are represented as victims who fight back because of exasperation. The semiotic modes operate to create an emotional, sympathetic connection with the viewer.	The Myanmar military is represented as the culprit and bears the responsibility for the current situation. They are, however, an invisible, faceless and nameless threat. The semiotic modes portray them as cruel and irrational at the same time; a political player that cannot be trusted.	Aung San Suu Kyi is represented as a travesty and accomplice to the military by way of not denouncing their actions. She is depicted as traitor of the West who had given her attention and a way into power. She too cannot be trusted.	The international community is portrayed as neutral, expert and humanitarian. The semiotic modes operate to instil trust in them as the only political player that is already doing charitable actions to alleviate the sufferings and that would guarantee freedom and progress.	The militant monks are portrayed as part of the ideological justification for the suffering of the Rohingya. They are shown spreading propaganda and indoctrinating younger monks to stir them away from the true, compassionate essence of Buddhism.	Used to reinforce either the positive associations with the Rohingya and their struggle or the negative associations with those represented as responsible for the crisis, i.e. the military and Aung San Suu Kyi.	Shown as an active opponent of the regime and as someone who acts to prevent sufferings for other people, more specifically ethnic minorities, in Burma. She is also shown as a close ally to Simon Reeve.	A caricature representation of spiritism and its practitioners. Moreover, their role is explicitly connected with chaotic situations caused by the irrational choices made by the generals who followed their advice, thus attaching this label of irrational onto the generals.
Contextual filters applied, i.e., contextual information omitted	A more detail treatment of the historical developments in Rakhine	The level of international support the group has and	The role of the military in Burma's history during and after independence	The constitutional set up of Burma and some of the steps taken by her to help the	The broader geopolitical context surrounding Burma.	Conflation of two different organisations, the 969 Movement and	The country's more recent economic progress and a more	None within the context of the Rohingya crisis	None within the context of the Rohingya crisis

	State and the role of the British Empire in increasing considerably the Muslim population in Rakhine State.	the level of organisation and training of its members.	ence and their socialist agenda. Also, the military training provided by the UK to the Burmese military.	situation in Rakhine State.		MaBaTha, as well as overstatement of their influence over Burmese society.	balanced look at its people's levels of wellbeing.		
Participant recontextualisation	Feels sympathetic towards the plight of the Rohingyas and was both shocked and moved by the scale of the phenomenon and the effect on people.	Can understand why the militants committed violent acts.	Feels that there was not enough information about the military. However, also thinks that the military rule was worse than the British rule.	Does not think she is doing enough to develop infrastructures to support tourism and foreign investments. Thinks Simon Reeve was disappointed at her incapacity or unwillingness to act for the Rohingyas.	Surprised that benefits of open borders did not go beyond big cities.	Surprised by the existence of this militant faction and thinks that maybe not all Buddhists are as peaceful as he thought.)	Amazed by the beauty of Bagan. Disappointed that the country has not changed much since the end of the military rule.	Feels that Simon Reeve was genuinely interested and caring towards this actor.	Feels that Simon Reeve was genuinely baffled by the ceremony experience.
Evidential and ideological effects	<i>Knowledge:</i> expanded on existing knowledge, i.e. scale of the phenomenon. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed existing opinion, i.e. sympathetic to their cause.	<i>Knowledge:</i> created new knowledge, i.e. ARSA. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed existing opinion, i.e. violence can be justified under certain circumstances.	<i>Knowledge:</i> nothing new. <i>Opinions:</i> not enough input to challenge or confirm existing opinions.	<i>Knowledge:</i> expanded on existing knowledge, i.e. her role in the Rohingya crisis. <i>Opinions:</i> possibly challenged the opinion that people were more liberated and generally better off with her in power.	<i>Knowledge:</i> expanded on existing knowledge, i.e. only cities in Myanmar benefited from open borders. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed existing opinion, i.e. open borders are a means towards freedom and progress.	<i>Knowledge:</i> created new knowledge, i.e. MaBaTha. <i>Opinions:</i> challenged existing opinion, i.e. Buddhists are all peaceful.	<i>Knowledge:</i> created new knowledge, i.e. the existence of CZ and of the Chin ethnic minority, and her relationship with SR. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed existing opinion, i.e. that Burma is not an easy country to access as a tourist. Changed opinion or, rather, expectations that the country's economic and democratic progress would have changed	<i>Knowledge:</i> created new knowledge, i.e. the existence of spiritism in Burma. <i>Opinions:</i> reinforced the idea that spiritism is something to be sceptical about. This can be deduced by P1 not challenging the programme's representation rather than by explicitly commenting on it.	

							with the end of the military regime.		
Interpretative code	Dominant	Dominant	Dominant	Dominant	Dominant	Dominant	Dominant	Dominant	Dominant

Table 6.4: Summary of the programme and participant's representation of the themes and actors in the different parts of the programme with an indication of evidential and ideological effects and interpretative code.

I already argued (Castaldi, 2021) that P1 has interpreted the representation through a *dominant code*. With regard to the Rohingya and to the ARSA militants P1 empathised with their plight and justified their violent actions. As for the military, he has not questioned the negative representation created by the programme, and the same goes for the current Myanmar political leader, Aung San Suu Kyi. He has not challenged the positive representation of international players, whether in their financial and expert roles (investors and the United Nations) or in their humanitarian role (UNICEF). Finally, he seemed in agreement with the negative representation of the MaBaTha monks as spreading hatred against the Rohingya and providing the ideological justification for the military and political response to the crisis. A look at the *epistemic vigilance towards source and content* will shed some light on the reasons why the programme has been interpreted through the *dominant code*. The assumption is that the lower the epistemic vigilance, the higher the chance that a dominant interpretative code is employed.

Starting with the *epistemic vigilance towards the source*, as discussed in 6.3, P1 seems to keep both the programme producer, the BBC, and the host, Simon Reeve, in very high regard. Reeve almost exclusively performs the role of *expert* in the programme, that is people “with specific knowledge in one of the fields addressed” (Pollack, 2008, p. 89); the fact experts are associated with knowledge, i.e. *content*, will therefore also have a knock-on effect on lowering P1's *epistemic vigilance towards the content*. Cheery Zahau can also be seen as performing the role of expert, specifically in the field of ethnic minorities in Burma. As we already noticed, P1 recognises and values the close relationship between Reeve and Cheery Zahau, whose multimodal representation is very positive. Her role as an activist is also reinforced by including in the programme archive footage from a previous documentary in which Cheery guides Reeve across the Burman border into the Chin State illegally (*part 3*), thus adding authenticity to Reeve's description of his friend as ‘brave and brilliant’ (*ibid*). Based on these observations, it is quite safe to assume that P1 found her both *benevolent*, by being a

brave, brilliant activist, and *competent*, by having seen her in action guiding Reeve across a border, and hence trustworthy.

As for the *epistemic vigilance towards the content*, as seen in the multimodal analysis and summarised in *Table 6.4*, there are many issues that could have been discussed but were not. The main point is how easily they could have been accessed by P1, either as part of his pre-existing cognitive environment or during/after watching the programme. Interestingly, P1 did indeed use his mobile phone to check some of the content discussed in the programme, specifically the information about Bagan as well as the size and history of the refugee camp (I, lines 298-308, 383-393):

298. P1: and I think that during the programme, I said I didn't really
299. stop, but, I guess, I actually did, to google things
300. JC: Ah, alright OK, cool
301. P1: So, I stopped, I went on to Bagan, Wikipedia, I went on to that... I googled the refugee
302. site that... just, you know, to have bit more information. 'Cos I'd never heard of it, I
303. thought "actually, wait a minute". So, yeah, I did... I didn't have that many breaks, or I
304. wasn't interrupted by a conversation, but I was sort of checking as of when and what. I
305. don't know if that's a curse, but I'm on my phone but... if I'm watching a movie or
306. documentary and I would often find myself just stopping it and... or sometimes missing
307. some of the content, because I'm double-checking it and finding out about specific points
308. they've raised. So, yeah, I did stop in that sense
[...]
383. JC: So, even, like, when you were kind of looking at bits on Wikipedia and stuff, did
384. the information seem to [match somehow or did you find some sort of...
385. P1: [yeah. Yeah it did tie with... yeah, it tied in. If I was looking... fact-check.
386. I wanted to know "was it that size, the refugee camp?"
387. JC: ah, alright
388. P1: I can't remember the specific numbers but it did fit in. I was like, "it couldn't", I was
389. like "it couldn't have possibly been happening since this time" and it was and, I just...
390. JC: So, were you checking him out?
391. P1: Yeah, yeah. So, in a way it's a bit of information overload, 'cos if I find myself in that
392. small, you know, I should just be focusing on that documentary, I'm doing all my little
393. research at the time and then that's sort of taking away from some of the documentary.

Possibly unsurprisingly, the only content that is checked by P1 is what *is* part of the programme and not what has been filtered out; after all, quoting the title of a paper by Oswald (2014), "it is easy to miss something you are not looking for". If we look at the information that was omitted and that could have given a more thorough treatment of the Rohingya crisis and its main actors, most of it is only available through specialised sources, the military training offered by the UK being an exception, as

this story has been discussed in some of P1's trusted media outlets, *The Guardian* and the *BBC*. It is therefore quite unlikely, as it was for me before carrying out my research, to access some of the content that has been filtered out.

6.6 Conclusion

P1's choice of programme seems to reflect his interests and preferences when it comes to both content and source. This is a first point to note, as it would support the idea that people consume media within an echo chamber, that is interacting primarily with a group of people with the same interests or views (Dubois and Blank, 2018, p. 731). This type of interaction would be characterised by lower levels of *epistemic vigilance towards both source and content*: if we interact with people with similar worldviews and interests, we are more inclined to trust them and to allow them to influence our ideological positions. This, in turn, would explain the *dominant code* through which P1 interpreted the *preferred reading* of the programme. It must be noted, however, that P1, even during the course of the viewing experience, challenged this idea, as he performed some form of fact-checking using other resources available to him at the time. This seems to support the opposite idea, i.e. that people do not only consume media within their echo chambers but look at difference sources, and that future audience research should employ methodologies that go beyond studies of single media or interactions (such as this one) and look at how "individuals use media in complementary ways as they seek out news and political information" (Dubois and Blank, 2018, p. 741), for example through the use of multiple devices simultaneously as P1 did.

The analysis of the media interaction showed a number of *effects* that this particular text seems to have had on P1. The first type are *evidential effects*: expanded knowledge on some facts (numbers, dates) surrounding the Rohingya crisis, the existence of ARSA, MaBaTha and spiritism in Burma to cite the most important ones. Secondly, there were a number of *explicit improving ideological effects*: the sympathetic stance towards the Rohingya, confirming already held opinions that violence can be justified in extreme cases of self-defence and the fact that globalisation and progress go hand in hand with freedom and democracy. Finally, there were also some *modifying ideological effects*: changing his opinion about Buddhism being a completely peaceful religion, and about the fact that people in Myanmar would be more liberated since the openings of the borders and the election of Aung San Suu Kyi. Moreover, based on RT principles, it can be argued that other ideologies, such as that the Burmese Military is bad and that international players are good, have been confirmed as they were found not relevant (*implicit improving ideological effects*). This can be attributed to the fact that they were already present with the same evaluation in P1's cognitive environment (otherwise he would have challenged them), rather than being too cognitively expensive to process.

The critical multimodal analysis of the text showed the *preferred reading* of the text with regards to the Rohingya crisis as well as instances of manipulative processes at play as signalled by the

contextual filtering highlighted. This manipulation seems to have largely worked on P1, resulting in his predominant interpretation of the text through a *dominant* code. However, I would argue that accessing the context and content that has been filtered out demanded such a level of *cognitive effort* that P1's interaction can be considered as typical rather than exceptional.

7. Case Study #2: P2 and ‘Africa, A Journey into Music: Mali’ (BBC4)

7.1 Introduction

The programme chosen in this second case study is fairly different from the programme in the first case study, being less political and more cultural. The way the programme is structured and the way the participant interacted with the programme called for a slightly different analytical and interpretative approach since, unlike in the first programme, there was no overarching narrative revolving around one specific event. Rather, the text provides an exploration of the musical traditions of Mali: different narratives and historical events are touched upon because of their connection with some musical aspects or artists. Although there is the same analytical focus on social actors and events, two thematic levels have been identified: a primary one strictly connected with the subject matter of the programme and the main reason for the participant to approach the programme, i.e. music and entertainment; a secondary one that deals with the socio-political aspects mentioned in the programme and not found relevant by the participant. The analysis highlights a number of hegemonic ideologies embedded in the text and a degree of manipulation attempted with some of them which also seemed to have successfully by-passed the participant’s *epistemic vigilance*. The case study therefore exemplifies well the Gramscian idea that cultural programmes work hegemonically to create consensus around a number of key ideological assumptions, namely social class differences as ‘natural’, socialism as a non-viable political ideology, and (inter)national conflicts as often caused by terrorism.

7.2 Contextual information about participant and text

7.2.1 The participant

P2 is a British female in her late 50s and belongs to my extended social circle: I have known her for about three years. When a common friend told her that I was looking for people who enjoyed watching travel or cultural documentaries, she expressed an interest in taking part in the research. Since she also fits the criteria I applied for the selection of participants, and more specifically the category of female, older generation and with a higher educational background, we decided to go ahead. As with the other participants, parts 2 and 3 of the interview gave us the opportunity to talk about her and to get an appreciation of her ideological position with regard to intercultural and socio-political matters.

While discussing her intercultural experiences abroad and in the UK, the impression was that P2 has got progressive views regarding interculturality, despite the fact that, at least in the UK, “meeting people from different cultures isn’t... it’s not very broad here.” (I, lines 248-249). She seemed very reflective about the challenges that interculturality poses and she sees herself as someone who, when travelling abroad, tries to step out of the stereotypical tourist image and to appreciate different

cultures. Her observations about her most recent trip (at the time of the interview) provide some insights on this issue (I, line 270-281):

270. P2: I definitely felt like I was... on this trip, I definitely felt like I was a bit
271. of a tourist, because we didn't have very much time and we just touched the surface.
272. It's not like we did anything on a deeper level, really. You know, we just didn't have
273. enough time to do that.
274. JC: What would 'a deeper level' entail?
275. P2: Well, I suppose just... I just think maybe when you have more time, you just go and
276. hang out in cafes and you just... or you just find out where the locals go and you don't...
277. I mean, I'm not a tourist... I don't aim to go to tourist destinations. People say to me
278. "Oh, you must have gone to the baths." I didn't go to the baths, because it's like... I
279. knew I didn't have time to do that and I would much rather... which we did, we just
280. walked a long way and, I don't know, you sort of acquaint yourself with places in a city
281. and you begin to get a feel for the place, you know.

P2's intercultural open-mindedness is also evidenced by another cultural experience she has had in the past and one that is certainly not very common: living and working in Israel for around nine months in a *kibbutz*. She describes the latter as "a communal farm, usually, or a collective" (I, line 296, 300-305):

300. P2: But everybody... you're paid a small amount of money, but
301. you get... and as a volunteer you get all your food and lodging. So, you've got really
302. good fresh food and, you know, and you're looked after. And then we'd just travel
303. around and it was a really... yeah, that was a really really positive experience. We
304. were sort of... we embraced the whole thing. I mean, you know, I'm not Jewish but
305. we were welcomed and we were part of that whole thing.

Moreover, even if it is somehow unlikely that she has never had any negative intercultural experiences either abroad or in the UK (I, lines 308-314), the fact that none springs to mind when asked to think about some suggests that the positive aspects of interculturality are more relevant in her cognitive environment than the negative ones. However, admittedly, this could have also been a face-saving move while attempting to represent herself as interculturally open-minded.

Her discussion about modern-day Britain and being British is also centred around intercultural matters. She talks about the Brexit referendum, i.e. the vote on whether the UK should leave the European Union, and how she feels the whole debate between *remainers* and *leavers* has brought to

the surface some elements of racism that she did not think were part of the British culture (I, lines 323-328). Moreover, she also states her position in the Brexit debate (I, lines 330-334):

330. P2: You know, I definitely feel very
331. European and funny enough I was talking to my mum about it. 'Cos my parents both
332. voted *remain* here, well, in the European Union, and I said, you know, in a way I've
333. grown up, like, most of my life feeling that we are definitely European and not English,
334. if that makes sense. I definitely feel part of the bigger picture, rather than just here.

The points above suggest two aspects of P2's ideological position. The first one is an open-mindedness towards cultural diversity. The fact she spent around nine months working abroad, the idea that she does not see herself as a tourist when she travels abroad but tries to experience places and people at a deeper level, and the fact she sees herself as part of a larger community that goes beyond the national boundaries of the UK, all seem to point at intercultural awareness and appreciation. The second aspect is a progressive, left-wing political stance. Having worked in a collective, such as the *kibbutz*, a non-nationalistic stance with regard to the Brexit debate as well as her preferred choice of newspaper being *The Observer on Sunday* (I, line 398) seem to suggest that P2's position is better aligned with left-wing politics than right-wing ones. Both these aspects are reflected in the choice of the programme she watched, '*Africa – A journey into music*', a programme which, as we will see, provides insights into a culture that is extremely different from the British one, and which is hosted by a DJ, Rita Ray, whose ethnicity and Ghanaian origins highlight P2's open-mindedness towards cultural diversity.

Another aspect that needs consideration is what sources P2 finds trustworthy for influencing her cognitive environment and ideological positioning with regard to events that are outside her experiential reach. First of all, P2 seems to prefer newspapers over televised news as she feels they give her more control over what news she wants to engage with, since newspapers allow "to skip over articles" (I, line 393). As we have already seen, *The Observer on Sunday* is her newspaper of choice. When it comes to televised news, she sometimes watches the BBC's *10 o'clock news* if her partner has that on (I, lines 403-404). Moreover, she sometimes also listens to the news on the radio (I, line 407). The BBC, then, is amongst the media outlets considered to be trustworthy, as evidenced also by her answer to the questionnaire item that asks about *preferred channels or platform*, "BBC generally – BBC4 offers more programmes of interest for me" (Q, item 6). Therefore, the choice of '*Africa – A journey into music*', a BBC4 documentary, suggests both a naturalistic experience, rather than one 'staged' for the research, and the possibility that the programme may be allowed to have effects on P2's cognitive environment as it comes from a source regarded as trustworthy.

Finally, there is another aspect of P2's cognitive environment that needs to be taken into consideration, namely her expectations of the travel and cultural documentary genre. Unlike some of the other participants, for example P1 and P3, P2 does not consider this genre as a fully legitimate way to learn about events that are outside her experiential reach, but rather as a replacement for travelling. In the questionnaire she states that these kinds of programmes "satisf[y] [her] natural curiosity for what lies beyond [her] front door" (Q, item 2), and in the interview she reiterates this idea (I, lines 19-22):

19. P2: Probably I think, actually, because I don't have the opportunity to travel very often,
20. for all sorts of reasons. So, it's a bit of escapism as well as, like, nurturing my curiosity.
21. You know, I suppose that's what it is and it's like... and I always... not always, but pretty
22. much, leave the programme feeling like I'd like to visit.

She clarifies this even further when asked whether she thinks these kinds of programmes are a good way to learn about things (I, lines 219-226):

219. P2: I think it's a lighter way of... I think it's often a way of starting some interest. It
220. doesn't satisfy all your questions necessarily. And I think, do you know what I mean, it
221. doesn't happen or happens very rarely. But, yeah, I think... I don't know. I don't think
222. it's as good as going off and researching about something, personally. But I think it's an
223. insight. Maybe it raises questions more than it answers, for me. Usually that's what
224. happens, because... and I think, also, it's a programme that's got to entertain, I guess, in
225. a way, and so in fifty-nine minutes it's got to keep lively and keep you engaged. Whereas
226. I, you know, I suppose I then want to go and find out more about it.

P2's genre expectations need to be borne in mind while analysing and interpreting her interaction with the text as well as possible effects on her cognitive environment, since what one decides to focus on, and possibly discuss during a conversation about the programme, are influenced by top-down (i.e., viewer-driven) factors, such as the goal of the interaction with the text (Holsanova, 2014, p. 340). What this entails is that if P2's main goal in watching the programme was to have a look at Mali and its culture as a potential travel destination, other aspects that are also discussed in the programme may have not been considered salient and worthy of discussion. This seems to be the case for some of the socio-political aspects I prompted P2 to consider, e.g., the idea of music as a form of resistance or aspects of feminism, which P2 did not pick up on (I, lines 171ff.). This could be partly because not *relevant* to her in RT terms, possibly because she considers the socio-political as an integral part to music and therefore the programme did not *add* anything in this sense, but also possibly because learning about socio-political aspects of Malian society were not part of her *goal* in approaching the

text due to her expectations of this genre being more connected to entertainment and travel escapism than to providing information of a socio-political nature. Whether, however, the socio-political information provided in the programme had no effect on P2's cognitive environment given her genre expectation and goals when approaching the text is a question that cannot be satisfactorily answered (either way) based on the data available. A delayed follow-up interview, perhaps more structured around social actors and topics highlighted by the multimodal analysis of the text, may shed some light on this issue.

To summarise, the programme and producer chosen by P2 are both considered trustworthy and typical of her media viewing habits, thus making her case study a valid contribution to the research. Moreover, her particular genre expectations make her case even more interesting as significantly different from some of the other participants who see these types of programmes also as a way to learn about the world.

7.2.2 *The text*

The programme chosen by P2 is the third episode of a three-part series about music traditions in Africa: "Africa: A Journey into Music – Mali". The programme was broadcast by BBC Four and produced by Sundog Pictures, an independent UK company, whose majority shareholder is Sam Branson,²³ son of the famous UK entrepreneur, Richard Branson. It is hosted by Rita Ray and categorised by the BBC as 'factual – arts, culture and the media' under *genre* and 'documentary' under *format* (BBC, 2021b). It was first broadcasted on BBC4 at 10pm on Friday, 15th June 2018, then again at 3am on Saturday, 16th June 2018 and again at 2:50am on Tuesday, 13th August 2019. The programme did not figure in the first 30 most watched programmes for the first two broadcasts and not even in the first 15 of BBC4 only for the last one, suggesting that a relatively low number of people watched it.²⁴ Finally, the fact the BBC bought the programme from an external media production company supports the argument made in *Chapter 2* about the BBC operating within market constraints.

7.3 *The participant's interaction*

P2 watched the programme on Monday, 19th August 2019 and I collected her questionnaire the following day. After watching the programme myself, we met on 21st August at her workplace for the follow-up interview.

The information gathered by the first part of the questionnaire suggests that the viewing experience P2 had for my research aligns with her typical viewing habits when it comes to travel and cultural

²³ Information available through Companies House. Available at <https://find-and-update.company-information.service.gov.uk/company/06906545> (Accessed on 30/01/2021).

²⁴ Information available at <https://www.barb.co.uk/viewing-data/four-screen-dashboard/> (Accessed on 30/01/2021).

documentaries. She watched a programme broadcast by BBC4, one of her favourite channels (Q, item 6) using the BBC catch-up service, the *BBC iPlayer*, and a desktop PC, which are the typical means she uses (Q, items 5 and 3 respectively). Moreover, she watched the programme with her partner, which is again something she typically does (Q, item 7). The information above suggests that P2 did not act significantly differently for the purpose of the research and that her viewing experience was a fairly naturalistic one.

The second part of the questionnaire explored the motivation for choosing this particular programme and some of the existing background knowledge P2 had of content she expected to find. First of all, we can see that the host has again a very important role to play in the choice of the programme: P2 states as the first reason for choosing this programme that “Rita Ray is a wonderfully enthusiastic presenter and has a passion for African music” (Q, item 9). The importance of the presenter seems paramount for P2, as she explains in the interview (I, lines 55-59):

- 55. P2: The presenters are sort of... not the central point of it,
- 56. but I've got to be engaged by the people who are presenting. I don't like that flippant
- 57. sort of approach to... I guess it's documentary, but I like it to be with some sort of
- 58. sincerity, not just voyeuristic. I think I've put that. And that's a good example for me. It
- 59. wasn't like you were just watching from afar, you were immersed in what was happening.

More specifically about Rita Ray, P2 had never actually seen her on TV, but only listened to her on the radio and, besides being intrigued by the prospect of seeing her in the TV presenter role (I, lines 67-69), what she liked about her was her enthusiasm (I, lines 76-78):

- 76. P2: She was... she came across as I heard on the radio. She is able to convey the
- 77. enthusiasm that she has, obviously, for African music. Erm, yeah like, I guess her
- 78. enthusiasm. I'm... you know, I'm sort of easily swayed by enthusiastic people

These aspects are connected to the by-passing of the *epistemic vigilance towards the source*. As it was the case for P1, P2 has also chosen a person she finds trustworthy; indeed, Rita Ray seems to fit both the criteria of perceived *benevolence* and *competence* of the source, as posited by Sperber *et al.* (2010, p. 369). As line 78 above shows, P2 herself admits that someone she finds particularly likeable may find it easier to persuade her, thus implicitly validating both Sperber *et al.*'s theory in general and Rita Ray in her specific context. This aspect, combined with the fact that P2 also finds the BBC to be a trusted media outlet, paves the way to allowing the content in the programme to be assimilated in P2's cognitive environment.

The second aspect P2 mentions as part of the motivation for choosing the programme is her limited knowledge of Mali as a country and of its people: “I don’t know that much about music specifically from Mali and am intrigued about the history and people of the country” (Q, item 9); although one thing she did know is that Mali is a French-speaking country (I, line 92). This seems to be in line with her selection criteria when choosing what travel or cultural documentary to watch (I, lines 25-30):

25. JC: And what are these selection criteria?
26. P2: OK. So, probably places I don’t know very much about. Erm, or places that I do know
27. a lot of. It’s almost... there’s almost no mid ground, it’s almost like I either know nothing
28. about or places that I know something or I know quite a lot and I want to revisit. So, I
29. guess that’s... yeah. And this is an unusual one in as much as it is... it’s about music more
30. than anything else, but I don’t know anything about Mali.

This further suggests that the viewing experience was a fairly naturalistic one and that the programme was chosen not to please me as a researcher, but because it fitted the participant’s selection criteria and taste.

The final item of the second part of the questionnaire explores the expectations the participant has before watching the programme. P2 states she knew absolutely nothing about the programme (Q, item 10) and therefore the notes in the box for item 11 (reproduced below) can only be based on the synopsis provided by the BBC on the iPlayer webpage for the programme and on her existing cognitive environment:

<i>Places:</i> Mali – and perhaps surrounding areas.
<i>People:</i> Specific musicians.
<i>Ideas you associate with them:</i> As a French-speaking country I imagine is entrenched in a different history to that of other African countries. Rural, traditional cultures, diverse and colourful.

None of the elements in the synopsis seem to really appear in the notes above. The programme synopsis specifically mentions a number of aspects, such as ancient instruments, international artistic collaboration and the fact that “the country has been rocked by Islamist insurgency, leading to a ban on music in some areas” (BBC, 2021), which P2 does not seem to have picked up while looking for and choosing the programme. So, it is fairly safe to assume that the ideas noted down in the bottom area of the box were already part of her cognitive environment. The interview gave the possibility to P2 to elaborate further on the French history of the country (I, lines 102-105):

102. P2: yeah, and I don’t know enough about the French colon... you know, how they
103. colonised Africa. I don’t know really how much influence that had on the music

104. necessarily, but obviously it's a country that still has hung on to that French language,
105. you know.

It is interesting to see how P2 represents the connection between the French and Mali after having watched the programme. First of all, as far as the military and political relationship is concerned, this only seemed to be something that happened in the past, with no connections to modern-day Mali; this is exemplified by the exclusive use of past tenses in line 103 (*colonised, had*). The only connection that is still seen to be in place, which is conveyed through the use of the present simple and present perfect in line 104 (*is, has hung*), is in the use of the French language in the country. Interestingly, this is not seen as some form of imposition caused by external factors (e.g., a commercial advantage or political pressure from the French government for Mali to continue to use French as one of the official languages), but as a choice of the country itself, which is suggested by the *active* voice in the sentence “it's a country that still has hung on to that French language” (line 104). This is very interesting because, as we will see in the multimodal critical analysis of the programme, the military intervention in the northern part of the country by the French government (officially to tackle the Muslim jihadists) is completely suppressed, even though the “Islamist insurgency” (BBC, 2021) is given some space in the programme. This correlates with P2's impression that the connection with France is only a linguistic one.

The first item in the third part of the questionnaire is a record of the impressions and thoughts formed in P2's cognitive environment after viewing the programme (Q, item 12):

Utterly uplifting!! Made me want to visit Mali – beautiful landscape, wonderful music – deeply traditional but with a nod to the new and contemporary – it put a smile on my face!

By looking at the themes mentioned in the box, it is clear that music and the landscape were the aspects that P2 found the most relevant. This is unsurprising given the focus of the programme on different musicians and the space given to the music itself, often performed live by the artists. However, as stated in the next items in the questionnaire, there were other aspects of the programme that also left a mark on P2's cognitive environment. First of all, P2 states that the programme met her expectations “and more”; she praises the programme for being “insightful without being voyeuristic”, allowing her “to see another world, but respectfully” and ultimately providing “a very ‘whole’ experience” (Q, item 13). When asked how the programme did ‘more’ than meet her expectations, during the interview she explained (I, lines 123-129):

123. P2: [well, I think it was... so, OK, I came away knowing a little bit
124. more about the music side of it, but it was a much richer programme that I'd anticipated,
125. in as much as it went into a bit of the history and the diversity of the culture, the mix of

126. the traditional and the contemporary. You know, in fifty-nine minutes they cramped a lot
127. of information in, you know. So I was... it was more than I expected. You know, the... I
128. thought it was just gonna be about... not JUST gonna be about the music, but it was a
129. very, erm, what's the word? Educational I suppose as well, you know.

The extract above suggests two things: first, that P2 was looking to be more entertained than informed by choosing this programme, as she thought the programme would just be about the music. This, in turn, suggests low levels of *epistemic vigilance towards the content*, as P2 was not necessarily interested in the informative aspects of the programme. Moreover, although she did recognise the informative aspects of the programme, specifically relating to history and culture (line 125), the fact that she had virtually no existing background knowledge about Mali in her cognitive environment may imply low levels of resistance towards accepting as valid information and opinions coming from a source she trusts. Second, the extract above suggests that the programme indeed contains informative aspects that go beyond the mere entertainment: this allows me to place this particular programme in the *super-genre* of travel and cultural documentaries as discussed in *Chapter 5*. Moreover, the informative aspects identified allow me to posit a persuasive (and possibly manipulative) purpose of the programme, which the critical multimodal analysis in 7.4 will investigate.

The next item in the questionnaire provides more details of the aspects P2 found *relevant* (Q, item 14):

Such a large % of Malians ended up as slaves and transported to America – but giving birth to the Blues, Jazz in the Deep South. Malian music probably inherently responsible for Rock and Roll!! Mali was unexpectedly lush and green, the landscape stunning and colourful – I had expected it to be fairly dry – it was verdant and beautiful. The culture appeared rich and diverse – the connections with ancient melodies still strong but a fusion with Western influences.

The first aspect is confirmed to have entered P2's cognitive environment as a direct product of the programme: in the interview P2 states that although she knew that a lot of slaves in American and the UK came from Africa, she was not aware that a large percentage were Malians (I, lines 154-157). With regard to the second aspect, i.e. the theory posing Malian music as the basis for Blues and Rock and Roll, there is an interesting ambivalence in P2's acceptance of it, one that suggests a *negotiated code*, i.e. part agreement, employed by her with respect to this particular ideological stance. If the word *probably* in the sentence "Malian music probably inherently responsible for Rock and Roll"

already suggests some scepticism, the interview provides more evidence of a *negotiated*, if not *oppositional*, code employed by P2 (I, lines 157-162):

157. P2: And, I mean, her, you know, Rita's point was that, you know, because of that...
158. and a lot of them went to the south in America, you know, there was that very rich tradition
159. of the blues that came out of slavery. So, her thing was like 'if it was not for Malian
160. cultural music, you know, they were probably responsible for the birth of Rock 'n' Roll,
161. so it's like... I don't know, that seemed like quite a... I don't know, it just seemed like...
162. it was just an interesting sort of stance to take, you know.

The fact that a *negotiated code* is employed is important for two reasons: first of all, it supports the idea that if a cognitive environment already possesses information regarding a particular aspect and this clashes with the new information, this is considered as *relevant* by the participant. Moreover, this also supports the claims made regarding the opposite scenario, i.e. that information that is not deemed *relevant* is evidence of the pre-existence in the participant's cognitive environment of similar *evidential* and *ideological* information. Secondly, this also supports the idea of a *scalar* and *subjective* nature of the phenomenon of manipulation as discussed in *Chapter 4*, which can be only fully appreciated by focusing on the analysis of both the producer(s) and addressee(s) of a particular (mediated) communicative event. This initial detailed level of analysis may then provide the basis of some research hypotheses that can be explored, perhaps quantitatively, based on a set of clearly defined variables. This point will be further discussed in *Chapter 10* as part of the potential venues for further research that this project opens up.

The other two aspects highlighted as *relevant* by P2 in item 14 of the questionnaire are the result of the strong epistemic values that the modes employed by the programme, through their affordances, provide. The natural beauties of the country are predominantly conveyed through the visual modes of still and moving shots, thus relying on the 'objectivity' of the lens rather than on the subjective linguistic depictions of somebody else's perceptions. Likewise, the music is played live by the musicians and some of them use instruments and accessories, such as electric guitars, electric amplifiers or electric pedals, that represent the Western influence on the artists interviewed and their music. It can be argued that the choice of the artists itself is ideological and functional to the narrative of a fusion of traditional and Western melodies and influences, but it is difficult to argue that these artists do not reflect such fusion, not only through their music, but also through their appearance.

Furthermore, it is worth discussing briefly P2's comments and opinions on Mali and Malians. As we saw in item 14 of the questionnaire P2 commented on Malian culture being "rich and diverse" (Q, item 14). This was expanded upon during the interview to include also some socio-economic considerations (I, lines 130-150):

130. JC: So what kind of... how can I put this? What kind of image is left with you of Mali as a country?
131. P2: Erm, just culturally very rich, and still very rich. I mean, you know, still fairly traditional
132. in a lot of respects, but a very colourful country. I would say quite a poor country, but
133. even so there is... they have a richness there that's steeped in that cultural tradition, you
134. know. And through the music I think it sort of carried on, you know.
135. JC: What gave you the impression of a poor country?
136. P2: I just... there wasn't very much evidence of... well, I don't know, maybe it was the
137. places she went to, they were quite rural, they weren't particularly westernised, they
138. seemed to be, yeah, quite rural. People were living in quite moderate accommodation,
139. you know, it just seemed quite basic. So, yeah.
140. JC: And did that seem to sort of impact the people that were shown in the programme?
- [...]
147. P2: No, I don't think it...
148. I think, possibly it wasn't that important. I think there's much more than not having
149. enough money. So, if you can make some really good music and you've got enough to
150. eat and... I don't know. The impression I've got is that they were fairly content.

I found this extract particularly revealing of some of P2's ideologies. The first ideological construct that can be analysed relates to the idea of *poverty*. P2 attaches the following attributes to poverty (lines 137-138): "quite rural", not "particularly westernised", living in "quite moderate accommodation" and "quite basic". Whereas the latter two seem to be connected to the denotative meaning of *poor*, a dictionary definition being "having little money and/or few possessions" (Cambridge University Press, 2021), the same cannot be said for the former two. The first, "quite rural", from a denotative point of view only implies "in, of, or like the countryside" (Cambridge University Press, 2021) and stands in opposition to urban areas. From a connotative point of view, however, rural can be equated with lack of infrastructures and of those modern attributes that are often associated with progress, and that find their most significant embodiment in the *city*. The second, not "particularly westernised", is even more interesting as it presupposes a western-centred idea of economic and cultural benchmark to which other cultures should aspire and against which standards are assessed. These two attributes and the connotative meaning attached can be seen as examples of what Gramsci calls *common sense*, which he defines as "ultimately the most widespread conception of life and morals" (Gramsci, 1996, p. 173). Following from Gramsci, van Dijk (1998, p. 102) defines *common sense* "as a representation of a natural or otherwise legitimate social order": as such, these types of ideologies are so engrained in our cognitive environments that we find it hard to problematise them. In this specific example, the commonsensical ideologies are two: the first is that wealth is associated with progress and progress is associated with modernity and technology. Since

the Western world possesses the most widespread levels of modernity and technology, a second commonsensical ideology is created that sees the West as the benchmark against which all other countries are assessed.

However, P2 does not seem to abide to the pervasive capitalistic and consumeristic ideology that sees wealth, progress and modernity as associated with happiness. This seems evident from lines 147-150 of the extract above, where she clearly states that money is not a necessary condition for happiness, but rather that, almost following a Maslowian *hierarchy of needs* (1943), having basic needs met (“enough to eat”) and a sense of self-actualisation (“you can make some really good music”) are sufficient conditions for happiness. I would argue that one of the reasons why P2 particularly enjoyed her media interaction with the programme is because, as we will see in the critical multimodal analysis, these same ideologies, both the commonsensical ones and the Maslowian one, also underlie the text’s *preferred reading*.

Finally, it also worth discussing two points that were not brought up by P2 but prompted by me in the follow-up interview. The first one is the perception I had straight after watching the programme that one of the *preferred readings* of the text was that music is a form of resistance. P2’s reply to my observation is very insightful (I, lines 171-178):

171. P2: I... just that, I guess, you know, music has always been... I didn’t pick up on that
172. particularly, but I just think, maybe, it’s just an extension of that idea that music is...
173. maybe it’s a different sort of voice for repression and things like that. And, you know, and
174. also maybe going back to that whole thing about, you know, slaves in chain gangs and
175. the singing and that way of expressing some sort of suffering or some sort of resistance,
176. or... yeah. I didn’t... it was a part of the film, but I don’t know whether I... and it was sort
177. of like towards the end, I think, and it was, not skimmed over, but it didn’t seem as in-
178. depth as the initial part of the... like, the beginning of the film, you know.

I believe P2’s answer suggests that this idea of music as resistance was already part of her cognitive environment and the reference to “chain gangs” (line 174), which were not mentioned in the programme, supports this idea. I propose that there are three reasons why P2 did not find this *relevant*: first, as suggested above, because the ideological construct of music as resistance was already part of her cognitive environment; second, because her focus in watching the documentary was more around the entertainment aspects than the informative/political aspects; third, because she felt that this aspect was not given particular salience in the text. This latter reason is based on a subjective perception (I would argue influenced by the first two reasons) than a factual one, as the multimodal analysis of the text shows that around one third of the programme time was dedicated to artists whose use of music is connected to aspects of social and political resistance (*parts 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12*). This suggests it

was P2's individual focus while watching the programme, rather than the topic not being represented, that made the topic not relevant for her.

The second point of discussion I prompted in the interview concerns the socio-political situation in Mali and what information P2 gathered from the programme. P2's response highlighted the issue of Islamic extremism which, as we saw earlier, is also mentioned in the episode synopsis (I, lines 183-186):

183. P2: [Well, I suppose an area that they touched on was that sort of radicalisation of
 184. Muslims and they have been affected by that extreme sort of... that sort of extreme sort
 185. of political activity. Erm, so I guess a lot of Africa, and I didn't know anything really about
 186. Mali. In that respect it's been touched by that.

As the multimodal analysis will show, the part of the programme which deals with this issue (*part 8*) is by far the saddest of the whole programme. The fact that it was a very powerful representation is also evidenced by P2 mentioning only this socio-political issue, and not mentioning other issues highlighted by the multimodal analysis of the programme such as feminism, polygamy, the military coups and authoritarian regimes. Yet, the fact remains that these issues were not spontaneously noticed and highlighted by P2 which, again, suggests that either (some of) these aspects were already part of P2's cognitive environment, as line 185 suggests with regard to Islamic extremism, or that too much cognitive effort was required to process the information, or a combination of both. In addition to this, I also think that P2's focus on entertainment contributed to the information not being considered relevant.

7.4 Multimodal critical discourse analysis of actors, places and events

The programme can be divided into fourteen parts, each defined by a specific theme and with breaks signalled either visually (e.g., black fadeaway shots or clear change of setting) and/or sonically (e.g., with a change in background music). *Table 7.1* below summarises the different parts, including their overall theme, start and finish time in the programme, duration in minutes and percentage of space taken in the programme:

	Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9	Part 10	Part 11	Part 12	Part 13	Part 14
Themes	Intro	Super Onze	Isa Dembele and Tradition	Tounami and Sidiki Diabate and The Griots	Bassekou Kouyate and the origins of blues and guitar	Kar Kar and the socialist years	Salif Keita and Malinke music	Ousmane, the Tuareg plight and Muslim jihadists	Songhoy Blues	Oumou Sangare and feminism	Ami Yere wolo, and feminist hip hop	Mylmo and the history of Mali rap	Random encounter and final comments	Ami Diabate and outro

Times	00:00 —	02:04 —	06:11 —	09:51 —	14:43 —	21:11 —	25:19 —	30:35 —	35:35 —	40:19 —	46:12 —	50:11 —	54:02 —	56:13 —
	02:04	06:11	09:51	14:43	21:11	25:19	30:35	35:35	40:19	46:12	50:11	54:02	56:13	58:57
Minutes	2'04"	4'07"	3'40"	4'52"	6'28"	4'08"	5'16"	5'20"	4'44"	5'53"	3'59"	3'51"	2'11"	2'44"
%	3.49 %	6.94 %	5.80 %	7.71 %	10.72 %	6.96 %	8.80 %	8.87 %	7.58 %	9.44 %	6.12 %	5.99 %	3.60 %	4.16 %

Table 7.1: Summary of the different parts of the programme with themes, times, minutes (duration) and space allocated (%)

From the summary we can see that all the different artists (*parts 2 to 12 and 14*) have been given similar space in the programme and that music is indeed the dominant topic of the programme as artists are to be found in almost every part of the programme, with the exception of *parts 1 and 13*. However, at a closer look it can be noticed that, from a thematic point of view, there are two different prominent levels that can be identified: the first one is connected with music itself. At this level, different foci can be analysed from a (multimodal) representational point of view: the musicians and their creative output (*parts 2 to 12 and 14*), the traditional Malian musical instruments (*parts 3, 4 and 5*) and the relationship between music and Malian society (*all parts*). This latter point is also the link between the musical level of analysis and the representation of socio-cultural and political issues in Mali, which constitutes the second level of analysis. Here there are also a number of foci that can be identified: the role of Griots in Malian society (*parts 3, 4, 5, 12 and 14*), politics (*parts 6, 7, 8, 9, 12 and 14*) and feminism (*parts 10 and 11*).

There are thirty-two actors, places and event in the text, but these can be divided into 6 categories: *Malian ethno-cultural groups, political actors, experts, witnesses/ordinary people, musicians and others*. The category of *Malian ethno-cultural groups* does not include specific actors belonging to a group, but rather the groups when discussed as a whole: these are Malians (A2), the Griots (A10) and the Tuaregs (A20). *Political actors* include all those actors whose professional role is directly connected with the political and administrative management of Mali as a country or with resisting and challenging it: the Malian Socialist government (A16), Muslim jihadists (A19), Malian politicians (A24) and other political and military actors (A30). *Experts* include those actors who provide explanations for and descriptions of past or present events: Rita Ray (A1) predominantly performs this role, but some of the musicians also seem to perform this role, especially Tounami Diabate (A11) for the discussion of the role of Griots in Malian society, Bassekou Kouyate (A14) for the influence of Malian music on Western music, Boubacar Traoré (A17) and Salif Keita (A18) for the post-independence years, Tamikrest (A21 and A22) for the condition of the Tuareg people in northern Mali. *Witness/ordinary people* refers to all those actors who contribute to the programme not in a professional or expert capacity, but as people who have experience of whatever event is being discussed: here we only have two actors, the downloader (A28) in *part 11* and the stranger (A31) who talks to Rita Ray in *part 13*. *Musicians* include all the professional musicians interviewed by Rita Ray, most of whom also perform their music ‘live’ in the programme: there are seventeen such actors.

Finally, there are three *other* actors who are only referred to occasionally and are not particularly salient in the programme: Africa (A3), the audience (A5) and the cameraperson (A8). A fourth actor that falls in the category of *other*, but that is very salient, is *music* (A4). Although music is not a person, place or event, the way it is personified in the programme and the fact that it metaphorically acts through a variety of *processes* allows me to treat it as if it were an actor. *Table 7.2* summarises all the actors, places and events (A1 to A32) and specifies which parts they appear in. For the purpose of the analysis of actors, places and events I will not consider the *intro (part 1)* as this is not specific to the themes discussed in the programme and by P2. The summative analysis (*Appendix 7.1*) and the detailed multimodal analysis of the programme (*Appendix 7.2*) provide the key to all the actors, places and events as well as detailed analysis of how they are represented through the individual modes and overall:

Actors, places and events	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9	Part 10	Part 11	Part 12	Part 13	Part 14
<i>Malian ethno-cultural groups</i>	A2	A2 A10	A2 A10	A2 A10	A2 A10	A2	A2 A20	A2	A2 A20	A2	A2 A10	A2	A2 A10
<i>Political actors</i>	-	-	-	-	A16	A16	A19	A19 A24	-	-	A30	-	-
<i>Experts</i>	A1	A1	A1	A1	A1	A1	A1	A1	A1	A1	A1	A1	A1
<i>Witnesses / ordinary people</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A28	-	A31	-
<i>Musicians</i>	A6 A7	A9	A6 A11 A12	A13 A14 A15	A17	A18	A21 A22	A6 A23	A7 A25	A26 A27	A29	-	A32
<i>Other</i>	A4 A5 A8	A4	A3 A4	A4	A3 A4 A5	A3 A4 A5	A4	A4	A4 A5	A3 A4 A5	A4 A5	A3 A4 A5	A4

Table 7.2 Summary of the distribution of all the actors in the programme, divided by category

By looking at the distribution of the actors across the programme we notice that *musicians* and music (A4) are certainly the most salient aspects of the programme, which is not surprising given the specific focus of the series. It is interesting to notice how the ethno-cultural aspect is also salient, which is something that P2 commented on as the “something more” that she felt the programme had delivered (I, lines 123-129). As already mentioned, Rita Ray is the only *expert* voice in the programme, although there are some contributions from some of the artists who comment on some of the themes discussed during their interviews. Finally, of some salience in the programme are the political actors, who are discussed in 5/13 parts. These, however, do not seem to have been considered as relevant by P2, who was rather focusing on the musical and cultural aspects of the programme; moreover, as we

saw in the previous section, she seemed to have some background knowledge and underlying ideologies that, possibly, were so in line with the political aspects discussed in the programme that did not result in changes in her cognitive environment.

Since we were able to identify two thematic levels and a number of foci within them, perhaps the best way to discuss the representations offered by this particular multimodal text (unlike for example the texts in case studies #1 and #3) is to look at each of these themes and foci individually by drawing on data from all the relevant parts.

7.4.1 Thematic level 1: the musicians; traditional Malian instruments; music and Malian society

The common thread between the three different foci identified at this level is the overwhelmingly positive representation that the text provides of anyone and anything connected with music. As mentioned, Rita Ray interviews or talks about seventeen musicians and for most of them, the modes combine to depict very positive representations. Interestingly, the first musicians to be mentioned (*part 2*) are not Malians, but some Western artists (A6), Ry Cooder, Brian Eno, Damon Albarn and Robert Plant who visited Mali “in search of collaborations and inspiration” (A1, *part 2*). Although the reference to these Western artists creates a connection between the two cultures (Western and African), no reference is made to the commercial aspects of the collaborations that came out of these visits. An example in point is a recent claim of two South African artists, Petite Noir and Nabihah Iqbal, who took part in Damon Albarn’s projects *Africa Express*, and accused the non-for-profit organisation behind the project of exploiting the African artists by taking all the rights for the contributions they made to the project (Daly 2018; Malt, 2018). Although the commercial set up may be completely acceptable to some, it can be argued that it is still not as positive as the representation in the programme suggests. It has to be added that the programme may have already been produced, although not yet broadcast, when the dispute was brought into the public eye. The project itself is mentioned in the programme in relation to another band, Songhoy Blues (*part 9*), who we are told “landed a record deal in the UK [after being] spotted by Brian Eno and Damon Albarn” (A1, *part 9*).

In *part 2* we are also introduced to the Tuareg ethnic group Super Onze (A7): they are shown while performing and teaching Rita Ray a traditional Tuareg dance. The audience is taken right into the middle of the music event and both the music and the artists are shown in a very favourable light (*Images 7.1* and *7.2*). The minor key of the music is counter-balanced by the energy of the repetitive riffs and rhythms and by the shots of smiling people in the room who are clearly enjoying themselves. All the actors in this scene are treated with respect and this is evident both from the language used to talk about them and their music as well as by the fact that they are given both linguistic and visual agency.



Image 7.1: Close-up shot of Super Onze musicians



Image 7.2: Shot of Rita Ray dancing in the middle of the room surrounded by the musicians

In *part 3* we are introduced to the first of three traditional Griot instruments, the *balafon* (a wooden xylophone) and to the social class of the Griots through one of its members, Isa Dembele (A9). We will analyse the social class of the Griots and the Malian caste system in the next section, but for the moment it will suffice to know that the Griots “are members of [...] an endogamous artisan class. They fulfil a variety of social functions, including the roles of genealogist, praise-singer, and counsellor” (Counsel, 1997, p. 43). The different modes combine to give a positive representation of Isa Dembele, his music and the Griots, with some low-angle shots of the artist while playing to highlight the high status they hold in Malian society (*Images 7.3* and *7.4*). The qualities attributed to the Griots, however, are presented as factual and are not challenged in any way. Likewise, there is no problematising of the idea of the Griot class as part of a caste system, which is an aspect I will expand on in the next section.



Image 7.3: Shot of Isa Dembele playing the balafon



Image 7.4: Low-angle shot of Isa Dembele, his son and another musician

In *part 4* we meet Tounami Diabate (A11), “head of a 21st century musical dynasty” (A1, *part 4*), and his son Sidiki (A12) and we are introduced to the second traditional Griot instrument, the *kora* (a 21-stringed harp-lute). All the actors (music, the Griots and the two musicians) are represented in very favourable terms and the social class of the Griots is portrayed as having a very central role in Malian

society. The Diabates are portrayed as very wealthy, for example by showing their expensive cars with personalised number plates (*Image 7.5*) and a music video where Sidiki handles a large quantity of cash; these can be taken as sign of the Griots having acquired a rather high status in modern-day Mali. The music they perform (all in minor key) seems to be the only mode slightly at odds with such a positive representation, but the minor key is counter-balanced by a relatively fast tempo and the emotive power of the melodies reinforces very effectively the historical and sociological importance of the Griot social class as depicted by the two artists, reflecting the deeper level of discourse representation we will discuss later. Moreover, a closer look at the composition of the melodies played (e.g. 10'48"-11'40"), shows a stress on the 1st, minor 3rd and 4th notes of the D minor scale being played, which in terms of meaning potentials have been equated, respectively to *anchoring and stability*, *sad or painful* and *building or creating space* (Machin, 2010, p. 158). Thus, the overall acoustic image can be interpreted as reflecting the continuity (*stability*) of a tradition, the Griot, which is felt with great responsibility by its members (*painful*) and which works to hold the Malian society together (*building*). This interpretation is linguistically *anchored* by Tounami's comments (11'37"-12'55"), the setting of the interview and the attributes he displays, particularly his clothes (*Image 7.6*). The modern looks of his son Sidiki, although conveying a more modern image of a Griot, should not be taken as a disruption of the traditional role of the Griot: as Tounami explains during the interview, "the time is not the same like 50 years ago, or 100 years ago. Today the Griot has a mobile phone, the Griot has internet, but the role is still there. Their base cannot ever be changed. Yeah, you have to be born Griot — you cannot become a Griot" (A11, *part 4*).



Image 7.5: Shot of one of the Diabate's luxury cars with personalised number plate



Image 7.6: Shot of Sidiki Diabate (left) and Tounami Diabate (right) playing the kora

Bassekou Kouyate (A14) and, briefly, Amy Sacko (A15) are the musicians we find in *part 5*. Bassekou is portrayed in a very positive light and also exemplifies what it means to be an influential Griot in modern-day Mali. This latter point is highlighted by drawing the viewer's attention to some of the guests at the concert Bassekou organises, who are represented both verbally and visually (*Image 7.7*) as very important people, "Griot royalty" (A1, *part 5*). Moreover, Bassekou is one of those artists

that has fused African musical traditions with Western influence by using a modified *jeli ngoni* (the third traditional Griot string instrument we are introduced to) and a Wah-Wah electric pedal (*Image 7.8*). The programme posits him as an *expert* in the discussion about the influence of Malian traditional sounds and instruments on Western music, which is inferred to be so big that the *blues* musical genre is seen as directly derived by the African music brought to the United States by African slaves, and that the *banjo* and eventually also the guitar are seen as direct descendants of the *jeli ngoni*. The blues pentatonic scales used by Bassekou during the interview (e.g. 16'19"-16'32") highlight and reinforce this point. The emotional minor scales played with a medium tempo also meaningfully relate to the sad narrative of the slave trade. Notably, however, those who organised and perpetrated the slave trade are not overtly represented in any mode. The argument made about the direct influence of Malian music and instruments on Western music was also particularly relevant in P2's post-viewing notes in the questionnaire and, as we have seen in 7.3, something of which she did not seem to be fully convinced. Finally, although also portrayed in a positive light, Amy Sacko seems to be represented in the programme only because she happens to be the wife of Bassekou. She is not interviewed or asked to talk about her experience as a Griot artist or whether the role of men and women differ in the Griot culture, although we are told that "traditionally [Griot] women don't play instruments, they just use their voice" (A1, *part 5*).



Image 7.7: Close-up shot of the 'Griot royalty' attending Bassekou Kouyate's concert



Image 7.8: Extreme close-up shot of the Wah-Wah pedal Bassekou Kouyate uses with his jeli ngoni

In *part 6* we meet the first non-Griot artist of the programme, Boubacar Traoré (A17), a noble (traditionally the caste of the freemen). His story is linked to that of post-independence Mali and to a socialist government; Boubacar informs that viewer that artists "didn't earn anything because at the time we were in a socialist regime. We did everything for the country, not for ourselves" (A17, *part 6*). All the actors connected to music in this scene are represented less positively than in previous ones, albeit not in a negative way. Boubacar is shown like all of the other artists, mainly at medium to close distance to create proximity with the viewer. Unlike the majority of artists before him, however, he is dressed in a Western fashion and so are some other men around him (*Image 7.9*). He

also often shown from a slight lower camera angle (*Image 7.10*), which could suggest an authoritative stance attributed to him, perhaps in his assigned role as *expert/witness* of the post-independence period in Mali. The medium and slow tempo melodies in minor key played by Boubacar (e.g. 23'18"-24'16") give the whole scene a somewhat sadder mood: here a focus on 1st, minor 3rd, 4th and 5th notes, combined with descending melodies create a feeling of deactivation or pessimism (Machin, 2010, p. 158). Finally, there is an aspect about Boubacar's life, which can be found in his official biography, that does not coincide with the narrative in the programme; this is the fact that his musical career did not decline at the time of the socialist government but after a military coup toppled the socialist President Modibo Keita (a noble like him) in 1968 and banned his songs (Traoré, 2021), something that was experienced by many other artists who decided to leave the country (Skinner, 2021, p. 522). The omission of the military coup is an interesting one, as the programme seems to imply that Boubacar could not manage to earn a living because of the socialist regime and had to quit music.



Image 7.9: Boubacar performing



Image 7.10: Slight low camera angle shot of Boubacar while talking about the Socialist era

In the opening scene of *part 7* music is extensively treated as a commodity and records like something to be owned and collected, rather than a cultural expression of Mali and Malians as in previous parts and scenes. Rita Ray's shopping experience at the market highlights this aspect and we also find lexis that is more related to commerce than art: *rarity/rare* (of a product), *king* (of the Malian music market), *compact, durable and cheap, to have in stock, disservice*. Interestingly, for the first time we see some sort of confrontation between Ray and a Malian (a stall holder) with the latter somehow unhappy about the deal and the former not impressed with the vendor's reaction to making a sale. Moreover, the music seems to change over the course of the scene, moving from the minor key of Boubacar Traoré at the very beginning of the sequence to an intermediate melody (minor key but fast tempo) to a fully-fledged joyful tune (major key and lively tempo) at the end of the scene and going into the next. This could possibly signal a move from the sadness of the socialist years to the joy of

opening up to the world through Salif Keita’s music, “the most internationally renowned voice” (A1, *part 7*), who is the protagonist of the next scene.

Salif Keita (A18), depicted as one of the biggest artists in Mali, is another noble artist (rather than a Griot). The modes here depict the actors in positive terms, with the exception of the final part of the scene, when the ethnical diversity of Malian people is accused of having created the “biggest crisis the country has ever seen” (A1, *part 7*), a point visually highlighted by the shot of a sunset (*Image 7.11*). We also learn that the first band Salif played in, formed in 1970, was sponsored by the military government, but we are not given any further details about that period in his career or his living conditions, as was the case for Boubacar Traoré under the socialist regime. Skinner (2012, p. 525, also quoting Keita, 2001) describes artists such as Salif Keita as “‘agents of propaganda devoted to the celebration’ of a nepotistic cadre of military officers in high-ranking positions within the government [and] laudatory clients of the state, in which political cronyism and the cult of personality of the powerful were the rule.”



Image 7.11: Shot of sunset at the end of Part 7

The first scene of *part 8* introduces the audience to the ongoing armed conflict in northern Mali and informs them that, although started by the Tuaregs, it has been infiltrated by jihadists who seemingly are still in control of some, but not all areas. The modes work together to depict the jihadists and the situation in a negative way and the Tuaregs as victims of the situation. We then meet a Tuareg band, Tamikrest (A21 and A22) and their *Desert Blues*. As well as performing, the duo describes the plight of the Tuaregs in northern Mali and how things have changed in recent years. Their story seems to support the narrative of the jihadists having made their homeplace “hell” (A21, *part 8*). The linguistic representation generally portrays the Tuareg as the victims in the conflict, although at the beginning of the previous scene we are told that it was them who started it. However, Tamikrest singer, Ousmane

(A21), dates the struggle back to at least the 1970s and, presumably, against the Malian government and at a time when there were no jihadists. The north of Mali, moreover, is also patrolled by foreign troops (most notably French) and the presence of oil and other natural resources in the area make the source of the conflicts there, as well as the number of players involved, far more complex than presented by the programme. This issue will be discussed in more detail in the next section. The modes all combine to produce a sad and melancholic mood, with the minor key and slow tempo of the song played by Tamikrest matching the sober looks on the duo (*Image 7.12*) and Rita Ray's faces as well as the vocabulary of suffering and struggle used by the artists. It is with these artists and their music that the audience is first shown a different aspect of music in Mali, not connected with traditional instruments and melodies, but as a form of protest and resistance against the precarious situation of the Tuareg people. Again, a sunset (likely the same as at the end of the *Part 7*) is shown to end Ray's encounter with the band which symbolically matches the one at the end of the previous part, thus framing this particular encounter with the idea of darkness (*Image 7.13*). The final song, *Sultans of Swing* by Dire Straits, reinforces the connection made by the duo and Ray between Mali's melodies and Western blues and rock melodies. At the same time, the slightly faster tempo and Ray's anecdote of having come all the way to Bamako to play this record serve to light up spirits a little, after what is arguably the most emotionally charged part of the programme, occurring roughly in the middle of the programme.



Image 7.12: Long shot of Tamikrest performing

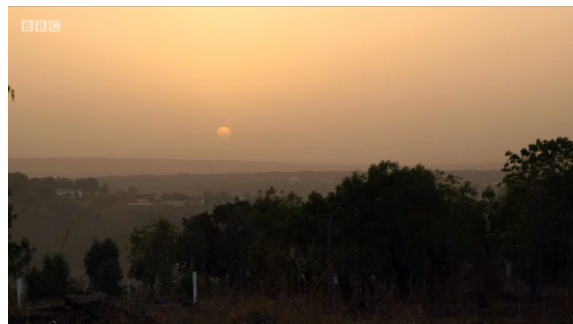


Image 7.13: Shot of sunset towards the end of Part 8

Part 9 introduces us to a younger band, Songhoy (A23), the second of the 'music as resistance' theme. As well as reinforcing the close connection between Malians and music, an argument is presented that music is in a better position than politics and politicians to help the territorial and ethnic break up in the country. The band itself is formed by people from different parts of the country and a south/north divide is made quite clear by using these words to refer to parts of the country. The general positive connotations used for Mali, music and the band serve to reinforce the idea of music as a liberating force and musicians as the 'good' side to follow in this difficult situation as opposed to the 'bad' politicians and jihadists (both of whom are described with negative connotations and are not

given a voice). The music played by the band is in a minor key, but with a fairly repetitive and upbeat tempo, almost to signify the seriousness of the problem, but also the determination and energy with which the band is acting to change things. As already mentioned, there is an interesting reference to the Western artists ‘spotting’ the band and them securing a record deal in the UK as a consequence. It suggests the band has achieved a certain status thanks to the ‘validation’ of a benevolent West, suggesting the discourse of “West as steward” (Holliday, 2016).

The first scene of *part 10* tells the audience about Mali being a Muslim country where polygamy is widely practised. The country and its people are portrayed with negative connotations, but specifically with regard to the status of women. An exception to this negative depiction is the representation of the Tuaregs (A20), whose culture is described as “matrilinear and relatively progressive” (A1, *part 10*). The second scene introduces the first feminist singer in Mali, Oumou Sangare (A25): the music played reflects the gravity of the situation for Malian women, with blues scales that add a sense of sadness to the representation, but a sustained tempo that reflects the energy and determination of the singer in addressing such issues. Oumou and her music are shown in a very positive light as the catalyst for change and an improvement in the conditions of women in the country. No evidence, however, is presented to support this besides Oumou’s words. The description of the country and its women changes for the positive towards the end of the scene (and the part) with shots of women working in a field (*Image 7.14*) exemplifying the new generation of African women who are described as “strong, independent, rooted in tradition, but open to fresh ideas” (A1, *part 10*). Music is therefore connected once again to the idea of protest and resistance against societal injustices and in support of feminist causes, although not much evidence is provided besides the singer and Rita Ray’s comments with regard to its effectiveness in supporting change in Mali.



Image 7.14: Establishing shot of women working in a field

This first scene of *part 11* introduces the viewers to the first of two younger generation artists, Ami Yerewolo (A27). Although there is some attention given to another all-female band, Les Amazones d’Afrique (A26), the focus is clearly on Ami and talking about younger artists and people in general, as also stressed by showing younger Malians and Bamako’s nightlife. Mali is represented somewhat negatively here, particularly through Ami’s representation of a divided society that upsets the younger generations, which is visually depicted as a tall wall with barbed wire (*Image 7.15*). As was the case with Songhoy in *part 9* and Oumou Sangare in *part 10*, music is seen as the answer to this social injustice. There is also a sharp contrast between the major key in her rap songs performed live and the minor key of the slow acoustic piece that accompanies images of young people enjoying Bamako’s nightlife. The last piece starts exactly after Ami has aired her criticism of Malian society and informed the viewers that children feel left out, as to highlight her feelings of injustice.



Image 7.15: Shot of barbed wire while Ami Yerewolo talks about Malian society

In *part 12* we meet another rapper, Mylmo (A29) who offers a different perspective on two crucial aspects of Mali’s socio-cultural and political situation. The Griots are portrayed very negatively by Mylmo, as a social class only interested in money. The song he performs, moreover, talks about the civil war that is happening in Mali and we learn about a number of different actors for the first time. Some of them are portrayed in a fairly neutral way (*the Arab Spring, Gaddafi and his fighters, MNLA, AQMI, Ansar Eddine*), whereas some others are portrayed in a more negative light (*the jihadists, Amadou Haya Sanogo, the Green and Red Berets, MUJAO*). However, it is a very condensed narrative that needs further analysis and that the programme simply leaves unpacked; the next section will discuss some issues related to the conflict in northern Mali and these actors. One glaring absence from the narrative is France and other international political and commercial entities, which are very much involved in what is going on in the north of the country, due to interests in natural resources in the area (see next section for details). As for the other actors, Mali is represented both positively with

regard to its history and people and negatively through the depiction of the civil war and the percentage of illiterate people. Mylmo himself is depicted in a good light, pretty much along the same lines as the other artists Ray interviewed. The song he performs is in a major key, which conveys both the determination to get the message across to the youth and the hope that the socio-political situation will improve. The use of the *jeli ngoni* mirrors his statement that he has brought together Griots and hip-hop, which is also visually represented through the traditional clothing of the musicians and his Western style.

The final part brings the role of the Griot back in the foreground. Ami Diabate (A32) is the youngest artist interviewed and from a generation which represents the future of Mali. The actors, particularly *music*, *the Griots* and *Ami Diabate* are shown in a very positive light as those with the means to solve Mali's problems. The minor key of the music, accompanied by Ami's very powerful voice and a medium to fast tempo, seems to highlight the seriousness with which the Griots see their role in society as well as the gravity of what is happening in the country.

To summarise, musicians and their music are generally represented in a positive light and are given plenty of space both in the interviews and performing their music. It can also be noticed how the choice of artists and the order of the interviews reflect a number of sub-themes, some of which represented in contrast with one another: Griot vs. non-Griot artists, older vs. younger generations and musical tradition vs. fusion with Western music (along a scale). Finally, there is the broad theme of music as a social force for resistance and change, which in the programme is connected to a number of socio-economic, cultural and political issues: the role of Griots in Malian society, politics and the ongoing conflict in Northern Mali and feminism. Having analysed the first thematic level, we can now turn to this second one, which deals with higher levels of discourse and their representation in the programme.

7.4.2 *Thematic level 2: the role of Griots in Malian society; politics; feminism*

As well as a first level of themes that are more closely connected to the genre and focus of the programme and the series it belongs to, there are at least three other themes that emerge through the critical multimodal analysis of the text. One, the role of Griots, is perhaps more socio-historic in nature, and by this I mean that the representation attempted by the programme aims to place the figure of the Griots in the social and historical context of modern Mali by describing their development from the 14th and 15th centuries C.E. and the time of the Malian empire to our days, without providing a critical analysis of it. The other two themes, politics and feminism, seem to be approached more from a critical sociological perspective, in the sense that those who are called upon in the programme to discuss them are not interested in just describing what the situation in the country is with regard to the role of women or the policies that have been put in place in recent years, but rather see their music

as a means to critically engage with social and political issues, often with a view to challenge and resist dominant discourses of patriarchy, conservatism and nationalisms.

The role of Griots in Malian society is the first theme to appear in the programme. As briefly mentioned in the previous section, and as we learn from one of the Griots artists interviewed:

[t]he Griot is the archive of the Manding Empire, since the 14th century to now. It's the one who organises the wedding, it's the one who organises the funeral ceremonies. If there is a problem between two families, between two persons, the Griot is the one who comes and finds a solution to put these things out. (A11, *part 4*)

The description above finds support in many historical and sociological accounts of the societies of West Africa. Some of these accounts focus on their role as *bards* or storytellers and their connection with the aristocracies and royals who sought in them the public voice they needed to keep consensus amongst the people they ruled; at the same time, it was on them that the Griots' livelihood was dependent in a symbiotic relationship (Conrad, 2010, pp. 98-99). Others highlight their essential role in a culture that has largely developed through an oral tradition as "the designated custodians and chroniclers of Mandé history, [...] often referred to as the 'singer-historians'" and of how the trust they had traditionally benefitted from in Malian society also continued in the postcolonial era (Counsel, 1997, p. 44). Moreover, according to Counsel (1997, p. 46ff.), whereas during the French colonial era the Griots had to find new patrons to replace their aristocratic lifeblood since this had been impoverished by the colonisers, with the newly found independence, the socialist government of Modibo Keita relied primarily on them to establish the new national cultural identity and "in essence [became] the new patron of the *griots*, supplying them with venues, instruments and income" (*ibid*, p. 47, *emphasis in original*). This latter point seems to be in contrast with what Ray states in the programme before meeting the first of the non-Griot artists, Boubacar Traoré: "the idea of a special musical caste didn't sit well with the socialist government of Modibo Keita. The national radio station turned to non-Griot artists to express the country's new-found, proud African identity" (A1, *part 6*). Judging by the fact that there were both Griot and non-Griot artists amongst those sponsored by the government, it seems that the socialist ideal of equality was applied in the appointment of state musicians, who were generally selected through national or regional competitions (Counsel, 1997, p. 47), and this without the authoritarian discrimination towards the Griot caste that the programme seems to imply. However, it must be added there was a certain discontent amongst the Griots about the corruption of the traditional music and instruments within the newly formed national orchestras (Fougère, 2012, p. 76) and instances of cronyism in the selection of state musicians were not unheard of (Skinner, 2012, p. 516).

Finally, the issue of Malian society being a caste-based system is never really analysed in the programme. The system comprises three classes: “*horon*, or free men; *nyamankala*, or members of the occupational castes [to which the Griot belong]; and *djon*, or slaves” (Cutter, 1968, p. 38). As Hoffman (2017, p. 104) notes, in Mali

[r]elations among the castes have historically been those of a clientelist or patronage system. Members of each caste retained patron–client relations with members of every other caste within their locality so that the products of each could be easily obtained by the others. [...] This exchange of products and talents was the basis of a complex network of social distinctions, behavioral differences, and mutual dependencies—more of a complementary heterarchy than a hierarchy.

Thus, the *de facto* caste system does not entail a strict hierarchy but has evolved into “a cultural practice in which some are more advantaged than others in certain times and places, but the disadvantaged will have their day. Which caste group has the ‘upper hand’ in any given interaction will vary” (Hoffman, 2001, p. 241), although for certain castes, here including the Griot, it would be extremely difficult to reach the very highest positions in society (*ibid*, p. 245). Whether because the non-democratic idea of a caste system would not resonate too well with the spirit of the programme, or whether because the socio-cultural complexity of the caste system in Mali required more space than it could be allowed, the partial representation of the Griot and the caste system may leave in the audience an image of Mali and its society which is not as truthful as in reality. Moreover, the negative comment regarding the Griot made by the rapper Mylmo in the programme, “previously, Griots were the mediators between people who couldn’t agree. Now Griots are about money; Griots sing your praises for cash” (A29, *part 12*), is not really given much credit. Indeed, the very positive representation given of the Griot throughout the programme and the fact that in the final part of the programme Ray goes back full circle to a very young Griot artist, Ami Diabate (A32), seems to suggest a certain preference on the part of the host for this particular class, if not from a musical point of view, at least with regard to their importance in Malian society. In the very final sentence of the programme, referring to Griot music she states, “I reckon these ancient melodies from Mali’s past will be the sound of its future too” (A1, *part 14*). Perhaps, given, the discussion that Ray has with the young musician about what role the Griot can play in solving the conflict in northern Mali, she also envisages an important role of this caste in the political future of the country.

The second theme that emerges from the multimodal analysis is politics, with discussion being mainly centred around the ongoing conflicts between different groups of Malian society. There are two prominent issues discussed. The first is the transition of Mali from a French colony to an independent government led by the socialist president Modibo Keita. The second is the jihadist-led

rebellion in the north of the country which happened at the same time as the coup d'état in March 2012. Since the post-independence years are the ones first discussed in the programme (*parts 6 and 7*), I will start my analysis from here.

The socialist government of Modibo Keita is discussed in *part 6* before and during the interview with Boubacar Traoré. As already noted in the previous section, the overall representation of the socialist government is negative, with descriptions of how artists like Boubacar Traoré “did not earn anything” (A17, *part 6*) and were eventually forced to leave music, the latter point being framed as happening during the socialist regime when, as we have seen, Traoré himself places this chronologically during the following military regime (Traoré, 2021). Moreover, the minor keys of Traoré’s music convey a sad mood, which elicit negative feelings in the viewer while these topics are discussed. Interestingly, there is no mention of how life for artists and non-artists was before independence, during the colonial period, or after Keita’s government is toppled and replaced by a military regime which will last until 1991, so that a comparison can be made between the different historic periods. As far as artists are concerned, we have already seen that it was the socialist regime that opened up musical careers to non-Griot artists and to musical genres that were different from the traditional Griot music.

As far as how life in Mali was in broader terms before, during and after the socialist government, there seem to be agreement around the fact that, due to economic difficulties and the inability to mediate between the more radical forces within the party hierarchies on one side and international economic and market forces on the other, the attempt of the Keita’s government to promote progress and prosperity was by and large a failure (Snyder, 1969; Martin, 1976; Nathan, 2015). Regardless of whether or not the government represented a truly socialist attempt at organising the socio-economic affairs of the newly independent country, which some analysts doubt (Martin, 1976, p. 46; Fougère, 2012, pp. 57-63), what seems to be also generally agreed in more recent accounts of Mali’s economic and democratic development is that the subsequent military regime was not in any way better. Bingen (2000, p. 246) maintains that although failing to construct rural socialism, “[m]ost observers acknowledge that Keita's policies did achieve a measure of economic decolonization”. Moreover, Clark (2000, p. 256) notices how during the subsequent military regime not only did the living conditions not improve for Malian people, but their poverty “contrasted dramatically with the increasing wealth and opulence of Traore, his relatives and associates”, to the point that “[p]eople even began to long for the days of Modibo Keita whose government they remembered as inefficient but not as obscenely corrupt and repressive as that of General Moussa Traore.” It is under this very military regime that the next artist interviewed, Salif Keita, found success and “changed the face of Malian music and defined a new era of West African independence” (A1, *part 7*). As already noted in the previous section, there is a significant ideological difference in the representation given by Rita Ray of the “government-sponsored Rail Band” (A1, *part 7*), who “had to promote Malian culture”

(A18, *part 7*) and the “agents of propaganda” definition given by Keita (2001), which we saw in the previous section. Moreover, the sharp contrast of melodies between *part 6* and *7*, with the major keys of some of the songs and the shopping experience that introduces *part 7*, seem to point at representing some form of improved standards, economically and emotionally, that do not seem to coincide with the socio-economic analysis of Clark. To summarise, the socialist government is represented as the lowest point in Mali’s history by omitting altogether any comparisons with the colonial period and by providing a somewhat ‘hyped-up’ representation of Salif Keita’s Mali, portrayed as economically more dynamic by inserting a shopping scene, and experiencing a socio-cultural renaissance by positing those years as the beginning of a new era for West African countries. I would argue that depicting socialism and its state-centred underpinnings in such a negative way allows those in favour of a neoliberal paradigm to build consensus around the very opposite outcome, that is an economy ruled by market forces in which the state interferes as little as possible.

The second important political issue that is touched upon by the programme is the conflict in northern Mali, discussed mainly in *parts 8* and *12* and peripherally in *parts 9* and *14*, and partly attributed at the end of *part 7* to the ethnic mix that makes up Mali. As already noticed in the previous section, *part 8* provides a narrative of the northern conflict that see the Tuaregs having struggled for a long time to gain some form of independence from the rest of the country and now being in an even more difficult position since the jihadists have hijacked their cause and forced a radical Islamic ideology based on *sharia law* onto them. The rapper Mylmo in *part 12* provides a more detailed account of what is happening in the country through his song *L' Histoire du Mali* (The History of Mali). The programme provides English subtitles, and the viewer can therefore follow this short history of the country according to the artist. The verses that are shown in the programme focus on the history of the country from the coup d’état in 2012, which toppled the democratically elected, but rather unpopular (Whitehouse, 2012, p. 95), president Amadou Toumani Touré and brought to power Captain Amadou Haya Sanogo, a man who “[b]etween 1998 and 2010 [...] attended at least five Pentagon sponsored training courses in the United States” (*ibid* p. 94). The verses focus on the northern conflict and the depiction given is very much in line with the historical and political analyses available in the specialised literature (see e.g., Bergamaschi, 2013; Francis, 2013; Boeke and Schuurman, 2015; Chauzal and van Damme, 2015; Wing, 2016). The Tuareg ethnic rebel group MNLA, who started the revolts in 2012 and whose leaders have built ties with Arab groups connected to international jihadists movements (Ansar Dine, AQIM and MUJAO), are slowly excluded from controlling the northern cities they had occupied together and the jihadists movements start to rule with radical ideologies that are completely disconnected from the Tuareg territorial plight, aiming instead to extend the reach of radical Islamic ideologies on these territories. What is missing from Mylmo’s and the programme account and what is debated to a degree in the literature is the potential

neo-colonial nature of the French military intervention in January 2013. The disagreement revolves around whether it was lawful for France to intervene; as Wing (2016, p. 73) summarises it:

[l]iberal arguments on the intervention would include claims that it supported global justice, was legal, and supported the global rule of law and regional/international opinion concerning what was the morally responsible thing to do. A more critical argument would be that this was a French neocolonialist move to entrench themselves geographically in the Sahel region.

What the majority of the literature seems to agree on is that, as well as the anti-terrorist official reasons for the intervention, the latter was also dictated by the strategic interests of France in Sahel, the region in which the conflict is taking place, which is rich in uranium, a mineral essential for France's nuclear energy production (Batou, 2013; Francis, 2013, pp. 6-7; Kanti, 2013, pp. 20-21; Shuriye and Ibrahim, 2013, pp. 510-511; Boeke and Schuurman, 2015, pp. 806-807). Regardless of which side of this debate one wishes to support, the main omission in the programme is the debated issue itself, almost as if France, the former colonial power, has no role in the conflict, when the French military is in fact still present in northern Mali. It can be argued that the issues are too complex to discuss in a programme whose main focus is music, but then why include the issues in the first place? It seems to me that the programme talked superficially about the issue to show that they did not ignore it, but stayed clear of the contentious issues of neo-colonialism that can be associated by viewers with similar discussions regarding the role of the U.K. as a former colonial power. The focus on terrorism as the main cause of the conflict is also a simplification of the complex forces at play and one that does not truthfully reflect the conflict; as Bergamaschi (2013, p. 2) points out "[t]o understand the origins of this crisis, it is important to go beyond the media's focus on the recent 'Islamist threat' in the Sahel". The way the programme frames the conflict seems to be very much in line with how Bergamaschi describe the general media framing and the response of P2 when prompted about it suggests that this is the type of narrative that was already present in her cognitive environment.

Finally, the last aspects worth discussing are feminist issues, as *parts 10* and *11* address some related topics quite explicitly, especially with regard to the widespread practice of polygamy. In *part 10* we learn that "polygamy is still common in Mali. Men are allowed up to four wives at a time by law and women's rights have been slow to improve" (A1, *part 10*). Indeed, as well as allowing polygamy Malian society is characterised by significant inequalities between women and men. As Heath, Hidrobo and Roy (2020, p. 2) point out, "men are considered 'head of the household,' with sole family and parental authority, and women are legally required to obey their husbands". In addition to this, a number of health issues have been identified that relate to the practice of polygamy as well as increased risk factors with regard to intimate partner violence, mental health problems, and a tendency towards women's respect for a codified senior/junior co-wife hierarchy (Bove, Vala-

Haynes and Vallengia, 2014, p. 2). The programme, thus, rightly highlights a very serious cause for concern for women in Mali.

Moreover, in the following part we learn that the songs by the feminist band *Les Amazones d’Afrique* “tackle sexual violence, genital mutilation, and forced marriage” (A1, *part II*). Once again, the programme points the viewer to a number of very serious issues related to gender inequality in Mali and concerns for the well-being of women more specifically. In 2001 it was estimated that in Mali 91.6% of women between 15-49 years had suffered female genital mutilation (WHO, 2008, p. 29). Moreover, there are a number of studies on *intimate partner violence* (IPV) that point not only at there being an issue with this specific type of violence and at the absence of a specific law to address it, but also at the fact that “there is a high level of tolerance for IPV in Malian society” (Hayes and van Baak, 2017, p. 1362). One particular study shows how, at least in one particular tertiary education institution, “the majority of girls experienced some form of violence (94.3%), of which 77% had been physically abused, 52.4% had sexual violence and 47.4% had emotional abuse” (Dembélé *et al.*, 2020, p. 249). With regard to this particular aspect of feminist issues and gender inequality, it can be argued that the programme is taking an anti-hegemonic stance, highlighting social injustices and advocating for change. The fact that P2 did not find these aspects particularly relevant suggests that she was already aware of there being such issues and an alignment with the critical stance taken by the programme.

To summarise, the programme touches on a number of ‘higher order’ issues connected with music in Mali: there being a caste-based society, politics, the conflict in the northern part of the country and issues related to feminism and gender inequality. However, of these only the latter seems to be addressed from a critical perspective, whereas the others are framed within a hegemonic perspective whereby class differences, socialist politics and ideals, and neo-colonial issues are downplayed or omitted altogether.

7.5 Cognitive analysis

Table 7.3 below summarises the *preferred reading* offered by programme for the different themes identified (and actors therein) together with the *contextual filters* applied. It also provides P2’s *recontextualisation* of those actors, places and events as well as a summary of the type of *effects* that seem to have taken place and the *interpretative code* used by P2. The table is best read vertically, by column:

	Malian music, instruments and musicians	Mali and Malians	The Griots	Malian political history	The conflict in northern Mali	Feminism
Preferred readings conveyed by the multimodal representations	Everything and everyone connected with music in Mali is very good and positive.	Malians are represented as economically poor, but culturally rich. Moreover, they are represented as not	The Griots are represented as a cultural cornerstone of Malian society and the final scene	The socialist government post-independence was a negative page in Malian history book. Politicians in	Jihadists groups are to blame for the conflict in northern Mali and the Tuareg are victim of the situation.	Women in Mali suffer unjust inequalities due to polygamy, violence and genital mutilation.

		very progressive, since the Tuareg are the only ethnicity to be described as “relatively progressive”. Beautiful landscapes are also shown throughout the programme, giving the idea of a lush and welcoming country.	expresses a desire for this to continue in the future.	general are also given negative representations through the Songhoy band members.		Younger generations of female artists are addressing this issue and pushing for change.
Contextual filters applied, i.e., contextual information omitted	Some information regarding the commercial relationship between Western and Malian artists	Overall, it seems that the different facets of the country and its people are all shown, generally in a non-judgmental way.	The Malian caste-based system is not really explored. Moreover, whether and how the traditional role of the Griot has changed is not explored either.	Political regimes before and after the Socialist one are not discussed, although one was a colonial one and the other a military dictatorship.	International economic and political interests surrounding the conflict are not mentioned and nor is the fact that France has been military involved.	Despite not being able to go into a lot of detail, no contextual information seems to have been omitted.
Participant Re-contextualisation	Very positive feelings and thoroughly enjoyed the music and musicians showed.	Thought Malians look fairly happy despite being economically poor. Was also surprised by how lush and verdant the country is.	The Griots as such do not seem to be very relevant. However, there is a general appreciation for the traditional aspects of Malian society, which could include the role and influence of this social class.	Not relevant.	PROMPTED – Acknowledges the role of jihadists as main culprits behind the conflict, which is something she was not aware of specifically for Mali, but knew was an issue in Africa.	Not relevant.
Evidential and ideological effects	<i>Knowledge:</i> artists, instruments and music she did not know; connection between Malian and Western music through slave trade. <i>Opinions:</i> created positive opinion of Malian music and artists; challenged existing opinion regarding the origin of some Western music.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned about the cultural diversity in the country and saw landscapes she was not aware of. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed her opinion of a culturally diverse and colourful society. Changed her opinion regarding the geographical characteristics of the country.	<i>Knowledge:</i> possibly an understanding of the traditional role of the Griots. <i>Opinions:</i> if the Griot are included within the general appreciation of the Malian musical traditions, the programme created positive opinions with regard to their contribution.	Was not considered relevant, which indicates that this topic resonates with pre-existing opinions about Socialism.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned about the conflict in northern Mali. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed the opinion that these types of jihadists-led conflicts occur in Africa.	Was not considered relevant, which indicates that this topic resonates with pre-existing opinions about feminist causes.
Interpretative code	<i>Dominant</i> for the appreciation of the music <i>Negotiated</i> for the origin of some Western music.	<i>Dominant</i>	<i>Dominant</i>	Possibly <i>dominant</i>	<i>Dominant</i>	Possibly <i>dominant</i>

Table 7.3 Summary of the programme and participant’s representation of the themes and actors identified in the programme with an indication of evidential and ideological effects and interpretative code.

If we start by considering the *interpretative code* utilized by P2, we notice that, with the exception of the *negotiated* interpretation regarding the origins of Blues and Rock and Roll, it is the *dominant* one. The reasons for this can be found in the analysis of P2’s *epistemic vigilance towards the source and content*.

In terms of the *source*, we need to look at those actors who have been assigned the role of *expert* in the programme as well as the relationship between P2 and the media outlet which produced and/or distributed the programme. As already pointed out, Rita Ray is the predominant *expert* figure in the programme, although some of the musicians are also assigned this role for specific topics: Tounami Diabate (A11) for the discussion of the role of Griots in Malian society, Bassekou Kouyate (A14) for

the influence of Malian music on Western music, Boubacar Traoré (A17) and Salif Keita (A18) for the post-independence years, Tamikrest (A21 and A22) for the condition of the Tuareg people in northern Mali. As evident from the information in the second part of the questionnaire, where P2 describes Rita Ray as “a wonderfully enthusiastic presenter [with] a passion for African music” (Q, item 9), and the interview where these concepts are reiterated, “she is able to convey the enthusiasm that she has, obviously, for African music. Erm, yeah like, I guess her enthusiasm. I’m... you know, I’m sort of easily swayed by enthusiastic people” (I, lines 76-78), Rita Ray is considered to be both a trustworthy and knowledgeable person, which are the two characteristics Sperber *et al.* (2010) pose as necessary for the *epistemic vigilance towards the source* to be by-passed. The same cannot be necessarily assumed for the artists in their complementary *expert* role, as P2 is ‘meeting’ them for the first time while watching the programme. Interestingly, she either does not consider the topics they discuss as particularly relevant or, when she does, as in the case of the influence of Malian traditional music on the birth of Blues and Rock and Roll, she seems to settle for a *negotiated* interpretation where she gives the *expert* the benefit of the doubt, without accepting the argument completely. Finally, with regard to the producer/distributor of the programme, as we have already mentioned in 7.3, P2 considers the most visible one, the BBC, to be a trustworthy media outlet, which she generally prefers for this kind of programmes (Q, item 6). This also may contribute to lower levels of epistemic vigilance.

As for the *content*, the first consideration to make is that, as far as the main topic of the programme, i.e. music, is concerned, the multimodal representation provided is so transparent and sensorially rich that the idea of *contextual filters* cannot really apply. The music is played *live* in front of the camera by the majority of the artists and the experiential access to the music, albeit mediated by the recording, is so direct that the only *effects* that can occur are positive or negative subjective evaluations of the music. In P2’s case, her evaluation is overall positive and in line with Rita Ray’s. With regard to the other topics identified, it needs to be stressed once again that by and large they were not deemed to be relevant: based on Relevance Theory principles, this could be due to two possibilities: either it was too cognitively demanding to grasp the informational value of the topics discussed, or the content did not add to or modify P2’s existing cognitive environment. Assuming that P2 is familiar with topics such as social class differences, socialism as a political ideology, (inter)national conflicts and gender inequality, albeit not necessarily within the Malian context, the latter possibility becomes the most probable one. The multimodal critical discourse analysis of the second level of themes provided in 7.4.2 highlighted a number of *contextual filters* applied to the representation of the topics identified, which resulted in representations of those topics that I believe to be in line with hegemonic media representations in Western societies: social class differences are natural and not problematic; socialism is an old-fashioned, ineffective political ideology; conflicts are usually created by terrorism and extreme ideologies, jihadism being one of them, rather than, say, imperialistic and neo-colonial

interests; violent gender inequalities are wrong and need to be challenged (but what about the “less violent” ones still occurring in most Western societies?). Out of these hegemonic representations, the only one that seems to be at odds with P2’s ideological profile as sketched in 7.2 is the one concerning socialism. As discussed, based on the interview data P2 seems to have a progressive, left-wing political stance: if that interpretation is correct, then the negative representation of socialism in the programme should have been deemed relevant as it challenges the legitimacy of socialist politics. There could be different explanation as to why this did not happen, including P2’s focus on the entertainment aspects over the informative ones, or perhaps the belief that socialism does not always work and the acceptance that it did not in Mali’s case or, still, another widespread belief that socialism is good in theory, but inapplicable in practice. Regardless of the explanation, this is an exception that needs to be acknowledged.

7.6 Conclusion

The choice of the television programme seems to reflect P2’s interests and preferences, thus supporting the idea that she consumed media within her echo chamber (Del Vicario *et al.*, 2016). In P2’s case, the programme addressed a specific interest of hers, i.e. world music, was distributed by a media outlet considered trustworthy and was hosted by a person she knew and regarded as being both trustworthy and competent.

The analysis of the media interaction highlighted a number of *effects* that this particular text seems to have had on P2. The first type are *evidential effects*: learning about Malian musicians and musical history, seeing specific geographical features of the country, learning about the cultural diversity of Malian society, learning about the fact that a large percentage of slaves were from Mali and that, perhaps, this resulted in musical influences on Western genres such as Blues and Rock and Roll. Secondly, there were a number of *explicit improving ideological effects*: the positive evaluation of music coming from this part of the world, the cultural richness and diversity of Malian society, the idea that being economically poor does not equate to being unhappy, the positive evaluation of Rita Ray as a music professional and presenter. Finally, the *modifying ideological effects* were a change of opinion with regard to the geographic characteristics of Mali and the creation of positive opinion regarding Malian music; the programme also at least challenged existing opinion regarding the origin of some Western music and possibly created a positive opinion about the Griot as the soul of Malian music. Moreover, based on RT principles, it can be argued that other ideologies, such as the fact that social class differences are ‘natural’, the fact that socialism is not a viable political ideology, the fact that (inter)national conflicts are often caused by terrorism and the fact that gender inequality is wrong, have been confirmed as they were found not relevant (*implicit improving ideological effects*). This can be attributed to the fact that they were already present with the same evaluation in P2’s cognitive

environment (otherwise she would have challenged them). However, it may also be that they were too cognitively expensive to process.

The analysis of the text showed the preferred readings that were created multimodally for each of the themes that were found either relevant by P2 or through the multimodal analysis and how in many instances manipulative processes were at play as signalled by the *contextual filters* highlighted. This manipulation seems to have largely worked on P2, resulting in her predominant interpretation of the text through a *dominant* code. However, I maintain that it would work on a large number of people given the extremely high levels of cognitive effort needed to access the contexts that have been filtered out.

8. Case Study #3: P3 and ‘Great Australian Railway Journeys: Adelaide to Perth’ (BBC2)

8.1 Introduction

The programme chosen in this third case study is once again slightly different from the previous two and for this reason, as well as because of the way the participant interacted with it, a different analytical and interpretative approach has been used. Unlike in the first programme, there is no overarching narrative revolving around one specific event and, unlike the second one, the series theme of railways is only a springboard to discuss a series of narratives connected by a spatial, i.e. the railway stops, rather than thematic link. For this case study, then, the multimodal analysis proceeds part by part, looking not only at how each actor or event is represented, but at how their representation contributes to the construction of the *preferred reading* of the different narratives. As in the previous case studies, the analysis highlights a number of hegemonic ideologies embedded in the text and a degree of manipulation attempted with some of them which also seemed to have successfully bypassed the participant’s *epistemic vigilance*. This case study therefore also exemplifies well the Gramscian idea that cultural programmes work hegemonically to create consensus around a number of key ideological assumptions, namely the role of the British Empire, the ‘West as steward’ discourse and the socio-economic tenets of capitalism.

8.2 Contextual information about participant and text

8.2.1 The participant

P3 is a white British male in his late 60s and belongs to my extended social circle: I have known him for about 10 years. He and his wife have a passion for travelling, which is the main reason why I approached him as a potential participant in my research. Moreover, he fits the criteria I applied for the selection of the participants and, more specifically the category of male, older generation and with no higher educational background.

Part of the discussion in the interview revolved around his intercultural experiences abroad, countries that he has visited and, broadly speaking, his preferences for different parts of the world. P3 is certainly well-travelled as he has visited around forty to fifty different countries (I, lines 329-330); Europe, North America and the Caribbean Islands being the most frequently visited geographical areas. The choice of his travel destinations seems to denote a will not to step too much outside his comfort zone: these geographical areas can either be associated with cultural values or ways of living that are not too dissimilar from the British ones (Europe and North America) or that have ties with what used to be the British Empire (Caribbean Islands):

P3: We've been to a lot of countries in Europe and a lot of countries in the Americas. But we haven't really travelled any further than that. So, the US, Canada, a lot of the Caribbean countries. We've visited Panama and Costa Rica, on a cruise. And Colombia, we had a stop in Colombia. But, you know, all the usual countries in Europe. We've been in France, Germany, Luxemburg, Belgium, Italy. (I, lines 322-326)

As well as cultural affinity, however, the comfort of travelling to countries that, as a whole, are served by better infrastructures might have played a significant part in his choices of destinations, as is the fact that in most of these countries English is widely spoken, thus making the whole experience less daunting (I, lines 349-366):

349. JC: Did you find these places, like, around the US which supposedly are quite similar,
350. you know in terms of way of living, to the UK, quite different culturally? Or were they
351. pretty much like being here?
352. P3: Canada, I think they are more an outdoor, what you would call an outdoor-oriented
353. country. They get stuck indoors during the winter quite a lot. Yeah, but it's definitely the
354. outdoors that attracted us to Canada. Their culture is pretty much very similar to ours.
355. There's obviously big differences... some differences in the US, their gun laws and
356. attitudes.
357. JC: How did you get on with the Americans?
358. P3: Not bad, really. I think they were generally courteous, willing to engage with us.
359. Good to have a conversation with.
360. JC: Same in Europe?
361. P3: Yes, yes, pretty much the same. Most European people speak English [LAUGHS].
362. JC: Which helps, I guess.
363. P3: It does, yes. I'm afraid I don't speak any other language. I know some words in other
364. languages, but not a very big vocabulary. I mean, this is something that we found from
365. the beginning: almost everywhere you go in Europe there are some people who speak
366. good English. It makes us lazy [LAUGH].

The only place that is an exception to this is Egypt, which he visited as one of the stops on a Mediterranean cruise (I, lines 367-412):

367. JC: Have you ever ventured, sort of East of Europe or South of Europe? You know, Asia
368. or Africa?
369. P3: The only African... Egypt, which is the most we've... we went on a trip on the Nile.
370. Well, first we were on a cruise, a Mediterranean cruise and we went on a trip to visit the
371. pyramids of Giza, just a little taste of it and then we went on a bit of a cruise on the Nile.

372. Yes, that was very good, very interesting. Saw lots of temples, antiquities.
373. JC: Yeah, I guess it is one of the oldest places...
374. P3: Yeah.
375. JC: We are yet to go to Egypt, but it's on...
376. P3: It's on the list.
377. JC: It's just a bit of a dangerous place at the moment. Well, not a dangerous place, but
378. there is quite a lot going on at the moment, to be fair.
379. P3: Yes, that's it. I think they've started again going... flights back to the Red Sea holiday
380. resorts. But, yes, you do have concern about terrorist bombings. I would recommend... I
381. don't know what kind of thing you're into, but that was one of the best river cruises that
382. we've done, on the Nile. It's not just the antiquities and the things that we visited, but on
383. the ship they seem to make every effort on the entertainment side. Very courteous and
384. helpful.
385. JC: Did you get much of a chance on that cruise to stop at towns and see, as well as
386. shopping, or not?
387. P3: Not a lot, but we did stop in Luxor and had a walk around.
388. JC: What did you make of that?
389. P3: It's... it was interesting, but a lot of beggars. You get constantly [LAUGHS] a lot of
390. people trying to...
391. JC: We had a similar experience in India, especially in the big cities like Kolkata,
392. Varanasi. Similar sort of thing.
393. P3: Yeah. That reminds me now, when we visited the pyramids, people tried to sell you
394. things. It's not just begging, but they are very intrusive [LAUGHS]
395. JC: It's hardcore, kind of, hard sales, isn't it? [BOTH LAUGH]
396. P3: Yes.
397. JC: True.
398. P3: Yes, in your face. [BOTH LAUGH]
399. JC: Literally!
400. P3: Yeah [BOTH LAUGH]. On the ship we had an Egyptian evening and everyone had
401. to dress up. So... I can't remember where we were exactly, but we went around these
402. bazaars, and I was intending to buy a robe, an Egyptian robe. [LAUGHS] And I was
403. walking along and I was almost dragged into [BOTH LAUGH] "You try this on, you try
404. this on". And I ended up buying this...
405. JC: Of course you did! [BOTH LAUGH]
406. P3: [NAME OF WIFE] said... [NAME OF WIFE] was not pleased. She'd walked on a
407. bit and turn around and found I wasn't there [LAUGHS]
408. JC: Alright!
409. P3: They are rather [INAUDIBLE] "Oh, you could have got one cheaper somewhere
410. else!" [BOTH LAUGH]

411. JC: But did it do the job? Was it appreciated?

412. P3: Yes, yes that's right. And I had a little fez as well. [LAUGHS]

The excerpts above suggest a moderately conservative outlook when it comes to travelling and to deciding which countries and cultures to visit. This is due to the fact that the countries of choice often have similar cultures to his and also that some of the travel modalities, for example the cruise, imply a fairly distant and limited contact with other cultures, the stopovers, whilst most of the time passengers are surrounded by like-minded, and usually socio-economically comparable, people. The passion for travelling itself, however, certainly implies a will to venture outside the national boundaries and therefore a certain open-mindedness towards other realities and cultures. This final point is also made clear in the questionnaire, where to the question about the reason for watching travel or cultural documentaries he answers, "interest in geography, travel and how other people live and perceive the world" (Q, item 2).

The next part of the interview focused on intercultural exposure here in the UK. P3 has worked most of his life as an unemployment benefit officer and in workplaces that included a multicultural mix of staff (I, lines 423-440). When discussing his exposure to and experience with different cultures in the UK, he stated that there was never a problem in terms of racial discrimination when he worked in multicultural settings and that people "used to socialise quite a lot" and "got on fine". Interestingly, my fairly broad question about working in such a multicultural environment is countered by the need to stress there was "no evidence of any discrimination" in his workplace (I, lines 429-467):

429. JC: And was it easier or more difficult to work in a multicultural environment, as opposed

430. to, you know, one where you were mainly surrounded by Brits?

431. P3: No, we got on fine. And they spoke English. [LAUGHS]

432. JC: Sure, sure.

433. P3: There was no problem with any discrimination or anything. The management treated

434. everybody the same. No evidence of any discrimination. And I always... never had any

435. feelings of them being different to me.

436. JC: Sure

437. P3: They were just people to me and we got on... I got on with Indians. There was an

438. Afghan chap. I remember an Afghan chap and he was very... he was a bit different, but,

439. you know, we got on. I think that's [LAUGHS]... that's me. I'm quite happy to talk to

440. anybody and don't treat any... the only time I felt as if somebody was not the same as me

441. is when I was at school. I went to school in a Medway town, in Rochester, and there were

442. a lot of Indians and, in those days it was normal to racially... not hatred, but feeling that

443. perhaps they're a bit inferior. That's the way people were brought up. And I remember

444. some of the Indian and the Pakistani kids at school and they were not treated very nicely.

445. JC: What, by teachers or by peers?

446. P3: No, mostly by peers. I think the teachers were, generally anyway, decent enough to
 447. all kids. As kids, we were not always nice to them. Yeah, I feel quite ashamed of it in
 448. some ways now, but I think that's past. I lot of that is past. Probably there is still racial
 449. discrimination in this country, but not to the same extent as there was then. We've been
 450. educated and we understand now about diversity.

451. JC: So, do you feel like, in general, that nowadays the country is more... I mean, you
 452. mentioned, not hatred, applies to those times. Do you think there is a lot less of that
 453. nowadays?

454. P3: Oh, definitely, yeah. I know there is. I know there is a lot less of that. There are...
 455. there probably still is some of it, but not to the same extent that there was in those days.

456. JC: Do you think it's gone from being acceptable to unacceptable, effectively?

457. P3: Yes.

458. JC: So, it still happens, but people don't accept it anymore.

459. P3: That's right. People stand up and don't accept it now. [3] I was... first... as a very
 460. young kid I was a member... my dad was in the air force. We lived in a lot of different...
 461. we lived around quite a lot. And I always remember walking across, I think it was at
 462. [NAME OF LOCAL AIRPORT], and my mum was taking myself and my two brothers
 463. somewhere and she saw a black man approach and she said [LOWERS HIS VOICE TO
 464. MAKE AN IMPRESSION OF HER] "Don't you say anything to that black man!"

465. JC: Right.

466. P3: [NERVOUS LUGHTER] And that's what it was. I wasn't... They just thought of
 467. them as different. But I'm sure it's much better now.

The extract above is particularly interesting for two reasons. First of all, it suggests a high level of critical awareness both of himself and of British society when it comes to intercultural matters. The short recollections of childhood memories and the comparison with contemporary Britain provide a very useful insight into P3's consciousness of how racial issues were dealt with in the past, which make him feel ashamed of some of his past behaviours, and in the present, where racism is seen as still existent, but not any longer accepted by the majority of society. This final remark also suggests a critical assessment of the present situation and not a denial of racial discriminatory behaviours, which are indeed acknowledged by P3. Secondly, this extract indicates that P3 has sincerely and genuinely engaged with the research experience, as he is not simply behaving in a manner that helps him save his 'face' (to borrow Goffman's terminology) but feels comfortable enough to discuss issues that have obviously had a powerful emotional impact on his life. Overall, these extracts seem to suggest that P3 has not necessarily got a conservative, romantic view of the past, whereby 'the good old days' are seen as the best possible state of affairs and modern days as a corruption of those ideals,

a point to bear in mind as we delve deeper into P3's ideologies and his interaction with the programme he chose.

At the same time, however, there is an element of romanticism in P3's description of the UK's society and politics, which becomes evident in the final part of the interview. What I mean by this is that there is an underlying feeling of preference for the country's 'old ways' compared to the current situation. This transpires when immigration and the changes that have happened in the UK as a consequence of it (according to P3's narrative) are discussed as part of what he sees as the negative aspects of contemporary Britain (I, lines 476-508):

476. JC: What do you feel as being good about Britain today and what do you feel as being
477. maybe not so good, if anything?

478. P3: Humm. Well, what we've already talked about. I think it's good that we can all get
479. on a lot better without any, or with very little feeling of animosity towards other people.
480. Erm [4] now what I feel about this country now, we've got... erm, I don't like all the
481. expansion and the building everywhere and a lot of it it's due to overpopulation. Now, I
482. don't dislike anybody coming into the country, but I think we've got too many immigrants
483. coming and it weighs down all our system. It is not the same. You used to get an
484. appointment at the doctor with no trouble, but with so many people the population has
485. grown so much and a lot of that is through immigration. But that's, in a way that's... the
486. quality of life has gone down in things like, just driving your car. The roads are packed.
487. Lots of people trying to get to work. So that's not good. Now, I hate to see the English
488. countryside being all built on. And it seems, particularly in Kent, that we are losing a lot
489. of countryside.

490. JC: Yeah, you must have seen quite a few changes in this area. I mean, I have seen some
491. and I've only been here ten years.

492. P3: Yes, that's right [BOTH LAUGH]. That's it then. Well, it seems to have accelerated
493. in the last fifteen, twenty years, these building. I mean, I don't blame people for coming
494. here or... but the fact that they are here, it sorts of overcrowd it.

495. JC: I guess it puts a strain on [the infrastructures. That's definitely, like, a fair comment.

496. P3: [Puts a strain on resources, yeah.

497. JC: So what would you say, like [

498. P3: [and let me just say, so, about people coming here

499. illegally. [(NERVOUS?) LAUGHTER] I can't understand why everybody who want
500. to... not everybody, but a large number of people want to come specifically to the UK. Is
501. that because of the benefits? I don't know really.

502. JC: Mind you, in theory they wouldn't be able to access the system if they were illegal.

503. P3: Yeah, yeah, no [BOTH LAUGH], but... that's true, but they have ways and means.

504. But I do sometimes feel resentful of people who come here not contributing, not

505. contributing to society.

506. JC: Sure. Because it's a collective effort, isn't it?

507. P3: Most of the immigrants that come here are working and contributing. That's fine

508. there's no problem with them. But it's the overcrowding that is the problem.

Finally, and as also shown by the extract above, in terms of political ideas, P3 seems to have a fairly conservative (Thatcherian) opinion with regard to the changes that have happened in the British economy over the past forty to fifty years, whereby the decline of British industries and manufacturers are to be blamed on trade unions and their demands for improved working conditions (I, lines 672-683):

672. JC: And how do you see... I see like a very a big change in the British economy, not

673. producing much anymore.

674. P3: Yeah.

675. JC: What did you make of that, was that a shock as it was happening?

676. P3: Not a shock as such, but it's really quite sad all these great British companies, you

677. know, car makers and that, went to the wall, didn't they? And then they were overtaken

678. by foreign companies coming in and the foreign companies managed to run the factories

679. better. It was a strange... because if you think about the '70s the unions were to the fore

680. and management couldn't... management didn't seem strong enough to keep these... you

681. know, the workers had control almost. And that's why a lot of British industries went to

682. the wall. But then other things come along and we've got much more of a tourist industry

683. now, haven't we? Financial... the City, and such like.

The discussions above seem to suggest a moderate conservative worldview, one that perhaps does not necessarily believe in romantic ideas such as the British empire and some form of superiority of British people in relation to other people and cultures, but that still believes that the problems the country is facing are to be attributed to external forces, such as immigration, that are somehow corrupting a system that was seen as working better or to socialist ideals of economic and productive arrangements, such as the case of trade unions ruining the British manufacturing industry.

One final point to consider is the media and genres P3 uses to keep abreast of what goes on in the country and in the world. This is important for two reasons: firstly, to understand which 'discourse producers' P3 considers trustworthy. This is important as it is safe to assume that texts produced by trustworthy sources would be in a better position to by-pass the *epistemic vigilance towards the source* and hence produce changes in P3's cognitive environment. Secondly, for the purpose of the validity of the case study in the context of the research it is important to ascertain whether the choice

of the programme is in line with P3's general preferences, hence denoting a fairly naturalistic viewing experience. During the interview we briefly discussed this issue (I, lines 533-542, 559-582):

533. JC: And in terms of what goes on here, how do you find out? You know, how do you

534. make your opinions or learn about things that are going on in the country?

535. P3: Through the newspapers and the TV news. I'm an avid watcher of the BBC news and

536. ITV. No quite so keen these days, it seems to be all the... what with Brexit and it's

537. dragging on and it's starting [LAUGHS]

538. JC: Fair enough.

539. P3: I'm not... I do use an iPad and sometimes I look at the BBC website and the news

540. from there as well, but that's my main thing. And I do... I like to talk to people. My job

541. is visiting people at home and I like to converse and get people tell me things about the

542. past and they talk about all sorts of things, football [LAUGH]

[...]

559. JC: And are you also interested a bit in international affairs and politics or is it less of an

560. interest for you?

561. P3: Yeah, I do keep an eye on what's going on throughout the country. I'm interested to

562. know what's happening with the elections, although that can get a bit overbearing at

563. times, a bit too much.

564. JC: And are there any other countries that you're interested, for whatever reason, to know

565. about?

566. P3: I am interested generally in the world and what's going on elsewhere, but not another

567. country particularly.

568. JC: And do you see this kind of programmes as a way of learning about the world or

569. other countries?

570. P3: Yes, certainly. I'm very interested in finding out about other places and that's a good

571. way of finding out.

572. JC: It is a way to go somewhere without going somewhere.

573. P3: Yeah, it is. Things like Michael Palin. Have you ever seen Michael Palin?

574. JC: Yes, I have seen some. Is he still doing any of that sort of [

575. P3: [I don't think there is

576. anything going currently?

577. JC: So, did you use to watch his stuff as well?

578. P3: Yes, I've watched some of his things in the past. And that Joanna Lumley, she did

579. something on Egypt.

580. JC: Oh yeah, yes. She also did the *silk road*. She went through [Georgia and all the 'stan'

581. P3: [That's right, yeah. I

582. didn't watch all of that. I saw bits and pieces of it.

The BBC seems to be a trustworthy producer for P3 as he uses its media and genres both for hard news and for ‘infotainment’ type of programmes, such as the travel documentary he chose for the research. As for the BBC ideology, this has been extensively covered in *Chapter 2*, where it was discussed how its purpose and charter have considerably changed in the past decades transforming the BBC from a completely ‘public interest’ oriented producer, to a producer who is fully entangled within neo-liberal principles of free market, competition and financial self-sufficiency, while retaining core values such as impartiality and diversity. Similar points have also been made for ITV (Johnson and Turnock, 2005), which is the other media outlet mentioned by P3. P3 also mentions other hosts and refers to other travel programmes, which shows his genuine interest in this particular genre and the fact that he uses this genre as a way to learn about aspects of the world that are beyond his direct experiential reach. To summarise, the programme and producer chosen by P3 are both considered trustworthy and typical of his media viewing habits, thus making his case study a valid contribution to the research.

8.2.2 *The text*

The programme chosen by P3 is the third episode of a 6-part series about railway journeys in Australia: “Great Australian Railway Journeys – Adelaide to Perth: The Indian Pacific”. The programme was broadcast by BBC Two, produced by Boundless, a British company whose parent company, Fremantle (Fremantle, 2020a), is owned by Bertelsmann (Fremantle, 2020b), one of the largest media conglomerates in the world (Watson, 2019). It is hosted by Michael Portillo and categorised by the BBC as ‘factual, travel’ under genre and ‘documentary’ under format (BBC, 2020b) and by the producers as ‘factual’ under genre (Fremantle, 2020a). It was first broadcast on BBC Two at 8pm on Saturday, 9th November 2019 (1,979,572 viewers)²⁵ and then again at 8am on Tuesday, 26th November 2019. It is also currently available on YouTube, where it was uploaded on 25th June 2020 and where it has been seen by 161,481 people as of 28th December 2020. This series follows many other series based on a similar format that have been broadcast by the BBC since 2010 and that Portillo has hosted. The common basis of all these ‘Great Railways’ are the Bradshaw’s Travel Guides, a series of publications from the 1830s to the early 1900s that covered Great Britain and most of the then empire. The specific book that is used for this Australian series is the ‘Bradshaw’s through routes to the chief cities, and bathing, and health resorts of the world: a handbook of Indian, colonial and foreign travel’ (1913), which is widely referred to throughout the programme. P3 seemed to be fairly familiar with this series of travel guides as suggested by the following extract from our conversation (I, lines 53-57):

²⁵ Figures available at <https://www.barb.co.uk/viewing-data/four-screen-dashboard/> (Accessed: 28 December 2020).

53. JC: And I noticed he's kind of working off this Bradshaw guidebook. I was surprised.
54. P3: [LAUGHS] Bradshaw was... goes back to the Victorian times. Bradshaw was the
55. railway guy. The timetable, all train times and a bit of a description about the places.
56. JC: So, it's all connected with trains and railways.
57. P3: All to do... all connected with railways, yeah.

The production and distribution history of this series, and of the other 'Great Railways' programmes, supports the point made in *Chapter 2* about the BBC having to work within market constraints, buying (rather than producing) ready-made programmes from other companies that are themselves owned by one of the major media conglomerates in the world. What is to be established is whether the programme also abides to the principles of impartiality and diversity that are established by the BBC Charter (Great Britain, 2016a) and Framework Agreement (Great Britain, 2016b).

8.3 *The participant's interaction*

P3 watched the programme on 10th November 2019 after having recorded it and on the same day I collected the questionnaire he had completed. We then met on 13th November for the follow up interview.

The generic information gathered by part 1 of the questionnaire shows that the choice of programme and method of watching it are generally in line with P3's normal viewing habits, that is using a TV set and watching it on his own (Q, items 3, and 7), although he did not do so at the schedule time as he states he normally does (Q, item 5), but watched the recorded programme the following morning. The BBC is also stated to be the favourite broadcaster of P3 due to the fact that "most other channels interrupt their output with advertising" (Q, item 6). Moreover, P3 seems to be watching these types of programme very regularly, once a week (Q, item 1). Overall, the information in this part of the questionnaire validates the choice of P3 as a suitable participant as this is a television genre with which he is accustomed and that he watches regularly. Furthermore, it seems that the viewing experience for the research is similar to his normal viewing habits for this particular genre, which validates this specific viewing experience as a realistic and reliable one.

Part 2 of the questionnaire looked at the reasons for choosing this particular programme, one being that P3 had seen other episodes of the 'Great Railways' series. Although in the questionnaire he also mentions that "Australia is a country I would like to know more about" (Q, item 9), in the interview this latter factor didn't seem to be as important as the fact that he enjoys the host and his travel series. Indeed, the host seems to play a very important role in P3's choice (I, lines 17-41):

17. JC: OK, so, I guess,
18. first of all, just tell me about why this programme in particular. Just because it was there or
19. because you had an interest in the place?

20. P3: Yeah, I watched several of Michael Portillo's railway journeys in the past and it wasn't
21. particularly because it was about Australia, I would have watched it with any country. I
22. enjoy his nice style, travel and dealing... talking to people, bringing people out... getting
23. them to talk about interesting things.
24. JC: He's very, sort of, affable.
25. P3: Yeah.
26. JC: Nice kind of guy.
27. P3: Yes, that's right.
28. JC: So, I don't actually know much about him. Has he been doing this for long?
29. P3: Michael Portillo is an ex-politician.
30. JC: Right, OK.
31. P3: He was a member of Margaret Thatcher's government and as far as I remember, he
32. started this TV work five, ten years ago.
33. JC: And always kind of to do with travelling somewhere.
34. P3: Erm, yes. I think he might have done some political programmes as well, but it's the
35. travel aspect that I like.
36. JC: Yes, I bet. So, you said you watched some other programmes that he's done before.
37. P3: Yes, that's in the UK. Most of his journeys seem to be... he's done quite a number
38. going around the UK.
39. JC: Is it always by train?
40. P3: Yes, it is about railway journeys around the UK mostly. It is only more recently that
41. he's started to do the journeys abroad.

Two interesting points come out of the extract above. The first is the fact that P3 enjoys Michael Portillo's work and that the presence of the host is arguably the main reason behind choosing to watch this programme. This has implications on the level of *epistemic vigilance towards the source* as lines 22 and 23 clearly indicate that, in P3's view, Portillo meets one of the two conditions Sperber *et al.* (2010, p. 369) identified as being necessary to by-pass epistemic vigilance, i.e. that the source is *benevolent*. Moreover, the fact P3 particularly enjoys Portillo's work with travel material (I, lines 34-35) is a good indication that he also finds him *competent* in this particular role, which is the second condition identified by Sperber *et al.* (*ibidem*). This information, combined with what we have already discussed with regard to P3's reliance on the BBC as a trustworthy producer, distributor and broadcaster of news, suggest that P3's *epistemic vigilance towards the source* would have been rather low and therefore susceptible to ideological effects. Secondly, lines 34-35 also seem to suggest that Portillo's politics are not totally compatible with P3. Portillo was generally recognised as being a particularly hard-right conservative, who "backed bills against abortion and favoured capital punishment" (Roth, 2001); this may support the claim made earlier about P3 being a moderate conservative, rather than a hard-right one.

The final item in the second part of the questionnaire looked at what places and people P3 expected to see in the programme and any ideas he associated with them, which is a way to explore some of the prior knowledge and opinions in P3's cognitive environment. The note box is reproduced below (Q, item 11):

<i>Places:</i> This programme is following a train journey from Adelaide to Perth.
<i>People:</i> The presenter will interview a wide range of people met on the journey.
<i>Ideas you associate with them:</i> Australia has vast areas of underdeveloped land between cities but also large farms and sheep stations, etc. Australians have the image of being tough, outgoing and friendly. Aboriginal people may retain a separate culture.

The interview gave me the opportunity to explore how he had formed these opinions and whether the programme had confirmed or challenged them (I, lines 101-154):

101. P3: Yes, that's what I was saying, the undeveloped land and not anything very attractive
102. to look at. That's the thoughts that I had.
103. JC: And did you see much of that? I mean there was...
104. P3: Yeah, there was quite a lot. But, there were places in between that made it
105. worthwhile. You know, places of interest.
106. JC: True. So, you put down "Australians have the image of being tough, outgoing and
107. friendly".
108. P3: Yeah.
109. JC: Was that matched by... where did you get this idea from?
110. P3: I thought... it's just a stereotype. Through your life you build up pictures of things.
111. It's like stereotype, isn't it?
112. JC: Have you known any? Have you worked with any Australians? Or met them on
113. holiday?
114. P3: Not to a very large... I have worked with Australians. Not to get to know them very
115. well. But television... Australian sportsmen, cricket isn't... rugby players [LAUGHS]
116. JC: Of course, yes.
117. P3: You get images, don't you that form an impression of people.
118. JC: And these two or three episodes that you have watched with Michael Portillo are the
119. first ones about Australia? So, as a kind of longer documentary, if you like, or programme
120. about the country. Or had you seen before...
121. P3: No, it was... oh goodness... I can't remember what... where they were. But a lot of
122. it was actually on the train, talking to Australians and they were having a good laugh,
123. joshing.
124. JC: So, would you stick with this definition after watching these couple of episodes?
125. P3: [LAUGHS]

126. JC: "Tough, outgoing and friendly"?
127. P3: Yes, I would actually [BOTH LAUGH]
128. JC: Fair enough.
129. P3: Definitely, yeah.
130. JC: Yes, definitely from the people he was chatting to on the train and when they were
131. playing that...
132. P3: Gambling game, yeah.
133. JC: They seemed a nice bunch of people.
134. P3: Yes, outgoing and ready to join in.
135. JC: Yeah, fair enough. And then you also mentioned that "Aboriginal people may retain
136. a separate culture".
137. P3: Yes, but that didn't really come up. There wasn't... I don't remember seeing any
138. reference to the Aborigines or...
139. JC: Was there anything in the previous episode, perhaps?
140. P3: No.
141. JC: There may be something in the following ones.
142. P3: Yeah.
143. JC: There is three more to go, isn't there?
144. P3: Yes. There was no... In fact, I don't remember seeing any variety of ethnicity at all.
145. They were all white people.
146. JC: So, just because you mentioned Aboriginal people, what kind of, or how you got to
147. form an idea about, you know, them having a separate culture?
148. P3: Yes, again, it's through the reading, through the TV. They always seem to be a
149. separate... they have a separate way of life from the white Australians.
150. JC: Do they... yes, they're also part of sporting teams?
151. P3: Yes.
152. JC: Rugby for sure, I don't watch cricket unfortunately, but rugby I do and there seem to
153. be quite a mix of ethnicities in that sort of context.
154. P3: Yeah, that's true.

The extract above contains a number of elements that suggest *evidential* and *improving* or *modifying ideological effects*. First of all, the opinion of Australia as being not very attractive seems to have changed after watching the programme (lines 101-105), thus suggesting both *evidential effects* (coming to know a different geography for the country) and *modifying ideological effects* (thinking the Australian 'outback' is more attractive than he thought). Moreover, there is evidence of some *improving ideological effects* with regard to his opinion of Australian people, which is strengthened by the programme (lines 106-134). Furthermore, the programme did not seem to have any effects on his knowledge and opinion of aboriginal people

as stated in item 11 of the questionnaire as there was no information related to this point in the programme, an aspect P3 found surprising (lines 134-142). Finally, the extract above is also particularly interesting for another reason, namely for supporting the idea that it is through the mass-mediated discourses that we come to form our opinions of places, people and events that are outside our experiential reach (Fairclough, 2000, p. 165). In P3's case this applies to both his opinions of Australian people (lines 110-115) and the Aboriginal people (lines 148-149).

By looking at the information in part 3 of the questionnaire, we can explore the aspects P3 found the most relevant. The note-box for item 12 recorded P3's initial impressions and feelings:

Admiration and awe for the people who built the infrastructures and industries of the country. Their resilience, bravery and courage. Sadness for the Fairbridge orphans.

The first point, the building of infrastructures and industries, is very much a core aspect of the programme as the title suggests. P3 seemed already quite knowledgeable about these types of engineering works carried out during Victorian time in Great Britain and throughout the British empire. This is evident by the following interview extract (I, lines 158-171):

158. JC: OK. Well, let's talk a bit the building of the infrastructures. What did you find
159. particularly...
160. P3: Building the railways over a huge tract of land in very stark conditions. It must have
161. taken... you must have been very tough to undergo that and survive.
162. JC: I mean, they were talking about one thousand miles or something? It took them five
163. years just for the bit that was missing between Kar...
164. P3: Kalgoorlie
165. JC: That's it! [BOTH LAUGH] And Adelaide. That definitely takes a bit of work, doesn't it?
166. P3: Yes, it certainly does.
167. JC: And is that something that you had heard or learnt about before, these kind of
168. engineering marvels in Australia or in other countries?
169. P3: I've read a lot about Brunel and building the Great Western Railway, how they drove
170. through tunnels and building bridges. Yeah, it is something that is of interest. I enjoy
171. museums and seeing how that is done.

Given the prior knowledge around this topic, it can be argued that the text had some *evidential effects*, as in the newly acquired knowledge of the specific feat of engineering discussed in the programme, and *improved ideological effects*, represented by increased 'admiration and awe' for the people who

did it. As we will see in 8.3. and 8.5., these effects are to be expected as there are elements of multimodal manipulation at play in the construction of the text.

With regard to the second point, the Fairbridge orphans, P3 had some prior knowledge of this topic too, albeit this seems to be quite vague and superficial. Again, the follow-up interview allowed to find out a bit more about the cognitive environment of P3 prior and after the programme with regard to this topic (I, lines 177-194):

177. JC: And with regard to your second point “Sadness for the Fairbridge orphans”,
178. is that, again, something that you knew about already, or heard before?
179. P3: Yeah, I’d heard a little bit about it before, but I didn’t realise it was such vast numbers
180. of people involved in it and it went on over a long period of time. I thought it was just
181. something from the ‘50s and it was just a few years, but it didn’t, it went on for... it started
182. a lot earlier than that and went on a lot longer. And it’s... I don’t know, it got to me that
183. there were those poor people, the way they were treated. And we talk a lot about human
184. rights today, but they had none.
185. JC: I guess, yeah. Different times in many ways, but yeah, nonetheless, you’re right, that
186. kind of concept seemed to come out of the programme too, about human rights not
187. being totally adhered to. And again, just out of curiosity, when you... how did you hear
188. before about this Fairbridge...
189. P3: Probably from the newspapers. I didn’t know it was called the Fairbridge Project, but
190. I knew that orphans had been sent to Australia and lived in spartan conditions. I didn’t
191. know it was to such a great extent.
192. JC: But was it about twenty years ago that you first heard about it, or thirty years ago?
193. P3: I don’t know, it’s just something I’m aware of. Probably in the last ten years or
194. something I read about it somewhere.

From the extract above it can safely be claimed that there were some *evidential effects*, namely learning about the scale of the problem both in terms of number of children involved and in how long the scheme was in place as well as a possible violation of the children’s human rights. Moreover, the programme also seemed to have had some *improving ideological effects* in strengthening P3’s opinion that the children were not treated well. As for the construction of infrastructures and industries, however, this topic has also been treated in a very specific way by the programme and it is worth noting that this topic does not seem to be particularly related to the theme of railways, which are aspects I will consider in the following sections of this chapter.

Finally, item 14 of the questionnaire highlights some other aspects of the programme that P3 found particularly relevant:

I was interested in the wine producer and in how it was started by a man from Kent. Also surprised at how much gold and other minerals [are] still being produced. I was interested to hear the views from the group of Australians towards the end. They were mainly expressing pride in their global and diverse society but were ambiguous about their British heritage and ties to the monarchy. I expected that the younger people would be keen for the country to become a republic.

With regard to the first point, the wine producer, it is worth noticing that there is not much of a connection with the theme of railways, an aspect that will be explored later. P3 expanded on this particular aspect of the programme in the interview, stating his opinion about the man who first emigrated to Australia (I, lines 225-228):

225. JC: What did you think about his sort of achievements, if you like, once in Australia?

226. P3: Fantastic, wasn't it, really. If you think about it, they went to Australia with... spent all

227. their money to invest in land and it was a gamble. They... I think, the type of people that

228. went were that type of people that would work hard and make a success of that.

As well as the clear *evidential effects* represented by learning about the case of this particular migrant and his fortunes in Australia, the programme also produced some *improving ideological effects* in strengthening P3's positive opinion of British migrants to Australia. It is possible that programme actually created this opinion (*modifying ideological effect*), but the data does not provide sufficient evidence to assert that. Once again there are a number of issues connected with these specific actors and events, which I will highlight later.

The second aspect mentioned, the amount of gold and other minerals is a straightforward case of *evidential effects* and the interview (lines 268-277) merely repeats what was said in the questionnaire. It is worth noting, however, that this could also be treated as a case of *improving ideological effects*, whereby the latent ideology that seems already held by P3, and reinforced by the programme, is that the exploitation of minerals and other natural resources for profit is an acceptable state of affairs. Latent ideologies in the participants will be discussed in *Chapter 9* as these are very difficult to treat analytically and their investigation only seem to rely on implied evidence rather than direct empirical evidence, at least as far as the data collected for this research goes.

The third and final point mentioned by P3 in the questionnaire concerns the relationship between Australians and the British monarchy, since Australia's Head of State is the British monarch. The interview allowed P3 to clarify further (I, lines 284-295):

284. JC: So, first of all, were you surprised that the kind of ties... I mean they

285. had a show of hands about who is a royalist and it was kind of 50/50 at least, wasn't it?

286. P3: Yes, but even though some weren't royalists, I don't think they were fiercely anti-

287. royal and yet I... again, it's just an impression, I thought the younger Australians would
 288. prefer to have a republic, would want to repudiate the British heritage. Independent
 289. people... would want to be independent and not tied to another country.
 290. JC: Yeah, they didn't seem to be too bothered, did they?
 291. P3: No.
 292. JC: In fact, 'cos then they talked about the visit from Prince... I don't know if it was...
 293. P3: Harry, was it?
 294. JC: Harry or Alfred? Some... it was a young person describing the whole thing, wasn't she?
 295. P3: Yeah, they are still... there is still interest in the royal family.

Beside the *evidential effects* created by the impromptu poll carried out by Portillo in the programme, this aspect seems to have had *modifying ideological effects* on P3, as his previously held opinion, especially about young Australians, has now changed (line 295).

There is one final aspect that P3 found relevant, although this came up during the interview and was not noted down on the questionnaire. This is connected to a specific place showed by the programme, Perth (I, lines 313-318):

313. JC: OK, before we kind of move on, is there anything else about the programme
 314. that we haven't spoken about and that you would like to mention?
 315. P3: Erm, just that I was surprised at the size of the city, Perth. It's amazing in such a short
 316. time that it's grown to such a size, in a relatively short time. I suppose that's something
 317. we see all over the world now, growth in population and therefore the urban centres are
 318. getting bigger.

Once again, there is a clear *evidential effect* here, i.e. learning about the size of the city. It is not clear whether P3 has got a particularly positive or negative opinion regarding Perth or whether this has been modified by the programme, but the adjective 'amazing' (line 315) suggests that, if not attracted by the look and feel of the city, P3 is at least positively impressed by how quickly the city has grown.

Table 8.1. summarises all the actors, places and events P3 found relevant in his interaction with the programme and whether or not *evidential* and *ideological effects* have taken place. The table is best read vertically by column:

	Australia	(White) Australians	Aborigines	People who built infrastructures and industries	Fairbridge orphans	British migrants to Australia	Natural resources in Australia	Australians and the British monarchy	Perth
<i>Before watching the programme</i>	Has vast underdeveloped land between cities and is not very attractive.	Thought they are tough, outgoing and friendly.	Thought they may retain a separate culture.	Was aware of similar engineering feats in other places and, presumably, of how difficult they were to perform.	Was aware they lived in spartan conditions.	Knew some had voluntarily migrated to Australia, rather than been sent as convict and knows some people who have.	Knew there was a gold rush in Australia but thought resources had run low since then.	Thought younger Australians would want a republic.	Was not aware it had grown so much as a city.
<i>After watching the programme</i>	There are interesting places to visit even between cities.	Still thinks the same.	Was surprised there was no ethnic diversity in the programme.	Admiration and awe for the people who built it who are described as resilient, brave and courageous.	Felt sad for them.	Thinks they were hard-working and successful people.	Is surprised about the scale of operations connected with gold.	Is surprised to see most of the people interviewed about this issue seem OK with the still having a British Head of State.	Was surprised by the size of the city and amazed at how quickly this has happened.
<i>Evidential and Ideological effects?</i>	<i>Knowledge:</i> there are interesting places to visit between cities. <i>Opinions:</i> changed opinion regarding the attractiveness of the country.	<i>Knowledge:</i> nothing in particular. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed existing opinions.	<i>Knowledge:</i> nothing in particular. <i>Opinions:</i> the actor was not represented.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned about specific engineering feats in Australia. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed his positive opinions about those involved in such construction and possibly created a positive opinion of migrants to Australia in particular.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned about the scale of the operations and that some children suffered abuses of their human rights. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed his opinion that children were not treated well.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned about a specific success story. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed or created his positive opinion about British migrants.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned that gold and other minerals are still a significant part of the Australian economy. <i>Opinions:</i> nothing empirically evidenced, but possible confirmation that extracting precious minerals for profit is acceptable.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned about the opinions of the Australians interviewed. <i>Opinions:</i> changed opinion regarding the relationship between (especially young) Australians and the British monarchy.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned that Perth is grown into a much bigger city. <i>Opinions:</i> not clear from the data whether P3 has an opinion about this.

Table 8.1: Summary of P3's representation of the relevant actors, places and events before and after watching the programme.

The multimodal critical analysis of the text will suggest what the *preferred reading* of the text is and whether P3 engaged with it through a *dominant*, *oppositional* or *negotiating* code.

8.4 Multimodal critical discourse analysis of actors, places and events

The programme can be divided into nine parts, each defined by a specific theme and with breaks signalled either visually (e.g., black fadeaway shots or clear change of setting) and/or sonically (e.g., with a change in background music). *Table 8.2.* below summarises the different parts, including their overall theme, start and finish time in the programme, duration in minutes and percentage of space taken in the programme:

	Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9
Themes	Intro	Hugh Hamilton Wines	Adelaide and tango	Nullarbor Plain	Kalgoorlie and gold mining	Royal Flying Doctor	Perth and Fairbridge	Royal Family	Outro
Times	00:00 – 02:57	02:57 – 08:27	08:27 – 14:31	14:31 – 26:23	26:23 – 36:09	36:09 – 40:18	40:18 – 53:02	53:02 – 58:13	58:13 – 59:17
Minutes	2'57"	5'30"	6'04"	11'52"	9'46"	4'09"	12'44"	5'11"	1'04"
%	4.34%	8.92%	10.24%	19.45%	15.98%	6.91%	21.02%	8.63%	1.75%

Table 8.2: Summary of the different parts of the programme with themes, times, minutes (duration) and space allocated (%)

From the summary we can already identify the themes that were given more salience in the programme: *Part 4* (the construction of the railway over the Nullarbor Plain), *Part 5* (Kalgoorlie and gold mining) and *Part 7* (Perth and Fairbridge School) accounted for over half of the whole programme time. All these themes were also picked up by P3 in the post-watching part of the questionnaire and all of them seemed to have *evidential* and *improving ideological* effects, but not *modifying ideological effects*. One critical observation can be made at this stage: *Parts 4* and *5* have clear connections to the overall theme of the travel series, i.e. railways; the former dealing with railway construction and the latter with the gold mining boom around Kalgoorlie that was facilitated, or indeed made possible, thanks to the construction of a railway linking this area to Perth. However, the same cannot be said about *Part 7* which, after a brief historic overview of Perth (just under 4 minutes), devotes the remaining (almost) 9 minutes to the Fairbridge affair, a topic with no obvious connection to railways and, therefore, an interesting inclusion. Out of the remaining parts, *Parts 2* and *8* were also relevant for P3, whereas *Parts 3* and *6* did not seem in any way relevant for P3 if we exclude a humorous moment in *Part 3* that P3 recalled as an example of the programme being also entertaining (I, lines 199-200).

There are forty-five actors, places and events represented in the documentary, but these can be divided into seven categories (Pollack, 2008, describes some of these): *experts*, *Australian actors*,

British actors, historic actors, witnesses/ordinary people, workers and professionals and other. The category of *experts* includes all those actors who provide explanations for and descriptions of past or present events, e.g. Timothy Moore (A29) or Jessica Barratt (A43). *Workers and professionals* include all those actors that are seen performing their job, e.g. the train driver Mark (A22) or the chef Sam Markham (A26). Some of the actors arguably belong to both these categories: if that is the case, they have been attributed to one or the other based on their predominant representation. For example, Debb Mann (A19) should be in the category of professionals as she is the Train Manager on one of the trains Michael Portillo uses; however, her main contribution in the programme occurs during an interview in which she talks to the host about the history of the railway construction over the Nullarbor Plain, a role which goes beyond her professional duties and that befits an expert and, for this reason, she has been included in the *experts* category. On the other hand, although Andrew Gill (A14) and Adrienne Gill (A15) also talk a bit about the history of Tango in Adelaide, their main contribution in the programme is as tango instructors, their profession, as they teach Michael Portillo some basics moves. For this reason, they are included in the *workers and professionals* category and not in the *experts* one. The category of *Australian actors* includes people, places and objects (including trains) that belong to the country of Australia, e.g., the company Hugh Hamilton Wines (A6) or the cities of Adelaide (A9) and Perth (A36). *British actors* include people, places and objects that belong to the country of Great Britain, e.g., the British settlers (A5) or the Fairbridge children (A40). When a British or Australian actor also belongs to another category, e.g., Michael Portillo belongs both to *British actors* and *experts*, the same rule applies of the predominant representation in the programme. In the case of Michael Portillo, for example, he is represented more as an expert traveller than a British citizen. *Historic actors* include specific historic figures that are mentioned in the programme in connection to places visited or events described, e.g., Richard Hamilton (A8), Colonel Light (A10) or C.Y. O'Connor (A30). *Witnesses/ordinary people* refers to all those actors who contribute to the programme not in a professional or expert capacity, but as people who have experience of whatever event is being discussed, e.g., the man (A11) and woman (A12) interviewed in the streets of Adelaide or the Fairbridge ex-pupil Derek Smith (A39). Finally, under the category of *other* there are only three actors, *tango* (A13), *the audience* (A23) and *other passengers* on one of the trains (A25), who do not belong to any of the other categories. *Table 7.3* summarises all the actors, places and events (A1 to A45)²⁶ and specifies which parts they appear in. For the purpose of the analysis of actors, places and events I will not consider the *intro* and *outro* (*Parts 1* and *9*) as these are not specific to the themes discussed in the programme and by P3. The summative analysis (*Appendix 8.1*) and the detailed multimodal analysis of the programme (*Appendix 8.2*) provide the

²⁶ The letter *A* has been used for actors, places and events alike as from the point of view of this research there is no difference between them: they all represent entities with *evidential* and/or *ideological* aspects attached to them.

key to all the actors, places and events as well as detailed analysis of how they are represented through the individual modes and overall:

Actors, places and events	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8
<i>Experts</i>	A1 A2	A1 A2	A1 A2 A19	A1 A2 A29	A1 A2	A1 A2	A1 A2 A43
<i>Australian actors</i>	A3 A6	A3 A4 A9	A3 A4 A9 A18 A21	A3 A4 A27 A28	A3 A33	A3 A4 A36 A38	A3 A4 A36 A45
<i>British actors</i>	A5	A5	A5	A5	A5	A5 A40	A5 A44
<i>Historic actors</i>	A8	A10	-	A30	A35	A30 A37	-
<i>Witnesses / ordinary people</i>	-	A11 A12	A24	-	-	A39 A41 A42	-
<i>Workers and professionals</i>	A7	A14 A15	A16 A17 A20 A22 A26	A31 A32	A34	-	-
<i>Other</i>	-	A13	A23 A25	A23	-	-	-

Table 8.3: Summary of the distribution of all the actors in the programme, divided by category

By looking at the distribution of actors throughout the programme, it can be noticed that *Australian* and *British actors* are the only ones present in each and every part. Most interesting, as picked up also by P3, is the complete absence of the First Nation people or any other ethnicity. The combination of these two factors suggests the first overall *preferred reading* of this programme: Australia (and everything in it) belongs to the white, Anglo-Saxon descendants of British people. This representation of Australia also seems to reinforce the colonial story of a continent completely unpopulated and therefore rightfully to be claimed by the British Empire as its own using the international legal principle of *terra nullius* (for an account of the legal discourses adopted by the British Government and settlers in the process of colonisation see Attwood, 2013). First Nation people are encountered in some of the other episodes (predominantly episodes 1, 2 and 5) but even there, their tragic fate and the still existing inequalities that pervade almost all aspects of their lives (Short, 2010; Awofeso, 2011; Li, 2017; Crook and Short, 2019) are only superficially commented on if compared, for example, to other documentary representations of this issue, John Pilger's being notable examples (*The Secret Country*, 1986; *Utopia*, 2013). The viewer is never shown any old photos of First Nation people in chains or footage of any First Nation people living in very precarious conditions in the cities

and outback of the continent. The overall impression given by the programme is that what happened in the past is not relevant anymore and, as long as it is acknowledged, it can also be forgiven.

At first sight, it would look as though *experts* are also present in all the different parts of the programme. However, if we discount Michael Portillo (A1) and the Bradshaw Book (A2), we are left with other experts in only three of the seven parts. These *experts*, moreover, need to be qualified: the expert in *Part 4*, as already mentioned, is Debb Mann, who is actually a train manager. Notwithstanding her passion for her job and everything connected to it, it is at least a questionable choice to solely rely on her expertise for the treatment of the historic account of the railway constructions over the Nullarbor Plain. The other two experts, Timothy Moore (A29, Part 5) and Jessica Barratt (A43, Part 8) are a local historian and a history blogger respectively. The former discusses the gold rush in the Kalgoorlie area and the construction of a pipeline by C.Y. O'Connor (A30) that brought water to the area and that was essential for the progression of the mining industry and of Kalgoorlie as a city. The latter talks about the links between the British Royal Family and Australia and recounts the royal visit of the Prince of Wales (the future King Edward VIII) in 1920. As we will see, especially in the discussion about mining, a number of issues could have been mentioned to give a fuller picture of the effects of mining in Australia and thus truly fulfil the BBC's values of impartiality and diversity. Perhaps the best way to analyse such a complex multimodal text is not by looking at how each actor or event is represented, as done for case study #1, but at how their representation contributes to the construction of the *preferred reading* of the narratives in the text on a part-by-part (or theme-by-theme) basis.

8.4.1 *Part 2*

Part 2 introduces the viewer to a number of themes, but predominantly winemaking in Australia and the difference between people who had been sent to Australia as convicts and people who had moved to Australia out of their own choice. Interestingly, it has nothing to do with trains and railways (A4), which are completely absent from this part. The narrative around the free settlers is developed through a character, Mary Hamilton (A7), and her business, Hugh Hamilton Wines (A6), as the living testimony of the efforts of one man, her great-great-great-grandfather, and his family (the focus is clearly on him, though, as we are not told anything about the other family members). All the actors are portrayed in a positive light (*Images 8.1* and *8.2*), particularly the business itself and Richard Hamilton (A8). Although some negative connotations about Richard Hamilton are brought up through his descendant's story and a newspaper article (him being a smuggler and hence a 'black sheep'), these are shrugged off by both the host and Mary as mischievous, rather than criminal, character traits. The final judgement on him and his fellow 'pioneers' is of extraordinary individuals, who are 'adventurous and entrepreneurial' and showing 'incredible tenacity'. No comments or discussions are made with regard to their actions once in Australia against First Nation people and to how ethical it

was to dispossess these people of land they had inhabited for thousands of years (Gardiner-Garden, 1999, p. 2; Wright, 2005) and, indeed, concerning the extent to which inequalities still exist between First Nation people and White Australians concerning the possession of land and water (Hartwig, Jackson and Osborne, 2020). In RT terms, this represents an example of attempted manipulation through controlling “the hearer’s context selection process” (Maillat, 2013, p. 193), which worked in the case of P3 as he accepted the *preferred reading* offered by such representation (I, lines 225-228).



Image 8.1: Establishing shot of the Hugh Hamilton Wines estate and business



Image 8.2: Michael Portillo and Mary Hamilton toasting “to the free State”

8.4.2 Part 3

This part is divided into two sequences: the planning and construction of Adelaide, and the tango lesson. As well as showcasing the city of Adelaide, the first sequence seems to be a tribute to the person who was responsible for its planning and design, Colonel William Light (A10). Both the city and Colonel Light (*Image 8.3*) are shown very positively across the modes. The minor key of the gentle piano music that accompanies the description of ‘Light’s Vision’ seems to add nostalgia, rather than sadness, to it, as to say, ‘these were the great men we once had’. The two people interviewed in the street (A11 and A12) are called in to corroborate Portillo’s opinion that Light’s legacy should be seen as a positive one, ‘worth of praise [rather than blame]’. As it was for the previous scene, there is no questioning of how ethical it was to claim the vast area of land as belonging to the British sovereign, particularly considering that, if it was the best possible spot to build a city, chances are that at least parts of it were used by the Kaurna people before the arrival of the Europeans.



Image 8.3: Low-angle shot of the statue of Colonel William Light

The tango sequence introduces a cultural element to the programme. This is framed in a wider social picture that portrays South Australia as a very idyllic place where free settlers (as opposed to convicts) managed to achieve contemporary work-life balance standards, partly through the founders' vision ('from its foundation') and partly through social struggle ('some trade unions'). Australia/ns (A3) are shown in a positive light across the modes, particularly the linguistic and music modes. What is not clarified, however, is whether this praise-worthy social set up was enjoyed by all social classes or only by the more privileged. Tango as an example of activity within such work/life balance is also shown in a positive light; the negative connotations are attributed to what a clergyman said about it and are framed as based in the religious values of the beginning of XX century, rather than in contemporary, secular values. Everyone involved with tango is shown as smart and well-presented, possibly an association to be made between secular values and high standards and status. The minor key melodies of the tango music may clash a little with such representation, but again the juxtaposition of the different modes seems to give a rather romantic view of tango and of past times that are kept in high regards by the host and the tango dancers. This scene also connects Portillo to the audience, by showing him in a position (the beginner tango dancer) that most viewers would probably empathise with. This creates an image of him as fallible and thus enhances proximity and trust in the host on the part of the audience, lowering their *epistemic vigilance towards the source*. Indeed, P3 seems to appreciate the hands-on attitude of Portillo (I, lines 195-210).

8.4.3 Part 4

The second longest part in the programme is divide into four sequences. The first sequence takes the audience on the Indian Pacific train by following Portillo through the boarding procedure. Although it is evident that they are boarding a very luxurious train, the price is never mentioned (3,559 AUD,

equivalent to 1,950 GBP, for a one-way *Platinum* ticket from Adelaide to Perth in 2019),²⁷ perhaps as this would turn a dear, but affordable dream into an unaffordable one for most viewers. Every actor in this scene is shown in a positive light across the different modes, with the exception of the Nullarbor Plain (A18), which is depicted as a dangerous place, thus setting up the heroic narrative of its conquest, which begins in the next sequence.

The main narrative in the second sequence is the conquest of the Nullarbor Plain, which is the only actor represented with negative connotations, both through the lexis and through the use of the slow, minor key melody that accompanies its description and visual representation (*Image 8.4*). Everyone involved in the effort to complete the construction of the railway is generally shown in a positive way, including the workers who did ‘an amazing job’ despite the ‘primitive tools’ they had (*Image 8.5*). This view is shared by P3, who also felt awe and admiration for the people who built the infrastructures, thus suggesting the interpreting of this message through a *dominant code*. Not much is said, however, regarding the working conditions (pay, hours, rights) beside the fact that they were working in a hostile natural environment. The main discourse is the supremacy of people over nature (the conquest of the desert plain) with no regard for what the human costs may be. Finally, the sequence is also used to enhance Portillo’s character as close to the audience, by showing him in intimate settings and as part of the crew, which can result in lower *epistemic vigilance towards the source* on the part of the audience. As already discussed, the choice of the expert is also questionable; consulting an actual historian might have provided the audience with a more authoritative account that included issues such as the working conditions of the construction workers that were not addressed (or at least not included in the final text).



Image 8.4: Aerial shot of train travelling through the Nullarbor Plain



Image 8.5: Archive footage of the construction of the railway across the Nullarbor Plain

As well as showing the audience the unusual town of Cook, a tiny stopover in the middle of the Nullarbor Plain, the third sequence shows some of the ‘behind the scenes’ of how the Indian Pacific

²⁷ Data taken from <https://journeybeyonrail.com.au/guest-information/fares-and-timetables/indian-pacific-2019-2020/> (Accessed: 08 February 2021).

train operates. This is also an opportunity to continue to establish Portillo as an ordinary person, who is happy to get his hands dirty helping out. As for the previous sequence, this may achieve the purpose of increasing trust in the host and lowering the audience's *epistemic vigilance towards the source*. There is also an interesting association made between the driver Mark and old pioneers by the use of a Western film type of music and the cowboy looks of Portillo. The train driver Mark (A22) and the host are shown to be enthusiastic and hard-working, which could be an interpretation the audience is also invited to apply to the first pioneers whom the Western film imagery and music recall. This view would match the depictions given so far of the British colonisers, whose bravery and industriousness has been foregrounded and whose actions against the First Nation people have been suppressed.

As well as showing other aspects of the journey on the Indian Pacific train, i.e. the kitchen operations and a romantic evening dinner under the stars, this final sequence continues to build the image of Portillo as a hands-on, helpful and therefore trustworthy host (*Images 8.6 and 8.7*). Unlike in previous scenes, however, the Nullarbor Plain is shown in a completely different light and in a positive way across the modes, particularly at the beginning of the sequence. One possible interpretation could be the narrative of the tamed wilderness after the conquest. After having discussed how the British/Australians conquered the hellish desert, this scene highlights the gentle character of the conquerors who can also appreciate the wilderness they have successfully domesticated. This part, as a whole, serves to show the resilience and ingenuity of the white Europeans which possibly contributed P3's 'awe and admiration' towards them.



Image 8.6: Shot of Michael Portillo helping refill the train



Image 8.7: Shot of Michael Portillo helping in the kitchen

8.4.4 Part 5

The third longest part of the documentary is divided in three sequences. The first introduces the city of Kalgoorlie and informs the viewer of its connections to gold mining. The overall positive depiction of the town, across modes, seems to suggest the association: money *results in* beauty (through the images and description of a nice town) and order (through the description of the town) *which is*

desirable (through the major key of the ‘magical’ music). This therefore suggests the underpinning socio-economic ideology of money and wealth as the basis for happiness and progress. This aspect is not considered as relevant by P3, one possible explanation being that such ideology was already well-established in his cognitive environment.

The second sequence focuses on gold mines and on the benefits goldmining brought to Australia in general and to Western Australia in particular. Following the previous sequence, it therefore corroborates the idea that wealth and money are the basis for happiness and progress. All the modes (especially the major key of the musical pieces) contribute to create this association, especially when it comes to representing gold (*Image 8.8*). The precious material is very positively represented across all modes, with a mix of poetic and magical feelings invoked by the linguistic and music modes. The person who contributed to the success of mining in the region, C.Y. O’Connor (A30), is also shown in a positive light (‘a god’, *Image 8.9*).



Image 8.8: Close-up shot of a cascade of liquid gold with sparkles

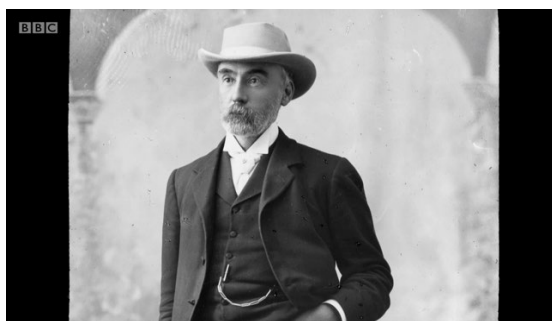


Image 8.9: Old black and white photo of C.Y. O'Connor

However, there is some incorrect information and some omissions regarding O’Connor: he did not see the completion of the pipeline as he committed suicide a year before it was completed (Brewin and Wibberley, 2014); he was the target of a journalistic campaign due to accusation of wasting taxpayers money, which some think might have led him to commit suicide (Bolton, 2008, p. 81); his suicide, an interesting event in itself, is not mentioned at all when talking about him, one possible reason being that suicide is often associated with a troubled existence or with guilt, neither of which befits a god-like figure. Likewise, there is no discussion of the impact the gold rush, and the construction of the railway to support it, had on the indigenous people or vegetation in the district (and still has, see McQuire, 2018). The depiction of the gold rush and of the benefits it brings to Australia is another example of controlling the hearer’s access to context, which is completely skewed in the programme towards what are considered positive outcomes, i.e., wealth and progress. There is plenty of literature discussing how First Nation people were dispossessed of their land (Nash, 1984; Moses, 2004; Reynolds, 2006, Ch. 3; McLean, 2013, p. 41; Burke *et al.*, 2016), including where

resources were found (Loos, 1982; Eklund, 2015, p. 181;) to the point that the “[f]unding of immigration through land sales made the dispossession of Indigenous peoples intrinsic to colonisation” (Elder, 2005, p. 102). Moreover, it is worth noting that even at present, First Nation people would still not be entitled, if they wanted to, to ownership rights over minerals extracted from the land they have inhabited for thousands of years. As Altman (2009) explains,

[t]he areas ‘owned’ in various ways under land rights and native title laws [by First Nation people] are generally extremely remote and have low commercial value, except for mineral extraction. Restitution of land has come on the state’s terms and excludes ownership of minerals. [...] Indigenous people, who constitute 2.5 per cent of the population, do not share equitably in the wealth of the mining sector, much of which is generated from their land in remote regions. (p. 1)

Some aspects of the negative impact of goldmining in the past or present could have been included in the programme as part of the BBC’s plea to impartiality but were not, and the representation given forces the viewer to access a particular context to the events while precluding access to other contexts that may have resulted in a negative assessment of the colonising culture. Not surprisingly, P3’s comments with regard to the topic of goldmining simply acknowledge the importance this industry still plays in Australia (Q, item 14 and I, lines 270-277), which is something of which he was not aware.

The concluding scene of *Part 5* explores one of the aspects connected with the history of Kalgoorlie and its gold mining past and present: gambling. The initial music (minor key, slow tempo) seems to frame it in a negative fashion, although it may also signify nostalgia for the past. None of the social issues mentioned by Portillo (drinking, prostitution and gambling) is discussed in any sociological fashion by looking at what problems those behaviours carried with them or what caused them in the first place. Instead, the scene focuses on one such issue, gambling, and specifically to the historical evolution of one game, ‘2 Up’, in the area. Gambling in general is framed in a positive way, both by the depiction of it as ‘a game’ given by Danny Sheehan (A32) and not challenged by Portillo and by the over-theatrical happiness displayed as a result of winning at the game. Since gambling is represented in a positive way, by association, also those who gamble (in game as in life) are seen in a positive way and, in this case, these are the British proctors, who gambled their own lives to ‘get really rich’. From an ideological point of view, the scene also reinforces the already discussed association of wealth with happiness, since in order to get rich it is acceptable to risk your own life (and that of your family as many male proctors had wives and children). The positive representations are created multimodally for the British settlers, Kalgoorlie and gambling not so much visually (although attributes such as cars in the old black and white photos contribute to this), but by talking about the popularity of gambling (although more in the past than now) and its connection to wealth.

Musically, the same magical and dream-like piece that was played when showing how gold bars are made is used to accompany the happy shots of Portillo winning at the gambling game. One interesting aspect that is conveyed visually is how gambling is acceptable and enjoyed by all social classes. This is conveyed through the appearance and clothing of the people shown at the gambling arena (seemingly lower-middle class mostly) and Portillo (higher-middle class) all enjoying the gambling game (*Image 8.10*).



Image 8.10: Shot of people at the gambling arena

Finally, this sequence, which P3 also briefly discussed in the interview is a very good example of how manipulation is less effective when someone can access all the context surrounding an event. As mentioned, Portillo has one lucky attempt at the game, the rules of which are quite simple and clearly stated: if you get two heads when flipping the coins, you win; if you do not; you lose. When asked whether he thought the lucky attempt was staged, P3 said (I, lines 211-217):

211. JC: And you think he really had two heads on his spin or was that staged? What did

212. you make of that?

213. P3: You know, I thought the same thing. I think they might have... it might have come up

214. lucky the first time, but probably, quite likely they would have staged... waited, kept

215. throwing until they got the right... you know these things are manipulated sometimes.

216. JC: It was just funny that at the first attempt... [BOTH LAUGH] It is possible, though. It

217. is possible of course.

Although, admittedly, I prompted the possibility of manipulation, it is interesting that P3 says he had thought the same and that for this particular instance where all the context could be accessed, he shows full awareness that “these things are manipulated sometimes” (I, line 215).

8.4.5 Part 6

Part 6 comprises only one sequence and it is the only one whose content was not mentioned at all by P3 in either the questionnaire or interview. This part discusses a theme which, as a whole, does not seem to have much to do with railways and train, which are here completely absent. The viewer learns about the Royal Flying Doctor Service (A33). The modes, particularly the linguistic and the visual, operate to create a sense of professionalism and excellence. There is medical terminology used by a practising doctor, Andrew Barnes (A34) and medical equipment is shown on one of the aircrafts (*Image 8.11*). The fact the organisation name has got the adjective ‘royal’ in it, and the fact the doctor interviewed is British, work to connect the idea of Britishness to the ideas of professionalism, efficiency and, most importantly, doing something for a good cause and for the benefit of people. This could in turn be associated with the whole history of Great Britain in Australia as a benevolent, professional and efficient one, thus helping perpetrate the myth of the benevolent West that brings progress all around the world, a discourse that has been labelled ‘West as steward’ (Holliday, 2016). As discussed for certain socio-economic ideologies, this too may have already been part of P3’s cognitive environment and therefore not considered as relevant during the viewing experience. The minor key of the musical piece that accompanies the description of John Flynn (A35, *Image 8.12*) and how he started the service, expresses nostalgia for such figures and their actions, rather than sadness (incidentally, Flynn features on one of Australian banknotes). This again marries well with the West-as-steward discourse. It would be very interesting to see if everyone in Australia was benefitting from the service, including the First Nation people, in the first decades of service. In general, the issue of access to healthcare for First Nation people being worse is well-documented (Awofeso, 2011; Gibson *et al.*, 2015; Li, 2017) and could have also been discussed here as part of the BBC’s plea to impartiality.



Image 8.11: Shot of Michael Portillo and Andrew Barnes inside one of the Royal Flying Doctor Service aircrafts.

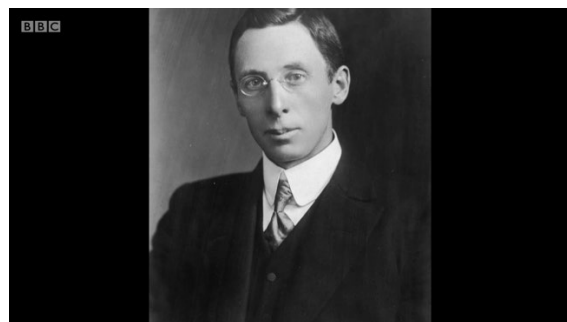


Image 8.12: Black and white photo of John Flynn

8.4.6 Part 7

This is the longest part of the programme and is divided into two sequences. The introductory sequence to this part shows the audience the city of Perth and the port of Fremantle (A36) and highlights how well the city has done over the past couple of hundred years. The modes work together to this effect, with all providing positive representations of the city and its port (*Images 8.13* and *8.14*). As for previous historic accounts, there is no mention of what happened to the First Nation people that inhabited this part of the country; in fact, they are only shown in an old drawing watching the initial settlement from a distance, armed, almost as if they were planning some form of attack against the British settlers. As far as P3 is concerned, the positive representation of the historic development of Perth seems to have worked, at least in conveying the image of a big, modern city.



Image 8.13: Establishing shot of Perth



Image 8.14: Aerial shot of the port of Fremantle

The second sequence is one of the longest in the programme and probably the most emotional, as it deals with allegations of abuse suffered by ‘child migrants’. The first observation to make here is the producer’s choice to include this theme, as it is not in any way connected to railways. It could be argued that the programme talks about it to make amends, since British governments were partly responsible for the suffering caused to the children, both for sending them in the first place and for ignoring reports of abuse and exploitation. The founder of this migration scheme, Kingsley Fairbridge (A37, *Image 8.15*), is linguistically represented in a fairly positive light, which seems to be reinforced by one of the final remarks of Portillo who says that ‘the origins of the scheme were idealistic’ and it is only because the scheme was set up ‘in an age where paternalism ruled’ that things went badly. Portillo makes it clear at the end of the scene that ‘the human rights of the children were overwritten [and] some were clearly physically and sexually abused’. However, neither through the former children’s testimonies, nor through the old black and white photos (*Image 8.16*), are these points ever reinforced. The children are only shown in situations that are not particularly upsetting and the testimonies themselves are only allusive at some serious breach of human rights, rather than explicitly reporting them. In fact, the main *witness*, Derek Smith (A39), assesses his overall experience as a positive one. Other texts regarding this same topic, e.g. the film drama ‘*Oranges and Sunshine*’ (2011)

as well as testimonies provided by other former pupils, e.g. in the Independent Inquiry Child Sexual Abuse inquiry into child migration programmes (2018), provide far more disturbing and vivid accounts of the abuses suffered by the children, including sexual ones. Although the overall tone of the representation, particularly through the music mode and extensive use of minor key pieces, creates a sad feeling around the topic, the linguistic representations and the choice of testimonies leaves the viewer with the idea that the Fairbridge scheme and schools were well-intentioned projects that suffered a few hiccups in the process. The overall representation of the pupils (A40) and their experience is ambivalent, which basically reflects the final remark made by Derek Smith: “For me personally, I think it was the most wonderful thing that could have happened to me. But for some of my friends who were here, I think it was the worst possible thing that can happen to them. And I think everywhere in between”. Likewise, the scale and nature of abuses is never made sufficiently clear in any of the modes, with Portillo limiting his overall conclusion to remarking that no children had experienced feelings of love while in the care of the institutions involved.



Image 8.15: Black and white photo of Kingsley Fairbridge with some children



Image 8.16: Black and white photo of children at the Fairbridge School

Another important aspect that is not made clear is the involvement of the British governments in the scheme and the fact that parents and children were lied to when approached and persuaded to take part in the scheme (Parliament. House of Commons, 1998, §41). Moreover, not all children were actually orphans; many were told their parents had died or, even worse, some children were taken from their families, without proper consent being given (Parliament. House of Commons, 1998, §41; IICSA, 2018, p. 41). If we therefore look back at the initial point raised, i.e., why talk about such an issue in a programme that revolves around trains and railways, one answer could be to show that the BBC talked about it, rather than to seriously make amends for the mistakes made and give dignity back to the children who had suffered a lot worse conditions and abuse than what is reported in the programme. In a programme that, overall, praises the actions and work of many British people (Hugh Hamilton, Colonel Light, C.Y. O’Connor) the absence of Dr Margaret Humphreys and her contribution to uncovering the whole scandal, which could have equally been praised, is quite

remarkable. Finally, another point that is never made too clear is that one of the purposes for this migration scheme was to populate the colonies with white people (IICSA, 2018, p. 6), which is something that can be connected with coloniser/colonised policies, to the advantage of the colonisers. The absence of the political aspect seems even more problematic, given the fact that Michael Portillo was holding a ministerial post in 1987,²⁸ when Dr Humphreys was conducting her investigations and liaising with the Conservative government of the time, and in 1989, which is the year since which the Government accepts to have known about the alleged abuses (IICSA, 2018, p. 60). It is therefore very unlikely that Portillo was not aware of those allegations and of the fact they were actually valid as some children were eventually reunited with some of their parents in the UK. Although Portillo may have had no involvement with the writing of the programme, he nonetheless went along with the narrative.

As already mentioned, P3's comments regarding this issue are very much in line with the representation offered by the programme. The main distressing information learned being about the way children were treated rather than all the political responsibilities that were part of the scandal. Once again, the restricted access to some of the context surrounding the issue may be the way through which manipulation was successful. It is also interesting to notice that P3 states he had already heard about the scandal of child migrants (I, lines 179-194): it is possible that even in that case a similar restriction to the context was in place, since, if it were otherwise, we might have expected P3 to flag up the lack of other contextual information in the programme.

8.4.7 *Part 8*

The final part is divided into three sequences. The first one introduces the main theme, which is the connection between the British Royal Family and Australia. This connection is shown in positive terms, both through the positive and humorous account of the Prince of Wales' visit in 1920 and through the major keys of the music that accompanies Portillo around Perth and during the interview with Jessica Barratt (A43). It is interesting to note that the historian chosen is not an established academic, but a history blogger who collaborates with ABC News. The reason given for the royal visit, that is "to say thank you to the Australian people and to the soldiers who participated during the war", is only partial as other historians believe that one of the main reasons for the visit was to strengthen the connection between Australians and the British Empire at a time when this connection was being drastically reconsidered by the colony (Fewster, 1980, pp. 59-60).

The second sequence builds on the first and explores the connection of modern-day (white) Australians with the British Royal Family. Although there seem to be mixed feelings amongst Jessica Barratt's family and friends, most of them of a younger generation (A45), the closing remark of one

²⁸ <https://members.parliament.uk/member/187/career> (Accessed: 8 February 2021).

of the older ladies is that Australians will still be connected with the royal family in the future thanks to “the resurgence of popularity of the younger members of the royal family”. P3 was surprised by the content of this sequence as he thought that younger Australians would be wanting a republic rather than a consitutional monarchy (I, lines 286-289) and his impression is also supported by recent surveys reported by *The Guardian* (McNeilage, 2018). However, other studies show that such a preference does not exist even amongst younger generations (Mansillo, 2016, 2018), which seem to support the programme’s representation. Unfortunately, neither the survey discussions nor the programme seem to be interested in exploring what the First Nation people think about this issue of the consitutional basis of the country.

The final sequence has Portillo’s concluding remarks. Here there are three actors that are highlighted in positive terms: the proud British who arrived in Australia by choice, (British) railway engineering and Perth. The purpose of the final remarks therefore seems to be to praise the British who came to Australia, connected it through their engineering skills and the result of which is a country that has cities like Perth. There is no mention of what this cost in human lives, both in terms of the construction of the country and in the killings and dispossessions of First Nation people. Moreover, there is no mention of how the whole country’s wealth of natural resources was monopolised by the white British, which is still largely the case to this day.

8.5 Cognitive analysis

Table 8.4 below summarises the *preferred reading* offered by the programme for each of the different parts (and actors therein) together with the contextual filters applied. It also provides P3’s *recontextualisation* of those actors, places and events as well as a summary of the type of *effects* that seem to have taken place and the *interpretative code* used by P3. The table is best read vertically, by column:

	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8
Preferred readings conveyed by the multimodal representations	The wine-making company is represented as an example of settler’s <i>success story</i> . Settlers are represented as brave, hard-working individuals.	Adelaide is shown as an example of successful colonial city, designed by a British soldier and surveyor, where there seem to be the right work-life balance.	The conquest of the Nullarbor Plain thanks to the construction of the railway is shown as indicative of the engineering skills of the British and of the dominion of people of nature.	Gold and goldmining are represented as the source of wealth and progress for the country. The description of the construction of the pipeline and of the processes to extract gold are shown as indicative of the technological advancement brought by the white Europeans.	The Royal Flying Doctor Service and its founder as shown as a mix of technological advancement and benevolent attitude, thus creating a ‘West as steward’ discourse.	The Fairbridge affairs is represented as a shameful event in the history of Britain and Australia. However, the scheme is represented as a philanthropic endeavour that suffered a few hiccups, but that still had its value. The focus was on the victims, not on those responsible for their sufferings.	The connection between the British Royal Family and white Australians is represented as still strong.
Contextual filters applied, i.e., contextual	Dispossession of land on the part of the British settlers and other	Dispossession of land on the part of the British settlers and other	Working conditions and make-up of the workforce.	Disruptive effects of mining on First Nation people and the environment. Ongoing	Historic access of the First Nation people to this service and present	In-depth description of the responsibilities and of the	Opinions of the non-white Australian population on the issue of the

information omitted	crimes committed against the First Nation people.	crimes committed against the First Nation people.		inequalities in the ownership of minerals and precious materials.	inequalities in healthcare provision in the country.	<i>modus operandi</i> of the British government and the other organisations involved.	constitutional organisation of the country.
Participant re-contextualisation	Thought settlers were hard-working and successful.	Not relevant.	Felt awe and admiration for the people who built the infrastructures and industries of Australia.	Was surprised by how much gold is still extracted in Australia	Not relevant.	Was sad about the conditions the children were forced to live in.	Was surprised that younger white Australians were not more decisively pro-republic.
Evidential and ideological effects	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned about a specific success story. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed his positive opinion about British migrants.	Was not considered relevant, which indicates that this topic resonates with a pre-existing ideology that the British exported progress to the colonies.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned about specific engineering feats in Australia. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed his positive opinions about those involved in such construction and possibly created a positive opinion of migrants to Australia in particular.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned that gold and other minerals are still a significant part of Australian economy. <i>Opinions:</i> nothing empirically evidenced, but possible confirmation that extracting precious minerals for profit is acceptable.	Was not considered relevant, which indicates that this topic resonates with a pre-existing ideology that the British exported progress to the colonies.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned about the scale of the operations and that some children suffered abuses of their human rights. <i>Opinions:</i> confirmed his opinion that children were not treated well.	<i>Knowledge:</i> learned about the opinions of the Australians interviewed. <i>Opinions:</i> changed opinion regarding the relationship between (especially young) Australians and the British monarchy.
Interpretative code	<i>Dominant</i>	Possibly <i>dominant</i>	<i>Dominant</i>	<i>Dominant</i>	Possibly <i>dominant</i>	<i>Dominant</i>	<i>Dominant</i>

Table 8.4: Summary of the programme and participant's representation of the themes and actors in the different parts of the programme with an indication of evidential and ideological effects and interpretative code.

The first aspect to consider is that the *interpretative code* employed by P3 is the *dominant* one and this applies to the totality of the themes and actors discussed in the programme. The only exception to this is the surprise of not seeing any indigenous people or any other ethnicity in the programme: “They were all white people” (I, line 145). What needs to be established is what contributed to the occurrence of this particular interpretative code, rather than the *negotiated* or *oppositional* ones, and it is here that an analysis of P3's *epistemic vigilance towards the source and content* provides some clues. The assumption being that the lower the epistemic vigilance, the higher the chance that a dominant interpretative code is employed.

With regards to the *source*, we need to analyse the category of the *experts*, how these were represented in the programme and how P3 related to them. The first *expert* is the host, Michael Portillo (A1), who relies both on historic sources in the form of the Bradshaw's Book (A2) and on the accounts of other experts, Debb Mann (A19), Timothy Moore (A29) and Jessica Barratt (A43). A first consideration to make is that the multimodal representation of all these actors is generally neutral, which works to provide an aura of objectivity and trustworthiness. All the experts are of white European origins, which may help create a positive connection, in an intercultural context, with a white European audience such as P3, hence lowering his vigilance towards them. All the experts are also introduced as professional figures: a train manager (A19), a historian (A29) and a history blogger (A43), which can add to their credibility if professionalism is a quality valued by the audience. Arguably, Portillo is the only person without an ‘expert pedigree’; however, P3's vigilance towards him is lowered by a number of factors. Firstly, the programme Portillo hosts is distributed by the

BBC, a source P3 trusts as he regularly uses it to learn about what goes on nationally and internationally (I, line 535). Secondly, he is always consulting a book, the Bradshaw's, that mainly discusses technical and engineering factual content, thus adding to the image of a well-researched travelling experience. Lastly, Portillo is multimodally represented as a very 'hands-on' type of person, who is ready to get his hands dirty helping others (*parts 4 and 8*), as an ordinary person willing to try and learn new things, e.g., how to dance tango or how to play '2 Up' (*parts 2 and 5*) and as someone who abides to rules and regulations, e.g., by wearing health & safety equipment in and around the gold processing plant (*part 5*). All these factors play a role in creating a character P3 likes (I, lines 20-27 and 207-208) and, as a reasonable consequence, trusts.

As for the *epistemic vigilance towards the content*, the key is the extent to which one is able to access the contextual information that has been filtered out of the final multimodal text. As *Table 8.4* and the previous section show, there is a lot of contextual information that might have been included to provide a more impartial representation of the events, particularly with regard to the impact the British colonisers first and the predominantly white Australian governments then have had on the livelihood (and in many cases survival) of the First Nation people. Having knowledge of the existence of First Nation people in Australia, which P3 did (Q, item 11), does not imply having knowledge of the historical atrocities and present inequalities suffered by them. As far as P3 is concerned, for example, the main issue with First Nation people is that they "may retain a separate culture" (Q, item 11). However, I believe that anyone who has not got the time and resources to acquaint themselves with the history of the empire beyond what they have learned from the school textbooks *and* with the complex political situation of contemporary Australia, would find it difficult to access the contextual information that has been filtered out by the producers of the programme. It has taken me a large number of hours of work and I have only just scratched the surface.

Moreover, it has to be taken into consideration that, based on Relevance Theory principles, the quest for relevance will stop once one is satisfied that the information encountered *modifies* or *improves* the one already existing in one's cognitive environment *and* the effort needed to process it is minimal. The first aspect, as discussed, is dependent on the information provided after unwanted context has been filtered out. As for the second aspect, a rich multimodal representation such as the one provided by a television documentary can easily decrease processing efforts by being able to access different sensory channels at once and thus offer a seemingly self-evident depiction of actors, places and events.

8.6 Conclusion

The choice of the television programme seems to reflect P3's genuine interests and preferences. This is already a first point to note, as it supports the idea that people tend to consume media within their

echo chamber (Del Vicario *et al.*, 2016). In P3's specific case, this is shown by his trust in the programme distributor, the BBC, and a liking for the host.

The analysis of the media interaction showed a number of *effects* that this particular text seems to have had on P3. The first type are *evidential effects*: learning about interesting places to visit, specific engineering feats, the state of gold mining, the scale of the Fairbridge affair, success stories of British settlers, the opinion that some young white Australians have of the British monarchy and the growth of Perth as a city in the last few years. Secondly, there were a number of *explicit improving ideological effects*: the opinion of (white) Australians being 'tough, outgoing and friendly', and the admiration felt for those who built infrastructures and industries in the country and for British settlers in general. Finally, there were also some *modifying ideological effects*: changing his opinion about the attractiveness of Australia as a travel destination and changing his opinion about young Australians and their relationship with the British monarchy. Moreover, based on RT principles, it can be argued that other ideologies, such as the 'West as steward' discourse and the socio-economic tenets of capitalism, have been confirmed as they were found not relevant (*implicit improving ideological effects*). This can be attributed to the fact that they were already present with the same evaluation in P3's cognitive environment (otherwise he would have challenged them), rather than being too cognitively expensive to process.

The analysis of the text showed the preferred readings that were created multimodally in each part and how in many instances manipulative processes were at play as signalled by the contextual filtering highlighted. P3 not only seems to have interpreted the text through a *dominant code*, but also to have been successfully manipulated on many occasions. Moreover, those manipulative attempts required great cognitive effort to access the contexts that have been filtered out: it is therefore reasonable to assume that other people with similar cognitive environments to P3 would also be successfully manipulated.

9. Discussion of findings

9.1 Introduction

This chapter will summarise the main insights from the case studies. These emerged by combining a multimodal critical analysis of the text with an Audience Research design and analytical constructs borrowed from Relevance Theory, namely *evidential effects*, *ideological effects* and *epistemic vigilance*. In order to do so I will look at similarities and differences between the three case studies and draw some tentative conclusions as to what cognitive mechanisms may be at play in ideological formation through the genre of travel and cultural documentaries. These seem to involve both top-down (i.e. participant-driven) and bottom-up (i.e. text driven) processes, which is in line with the recent multimodal reception studies reviewed in *Chapter 2* (Chua, Boland and Nisbett, 2005; Holsanova, Rham and Holmqvist, 2005; Bucher and Schumacher, 2006; Gidlöf, Holmberg and Sandberg, 2012; Bucher and Niemann, 2012; Müller, Kappas and Olk, 2012; Holsanova, 2014; Bucher, 2017).

9.2 Audience Research and agentive position of the participants

The first aspect to consider is the choice of putting the participants in an *agentive position* through the integration of audience research principles in the research design. As argued in 2.5, *recontextualisation* and *engagement* studies provide invaluable insights, respectively, into text interpretation and ideological positioning. However, they are not fully able to investigate the effects of the texts on the participants' ideologies as their design either does not take into consideration individual interests and preferences in terms of media / text producers, as in the case of the recontextualisation studies, or does not allow the researcher to investigate the state of the participants' cognitive environments before and after interacting with the text, as in the engagement studies (and to a certain extent in recontextualisation studies too). As well as investigating how the documentaries chosen by the participants represent socio-economic and intercultural issues, RQ1 specifically aims to investigate how the participants interpret the texts and whether the texts have effects on the participants' ideologies. It is to address this point that principles of audience research, including choice of programme and interaction settings, were integrated in the research design.

Putting the participant in an *agentive position* not only resulted in a more naturalistic media interaction, but also provided the opportunity to collect some information with regard to the top-down processes at play. These included exploring the participants' existing cognitive environment vis-à-vis the expected content of programmes, through which it was possible to have at least some indications of potential changes in their cognitive environment as a direct consequence of interacting with the programmes. Moreover, this research design allowed me to explore their motivations for the choice of a specific programme, which allowed me to collect crucial information regarding the participants'

level of *epistemic vigilance of the source*. This does not mean, however, that the conclusions reached for each case study reflect these changes in their entirety and complexity. Undoubtedly, there will be aspects that did not emerge through the research instruments employed (pre- and post-viewing questionnaire + interview) and were therefore not investigated. Moreover, the possibility that participants only shared opinions they deemed to be acceptable, for example with regards to the words and phrases associated with places and people expected to be found (Q, item 11), also needs to be borne in mind. That said, the in-depth follow-up interviews allowed me to address some of those issues and did indeed bring to the surface some ambiguities in the participants' perceived ideological positioning. It is hoped that this novel methodological approach, as put to the empirical test with the case studies analysed, can at the very least represent a good starting point to refine the research design and instruments for the purpose of investigating the effects of (media) discourse.

One of the aspects that the audience research element helped establish is the reasons for watching these types of programmes and for choosing a particular programme. Here we find some similarities and some differences between the participants. All participants, perhaps unsurprisingly, state that the main reason for watching this type of programmes is to broaden their horizons and to learn about new places and cultures: words such as *interest*, *travel*, *learn* and *curiosity* are found in part 1 of their questionnaires (item 2). One conclusion that can be reached from this is that all of them see these types of programmes as epistemologically apt to learn about places, people and events that are outside their experiential reach, thus crediting the claims of authenticity that are generally attributed to documentary films (Bordwell and Thompson, 2013, p. 315). However, it must also be noted that the participants also seem to think that the information they can obtain is only partial and that these programmes may only represent a starting point in finding out about different places and cultures (P1, I, lines 344-355; P2, I, lines 219-235). Another conclusion that could be reached is that all the participants' expectations seem to revolve more around the informative and entertainment purposes of this television genre than the persuasive purpose identified by Nichols (2001, p. 4). This may in turn result in lower levels of *epistemic vigilance*, although there is no reason to doubt that if persuasive purposes are detected *while* watching the programme, vigilance levels would increase.

Moving towards the specific choice of the programme they watched, there seem to be further similarities amongst the participants. The first is the importance of the programme host, as someone they like and/or find competent in that role: P1 mentions he has watched other Simon Reeve programmes (Q, item 10) and, as discussed in *Chapter 6*, relates particularly well to him; P2 holds Rita Ray in very high regard as an enthusiastic and passionate music expert (Q, item 9); P3, similarly to P1, has watched other episodes of this popular series with Michael Portillo (Q, item 9) and, as seen in *Chapter 8*, finds him to be a very amenable host and traveller. The second similarity is the media outlet chosen: all participants seem to interact with a variety of BBC programmes on a regular basis, here including the *news* section of the broadcasting corporation. Both these self-directed selection

criteria, the host and the media outlet, have consequence on the *epistemic vigilance of the source* as outlined in each case study and as I will also discuss in 9.5 below.

One difference amongst the participants that was highlighted by the audience research element concerns the importance of the *subject matter*. Whereas P1 chose the programme following a friend's recommendation and his personal interest in Burma (Q, items 9 and 10), P2 only chose the programme based on some broad interest in world music, but not particularly Malian music (I, lines 64-90) and P3 was not interested in the subject matter at all (I, lines 20-23), but based his choice purely on the host. The ambivalence in this particular selection criterion is interesting and warrants further investigation. On the one hand, it seems to suggest that because there is trust in the host and media outlet, there is an expectation that the subject matter will also be interesting, and the programme enjoyable and informative. On the other hand, it seems to point towards valuing the generic purpose of entertainment over the informative one, which again may suggest lower levels of *epistemic vigilance*, as the expectations are to spend an enjoyable hour or so rather than be engaging in critical thinking. There is also an element of programme scheduling involved: in the case of P3, for example, the programme was being broadcast at the time he agreed to take part in the research, suggesting a certain compliance with the subject matter set by the *agenda* of the media outlet. P1 and P2, on the other hand, watched a programme that was originally broadcast a year prior but that was still available on the catch-up service (and still is at the time of writing, in the case of *Burma with Simon Reeve*), thus suggesting a more conscious choice.

9.3 *Evidential effects and contextual filters*

Based on Relevance Theory and on van Dijk's (1998) differentiation between *factual* and *evaluative* beliefs as co-occurring aspects of social ideologies, two analytical dimensions have been employed to investigate the effects of the television programmes on the participants: *evidential* and *ideological effects*. The first type of effects I have defined as the modification or improvement of the old information, by virtue of the new, at the level of *knowledge*.

Since "a documentary *claims* to present factual information about the world" (Bordwell and Thompson, 2013, p. 315, *my emphasis*), it has to be expected that a number of *evidential effects* will be found in any media interactions involving this genre. Indeed, all three case studies highlighted a number of evidential effects having taken place as a direct consequence of the interactions themselves. Examples are the existence of the MaBaTha monks or the size of the Kutupalong refugee camp for P1; the connection between Malian and Western music or the existence of a conflict in northern Mali for P2; the importance of gold mining and the existence of specific engineering feats in Australia for P3. The choice of 'facts' presented, however, is not ideologically free; on the contrary, it seems to be essential to fulfil one of the main purposes of documentary films, which is to "actively

make a case or argument [and] win consent or influence opinion” (Nichols, 2001, p. 4). In other words, to produce what I have called *ideological effects*.

Applying *contextual filters*, that is not including (whether willingly or not) information that may hinder the effectiveness of the desired *ideological effects*, is a bottom-up mechanism that emerged from all three case studies. Examples here are the conflation of the 969 Movement and MaBaTha under the ‘militant Buddhism’ label or the level of international support for the ARSA insurgent group in *Burma with Simon Reeve* (henceforth *BSM*); the international and economic interests surrounding the conflict in northern Mali or more information on the Malian caste-based system in *Africa: a Journey into Music* (henceforth *AJM*); the issue of land dispossession of the First Nation people or the effect on them of mining in the *Great Australian Railway Journeys* (henceforth *GARJ*). In each case, *contextual filters* had the effect (if not the intention) of delivering specific narratives embedded in specific ideological positions: freedom and democracy as a consequence of globalisation and progress in *BSM*; social class difference as being natural and unproblematic and socialist political ideologies being ineffective in *AJM*; the ‘West as steward’ discourse (Holliday, 2016) in *GARJ*. In all three case studies, the information that has been filtered out was only retrievable at great *cognitive costs*, an aspect I will come back to when discussing the multimodal manipulation of the *epistemic vigilance towards the content* further below. For the moment, it will suffice to note that *contextual filters* were applied in all three documentaries.

9.4 *Ideological effects*

The second type of effects, *ideological effects*, refer to the modification or improvement of the old information at the level of *opinions*. Here, based on Relevance Theory principles, I have suggested a further differentiation: *modifying ideological effects* and *improving ideological effects*. *Modifying ideological effects* can be attributed to a specific text and refer to the creation of new opinions or to the modification of existing ones; *improving ideological effects*, on the other hand, reflect pre-existing ideologies that may have been reinforced by a specific text. It has to be noticed that although *evidential effects*, i.e. the acquisition of new knowledge, are a necessary condition for either *modifying* or *improving ideological effects* to occur as the result of a (media) discourse interaction, they cannot be a prediction for which type of *ideological effects* takes place. This can only be established through investigating a person’s *cognitive environment*, which is what the pre- and post-viewing research design attempted to achieve.

9.4.1 *Modifying ideological effects*

All case studies provided examples of *modifying ideological effects* seemingly having taken place. P1 seemed to change his opinion about Buddhism being a completely peaceful religion, and about the fact that people in Myanmar would be more liberated since the openings of the borders and the

election of Aung San Suu Kyi; moreover, the programme created a positive evaluation of Bagan. P2's opinion with regard to the geographic characteristics of Mali seemed to change, a positive opinion regarding Malian music was created, her existing opinion regarding the origin of Western music was at least challenged and a positive opinion about the Griot as the soul of Malian music was possibly created. P3 seemed to change his opinion about the attractiveness of Australia as a travel destination and about young Australians and their relationship with the British monarchy. It would seem, therefore, that although there were some *modifying ideological effects*, these were not high in number and were partly connected to the *travel* aspects of the documentaries.

The relatively low occurrence of *modifying ideological effects*, compared to *improving ideological effects* for P1 and P3 (6 to 3 and 5 to 2 respectively), points in the direction of 'echo chambers', that is, interacting primarily with media and information that present similar interests or views to one's own (Dubois and Blank, 2018, p. 731). P2's situation seems to be different as the ratio is reversed (2 to 4), but this could simply be due to the fact that, unlike P1 with Burma and P3 with Australia, she almost had no knowledge at all about Mali (I, lines 29-30). 'Echo chambers' and 'filter bubbles' are concepts generally associated with social media, where "[o]ur attention span remains limited, and feed algorithms might limit our selection process by suggesting contents similar to the ones we are usually exposed to" (Cinelli *et al.*, 2021, p. 1). Although the effectiveness or even existence of echo chambers has been questioned (Barberá *et al.*, 2015; Bruns, 2017; Dubois and Blank, 2018), some argue that they reflect well established human phenomena such as selective exposure and confirmation bias (Del Vicario *et al.*, 2016). The analysis of my case studies seems to confirm this latter point, that is, that participants looked for programmes aligning with their existing ideologies, although with a caveat: the *source* seems to be more important than the concern that the *content* may cause *cognitive dissonance*, that is mental discomfort caused by being aware of inconsistencies with one's opinions and ideologies (Metzger, Hartsell and Flanagan, 2020, p. 4), although the two aspects are connected. This is something that has been shown through research on online news (*ibid*) and, based on the three case studies in this project, it could be hypothesised that the same thing occurs with the genre of travel documentaries. The other important point to consider with regard to echo chambers and television programmes is a technical one: although scheduled broadcast is not affected by algorithms, the BBC iPlayer is, at least as far as suggesting programmes similar to what one has watched before is concerned (Taylor-Watt, 2014). This means that as well as one's own selective exposure and confirmation bias impulses, the interaction with travel programmes within echo chambers is also facilitated by algorithms when platforms such as the BBC iPlayer, or the very popular YouTube, Amazon Prime and Netflix, are used.

9.4.2 *Improving ideological effects*

Improving ideological effects represented the majority of the effects found in the analyses of P1's and P3's interactions, which overall would confirm the idea that these participants chose their programme within echo chambers. To a certain extent, the same could be argued about P2 even if this was not the case for her, as a positive consideration of the *sources* (Rita Ray and BBC) was one of the main reasons for choosing her programme. The critical multimodal analysis of the texts and their emerging ideologies and preferred readings, combined with the reception element, moreover, pointed me towards a further differentiation of this type of effects, that is *explicit improving ideological effects* and *implicit improving ideological effects*, based on the RT concept of *relevance*.

The former were identified through what can be defined as acknowledgement of the *preferred reading* of the programme with regard to a particular topic or ideology, found in the participants' responses to or recontextualisation of the text. What this means, in RT terms, is that they found a particular topic or ideology *relevant* because it improved information already existing in their *cognitive environment*. There were many examples of this: P1's sympathetic stance towards the Rohingya, confirming already held opinions that violence can be justified in extreme cases of self-defence and the fact that globalisation and progress go hand in hand with freedom and democracy; P2's positive evaluation of music coming from Africa, the cultural richness and diversity of Malian society, the idea that being economically poor does not equate to being unhappy, the positive evaluation of Rita Ray as a music professional and presenter; P3's opinion of (white) Australians being 'tough, outgoing and friendly', and the admiration felt for those who built infrastructures and industries in the country and for British settlers in general.

On the other hand, *implicit improving ideological effects* can be defined as implicit alignment with the *preferred reading* of the programme with regard to a particular topic or ideology, by way of not challenging it. In RT terms, this type of effect reflects the fact that a particular topic or ideology was already present *in the same form* in the participant's *cognitive environment* and was therefore not deemed to be *relevant*. This would very likely happen, for example, with ideologies that are highly naturalised in both the interacting cognitive environments (the participant's and the programme's in our case). Examples of these were: the Burmese Military being bad and the international community being good in P1's case; social class differences being normal, socialism not (or no longer) being a viable political ideology and (inter)national conflicts being often caused by terrorism in P2's case; the 'West as steward' discourse and the socio-economic tenets of capitalism being unproblematic in P3's case.

As argued in 4.5, however, this latter type of effects can only be assumed to have occurred. The participant might have not found a *preferred reading* highlighted by the multimodal analysis *relevant* as, perhaps, it required too much *cognitive effort* to interpret it. Or they might have found a certain

topic or ideology relevant, but not as much as others and therefore did not prioritise them in the questionnaire or interview. On this point, it needs to be noted that participants were not primed during the interviews to discuss particular topics and ideologies, and this was a deliberate methodological choice: the focus of the research was on the participants' interaction and on what *they* found relevant as much as (if not more than) the textual analysis. Finally, it could be that a *preferred reading* highlighted by the textual analysis is simply not part of the participants' *cognitive environment*, thus making it impossible for them to notice it. However, I would be inclined to reject this final hypothesis in the case of my participants as I feel the questionnaires and interviews gave enough indications that the *preferred readings* highlighted would have been 'manifest' to the participants, i.e. that based on what seem to be present in their cognitive environments, they would have been capable of "representing [the *preferred reading*] mentally" (Sperber and Wilson, 1995, p. 39), but not find it *relevant*. Longitudinal studies with further follow-up interviews could focus on this aspect of the participants' interactions and represent a venue for future research (see 10.3).

9.5 *Multimodal manipulation of the epistemic vigilance towards the source*

As discussed in 9.2 and 9.4.1, the *source* seems to have played a pivotal role in the participants' choice of programme. This suggests that, as far as the *viewer's* role in facilitating manipulation is concerned, the criteria of *benevolence* and *competence* set out by Sperber *et al.* (2010) for the successful by-passing of the *epistemic vigilance* had been met prior to even watching the programmes. What the texts had to do, therefore, was confirm the validity of those selection criteria through the multimodal representation of three sets of contributors to the communicative event: the text producers, the host and the experts.

9.5.1 *The text producers*

In two of the three case studies the 'visible' text producers, the BBC, is, in fact, only the broadcasting agency of the text. *BSR* is the only programme out of the three to have been also produced by the BBC and written by the host. *AJM* was produced by Sundog Pictures, an independent British company; *GARJ* was produced by Boundless, a British company whose parent company, Fremantle (Fremantle, 2020a), is owned by Bertelsmann (Fremantle, 2020b), one of the largest media conglomerates in the world (Watson, 2019). Although the names of the producing companies appear in the end credits of the programmes and on the relevant BBC webpages, it is doubtful that the participants paid any attention to this detail: as far as they are concerned, they are 'watching the BBC'. Moreover, even if the doubt did come to mind, the fact that the BBC has bought the programmes and broadcast them is evidence enough that they endorse the content. Certainly, there is no disclaimer stating that the programmes do not reflect the views of the BBC in the programme themselves or on the relevant BBC webpages. Therefore, from a semiotic point of view, although the producers are

explicitly stated, their role as sources is backgrounded, compared for example to the role of the BBC, whose logo appears in the top left corner throughout the whole programme. Visually and sonically the competence of the text producers is highlighted by the excellent quality of the production: it is evident to anyone who has ever taken pictures or made simple video recording, that the programmes have been produced by competent professionals, using top of the range equipment. In summary, the different modes contribute to confirm the perceived text producers, the BBC, has a benevolent and competent source.

9.5.2 *The hosts and the experts*

Very interestingly, the hosts match the participants' gender and age group: Simon Reeve and P1 (male) have less than 10 years' difference and approximately the same is for Rita Ray and P2 (female) and Michael Portillo and P3 (male). Moreover, they also seem to match their politics, with Simon Reeve, Rita Ray, P1 and P2 seemingly on the progressive side of the political spectrum, and Michael Portillo and P3 on the conservative one. This once again points towards the argument of echo chambers within which each participant chose their host. It also suggests the hosts are deemed to belong to the same perceived in-group and therefore, presumably, as benevolent as the participants themselves.

As highlighted in each individual case study, the multimodal representation of the hosts aims to confirm both their benevolence and competence. Linguistically, there are generally neutral connotations attached to the way they are represented: one of the associations of neutrality can be *objectivity*, thus portraying the hosts as competent presenters who perform their role in a neutral, objective way. Visually, they appear to conform to the dressing conventions of their perceived political orientation and in-groups: Simon Reeve and Rita Ray wear very casual clothes and also attributes, such as the keffiyeh scarf for Simon Reeve and African traditional garments for Rita Ray, which testify their benevolent predisposition towards the Muslim and African cultures respectively. Michael Portillo, on the other hand, dresses in a smart or smart-casual fashion and is always clean-shaven, which reminds more of an older, conservative-leaning or, at the very least, institutional style. They are also shown as very active, not only travelling, but also talking to people, experiencing new or different things and helping others. This, I argue, not only creates proximity with the viewer by showing them in a down-to-earth fashion, hence enhancing in-group belonging and benevolence, but also a feeling that they are *doers*, or people that actively, and competently as there are no failures represented, perform their roles. To summarise, the multimodal representations of the hosts work to confirm their benevolence and competence *as perceived* by the viewers who chose their programmes.

A similar pattern has been highlighted for those social actors who also perform the role of *experts*. They are usually represented through neutral and positive connotation to highlight objectivity and positive characteristics. As for the hosts, their benevolence and competency are ultimately relative to

the in-group to which the participant and the hosts are perceived to belong. Cheery Zahau, one of the *experts* in *BSR* is represented as brave political activist, a persona that fits well the progressive, human-rights oriented narrative of the programme. The *experts* in the *GARJ* are generally professionals in different fields, e.g. the train manager Debb Mann or the historian Timothy Moore, and they are all of white, European origins, which are aspects that align with the colonial, protestant ethics narrative of how Australia has been transformed in a rich, advanced economy. Interestingly enough, when the experts belong to a group the participant cannot completely relate to, that is the black African musicians Tounami Diabate, Bassekou Kouyate, Boubacar Traoré, Salif Keita and Tamikrest in *AJM*, the topics they discuss are either not deemed particularly relevant or subject to a *negotiated* interpretation, as was the case with P2 and the origins of Western music.

The analysis of both hosts and experts corroborates the idea that manipulation is not a process that can be determined by looking at the text alone. Rather, as Oswald (2014, p. 102) argues, the process of manipulation should be explored by shifting the focus to the *hearers*. This must include the perceived benevolence and competence of the *source* they choose as they, together with the representation of the other *experts* in the case of travel programmes, lay the groundwork for possible manipulation of the *content* to also work. This is then accompanied by a close analysis of the content and *contextual filters* applied.

9.6 *Multimodal manipulation of the epistemic vigilance towards the content*

The analysis of the three cases studies highlighted a number of cases of successful manipulation having occurred as a result of the individual participants' interactions. As argued in 4.2, these cases of manipulation need to be treated in their individuality as the interaction between the participants' cognitive environments and those of the texts are to a certain degree unique. This corroborates the suggestion that manipulation should be treated as a *scalar phenomenon*, dependent on the interaction between cognitive environments in a specific communicative event. However, it can also be posited that anyone whose cognitive environment is equal to that of the participants, vis-à-vis the specific issues found in the different programmes, would very likely be equally manipulated. In terms of bottom-up processes at play in the manipulative multimodal discourses, the three case studies highlighted two distinct, but connected, mechanisms: *constraint on context selection* and *constraint on the emotional response*.

9.6.1 *Constraint on context selection*

As discussed in 4.2, this mechanism is derived from Relevance Theory principles: Maillat and Oswald (2009, p. 361) consider it so crucial that their addressee-oriented definition of manipulation is “as a set of constraints limiting the processes of contextual selection”. Indeed, the degree of constraint on the selection of context has been the key analytical parameter used in my analysis of the case studies

and a number of such constraints, which I have called *contextual filters*, have been identified. Examples of these have already been highlighted in 9.3.

The application of these *contextual filters*, however, has to be investigated within the generic limitations specific to the communicative event analysed. In the case of travel and cultural documentaries, two such limitations are the space available in the programme to allow for the full treatment of an issue as well as the scope of the programme. Let's take as an example *BSR*. The history of how and when the Rohingya people have come to populate the northern areas of Rakhine (or Arakan) State is fairly long, complex and strongly debated, particularly as this very issue causes the opposing immigrants vs. rightfully belonging to this area narratives (Ibrahim, 2018, p. 4). To expect a full historical treatment as part of the programme might be unreasonable, if only because the programme is reporting current human rights violations, and "where people may or may not have lived in 1826 is *irrelevant* to their entitlement to citizenship today" (*ibid*, p. 5, *my emphasis*) or indeed to their basic human rights to be upheld. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that certain contextual filters were not applied with a manipulative intent, but because the scope and space available did not allow the inclusion of certain contextual aspects. At the same time, however, simply acknowledging the complexity of the issue, instead of simplifying it, would have at least given the viewer a broader perspective on the matter. Moreover, there were other aspects, e.g. the fact that the 969 Movement and MaBaTha are not the same thing or the international connections of the ARSA insurgent group, whose fuller treatment would have not taken considerable space and that would have added clarity to the narration.

A further generic limitation to consider is the entertainment purposes of most travel documentaries and the fact they are expected to attract audiences on that basis. If we take the *GARJ* as an example, although not mentioning the fact that First Nation people were, often brutally, dispossessed of the land they inhabited is clearly problematic and feeding into a colonial-leaning narrative, it can be argued that discussing this issue would have been counterproductive in keeping the light, entertaining spirit of the programme. However, it has to be noted that sad narratives, such as the Fairbridge orphanages one, are indeed part of the programme. At this point, then, the entertainment argument becomes more difficult to uphold and questions of ideological convenience cannot be avoided.

To summarise, the analysis of the case studies shows that *contextual filters* were applied in all three programmes, and it is likewise clear that the filtering seemed to be consistent with conveying a certain narrative embedded in specific ideologies. Generic limitations, however, still need to be taken into account as they undoubtedly play a part in this process. After all, as noted in 9.2, the participants' expectations seemed to revolve more around the informative and entertainment purposes of this television genre than the persuasive one.

9.6.2 Constraint on the emotional response

When discussing manipulative mechanisms, de Saussure (2005, p. 134) mentions the use of *emotional devices* “at the level of the general attitude of the speaker, and relative to the propositional contents of the utterances [...] which [seem] fair and motivated, since the addressee belongs to a group assumed to be integrated in a common fate with the speaker”. Within the multimodal make-up of travel and cultural documentaries I analysed, the emotional triggers seem to be predominantly activated through sonic and visual devices.

With regard to the sonic modes, music is the one most commonly used in the programmes to perform this role. As discussed in *Chapter 5*, one of the main parameters considered is the use of major and minor keys, as these are generally associated with, respectively, joyful and sad feelings (Machin 2014, p. 308). The analysis of each programme shows how certain keys were associated with specific social actors: e.g. minor keys and slow tempos for the Rohingya in *BSR*; major keys and fast tempos when talking about Mali gaining independence followed by minor keys when talking about the first socialist government in *AJM*; major keys when talking about the British Royal family visit to Australia and minor keys when talking about the Fairbridge scandal in the *GARJ*. As discussed in 3.4.3, neuroscientific experiments on *multisensory processing* have highlighted cross-sensorial influence, including of sonic over visual stimuli. More specifically, some studies have shown that prosodic features, e.g. the tone of voice and the rhythm or melody of music, have more of a cross-sensorial influence than semantic features, e.g. the meaning of words in speech or in a song (de Gelder, Vroomen and Pourtois, 2004). It seems plausible, therefore, that music has been used in the programmes as a bottom-up mechanism to facilitate the interpretation of *preferred readings* through *dominant codes*.

The same neuroscientific experiments have also highlighted that the predominant stimulus in a multisensorial context is the visual one, so this also needs to be taken into consideration when discussing the hypothesis of bottom-up constraint mechanisms on the emotional responses of viewers. The social semiotic approach to visual modes has discussed a number of aspects that may have an impact on the emotional response of the viewer. Some of these I have discussed for the visual representation of social actors: *gaze, poses, distance, angle, individuals vs. groups, generic vs. specific depictions, exclusion* (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; Machin and Mayr, 2012). However, the *settings* also seem to contribute to conveying particular emotions: e.g. in *BSR* the air shots of the train going through verdant Burma while talking about the colonial years give a sense of freedom and adventure, and starkly contrast with the dark indoors of the train carriage where Simon Reeve talks about the military years or the issue of poverty in the country; in *AJM* the party settings of many of the music acts Rita Ray attends add to the feelings of joy and excitement about Malian music and contrast with the shots of sunset and night time that frame the discussion about the conflict in northern

Mali; in *GARJ* the wide landscape shots of modern Australian cities and the flight over Perth reinforce the feelings of pride and success in the colonial efforts and contrast with the indoors of one of the Fairbridge School buildings where part of the interview between Michael Portillo and one of the ex-pupils takes place.

To summarise, the analysis of how the modes contribute to constrain the emotional response of the viewers allows for two main considerations. The first is that insights from neuroscience experiments in *multisensory processing* can be very valuable in the analysis of manipulative discourse. The case studies seem to support the idea that music and visuals perform an important role in constraining the emotional responses of viewers, thus leading them to interpret the *preferred readings* of the programmes through a *dominant code*. This is what happened, by and large, with all three participants. Secondly, the idea of cross-sensorial influence points towards the importance of analysing the different modes individually as well as part of the wider *gestalt* representation when investigating manipulative discourse, as they provide further clues with regards to *preferred readings* and how they are constructed within the multimodal ensemble.

9.7 *Critical considerations*

Finally, I would like to link the analysis of the viewing interactions and of specific *preferred readings* highlighted therein to the broader issue of consensus building and *hegemony*. One of the major contributions to the study of ideology and politics made by Gramsci is the idea that the alignment of the ordinary people's worldview with that of the ruling classes is done through the work of the civil society as much as, if not more than, through the work of the political society. In *Chapter 2* I argued that this is plausible because, unlike with contexts connected to civil society, not everyone is interested or involved in the works of political society, and that our levels of *epistemic vigilance* are likely to be higher if we are faced with overt political discourses than if we are with covert ones. Gramsci believed that the naturalisation of key ideologies, through the work of civil society, results in them becoming part of a society's *common sense*; hence the generic focus of my research.

The first point to consider is that the analysis of my case studies supports the view of *epistemic vigilance* being low when interacting with travel and cultural documentaries. This I have attributed to the participants selecting their programme within their echo chamber, and to selection criteria primarily based on the perceived benevolence and competence of the sources, the BBC and the hosts in our case studies. It would be naïve to think that an affinity with the host's perceived *political* ideologies was not part of the participants' selection criteria, but this I take as a sign that everything has a political dimension, rather than the participants considered the programmes to be political, i.e. part of the work of the political society, and chose them for this reason. The low levels of *epistemic vigilance towards the source* contributed, together with the bottom-up processes of *constraint on context selection* and *constraint on the emotional response*, to also bypass the *epistemic vigilance*

towards the content, resulting in a predominantly *dominant* interpretative code being applied by the participants. These I believe to be plausible conclusions based on what the participants explicitly mentioned or discussed in the questionnaires and interviews.

The critical multimodal analysis, moreover, highlighted a number of *preferred readings* that were not prioritised by the participants in the spaces provided: these I connected to the concept of *implicit improving ideological effects*. In 9.4.2 I argued that one of the possible explanations for the participants not to discuss them was that they did not find them *relevant* since they already existed in the same form in their cognitive environments. This would point towards *naturalised* ideologies, that is ideologies that “will seem natural, legitimate and commonsensical, and will be taken for granted without significant opposition” (van Dijk, 1998, p. 274), and some of those in the programmes constitute the building blocks of the Western-born neoliberal capitalistic and neo-imperialistic ideologies. More specifically, these are: poverty and wealth as money-bound concepts (all programmes); globalisation and continuous progress as pillars of the ideal economic paradigm (*BSR* and *GARJ*); progress as economic, technological and urban advancement (*BSR* and *GARJ*); international investments as desirable (*BSR*); international institutions as morally superior (*BSR*); socialism and state-run economies as outdated and ineffective (*AJM*); social classes as natural (*AJM*); land and resources as commodities (*GARJ*); globalisation and progress as necessary conditions for freedom (all programmes); conflicts as only created by extremist ideologies, such as dictatorships or terrorism (*BSR* and *AJM*); intervention in other nations’ affairs as acceptable if it brings humanitarian or economic benefits (all programmes).

The combination of Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis, Audience Research and Relevance Theory seems to provide a viable way to analysis how *naturalised* ideologies are embedded within the narratives and representations offered in the travel programmes analysed. These ideologies reinforce the acceptance of the building blocks of the neoliberal capitalistic socio-economic paradigm and make it more difficult for people not only to find holes in the various narratives and arguments, but also to consider possible alternatives to them, thus leading to their acceptance as *commonsensical*.

9.8 Conclusion

This chapter pulled together the threads that emerged from the individual case studies to offer some initial answers to the questions posited by the research project. These included a discussion of the role of Audience Research and the *agentive* position of the participants; a summary of the implications of employing the analytical concepts of *evidential* and *ideological effects*; a summary of the top-down and bottom-up processes at play in the three case studies; a discussion about the implications of the findings towards a definition of *multimodal manipulation*; some final critical observations. A summary of the findings, some methodological and theoretical reflections and implications, and directions for further research will be the topics of the final chapter.

10. Implications and Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

This final chapter will summarise the findings in relation to the research questions of the project and share some methodological and theoretical reflections and implications, both looking back at the project itself and its position within the literature, and forward to new research directions that can be taken as a follow-up to the project. Amongst the methodological reflections and implications, I will discuss what I believe to be the strengths and weaknesses of the integration of the three analytical frameworks employed, Audience Research, MCDA and Relevance Theory, with regard to my specific RQs. Amongst the theoretical reflections and implications, I will discuss the contributions my research has made to those same three areas. I will then highlight some possible trajectories for future research and, finally, summarise the main conclusions I have drawn from the research project.

10.2 Summary of findings

The research investigated how viewers construct their ideological positions through the interaction with television travel and cultural documentaries. More specifically, the aim was to explore the extent to which the research participants' ideologies are affected by the programmes they choose to watch, and which semiotic and cognitive mechanisms facilitate the successful bypassing of their *epistemic vigilance*. The research posited three questions, for which I will now provide summative answers.

RQ1. How do viewers interact with travel and cultural documentaries and to what extent do these types of programmes affect their ideologies?

The participants in the case studies seemed to select the programmes within their echo-chambers, that is, interacting primarily with media and information that present similar interests or views to their own (Dubois and Blank, 2018, p. 731). This was evidenced by the fact they chose hosts and media outlets that they consider benevolent and competent. This claim is reinforced by the fact that many of the ideologies identified in the texts were already present in the participants' *cognitive environments*, which I suggest is evidenced by the presence of *improving ideological effects*. However, there also seemed to be some *modifying ideological effects*, that is, the creation or modification of opinions in the participants as a result of the media interaction.

The answer to the first question revealed some similarities and some differences amongst the participants. The first similarity is that the participants watch these types of programmes for entertainment and informative purposes, especially as a way to get to learn about people, places and cultures that are outside their experiential reach. This suggests that they recognise the informative purpose of the genre and expect some improvement or modification of their cognitive environment

to happen at the level of what I have labelled *evidential effects*, i.e. their factual beliefs. Moreover, the acknowledgement of the entertainment purpose indicates that they may approach the genre with a lower level of *epistemic vigilance*, notwithstanding the possibility that this could change over the course of the programme if the persuasive purpose is detected. This is a characteristic of what are also known as Entertainment-education programmes, in “which educational or persuasive messages are ‘sugarcoated’ in entertainment content, which lowers audiences’ resistance and defenses to the embedded persuasive messages” (Pajares *et al.*, 2009, p. 289). The second similarity is that they all chose the programmes based on an ideological affinity with the *sources* of the programmes, their producers, distributors and hosts. The differences were connected with the importance given to the subject matter of the programmes they chose and also with the channels they chose to watch the programmes: whereas P1 and P2 used the BBC catch-up service, the *BBC iPlayer*, P3 relied on the BBC scheduled programmes available. However, within the boundaries of their respective programmes, all the participants focused on aspects that can be connected to the Relevance Theory concept of *relevance*, that is on those aspects that either improved or modified their *cognitive environments*.

Partly as the result of choosing the programmes within their echo chambers, and hence as the result of top-down cognitive processes, the interpretative code used by all the participants is overwhelmingly the *dominant* one. This entails a successful recognition and acceptance of the *preferred readings* in the programmes. These preferred readings had a mix of effects, in Relevance Theory terms, on the participants’ cognitive environments. For all the participants a number of *evidential effects*, *modifying ideological effects* and *explicit improving ideological effects* were highlighted. Examples of *evidential effects* included learning more specific information about the Rohingya crisis (P1), learning about Malian culture and specific musicians (P2) and learning about specific engineering feats in Australia (P3). Examples of *modifying ideological effects* included reevaluating Buddhism as a peaceful religion (P1), forming a positive opinion about the Griot as the soul of Malian music (P2) and changing opinion about the attitude of younger Australians towards the British monarchy (P3). Finally, examples of *explicit improving ideological effects* included P1’s sympathetic stance towards the Rohingya, P2’s positive evaluation of music coming from Africa and P3’s admiration for those who built infrastructures and industries in Australia and for British settlers in general. This means that the cognitive environments of the participants were directly affected by the programme both at the level of *factual beliefs* and *evaluative beliefs*.

A number of *implicit improving ideological effects* have also been hypothesised for all the participants, although this specific type of effects can only be assumed to have occurred in some cases since sometimes there was no explicit mention of the topics and issues connected with them. Examples of these were: the Burmese Military being bad and the international community being good in P1’s case; social class differences being normal, socialism not (or no longer) being a viable political

ideology and (inter)national conflicts being often caused by terrorism in P2's case; the 'West as steward' discourse and the socio-economic tenets of capitalism being unproblematic in P3's case. Moreover, the results for this set of research questions showed that a multimodal social semiotic framework of analysis for the text is indeed effective for the purpose of breaking down narratives and the representation of the various social actors therein. Finally, the case studies seemed to support Hall's *encoding/decoding* model (1980/2005), with its idea of *interpretative codes*. This latter point is also in line with the results of most of the *recontextualisation studies* reviewed in *Chapter 2*.

RQ2. What ideologies do travel and cultural documentaries reproduce or challenge and how is this done multimodally?

The research provides evidence that the travel and cultural documentaries analysed play a hegemonic role in reproducing ideologies that feed and reinforce the neoliberal socio-economic paradigm within which they are produced and distributed as well as neo-imperialistic ideologies. More specifically, the analyses highlight the following ideologies: poverty and wealth as money-bound concepts; globalisation and continuous progress as pillars of the ideal economic paradigm; progress as economic, technological and urban advancement; international investments as desirable; international institutions as morally superior; socialism and state-run economies as outdated and ineffective; social classes as natural; land and resources as commodities; globalisation and progress as necessary conditions for freedom; conflicts as only created by extremist ideologies, such as dictatorships or terrorism; intervention in other nations' affairs as acceptable if it brings humanitarian or economic benefits; a 'West-as-steward' discourse (Holliday, 2016).

The neoliberal and neo-imperialistic discourses are articulated both in relation to the past, for example through the neutral or positive representations of the British Empire in *BSR* and *GARJ*, and in the present with the ideals of moral superiority that emerge in *BSR*, as well as the ideals of economic and technological superiority of the Western models of progress and industrial production that emerge in all programmes. The modes utilised for the multimodal construction of such representations make full use of the affordances of the medium, through the auditory and visual channels. The programmes provided linguistic descriptions of neoliberal ideologies, e.g. talking about foreign investments in *BSR*, or describing the Diabate family as a music dynasty in *AJM*, or discussing the contribution of the wine and mining industries to Australian economy in *GARJ*. Likewise, they provided visual representation of neoliberal ideologies, e.g. through shots of the modern buildings in financial centres in *BSR* and *GARJ*, or through the shots of the expensive cars of the Diabate family with personalised number plates in *AJM*. Music often *anchored* some of these representations emotionally, for example with the 'magical' major key piece that accompanies Portillo's visit to the goldmine in *GARJ*, or with

the minor key melodies that accompany Kar Kar's description of his struggles during the socialist years in Mali in *AJM*.

RQ3. To what extent do the semiotic and cognitive mechanisms at play in the media interaction bypass the viewers' *epistemic vigilance* and how is this achieved?

The case studies provided evidence of a number of successful manipulative processes. The avoidance of the participants' *epistemic vigilance* seemed to be facilitated both by top-down (i.e. viewer-driven) and bottom-up (i.e. text-driven) processes. The former primarily include the selection of a trusted source, which facilitates the bypassing of the *epistemic vigilance towards the source*, and which the programmes then reinforced through positive and 'objective' semiotic representations of the hosts and experts. The latter comprise two distinct, but interrelated, cognitive phenomena: *constraint on the context selection* and *constraint on the emotional response*. *Constraint on the context selection* is achieved through the application of *contextual filters*, that is, the exclusion of aspects that are connected to a specific topic and available in other discursive representations, which the text producers of the documentary under investigation either chose not to include or ignored existed. They were therefore characterised by semiotic absence or backgrounding. *Constraint on the emotional response* were primarily achieved through visual modes, predominantly close-up and establishing shots, and sonic modes, predominantly music through the use of major and minor keys as well as rhythm. Based on insights from the field of multimodal processing, visuals can be seen as semiotically foregrounded in the audio-visual multimodal ensemble due to the dominance of the visual sensory channel, whereas music often provided cross-sensorial influence from a *ground* position.

The consequences of these processes are not universal nor entirely predictable, in the sense that the type of effects they will produce depends on the cognitive environment of individual viewers for the former (context selection), and on the viewers sharing the same interpretation of the contingent cultural signification attached to the semiotic modes for the latter (emotional response). This, I argue, points towards the definition of manipulation as a *scalar phenomenon* that I suggested in *Chapter 4*.

10.3 Methodological reflections and implications

The research set out to explore three main RQs: how did the research participants engage with specific travel and cultural documentaries? What is the ideological make-up of the documentaries chosen? What are the cognitive mechanisms at play during this interaction?

With regard to the first RQ, the audience research component with its qualitative instruments of pre- and post-viewing questionnaires and the in-depth semi-structured interviews worked well. I believe they gave enough space to the participants to record key points before and after they watched the programmes and to subsequently expand on them, without burdening the participants with too

long or complex tasks, which could have affected the quality of their answers. The audience research approach, with freedom of programme selection and viewing settings also facilitated a more naturalistic experience and higher engagement throughout the data collection process. One point to consider carefully, however, is the choice of programme by the participants and the extent to which knowing me, albeit not very well, might have influenced their choices and conduct. Although I feel the choice of the programmes was not influenced to a great extent by my position as acquaintance/researcher, I cannot safely say the same for the way they conducted themselves over the data collection process and in terms of the points they highlighted and discussed. Particularly P1 and P2, whom I have evaluated on the progressive end of the political spectrum, came across as too ‘accepting’, by way of not challenging them, of some of the neoliberal ideologies that emerged from the critical multimodal analysis. I have hypothesised that these may be ‘naturalised’ ideologies and some of them may be well-accepted within more progressive ideologies. However, there is also the possibility that because certain ideologies seem so ‘natural’ and commonsensical, the participants felt they would have been judged negatively if they had voiced critical views over them and preferred not to do so. The research methods and instruments neither primed nor pushed the participants to discuss specific ideologies: the whole idea was to see what *they* would focus on and decided to discuss. However, more direct types of questions should be taken into consideration in future research in order to get a better understanding of the ideological make-up of the participants. This could be integrated in a second round of interviews as part of a longitudinal extension of the case studies (see 10.5 below).

The second aspect, i.e. highlighting the ideologies embedded in the documentaries, was investigated using well-established methods from multimodal critical discourse analysis and reception studies, along the lines of the *recontextualisation studies* reviewed in *Chapter 2*. The results showed good alignment between my interpretation of narratives and the representation of social actors therein, and the participants’. I believe therefore the *recontextualisation* type of methods worked very well for triangulating the researcher’s interpretation and for putting theoretical concepts from multimodal social semiotics to the test. However, the individual nature of the case studies and the absence of probing during the interviews might have proved limiting in allowing the participants to ‘dare’ a bit more with sharing their opinions and evaluations on the ideological positions in the programmes. It proved difficult to gauge the extent to which the different ideological representations I highlighted were also picked up by the participants. Going forward, focus groups could be an interesting alternative or integration to the research design employed here as, despite the risks connected with group dynamics and peer-pressure, one of their main advantages is to create conversations and discussions that “are thought to reveal the meanings that people read into the topic of discussion and how people negotiate these meanings” (Vatnøy, 2018, p. 136). Despite this, the cognitive analysis did allow me to speculate about the participants’ engagement with the ideological positions in the documentaries to a certain extent.

This takes us to the last RQ, that is media effects and cognitive mechanisms. I believe that the methodology worked well in most respects but fell somewhat short in the analysis of what I called *implicit improving ideological effects*. Overall, Relevance Theory seems to offer a neat and robust framework for the analysis of those issues and ideologies that are explicitly discussed during the data collection process. For these, the newly forged concepts of *evidential* and *ideological effects*, and *contextual filters* offered plausible explanations about which issues the participants focused on and learnt from the programmes, as well as the extent to which their opinions around those issues had been modified or improved as a result of the viewing experience. As for the *implicit improving ideological effects*, the fact that participants were not probed during the interviews around specific ideologies meant that it was more difficult to establish whether they had noticed them in the first place and what kind of effects, if any, the programme had had. As mentioned above, more probing questions could be included either during the follow-up interviews or in a second round of interviews as part of a longitudinal extension of the project. Finally, with regard to the cognitive mechanisms at play, I believe that the strength of the combination of MCDA and Audience Research methods is that it allows one to explore both top-down and bottom-up processes. The case studies highlighted a number of both these types of processes and, although by no means exhaustive, the qualitative results can represent a springboard for quantitative analyses with experimental designs and focused research hypotheses addressing the various mechanisms highlighted, here including issues of manipulation.

10.4 Theoretical reflections and implications

The results of the case studies contributed to the empirical testing of three theoretical approaches and frameworks: Audience Research, Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis and Relevance Theory. I will highlight the contributions to each individual approach, before also discussing some connection to grand theory and, more specifically, to Critical Realism.

First of all, the research investigates a genre, travel and cultural documentaries, that has not received much attention in the field of multimodal research of filmic texts, which has instead focused on fiction (Bateman and Tseng, 2015; Bateman and Schmidt, 2012; Bednarek, 2014; Feng and O'Halloran, 2013; O'Halloran, 2004b; Tseng, 2008, 2013; Tseng and Bateman, 2012; Wildfeuer, 2014). From a more critical standpoint, which often also included a reception element, the focus has instead been on fictional series (Kosetzi, 2012, 2013), crime programmes (Machin and Mayr, 2013) and reality shows (Eriksson, 2015; Edwards, 2016; Paterson, Coffey-Glover and Peplow, 2016; Paterson, Peplow and Grainger 2017); one notable exception being the analysis of the ideological representation of gypsies in three British television documentary programmes (Piazza, 2017). Through the integration of a reception element, along the lines of the *recontextualisation* studies cited above, the research has provided further support for the social semiotic type of analysis upon which MCDS is built. Constructs such as *the representation of social actors and processes* and *connotation*

have been investigated in the individual modes that the television medium affords through the auditory and visual sensory channels, as well as in the resulting multimodal ensemble. Furthermore, the critical textual analysis highlighted the reproduction of a number of foundational ideas of the neoliberal capitalist ideology, thus suggesting that the genre of travel and cultural documentary plays a role in building hegemonic consensus around this specific socio-economic paradigm. Moreover, through the integration of Relevance Theory and a focus on the cognitive aspects of the media interactions, the research has contributed to the growing interest in a cognitive approach to multimodality (e.g. Forceville, 1996, 2020, 2021; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009; Gibbons, 2012; Pinar Sanz, 2015; Gibbons and Whiteley, 2020; Hart, 2020; Hoffmann, 2021). Some suggestions on how this area of research can be further developed will be offered in the next section.

Secondly, the research contributed to empirically testing Relevance Theory within the realm of multimodal discourse studies, with a particular focus on media effects and manipulative discourses. As discussed in *Chapter 4* a number of researchers within the fields of CDS and pragmatics have argued for the use of Relevance Theory for the study of manipulative discourse (de Saussure, 2005, 2011, 2013; Hart, 2013; Maillat, 2013; Maillat and Oswald, 2009, 2011; Oswald, 2011, 2014, 2016; Oswald and Hart, 2013). My analysis and interpretation of the potential manipulative discourses in the documentaries suggests that, in addition to “as a set of constraints limiting the processes of contextual selection” (Maillat and Oswald, 2009, p. 361), the multimodal ensemble, often through the visual and sonic related modes, also *operates to constrain the emotional responses* of the viewers. The RT concept of *contextual effects* has also been fine-tuned by applying van Dijk’s (1998) differentiation between ‘factual’ and ‘evaluative’ beliefs and the concepts of *evidential effects* and *ideological effects* have been used to explore different types of changes in the participants’ cognitive environments. As I will discuss shortly, this also creates a strong epistemological connection between my methodology and Critical Realism.

Thirdly, the research has provided further evidence for Hall’s (1980/2005) *encoding and decoding* model by adding a cognitive semiotic dimension to the analysis of the genre of travel and cultural documentaries and showing how the *preferred readings* of the documentaries were interpreted through specific codes. Most importantly, the case studies explored the cognitive mechanisms at play during media interactions, providing evidence for a number of top-down and bottom-up processes occurring before, during and after the media experience. This contributes to discussions around the integration of cognitive semiotics in film studies (e.g. Plantiga and Smith, 1999; Buckland, 2012; Nannicelli and Taberham, 2014) and suggests a fruitful application of cognitive analytical concepts to the field of Audience Research. This theoretical strand is the less developed in the thesis, which focuses on cognitive multimodal semiosis in films, rather than cognitive film and reception studies, but the common cognitive semiotics focus is a strong connection that can be further explored going forward.

Finally, a note on how Critical Realism has been integrated within my framework and the potential implications for multimodal research. In *Chapter 2*, based on van Dijk's (1998) differentiation between 'factual' and 'evaluative beliefs', I proposed a distinction within the realm of the 'social' between a *basic social reality* and a *constructed discursive reality*. The former I defined as the constructed reality that has the status of *knowledge*, or factual beliefs, in the societal ideological constellations of the participants in the communicative event. The *constructed discursive reality*, on the other hand, I defined as the constructed reality that has the status of *opinions*, or evaluative beliefs, in the societal ideological constellations of the participants in the communicative event, or at least in some of them to the point that its veracity is disputed. Then, in *Chapter 3* I also discussed how the material aspects of multimodal semiosis create an epistemological connection between semiotics and Bhaskar's (1998) Critical Realism (see also Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer, 2002), and how the 'real' and the 'social' fit within the semiotic process of mediation.

A Critical Realist epistemology can prove very useful for unifying the different approaches to multimodal research that I briefly reviewed in *Chapter 3*. This is due to three key reasons: the first is that it allows a theoretical grounding for both the material and discursive aspects of communication, be these parts of the production, distribution or reception of multimodal communicative texts and events. In *Chapter 3*, for example, I discussed how materiality is present at every stage of the multimodal communicative event pertaining to television documentaries and audiences, and I identified a number of material aspects, e.g. the bodies and settings at production, the DVDs or airwaves at distribution, and the receiving devices and sensory channels at the reception stage. All of these material aspects, I argued, affect both the semiotic aspects of communication, for example through their affordances, and the cognitive aspects of communication, for example through the cross-sensorial influence highlighted by research in multisensory processing or through the stratification of the different modes within the multimodal ensemble and its effects on matters of attention and perception.

The second reason is that, by differentiating between non-human and human dependent levels of reality, Critical Realism also allows for *agency* to be considered at the different stages of a multimodal communicative event, thus highlighting the non-deterministic relationship between reality and individuals that is at the basis of many approaches within CDS. However, I would argue that some focus on *agency* at the reception end is necessary while exploring communication as it has become more and more apparent that individuals engage with communicative events in different ways (see discussion in 2.5.). This is not only in terms of interpreting the communicative events, but also in terms of deciding whether or not to engage with a specific communicative event in the first place: this element of choice, as the analyses of the three cases studies have suggested, also carries semiotic and cognitive implications. In this respect Carpentier's (2017) *discursive-material knot*, with the four interconnected elements of discourse, materiality, agency and discursive structures, reflects this

Critical Realist epistemology well, even if it does not explicitly acknowledge it and, most importantly from my point of view, if it does not acknowledge the importance of cognition in the negotiated construction of the discursive aspects of reality.

This takes me to the third and final benefit of adopting a Critical Realist epistemology, which is the possibility to address both the semiotic and cognitive dimensions at the same time. I have already discussed the semiotic aspects connected with Critical Realism in *Chapter 3* and summarised most of them in the previous paragraphs. The RT-based analytical model discussed in *Chapter 4*, and reproduced in *Figure 10.1* for ease of reference, provides a framework through which the critical realist epistemology can be connected with aspects of cognition.

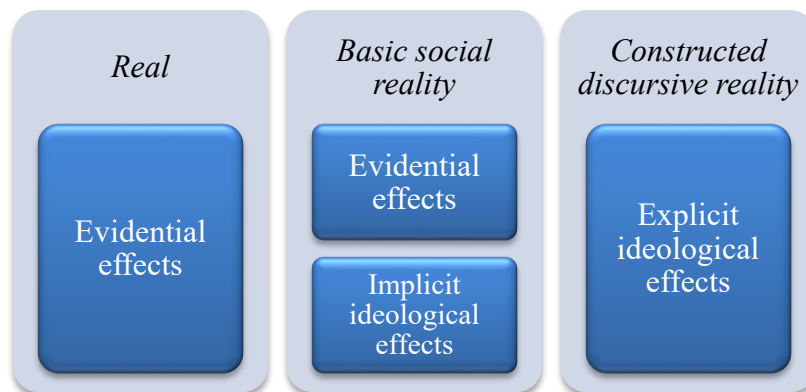


Figure 10.1: Cognitive analytical model integrating concepts from Critical Realism and Relevance Theory

The *real*, *basic social reality* and *constructed discursive reality* can be differentiated both theoretically, through the ideas of human-dependency and levels of *epistemic certainty* and, consequently, analytically. The different types of cognitive effects derived from a more nuanced characterisation of the *contextual effects*, then provide the analytical and interpretative key to explore how the different planes of reality are negotiated by the participants in a communicative event. The analyses provided in the case studies hopefully showed how the model can be applied to the study of specific communicative events and texts, and used to explore not only the recontextualisation of the participants, but also the extent to which ideologies are shaped as a result of the communicative event under analysis and how this happens.

10.5 Directions for further research

Given the qualitative, case study nature of the project, there are many directions in which the research can be taken. These include both qualitative designs to add to the list of genres, media interactions and theoretical/analytical constructs to explore, and larger scale experimental designs to further investigate the same genre, media interaction and analytical constructs that emerged from this project

as well as new ones. I will now sketch a few ideas for possible venues, all of which would include the integration of MCDS, Relevance Theory and Reception Studies.

Qualitative approaches have the benefit of putting participants in the *agentive position*, which is something that quantitative designs would struggle to achieve. A first option would be repeating the case study design presented here, including the analytical construct of *evidential* and *ideological effects*, with different genres and/or media but still focusing on the discourses produced by the civil society. The textual, cognitive and pragmatic features can (and, in fact, should) also incorporate constructs that have been used in the field of cognitive critical discourse studies and cognitive multimodality, such as social cognition (van Dijk, 1998, 2008, 2009, 2014), metaphors (Forceville, 1996, 2020; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009; Hart, 2010, 2014, 2018), Discourse Space Theory and proximization (Chilton, 2004; Cap, 2006; Hart, 2014), presupposition and mental spaces (Polyzou, 2013, 2015, 2018), embodiment and visual perception (Gibbons, 2012). Social media would be a prime candidate for the choice of medium given the spread and potential impact on a very high number of people. A lot of work within both the fields of CDS and multimodal research has been done around this kind of media and its content, but even amongst Audience Research practitioners there is still a concern that more research should be done that aims to close the gap between text analysis and audience interpretation in the post-broadcasting digital age (Schröder, 2019). Subscription services such as Amazon Prime or Netflix as well as free video-sharing platforms such as YouTube would also be ideal candidates as they too reach a high number of people. As is the case for social media, although there is a growing body of research around the multimodal affordances of these media and the semiotic representations therein, there is a lack of research on the cognitive mechanisms at play during user interactions.

A longitudinal qualitative design would be a second option and one that, as discussed in *Chapter 9*, would be very helpful to address some of the methodological shortcoming of this project, particularly in the investigation of *implicit improving ideological effects*. Here participants can be interviewed at different time intervals and probed around some of the topics and ideologies found in the media texts they originally interacted with. Although there are some ethnographic (Rogers, 2011) and text-based exceptions (Rade, 2019), longitudinal studies are not very common in (M)CDS, so this methodological design could provide a novel approach to the effects of media discourse over a prolonged period of time.

Another direction in which this research can be taken towards is experimental qualitative and/or quantitative designs. In recent years there has been more of an urge in (M)CDS to provide empirical evidence that goes beyond textual analysis and a few studies have worked in this direction integrating an experimental reception element (Hart 2018; Tseng 2021). Along similar lines, experimental designs using documentary programmes could manipulate the text itself or the *contextual filters* applied (for example by providing some of the information filtered out before or after the viewing

experience) to see whether or not the participants' interpretative codes would vary between *dominant*, *negotiated* and *oppositional*. However, this design would make it difficult to keep the participant's *agentive position* that was granted by the design in this project, which is an aspect that needs to be given careful consideration.

Finally, in a more quantitative or mixed-methods fashion, programmes could be shown to larger groups of participants and then focus groups could also be used to collect the data and allow participants to debate some of the issues shown in the programmes. Incidentally, the initial design for this project proposed to show the programmes to larger audiences but, eventually, I opted for a full qualitative design to allow for the media interaction to be as naturalistic as possible and to provide a fuller analysis of the media interactions. What would still be paramount in such a research design would be to keep the pre- and post-data collection elements in order to explore changes in the participants' cognitive environments.

10.6 Conclusion

Overall, I feel the research largely achieved two purposes. The first is to test empirically some of the theoretical and analytical constructs from the field of MCDS and the frameworks upon which it was built, i.e. Critical Linguistics, CDA, multimodal social semiotics. The *recontextualisation* type of studies, despite their limitations with regard to allowing the research participants an *agentive position*, had already provided evidence that the (critical) text interpretations offered by the analysts are not only plausible, but also fairly accurate. My research added some evidence not only for the claims that discourses carry a number of ideologies, but also for the claims that they do modify or improve the viewer's cognitive environments and, hence, their ideologies. However, this should not be taken as a deterministic stance, whereby viewers are brainwashed to believe in whatever ideologies are thought to be embedded in a text. Rather, "this methodology allows to analyse *how individuals discursively constitute themselves*" (Castaldi, 2021, p. 56, *emphasis in original*), through the choice of text and sources with which they decide to engage.

Secondly, through the integration of analytical constructs borrowed and adapted from Relevance Theory, the research provided a first, tentative explanation of how *multimodal manipulation* can successfully occur in the genre of travel and cultural documentaries. Such explanation was built on logical arguments revolving around the Gramscian idea that hegemony is predominantly sought through the works of civil society, coupled with an empirical cognitive investigation of how this happens in practice through a combination of top-down and bottom-up processes.

The audience research element highlighted that all the participants "consumed" these particular programmes within echo-chambers, that is, interacting primarily with media and information that present similar interests or views to one's own (Dubois and Blank, 2018, p. 731). Despite some scepticism around the existence of echo-chambers (Barberá *et al.*, 2015; Bruns, 2017; Dubois and

Blank, 2018), this is something that has already been shown to occur with online news (Metzger, Hartsell and Flanagin, 2020). One consequence of this, which emerged from all the three cases studies with few exceptions, is that the participants tended to interpret the programme's *preferred readings* through a *dominant code* (Hall, 1980/2005). These findings contribute some empirical evidence to discussions in media studies with regard to the role of media in society by suggesting that participants indeed interact with media from an *agentive position* with free will and freedom of choice. This was particularly clear when analysing specific political and intercultural stances. However, it also showed that all the programmes chosen, to varying degrees, reinforce ideologies that are connected to a very specific socio-economic paradigm, neoliberalism, thus making 'freedom of choice' an illusory concept as far as exposure to different socio-economic paradigms is concerned (see Curran, 2002, for a summary of the different positions in media studies with regard to the role of media in society). This seems to support the idea that media does allow debates around certain topics "while all the time the presuppositions of the system are being reinforced by the limits put on the range of the debate" (Chomsky, Barsamian and Naiman, 1998). The existence of very few global media conglomerates, a discussed in *Chapter 2*, is no doubt one of the factors creating this state of affairs.

This takes us to the specific media outlet the participants chose, the BBC and the extent to which it differs from those private media conglomerates which, almost by definition, work within the neoliberal paradigm and are bound to reinforce it for their own interests. The discussion on the evolution of the BBC in 2.4.2.1 unfortunately points in the direction of a fairly radical change in the nature of the corporation over the past 50 years. The neoliberal paradigm has come to dominate the political spectrum in the UK, and this has in turn had an effect on the prerogatives and duties of the BBC as a state-founded corporation. The analysis of the most recent Charter (Great Britain 2016a) and Framework Agreement (Great Britain 2016b) provided in 2.4.3 showed how, ultimately, control over the provision of the corporation is not in the hand of its shareholders (the licence fee payers) but limited by market forces and the explicit obligation imposed onto the corporation not to interfere with them. The critical multimodal analysis of the programmes provided further evidence that neoliberal ideologies are indeed embedded in the narratives and representations given by the programmes. If this was shown to be the case in the majority of the programmes broadcast by the BBC, then it would be very difficult to argue against the role televised media plays in the UK to hegemonically work towards establishing the socio-economic and cultural values of neoliberal capitalism as the presupposed, commonsensical basis of our global society.

Far from being an end point, I hope this PhD can represent the springboard for a series of research projects whose objective is to continue the CDS endeavour to resist a socio-economic paradigm which has created, and still creates, incredible inequalities within and between countries. The ultimate goal is to create a fairer and more equal peoplekind.

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Appendix 2.1: Central Human Functional Capabilities (Nussbaum, 2000, pp. 78-80)

1. Life. Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.
2. Bodily Health. Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
3. Bodily Integrity. Being able to move freely from place to place; having one's bodily boundaries treated as sovereign, i.e. being able to be secure against assault, including sexual assault, child sexual abuse, and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
4. Senses, Imagination, and Thought. Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason – and to do these things in a “truly human” way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing self-expressive works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to search for the ultimate meaning of life in one's own way. Being able to have pleasurable experiences, and to avoid non-necessary pain.
5. Emotions. Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by overwhelming fear and anxiety, or by traumatic events of abuse or neglect. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development.)
6. Practical Reason. Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience.)
7. Affiliation.
 - A. Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another and to have compassion for that situation; to have the capability for both justice and friendship. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.)
 - B. Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails, at a minimum, protections against discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, religion, caste, ethnicity, or national origin.

In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers.

8. Other Species. Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.

9. Play. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.

10. Control over One's Environment.

A. Political. Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association.

B. Material. Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), not just formally but in terms of real opportunity; and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure.

Appendix 2.2: Thematic Analysis of the BBC Charter (2016) and of the BBC Framework Agreement (2016)

Themes	BBC Charter (2016)	BBC Framework Agreement (2016)	Comments
Serving the British people's interests	<p>“the BBC should be continued for the period ending on the 31st December 2027 and that the objects, constitution, organisation and regulation of the BBC should be reformed so as to enable the BBC still better to serve the interests of Our People” (p. 3)</p> <p>“The BBC must act in the public interest [and] in doing so, have regard to economic, social and cultural benefits and costs” (p. 7)</p>		Key phrase in this paragraph is: <i>public interests</i> - what are they and who decide what they are?
Independence of the corporation	<p>“We believe it to be in the interests of Our People that there should continue to be an independent corporation and that it should provide such services, and be permitted to engage in other compatible activities, within a suitable legal framework” (p. 3)</p>	<p>“The parties to this Agreement affirm their commitment to the independence of the BBC as stated in article 3 of the Charter. By entering into this Agreement, the BBC has voluntarily assumed obligations which restrict, to some extent, its future freedom of action” (p. 5)</p>	Key phrases in these paragraphs are: <i>suitable legal framework</i> - with regard to commercial law and economics, what are the limits within which the corporation has to operate? “ <i>the BBC has voluntarily assumed obligations which restrict, to some extent, its future freedom of action</i> ”
Legal definition of the corporation	<p>“The BBC shall continue to be a body corporate” (p. 4)</p>		Definition of <i>body corporate</i> : “an organization such as a company or government that is considered to have its own legal rights and responsibilities” (businessdictionary.com)
Mission of the BBC: the <i>public purpose</i>	<p>“The BBC’s object is the fulfilment of its Mission and the promotion of the Public Purposes” (p. 5)</p> <p>“The Mission of the BBC is to act in the public interest, serving all audiences through the provision of impartial, high-quality and distinctive output and services which inform, educate and entertain.” (p. 5)</p>		The Public Purposes listed (pp. 5-6 of the Charter, <i>my italics</i>) are: To provide impartial news and information to help people understand and engage with the world around them [...] so that all audiences can engage fully with major local, regional, national, United Kingdom and

global issues and participate in the democratic process, at all levels, *as active and informed citizens*;
 To support learning for people of all ages;
 To show the most creative, highest quality and distinctive output and services;
 To reflect, represent and serve the diverse communities of all of the United Kingdom's nations and regions and, in doing so, support the creative economy across the United Kingdom;
 To reflect the United Kingdom, *its culture and values* to the world:
 the BBC should provide high-quality news coverage to international audiences, firmly based on British *values of accuracy, impartiality, and fairness*.

Commercial activities	<p>“are undertaken with a view to generating a profit (regardless of whether the profit generated will or may be used to fund the fulfilment of the Mission and the promotion of the Public Purposes). This means that something can be a commercial activity even if it also promotes the Public Purposes, if it is done with a view to generating profit.” (p. 7)</p>	<p>“Commercial activities” means activities which [...] are undertaken with a view to generating a profit (regardless of whether the profit generated will or may be used to fund the fulfilment of the Mission or promotion of the Public Purposes). This means that something can be a commercial activity even if it also fulfils the Mission or promotes the Public Purposes, if it is done with a view to generating profit.” (p. 15)</p>	<p>Key phrase in this paragraph is <i>generating profit</i> as this puts the commercial arms of the BBC in the free market arena</p>
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Market impact and the 'public interest test'	<p>“(1) The BBC must have particular regard to the effects of its activities on competition in the United Kingdom.</p> <p>(2) In complying with this article, the BBC must</p> <p>(a) seek to avoid adverse impacts on competition which are not necessary for the effective fulfilment of the Mission and the promotion of the Public Purposes</p> <p>(b) have regard to promoting positive impacts on the wider market.” (pp. 7-8)</p> <p>“The BBC, in exercising its functions in relation to the commercial activities, must [...] ensure that its commercial activities do not, as a result of their relationship with the UK Public Services, non-service activities or trading activities, distort the market or gain an unfair competitive advantage.” (p. 10)</p> <p>“The Board must consider [...] whether the proposed changes, as a result of their relationship with the UK Public Services, trading activities or non-service activities, distort the market or create an unfair competitive advantage.” (p. 11)</p>	<p>“(1) The BBC must be satisfied that [...]</p> <p>(b) it has taken reasonable steps to ensure that the proposed change has no adverse impact on fair and effective competition which is not necessary for the effective fulfilment of the Mission and the promotion of the Public Purposes; and</p> <p>(c) the public value of the proposed change justifies any adverse impact on fair and effective competition, ('the public interest test').</p> <p>(2) In carrying out the public interest test, the BBC must consider the scale and likelihood of any public value relative to the scale and likelihood of any adverse impact on fair and effective competition” (p. 7)</p> <p>“Competition Assessment” section (pp. 8-9)</p> <p>“Competition Review” section (pp. 9-10)</p>	<p>Key phrases in these paragraphs are:</p> <p><i>particular regard to the effects of its activities on competition;</i></p> <p><i>avoid adverse impacts on competition;</i></p> <p><i>distort the market or gain an unfair competitive advantage;</i></p> <p><i>distort the market or create an unfair competitive advantage</i></p>
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Regulatory bodies: Ofcom	<p>“Ofcom must have regard [of] the desirability of protecting fair and effective competition in the United Kingdom” (p. 23)</p> <p>“Ofcom must set requirements, in the Operating Framework, to protect fair and effective competition in the United Kingdom in relation to—</p> <p>(a) material changes proposed by the BBC to the carrying on of UK Public Services and non-service activities;</p> <p>(b) the effect on fair and effective competition of UK Public Services, trading activities and non-service activities; and</p> <p>(c) agreements with, and conduct affecting, third parties in relation to UK Public Services, trading activities and non-service activities.</p> <p>(6) Ofcom must set requirements, in the Operating Framework, in relation to interaction between the BBC and its commercial activities to ensure that the commercial activities do not, as a result of their relationship with the UK Public Services, trading activities or non-service activities, distort the market or gain an unfair competitive advantage. In considering whether the commercial activities gain an unfair competitive advantage, Ofcom may consider in particular whether the commercial services are, or will be, undertaken in line with normal market principles, including making a commercial rate of return.” (p. 24)</p>	<p>“The Operating Framework must include requirements Ofcom consider appropriate to ensure that the commercial activities do not, as a result of their relationship with the UK Public Services, trading activities or non-service activities, distort the market or gain an unfair competitive advantage (“the trading and separation rules”). This may include requirements-</p> <p>(a) to ensure appropriate separation between the BBC and its commercial subsidiaries including by requiring that-</p> <p>(i) the commercial activities are carried out in accordance with normal market principles, including making a commercial rate of return” (p. 18)</p>	<p>Key phrases in these paragraphs: <i>protecting fair and effective competition; whether the commercial services are, or will be, undertaken in line with normal market principles, including making a commercial rate of return</i></p>
BBC World Service	<p>“Taking account of the strategy and the budget it has set, the BBC will agree with the Foreign Secretary-</p> <p>(a) objectives, priorities and</p>	<p>Key phrases in these paragraphs: <i>the BBC will agree with the Foreign Secretary objectives, priorities and</i></p>	

targets for the World Service”
(p. 20)
“In addition to the specific provisions of paragraphs (4) to (8), the relationship between the Foreign Secretary and the BBC for the provision of the World Service is based on the following principles-
(a) the BBC has full editorial and managerial independence and integrity in the provision of the World Service, within the structure of the Charter and this Framework Agreement” (p.21)

*targets;
the BBC has full editorial and managerial independence and integrity in the provision [but not in the agenda setting] of the World Service*

Appendix 5.1: Audience reception questionnaire

Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in my research, your contribution is very much valued. I would appreciate if you could watch your programme of choice and fill this questionnaire **within 2 weeks** of receiving this if possible. After completing it, please send me an email (j.castaldi668@canterbury.ac.uk) with a scanned copy or photo of the completed form. Alternatively, you can send the form to me by post at the address specified on the *consent form* you have. I will also be happy to send you a digital copy if you prefer.

Please choose the Travel or Cultural programme and watch it at a time and in a way that is convenient to you. Travel and Cultural can refer to a variety of programmes, but **the key points are that the programme takes place in the country or place of interest, is non-fictional and that the main language of delivery is English.** Examples of Travel programmes can be the BBC News' *Travel Show*, the BBC's *Great Railway Journeys*, Channel 4's *Travel Man*, ITV's *Joanna Lumley's Silk Road Adventure* or Vice's *Guide to Travel*. Examples of Cultural programmes can include art programmes such as the BBC's *The Treasures of Ancient Rome*, visits to cultural places of interest such as Channel 4's *The Great Wall of China: The Hidden Story*, food-related programmes such as Channel 4's *Jamie Cooks Italy* or the BBC's *Nigel Slater's Middle East*. **These are only examples and you can choose anything you like of a similar kind.**

The questionnaire is structured in 3 parts:

- you can fill in section 1 **at any point**;
- you will need to fill in section 2 after you have chosen what programme to watch **but before watching it**;
- you will need to fill in section 3 **after you have watched the programme**.

If for any of the questions you need more space to write, please use the box at the end of this form, specifying the number of the question you are answering.

The questionnaire is completely confidential and your name and contact details will not appear anywhere: the only reason why I ask you to specify it is for ease of reference when I analyse and catalogue the information received and in case I need to contact you for the follow up conversation if you have agreed to it.

Your name and surname: _____

Contact number: _____ E-mail address: _____

Name of programme chosen: _____

Channel or platform used: (e.g. Channel 4, Netflix, YouTube, etc.): _____

Medium (e.g. TV set, desktop computer, tablet, etc): _____

PLEASE SIGN AND DATE HERE BEFORE SENDING THE QUESTIONNAIRE BACK

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Section 1: general viewing habits

1. How often would you say you watch travel or cultural programmes (tick only one box)?
 once or twice a year once every 6-8 weeks twice a month
 once a week twice or more a week

2. Why do you watch travel or cultural programmes?

3. How do you generally watch travel or cultural programmes (tick as many as you like)?
 TV set desktop PC laptop tablet
 smartphone cinema other (please specify) _____

4. Do you have a preferred medium (i.e. one of the items in question 3) to watch travel or cultural programmes? Why or why not?

5. Where do you generally watch travel or cultural programmes (tick as many as you like)?
 scheduled digital TV (e.g. BBC, ITV, Channel 4, etc. at the time the program is broadcasted)
 catch-up TV (e.g. recorded on a TV set, online iPlayers, etc.)
 subscription channels on TV (e.g. Sky, Virgin, etc.)
 subscription channels on the internet (e.g. Netflix, Amazon Prime, etc.)
 free video channels on the internet (e.g. YouTube, Vimeo, etc.)
 rented or purchased DVDs
 at the cinema (e.g. as a member of a film society or on a social occasion)

6. Do you have a preferred channel or platform (i.e. one of the items in question 5) to watch travel or cultural programmes? Why or why not?

7. Do you generally watch travel or cultural programmes with (tick as many as you like)
 alone partner/spouse other family members friends
 housemates acquaintances (e.g. as part of a film society)
 complete strangers (e.g. at the cinema)

8. Do you discuss programmes you or others have watched with (tick as many as you like)
 no one partner/spouse other family members housemates
 friends acquaintances (e.g. with people you see on leisure activities)
 complete strangers (e.g. on a train)

This is the end of the first section. Please make sure you have chosen the programme you want to watch before filling in section 2.

Appendix 5.2: Follow-up interview questions

Proviso: should any of the following questions create uneasiness in the participants, they will be dropped straight away.

Initial small-talk will also be used to put the participant at ease. Some questions related to age, occupation and education background will also be asked either towards the beginning or the end of the interview, depending on how things progress.

1. Follow-up on notes and comments from the questionnaire participants have filled in
2. Extra questions if some of the topics identified in the questionnaire have not come up spontaneously from the initial discussion.
3. Do you think that this kind of programmes are useful to gain knowledge about aspects of the world?

Participant's experiences with and attitudes about intercultural matters

4. Do you like travelling? Do you travel often? What kind of places do you like to visit?
5. Tell me about your cultural experiences outside the UK
6. Tell me about your exposure to different cultures here in the UK
7. Tell me about the type and frequency of contact with people from other countries here in the UK
8. Can you recall any positive intercultural experiences you have had? What happened? What made them a positive experience?
9. Can you recall any negative intercultural experiences you have had? What happened? What made them a negative experience?

Participant's attitudes about national and international socio-economic and political matters

10. What do you think about British politics? Do you find them interesting?
11. How/where do you find out what goes on in British politics?
12. What characteristics of British society do you like?
13. What do you think are the problems with British society?
14. Are you interested in international politics?
15. Are you interested in some specific geographical areas or countries? Why?
16. Where/how do you gather information about what happens in these places?
17. What do you think about the relationship between Britain and the geographical areas or countries you are interested in?

Appendix 6.1: P1 interview transcript (9th May 2019, at his house)

1. JC: Hello P1
2. P1: Hello Jacopo
3. JC So, just to talk about what we are going to be doing now, we're gonna kind of go
4. through your notes first
5. P1: Yes
6. JC: And then we have a look at some of them a bit more details and then we just talk
7. about bits connected to what you watched and other things hopefully
8. P1: OK
9. JC: So, hopefully, as I said I won't take more than 1 hour, I really hope so. So, thanks very
10. much again for doing this, I really appreciate it.
11. P1: No problem
12. JC: We are not gonna really touch much on the first section, the *general viewing* bits,
13. because I guess that's more kind of to find out how people watch this kind of stuff
14. P1: Yeah
15. JC: But the first thing that kind of interested me is the kind of documentary that you
16. chose
17. P1: Yes
18. JC: It's like, you know, you, you wrote that, you know, it's "intrigued and to learn.
19. Inspiration to travel"
20. P1: Yeah
21. JC: erm, and your interest I guess. Was is a lot with travelling that was this documentary,
22. did you find or did you think it was going to be more about travelling and less about
23. other things
24. P1: erm, no not really. So, through travel I was quite interested in Myanmar, or Burma,
25. somewhere I went to to get visa renewal and there was always this mystery and intrigue
26. JC: so, you've been there?
27. P1: yes, well I've only crossed the border...
28. JC: or at least just to get...
29. P1: to renew my visa for Thailand for another 30 days. Yeah, it's always somewhere that
30. has been like, I think I've mentioned before, behind closed doors. We don't know much
31. about Burma, they don't know much about us. Or that's the perception. So yeah, it was a
32. lot about travel but also the political situation, which resulted in the Rohingya crisis they
33. are currently
34. JC: so, that's somewhere you would like to go as well [at some point

35. P1: [Yeah definitely, yeah I kind of wish I
36. had gone there earlier, whilst it was more off the beaten track. I'd like to travel there
37. now, but, I think, you see, like North Korea, you see, there's areas you... tourists can
38. travel to
39. JC: Yeah
40. P1: Yeah, so I'd love to go there
41. JC: So, when you kind of went over the border, was there already [unclear] also that kind
42. of dictatorship or
43. P1: No, that was under the military, it was back in 2002, 2003. But Thai [tourists?],
44. obviously people stayed in Thailand longer than they're entitled to, that's quite frequent.
45. So I just needed to extend my visa so that I could stay longer without a...
46. JC: Yeah
47. [dog comes in and we joke for a few seconds about it]
48. JC: OK, so you were interested already in Burma
49. P1: Yeah
50. JC: But you say you'd kind of heard about this programme in particular from [friends?
51. P1: [Yeah, I
52. watched a Simon Reeve's documentary on Russia ages ago, I was talking with a friend
53. and he recommended that I'd go back... 'cos I watched the most current one because it
54. happened to be on TV, at the time I was watching TV, so talked about with a friend and
55. he was like "Oh, you should watch more of these series" and just flicking through it I saw
56. the one on Burma. It appealed the most to me at the time, as somewhere I had a
57. previous interest in
58. JC: Cool, so you didn't really speak about this particular programme with your fr.. with
59. somebody else before watching it
60. P1: We did talk about there being one on Burma but we didn't specifically go into the
61. details. We were just talking about the sort of areas he'd covered and visited, he'd
62. done series on Africa, I think about South America, etc.
63. JC: Cool
64. P1: We did touch a tiny bit on it, but, you know, just generalisations, just for a little bit, so
65. JC: Yeah. So, although before watching it, you kind of hadn't had an idea that they would
66. talk about the Rohi.. I struggle to pronounce, the Rohingya [/ga/]
67. P1: Rohingya [/dja/]
68. JC: Rohingya [/dja/] crisis
69. P1: I think that's how you pronounce it. Yeah I did. I saw... because it was quite
70. contemporary, I knew that was a recent crisis or issue, I did expect him to touch upon it a

71. bit. I didn't think the focus was gonna be mainly on [that
72. JC: [alright, OK
73. P1: Because what I didn't know before was that it was an episode in a larger series about
74. Burma. So, this specific one was mainly about Rohingya and, the sort of political, religious
75. divide currently
76. JC: so, this guy, this Simon Reeve, I know nothing about this guy. Is this the kind of stuff
77. that he normally does? So, is it normally fairly political [this felt to me like quite political
78. sort of
79. P1: [yeah, I think it's more like compassionate
80. to the country
81. JC: alright
82. P1: so, it's less of... he's not going in from a... it's not like a tourist programme, travel
83. holiday
84. JC: yeah, I definitely didn't have that feeling
85. P1: he's not trying to sell, he's trying to give people a real insight into what is going on in
86. that country at the time or, probably, enlighten people on what the current situation is.
87. So, I wouldn't say he's overtly political, but he's just honest, and it's more genuine
88. insight, it's not just glazing over the tough issues
89. JC: and have you actually watched the second part already?
90. P1: No, I haven't,
91. JC: No, are you going to?
92. P1: Yeah, I didn't wanna conflate the two... but I'll definitely be [watching the rest
93. JC: [definitely watch it
94. P1: yes, because he's just touched upon part of that country and the history and I'd like to
95. move onto the next bit, where he talks a lot more about the military and their reign
96. JC: yeah, indeed. OK, so that's what you were kind of expecting then, talking about "an
97. oppressive government and previous rulers"
98. P1: yeah, so like the colonial
99. JC: were you expecting that as well, then?
100. P1: yeah, I thought that would be touched upon because, obviously, my understanding of
101. the current situation is all related to the history of the country and yes, so I did
102. JC: so, you were aware about that before, like, that it was part of the British empire?
103. P1: yeah, yeah because at school I was quite interested in the colonial empire, Rudyard
104. Kipling and all those references relate back to Burma
105. JC: Ah OK, so it would be, like, back to school days, I mean your knowledge about all of
106. this

107. P1: So, yeah, about the empire. That always interested me, not in a... not like I'm mad on
108. the British empire but as a kid I was like "oh, that's quite cool about the British empire, it
109. stretches across the world", before you learn about the travesty of the empire. So, yeah,
110. it's always been... those countries have always been something very interesting and their
111. current political situation or economical/financial, just what those countries are like now
112. JC: yeah. and between that kind of times, like school time and now that you've watched
113. this documentary, how else did you hear about Burma or kind got to know bits about
114. Burma
115. P1: erm, I guess maybe I learned about Burma when I travelled to Southeast Asia when I
116. was younger and it's on the triangle, you know, with Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam, I
117. think. So, it's very much in reach of all those countries, but it's something I couldn't travel
118. into. So, that planted a little bit of seed for my knowledge of that place.
119. JC: so, did you read bits or [on the internet
120. P1: [erm, what since?
121. JC: yeah, or..
122. P1: in the news, it's quite relevant. I've always often wondered about the difference
123. between Myanmar and Burma. I was never really sure of the...
124. JC: Which comes up as well, doesn't it?
125. P1: Yeah, he does. He mentions... I didn't really know, should I be saying Burma? should I
126. be saying Myanmar? which is... which would they approve of?
127. JC: Yeah, that was quite interesting actually
128. P1: Yeah, because I didn't realise it was... I thought that was a name they had before
129. Burma, before the colonies, but it turns out that's the name the military choo... or the
130. militia chose without a referendum
131. JC: Was it called Burma during the British empire then?
132. P1: Yes. So, for what I've read previously, I think Burma somehow related back to the
133. Belgian language, but through our British colonial reign, yeah. I think Burmea or Burmese
134. and they called it Burma from that range
135. JC: it is a cat, isn't it?
136. P1: yeah
137. JC: Burmese cat
138. P1: wondered what that was from
139. JC: and then, what does it say there [looking at handwriting on the questionnaire]
140. P1: "now borders are more open, people are more liberated"
141. JC: OK, so again, that was something that you sort of expected to see, knowing what the
142. sort of contextual [circumstances

143. P1: [yeah, as a preconception, I thought, right, obviously, borders are open,
144. there's a gateway of information and opportunity coming in and out of the country
145. JC: and did the documentary seem to kind of confirm that?
146. P1: No. [inaudible 09:46], really, but it's only based on this episode. My initial thoughts
147. were some of the cities...can't remember what the capital was called, [Lancan?] but it
148. seems like the cities, there they have the benefits
149. JC: Yangon, where they were in?
150. P1: Yes, where they filmed, there they have the benefits of having open border there,
151. financial districts, etc., industries. But it didn't really seem throughout the country they
152. benefit from that liberation
153. JC: So, then you watched it. Was it an easy watch?
154. P1: Yeah, I enjoyed it thoroughly
155. JC: Was it like... did you just watch it from the beginning to the end or was it interrupted?
156. P1: Near enough, I think I did have a one toilet break, just slashed through
157. JC: a physiological break
158. P1: had to stretch out a couple of time because I was getting cramp, but that's old age.
159. But yeah, I could have watched it straight through and I thought it was really engaging, I
160. don't know if it's aimed at people like me, but yeah, it pulled me in
161. JC: that's cool. And, I mean, when you put down some words and phrases to describe
162. impressions and feelings, you put "sympathy to the cause of the Rohingya"
163. P1: Yeah, definitely
164. JC: erm "shocked at the scale of the issue and how it is not a recent issue"
165. P1: completely. I thought it began last year, basically. I didn't know that this is been going
166. on for decades and they had sort of lived in apartheid in a different area of Burma. Yeah,
167. I was quite mind blown to know, I thought why didn't we know this previously? Why
168. have I got no prior knowledge of this?
169. JC: So, you reckon you can kind of call it apartheid as in..
170. P1: Yeah, that's one... He said in effect it is like, yeah, apartheid they were living. This is
171. where they live, they don't interact beyond that and that seemed to be fine. But clearly it
172. wasn't because people had been moved into this refugee camp since the '70s I think he
173. mentions. Yeah, so the Muslims, who are the Rohingya Muslims, they don't interact with
174. the rest of the country, they don't go into the, I don't know, the other districts, they
175. don't... they live within their region and not beyond that. That's how I interpreted it
176. JC: and yes, "surprised by the existence of militant Buddhists monks"
177. P1: yeah, that was, you know, you always think as Buddhism as like completely peaceful
178. faith, at one with everything. When you're thinking of reincarnation and it's something

179. that can go... a faith that can go hand in hand with any sort of religion, you don't think of
180. it as a... yeah, you don't think of wars that have been started by Buddhism like you do
181. with Christianity or Islam and various others. So, I was shocked by that, I just thought
182. they were peaceful people. In my mind I didn't think about them as politically active, I
183. guess. I thought they were separate to that, although, as I said, in Tibet they've had their
184. struggles there but it was mainly peaceful protests for what I remember
185. JC: I guess it was sort of the other way around, I mean Buddhism is probably like a
186. [inaudible]
187. P1: yeah, exactly they were persecuted by the Chinese government for their faith
188. JC: sure. And "disappointed that liberation progress doesn't appear to have happened
189. beyond the city". Ah, OK
190. P1: Yeah, we touched upon that earlier. I thought that everything... everyone would be
191. benefitting from the reopening of the border. It doesn't look like the transparent
192. exchange of information in the country, it doesn't look any different to what it probably
193. looked like in the '30s, '40s, '50s. Not that they desire change but, the travel, the roads, I
194. guess, the trains. As you saw, the train system is dilapidated. You thought that now that
195. there is additional tourism and income, companies from outside, the Burmese would be
196. developing that infrastructure. It didn't really appear happening
197. JC: yeah, he also made a joke, didn't he, about the railway being the same vintage as...
198. sorry, the trains being the same vintage as the railway lines
199. P1: Yes, I do remember that joke but I can't remember exactly how he's worded it
200. JC: yeah
201. P1: I've been on trains like that in Africa. The railway Nairobi to Mombasa is still the old
202. train I travelled, like, when I was a child in the 1980s, still diesel, engines have not been
203. updated at all. It's crazy
204. JC: actually, I mean you have travelled quite a bit, in that sense. I mean how, sort of,
205. genuine did it feel, watching that?
206. P1: erm
207. JC: I mean, what was your impression of the guy actually travelling around. Did it feel like
208. a fairly genuine representation of what it would be like or was he [
209. P1: [yeah, I thought it was
210. genuine because of the subjects he was talking with. He wasn't talking to people involved
211. in tourism or media for the... or marketing for Burma. He was talking to, generally,
212. people who are involved in either conflict or who were affected by the regime and the
213. opening of the borders
214. JC: sure. And then this last bit, "amazed by the existence of By.."

215. P1: oh, Bagan. That crazy city that looked like Angkor Wat

216. JC: Ah, the one with the temples. Sorry, yeah, yeah, I couldn't remember the name

217. P1: Something like 2,000 temples. Yeah, because I thought Angkor Wat was the most

218. amazing thing and then it turns out this... the scale of Bagan, however it is pronounced,

219. the size of Bristol, just 2,000 temples

220. JC: yeah, yeah, he says it's about the size of Bristol

221. P1: Wow, madness. And I've never ever heard of that and you think it would be on... one

222. of the natural wonders of the world really. You know, with the pyramids, Angkor Wat is in

223. the same scale as that. Although you don't want it ruined by tourism but you think more

224. people... you think I'd know about it or at least would have heard

225. JC: True, why do you think it never made it big? Kind of, tourist-wise

226. P1: Country wasn't as open as much. The volume of people hasn't been there. It's not

227. easy to get there. Convenience, travelling to there is not... you would have to buy proper

228. visas and like, yeah, a myriad of reasons (3) If you think, sorry, just like on a big scale

229. people have been travelling to the surrounding countries since the '60s, '70s, so the word

230. trickles back. Whereas people had to sneak in, really, or they were part of an older

231. generation who lived there, and were part of the expats or yeah, or they just... I can't

232. think of any other reasons, but..

233. JC: yeah, obviously it must have been more difficult to just get in and getting it out, as

234. you said, to the outside world

235. P1: Yeah, I'm sure it will be spoiled soon, once people start travelling in mass. I wanna get

236. there

237. JC: True. So, the programme met your expectations, by the sound of it

238. P1: Yeah, I thought it was fascinating

239. JC: and, this is what we kind of said earlier about "Simon Reeve gives the subjects the

240. opportunity to be heard"

241. P1: yeah, like, I think that he was... he was trying to expose a [shale?]. He didn't

242. necessarily have a pre-assigned agenda, other than to let people be heard. That's what I

243. think

244. JC: Cool. Does it look like he kind of changes his mind a bit about things during the course

245. of the programme or

246. P1: Yeah, I think

247. JC: does he look surprised by anything, do you think?

248. P1: Yeah, I think he sounds like troubled when he talks to the jihadis. Like, you can see

249. there's a conflict in him of what they're doing is clearly wrong, but if you're in that

250. situation, you might be driven to do a similar... to a similar thing

251. JC: Yeah, I think he said that somewhere, didn't he

252. P1: Yeah, and... yeah you just see he's emotional when he met up with someone... that

253. lady who he met in his previous documentary, she smuggled them into the Chin area

254. JC: Cheery

255. P1: Yeah, yeah, that village. Because there were genuine emotions, there's a human

256. element to his contact with these people at an emotional level

257. JC: Yeah, I mean you can see he is very interested in the area, not just because he's gone

258. there to shoot, if you like, but because he actually...

259. P1: I think he's just trying to get to the heart of the place, not so much an issue, but the

260. heart of the place, the current contemporary climate there. And, also, when there's... in a

261. country that's quite dominated with, like, right-wing media, he's trying to say "actually

262. people doing this... this is why they're doing this". So, it's not just like "oh, I'm gonna join

263. jihadis who have gone radical"

264. JC: which country are you talking about?

265. P1: I'm saying in the UK, so, from all our media, if you think about the BBC turning

266. everything is "oh, they must be [inaudible]". Not right wing in the extreme, but when

267. people talk about Muslims, perhaps, Islam, people talk about extremists. They don't ever

268. look at what happened to them before, it's like "these people have done these terrible

269. crimes", not why they've been pushed to that extreme. So he's uncovering that a bit

270. JC: What did you make of him wearing a keffiyeh?

271. P1: Keffiyeh?

272. JC: sometimes, in some of the...

273. P1: yeah, what that thing that goes... to be honest I just found that a bit annoying, 'cos

274. I've just seen so many travellers. Is that the...

275. JC: that's like

276. P1: the scarf?

277. JC: that's a typical sort of Muslim scarf, actually. That's the kind of... the sign of, I don't

278. know, Palestinians, you know

279. P1: OK, no, I didn't relate it to that at all. I just thought like, a checked scarf that people

280. use to keep dust off themselves. I didn't... actually I didn't think about

281. JC: I think, I'm not... I'll have to check it, but I thought... growing up in Italy, I think that

282. there was this thing that if you are pro-Palestinian you may wear like [what they wear.

283. Yeah

284. P1: [like a sign. Yeah, now you

285. mention this. I thought that was... like even in Cambodia they have, like... they all wear

286. head scarves on their bikes. Lots of travellers come back and they've all got these big. No

287. I didn't know that

288. JC: No, as I said, I'm not even sure. To be checked that one [laughs]

289. P1: [laughs]

290. JC: erm... OK, you "learned a lot about the country" which is... which is... 'cos I mean, did

291. that also spark a little bit of interest to find out more, somehow, about the country.

292. Apart from... you said you'd want to visit it

293. P1: yeah, so

294. JC: about the history and all that sort of stuff

295. P1: yeah, very off of that I was thinking "ah, I'll watch the next episode". It's going into

296. that... erm... I think he's gonna talk to militants or people who have worked under the

297. military regime. I only stopped because I had other things to do, but it's definitely on my

298. radar to learn more about... and I think that during the programme, I said I didn't really

299. stop, but, I guess, I actually did, to google things

300. JC: Ah, alright OK, cool

301. P1: So, I stopped, I went on to Bagan, Wikipedia, I went on to that... I googled the refugee

302. site that... just, you know, to have bit more information. 'Cos I'd never heard of it, I

303. thought "actually, wait a minute". So, yeah, I did... I didn't have that many breaks, or I

304. wasn't interrupted by a conversation, but I was sort of checking as of when and what. I

305. don't know if that's a curse, but I'm on my phone but... if I'm watching a movie or

306. documentary and I would often find myself just stopping it and... or sometimes missing

307. some of the content, because I'm double-checking it and finding out about specific points

308. they've raised. So, yeah, I did stop in that sense

309. JC: Alright, fair enough (4) "enjoyed the human"?

310. P1: "human focus"

311. JC: ah, yeah, "of the documentary"

312. P1: Yeah

313. JC: Ah, OK

314. P1: So, it wasn't just about the country, about the beauty of, I don't know, these fantastic

315. temples. It looked at... it looked beyond that and at the human element of the story of

316. that country

317. JC: Last question: "was there anything that you found particularly interesting, surprising,

318. unusual, troubling" and so on and so forth? Erm... so, yeah "perceived Buddhism as

319. peaceful"

320. P1: Yeah

321. JC: erm... you "didn't expect these militant [monks]"

322. P1: [no, that was... I talked about it a few times at

323. work, like “Oh, I didn’t know there’s militant monks”. I thought they only existing in,
324. like, comics”
325. JC: What did people at work say about that?
326. P1: Oh, I thought they were just being polite, listening to that. Don’t think they were
327. really interested [laughs]
328. JC: [laughs]
329. P1: “alright B., shut up, we haven’t watched that”
330. JC: Have you actually spoken to anyone who has watched this, now? After watching it
331. P1: No after, but I’m going to meet up with my friend this weekend, so I’m sure we’ll get
332. onto that topic
333. JC: nice
334. P1: because, yeah, he is an interes... he is into travel and the political side of countries as
335. well, so, we’ll focus on that, have a little chat about that
336. JC: yeah, that’s something... I mean, you did kind of “tick” that you talk about this stuff
337. with friends and...
338. P1: Yeah, undoubtedly if the situation arises “oh, yeah, I watched that” and just engage.
339. Yeah, ’cos I’m big fan of these documentaries [inaudible]
340. JC: do you think that you’ve... moving away from this one in particular, but do you think
341. that talking about documentaries or things you might have watched or somebody else
342. might have watched... do you think that that is one way in which you may learn bits
343. about the world or not really?
344. P1: Oh, yeah, definitely. Conversation with friends, just a normal chat would sometimes
345. spark an interest. So, if it is something that I may have touched myself before and they
346. tell me a little bit more, and it really captures my attention. I’ll be like “ah”, so I’m gonna
347. make the effort to go out and watch a documentary or I might read a book, it depends to
348. what extent... I might even just go on, like, YouTube, watch a brief video about it, or like I
349. said earlier, just Wikipedia, just... yeah, if it’s... normally, if there is a human element to it,
350. which I didn’t know about, I’m probably gonna, like, look a little bit further. Yeah, ’cos I
351. studied history, so I’m always quite interested in... If you tell me “this is happening now”,
352. I’d be like “ah, why is it happening?”, I’m like [inaudible]. Yeah, next time I’ll talk about...
353. you often talk about TV or radio to even colleagues or friends, it’s an easy chat, to family.
354. So it’ll be something that pops up, ’cos that’s something that stuck in my mind about a
355. country or something.
356. JC: And something else that you found... I mean you’ve kind of half-talked about it “the
357. scale of the displacement and size of the refugee camp”
358. P1: Yeah. Yeah, that for me... I thought sort of Africa, like Rwanda. I don’t know, like

359. Ethiopia, those areas, I thought that's where the real displacement happened. I didn't
360. think it happened in this little, sort of small corner of Asia at all, but... I thought I would
361. have heard about it, I didn't know that these many people could be displaced from one
362. tiny part of the country and the fact that it was like a city was pretty mind-blowing to me
363. JC: and what do you think it's going to happen in the second part?

364. P1: the second part... he's gonna talk to the military, from what I have known of him
365. previously, he might have some confrontation, even in terms of challenging what they
366. say, not physical confrontation, you'd be mad. Yeah, but I think he'll definitely be just
367. finding out what they thought of it, preconceptions that a lot of the people just say like
368. "it was just a job for me. I was just trying to keep my job. I was worried for my family. I
369. was just doing what I'm paid to do". Yeah, I think he'll just along that line. And, I think
370. there was a bit in this episode where he shows some... the donations of a lot of these ex-
371. military made to... to, like, gaudy temples, stuff, as a way of expressing [inaudible
372. because I say something], yeah exactly, or recompenses, and like confession. Yeah, so,
373. I'm certainly looking forward to it because I didn't realise, I thought it was a one-off. It's
374. actually part 6.

375. JC: Oh, 6, is it? I thought it was just 2

376. P1: No, I think it's like a Burma series so, there's a lot more to delve into, finding... to
377. move beyond just that grease issue and possibly to move beyond the political and then
378. he might show you more about the geography of the country or, like, you know, fun
379. parts of their culture that always existed, I don't know... but I do think he is... he's worth
380. watching because he's insightful, you feel like you're learning something real and not just
381. being repeated something that you read elsewhere. I don't feel there's like an agenda
382. "oh, this is a cool place to travel, this is nice". It's that... the human story

383. JC: sure. So, even, like, when you were kind of looking at bits on Wikipedia and stuff, did
384. the information seem to [match somehow or did you find some sort of...]

385. P1: [yeah. yeah it did tie with... yeah, it tied in. If I was looking... fact-check.
386. I wanted to know "was it that size, the refugee camp?"

387. JC: ah, alright

388. P1: I can't remember the specific numbers but it did fit in. I was like, "it couldn't", I was
389. like "it couldn't have possibly been happening since this time" and it was and, I just...

390. JC: So, were you checking him out?

391. P1: Yeah, yeah. So, in a way it's a bit of information overload, 'cos if I find myself in that
392. small, you know, I should just be focussing on that documentary, I'm doing all my little
393. research at the time and then that's sort of taking away from some of the documentary.
394. I'm missing other points because I'm looking into this. 'Cos there was a few times I was

395. “actually, I didn’t catch that. Maybe I should go back and watch it”, but I decided I didn’t,
396. I just thought “oh, that couldn’t be. I can find out about that again or it’ll crop up in the
397. conversation”

398. JC: and how would you position him? I mean, what would you say is his kind of position
399. with regard to the democracy in Burma?

400. P1: erm

401. JC: what did he think of this democratic era Burma is living?

402. P1: I think that, probably, he was frustrated on the part of the Burmese people.
403. Frustrated that... I can’t... I don’t know her name, the democratic leader or saviour of
404. Burma, Aung Suu Kyi or something like that, but I think there was real... yeah, he was
405. disappointed that she wasn’t being more proactive in making it stop. Sorry, what’s the
406. question again? I forgot

407. JC: Yeah, what do you think was his sort of... what did he think, do you think, about the
408. whole situation?

409. P1: I think he thought some of it was just mad, that they had this sort of mystics. Yeah,
410. that was another weird thing, where Buddhism and Mysticism sort of melded together. I
411. think he seemed quite cheerily baffled by it, but that sort of made me think of sincere, it
412. wasn’t like a professional and this is sort of like keeping it a little bit... a bit like “what is
413. this?”. So, which made it feel more authentic, I think

414. JC: So, if you had to sort of briefly summarise the themes that were in that first episode,
415. what would they be, do you think?

416. P1: I think it’s pretty heavy on the Rohingya, not the current crisis as it was... not on the
417. contemporary crisis as it was in the years it’s filmed, but a bit of background into how it’s
418. got to this. But then, actually, that’s bullshit, because he was talking very much about the
419. refugees. I think he... yeah, like he’s talked a lot about the human element. He was
420. talking very much about not just as a crisis, but what’s happened to people, how they’ve
421. been displace... displaced, the crimes that were being committed. ‘Cos if you hear it on
422. the news, it’s just like a blanket ‘Rohingya crisis deepens’ or ‘worsens’. And that’s the
423. headlines, you might not necessarily watch beyond that and it’s... it’s good to delve... I’m
424. glad that someone delved further for me, if you know what I mean [laughs]. Beyond the
425. headline

426. JC: Cool. Anything else that you wanna kind of comment on about the actual
427. documentary?

428. P1: I think, possibly, like Simon Reeve... I’ve only watched a few of what he’s done before,
429. but he’s regarded quite highly. Again, like Wikipedias and stuff, what age he was when he
430. started and that sort of thing. I think it’s quite refreshing to have like a peer, someone of

431. a similar age going out doing these quite interesting things. If you think of, like... it's no
432. disrespect to Michael Palin or anybody that's done it before, but they seem like another
433. generation, like David Attenborough, like an old gene... they've been doing it for decades
434. and then to have someone else coming. It's mainly carrying on the work they were doing
435. in a more contemporary... an age group I can relate to. Because I feel like very much that
436. me and him are... you know, like... he's not far from my age, we've been interested in the
437. same stuff as children, there is a relatability to him. Erm... yep... and yeah I can't think... I
438. kind of lost my line of thought

439. JC: No, no, I think that's quite nicely put actually. Cool. And then, just... finally, you've
440. kind of mentioned a little about it and... how did you feel like... you said, like, he was
441. interested in the human side of things and spoke to... they didn't speak to the marketing
442. people or basically spoke to more varied... I mean, how did you feel the, sort of
443. representation of the locals, if you like, was in the documentary. Did it seem fair,
444. exaggerated or...

445. P1: The way I think is probably quite authentic, 'cos he wasn't... so, if it was someone he
446. knew previously, he spoke to her about a life she was living in that community under the
447. previous regime and then, he met up again, present time, and you could see how her life
448. had changed. They met at her house, they went out together, I think, [around and then

449. JC: [yeah, for a walk and
450. tea or something

451. P1: yeah, so he's found like he's meet at real grassroots level. Erm, the portrayal of the
452. main characters [it catches

453. JC: [I mean, you've been on... not in Burma, but you've been into neighbouring
454. countries. Did it all seem kind of as you remembered, in terms of faces and situations

455. P1: Yes, this is... when I was... when I googled it, I was like "oh, which border did I cross?"

456. So that looked quite like a different time, I don't think that border is used anymore by
457. the government. They've cracked down on the... how many times you can get a visa
458. within 6 months, or renew a visa for free without getting a tourism visa. Yeah, kind of...
459. kind of looked a bit like what I had seen, but much more rural...erm, say the train, like, to
460. draw a parallel again, I haven't got a train in India and I would imagine trains would be
461. like that in India, but I can very much relate to the train in Kenya, where the British were
462. very concerned in having these great rail networks across the country and they slowly
463. just deteriorated. They still act as the main vein throughout the country in some areas,
464. but they are just a dilated version, and probably at the time they were used... a very
465. different type of person used them. Erm.. yeah, so I'm getting carried away talking about
466. it and I've confused myself again. Yeah, I thought it was a good representation of the

467. people, like, if I think when he joins the jihadis, I think they sounded like I'd... this is... I
468. don't wanna talk down on them... they sounded frustrated, which I could... you can
469. understand why they've gone into what they did. But also, in some way smartened, I
470. don't know if that's because of the translation or because it's just of a rural way of life
471. JC: sorry, who are you talking about?
472. P1: so, the two characters he met that had been involved in like a raid, they've been shot
473. JC: right, the actual... the jihadis sort of [
474. P1: [yeah, there was a sort of like naivety to them, but
475. you can see that their actions were borne of that... of their situation. Yeah, I was quite
476. interested in the guy who basically had grown up within that camp, the refugee camp, 26
477. years and not knowing a life outside. I don't think... I don't think he necessarily had a
478. specific agenda or point he was trying to get across, so there's a lot of information I've
479. got from different people, which impacted my view of Burma. I don't feel like he's "this is
480. the point I wanna get across and this is... we are only going to take snapshots of this
481. person's conversation here, and that conversation. Something to fit my story, my
482. narrative". I don't think it was like that. It may have not just sold on him because he's
483. about my age, everyone is into travelling... you see "yeah, he's cool". I don't know he
484. could be... he could be one of their puppets for [
485. JC: [laughs] one of whose puppets, the western puppets?
486. P1: one of Burma's Western puppets
487. JC: cool. OK, so just kind of moving onto more sort of like general questions just to kind
488. of finish it off. I think it's probably gonna be another 15 minutes or so
489. P1: yeah
490. JC: Obviously, as you said, you've travelled a lot. [BJ must be putting a face up here] Well,
491. you've travelled quite a bit
492. P1: I'd like to travel more
493. JC: Would like to travel more. What sort of places would you like to travel to?
494. P1: Obviously everyone wants to go a bit further afield, off the beaten track, so places
495. which are a bit more challenging, sunny, stuff that's outside, not my comfort zone, but
496. stuff I haven't experienced probably. So, I've only recently started travelling more in
497. Europe. Before I thought "It'll be much more different if I go to Asia or if I go to Africa".
498. These places are just mind-boggling different, I had the best time there, but even the
499. places nearer, like going to Italy, pockets of things that didn't exist... I didn't know
500. existed, are vastly different from here even though they are only so far away. So, best
501. travellers' experience, to get off the beaten track, maybe to escape like our... where we
502. live. Yeah, definitely escapism, but yeah, we are in the rat race, obviously I would say

503. with quotation marks, but to escape from that, to go even slower or just different, but no
504. so different that I feel threatened. So, it's walking that fine line between... OK, so, this
505. town is cool to me, but maybe this part of Asia where I've never been before, maybe I'm
506. a bit more apprehensive about going there. But, generally, yeah

507. JC: and how was your... what's your approach when you go with the locals, with different
508. cultures?

509. P1: Erm, I try, I guess, to integrate myself, I try and talk. I'm not just there to meet other
510. travellers. Whereas, I know lots of people travel and you meet lots of travelling mate
511. who travel in circles. I quite like to meet people who actually live there. Not that I get a
512. great deal... I don't know, not that I get loads of information from them, but, again, it's an
513. insight to them, so maybe I speak to the guy in the café a bit longer than I, like, normally
514. would at home or, you know, I might spend time speaking with, like, a market trader,
515. which I wouldn't necessarily do at home. And I'm not going out there looking for groups
516. of travellers to meet, if you know what I mean, just wanna get by my own business and
517. maybe have some personal interactions with people, but not... yeah, 'cos it's all... yeah, I
518. wanna interact with the local people, I wanna get a taste for what they go for. I'm not
519. gonna get the real taste, because I'm not going anywhere wildly crazy, like, probably
520. tourism... probably where I'm going there is a tourism market built around it, so they will
521. be probably involved or benefit from tourism a bit, but to me is like a deceit that I have
522. engaged with a Thai person, I've engaged with... not for... not for like my benefit, I guess,
523. it's just for your growth or just to show that you can mix with other cultures

524. JC: I mean, how do you normally, when it comes to cultural differences, would you
525. normally... what's your normal reaction, do you sort of... does it...

526. P1: erm, I take it with a pinch of salt. To be honest... yeah, I don't know, I'm not... how do
527. you mean?

528. JC: I mean, do you sort of embrace it without even thinking about it or do you resist to it
529. because you think "oh, that's a bit weird", or do you feel like "oh, that's crazy, but I'll try
530. it"

531. P1: Yeah, in my head I'm probably like "yeah, that's a bit weird, but I'll try it", if this is
532. what they do. Maybe I would be more self-conscious because you always feel like, in the
533. UK, not... people are very much more repressed about their emotions, so when people
534. are a lot more open, you find yourself a bit like "oh, I don't know what to do", but then
535. you've just got to go along with it and like, adapt. When he travelled... he has travelled
536. for business a lot, worked with people in various countries, so he's... he was really open
537. to it, he wasn't shy, but he'd just get involved. So you want to try and capture a bit of
538. that because...

539. JC: and do you get a lot of kind of different cultures exposure here in the UK

540. P1: erm, no. Probably, not so much at the moment because of where I work and people I

541. work with, but from, like, school was quite multicultural, yeah like, big. In Swindon there

542. is a big Polish community, a fairly big Muslim community so I had... you had that... other

543. [unclear], other big... erm, there are some big African communities in parts of the city,

544. which is quite a lot vibrant for, like, shops and so on. So, it's just being exposed from

545. living in the city, really, where you're all in the same space together. Erm, I don't really go

546. out of my way, probably, to embrace or experience as much as I can, but those people

547. who practise them, like, my friends, you know, it's just like any other person. I might not

548. be exposed to them as much as, like, a white old lady at work [laughs]... yeah

549. JC: I mean, apart from this little Italian fella, have you got any other sort of friends or

550. acquaintances that you... that are not Brits

551. P1: Yeah, yeah, but not necessarily so much here, in this part of the country, because I

552. moved here at a later age, when I'm socialising less. So, in my immediate circle here,

553. yeah, of course there's you, the Italian, I've ticked that one off the box, and then, yeah,

554. I've got, you know, like a... it's not like a brag or anything, but I've got, like, gay friends,

555. black friends, Asian friends, a whole diverse selection of friends, but I had... that's partly

556. from uni, partly from living in cities where there is a big melting pot of cultures, I think,

557. like Bristol is a prime example of that. Erm, yeah

558. JC: cool. And can you recall any positive kind of intercultural experiences, either here or

559. abroad? Something that stuck in your mind, that you thought "that's very nice"

560. P1: Erm

561. JC: and perhaps something bad, as well, that's happened

562. P1: Erm, I can't really... there's loads of good things, they weren't massive... massive

563. things, but, like, for example my parents had Indian friends, my friend [Aisha] who was

564. more their friend [unclear], we went to their parent's wedding and there was a big

565. Hindu, Hindi sort of...

566. JC: Was it in the UK?

567. P1: In the UK. And this was pretty crazy, that seemed like a lot of fun. [unclear] in Kenya,

568. loads of... like we... my dad used to go to church, to various churches to give talks, crazy,

569. like, happy clapping. Churches like Pentecost or churches where people, like, tried to grab

570. my hair, 'cos I was the different person in that crowd, they were all singing and waving.

571. Yeah, loads of like, really like... some joyous moments. Erm, I guess it's like in... I don't

572. know, yes there is negatives, but there's no more negatives than... they could have

573. happened... I can't really think of any negatives, but I'm sure negative things have

574. happened at school... not at school, but at like... sometimes there were, like, various, like,

575. gangs of youths, it'd be like different gangs... like I could... I don't know... I can't really
576. think about anything that's impacted me
577. JC: fair enough. You know, it doesn't... you don't have to have some negatives
578. P1: yeah
579. JC: that's cool
580. P1: I'm sure this is like a bias of mine, trying not to think of anything, trying, you know, to
581. double bluff, like I don't wanna... "yeah, I'm cool, I'm, like, liberal. Yeah, I've got no...". I
582. don't know, school was full of, like, erm... yeah, things, and... you had loads of... yeah, I
583. don't know, growing up I had no problem with it. Let's see... oh yeah, I got mugged once
584. in Swindon, on my way back from uni. I don't know where the people were from, and it's
585. not like a racial slur, but they were black people. Erm, but then I've been mugged by,
586. like, white people as well, so maybe that's just like a Swindon thing [laughs]
587. JC: right. And moving onto something like slightly different, but connected to what we
588. watched, politics and that sort of thing. Obviously, you've watched the Burmese kind of
589. situation. Do you follow British politics much? Do you find it interesting?
590. P1: Yeah, I am interested in it. I follow from a distance, I'm not active. I like to keep an
591. open view. I'm probably more aware of it on a national level than at local level
592. JC: Alright, OK. Any reasons for that?
593. P1: I don't know, it's like commitment. I just haven't...
594. JC: No, the reason why you are interested more in the national level rather than...
595. P1: I think you have to delve a bit further to find out about it, locally. So, it's broadcast on
596. the news on various channels, you can catch up with the national politics, but to find out
597. about the local politics, you have to delve into a number of shitty little local papers or I'd
598. have to attend council meetings. But, the older I get, and the more... this is the first time I
599. have owned a home, the first time I've got roots here... the more, like, encourage or
600. inclined I feel to actually learn more about my politics, like, locally. Erm..
601. JC: and for the national ones, how do you sort of find out about them. I mean, how do
602. you sort of make your opinion, if you like
603. P1: just, I watch probably... so, opinions would be judged, maybe, on what my friends are
604. sharing, whether that's the Huffington Post or various sources they get their information,
605. 'cos I regard them highly...
606. JC: Oh, this is like... sharing what, like [on WhatsApp
607. P1: [on social media, maybe, like... I mean it could be via
608. a conversation, but I don't live in close proximity to all of my friends, so they might share
609. a source on social media, whether that'd be Facebook or Twitter. Then I'll be inclined to
610. read it, because I trust what they are showing me or what they are sharing is something

611. that I also feel the same about or interested in; we don't necessarily agree about
612. everything. In general, I'd probably check the Guardian and the BBC News website,
613. they're my two main things, but also the... Twitter is like a quick exchange of information
614. now, erm...

615. JC: you're on Twitter

616. P1: I'm on Twitter. I don't necessarily go on there first hand, again people would tell me
617. and then I'd go on Twitter to find these things. Erm... yeah, there's... it's a fine balance,
618. isn't it? You find yourself weighing things up, you have to present with something, but
619. then you find yourself looking at other comparable things. I look at two sources, listen to
620. three friends and then I may form my own opinion

621. JC: fair enough

622. P1: I do look at other news resources but, predominantly, I'd just read the Guardian and,
623. yeah, the BBC news website or catch up on news. Erm... yeah and locally I hear that
624. through friends, now I've more engaged with it

625. [BJ's partner comes in and we have a quick chat]

626. JC: Erm, what about, sort of... kind of Britain and British society. What is it that you kind
627. of like or not like so much?

628. P1: Erm, I kind of like the feel... so, this is like talking through tainted... tainted glasses.
629. You feel like it is inclusive, very accepting and it's like a hotbed of different cultures
630. coming together and I, like I said, like, at school there was various people of different
631. creeds, races, backgrounds and you feel like, it's like they give a little bit of something to
632. create something better. It's like, in the most Bohemian parts of the city you would get
633. food from this part of the country, they might be selling coffee from this part of the
634. country. There is a whole load of influences, which make it a greater, more interesting
635. place. But then, delve a little bit further... I keep using the word "delve" a lot [laughs]...
636. looking into it a bit further, I am starting like "ah, maybe it's not quite so inclusive as I
637. thought". And you see, like, more and more it seems to be... it seems to be a diverging
638. of...

639. JC: what kind of things recently have made you... not recently, what kind of things have
640. made you think that maybe it's not as inclusive as you

641. P1: you just hear about factions of, like, communities being more separate, not engaging
642. with each other. Erm... there just seems to be a bigger degree of separation, or maybe
643. that's just what I've read, and feel like there's one... that people are just sticking to their
644. own, if there's such a term

645. JC: do you feel that? I mean do you experience that as well?

646. P1: I don't think...

647. JC: you mentioned about perceptions or...

648. P1: it doesn't impact me day to day because, at the moment I go to work, play football
649. occasionally, I might go into town, Ramsgate isn't particularly multicultural. So, no I don't
650. really see day to day, like, but I do just... just it feels like there's an atmosphere... this
651. probably I've just picked up from the news, just feels like... but people... this inclusive sort
652. of community, or this... I can't remember... integration, the more you read about it, the
653. less integrated really seems. You think... erm, maybe an example of this, something like...
654. if you look at [name of local area], if you look at numbers, probably a high percentage
655. from, say, I don't know, for example Romania... erm, a high proportion of Romanians live
656. in that part of the area, but then if you go into [name of local area], you notice that that
657. population is probably mainly down two or three streets and then the rest... obviously
658. they walk around, but they're living in, not ghettos, but they're living in areas they've
659. been pushed to, they can afford to... so, if you look at the numbers, they seem very
660. integrated into the community, but if you actually walk in there you see that this is
661. mainly in this small area

662. JC: and, same sort of question, but from an international point, are you interested in that
663. as well?

664. P1: Yeah, but...

665. JC: are there any... sorry finish that off

666. P1: yeah, I was gonna say, I am, but it's... it's like living in your own bubble, it's hard
667. sometimes to have the energy to look beyond. So, if something is a headline about some
668. people around the world, then I'll read about it, but if it's not a headline, then I'm not
669. necessarily gonna know, unless, again, I hear about something through social media or a
670. chat with a friend and then I might look into it a bit further. Well, yeah I would, because
671. obviously I'm interested in this, but it's not top of... not on my radar all the time,
672. because... yeah, because I don't... if I'm only reading a couple of sources, I'm not really
673. international

674. JC: and are there any specific areas that you are more interested in than others?

675. P1: So, I guess, like, China... what do you mean, like [geographical?]

676. JC: [yeah, geographical areas]

677. P1: China, yeah, their growth. Erm, but as world power. It's always quite interesting to
678. see, erm, the battle between them and America, I guess, like, for trades, which is very
679. current, with Huawei, to see the impact. I guess, it's looking at those things, at what
680. impact they would have here at home, how does that impact our relations. But also just,
681. yeah, general knowledge and just intrigue. I don't want... I don't pay as much attention to
682. global issues as I probably should. They're on my radar, I know about the big ones but...

683. and if I'm gonna travel somewhere, then I'll research more into it but, yeah, I guess
684. through like the papers it seems just... a lot of the stuff is all doom and gloom and it's a
685. lot of economic news you're being fed, not really... yeah, if I'm gonna read the news... if
686. something is gonna pop up in headlines, something around the globe, it's gonna be
687. 'nuclear disaster', 'environmental disaster', erm, a genocide, a human tragedy, stats on
688. news or like a financial issue. Yeah, generally, you only hear about their real new... you
689. hear about their news, the global news... so news for Africa would be news if it impacts
690. us or something so huge that you can't ignore it. You're not really finding out more about
691. the country through the news. I don't know, it'd be very different from what I know
692. through the headlines here, from what would be reported on Al-Jazeera or local news
693. out there

694. JC: and what do you think about the relationship between Britain and some of these
695. countries, like... China, you mentioned earlier

696. P1: Yeah, I think, erm...

697. JC: In general, how do you think Britain is sort of perceived?

698. P1: Erm, at the moment it's a bit like a spoiled child

699. JC: [laughs]

700. P1: who chose to drop out of Europe demanding a lot. I don't know, it feels like selfish,
701. isolated. Erm... I don't know, also it seems like quite a nice bunch and then they're like
702. "the Americans are the bad guys". It feels like now, there's like the spoiled English person
703. with their own little, like, tantrum "I want this, I want that, blablabla". They're thinking
704. that you're like a big little man, you know. [little man disorder] We're only a tiny little
705. country, we are not manufacturing a lot, there's no economic power, there's no any sort
706. of power. Crying far away around and demanding this and that. I don't know, I'd be
707. interested to know what other people thought really

708. JC: what do you think, just, again because it was part of the documentary, they say a bit
709. about the colonial past and how that was an ex-colony. I mean, do you think there's any
710. sort of, I don't know, bad feelings...

711. P1: animosity?

712. JC: yeah, animosity. Or do you think that is now pretty past? As... as a traveller

713. P1: yeah, my general experience, as, obviously... for example the British empire had a
714. huge impact on three quarters of the world, or what have you, but, since that time
715. they've messed with other countries, other regimes have gone in, ultimately worse, or
716. more recent, but it distracts from that. So, like when I lived in Kenya, no one was bitter
717. about British people. They were more bitter about their current political climate or like
718. the Kikuyu, like the genocide... that's not Kikuyu, but the various tribal fighting there. You

719. think like, India suffered a lot after just for poor managing. Burma, they had the militants
720. coming and messed with the country. There's lots of like examples of like... when I was in
721. Poland, for example, they were... I was speaking to them about the Germans, because
722. they'd gone to [unclear] and taken over, they conquered Poland. But they didn't give a
723. shit about Poland, they were pissed off with Russians. I think... I think, because perhaps
724. the British empire brought in some Western ideas, or innovations to other parts of the
725. world, they see that and there's... I don't know, but who am I talking to? Like people on...
726. like I'm on holiday or I'm going to places where tourists go, they're not gonna say like
727. "ah, you dickhead, you English"
728. JC: oh, I see OK. You think that...
729. P1: I can't be reading too much into that
730. JC: The direct interactions you had maybe were slightly biased towards you because
731. you're bringing the money
732. P1: exactly, they don't want to necessarily be rude, but... yeah. And I also think, like... I
733. don't know... yeah, that's about it [laughs]
734. JC: cool. And actually, unless you want to add anything else off your own back about, you
735. know, the discussion we've just had or the documentary or anything, I think I've pretty
736. much gone through what I wanted to go through
737. P1: yeah, I'm pretty cool, but I think the things I was hoping to get out of the
738. documentary are the things that I got. There's that sort of intrigue, so I've learned a bit
739. about the country and I will learn a little bit more about it. I think I have been given
740. quite an honest insight but... I don't know that, but it's like it's wanting to feel that you're
741. getting a genuine, authentic insight or story, or being told the truth. And that's what
742. I feel like I got from that
743. JC: cool, fair enough
744. P1: and that's the meaning of everything, to get to the truth
745. JC: to get to the truth. And on that note we can stop at one hour and twenty seconds

Appendix 6.2: Summative analysis of P1 interaction with *Burma with Simon Reeve – Episode 1*

Actors	Linguistic representation	Audio representation	Visual representation	Overall text representation	Viewer representation	Interpretative code of the viewer	Evidential and ideological effects	Critical notes
A1: The Rohingyas	<p>Voice: possibility for the Rohingya to tell their side of the story.</p> <p>Connotation is generally positive and compassionate.</p> <p>Agentive processes are mainly positive, portraying the Rohingya as struggling to save their lives. The only negative ones (with the exceptions of one instance) are spoken by the MaBaTha monks.</p> <p>Receptive processes and statives are largely positive in the sense that they portray the Rohingya as victims. When the statives are negative, they are spoken by the MaBaTha monks.</p>	Either grave music or no music at all, especially during interviews to eliminate distractions in the soundscape. Often “live” sounds and noises to highlight authenticity.	Close-ups to create an emotional connection with the viewer; wide and “busy” shots to highlight scale and nature of their present condition.	The Rohingya are represented as the victims both through the host and their own representation. The semiotic modes operate to create an emotional, sympathetic connection with the viewer.	<p>“Sympathy for the plight of Rohingyas. Shocked at the scale of the issue and how it is not a recent issue (been happening for decades)” (Q, item, 12)</p> <p>“I didn’t know that this is been going on for decades and they had sort of lived in apartheid in a different area of Burma [...] why have I got no prior knowledge of this?”” (I, lines 165-168)</p> <p>“He said in effect it is like, yeah, apartheid they were living. This is where they live, they don’t interact beyond that and that seemed to be fine. But clearly it wasn’t because people had been moved into this refugee camp since the ‘70s I think he mentions. Yeah, so the Muslims, who are the Rohingya Muslims, they don’t interact with the rest of the country, they don’t go into the, I don’t know, the other districts, they don’t... they live within their region and not beyond that. That’s how I interpreted it” (I, lines 170-175)</p> <p>“Yeah, that for me... I thought sort of Africa, like Rwanda. I don’t know, like Ethiopia, those areas, I thought that’s where the real displacement happened. I didn’t think it happened in this little, sort of small corner of Asia at all, but... I thought I would have heard about it, I didn’t know that these many people could be displaced from one tiny part of the country and the fact that it was like a city was pretty mind-blowing to me” (I, lines 358-362)</p> <p>“he’s talked a lot about the human element. He was talking very much about not just as a crisis, but what’s happened to people, how they’ve been displace... displaced, the crimes that were being committed. ‘Cos if you hear it on the news, it’s just like a blanket ‘Rohingya crisis deepens’ or ‘worsens’. And that’s the headlines, you might not necessarily watch beyond that and it’s... it’s good to delve... I’m glad that someone delved further for me, if you know what I mean. Beyond the headline” (I, lines 419-425)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P1 recognises the representation of the Rohingya as victims in the situation and agrees with it.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> expanded on existing knowledge, i.e. scale of the phenomenon.</p> <p><i>Improving ideological effects:</i> confirmed existing opinion, i.e. sympathetic to their cause.</p>	Role of the British Empire in creating the problem in Rakhin State.

<p>A2: The ARSA Militants</p> <p>Voice: possibility for the jihadists to tell their side of the story. Connotation is generally sympathetic (resistance, forced to, inspired to). Agentive processes are generally negative when spoken by both SR and the militants. Receptive processes and statives, however, are mainly positive, in the sense that they portray the militants as victims.</p>	<p>Grave, slow and melancholic music. Also sound of rain.</p>	<p>Pixelated to guarantee anonymity, a sign of respect.</p>	<p>The jihadists are represented as the part of the victim who fights back because of exasperation. The semiotic modes operate to create an emotional, sympathetic connection with the viewer.</p>	<p>"I think he [Simon Reeve] sounds like troubled when he talks to the jihadis. Like, you can see there's a conflict in him of what they're doing is clearly wrong, but if you're in that situation, you might be driven to do a similar... to a similar thing" (I, lines 248-250) "When people talk about Muslims, perhaps, Islam, people talk about extremists. They don't ever look at what happened to them before, it's like 'these people have done these terrible crimes', no why they've been pushed to that extreme." (I, lines 266-269) "If I think when he joins the jihadis [...] I don't wanna talk down on them... they sounded frustrated, which I could... you can understand why they've gone into what they did" (I, lines 467-469) "There was a sort of like naivety to them, but you can see that their actions were borne of that... of their situation" (I, lines 474-475)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P1 recognises the representation of the ARSA militants as victims in the situation and agrees with it.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> created new knowledge, i.e. ARSA. <i>Improving ideological effects:</i> confirmed existing opinion, i.e. violence can be justified under certain circumstances.</p>	<p>Any international terrorism connections? According to some (ICG, 2016: i). It's an "insurgent group, which refers to itself as Harakah al-Yaqin (Faith Movement, HaY), is led by a committee of Rohingya émigrés in Saudi Arabia and is commanded on the ground by Rohingya with international training and experience in modern guerrilla war tactics. It benefits from the legitimacy provided by local and international fatwas (religious judicial opinions) in support of its cause and enjoys considerable sympathy and backing from Muslims in northern Rakhine State, including several hundred locally trained recruits. The emergence of this well-organised, apparently well-funded group"</p>
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<p>Voice: no possibility for the military to tell their side of the story. If their views are conveyed is through SR.</p> <p>Connotation is generally negative, not so much in the names used for the military, but for the words used to describe their actions. Agentive and receptive processes as well as statives are overwhelmingly negative.</p>	<p>Grave melancholic music when describing the actions against the Rohingya; cheerful music (parts 3 and 5) when talking about some “oddities” of the generals; suspense-type of music during the “action” shots with the wounded Rohingya. Also sound of rain.</p>	<p>Hardly ever shown. In the couple of shots where they are represented, they are uniformed and armed.</p>	<p>The Myanmar military is represented as the culprit and bears the responsibility for the current situation. They are, however, an invisible, faceless and nameless threat. The semiotic modes portray them as cruel and irrational at the same time; a political player that cannot be trusted.</p>	<p>“Anticipated more focus on military but this could happen over the course of the series” (Q, item 14)</p> <p>“I thought that was a name they had before Burma, before the colonies, but it turns out that’s the name the military choo... or the militia chose without a referendum” (I, lines 129-130)</p> <p>“I think there was a bit in this episode where he shows some... the donations of a lot of these ex-military made to... to, like, gaudy temples, stuff, as a way of expressing [inaudible], yeah exactly, or recompenses, and like confession” (I, lines 369-372)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P1 recognises the representation of the military as dictatorial and immoral and agrees with it.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> created new knowledge, i.e. the name change and the donations.</p> <p><i>Improving ideological effects:</i> confirmed existing opinion, i.e. the Burmese military is/was dictatorial and immoral.</p>	<p>The military played an important role in the independence and successive sovereignty of Burma (Selth, 2018: 21)</p> <p>The British government has spent over half a million pounds in training for the Burmese military (Parliament. House of Commons 2017).</p>
<p>Voice: no possibility for ASSK or the government to tell their side of the story. If their views are conveyed is through SR.</p> <p>Connotation is generally positive when it is Burmese people describing ASSK and negative or sceptical when SR speaks about her. Similar to connotation, Agentive and receptive processes as well as statives are positive when uttered by Burmese people and negative when spoken by SR.</p>	<p>Gentle Burmese-sounding music in initial part; grave and melancholic music in the final parts. No music at times.</p>	<p>Hardly ever shown. ASSK is only shown through a newspaper photo.</p>	<p>ASSK is represented as a travesty and accomplice to the military horror by way of not denouncing their actions. She is somehow depicted as traitor of the West who has given her attention and a way into power. She also cannot be trusted.</p>	<p>"Disappointed that liberation/progress doesn't appear to have happened beyond the city" (Q, item 12)</p> <p>“You thought that now that there is additional tourism and income, companies from outside, the Burmese would be developing that infrastructure. It didn't really appear happening” (I, lines 194-196)</p> <p>“I think that, probably, he was frustrated on the part of the Burmese people. Frustrated that [...] the democratic leader or saviour of Burma, Aung Suu Kyi or something like that, but I think there was real... yeah, he was disappointed that she wasn't being more proactive in making it stop” (I, lines 402-405)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P1 recognises the representation of the ASSK ineffective in bringing change and agrees with it.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> expanded on existing knowledge, i.e. her role in the Rohingya crisis.</p> <p><i>Modifying or improving ideological effects:</i> possibly challenged the opinion that people were more liberated and generally better off with her in power.</p>	<p>ASSK in one of her speeches talks about what the government has done to improve the situation in Rakhine State</p>

A3: The Military

A4: Aung San Suu Kyi

A5: The International Community	<p>Voice: possibility for the UNICEF staff to tell their side of the story, otherwise views are conveyed through SR.</p> <p>Connotation is neutral or positive when talking about political institution, positive when talking about UNICEF, but negative when discussing the assessment made of ASSK.</p> <p>Agentive and receptive processes as well as statives follow a similar pattern to connotation.</p>	Grave or melancholic music.	Hardly ever shown. The UNICEF centre and member of staff ate the only exception. A very humanitarian face.	The international community is portrayed as neutral, expert and humanitarian. The semiotic modes operate to instil trust in them as the only political player that is already doing charitable actions to alleviate the sufferings and that would be able to sort the situation out.	<p>“as a preconception, I thought, right, obviously, borders are open, there’s a gateway of information and opportunity coming in and out of the country” (I, lines 143-144)</p> <p>“[in Yangon] they have the benefits of having open border there, financial districts, etc., industries. But it didn’t really seem throughout the country they benefit from that liberation” (I, lines 150-152)</p> <p>“I thought that everything... everyone would be benefitting from the reopening of the border. It doesn’t look like the transparent exchange of information in the country, it doesn’t look any different to what it probably looked like in the ‘30s, ‘40s, ‘50s. Not that they desire change but, the travel, the roads, I guess, the trains. As you saw, the train system is dilapidated. now that there is additional tourism and income, companies from outside, the Burmese would be developing that infrastructure. It didn’t really appear happening” (I, lines 190-196)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P1 recognises the representation of the international community as engine of economic progress and agrees with it.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> expanded on existing knowledge, i.e. only cities in Myanmar benefited from open borders.</p> <p><i>Improving ideological effects:</i> confirmed existing opinion, i.e. open borders are a means towards freedom and progress.</p>	All the Chinese situation in the Strait of Malacca.
A6: The MaBaTha Monks	<p>Voice: possibility for the monks to tell their side of the story.</p> <p>Connotation is generally negative when SR is speaking and positive when the monks talk about themselves.</p> <p>Agentive and receptive processes as well as statives follow a similar pattern to connotation.</p>	Traditional Buddhist music; grave solemn music; no music during interviews to eliminate distractions in the soundscape.	Close-ups to create a sense of threat for the viewer.	The militant monks are portrayed as part of the ideological justification for the suffering of the Rohingya. They are shown spreading propaganda and indoctrinating younger monks to stir them away from the true, compassionate essence of Buddhism.	<p>“Surprised by the existence of ‘militant’ Buddhist monks” (Q, item 12)</p> <p>“I perceived Buddhism as a peaceful faith that co-exists with others. Did not expect militant factions to exist” (Q, item 14)</p> <p>“you always think as Buddhism as like completely peaceful faith, at one with everything. When you’re thinking of reincarnation and it’s something that can go... a faith that can go hand in hand with any sort of religion, you don’t think of it as a... yeah, you don’t think of wars that have been started by Buddhism like you do with Christianity or Islam and various others. So, I was shocked by that, I just thought they were peaceful people. In my mind I didn’t think about them as politically active, I guess. I thought they were separate to that, although, as I said, in Tibet they’ve had their struggles there but it was mainly peaceful protests for what I remember” (I, lines 177-184)</p> <p>“I talked about it a few times at work, like ‘Oh, I didn’t know there’s militant monks. I thought they only existing in, like, comics’” (I, lines 322-324)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P1 recognises the representation of the MaBaTha monks as a negative influence on the Burmese public opinion regarding the Rohingya and agrees with it.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> created new knowledge, i.e. MaBaTha.</p> <p><i>Modifying ideological effects:</i> challenged existing opinion, i.e. Buddhists are all peaceful.</p>	

A7: Burma

<p>Voice: N/a Connotation is generally neutral. Negative connotations are connected with poverty, road deaths and extreme Buddhist groups Burma is almost exclusively represented through receptive and stative processes and these are generally either neutral or negative. There is only one agentive process - this is positive and refers to <i>gaining independence</i> from the British.</p>	<p>Generally speaking, minor key melodies dominate the scenes where this actor appears, thus providing an overall grave and serious tone to its representation. Major key music is played when talking about the British Empire years and when visiting Bagan.</p>	<p>The country is shown through a mix of rural and urban shots, all of which provide a positive representation of the country. The only exception would be the shots of trains, which are not in great conditions.</p>	<p>The country is portrayed as a beautiful place, whose potentials have been hindered by the military regime and its rule. The shots and positive depiction of Bagan also aims to persuade people to visit. The visuals tend to provide the positive connotations, whereas the language, and even more so the music, tend to do the opposite.</p>	<p>"Amazed by the existence of Bagan" (Q, item 12) "Disappointed that liberation/progress doesn't appear to have happened beyond the city" (Q, item 12) "So, through travel I was quite interested in Myanmar, or Burma, somewhere I went to to get visa renewal and there was always this mystery and intrigue" (I, lines 24-25) "it's always somewhere that has been like, I think I've mentioned before, behind closed doors. We don't know much about Burma, they don't know much about us. Or that's the perception. So yeah, it was a lot about travel but also the political situation, which resulted in the Rohingya crisis they are currently in" (I, lines 29-33) "I'd like to travel there now, but, I think, you see, like North Korea, you see, there's areas you... tourists can travel to" (I, lines 36-38) "You thought that now that there is additional tourism and income, companies from outside, the Burmese would be developing that infrastructure. It didn't really appear happening" (I, lines 194-196) "P1: Something like 2,000 temples. Yeah, because I thought Angor Wat was the most amazing thing and then it turns out this... the scale of Bagan, however it is pronounced, the size of Bristol, just 2,000 temples JC: yeah, yeah, he says it's about the size of Bristol P1: Wow, madness. And I've never ever heard of that and you think it would be on... one of the natural wonders of the world really. You know, with the pyramids, Angor Wat is in the same scale as that." (I, lines 217-223) "Country wasn't as open as much. The volume of people hasn't been there. It's not easy to get there. Convenience, travelling to there is not... you would have to buy proper visas and like, yeah, a myriad of reasons" (I, lines 226-228)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P1 recognises the representation of Burma as a beautiful country held back by the political situation and agrees with it.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> created new knowledge, i.e. Bagan.</p> <p><i>Improving ideological effects:</i> confirmed existing opinion, i.e. that Burma is not an easy country to access as a tourist.</p> <p><i>Modifying ideological effects:</i> changed opinion or, rather, expectations that the country's economic and democratic progress would have changed since the end of the military regime.</p>	
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A8: The Bamar ethnic majority

<p>Voice: two generic Burmese actors comment on their personal circumstances or on the situation in the country, namely: the little boy and the lady on the train (<i>part 2</i>); neither is specifically asked about the Rohingya crisis.</p> <p>Connotation: generally neutral; however, in relation to the Rohingya crisis, there are suggestions that they are either indifferent (<i>part 3</i>, "life goes on as if nothing happens") or buying into the propaganda (<i>part 6</i>, "millions have lapped up the propaganda").</p> <p>Agentive and receptive processes as well as statives are either generally neutral. Some positive are used (in the sense of describing them as victims) when talking about ethnic minorities in the country or when it is the Burmese lady speaking, "my life is better". The negatives are connected with children not being able to go school, to poverty and to the issues highlighted under <i>connotation</i>.</p>	<p>Generally speaking, minor key melodies dominate the scenes where these actors appear, thus providing an overall grave and serious tone to its representation. Major key music is played when talking about the Bagan kings and during the thematic transition from 'good' to 'bad' Buddhism.</p>	<p>Generic Burmese people are shown in a variety of ways, mainly in every day circumstances either working or sitting and standing in different settings. There are also shots that stress cultural differences with a British audience, for example overcrowded vehicles, unusual celebrations and practices, particularly in <i>parts 2</i> and <i>4</i>. The only clear positive visual representation is in <i>part 6</i>, where people are shown donating food to monks.</p>	<p>Burmese people are generally shown as living a simple, if not poor, life. They are also shown both as static (sitting, standing) and as dynamic (working, driving). The only two circumstances in which they're given a voice is to either confirm the hardships of their life (the child) or to comment on ASSK (the lady on the train). They are not asked to express and opinion on the Rohingya crisis, which is instead imposed onto them by suggesting they are indifferent at best and passive accomplice at worst. The only truly positive representation of the ordinary Burmese people is expressed through their donating to and taking care of the 'good' monks.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	
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A9:
Dissidents,
Cheery
Zahau and
the Chin
people

<p>Voice: possibility for this actor to comment not only on her personal circumstances and political views, but also on the Rohingya crisis. Connotation: generally positive (<i>activist, friend, brave and brilliant</i>); never negative. Agentive and receptive processes as well as statives follow a similar pattern to <i>connotation</i>, either describing Cheery in good terms or the Chin minority as victims. There aren't any negative processes relating to these actors.</p>	<p>Traditional gentle music in minor keys for most of the representation with a major key gentle piano music accompanying SR and CZ's initial reunion. The overall mood connected with these actors is of suffering, but also of kindness.</p>	<p>Cheery is generally shown in <i>agentive</i> positions (talking, walking, guiding SR, driving), which results in a representation of a very active person.</p>	<p>The modes combine to provide a very positive representation of this actor, as she is shown as an active opponent of the regime and as someone who acts to prevent sufferings for other people, more specifically ethnic minorities, in Burma. She is also shown as a close ally to SR, as they are shown in great proximity and privacy (e.g. through showing her mother and daughter).</p>	<p>"P1: yeah you just see he's emotional when he met up with someone... that lady who he met in his previous documentary, she smuggled them into the Chin area JC: Cheery P1: Yeah, yeah, that village. Because there were genuine emotions, there's a human element to his contact with these people at an emotional level" (I, lines 252-256") "if it was someone he knew previously, he spoke to her about a life she was living in that community under the previous regime and then, he met up again, present time, and you could see how her life had changed. They met at her house, they went out together" (I, lines 445-448)</p>	<p><i>Negotiated code:</i> P1 recognises the representation of Cheery as someone close to SR agrees with it. However, he doesn't necessarily share SR's positive opinion on her, despite not challenging it either.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> created new knowledge, i.e. the existence of CZ and of the Chin ethnic minority, and her relationship with SR. <i>Improving ideological effects:</i> confirmed existing opinion, i.e. that Simon Reeve is someone who genuinely care about the people he meets and wants to tell their stories.</p>	
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A10: Nat Ga Daw and spiritual people

<p>Voice: possibility for this actor to comment on her personal circumstances but not on the Rohingya crisis.</p> <p>Connotation: generally neutral, although some lexicon suggests a certain level of scepticism on SR's part (<i>baffled guests, I have you to thank</i>).</p> <p>Agentive and receptive processes as well as statives follow a similar pattern to <i>connotation</i>. It also need to be noted that their advice, which the Generals have supposedly relied on, is connected with inconvenient, if not deadly (the road deaths) issues.</p>	<p>The adventure type of music at the beginning of <i>part 4</i>, where these actors are represented seems to suggest that something unusual or extraordinary is about to happen. The diegetic music, sounds and noises of the celebrations SR attends contribute to add to the extraordinary, and chaotic, experience of a 'baffled' SR.</p>	<p>The actors, particularly the Nat Ga Daw herself, are shown in <i>agentive</i> positions (talking, performing, playing music). The results of their actions, however, are quite chaotic if not bizarre altogether, e.g. with the shot of the lady opening the beer bottle with her teeth. The chaotic nature of this scene seems to match the discussion about the chaos created by the generals in the country by following spiritual people's advice.</p>	<p>The modes combine to produce a caricature representation of spiritism and its practitioners. Moreover, their role is explicitly connected with chaotic situations caused by the irrational choices made by the generals who followed their advice, thus attaching this label of irrational onto the generals. The comment by SR '<i>I have you to thank</i>' also seems to highlight the irrationality of the way people involved with spiritism operate.</p>	<p>"I think he thought some of it was just mad, that they had this sort of mystics. Yeah, that was another weird thing, where Buddhism and Mysticism sort of melded together. I think he seemed quite cheerily baffled by it, but that sort of made me think of sincere, it wasn't like a professional and this is sort of like keeping it a little bit... a bit like 'what is this?'" (I, lines 409-413)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P1 recognises the representation of spiritism as being skeptical and agrees with it.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> created new knowledge, i.e. the existence spiritism in Burma.</p> <p><i>Improving ideological effects:</i> reinforced the idea that spiritism is something to be skeptical about. This can deduced by P1 not challenging the programme's representation rather than by explicitly commenting on it.</p>	
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A11: Gay men

<p>Voice: possibility for these actor to comment on their personal circumstances and on the political situation in the country, but not on the Rohingya crisis.</p> <p>Connotation: neutral or negative (<i>many face harassment</i>) when spoken by SR and positive when spoken by the two gay men (<i>we have democracy and human rights, now gay poeple are accepted</i>).</p> <p>Agentive and receptive processes as well as statives follow a similar pattern to <i>connotation</i>. It also need to be noted that SR directly contradicts what the gay men are saying, suggesting that it is not true that things have improved (<i>it is still illegal to be homosexual, many face harassment</i>)</p>		<p>These actors are shown as a very extreme example of homosexuality, that is as men dressed as women.</p>	<p>The feeling here is of scepticism, which also transpired by the analysis of the Nat Ga Daw and spiritism more generally. Homosexuality in the country is shown in a very extreme way and perhaps as a caricature. This has the effect of undermining the claim of political and social progress made in the country that are made by the gay men and challenged by SR.</p>						
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A12: 'Good' Buddhists

<p>Voice: possibility for these actor to comment on their personal circumstances, but not on the Rohingya crisis.</p> <p>Connotation: generally positive. There are no negative representations.</p> <p>Agentive and receptive processes as well as statives follow a similar pattern to <i>connotation</i>.</p>	<p>The gentle music and the slow, emotional music in minor keys in the first part of the scene seem to highlight both a connection between SR and the actors represented and amongst the actors themselves, i.e. the monks and the poor, often orphan children they take care of. The Buddhist ceremonial music in major key, moreover, seem to highlight the positive role 'good' Buddhism plays for both the children in the monastery and for Burmese people more generally.</p>	<p>The monks are shown in <i>agentive</i> positions (working, talking, taking care of children). They also shown in a <i>receptive</i> position as in receiving the people's food donations, thus visually reinforcing SR's points that "<i>the monks depend on the people and to a certain extent the people depend on the monks as well</i>".</p>	<p>The modes contribute to offer a positive representations of Buddhism and, more importantly, of a very strong connection between the monks and Burmese people. The latter is an important point to bear in mind as the scene following the one where these actors are shown is the one that talks about the MaBaTha monks, thus implying that the strong connection can also have negative consequences.</p>	<p>"I perceived Buddhism as a peaceful faith that co-exists with others. Did not expect militant factions to exist" (Q, item 14)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P1 recognises that the representation of 'good' Buddhism is also functional to introducing the militant faction.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> created new knowledge, i.e. MaBaTha.</p> <p><i>Modifying ideological effects:</i> challenged existing opinion, i.e. Buddhists are all peaceful.</p>	
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Appendix 6.3: Multimodal Analysis of *Burma with Simon Reeve – Episode 1* (BBC, 2018)

Time allocated to the different parts (with percentage up to the second decimal point)

	Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9	Part 10
<i>Themes</i>	Intro	Historical introduction	Conversation with Cheery Zahau	Spiritism and mysticism	Burma and Buddhism	“Good” vs. “Bad” Buddhism	The Rohingya people	Life at the border	Rohingya Militants	Coda
<i>Times</i>	00:00-01:40	01:40-07:09	07:09-14:17	14:18-19:53	19:54-23:00	23:01-34:01	34:02-45:24	45:25-52:08	52:09-58-15	58:16-59:02
<i>Minutes</i>	1’40”	5’28”	7’08”	5’35”	3’06”	11’00”	11’22”	6’43”	6’06”	47”
<i>%</i>	2.37%	8.94%	11.99%	9%	5.18%	18.63%	19%	10.89%	10.26%	1.32%

Legend: positive connotation, negative connotation, neutral connotation, representation of actors and places in lexis, *representation of processes* (*‘transitivity’*) *in lexis*, Actor (A + number), *generic highlighting*, visual analysis (ECU = extreme close-up, CU = close-up, MCU = medium close-up, MS = medium shot, LS = long shot, ES = establishing shot)

Part 1: Series and episode intro (00:00-01:40)

Theme: series and episode intro

Topics: summary of the main points discussed in the programme and series.

Actors: the Rohingya (A1), the military (A3), MaBaTha (A6), Burma (A7)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
00:00 - 00:51	Series intro	<p>SR: <i>I'm</i> on a journey around <u>beautiful</u> and <u>troubled Burma</u>. <u>One of the largest countries in South East Asia</u>. A <u>land that suffered</u> generations of dictatorship and <u>ongoing war</u></p> <p>SR: "<i>They've been fighting</i> now, for decades"</p> <p>SR: <i>It's supposed to be a fledgling democracy...</i></p> <p>CZ: "<i>There is a lot of freedom, or less fear I would say</i>"</p> <p>SR: <i>...opening up</i> to the world</p> <p>SR: "<i>This is like Burma's version of Venice</i>"</p>	<p>A3: <u>the military</u> (<i>generations of dictatorship</i>)</p> <p>A7: <u>Burma</u> (<i>beautiful and troubled Burma, one of the largest countries in South East Asia, land, ongoing war, fledgling democracy, a lot of freedom or less fear, opening up to the world, Burma's version of Venice, completely, totally, fantastic</i>)</p>	<p>A3: <u>agentive</u> (a land that <i>suffered</i> generation of dictatorship)</p> <p>A7: <u>stative</u> (<i>'implied' is beautiful and troubled, one of the largest countries in South East Asia, there is a lot of freedom or less fear, is Burma's version of Venice / completely, totally, fantastic; agentive (is opening up); receptive (has suffered)</i>)</p>	<p>Fairly "epic" kind of music throughout the intro, film soundtrack like (reminds me a bit of sagas like <i>the Lord of the Rings</i>). A <u>minor key</u> (00:01-01:10)</p> <p>Music turns graver when the Monks start to speak, A <u>minor key</u> (01:10-01:39)</p>	<p>Sound of boat sailing;</p> <p>Sound of oppositional forces training</p> <p>Sounds from festival;</p>	<p>Animated series title "<i>this world</i>" (00:00-00:06)</p> <p>ES to LS of SR at front of the boat (almost as leading it) (00:06-00:11)</p> <p>ES (aerial) of a large temple site (00:11-00:14)</p> <p>ES (aerial) of car driving through greenery (00:14-00:20)</p> <p>ES (aerial) of symmetrically arranged fighters (signifying order); MCU of fighters training; CU of SR (also looking at the camera) with forces in the background. (00:20-00:27)</p> <p>LS of pagoda; CU of CZ, from</p>	<p>A3: the military – not represented</p> <p>A7: <u>Burma</u> - The viewer asked to see SR as he travels around. Viewer actively goes to see the beauty of Burma from a height (the landscape seems to be at the viewer's disposal).</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A7: <u>stative</u> (landscape, beautiful towns, temple site)</p>	<p>The <i>statives</i> here are: SR is on a journey; Burma is beautiful, troubled and one of the largest countries in SEA. Potential meanings: 1) SR represented as the leading protagonist, doing most of the actions and expressing value judgments; 2) stress on the beauty of the country that is being destroyed by generations of dictatorship and ongoing war; 3) Order and efficiency of the oppositional forces fighting against the government; 4) SR wearing a keffiyeh, which represents solidarity with the Muslim cause</p> <p>The <i>states</i> here are: there is freedom in Burma (or just Yangon?). Potential meanings: 1) both SR</p>	

		SR: “Alright, more? More?” SR: “ <u>It’s</u> just <u>completely, totally, fantastic</u> ” (00:10-00:51)				slightly high angle, not looking into camera; CZ has painted nails (perhaps Westernised?); aerial shot of town accompanying the words “opening up” (00:27-00:33) ES of “Burma’s Venice” and LS of town from the boat with SR on the left in MCU (00:33-00:40) LS of elephants being ridden by local and fed by SR (MCU) (00:40-00:44) CU shots of activities at the festival and MCU of SR excited about being there. (00:44-00:51)		and CZ expressing value judgements that seem to be in agreement: Burma is in a better situation but still far from a mature democracy. Th <i>states</i> here are: the town is like Burma’s version of Venice; the festival is fantastic. Potential meanings: 1) Burma is beautiful and can be compared to a Western beauty (Venice); 2) Burma (or at least the festival) is an exciting place to be.		
00:51 – 01:40	Episode intro	SR: But <i>Burma</i> is still <u>a place of tragedy</u> and now an <u>unfolding catastrophe</u> . On this first leg of <u>my journey I travel</u> through <u>Burma’s Buddhist heartlands, to discover</u> how <u>some are pushing a religion of peace</u>	A1: <u>the Rohingya</u> (<i>an unfolding catastrophe, its own people, hundreds of thousands of Rohingya Muslims, a biblical exodus</i>) A3: <u>the military</u> (<i>the all-</i>	A1: <u>stative</u> (<i>‘implied’ is an unfolding catastrophe, speaks of a biblical exodus</i>); <u>receptive</u> (<i>turned on its own people, driving hundreds ...</i>) A3: <u>agentive</u> (<i>turned on, driving</i>)	Sounds of road traffic Voices of Buddhist monks studying Voices of people from refugee camp in background	CU shots of SR travelling in a car and MCU of locals on the road (they seem pretty happy). (00:51-00:57) ES (aerial) of Bagan (00:57-01:02) CU shot of Buddhist students from low angle;	A1: <u>the Rohingya</u> - The high angle shots of Rohingya people show them powerless and suffering. Viewer is asked to respond to the Rohingya people’s situation by actors looking into the camera (refugees and SR).	A1: <u>stative</u> (standing, aerial shots of camp)	The <i>statives</i> here are: Burma is a place of tragedy and ongoing catastrophe. Potential meanings: 1) Burma is going through some tragic events; 2) SR will <i>discover</i> what’s going on and report to the viewer; 3) the Buddhist leaders are the cause (or at least part of) for the ongoing tragedy and catastrophe; 4)	

		<p>towards <u>hatred and violence</u>.</p> <p>MONK (subtitled): “<i>The Muslims want to take</i> the land for themselves”</p> <p>SR: <i>I witnessed how all-powerful military has turned on its own people driving hundreds of thousands of Rohingya Muslims from their homes</i>”</p> <p>SR: “Like nothing <i>I have seen</i> anywhere on Planet Earth, <i>this speaks</i> of a <u>biblical exodus</u>”</p> <p>(00:51-01:32)</p>	<p><i>powerful military</i>)</p> <p>A6: MaBaTha (<i>some, a religion of peace towards hatred and violence</i>)</p> <p>A7: Burma (<i>Burma, a place of tragedy, unfolding catastrophe, Burma's Buddhist heartlands</i>)</p>	<p>A6: agentive (<i>pushing a religion ...</i>)</p> <p>A7: stative (<i>is a place of tragedy, an unfolding catastrophe</i>)</p>		<p>LS of the Buddhists leaders from low angle (powerful) to clarify the “some”; MCU of leaders criticising Muslims (not looking at the camera, slightly high angle); CU of saddened Muslim woman (in a white scarf, sign of a widow); LS of a multitude of Rohingya people (some, young, looking towards the camera, high angle) by the refugee camp; CU (eye-level) of weeping mother; ES (aerial) of the refugee camp; CU of SR looking into the camera talking about the exodus. (01:02-01:33)</p> <p>Animated programme series title “<i>BURMA WITH SIMON REEVE</i>” (01:33-01:40)</p>	<p>A3: the military – not represented</p> <p>A6: MaBaTha - the Buddhist leaders are shown in a position of relative power; however, the camera angle changes when the monk blames the Muslims, possibly suggesting the lower status of someone who is lying; the viewer is only asked to observe what the monk is saying.</p> <p>A7: Burma – the viewer is asked to follow SR on the journey to Bagan and the Buddhist heartland.</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A6: agentive (talking)</p> <p>A7: stative (landscapes and roads)</p>	<p>Buddhist students in the process of learning, but framed within the extremist views of the leaders, so the association is that students are learning the leaders’ extreme ideas; 5) the Buddhists are blaming the Muslims for what is going on, but can they be trusted?</p> <p>The <i>states</i> here are: the situation resembles a <i>biblical exodus</i>. Potential meanings: 1) SR is an eye-witness and can therefore be trusted to give an objective report/ account of what is happening; 2) the Rohingya are powerless and at the mercy of the military (although the latter is not seen doing any actions); 3) the situation has reached incredible proportions never witnessed by SR before.</p>	
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Part 2: Short historical introduction (01:40-07:08)

Theme: short historical introduction

Topics: British empire and railway; train journey and beauty of country; military dictatorship and poverty; democracy and Aung San Suu Kyi

Actors: the Burmese military (A3); Aung San Suu Kyi (A4); Burma (A7); Bamar majority (A8); dissidents (A9)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
01:40 - 04:25	Historic overview of Burma.	<p>SR: Burma, which is now also known as Myanmar, was once part of the British Empire. I began my journey in Mawlamyine, the first colonial capital. (01:52-02:03)</p> <p>SR: “Right, let’s catch a train” “I think this is the carriage”</p> <p>SR: I was travelling to Burma’s biggest city, Yangon.</p> <p>SR: “We’re off” (02:09-02:21)</p> <p>SR: “This is so atmospheric, it really is. And no glass separating me from the outside, so lovely breeze coming in. And a really stunning landscape” (02:29-02:44)</p> <p>SR: In the late 1800s the British began building railway lines running almost the entire</p>	<p>A3: the military (the military (x 2), they)</p> <p>A7: Burma (Burma (x3), part of the British Empire, a long struggle, Burma gained independence, one of the poorest countries in the world)</p> <p>A9: dissidents (dissidents)</p>	<p>A3: agentive (seized power, completely ruined, wrecked, jailed, imposed severe censorship, cut Burma off)</p> <p>A7: receptive (is known, ruined / cut off Burma), stative (was part of, ‘implied’ there was a long struggle, this became one of the poorest..), agentive (gained independence)</p> <p>A9: receptive (jailed dissidents).</p>	<p>Slow and kind of epic to begin with (over the aerial shots); E minor Key (01:40-02:10)</p> <p>Faster, joyful music (when catching the train and while talking about the British Empire and railway); G major key (02:10-03:20)</p> <p>Followed by slower acoustic, melancholic music while talking about Burma gaining independence and the subsequent military rule; D minor key</p>	<p>Sound of train chugging</p> <p>Sound of rain; Noises of busy train carriage</p>	<p>ES (aerial) of religious places, including a church (sun is shining, probably not shot just before SR starts his journey as he seems wet outside) (01:40-02:06)</p> <p>CU and MCU of SR catching the train (carrying all his luggage like a traveller); LS of vendors in the train station; CU and MCU of SR stowing his luggage and looking outside of the window; LS of the landscape from the window; ES (aerial) of the train on its</p>	<p>A3: not represented, but see comments about how music and shots</p> <p>A7: Burma - aerial shots of religious places, including a church (sun is shining, probably not shot just before SR starts his journey as he seems wet outside); aerial shots of the train on its journey with lush and beautiful landscapes</p> <p>A9: not represented</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A7: statives (landscape and urbanscape shots), receptive (as in the countryside is crossed by the train)</p> <p>A9: not represented</p>	<p>The statives are: Burma was part of the Empire; Burma is beautiful; the trains are old. Potential meanings: 1) the railway system built by the British is seen as something positive, that enables the host and the audience to appreciate the beauty of the landscape and the country; 2) the host is a genuine traveller, and this instils a sense of authenticity and trust in the viewer; 3) by associating the train journey with the beauty of the country the following association is created: British built the railway > railway allows you to appreciate the beauty of the</p>	<p>JC: OK, so that’s what you were kind of expecting then, “talking about an oppressive government and previous rulers P1: yeah, so like the colonial JC: were you expecting that as well, then? P1: yeah, I thought that would be touched upon because, obviously, my understanding of the current situation is all related to the history of the country and yes, so I did JC: so, you were aware about that before, like, that it was part of the British empire? P1: yeah, yeah because at school I was quite interested in the colonial empire, Rudyard Kipling and all those references relate back to Burma JC: Ah OK, so it would be, like, back to school days, I mean your knowledge about all of this</p>

		<p>length of the country. At times <i>it can feel like the trains are</i> of a similar vintage. (02:57-03:09)</p> <p>SR: “So, <i>we went</i> for ordinary class with solid wood benches, rather than upper class, where <i>you get</i> comfier padded seat, but with added <u>lice</u>. <i>We thought this would be a better bet</i>” (03:12-03:26)</p> <p>SR: <i>The British ruled Burma</i> for more than a century. After a long <u>struggle</u>, <i>Burma finally gained</i> independence in 1948. Just over a decade later, <i>the military seized power ushering</i> in decades of brutal dictatorship.</p> <p>SR: “<i>The military completely ruined Burma: they wrecked</i> the economy, <i>they jailed</i> thousands of <u>dissidents</u>, <i>they imposed</i> severe censorship and <i>they cut Burma off</i> from the outside world. Under the military <i>this became</i> one of the ten <u>poorest</u> countries in the world”</p> <p>SR: “And now the slight <i>issue</i> with the lack of a window <i>becomes apparent</i>. <i>Everyone else has chosen to close</i> the shutters” (03:30-04:17)</p>		(03:28 to end of scene)		<p>journey with lush and beautiful landscapes; CU (low angle) of SR, looking into the camera, talking about choice of seats; insert LS (03:17) of Burmese man laying on one of wooden seats. (02:06-03:28)</p> <p>LS from the train of landscape (sunset and train seemingly slowing down at one point) and Burmese people along the railway (one person waves); MCU (eye-level) of SR, looking into the camera, talking about the military rule; cut to shot of rain (although it was not raining when SR was still talking); CU of SR talking about the rain and MCU of people closing the windows (03:28-04:25)</p>		<p>country > British rule = beauty of the country; 4) since Burma gained independence, the infrastructures have not been improved or updated. This final part of the scene sharply contrasts with the previous one. After the sunshine and the happy association of British to beauty, comes the dark and melancholic description of the military years, to which the audience is asked to respond. The contrast is created both linguistically (e.g. ‘ruled’ vs ‘seized power’ and ‘brutal dictatorship’), visually (e.g. aerial shots vs indoor shots; ‘sun and light’ vs ‘rain and dark’) and aurally (e.g. happy fast-paced music vs slow, melancholic music). Aerial shots give feelings of space and freedom while talking about the railway system; close up of SR create a sense of proximity and complicity with the viewer.</p>	<p>P1: So, yeah, about the empire. That always interested me, not in a... not like I’m mad on the British empire but as a kid I was like “oh, that’s quite cool about the British empire, it stretches across the world”, before you learn about the travesty of the empire. So, yeah, it’s always been... those countries have always been something very interesting and their current political situation or economical/financial, just what those countries are like now (I, lines 96-111)</p> <p>P1: As you saw, the train system is dilapidated. You thought that now that there is additional tourism and income, companies from outside, the Burmese would be developing that infrastructure. It didn’t really appear happening (I, lines 194-196)</p> <p>P1: I can very much relate to the train in Kenya, where the British were very concerned in having these great rail networks across the country and they slowly just deteriorated. (I, lines 461-463)</p>
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										<p>The quick shot on the people along the railway puts them briefly at the forefront of the narration; the waving could be interpreted as a “goodbye” to the British rule. The space of the frame goes from the wide aerial shots to the confinement of the train carriage. The medium shot distance creates proximity with SR who engages the viewer to respond to what he’s saying about the military years. The sunshine of the beginning of the journey is replaced by rain</p>	<p>P1: I’ve been on trains like that in Africa. The railway Nairobi to Mombasa is still the old train I travelled, like, when I was a child in the 1980s, still diesel, engines have not been updated at all. It’s crazy (I, lines 201-203)</p> <p>P1: yeah, my general experience, as, obviously... for example the British empire had a huge impact on three quarters of the world, or what have you, but, since that time they’ve messed with other countries, other regimes have gone in, ultimately worse, or more recent, but it distracts from that. So, like when I lived in Kenya, no one was bitter about British people. They were more bitter about their current political climate or like the Kikuyu, like the genocide... that’s not Kikuyu, but the various tribal fighting there. You think like, India suffered a lot after just for poor managing. Burma, they had the militants coming and messed with the country. There’s lots of like examples of like... when I was in Poland, for example, they were... I was speaking to them about the Germans, because</p>
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											they'd gone to [unclear] and taken over, they conquered Poland. But they didn't give a shit about Poland [meaning Germany], they were pissed off with Russians. I think... I think, because perhaps the British empire brought in some Western ideas, or innovations to other parts of the world, they see that and there's... I don't know, but who am I talking to? Like people on... like I'm on holiday or I'm going to places where tourists go, they're not gonna say like 'ah, you dickhead, you English' (I, lines 713-727)
04:25 - 05:22	Poverty	CHILD VENDOR (subtitled): "Water" SR: " How much is your... how much is water from you?" CV: "300 Kyat" (20p) SR: "300 per bottle. OK, I will have one, please. How old are you? [accompanying guide translates the question]" CV: "10" SR: " How much money do you manage... do you normally make for the family? " CV: "About 3,000 – 5,000 Kyat a day" SR: "About two to three pounds a day. Is that good money? Does it help the family? "	A7: Burma (here, Burma, the country, Myanmar) A8: Bamar (you x4, the family (x2), I, school age children, hundreds of thousands of youngsters)	A7: receptive (renamed the country) A8: stative (old are you, (don't) get a chance x 2), agentive (you manage / make, don't attend school, work in fields), receptive (for / help the family)	Music stops for the dialogue with the child vendor, then what sounds like a Burmese song starts as SR gets to the end of the military rule, D minor key (4:54 to end of scene)	Train-related noises	MCU of vendors on the train; CU of SR and child vendor; indoor train shot of child vendors and other children while talking about poverty (04:25-05:06) ES (aerial) of beautiful landscape (it's sunny again) when talking about the end of the military rule, LS shot of the carriage with SR on the	A7: Burma – the aerial shots when talking about the end of the military implies a sense of freedom regained. A8: Bamar - the CU of the child as a vendor justifies the claim of poverty of the country, where children have to work instead of going to school. The CU also encourage the viewer to sympathise with both SR interacting (and	A7: statives (landscape shots) A8: agentive (selling, talking)	The <i>statives</i> here are: "poverty is endemic"; both Myanmar and Burma are used as the country's names; the military dictatorship lasted 50 years. Potential meanings: 1) the military is blamed for the endemic nature of poverty in Myanmar which, however, is not considered as bad by some generally credited agencies such as the OECD (2016: 21); 2) the viewer is also further made to	

		<p>[child nods] When <i>do you get</i> a chance to go to school?" CV: "<i>I don't</i>"</p> <p>SR: <i>Poverty is still endemic here: around a third of school age children don't actually attend school. Hundreds of thousands of youngsters work in fields, factories and trains. The military dictatorship in Burma lasted for nearly fifty years. It was the generals who actually renamed the country Myanmar. Now both names are still used. In 2011, the military said they were stepping aside.</i> (04:29-05:21)</p>					first seat on the left (05:06-05:22)	buying) from the child and with the child condition.		like SR and sympathise with his cause as he's seen interacting and buying from an alleged poor child. By using the close-ups, the viewer is encouraged to sympathise with both SR interacting (and buying) from the child and with the child condition. Aerial shots when talking about the end of the military rule give the viewer feelings of regained space (same as when they were talking about the colonial period).	
05:22 - 07:08	Democracy and Aung San Suu Kyi	<p>SR: Today <i>the country has a new, democratically elected government, led by a human rights icon, whose struggle against dictatorship earned her the Nobel Peace prize.</i></p> <p>SR: "<i>De facto leader of the country, as I'm sure you know, is Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter of the great independence hero, Aung San. She is loved by many Burmese</i> (here shot of a somehow distressed man on the train) <i>as a human rights hero, an Asian Nelson Mandela, if you like</i>"</p>	<p>A4: ASSK (<i>human rights icon, de facto leader, ASSK</i> (x 5), <i>she</i> (x 5), <i>great, young, pretty beautiful looks, can speak different languages, human rights hero, an Asian Nelson Mandela, her</i> (x 4), <i>Mother Su</i>)</p> <p>A7: Burma (<i>the /a country</i> (x3), <i>democratically elected government,</i></p>	<p>A4: stative (<i>is</i> (x3) <i>pretty, great, looks young, got beautiful looks, can speak</i> and receptive (<i>is loved</i>)</p> <p>A7: stative (<i>the country has, 'implied' has more the 50...</i>).</p>	<p>Burmese song continues, then fades away when SR starts talking about Aung San Suu Kyi; D minor key (beginning of scene to 05:30)</p> <p>Same Burmese music starts after the dialogue with the woman; D minor key (06:37-07:09)</p>	Train-related noises	<p>LS and MCU shots of carriage and people; MCU (lowish angle) of SR, looking into the camera, talking about Aung San Suu Kyi (holding a newspaper with her photo on the cover page); MCU of other people in the carriage (05:22-05:51)</p> <p>ES in the carriage of SR sitting in front of a woman; CU of the</p>	<p>A4: ASSK – represented on a newspaper front page</p> <p>A7: Burma - shot from the train of the outside landscape.</p> <p>A8: Bamar – the lady interviewed is raise to exemplar of the Bamar people. The viewer is asked to observe how the woman interviewed confirms what SR said about ASSK being loved by Burmese people</p>	<p>A4: stative (still photo)</p> <p>A7: statives (landscape shots)</p> <p>A8: agentive (talking, working, walking)</p>	<p>The <i>statives</i> are: Burma now has a democratic government; ASSK is the leader of the country; ASSK is "hugely" popular. It seems that ASSK and the way people show their appreciation of her builds a positive picture of her. ASSK is portrayed active in gaining power by opposing the military dictatorship. However, and this a sign of what is to come in terms of her representation, some linguistic and visual cues seem to</p>	<p>P1: Disappointed that liberation/progress doesn't appear to have happened beyond the city (Q, item 12)</p> <p>P1: You thought that now that there is additional tourism and income, companies from outside, the Burmese would be developing that infrastructure. It didn't really appear happening (I, lines 194-196)</p> <p>P1: I think that, probably, he was frustrated on the part of the Burmese people. Frustrated that [...] the democratic leader or saviour of Burma,</p>

		<p>SR: “So, what <i>do you think</i> of <u>Aung San Suu Kyi</u>?” WOMAN (subtitled): “<i>I like her</i> a lot. <i>I watch her</i> on the news every day. <i>We always say she looks so young. I think she’s great</i>” SR: “<i>Are you telling me you like Aung San Suu Kyi</i> because <i>she is pretty</i> and still <i>got her youthful looks</i>?” W: “<i>She can also speak different languages. I really admire her. My life is better now and I like the changes</i>” SR: “It sounds <i>like you really quite love Aung San Suu Kyi</i>” W: “Of course <i>I love her</i>. Because of <u>Mother Su</u>, <i>most villages have improved</i>”</p> <p>SR: <i>Aung San Suu Kyi is hugely popular</i> across much of <u>Burma</u>, a country of more than 50- million people. When <i>her party won</i> the election, <i>many saw</i> it as <i>the start of a new era</i> for the nation. After a 10-hour journey, <i>we finally arrive</i> in <u>Yangon</u>. (05:22-07:00)</p>	<p><i>Burma, more than 50 million people, the start of a new era, the nation</i></p> <p>A8: Bamar (<i>Burmese, you (x4), I (x6), we, my life, most villages, many</i>)</p>	<p>A8: agentive (<i>loved by many Burmese, think x2, telling, like x3, love, watch, admire, say, have improved, saw</i>), stative (<i>my life is better</i>).</p>		<p>woman being interviewed (not looking into camera, slight low angle) and MCU of both the woman and SR; MCU of man preparing coffee on the train (05:51-06:37)</p> <p>MCU and LS in the carriage; LS from the train of outside landscape (river and sunset behind clouds) LS from the train of people working; LS from the train approaching the platform; MCU of SR getting off the train upon arrival in Yangon, as well as shots of people around the train station and LS of him walking away from the platform. (06:37-07:07)</p> <p>Fade to black</p>	<p>are shown as politically active, both linguistically by the use of active voices and visually by being shown working and expressing their opinion. This could be mirroring the process of democratic participation that SR asserts Myanmar has started to experience since the election of ASSK.</p>	<p>go against this, e.g. the shot of a distressed man with the words “loved by many Burmese” and even the fact that “she is loved [...] as a human rights hero (<i>sic</i>)” (rather than “she is a human rights heroine”) poses some doubts over the judgement SR has of her.</p>	<p>Aung Suu Kyi or something like that, but I think there was real... yeah, he was disappointed that she wasn’t being more proactive in making it stop (I, lines 402-405)</p>
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Part 3: Cheery Zahau and intro to the Rohingya crisis (07:09-14:17)

Theme: a conversation with activist Cheery Zahau

Topics: life after the military dictatorship; intro to CZ; ethnic groups in Burma; previous documentary by SR with CZ; Burma/ Myanmar name controversy; walk around Yangon; intro to the Rohingya Muslim issue

Actors: the Rohingya (A1); the Burmese military (A3); Aung San Suu Kyi (A4); the international community (A5); Burma (A7); Bamar majority (A8); dissidents (A9)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
07:09 - 07:42	Life after the military dictatorship	SR: When Burma was ruled by the military , the international community imposed heavy sanctions on the country . Now sanctions have been lifted, money and investment has poured in and this huge city, and its skyline, has started to be transformed. The civilian government has released hundreds of political prisoners; many exiles have returned from abroad. (07:16-07:41)	A3: the military (the military) A4: ASSK (the civilian government) A5: int. community (international community, sanctions money and investment) A7: Burma (Burma, country) A9: dissidents (political prisoners, exiles)	A3: agentive (ruled by the military) A4: agentive (has released) A5: agentive (imposed heavy sanctions, sanctions have been lifted) A7: receptive (was ruled, imposed sanctions on the country) A9: receptive (has released political prisoners), agentive (exiles have returned)	Traditional music; E minor key (07:10- to end of scene)	None	ES (aerial) of Yangon, starting from pagodas, but the moving on to skyscrapers and other modern buildings; ES (aerial) shot of a beautiful, colourful market, with people in daily activities. (07:09-07:42)	A3: the military – not represented. A3: ASSK – not represented. A5: int. community – not represented, but skyscrapers and other modern buildings are shown instead A7: Burma - Aerial shots of Yangon, starting from pagodas, but the moving on to skyscrapers and other modern buildings. Aerial shot of a beautiful,	A3: not represented. A3: not represented. A5: stative (buildings) A7: stative (urban shots: pagodas, modern buildings, markets)	There aren't any <i>statives</i> in this scene, possibly suggesting that everything is still 'work in progress'. The viewer is presented with a vibrant city from different points of view: economic (skyscrapers; money and investments <i>pouring in</i>), cultural (shots of beautiful pagodas and traditional music in the background) and social (shots of busy, colourful market). The support of the (vague) "international community" and its money is	P1: Yes, where they filmed, there they have the benefits of having open border there, financial districts, etc., industries. (L, lines 150-151)

								colourful market. A9: dissidents – not represented	A9: not represented	therefore connected with all these positive transformations; another connection that is made is <i>democracy</i> = <i>wealth</i> (sanctions are lifted and money pours in) and <i>human rights</i> (political prisoners are freed and exiles return) Yangon's transformation is shown through aerial shots giving again the idea of space and freedom; the colourful market also gives an idea of brightness and positivity.	
07:42 - 10:18	Intro to CZ, Ethnic groups in Burma, previous documentary by SR with CZ	SR: <i>I was on my way to meet one of them, an old friend, an activist who spent her life campaigning for Burma's many ethnic groups. During the dictatorship she had to flee the country. She is brave and brilliant and her name is Cheery Zahau.</i> SR: "I'm looking for a small green car...and that is a small green car" CHEERY ZAHAU: "Hi!" SR: "Cheery, oh my goodness! Cheery...can	A3: the military (Burmese troupes, the Army, troupes, they (x 3)) A4: ASSK (the government) A7: Burma (Burma (x2), the country, Chin state, one of the most repressive	A3: stative (are) and agentive (tried to crush dissent, appeared, arrest) A4: agentive (said people can come back) A7: stative (Burma 'implied' has many ethnic groups, 'implied' is one of the	Same traditional music as above; E minor key (from beginning of scene to 07:56. Gentle piano music starts when SR and CZ meet; E major (08:08-08:39) Music stops when they sit down to talk	Original sounds from the previous documentary SR is showing CZ and the audience	Shot moves from aerial of the market to a MCU from behind of SR looking for CZ's house. MCU and CU of SR, CZ and her family hugging and greeting. (07:42-08:35) MCU and CU while talking about the first encounter and footage from that documentary	A3: the military – not represented. A3: ASSK – not represented. A7: Burma - jungle / Chin village represented through the old documentary footage. A9: dissidents - the MCU of SR and CZ meeting highlights both	A3: not represented. A3: not represented. A7: stative (jungle, but in a dangerous context) A9: agentive (hugging, greeting, talking)	The <i>statives</i> here are: CZ is brave and brilliant; CZ is from an ethnic minority; things for her are better now. This scene could serve a number of purposes: 1) show the human, emotional side of SR; 2) introduce the problem of ethnic minorities in Myanmar and how they were treated badly during the military regime; 3) establish CZ as	P1: yeah, you just see he's emotional when he met up with someone... that lady who he met in his previous documentary, she smuggled them into the Chin area JC: Cheery P1: Yeah, yeah, that village. Because there were genuine emotions, there's a human element to his contact with these people at an emotional level (I, lines 252-256)

		<p><i>I come in?</i> Ohh” [they hug] CZ: “Oh my God! How are you?” SR: “Oh” CZ: “<i>You look good</i>” SR: “<i>You look good</i> too. How the hell are you?” CZ: “<i>Good</i>” SR: “<i>Who’s</i> this?” CZ: “<i>This is my daughter and my mum</i>” SR: “Hello <i>mum</i>. Look at you! Aren’t you <i>the cutest child in the whole country?</i> Hello.”</p> <p>SR: <i>Cheery comes</i> from the Chin ethnic minority, <i>one of more than one hundred ethnic groups in Burma</i>. During <i>military rule, Cheery risked her life to smuggle me</i> into the country. <i>Travelling to the remote homeland of the Chin people, who are Christians, was one of my riskiest adventures.</i></p> <p>SR [from the footage]: “<i>We have travelled to one of the most repressive countries in the world</i>”</p> <p>SR: Under <i>the military many ethnic minorities suffered</i> terribly.</p> <p>CZ (from the footage): “The <i>Burmese troupes are not</i> so far from here, that’s why the <i>villagers are always scared</i> of the <i>Burmese troupes</i>”</p>	<p><i>countries in the world)</i></p> <p>A9: <i>dissidents</i> (<i>old friend, activist, she</i> (x2), <i>brave and brilliant, Cheery Zahau, Cheery</i> (x2), <i>Chin ethnic minority, more than one hundred ethnic groups, Chin people, Christian, many ethnic minorities, the villagers, the Chin, villages, dissent, their culture, you</i> (x5), <i>wanted list, danger, life-threatening, me, I</i> (x2), <i>people</i> (x2))</p>	<p>most repressive countries in the world)</p> <p>A9: <i>receptive</i> (<i>meet an old friend, villages were burnt, crush</i> dissent, <i>arrest me), stative</i> (<i>‘implied’ she is an activist, she is brave and brilliant, Cheery comes from, ‘implied’ there are more than one hundred..., Chin people are Christian, villagers are always scared, you were on a wanted list / in danger, you didn’t think), agentive</i> (Cheery <i>risked her life, ethnic minorities suffered</i> terribly, the Chin <i>endured</i> arrest, torture, massacre, I <i>took</i> the foreigners in, you’ve <i>come back</i>, people <i>can come back / have been campaigning</i>)</p>			<p>shown. CU shot of CZ and SR while talking (never looking directly in the camera) (08:35-10:18)</p>	<p>the close nature of the relationship between the two and the close relationship the viewer is invited to have with both characters (CZ also speaks very good English). While SR and CZ are talking the viewer is only asked to observe the conversation about CZ’s past and current situation without the need to respond to it; again the CU create a feeling of proximity with SR, CZ and sympathy for what she has been through.</p>		<p>a credible, reliable source of information by showing what she and her people have been through and creating an emotional bond between her and the viewer; 4) although the democratic government has improved things it may still not be trustworthy (a <i>trap, cautious optimism</i>); 5) position the active and righteous SR and CZ (and dissidents more generally) against the static, indifferent majority of the Bamar population.</p>	
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SR: *The Chin endured arrest, torture, massacres. Villages were burnt, as the army tried to crush dissent and their culture.*

CZ [from the footage]: “*I think we should go back*”

WOMAN [from the footage, subtitled]: “*The soldiers might arrest everyone*”

SR: *Our trip was cut short when suddenly the troupes appeared from nearby.*

SR: “*You were on a wanted list*”

CZ: “*Yeah*”

SR: “*How much danger were you in, doing this with us? Life-threatening?*”

CZ: “*If they get... they arrest me, of course then I don't know what would happen in prison. It's a fact that I took the foreigners into Chin state would be seen as really heavy case*”

SR: “*I mean, obviously for you things have improved. Here we are. You've come back from exile*”

CZ: “*Yes. In 2012, [Burmese?] government said people can come back. People who have been campaigning for democracy, human*

		rights, you <i>all can come back</i> , and... [SR: “And <i>you didn’t think it was a trap?</i> ” CZ: “Cautious optimism” [SR smiles] (07:42-10:17)									
10:19 - 12:09	Burma/ Myanmar name controversy; walk around Yangon	<p>CZ: “<i>We’ll show you</i> [SR: “<i>are you gonna be my guide again?</i>” CZ: “Yeah [laughs] [<i>I will be your guide</i>” SR: [“What an honour. What an honour for me” CZ: “This time not in the jungle” SR: “Not in the jungle. Urban jungle” CZ: Urban jungle</p> <p>SR: <i>It was emotional for me to see Cheery, there was so much to discuss. Starting with the basics: the country’s name. Burma has been officially renamed Myanmar, but Burma is still used as a name by some foreign governments and many people here use both.</i></p> <p>SR: “Why <i>do you say Burma</i> rather than <i>Myanmar?</i>” CZ: “<i>I use Burma</i> because <i>the military regime never conducted a public referendum to choose the name of the country</i>” SR: “<i>They just changed it</i>”</p>	<p>A3: the military (<i>the military regime, the generals</i>)</p> <p>A7: Burma (<i>the country’s name (x2), Burma (x4), Myanmar (x2), the country</i>)</p> <p>A8: Bamar (<i>many people here</i>)</p> <p>A9: dissidents (<i>Cheery, you (x2), I (x3)</i>)</p>	<p>A3: agentive (<i>never conducted, changed [x 2], fooled by the generals</i>)</p> <p>A7: receptive (<i>discuss the country’s name, Burma has been renamed / is still used, use Burma</i>)</p> <p>A8: agentive (<i>use both</i>)</p> <p>A9: receptive (<i>to see Cheery, I’m not being fooled</i>), agentive (<i>you say, I use / want to make</i>), stative (<i>you are able to be out</i>)</p>	Gentle music in the background (possibly Burmese); minor (10:19 to end of scene)	Road noises	MCU shots of SR and CZ getting ready to go for their walk. LS of the street from the car SR and CZ are in and then CU shots of SR and CZ from within the car while they discuss the name of the country. (10:18-11:14)	<p>A3: the military – not represented.</p> <p>A7: Burma - The viewer is invited to accompany SR and CZ along their drive/ walk around one of the most important landmarks in Yangon. “Tourist” shots both from the car (the monks walking) and around the temple show the beauty of the city.</p> <p>A8: Bamar – they are shown in everyday activities through MCU and CU, thus offering a fairly neutral representation.</p> <p>A9: dissidents – MCU of SR and CZ throughout the scene reinforce the proximity</p>	<p>A3: not represented.</p> <p>A7: stative (urban and historic shots)</p> <p>A8: agentive (walking, praying)</p> <p>A9: agentive (getting ready, driving, walking, talking)</p>	<p>The <i>statives</i> in this scene are: changes have happened (at least in Yangon); CZ can now be out in Yangon; there is more freedom (“or less fear”) – again, at least in Yangon. Potential meanings: 1) both names are and can be used (also refer to ASSK saying that herself at a conference); 2) the military was undemocratic and CZ was/ is in opposition to it; 3) things are better and changes have happened, but agency behind this is left unspecified, but based on the preceding discussions, the international community can be given as much credit as ASSK (who is still portrayed by SR as not completely</p>	<p>P1: He mentions... I didn’t really know, should I be saying Burma? should I be saying Myanmar? which is... which would they approve of? (I, lines 125-126)</p> <p>P1: I thought that was a name they had before Burma, before the colonies, but it turns out that’s the name the military choo... or the militia chose without a referendum (lines 128-130)</p> <p>P1: But it didn’t really seem throughout the country they benefit from that liberation (I, lines 151-152)</p>

		<p>CZ: “<i>They just changed</i> it. So, <i>I want to make</i> a statement by using <u>Burma</u>, that <i>I’m not being fooled</i> by the generals” SR: [laughs] “OK”</p> <p>CZ: “<i>This is a beautiful</i> landmark of Yangon, or the whole <u>Burma/Myanmar</u>” SR: “Alright, let’s cross” CZ: “And <i>this /is a very beautiful</i> place to hang out” SR: [huuu (1) yes it is” CZ: “<i>You can just come here and sit and meditate</i>”</p> <p>SR: <i>Shwedagon Pagoda is one of the most famous and dramatic monuments</i> in the whole <u>country</u>.</p> <p>SR: “And <i>it is extraordinary</i> that <i>you are now able to be</i> out, in Yangon, at all. And <i>that</i> to me <i>signifies</i>, some really positive and profound changes <i>that happened</i> in the country”</p> <p>CZ: “Yes, <i>if you live</i> in <u>Yangon</u>, yes, <i>there’s a lot of freedom</i>, or <i>less fear I would say, to go</i> anywhere <i>you want</i>” (10:19-12:06)</p>						between the viewer and the two characters, whose conversation the viewer is only asked to observe.		trustworthy); 4) the changes are limited to Yangon and are still ‘work in progress’ (“less fear” rather than “freedom”)	
12:09 - 14:17	Intro to the Rohingya	SR: “ <i>It’s a very special time</i> to be here, actually, at sunset. And a <u>very</u>	A1: <u>Rohingya</u> (<i>the Muslim</i>)	A1: <u>receptive</u> (genocidal ethnic	Same gentle music as before); <u>Eb</u>	Voices of people	MCU of SR (low-camera angle, talking	A1: Rohingya – not represented.	A1: not represented.	The <i>statives</i> in this scene are: something	P1: I think that, probably, he was frustrated on the part

Muslim issue	<p><u>strange time</u> as well, because of what is going on elsewhere in this country. It is bizarre to be here now in the city at a <u>peaceful, meditative Buddhist shrine</u>, while genocidal ethnic cleansing against the <u>Muslim minority is happening</u> elsewhere in <u>Myanmar</u>” (12:09-12:32)</p> <p>SR: “Should we go here?” CZ: “Yeah, lovely tea shop”</p> <p>SR: “I think most people watching this would have heard about what’s been happening to the <u>Rohingya Muslims</u>” CZ: “Yeah, it is serious. Nearly half a million people were driven out of their communities in one month. It’s the biggest exodus of, you know, <u>people driven out</u> of their communities in the recent history” SR: “But, you look around, you would not have the sense that there is such an extraordinary thing going on in the <u>country</u> at the moment” CZ: “Yeah, in Yangon life goes on as if nothing happens” SR: “I am astonished that this is happening in <u>Myanmar</u> today, with Aung San Suu Kyi as the leader. Are you?”</p>	<p><i>minority, Rohingya Muslims, half a million people, Burma’s one million Rohingya people, Muslims)</i></p> <p>A3: ASSK – (Aung San Suu Kyi)</p> <p>A5: int. community (United Nations, others)</p> <p>A7: Burma (this / a country (x4), peaceful, meditative Buddhist shrine, Myanmar (x2), Burma)</p> <p>A8: Bamar (90% of the population, Buddhist)</p> <p>A9: dissidents (life, you (x3), the</p>	<p>cleansing <i>against</i> the Muslim minority <i>is happening</i>, what’s <i>been happening</i> to the Rohingya Muslims, <i>were driven out</i>), stative (come from Rakhine State, <i>are Muslim</i>)</p> <p>A3: stative (as the leader)</p> <p>A5: agentive (has described, have labelled)</p> <p>A7: receptive (for this country)</p> <p>A8: agentive (life goes on as if nothing happens), stative (90% of the population is Buddhist)</p> <p>A9: agentive (who has risked your life, to risk</p>	<p>minor (from beginning to 12:46).</p> <p>The music stops as they sit down at the tea café to talk.</p> <p>Grave music is played over the map of Myanmar (called Burma), showing where the Rakhine state is; G# minor key (13:58-14:17)</p>	around in the street	to the camera) introducing the Muslim issue. MCU and CU of SR and CZ approaching and then talking at the tea café mixed with some LS of ordinary people in the distance; also here there is another a CU of a picture of ASSK on the front page of a newspaper called “Democracy Today” (12:09-14:01)	<p>A3: ASSK – shown as an authoritative person on the front page of a newspaper called “Democracy Today”</p> <p>A5: int. community – not represented</p> <p>A7: Burma - local streets and shops.</p> <p>A8: Bamar – they are represented often sitting or in other static position and with LS, thus possibly suggesting a distance of intent between them and SR + CZ.</p> <p>A9: dissidents – MCU and CU of SR and CZ continue to create proximity with the audience, whereas shots of ordinary people support the claim that “in Yangon life goes on as if nothing happens”.</p>	<p>A3: stative (still image)</p> <p>A5:– not represented</p> <p>A7: stative (urban shots).</p> <p>A8: stative (sitting and standing in the streets / in shops).</p> <p>A9: agentive (walking, talking, drinking).</p>	extraordinary is happening in Myanmar and it is incredible that people and life in Yangon continues as normal; what is happening in Rakhine is ethnic cleansing and is very serious, an “exodus”; SR is astonished that this is happening under ASSK’s government, while for CZ this is not totally unexpected; the Rohingya people come from the Rakhine State. Potential meanings: 1) a genocide is going on in the country and – this is recognised by different authorities, such as the UN and most of the audience is also aware of this; 2) people don’t really seem to care about what is happening; 3) the fact this is happening under ASSK’s watch is not completely surprising, at least not for CZ, and in the country there still persists fear to	of the Burmese people. Frustrated that... I can’t... I don’t know her name, the democratic leader or saviour of Burma, Aung Suu Kyi or something like that, but I think there was real... yeah, he was disappointed that she wasn’t being more proactive in making it stop (1, lines 402-405)
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		<p>CZ: “yeah erm <i>yes or no, it’s</i> very sens... like <u>taboo topic</u>” SR: “<i>it’s</i> <u>taboo topic</u>” CZ: “Yeah, yeah” SR: “Even someone like you <i>who has risked your</i> <u>life endlessly</u> for this <u>country</u> and for the <u>different peoples</u> in it. <i>There is</i> still some things <i>you cannot risk</i>, or <i>it wouldn’t be wise</i> for <u>you to risk saying</u>” CZ: “Yeah, exactly” SR: “Alright” CZ: “So <i>I will not tell</i> <u>you</u> everything <i>I know</i> [laughs]” SR: “[laughs] <u>Probably</u> wise. Or everything <i>you think</i>” CZ: “Yeah” SR: “OK” (12:36-13:58)</p> <p>SR: <u>Burma’s one million Rohingya people come</u> from <u>Rakhine State</u>. <i>They’re Muslim</i> in a country where <i>90% of the population is</i> <u>Buddhist</u>. The <i>United Nations has described what’s happened to them</i> as <u>ethnic cleansing</u>; <i>others have labelled</i> it <u>genocide</u>. (14:01-14:15)</p>	<p><i>different people in it, I</i> (x2)</p>	<p><i>saying, I will not tell</i>), stative (I know, you think)</p>						<p>speak up and potential retaliation from the government (“it wouldn’t be wise for you to risk saying”); 4) ultimately, ASSK’s democracy is not what people may have believed it is and, at this stage of the programme, she is the only person responsible for it. The audience is spoken to directly by SR who is shown in a relative position of power from a low camera angle (he is the authority) and is therefore asked to respond to SR’s claims. The very professionally-looking map with the voice-over contributes to give SR and the programme the authority they need to be trusted by the audience as the bearers of truth.</p>	
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Part 4: Spiritism and mysticism (14:17-19:53)

Theme: Spiritism and mysticism

Topics: irrationality of military and discussion of superstition in the country; meeting a Nat Ga Daw; homosexuality in Burma pre/post democracy

Actors: the Burmese military (A3); Burma (A7); Bamar majority (A8); spiritual people (A10); gay people (A11)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
14:17 - 15:38	Irrationality of military and discussion of superstition in the country	<p>SR: <i>I'll be heading to meet the Rohingya</i> later on this journey, but first <i>I headed</i> north from <u>Yangon</u> and into the <u>Buddhist heartlands of the country</u>.</p> <p>SR: “<i>You drive</i> on the right, but <i>the steering wheel is</i> on the right, so <i>the driver cannot really see what's coming</i> at him. But <i>they drive</i> on the right because <i>a former leader of the country had a premonition</i>, or <i>spoke to a fortune teller, it's not entirely clear</i> which, <i>which said</i> that <i>they should move</i> from driving from the left to the right, so <i>they did, overnight. I'll let you imagine</i> the <u>wonders</u> for road safety”</p>	<p>A3: the military (<i>former leader, military dictator, the generals</i>)</p> <p>A7: Burma (<i>the Buddhist heartlands of the country, the entire country's roads, Burma (x2), one of the highest rates for road deaths</i>)</p> <p>A8: Bamar (<i>the driver, you, they</i>)</p> <p>A10: spiritual people (<i>a fortune teller (x2), astrologers, people, mix Buddhism with</i>)</p>	<p>A3: agentive (<i>had a premonition; stative (such is the power of a military dictator, could be bizarre, switching)</i>)</p> <p>A7: receptive (<i>driving into the Buddhist, roads were thrown into chaos</i>), stative (<i>Burma has one of the highest...</i>)</p> <p>A8: agentive (<i>cannot really see, you / they drive</i>)</p> <p>A10: agentive (<i>which said, based on advice from astrologers..., people mix Buddhism</i>)</p>	Adventure like music, D minor key (14:17 to end of scene)	Car journey noises	LS and MCU of the countryside and landscape, and other road users, from the car, (with voiceover); fairly CU of SR and the driver from within the car (SR also looking directly in the camera); also some shots of SR from outside the car and ES (aerial) of rice farms and farmers (when saying that people believe in the supernatural) (14:17-15:38)	<p>A3: the military – not represented</p> <p>A7: Burma – the country is shown both in its beauty through the landscapes and its danger through the roads where vehicles are ‘blindly’ overtaking.</p> <p>A8: Bamar: specifically, the driver is shown in his function. Generically, other people are shown working in the fields or driving on the roads.</p> <p>A10: spiritual people - not represented</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A7: stative (landscape and roads)</p> <p>A8: agentive (driving, working)</p> <p>A10: not represented</p>	The <i>statives</i> in this scene are: a military dictatorship is very powerful; Burma has one of the highest rates of road deaths in Asia; generals could be bizarre. Potential meanings: 1) the military is shown as to take decisions based on superstitious practices, and these decisions are “daft”, “bizarre” and rushed; 2) these decisions resulted in serious problems (i.e. high number of road deaths); 3) the belief in sprits and supernatural is well-entrenched in the Burmese Buddhist population. The	

		SR: <i>Such is the power of a military dictator. On a whim, the entire country's roads were thrown into chaos. The daft change, combined with rules that made it almost impossible to import left-hand driving cars, is part of the reason Burma has one of the highest rates for road deaths in the whole of Asia. The generals could be bizarre: another time switching the currency to multiples of 9, again based on advice from astrologers and fortune tellers. Across Burma, even today, people mix Buddhism with a deep belief in spirits and the supernatural. (14:24-15:37)</i>	<i>a deep belief in spirits and the supernatural)</i>	with...); receptive (spoke to a fortune teller)						shots from the car of roads, countryside and people take the audience back on the journey; close up shots of SR continue to create the bond between him and the audience, who is also asked to respond to the observations about the change in traffic direction	
15:39 - 18:42	Meeting a Nat Ga Daw	SR: "Just on the outskirts of the town of Pye, and we are gonna stop here, probably overnight actually" SR: "So we are here?" GUIDE: " We are here. [TO THE DRIVER AND SUBTITLED] Just stop over there"	A7: Burma (Burma (x2)) A8: Bamar (a local guide)	A7: stative ('implied' has spirit mediums); receptive (came to Burma) A8: agentive (with the help of a local guide).	Same adventurous music as above; B minor key (from beginning to 15:59)	Surrounding noises; original celebration music and noises;	CU of SR from within the car (SR also looking directly in the camera); MCU of other car users; CU of guide telling the driver to stop; (15:39-15:54)	A7: Burma – the country's association with mysticism and Buddhism is strengthened by showing cultural and religious symbols of both religions. A8: Bamar : specifically, the	A7: stative (cultural items and indoor shots of temple) A8: agentive (working, talking,	The statives are: spirit mediums are important and influential. The scene is sandwiched between talking about the generals, with their belief in astrology and other "unorthodox"	P1: I think he thought some of it was just mad, that they had this sort of mystics. Yeah, that was another weird thing, where Buddhism and Mysticism sort of melded together. I think he seemed quite cheerily baffled by it, but that sort of made me think of sincere, it

	<p>SR: With the help of a <u>local guide I stopped off to meet one of Burma's most famous spirit mediums. People consult them with their every day problems. They are important and influential.</u></p> <p>SR: "Lovely to meet you. <u>You are a Nat Ga Daw, have I said it right, and if so, what is a Nat Ga Daw?</u>"</p> <p>MEDIUM (subtitled throughout): "<u>Being a Nat Ga Daw is a gift I've had since I was young. Spirits want to possess me. I save people's lives. People come to me when they are sick or when they want to get rich</u>"</p> <p>SR: "<u>You're a medium for the spirits, is that right?</u>"</p> <p>M: "Yes"</p> <p>SR: "<u>Can we come in, is that OK?</u>"</p> <p>[THE MEDIUM TAKES SR AND THE GUIDE BY THEIR HANDS]</p> <p>SR: "<u>Oh, I'm gonna get taken!</u> Oh, lovely"</p>	<p>A10: spiritual people (<i>one of Burma's most famous spirit mediums, people (x4), they, important and influential, you (x4), Nat Ga Daw (x3), I (x3), me (x2), they (x2), a medium, Daw Tin Tin Miay, her, she, followers, locals, and slightly baffled guests</i>)</p>	<p>A10: agentive (people <i>consult, I save people's lives, people come, Daw Tin Tin Miay says, people worshipped; receptive (to meet one of Burma's..., to possess me, people come to me, talking to her, have you to thank, guests were encouraged); statve (they are important, you are / what is / being a Nat Ga Daw, gift I've had since I was young, they are sick, they want to get rich, you are a medium, she was a child).</i>)</p>		<p>LS of the inside of the "temple"; MCU of people near the temple; CU of the Nat Ga Daw talking to SR and the guide (not looking in the camera, right in frame, eye-level) (15:54-16:43)</p> <p>Indoor shots (MCU and CU) of the temple: medium, SR and the guide talking by a shrine, musicians, statues, CU of an unusual female statue with a cigar, more CU shots of the medium talking (still on the right); MCU and CU shots of people praying during the ceremony, with CU and depiction of unusual</p>	<p>guide is shown in her function. Generically, they are shown in attendance of the festival.</p> <p>A10: spiritual people – although shown with a certain level of respect (variety of shots, eye-level angles), a lot of shot focus on the most bizarre things (the lady with the cigar, the medium herself shown in a trance while drinking and smoking, the lady opening the bottle with her teeth).</p>	<p>celebrating); statve (attending the ceremony)</p> <p>A10: agentive (talking, performing, playing music)</p>	<p>practices, and interviews with gay men, dressed as women, about being homosexual under the new democratic regime. There are a number of potential meanings involved: 1) the generals didn't simply consult astrologers, but rather these almost caricatural (particularly from a British perspective, as they are not commonly seen in everyday lives) figures that are associated with "unorthodox" practices in the sequence; 2) the combination of Buddhism and Spiritism is presented as something not to be taken seriously (linguistically we have "I have you to thank" "a bit of a party" and "baffled guests"; visually we have the depiction of what can be interpreted as</p>	<p>wasn't like a professional and this is sort of like keeping it a little bit... a bit like "what is this?". So, which made it feel more authentic, I think (I, lines 409-413)</p>
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		<p>SR: <i>Daw Tin Tin Miay says spirits started talking to her when she was a child.</i></p> <p>SR “Oh my goodness, look” M: “<i>Some spirits are happy, some are sad</i>” SR: “<i>I can see there is a busty figure over here smoking a massive cigar! What’s going on there?</i>” M: “<i>She likes to smoke cigars and drink alcohol. She’s a feisty wonder-woman who likes to have fun with her friends</i>” SR: “<i>What’s gonna happen this evening, is it a celebration? Is it a service? Is it a religious event?</i>” M: “<i>This is a festival where the spirits come to have fun. People come here and make donations to the spirits: they can make your wishes come true. So make a wish, and let me know if it comes true</i> [laughs]” SR: “<i>I get one wish and if it comes true, I have you to thank</i>” (15:38-17:40)</p>					<p>things happening (the medium smoking, a lady opening a bottle of beer with her teeth) (16:43-18:42)</p>			<p>extreme representations; 3) the non-seriousness of the “unorthodox” practices is therefore associated with the non-seriousness (and non-trustworthiness) of the generals. SR is shown, as often, as active, close to the audience, and also as “given”; the Nat Ga Daw is also shown close to the audience, but combined with the fact that she is shown as “new”, this can create an uncomfortable feeling in the audience. The all scene is made quite quirky, mainly because of the content itself, which is very culturally different from a Western audience.</p>
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		<p>M: [THE CELEBRATION STARTS] “<i>I seek protection from the Buddha. I will be a medium for the great spirits</i>” (17:41-17:50)</p> <p>SR: Even before <i>Buddhism came to Burma, people here worshipped the spirits</i>. Today, <i>aspects of the two religions have merged in a wonderful, unusual way that can often involve a bit of a party</i>. (17:50-18:06)</p> <p>SR: <i>Followers, locals, and slightly baffled guests were all being encouraged to make donations to the spirits in return for luck and prosperity</i>. (18:20-18:31)</p>									
18:42 - 19:53	Homosexuality in Burma pre/post democracy	<p>SR: <i>Being a spirit medium is one of the few occupations open to gay men in a country where it is technically still illegal to be homosexual, and many face harassment</i>.</p> <p>SR: “<i>Has life improved for you? Have you felt that you live in a more</i></p>	<p>A7: Burma (a /the country (x2))</p> <p>A11: gay people (spirit medium, gay men, many, you (x3), gay</p>	<p>A7: stative (a country where it is still illegal to be homosexual), receptive (democracy came to the country)</p> <p>A11: stative (being a spirit medium, have you felt that you live, we</p>	None	Noise of surrounding people as well as the original celebration music continuing	MCU and CU of the gay men talking to SR (not looking in the camera, on the right in frame first man, on the left the second); MCU and CU of other people at the	<p>A7: Burma – the country’s association with mysticism and Buddhism is strengthened by showing cultural and religious symbols of both religions.</p> <p>A8: Bamar: generically, they are shown in</p>	<p>A7: stative (cultural items and indoor shots of temple)</p> <p>A8: stative (attending the ceremony)</p>	The <i>statives</i> in this scene are: spirit medium is a job open to gay men; homosexuality in Burma is technically illegal; according to one of the gay men (but contrary to what asserted by SR), there is no discrimination	

		<p><u>tolerant society</u> since democracy came to the country?"</p> <p>GAY MAN 1 (subtitled): "Yes, it's getting better. Life is improving. In the past, gay people weren't socially accepted. Now gay people are accepted in arts and entertainment and in religious ceremonies"</p> <p>GAY MAN 2 (subtitled): "People used to discriminate and look down on us. Now we have democracy and human rights, there is no discrimination. So we can walk around in public hand in hand. Things are getting better" (18:42-19:43)</p>	<p>people (x2), people, us, we (x2))</p>	<p>have democracy and human rights), receptive (is open to gay men, has life improved for you, gay people weren't socially accepted, now gay people are accepted, look down on us), agentive (many face harassment, people used to discriminate and look down, we can walk).</p>		<p>ceremony; final shot of the medium dancing; night shot (18:42-19:53)</p> <p>Fade to black</p>	<p>attendance of the festival.</p> <p>A10: spiritual people – as in previous scene. The final shots of the medium dancing with beer and cigarette in her hands gives a caricatural portray of the spiritual practice.</p> <p>A11: gay people - The close-up shots of the gay men can create proximity with them and thus empathy; however, this can be very subjective, as for a viewer with a number of preconceptions about gay men, the close-up of the heavily made-up and female looking men can be both discomfoting and confirming their negative attitudes about homosexuality, which in this scene is only shown in a very extreme version.</p>	<p>A10: agentive (performing).</p> <p>A11: agentive (talking).</p>	<p>against gay men since the democratic government has been in place. Potential meanings: 1) the viewer has to decide whether to believe SR or the gay man with regard to discrimination in the country; 2) the gay men's contribution, however, is framed within this context of unorthodox practices and beliefs, which may influence the viewer not to take what they say seriously; 3) the improvements brought in by the new democratic regime in terms of non-discrimination of gay, and by association about other issues connected with human rights and democracy, may be questioned by the audience.</p>
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Part 5: Burma and Buddhism (19:54-23:00)

Theme: Burma and Buddhism

Topics: Bagan; minority religions' persecution

Actors: the Burmese military (A3); Burma (A7); Bamar majority (A8)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
19:54 - 23:00	Bagan, including some history of Buddhism in Myanmar	<p>SR: The next morning I continued my journey north, towards the ancient <u>capital of Bagan</u>. (20:00-20:06)</p> <p>SR: “We’re just coming into <u>Bagan</u> and there are temples everywhere, it’s an <u>extraordinary sight</u>”</p> <p>SR: Bagan was the capital of the first empire that united what became known as Burma. A huge city of perhaps over one hundred thousand people.</p> <p>SR: “It’s astonishing” (20:14-20:32)</p> <p>SR: A thousand years ago, Bagan’s kings chose Buddhism as their <u>state religion</u>. They built around ten</p>	<p>A3: the military (the <i>military, they</i> (x 4), <i>the generals</i> (x 2), <i>former generals and serving generals, the dictatorship, many of them [generals], a general or a former general</i>)</p> <p>A7: Burma (<i>Burma</i> (x2), <i>Myanmar</i> (x2), <i>Bagan, temples everywhere, extraordinary sight</i>,</p>	<p>A3: agentive (<i>took over, pushed the idea, persecuted, tried to use, tried to put, built</i> by former generals and serving generals, <i>to atone</i> for their sins, <i>crime they had committed, is benefitting, have done</i>); stative (<i>dictatorship has supposed to have ended, are in power</i>); receptive (<i>haven’t been prosecuted, haven’t been tried</i>)</p> <p>A7: i. receptive (<i>what became known as Burma</i>), stative (<i>Burma ‘implied’ had Buddhist kings,</i></p>	<p>Fairly relaxing music, slightly on the joyful side; F major key (19:54-20:16)</p> <p>Traditional Buddhist when SR and the guide approach the temple and when SR is around the temple; Bb minor key (20:20-23:00)</p>	<p>Some road-trip sounds</p>	<p>ES (aerial) of the countryside and landscape, CU of SR in the car from the outside; CU of SR from within the car (SR also looking directly in the camera); shots of temples from the car (19:54-20:29)</p> <p>MCU from behind of SR and guide walking in one of the temple complex; LS (aerial) of the temple site; ES (aerial) moving to MCU frontal shot of SR cycling around the temple complex (20:29-21:38)</p> <p>MCU and CU shots of inside of temples and people praying; CU of SR (slight low-angle, looking into the</p>	<p>A3: the military - the close-up, low camera angle of SR talking directly to into the camera when discussing the generals crimes, attempt to cleanse their sins and involvement with money to this day, gives SR authoritative power and ask the viewer to respond to what SR is saying, and to (dis)agree with his value judgements.</p> <p>A7: Burma - the aerial shots and the “tourist” shots allow the audience to appreciate the</p>	<p>A3: not represented, but see comments in previous column.</p> <p>A7: stative (landscape, cultural items and indoor shots of temple)</p>	<p>The <i>statives</i> in this scene / sequence are: Bagan was the capital of Burma before the colonial period; it is an incredible site; it is astonishing that generals haven’t been tried for their crimes; generals are still in business and benefitting from their former position of power; some of the temples the generals have built or renovated are “gaudy”. Potential meanings: 1) Buddhism has been a central part of Burma before and after the British colonial period and was used in both eras as a means to</p>	<p>P1: I think there was a bit in this episode where he shows some... the donations of a lot of these ex-military made to... to, like, gaudy temples, stuff, as a way of expressing [inaudible because I say something], yeah exactly, or recompenses, and like confession (1 lines 369-372)</p>

	<p>thousand Buddhist temples, more than two thousand of which survive today. (20:43-20:54)</p> <p>SR: “<i>This is a site to match any of the great wonders of the world, it really is. It’s if you put all the great Gothic cathedrals of Europe in an area the size of Bristol.</i>”</p> <p>SR: During colonial rule, <i>the British deposed Burma’s</i> Buddhist kings. When the <i>military took over</i> after independence, <i>they pushed</i> the idea that <i>to be truly Burmese you needed</i> to be Buddhist. <i>They persecuted</i> Christians, like the <i>Chin</i>, and Muslims, like the <i>Rohingya</i>. <i>The generals tried to use</i> Buddhism <i>to prop up</i> their power and <i>they tried to put</i> themselves at <i>the heart of the faith</i>.</p> <p>SR: “So, although the [UNCLEAR] here <i>looks ancient, much of it has actually been renovated or even built</i> quite recently. A lot of it by former</p>	<p><i>astonishing, a site to match any of the great wonders of the world)</i></p> <p>A8: Bamar (Bagan’s kings, they, Burmese, their own people)</p>	<p><i>there are temples everywhere, it’s extraordinary sight / astonishing / a site to match any of the great wonders of the world)</i></p> <p>A8: agentive (Bagan’s kings chose, they built), stative (to be truly Burmese), receptive (crimes committed against their own people)</p>		<p>camera), while talking about the military and their use of Buddhism; shots (21:38-22:36)</p> <p>MCU, CU and ES of temples (22:36-23:00)</p> <p>Fade to black.</p>	<p>vastness and beauty of Bagan, and to associate with SR as a genuine traveller.</p> <p>A8: Bamar - shot from behind of SR and guide walking in one of the temple complexes, shots of people praying inside temples.</p>	<p>A8: agentive (walking, praying).</p>	<p>consolidate the power of Burmese kings first and generals after; 2) atrocities and persecutions were carried out against non-Buddhist minorities during the military years; 3) generals used religion to cleanse their crimes, for which they have never been tried – here there may also be the implication that Burmese people accepted this form of repenting their sins and did not push for civil rather than religious trials; 4) Burmese people may also be OK with the fact that ex-generals are still benefitting from their former positions of power.</p>	
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	<p>generals and serving generals, partly <i>to atone</i> for their sins, <i>the crime they'd committed</i> against their own people. (1) <i>It's astonishing</i> really that although <i>the dictatorship has supposed to have ended</i> in Myanmar, <i>the generals haven't been prosecuted, they haven't been tried</i> for their crimes and <i>many of them are still in power or in business power. If it makes money</i> still in Myanmar, then <i>chances are</i> that <i>a general or former general is benefitting</i> from it. <i>Some of what they've done is pretty gaudy</i>" (21:01-22:31)</p> <p>SR: Despite some <u>dubious</u> renovations, <i>Bagan</i> is still <u>stunning</u> and a site to rival <u>anywhere on the planet</u>. (22:39-22:47)</p>									
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Part 6: ‘Good’ vs ‘bad’ Buddhism (23:01-34:01)

Theme: “Good” vs “Bad” Buddhism

Topics: “good” Buddhism (schools, connection to the people, role in bringing democracy); meeting MaBaTha; militant brain-washing of novice monks; scale of hatred towards the Rohingya.

Actors: the Rohingya (A1); the Burmese military (A3); Aung San Suu Kyi (A4); the international community (A5); MaBaTha (A6); Burma (A7); Bamar majority (A8); dissidents; ‘Good’ Buddhists (A12)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
23:01 - 25:20	“Good” Buddhism	<p>SR: <i>Empires have risen and fallen, dictatorships have been and gone</i>, but through it all <i>Buddhism has been a thread connecting most of Burmese people</i>. And still today <i>it plays a critical role</i>, often <i>doing the job of the state</i>. (23:06-23:26)</p> <p>SR: “<i>Look at this, ‘Social Welfare Monastic Education School’</i>. My goodness, <i>I think I’d better do my shirt up. That looks like a reception committee</i>. (1) Oh my goodness”</p> <p>SR: [SAYS NAME OF THE MONK] <i>is head of this school in Pakokku</i>, in the middle of <i>Burma</i>.</p>	<p>A3: the military (dictatorships)</p> <p>A7: Burma (Burma (x2))</p> <p>A8: Bamar (most of Burmese people, children (x2), orphans, poor families)</p> <p>A12: ‘Good’ Buddhists (most of Burmese people, children (x2), orphans, poor families, teachers, doctors, they, we, novice</p>	<p>A3: agentive (have been and gone)</p> <p>A7: -</p> <p>A8: receptive (connecting most of Burmese people, love children), stative (most of the children are orphans, some are from poor families)</p> <p>A12: receptive (connecting most of Burmese people, love children, training novice monks, Buddhist is expected to become,</p>	<p>Gentle Western-style music, D minor key (23:01-23:43)</p> <p>Slow, sort of emotional music when SR enters the courtyard where the school children are – the music also continues in the background while the monk talks about the students, teachers, etc.; D minor key (23:48-25:23)</p>	<p>Noises from within the school while the monk is showing SR around; Various noises around the monastery</p>	<p>LS and MCU of streets with people in their daily activities; LS of the car travelling and MCU of SR in the car from the outside; CU of SR from within the car when approaching the monastic school (CU of the school sign); LS and MCU of the school children waiting for SR and MCU of him walking in and greeting the head monk and the children; MCU of children walking (23:01-24:07)</p>	<p>A3: the military – not represented</p> <p>A7: Burma – shown through street shots</p> <p>A8: Bamar – generically shown living their every day lives.</p> <p>A12: ‘Good’ Buddhists - children in the monastery as shown as smiley and happy and there is a sense of positivity in general around the monastery; the novice monks are shown as</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A7: stative (urbanscape, cultural items and indoor shots of monastery)</p> <p>A8: agentive (walking); stative (standing)</p> <p>A12: agentive (walking, working, taking care of children).</p>	<p>The <i>statives</i> are: the monastery takes care of children that are poor and from ethnic minorities; Burma has got the highest proportion of people under influence of Buddhist predicaments. The narrative highlights a couple of points: 1) the complete absence of the state (only seen without agency and not given either voice or “face” in the whole documentary) and the fact that it is the religious sphere that takes care of educating children; 2) the scale of Buddhism in Burma, with every boy exposed at</p>	

	<p>SR: “[GREETES IN BURMESE]” HEAD: “[GREETES IN BURMESE]” SR: “[GREETES IN BURMESE AGAIN], my goodness. [SHOUTING, GREETES IN BURMESE ALL THE CHILDREN, WHO GREET BACK ALL AT ONCE] (23:28-23:59)</p> <p>HEAD (subtitled): “<i>Most of the children are orphans, some are from ethnic minorities, some are from poor families. The teachers work for very low pay because they love the children and they believe in what we do. The teachers also work in the clinic during holidays. (1) This is the clinic. This is the patients’ waiting room. The doctors’ surgery is there. There are several doctors who work here and these teachers also give pills to the patients</i>”</p> <p>SR: <i>This is a school and a clinic, but also a monastery that’s training novice monks. At any one time there are said to be around half a million Buddhist monk novices and nuns in Burma, thought to be the highest</i></p>	<p><i>monks, half a million Buddhist monk novices and nuns, the highest proportion in the world, every Burmese Buddhist, the people (x2))</i></p>	<p><i>preach for us), stative (most of the children are orphans, some are from ethnic minorities / poor families, they love the children, they believe in what we do, there are said to be half a million..., thought to be the highest..., we’ve been very close, people depend on the monks), agentive (the teachers work for very low pay, what we do)</i></p>			<p>MCU of the monk talking to SR (not looking in the camera); MCU and CU of students and monks when the monk first talks; mix MCU and CU shots of the monk while showing SR around (mainly on the right); LS and MCU of novice monks and religious symbols; CU of SR taking his shoes off and going to his room in the monastery; LS of the monastery gate and fade to black (24:07-25:20)</p>	<p>always busy, engaged in activities, whether it is studying , praying or going out to collect the donations.</p>		<p>some point of his life to its predicaments and influence and the “highest proportion” of novice monks and nuns in the world. SR on the go in the car (this is shown very often) can imply sense of direction and purpose, being active and perhaps also being technologically advanced (often shown taking over slower, older vehicles).</p>	
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		<p>proportion in the world. Every Burmese Buddhist boy is expected to become a monk for a period of anything from a week to several months. The monks live an austere lifestyle and they have to get up at what I personally consider an ungodly hour. (24:01-25:19)</p>									
25:20 - 28:32	Relationship between monks and Burmese people	<p>SR: “Oh my goodness. It’s 04:30 and they’re heading out”</p> <p>SR: These young monks are performing their early morning ritual: every day they’ll walk sometimes up to two miles in bare feet. (25:38-26:02)</p> <p>SR: Monks across Burma are supposed to live entirely on donations from members of the public.</p> <p>H: “They donate every day”</p> <p>SR: Across the country, monks line up to collect their breakfast at donation points just like this.</p> <p>SR: “What do you have for the monks today?” MAN: “Chilli”</p>	<p>A3: the military (x 2), <i>the previous government, the military junta, the dictatorship</i></p> <p>A7: Burma (Burma (x2), the country (x2) you, us, we (x3))</p>	<p>A3: receptive (<i>rose up against the military, demanded democracy from the previous government, stood up to the military junta, put huge pressure on the dictatorship</i>); agentive (<i>crushed</i>)</p> <p>A7: receptive (<i>preach for us</i>), agentive (<i>you do, we provide food / look after them/ give them their breakfast</i>), stative (<i>we’ve been very close to the monks, there is an</i></p>	Buddhist music in the background; F# major key (25:30-26:45)	Noise of the announcement in the background at the donation point	MCU of SR getting awoken by the alarm clock on his phone; LS and MCU of novice monks getting ready; MCU of novices setting off; MCU of SR talking to the camera and CU of head monk overseeing operations; MCU shots of the procession and of the donation point where they stop to collect the food (25:20-26:23)	<p>A3: the military – not represented</p> <p>A7: Burma – the main location shown is the donation point, thus showing a positive face of the country.</p> <p>A8: Bamar – people are shown very close to the monks, offering food and support.</p> <p>A12: Good Buddhists - civic society and monks are also shown in great proximity, both in reality with the donations, metaphorically, by having the</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A7: stative (donation point and roads)</p> <p>A8: agentive (walking, talking, donating)</p> <p>A12: receptive (of the novice monks receiving food);</p>	The interdependence of people and monks, but with the specific function of the latter to “preach” for the people, again suggests influence; The power monks have at political level, to the point of forcing “the dictatorship to change”. As this scene is followed by the introduction to what is presented as the negative force of Buddhism, by association all the good things Buddhist monks and institutions can do through their influential work, can also be done by the “bad” ones and, indeed, is being done according to the arguments put	

	<p>SR: [HEARS A VOICE THROUGH A SPEAKER] <i>What is this? Is this a ceremony?</i></p> <p>MAN: "Announcement" [also subtitled "<i>It's an announcement</i>"]</p> <p>SR: "In the nicest possible way, <i>can I ask why do you all do this? It's</i> five o'clock in the morning!"</p> <p>MAN (subtitled): "<i>The monks preach</i> for us, so in return <i>we provide</i> food. <i>That's</i> how <i>we look after them. We give them</i> their breakfast early in the morning because <i>monks can't eat</i> after midday"</p> <p>SR: <i>Monks also played</i> a very special role in <u>Burma's transition to democracy</u>. In 2007 <i>tens of thousands of 'saffron robed' monks rose up</i> against the <u>military to protest</u> against worsening <u>poverty</u>. <i>One of the biggest upraises was</i> here in Pakokku.</p> <p>MAN: "<i>We've been</i> very close to the <u>monks</u> for a long time in the Saffron Revolution. <i>The monks tried to change</i> the old political <u>system</u>; <i>the monks demanded</i> <u>democracy</u> from the <u>previous government</u>"</p>	<p>A8: Bamar (<i>members of the public, you all, us, we</i> (x4), <i>the people</i> (x2))</p> <p>A12: Good Buddhists (<i>young monks, monks</i> (x12), <i>crucial role, tens of thousands of 'saffron robed' monks, one of the biggest upraises, Saffron Revolution, the upraising, thousands of monks, the most respected figures in the country</i>)</p>	<p>extraordinary culture)</p> <p>A8: stative (people <i>depend</i> on the monks), agentive (donations <i>from</i> members of the public, you all <i>do</i>, we <i>provide</i> food / <i>look after</i> them / <i>give</i> them)</p> <p>A12: stative (<i>are supposed to live, are</i> the most respected, <i>depend</i> on people) agentive (<i>are performing, they'll walk, line up, preach, can't eat, played</i> a crucial role, <i>rose up</i> against the military, <i>protest</i> against poverty, <i>tried to change, demanded</i> democracy, <i>stood up</i> to the military junta, <i>put</i> huge pressure); receptive (<i>in return</i> food / <i>look after</i> them / <i>give</i> them, <i>were imprisoned</i>)</p>	<p>food and CU of food; CU shot of the man (on the right in frame) talking to SR about donating, standing next to the head monk; more MCU and CU of the offering; back to interview, but this time in MCU to have both the man and the head monk in the shot; MCU of a monk taking a picture with a phone; MCU of SR talking in the camera about the relationship between the monks and the people; final CU shot of the detail of a temple at sunrise (26:23-28:32)</p>	<p>man and the monk stand side by side while the man is talking. At the end SR talks directly into the camera to ask the audience to respond to his comments about the symbiosis between people and monks being something "fascinating" and "extraordinary"</p>	<p>forward in the last scene of the sequence.</p>
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		<p>SR: <i>The military crushed the uprising: thousands of monks were imprisoned and tortured, some were killed. Monks are the most respected figures in the country: the fact they stood up to the military junta, put huge pressure on the dictatorship to change.</i></p> <p>SR: “And it’s fascinating to see this. I suppose it creates an extraordinary culture in the country where the monks depend on the people and to a certain extent the people depend on the monks as well” (26:18-28:28)</p>		and tortured, killed)							
28:32 - 32:01	Meeting MaBaTha	<p>SR: <i>Buddhism is generally seen as the most peaceful of the world’s major religions. But there is now a darker side to Buddhism in Burma: some of these monks here are turning militant</i> (28:36-28:50)</p> <p>SR: “So, <i>we are</i> just on our way to a very controversial monastery and they don’t want us to film, so I think we’ll probably put the cameras down now, go in there, and see if they’ll let us film. (3) We’ve had some delicate negotiations, but I think, I think we</p>	<p>A1: Rohingya (SR: <i>Islam and Muslims, Muslims, they; MONKS: the trouble-makers are Muslims; they (x2) are engulfing, Muslims are like African catfish; Rohingya villages)</i></p> <p>A5: int. community (The United Nations)</p>	<p>A1: SR: <i>stative (as a threat) and agentive (are breeding, threaten to breed out); MONKS: stative (problems with the Muslims, are (x3), compare Muslims to catfish, want to take); agentive (scared, rob, kill)</i></p> <p>A5: agentive (says)</p>	<p>Traditional Buddhist music; G major (28:25-28:55)</p> <p>Graver music when approaching and in inside the MaBaTha monastery; G minor key (29:06-29:34)</p> <p>Music stops during interview with senior monks.</p>	Road noises	<p>LS and MCU of street life; CU of SR’s eyes through the car mirror over the words “some of these monks here are turning militant”; CU of SR from within the car (SR also looking directly in the camera); LS of the monastery; CU of SR talking into the camera about negotiations about filming and some LS and MCU</p>	<p>A1: Rohingya – not represented</p> <p>A3: the military – not represented</p> <p>A5: int. community - not represented</p> <p>A6: MaBaTha - The senior militant monks are initially portrayed from a safety distance and in a position of power (low camera angle) and are then the “new” information,</p>	<p>A1: not represented</p> <p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A5: not represented</p> <p>A6: agentive (talking)</p>	<p>The <i>statives</i> are: there is a darker side to Buddhism; there is ethnic cleansing happening in Rakhine State. The narrative threads here are: 1) “dark” Buddhists approve of what is going on in Rakhine as they have a long-standing problem with Muslims whom they see as spreading too fast endangering Buddhism in the Rakhine State and Burma; 2) they also actively (“their rabble rousing”) influence people in</p>	<p>P1: you always think as Buddhism as like completely peaceful faith, at one with everything. When you’re thinking of reincarnation and it’s something that can go... a faith that can go hand in hand with any sort of religion, you don’t think of it as a... yeah, you don’t think of wars that have been started by Buddhism like you do with Christianity or</p>

		<p><i>are going to be allowed to start filming”</i></p> <p>SR: <i>I’ve gone to visit a group of monks called MaBaTha, the ‘Committee to Protect Race and Religion’. They’re supposed to be banned and are controversial because of their rabble rousing, particularly against Rohingya Muslims, but they’re still active and I was meeting their senior members”</i></p> <p>SR: <i>“What are your beliefs and how do your beliefs differ from almost all the mainstream of Buddhist philosophy in the country”</i></p> <p>MONK 1 (subtitled): <i>“The difference is that people come to us asking for help if they have problems with the Muslims. We are the best and most righteous organisation and we understand the suffering of our Buddhists”</i></p> <p>MONK 2 (subtitled): <i>“There are four main religions in Myanmar: Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. Whenever we have trouble with another religion, the troublemakers are Muslims”</i></p> <p>SR: <i>“Do you view Islam and Muslims as a</i></p>	<p>A6: MaBaTha (SR: monks are turning militant; they (x2); a group of monks, they (x2), their rabble rousing, their senior members, your beliefs (x2), you (x3)); MONKS: us, we (x5) are the best and most righteous</p> <p>A7: Burma (a darker side to Buddhism Burma, Myanmar (x2), this country)</p> <p>A8: Bamar (people, they, our Buddhists, the Rakhine people)</p>	<p>A6: SR: agentive (monks are turning militant, will let us film, say); stative (don’t want, called, are controversial, are still active, are your beliefs, beliefs differ, you are worried); receptive (are supposed to be banned); MONKS: receptive (people come to us), stative (are, understand, have trouble, have a problem); agentive (we compare)</p> <p>A7: stative (there is a darker side...)</p> <p>A8: agentive (people come), stative (if they have problems), receptive (scared the Rakhine people)</p>			<p>shots around the monastery (28:32-29:33)</p> <p>LS and MCU shots of the senior monks (from low-angle), followed by CU of both SR and individual monks talking (not looking in the camera, right side in the frame); final MCU shot on a figure of Buddha (29:33-32:01)</p>	<p>shown at an intimidating close distance (as they are shown as very grave or as laughing at some of the serious concerns put forward by SR, e.g. whether they see Islam as a threat). The final shot of Buddha that connects this scene with the following may imply to say: “I wonder what Buddha thinks about this”.</p> <p>A7: Burma - is mainly shown through cultural and geographical locations.</p> <p>A8: Bamar – generically shown living their every day lives.</p>	<p>A7: stative (cultural items and indoor shots of monastery)</p> <p>A8: agentive (walking, working)</p>	<p>their hatred campaign and are therefore dangerous, intimidating and, since they manage to laugh at some of the serious concerns raised by SR about ethnic cleansing, also a bit sadist; 3) the whole of the religion is put under question: would Buddha approve of this? Proximity is created between SR and audience, to the level of complicity with the very close eye-contact through the mirror in the fight against militant monks and the whispered direct address before the interview with the monks.</p>	<p>Islam and various others. So, I was shocked by that, I just thought they were peaceful people. In my mind I didn’t think about them as politically active, I guess. I thought they were separate to that, although, as I said, in Tibet they’ve had their struggles there but it was mainly peaceful protests for what I remember (I, lines 177-184)</p> <p>P1: I talked about it a few times at work, like “Oh, I didn’t know there’s militant monks”. I thought they only existing in, like, comics (I, lines 322-324)</p>
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	<p>threat, then, to Buddhists and Buddhism in this country?"</p> <p>MONK 1: [MONK 2 IS SHOWN LAUGHING AT THE QUESTION] "<i>They are engulfing</i> other religions. <i>Muslims are like African catfish</i>"</p> <p>MONK 3 (subtitled): "<i>African catfish eat all other fish</i> in the pond, <i>that's why we compare Muslims to African catfish</i>"</p> <p>SR: "So, <i>you're worried</i> that <i>Muslims are breeding</i> very quickly then, <i>they threaten to breed out</i> Buddhism in Myanmar, <i>is that</i> right?"</p> <p>MONKS: [nod and smile]</p> <p>SR: "Right now <i>the United Nations says there is an ethnic cleansing</i> under way in Rakhine State. <i>What do you say is happening</i> in Rakhine at the moment?"</p> <p>MONK 1: "In the past, <i>Muslims scared</i> the Rakhine people. <i>You can't walk past Rohingya villages</i> after 4pm, <i>it's too risky and dangerous, they rob you</i> and <i>could even kill you</i>"</p> <p>MONK 2: "<i>The Muslims want to take the land</i> for themselves, <i>that's why we have a problem</i>"</p>									
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		SR: <i>I was really shocked to hear such extreme views coming out of the mouth of monks.</i> (28:55-32:01)									
32:01 - 34:02	Brain-washing of novice monks and scale of hatred towards the Rohingya	SR: <i>MaBaTha has operations across the country; there are at least 600 monks living in just this monastery avidly studying the beliefs of their teachers. One of whom has been called 'the Buddhist Bin Laden'.</i> MONK 2 (subtitled throughout): <i>"I have a video I would like to show you. Turn the computer around"</i> SR: <i>There's been violence committed by Buddhists and Muslims in Rakhine, but the students here are played inflammatory videos that put all the blame on the Rohingya</i> MONK 3 (subtitled): <i>"During the conflict thousands of Rohingya surrounded this village, destroyed the monastery and defaced the statue of Buddha"</i> WOMAN IN VIDEO SHOWN (subtitled): <i>"They slit my great grandson's throat"</i> MAN IN VIDEO SHOWN (subtitled): <i>"He met with Rohingya on the way home. They</i>	A1: Rohingya (SR: Muslims, Muslim Rohingya people; MONKS: thousands of Rohingyas; Muslims, intrinsically mean (x2) A3: the military (the Burmese military) A4: ASSK (ASSK's own government) A6: MaBaTha (monks (x2), teachers, MaBaTha, them, Buddhist Bin Laden, students, militant monks)	A1: SR: agentive (commit violence); receptive (are widely hated) MONKS: agentive (surrounded, destroyed, defaced); stative (are intrinsically mean) A3: agentive (the propaganda of the Burmese military) A4: agentive (the propaganda of ASSK) A6: agentive (extreme views coming out of the mouth of monks, avidly studying; spreading propaganda); stative (has, are); receptive (has been called Bin Laden, are played)	No music	Sound of monks praying	MCU and CU of monks studying and MCU of both SR and a teacher; ES of the classroom; MCU and CU of monk talking to students and showing videos; CU of the video; CU of students watching the video; MCU and CU (level angle) of monk commenting and CU of SR (low-angle) listening (shocked face over the words "I believe that area will be peaceful without Muslims"); CU of laughing monk straight after the student says he believe most Muslims are mean; CU (low angle) of video shown to students; LS of students clearing up the	A1: Rohingya – not represented, but the effects of their actions are shown through the video. A3: the military – not represented A4: ASSK - not represented A6: MaBaTha - Students and teachers are initially shown from a "safe" distance and then brought closer to the audience while they are watching the video; the teachers and students are then taken to a closer distance while speaking, which can be seen as intimidating by the audience as what they are saying is either very graphic and depicting horror or making	A1: not represented A3: not represented A4: not represented A6: agentive (talking, teaching, preaching); receptive (watching, listening)	The statives are: SR is shocked by the situation; there are many monks living in this "dark" monastery and many more nationwide; violence has been committed in Rakhine by both parties (but Buddhists come first in the list); Rohingya Muslims are widely hated. This final scene is here to show: 1) how the brain-washing of novice monks happens, with students "avidly studying the beliefs of their teachers", which are the "extreme views" that shocked SR. 2) As we have seen people and monks live in an "extraordinary" symbiosis and monks preach people, so the extreme views the student monks are shown will be passed on to people (also by creating the social media content? Agency here is left vague),	

		<p><u>attacked and killed him. We found his corpse later</u></p> <p>MONK 4 (subtitled throughout): <i>"I feel really sad after watching this video. I have never been to Rakhine in my life, but these people are our people and they are suffering. I feel really sad for them. I believe that area will be peaceful without Muslims. I think that most Muslims are intrinsically mean people; I read that in books"</i></p> <p><i>"Fake news, social media and videos have played a critical role in fomenting and spreading hatred in modern Burma. Millions here have lapped up the propaganda of militant monks, the Burmese military and even Aung San Suu Kyi's own government. In their own country, the Muslim Rohingya people are now widely hated"</i> (31:57-33:58)</p>	<p>A7: Burma (the country, modern Burma, their own country)</p> <p>A8: Bamar (these people, our people, they, them, millions)</p>	<p>inflammatory video)</p> <p>A7: receptive (operations across the country).</p> <p>A8: stative (these people are our people, they are suffering), receptive (I feel sad for them), agentive (millions have lapped up the propaganda).</p>		<p>classroom and exiting (32:01-34:02)</p>	<p>generalised accusations such as "most Muslims are intrinsically mean", to which a shot of a laughing (happy of the results of their preaching?) follows. The low-angle shot of the laptop with the video indicates the power social media has had in influencing people.</p> <p>A7: Burma – not represented</p> <p>A8: Bamar – represented as the Rakhine Buddhists in the video, being victim of violence.</p>	<p>A7: not represented</p> <p>A8: receptive (people in the video are victim of something)</p>	<p>who in numbers of millions, have already "lapped up" the "propaganda".</p>	
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Part 7 (34:02-45:24)

Theme: the Rohingya people

Topics: history of Rohingya people’s institutional persecution; Kutupalong refugee camp; hint at human trafficking; first stories of the military’s atrocities; child protection charities on the camp.

Actors: the Rohingya (A1); ARSA (A2); the Burmese military (A3); Aung San Suu Kyi (A4); the international community (A5); Burma (A7); Bamar majority (A8)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
34:02 - 35:32	Rohingya people’s institutional persecution	<p>SR: Most Rohingya lived in Rakhine State, in an area closed to foreigners. I couldn’t go on a journey around Burma without learning more about what’s happened to the Rohingya. So I headed to neighbouring Bangladesh and on to the river that divides the two countries. 34:02-34:18)</p> <p>SR: “Rohingya are one of the most persecuted people on the planet; they’ve lived under a system described by many experts as an apartheid system for decades now.</p> <p>SR: Many Burmese see the Rohingya as illegal migrants, but there have been Rohingya in the country for centuries. In recent</p>	<p>A1: the Rohingya (<i>The Rohingya</i> (x6), <i>they</i> (x3), <i>illegal immigrants</i> (but as seen by Burmese people), <i>their access, them, their citizenship, stateless people, a Rohingya village</i>)</p> <p>A3: the military (<i>the Burmese dictatorship; Burmese border guards,</i></p>	<p>A1: stative (<i>live, are...most prosecuted, have lived, as illegal immigrants, there have been, the largest group); receptive</i> (<i>what happened to the Rohingya, have been deprived, was limited, were banned, against the Rohingya, have been held and housed</i>)</p> <p>A3: i. agentive (<i>stripped, will start shooting, burning</i>)</p>	Grave and melancholic music throughout; Bb minor key (34:02-35:22)	Noises of boats and water sailing; noises in the refugee camp	Very professionally-looking, animated map of Burma shown; CU of boat and sailor; MCU shots of SR on the boat along a river; MCU of SR talking into the camera about the Rohingya situation while on the boat; LS of other boats and SR’s sailing; LS of the Burmese coast from the river with what look like military towers (CU); LS of some smoke and CU of SR (looking into the camera, slight low	A1: the Rohingya – not represented, although arguably the land on the Myanmar border is their land. A3 – the military - Long distance shots of the Burmese coast from the river reinforce the idea that they are “forbidden from visiting the area”, but close-ups of the military towers and fire closes the gap between the ‘danger’ and the viewer.	A1: not represented A3: stative (watch towers)	The <i>statives</i> here are: something has happened to the Rohingya; they are one of the most persecuted people; they have been in the country for centuries (no mention of the British empire having an important role in this happening in larger numbers); Rohingya are the largest group of stateless people on the planet; Burmese could be burning villages at the time of shooting, under the viewer’s eyes; recent violence is the latest phase of a long campaign of oppression. Potential meanings: 1) SR is shown active in	JC: So, you reckon you can kind of call it apartheid as in.. P1: Yeah, that’s one... He said in effect it is like, yeah, apartheid they were living. This is where they live, they don’t interact beyond that and that seemed to be fine. But clearly it wasn’t because people had been moved into this refugee camp since the ‘70s I think he mentions. Yeah, so the Muslims, who are the Rohingya Muslims, they don’t interact with the rest of the country, they don’t go into the,

		<p>years <i>they've been deprived of their right to vote, their access to healthcare and education was limited, and they were banned from travelling freely between villages. The Burmese dictatorship even stripped them of their citizenship, making the Rohingya the largest group of stateless people on the planet.</i></p> <p>SR: “<i>This is about as far as we can go without crossing the border between Bangladesh and Burma. It’s a part of the country that we are completely forbidden from visiting. In fact, if we get too close to that site, it is quite possible Burmese border guards will start shooting at us.</i> Holy crap, look: <i>there’s a fire</i> over there. <i>It could be a normal fire or it could be the Burmese military burning a Rohingya village.</i>” (34:26-35:32)</p>	<p><i>the Burmese military)</i></p> <p>A5: int. community (Many experts)</p> <p>A7: Burma (Burma (x3), country (x3))</p> <p>A8: Bamar (many Burmese)</p>	<p>A5: agentive (described by many experts)</p> <p>A7: -</p> <p>A8: stative (many Burmese <i>see</i> the Rohingyas as illegal migrants)</p>			<p>angle) saying they could be burning a village (34:02-35:32)</p>	<p>A5: int. community - not represented</p> <p>A7: Burma – seen at a distance from the river as a dangerous place</p> <p>A8: Bamar - not represented</p>	<p>A5: not represented</p> <p>A7: stative (coastline)</p> <p>A8: not represented</p>	<p>investigating what’s happening in Rakhine State (clear agenda as also stated). 2) the Rohingyas are shown active in inhabiting the area for centuries, passive in being oppressed (i.e. not engaging in the conflict as potential offenders, but only as victims) and, generally, as a persecuted, stateless people; 3) the Burmese military and a vague agency within it are shown as active in oppressing the Rohingya institutionally and militarily, as well as potentially shooting SR and his crew. The professionally-looking, animated map and the voiceover establish authority and trustworthiness. SR talks straight to the camera to encourage the viewer to respond (e.g. ‘decades of apartheid’, ‘shooting at us’ and ‘burning villages’).</p>	<p>I don’t know, the other districts, they don’t... they live within their region and not beyond that. That’s how I interpreted it (L, lines 169-175)</p>
35:32 - 38:01	Kutupalong refugee camp	<p>SR: <i>The most recent violence against the Rohingya is just the latest phase in a long</i></p>	<p>A1: the Rohingya (the Rohingya, waves of</p>	<p>A1: receptive (a bloodbath on, terrorised);</p>	Suspense type of music. Starts at the	Sounds from the camp (people, cars, etc.)	LS and MCU of harbour being approached and	<p>A1: the Rohingya - Fairly close-up shots of SR and</p>	<p>A1: agentive (walking, talking); stative (standing, sitting)</p>	<p>The action shots of the boat approaching, SR getting off it,</p>	<p>JC: And something else that you found... I mean you’ve</p>

	<p>campaign of oppression. <i>Waves of Rohingya refugees have been fleeing Burma</i> for Bangladesh ever since the 1970s <i>to escape persecution. Most have been held and housed in refugee camps</i>, just inside Bangladesh. <i>The largest is called Kutupalong. I met up with Shameem, a Rohingya guide who grew up</i> in the camp.</p> <p>SR: “Shameem, As-salamu alaykum. SHAMEEM: “Alaykumu as-salam. How are you? SR: “<i>You’ve been living</i> here in the camp for how long? S: “26 years” SR: “26 years” S: “Yeah” SR: “<i>You came across from Myanmar..</i>” S: “In 1992” SR: “Earlier <i>time of crisis</i> for the <i>Rohingya, wasn’t it?</i>” S: “Yeah”</p> <p>SR: In August 2017 <i>a group of Rohingya militants carried out a series of attacks on Burmese police posts. In response, the Burmese military unleashed an orgy of bloodshed on Rohingya men, women and children, burning hundreds of villages and killing thousands.</i></p>	<p><i>Rohingya refugees, most, Rohingya men, women and children, thousands, 700,000 Rohingya refugees, an entire people)</i></p> <p>A2: ARSA (a group of Rohingya militants)</p> <p>A3: the military (Burmese police posts, the Burmese military, an orgy of bloodbath, the attacks by the Burmese military)</p> <p>A7: Burma (Burma x2)</p>	<p>agentive (poured out, have been fleeing, to escape persecution)</p> <p>A2: agentive (carried out...attacks)</p> <p>A3: receptive (attack on); agentive (unleashed an orgy of bloodbath, burning, killing caused the most rapid movement)</p> <p>A7: -</p>	<p>beginning of scene, then softens, then the volume increases with the aerial views of the camp; A minor (35:32 37:28)</p> <p>Grave music; F minor key (37:35 to end of scene)</p>		<p>of sailor throwing the security rope; MCU and CU of SR getting off the boat on Bangladeshi soil; CU of a crow (or other black bird); MCU shot of Bangladeshi border police and lots of people going through security check; MCU of SR walking around the refugee camp; LS of life in the camp (35:32-36:04)</p> <p>MCU of SR meeting Shameem (looks like for the very first time), CU of SR and S; CU and MCU of people in the camp (including lady cover in white – widow) while voiceover; LS following SR and S from behind as they approach a vantage point from where they can see the size of the camp; ES (aerial and</p>	<p>S greeting (in Arabic) and talking help create proximity and trust with SR’s new host (who also speaks English). Shots of people in the camp (including a woman in widow attire) while talking about the military response to the Rohingya militants’ attacks, helps the viewer to visualise the victims. The aerial and landscape shots of the camp reinforce the idea of its vastness. SR speaks the words ‘biblical exodus’ straight in the camera to encourage a response from the audience, who also closely follows him on the rickshaw and observes his shock at the size of the camp.</p>		<p>border control operations and SR walking around the camp highlight the active commitment (also evident from the linguistic analysis) of SR to “learning more about what’s happened to the Rohingya”. The <i>states</i> here are: the enormous size of the camp; the situation being comparable to a ‘biblical exodus’. Potential meanings: 1) although there exist some Rohingya militants who carried out some attacks on Burmese police, the scale of the response from the military is disproportioned (see the lexis); 2) the number of refugees is incredibly high; 3) the continued persecution of the Rohingya resulted in the camp ‘exploding’ and becoming enormous.</p>	<p>kind of half-talked about it ‘the scale of the displacement and size of the refugee camp’ P1: Yeah. Yeah, that for me... I thought sort of Africa, like Rwanda. I don’t know, like Ethiopia, those areas, I thought that’s where the real displacement happened. I didn’t think it happened in this little, sort of small corner of Asia at all, but... I thought I would have heard about it, I didn’t know that these many people could be displaced from one tiny part of the country and the fact that it was like a city was pretty mind-blowing to me (1, lines 356-362)</p>
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		<p>Nearly 700,000 Rohingya refugees poured out of Burma into Bangladesh. The population of Kutupalong camp exploded: this is now the biggest refugee camp in the world.</p> <p>SR: “Oh my God, look at this.” (35:35-36:54)</p> <p>SR: “Look at the size of this camp, this place is a city. I think like nothing I have seen anywhere on planet earth; this speaks of a biblical exodus of an entire people terrorised into fleeing.” (37:13-37:34)</p> <p>SR: “We hop in this [rickshaw]?” (37:42-37:43)</p> <p>SR: The attacks by the Burmese military caused the most rapid movement of people since the Rwandan genocide. (37:45-37:50)</p> <p>SR: “God, it’s just enormous this camp. It is just enormous.” (37:56-38:01)</p>					<p>landscape) of the camp; CU of SR (eye-level) saying it is a “biblical exodus”; shots from the rickshaw ride, including children (MCU and CU); CU of SR looking at the camp from the rickshaw (36:04-38:01)</p>	<p>A2: ARSA – not represented</p> <p>A3: the military - not represented</p> <p>A7: Burma - not represented</p>	<p>A2 – not represented</p> <p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A7: not represented</p>		
38:01 - 40:18	Hint at human trafficking	<p>SR: “What’s going on here? Can we stop? Can we stop?”</p> <p>SR: During the exodus, tens of thousands of families were split up.</p>	<p>A1: the Rohingya (tens of thousands of families, many; WOMAN: we</p>	<p>A1: receptive (were split up); stative (are still desperate); WOMAN: agentive (ran,</p>	<p>Same music as above; grave music; F minor key (from beginning of</p>	<p>Street noises and voice through a speaker</p>	<p>CU of SR looking at the camp from the rickshaw; MCU of people and CU of man with mic and</p>	<p>A1: the Rohingya - Close up of mother and man announcing the missing baby</p>	<p>A1: agentive (walking, talking); stative (standing, sitting); receptive (bring helped and consoled)</p>	<p>The statives here are: many families don’t know what happened to their loved ones (also note ‘during the exodus’, which in</p>	

	<p><i>Many are still desperate to know if their loved ones are dead or alive.</i></p> <p>MAN WITH MIC (subtitled throughout): “<i>When did you lose your baby?</i>” MOTHER (subtitled throughout): “<i>Three months ago</i>” MAN: “<i>The child’s been missing for 3 months?</i>” MOTHER: “<i>I’ve been searching everywhere and I can’t find him</i>” MAN: “<i>Do you want to make an announcement?</i>” MOTHER: “<i>I heard you making announcements so I thought you could help me. Oh my God I want to find him</i>” SR: “<i>What’s happened?</i>” S (also subtitled): “<i>She lost her baby 3 months ago and she has been looking everywhere</i>”</p> <p>MAN: “<i>10 or 20 days ago, a woman who was carrying a 6-week-old baby crossed over from Burma and arrived at the camp. She was carrying a lot, so a woman offered to help carry her baby. But the woman disappeared with the child. The mother is very concerned about her baby. If you have any information about the</i></p>	<p>(x2), my uncle, us)</p> <p>A3: the military (WOMAN: they (x3))</p> <p>A7: Burma (Burma (x2))</p>	<p>fled); receptive (was slaughtered)</p> <p>A3: WOMAN: agentic (were shooting, chased, shot, were killing)</p> <p>A7: -</p>	<p>scene to 38:23)</p>	<p>woman talking about the missing baby; MCU of S explaining what happened and CU of SR listening; CU of the mother talking about what happened to her and her family (left-hand side, slight high angle); MCU and CU of mother crying and being consoled; CU of SR and S discussing the possibility of the child having been trafficked; final CU of the mother looking straight into the camera (38:01-40:18)</p>	<p>can create proximity and empathy in the viewer due to the tragic content of their words; the close-up of the mother during her account of the atrocities she suffered serves the same empathic purpose as above. The viewer is also asked to observe SR and S discussing the possibility of child trafficking. Finally, the frontal long close-up of the mother at the end of the scene looking straight into the camera encourages the viewer to respond to everything they have just witnessed.</p> <p>A3: the military - not represented</p> <p>A7: Burma - not represented</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A7: not represented</p>	<p>itself represents the state of affairs in a particular way); the mother is very concerned about her son. Potential meanings: 1) there is a lot of suffering connected to the Rohingya crisis and the viewer is presented with one of many cases almost by chance (“what’s going on here?” [line 434]); 2) the suffering is caused by the military also according to the mother (not only to SR); 3) there may be instances of child trafficking happening, although the agency is left (intentionally?) vague – some of my research suggests children and young teenagers are indeed trafficked off the camp, but in Bangladesh (possibly by Bangladeshis) for the sex industry (and this would not fit with the pro-Muslim angle of the programme.</p>	
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		<p>baby's whereabouts <i>please come forward</i>"</p> <p>S: "<i>Why did you leave Burma?</i>" MOTHER: "<i>They were shooting</i> everywhere. <i>They chased us</i> and <i>shot at us</i> as we ran away. <i>They were killing people</i> in the middle of the night. <i>My uncle was slaughtered</i> so we fled to the riverbank. <i>Some people helped us</i> across the border" (38:07-39:45)</p> <p>SR: "So, <i>this sort of situation can resolve</i> into a reunification?" S: "<i>I don't think she'll find</i> her baby again because <i>her baby was taken</i> on purpose [already taken by plan in S's words]" SR: "<i>You think stolen, trafficking?</i>" S: "Yeah" (39:54-40:11)</p>									
40:18 - 45:24	First stories of the military's atrocities and child protection charities on the camp	<p>SR: <i>More than half the refugees who come to Bangladesh are children; some lost their parents in the chaos, others have been left orphaned. They need protection and they need support.</i> (40:19-40:34)</p> <p>S: "So, <i>this is Child Friendly Space</i>"</p> <p>SR: <i>This is one of one 130 child-friendly spaces in this area, run</i></p>	A1: the Rohingya (more than half of the refugees, some [children], others, they (x3), the camp's children, two youngsters, Yusef, Razina, your parents, children, many of whom, some of them, these people;	A1: stative (are children, need protection, need support, have very little); agentive (lost, came, have been through); receptive (have been left orphans, talk to, are traumatised, committed against);	Sad, melancholic music – music fades when SR and S arrive at the centre; F minor key (40:18-40:39) A slow, gentle music resumes when SR is inside playing with	Noises, including children crying; then noises of the children in the centre; Muslim prayers through the speakers in the last part	LS and CU of children of different ages; ES around the camp, including of a group of children playing football; MCU of SR and S arriving at the UNICEF centre; LS of children in the centre; ES of SR with two	A1: the Rohingya - The initial shots of children accompany SR's recount of their place in the crisis. The action shot of SR and S shows committed action on their part to engage with this centre and the children. The	A1: agentive (walking, talking, playing); stative (standing, sitting)	The <i>statives</i> here are: more than half the refugees are children; children need protection and support, have very little and are traumatised; child centres like the UNICEF ones are 'vital safe havens' and do wonderful things and give children the opportunity to be children. Potential meanings: 1)	

	<p>by the charity UNICEF. <i>A vital safe haven</i> for many of the camp's children. Shakeem Faysal, from UNICEF invited me <i>to talk</i> to two youngsters in the charity's care. Yusef came to the camp with his sister Razina after the August attacks.</p> <p>SR: "Can you [[YUSEF (subtitled throughout): "That looks like the gun from Myanmar. It's the same size"</p> <p>SR: "I promise you it's not a gun, it's a camera. OK? I promise you. (1) What this lad is immediately saying is that Jonathan's camera, which has a handle on it, at the front, which almost look trigger, he's saying immediately it looks, it looks like a gun. Go and... You can go and have a look. [SHAMEEM TRANSLATES] It's OK. Alright? So you know it's not a gun, don't you?"</p> <p>Y: "I get it now. Someone has taken my photo before" (40:40-41:42)</p> <p>SR: "Why did you have to come here into Bangladesh, do you know?"</p> <p>Y: "They were shooting us and burning our</p>	<p>YUSEF: <i>us, our houses, our women, we, mother and father;</i> SHAKEEM: <i>many of the children, their childhood, they (x2), children, them, you</i></p> <p>A3: the military (SR: <i>the Burmese military;</i> YUSEF: <i>they (x2)</i>)</p> <p>A4: ASSK (<i>Burma's leader, ASSK, a Nobel prize winner, she</i>)</p> <p>A5: int community (<i>the charity UNICEF, a vital safe haven, the charity, a centre like this, a sanctuary like this, the United Nation;</i></p>	<p>YUSEF: receptive (<i>being shot, houses being burned, women being raped; were killed,</i> agentive (<i>came</i>); SHAKEEM: agentive (<i>hear from children, will forget, will have to continue</i>), receptive (<i>has been stolen</i>), stative (<i>have a future</i>)</p> <p>A3: SR: agentive (<i>committed by</i>); YUSEF: agentive (<i>were shooting and burning, were raping</i>)</p> <p>A4: agentive (<i>has not condemned, has blamed</i>)</p> <p>A5: agentive (<i>run by, gives</i>); stative (<i>a safe haven, in the charity's care</i>), receptive (<i>has [been] led, have not been allowed</i>)</p>	<p>the children; F major key (43:26-44:17)</p> <p>Sad, melancholic music; F minor key (44:42-45:15)</p>		<p>children, S and another man; CU of Yusef and Razina; MCU of SR reassuring Yusef (in my opinion misinterpreting the child's intention); MCU of SR (looking into the camera) explaining about Yusef and the gun; CU of Yusef, SR and Shakeem talking; LS of children playing football (40:18-43:34)</p> <p>CU of SR, S and children playing inside the centre; CU of SR (looking into camera) talking about the value of such centre; CU of SR and S talking about the children's sufferings; MCU and CU of children, women and men visibly distressed; ES of the camp as the sun sets. (43:34-45:23)</p> <p>Fade to black.</p>	<p>close-up shots of Y and R serve to encourage empathy in the viewer. But the play scenes also represent safety and positive feelings.</p> <p>A3: the military - not represented</p> <p>A4: ASSK - The final shots of people and of the camp at dawn are shown with the voiceover describing the situation having been labelled 'ethnic cleansing' by the UN and the lack of political response (if not complicity by not allowing international observes in the area on the part of ASSK.</p> <p>A5- int community - The shots of children playing inside and outside the centre show how beneficial the centre is for them. SR looks</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: not represented</p> <p>A5: agentive (helping supporting, talking)</p>	<p>children are those suffering the most and something needs to be done to help them; 2) there is further evidence not coming from SR accusing the military of atrocities; 3) (international) charities such as UNICEF are doing a wonderful job; 4) another international organisation is condemning what is happening (potential association between international charities doing wonderful things and being rightful?); 5) accusation of ASSK for not condemning and possibly being accomplice with the army's actions.</p>	
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		<p>houses. <i>They were raping our women. That's why we came here</i>"</p> <p>S: "Your parents?"</p> <p>Y: "<i>My mother and father were killed</i>"</p> <p>SR: "Do you...<i>do you feel safe</i> here now?"</p> <p>Y: [nods]</p> <p>S: "Yeah, <i>I feel safe</i>, yeah" (41:45-42:11)</p> <p>SR: "Shakeem, <i>these are horrific stories. Are you hearing this a lot</i> from...from <i>children</i>"</p> <p>SHAKEEM: "Yeah, <i>these are</i> kind of <i>almost all the stories</i> that <i>we hear</i> from many of the <i>children. We kind of feel like their childhood has kind of been stolen</i> from them. And now <i>they are</i> here, <i>we are just trying to make sure</i> that at least <i>they have a future</i>, because in any case <i>you really can't claim</i> that <i>these children will forget these things; this will remain within themselves</i>"</p> <p>SR: "Forever"</p> <p>SHAKEEM: "Forever. For the time being <i>we can just tell</i> them that, yeah, <i>this has happened, this has happened</i>, but <i>you will have to continue</i>"</p> <p>SR: "<i>What are</i> the things that <i>you do</i> here or in life that really</p>	<p>international observers)</p> <p>A7: Burma (Myanmar, Burma)</p>	<p>A7: -</p>			<p>in the camera when praising the centre so the viewer is asked to respond. The viewer is also asked to observe the interactions between SR and the children and SR and S.</p> <p>A7: Burma - not represented</p>	<p>A7: not represented</p>		
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		<p><i>make you laugh and smile?"</i></p> <p>Y: "<i>I play football. I used to play in Burma too. I like scoring goals. I can be a goalkeeper or striker</i>"</p> <p>SR: "<i>Have you got a favourite team?</i>"</p> <p>Y: "Barcelona"</p> <p>SR: "Barcelona? <i>It's your favourite football team in the world. (1) You're a good man.</i></p> <p>Thank you for talking with us, <u>big guy</u>." (42:15-43:27)</p> <p>SR: "Oh wow, little whipping offers. Shall we? Oh, this is very nice. Oh, what a very kind offer"</p> <p>CHILD 1 (translated by guide): "This is cake"</p> <p>SR: "We've got some cake"</p> <p>CHILD 1: "This is biscuit"</p> <p>SR: "Biscuits? Oh, I love biscuits. What's...some tea, and some biscuits and some cake. Delicious! [children laugh]. There we go [pouring some tea to the guide]. In my country we love pudding or biscuits in our tea [puts biscuit in the tea and children laugh again]. Can you cut me some cake, please? Because if I cut it, I'll have it all [children laugh again] Thank you. What <i>do</i></p>							
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		<p><i>you like</i> most about <i>coming</i> here?"</p> <p>CHILD 2 (subtitled): "<i>I like</i> reading and writing"</p> <p>SR: "<i>One of the many wonderful things about a centre like this, a sanctuary like this, is that it gives children who often have very little, and many of whom are traumatised, it gives</i> them a chance just to be children again"</p> <p>SR: "<i>They've been through, more than most people can comprehend, haven't they? Some of them</i>" (43:35-44:45)</p> <p>SR: <i>The scale of the killings, rape and torture committed against these people by the Burmese military has led the United Nations to label it as ethnic cleansing. Burma's leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, a Nobel Prize winner, has not condemned the army's actions. She's blamed the crisis on tensions between the Buddhist and Muslim communities in Rakhine, and violence on both sides. International observers have not been allowed to freely visit the area</i>" (44:51-45:21)</p>									
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Part 8: Life at the Bangladesh/Burma border (45:25-52:08)

Theme: life at the Bangladesh/Burma border

Topics: Bangladeshi aid at the border; the military – a closer look;

Actors: the Rohingya (A1); ARSA (A2); the Burmese military (A3); Aung San Suu Kyi (A4); the international community (A5); Burma (A7); Bamar majority (A8)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
45:25 - 49:39	Bangladeshi aid at the border	<p>SR: <i>I'd heard that people were still trying to flee Burma</i> and that <i>thousands were still stuck</i> at the land border between the two countries. <i>Bangladeshi border guards were closing</i> crossing points and <i>setting up</i> check points <i>to stop</i> more <i>Rohingya entering</i> the country (45:30-45:46)</p> <p>S: “[after talking to a guard at a checkpoint] <i>Let's go</i>”</p> <p>SR: “<i>How close</i> to the border <i>are we</i> now, Shameem?”</p> <p>S: “<i>This is</i> [maybe name of place]. Look?”</p> <p>SR: “Just there?”</p> <p>S: “Yes, <i>that's</i> one. <i>This is</i> the main [”</p> <p>SR: “<i>Can we stop? Can we stop? This is</i> [name of location]. OK, <i>let's have</i> a look?”</p> <p>S: “<i>This is</i> border, <i>Myanmar</i> and Bangladesh border?”</p> <p>SR: “<i>This is</i> the border!”</p> <p>S: “Yeah, <i>this is</i> the border and [”</p> <p>SR: “Right here?”</p> <p>S: “Yeah”</p> <p>SR: “Along the water”</p>	<p>A1: <i>the Rohingya</i> (SR: <i>people, thousands, Rohingya</i> (x3), <i>they</i> (x2), <i>people</i> (x2), <i>tens and tens of thousands of Rohingya refugees, she, everyone;</i> MAN: <i>a woman; she, our country, our birthplace, our ancestors, we</i> (x4), <i>I, Rohingya people, my whole family</i>)</p>	<p>A1: SR: <i>agentive</i> (<i>were still trying, entering, come across, coming in, stepped on a landmine; stative</i> (<i>were stuck, are trapped, would have nothing, see themselves, wanted to return; receptive</i> (<i>are being allowed, are being housed</i>); MAN: <i>agentive</i> (<i>was crossing, lost, studied, do, can't say, stative</i> (<i>that is our country, were born, have lived, have documents, has the documents,</i></p>	<p>Grave, slow music, keyboard and oriental-sounding string instrument; G# minor key (45:25-48:57)</p> <p>Music stops during part of the interview with the man.</p> <p>Grave, slow music, B minor key (49:17-49:39)</p>	Noises from people at the river/border	<p>Some final ES of the camp; CU of SR with tearful eyes through the car mirror; LS shots of SR's car; LS from the car of roads and a Bangladeshi check-point; CU of S talking from the car to Bangladeshi guard; CU in the car of SR and S talking; MCU of SR and S from behind walking to the river/border; ES, LS and CU of people on either side of the border and of people crossing a wooden</p>	<p>A1: <i>the Rohingya</i> - The conversation between SR and Man 2 is shot in an almost devotee/divinity way, with SR shown from a higher angle looking up at the man and the man shown from a lower angle looking down to SR: the audience may be invited to almost look at the Rohingya man as a martyr being praised (also note how SR repeats “you studied psychology” as if the most human</p>	<p>A1: <i>agentive</i> (<i>talking; receptive</i> (<i>being under surveillance; stative</i> (<i>being stuck at the border</i>))</p>	<p>The <i>statives</i> here are: Rohingya people are trapped at the border; there are few crossing points, where the situation is horrific; Bangladeshi is too poor a country to be able to cope with the crisis on their own, but without them the Rohingya would have nothing (hedged); relations between the majority of Burmese and Rohingya have never been good, but now the scale is apocalyptic and devastating; Rohingya people were born there and have lived there for centuries; the man's family have citizenship documents but the</p>	

		<p>S: "Yeah" SR: "<i>The water is</i> the border?" S: "Yes, <i>this is</i> Bangladesh and <i>that is</i> Myanmar. <i>This is</i> the [unclear] and [pillar?] of Myanmar" SR: "So, <i>they're trapped</i> on, almost <u>on no man's land</u>, almost, between the Myanmar fence and the Myanmar border, <i>which is</i> just here. So <i>they're being allowed to come</i> to this side, <u>just informally</u>" S: "<u>Informally, to take medicines and to take food, to take aid</u> and just <u>to bring water</u> also" SR: "OK" S: "So.." SR: "This little bridge here, <i>there are very few sort of actual crossing points, and informal crossing points. This is utterly horrific.</i> We thank God <i>the Bangladeshis are letting the Rohingya come across to pick up aid, otherwise people would have nothing.</i> But, of course, then <i>we're asking why won't they let everyone cross over the safety of this side. It's a very fair question.</i> Obviously, <i>Bangladesh is a desperately poor country, they've already absorbed and are housing tens and tens of thousands of Rohingya refugees. But there are tensions starting to develop</i> between the community here, of course, and <u>the people coming in</u>" (45:58-47:43) SR: Then <i>we spotted Burmese soldiers watching over</i> the camp from the hill above MAN (subtitled): "Look look! <i>One is running</i>" SR: "<i>What happened?</i>" S: "<i>One is running</i>"</p>	<p>A3: the military (SR: <i>Burmese soldiers, landmine; SHAMEEM: Burmese military; MEN: they, guns, bomb</i> (x4)) A7: Burma (<i>Burma</i> (x2), <i>Myanmar</i> (x2), <i>our country</i> (x2), <i>our birthplace</i>) A8: Bamar (<i>many of the Burmese</i>)</p>	<p><i>are not from there)</i> A3: SR: agentive (<i>watching</i>), SHAMEEM: agentive (<i>just sitting</i>); MAN: agentive (<i>carrying guns, threaten, say, bomb exploded are killing</i>) A7: stative (<i>that is our country / our birthplace</i>) A8: stative (<i>relations have never been good between many of the Burmese and the Rohingya</i>)</p>			<p>bridge to collect aid from the Bangladeshi border; CU of SR (looking in the camera) when talking about the Bangladeshi aid and challenges; LS of people and children at the border; LS and CU of Burmese soldiers (also holding guns) sitting along a nearby road; MCU and CU of SR and S pointing at them together with other people observing (45:25-48:10) CU and MCU (low angle) of a man describing the woman bomb accident; LS of the Myanmar border guards; CU of SR (looking up to the man, slight high angle) and man (low angle) talking about the possibility to</p>	<p>admirable action had been disrupted by the break-out of the crisis). A3: the military - The distance to close-up shots of the armed police/soldiers, together with the comments from the small crowd takes the viewer into the action, making them feel the danger of the situation. A7: Burma – shots of the border between Burma and Bangladesh A8: Bamar – the soldiers on the Burmese side would probably be Bamar</p>	<p>A3: stative (<i>sitting</i>), agentive (<i>watching</i>) A7: stative (<i>border</i>) A8: stative (<i>sitting</i>), agentive (<i>watching</i>)</p>	<p>Burmese government says otherwise; the situation in Burma is not safe. Potential meanings: 1) Rohingya people are stuck at the border and the Bangladeshis are doing the best they can to help them; 2) there is someone other than SR providing testimony that the Rohingya belong to Rakhine and have had for centuries; 3) the generation has completely degenerated in recent times, although was never good; 4) all parties involved but the Burmese (i.e. the Rohingya and Bangladesh) want for the Rohingya to be in Burma rather than in Bangladesh. More "action" shots in the car, through the check-point and walking to the border continue to show SR's active commitment to investigating the issue. Close-up shot of SR also looking in the camera encourage</p>	
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		<p>SR: “<i>One has just run up</i>” S (also subtitled): “<i>The Burmese military is just sitting</i> on the road” MAN (subtitled): “Look over there. <i>They’re carrying guns</i>” SR: “Bloody hell” MAN 2 (subtitled): “Sometimes <i>they threaten us by firing</i>. Two months ago, <i>a woman was crossing</i> the path and <i>a bomb exploded</i>” SR: “So, <i>she stepped on a</i> <u>landmine</u>” MAN 2: “[unclear] <i>She lost two legs</i>” SR: “<i>Lost both her legs</i>” (47:47-48:27)</p> <p>SR: “<i>Relations have never been good between many of the Burmese and the Rohingya</i>, but this is, <i>this is apocalyptic; it’s a complete... completely devastating situation. How can you ever go back?</i>” MAN 2: “<i>That is our country. It’s our birthplace. Our ancestors were born there and we’ve lived there for centuries</i>” SR: “<i>What did you do before... before you came here, before you had to flee?</i>” MAN 2: “<i>I studied for a degree in Psychology</i>” SR: “<i>You studied Psychology</i>” MAN 2: “But <i>the government won’t let the Rohingya people do these jobs. We all have documents proving our citizenship, my whole family has the documents.</i> Despite this <i>they say we’re not from there. They are killing us</i>, but <i>we won’t say – we can’t say that it’s not our country</i>” (48:30-49:23)</p>					<p>go back; LS and MCU of people including Bangladeshi Border Guards; CU of SR in the car; LS of camps from the car - 48:10-49:39)</p>		<p>the viewer to respond to the praise of Bangladeshi’s aid and challenges.</p>	
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		SR: <i>The Rohingya see themselves as part of Burma. Everyone I spoke to wanted to return home. The Bangladeshi want them to go, but clearly it's not safe.</i> (49:26-49:36)								
49:39 - 52:08	The military – a closer look	<p>MAN 4 (subtitled): “Any bandages?” SR: “Yeah, <i>we’ve got</i> some stuff, <i>we’ve got</i> some stuff. <i>There’s a guy being injured.</i> (2) Yeah, <i>we’ve got, we’ve got</i> bandages. Here. <i>I’ll try to find</i> a better one. <i>That’s</i> probably the best thing. Not far.” MAN 4: “Yeah” SR: “OK. (2) If <i>you go</i> on here [helping the injured man into the car]. Oh man, <i>he’s been badly beaten</i>”</p> <p>SR: <i>Kairo went back into Burma to check on his farm. He was caught by Burmese soldiers.</i></p> <p>SR: “<i>Why did you want to go back?</i>” KAIRO (subtitled): “<i>I have fields and crops there, I went to check</i> them” S (subtitled): “So <i>the military found</i> you there?” K: “<i>I was tied up. They asked</i> where <i>I came from. They asked</i> if <i>I spoke</i> Burmese. <i>I said</i> no. When <i>I spoke</i> Rohingya, <i>they clubbed</i> me <i>with the butt of a gun</i>”</p> <p>SR: “[to a checkpoint guard] Patient” GUARD: [indicates to carry on] SR: “Just here?” GUARD: “Yes, yes” (49:41-50:45)</p> <p>SR: “<i>How often is</i></p>	<p>A1: the Rohingya (SR: <i>Kairo, he, you, people, he, the Rohingya</i> (x3), <i>they</i>; KAIRO: <i>I</i> (x7); SHAMEEM: <i>he, the Rohingya</i>)</p> <p>A3: the military (SR: <i>Burmese soldiers, the military, they</i> (x2); KAIRO: <i>they</i> (x3); SHAMEEM: <i>the military, they</i>)</p>	<p>A1: SR: agentive (<i>went, want to go, have been across, stay out, returned</i>), receptive (<i>was caught, been brought, beaten up, attacked, tortured</i>), stative (<i>is, will be able, would need</i>); KAIRO: stative (<i>have, spoke</i>), agentive (<i>went, came from, said, spoke</i>), receptive (<i>was tied up</i>); SHAMEEM: agentive (<i>said, stay</i>)</p> <p>A3: SR: agentive (<i>caught by, found, could have killed</i>), stative (<i>want</i>); KAIRO: agentive (<i>asked</i> (x2), <i>clubbed</i>); SHAMEEM: agentive (<i>let go</i>), stative (<i>don’t want</i>)</p>	<p>Grave, suspense music with some gentle piano; Af minor (49:39-51:30)</p> <p>Music stops during the doctor’s diagnosis.</p> <p>Slow, traditional type of music starts after the diagnosis; B minor key (51:49-52:08)</p>	<p>Road noises; also medical equipment and siren while the man is being treated in the tent. Noise of the crow at the end</p>	<p>LS of SR’s car stopping; approaching CU of SR helping a wounded man; CU of the man and of SR looking for first aid items; LS of people on looking by; CU of the man, SR, S and the driver in the car; MCU of SR and S carrying the man to the hospital tent and CU of them helping him on a stretcher; MCU of SR and doctor talking about frequency of accidents; LS and MCU of the man being treated; CU of SR and S talking about the incident; CU of the scan of a skull on a screen; MCU of SR helping</p>	<p>A1: the Rohingya - The close-up “action” shot of SR, K and S take the viewer right in the middle of what is happening, almost creating a sense of participation in helping K. SR is shown very active in helping K (putting initial bandages, helping to the medical tent, carrying K on the stretcher after he’s been attended to). The final shots of the sunset and the crow cawing accompany SR’s comments about the situation of the Rohingya with regard to going back to Burma and how they would need an international</p>	<p>A1: receptive (being attacked and injured)</p>	<p>The <i>statives</i> here are: K is lucky to be alive; the military don’t want the Rohingya back in Burma; it’s hard to know whether the Rohingya will ever be able to go back; the Rohingya need cast-iron guarantees and an international force to protect them; the viewer is asked whether they wouldn’t too. Potential meanings: 1) further evidence is provided of the military committing crimes against the Rohingya from people other than SR (i.e. the doctor); 2) there doesn’t seem to be a way out of the situation as things stand as the military don’t want the Rohingya back (despite ASSK asserting the contrary); 3) the only way for the Rohingya to go back is a military international</p>

	<p><i>something like this happening, where people have been across the border or been still brought in now beaten up, attacked, tortured"</i></p> <p>DOCTOR: "Daily" SR: "Every day?" D: "Yeah" (50:55-51:06)</p> <p>SR: "He's <u>lucky to be alive, they could have killed him</u>" S: "Yeah (1) When he said 'I'll never come here again', then the military let him go" SR: "They want the Rohingya to stay out of Myanmar" S: "Yeah, they don't want the Rohingya to stay there" (51:08-51:25)</p> <p>SR: It's hard to know how the Rohingya will ever be able to go safely back to Burma. (51:29-51:33)</p> <p>D: "There is a small fracture" SR: "There is a fracture on his skull" D: "Yeah <u>a small fracture, we don't need to operate</u> right now, but we're just taking him to the observation and see through the night, how it goes" (51:39-51:48)</p> <p>SR: After all that's happened, surely the Rohingya would need cast-iron guarantees and an international force to protect them if they returned. Wouldn't you? (51:53-52:02)</p>	<p>A5: int. community (an international force)</p> <p>A7: Burma (Burma (x2), Myanmar)</p>	<p>A5: agentive (protect)</p> <p>A7: -</p>		<p>carrying the stretcher; MCU of doctor explaining to SR about the small fracture; CU of wounded man being treated; ES of sunset, farms and a crow cawing (49:39-52:08) Fade to black.</p>	<p>force to protect them.</p> <p>A3: the military – not represented</p> <p>A5: int. community - not represented</p> <p>A7: Burma - not represented</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A5: not represented</p> <p>A7: not represented</p>	<p>intervention (ONU? NATO?) which is justified by the fact human rights are being violated; 4) the viewer should sympathise with the Rohingya and agree that is the best solution.</p>	
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Part 9: ARSA (52:09-58:15)

Theme: Rohingya militants

Topics: meeting ARSA; final remarks on Aung San Suu Kyi and democracy in Burma

Actors: the Rohingya (A1); ARSA (A2); the Burmese military (A3); Aung San Suu Kyi (A4); the international community (A5); Burma (A7)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representati on of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
52:09 - 57:00	Meeting ARSA	<p>SR: <i>The Burmese government has always blamed the Rohingya militants for starting the latest bout of violence.</i> (52:17-52:23)</p> <p>SR: <i>There is a small violent Rohingya resistance movement, called the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army, or ARSA.</i> In August 2017 they coordinated a series of attacks, mostly with knives and sticks on remote Burmese police outposts. (52:29-52:46)</p> <p>SR: <i>“We are in a blacked-out vehicle because we’re heading to try and meet some of the militants behind the initial attacks”</i></p> <p>SR: <i>I heard about a guy who could help take me to the group. I couldn’t be sure what I was getting into.</i></p>	<p>A1: the Rohingya (the Rohingya (x3), their land)</p> <p>A2: ARSA (SR: the Rohingya militants, small violent Rohingya resistance movement, the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army, or ARSA, they (x3), some of the militants, the group (x2), ARSA, you (x6), the Rohingya, those international fighters, al-Qaeda, these people, that group, international jihadi groups; MILITANTS: we (x22), own farmland, women (x2), young</p>	<p>A1: receptive (are given, atrocities being committed against)</p> <p>A2: SR: agentive (starting, coordinated, behind the initial attacks, lunched, are starting to latch on, get involved, will poison), stative (called, have regrets, want us to know, are you part (x2), are (x2), have been through), receptive (take me to the group, has been accused,</p>	<p>Slow, grave music; G# minor key (52:09-53:15)</p> <p>Slow, grave music; F minor key (53:54-55:20)</p> <p>Slow, grave music; A minor key (55:42-56:30)</p>	<p>Road noises; sound of rain at the beginning of this scene, but then fades away toward the end of the final comments</p>	<p>MCU, CU and LS of harmless Rohingya men and women in camps; MCU of SR in the back of a jeep, also talking into camera and LS of roads and users; CU and MCU following SR and his lead to meet the ARSA members; CU of SR and ARSA members (for them ECU of eyes or other parts of their bodies, mainly hands and including bullet wound, or MCU with their face pixelated,) during interview (52:09-56:06)</p> <p>ES of vegetation</p>	<p>A1: the Rohingya - The shots of harmless people accompany the remark made about the government blaming Rohingya militants, almost establishing a paradoxical association in the viewer’s mind; “action” shots again show SR’s commitment to investigate the situation and make the audience take part in it</p> <p>A2: ARSA - close-up and pixelated shots of the militants are used to conceal identities for their safety, but the closeness also encourages the viewer to sympathise with</p>	<p>A1: agentive (working)</p> <p>A2: agentive (talking)</p>	<p>The <i>statives</i> here are: there is a <i>small</i> (not big) <i>resistance</i> (not terrorist) <i>movement</i> (not organised group); the members (and the Rohingya in general? unclear) are farmers who had their own land; they put up with the Burmese violence until they could no longer; they don’t regret fighting for their cause and committing violent actions (although <i>mostly with knives and sticks</i>), because they hate the Burmese military; the military wants to destroy Islam; they are ready to continue their fight if they are not given their land back and if</p>	<p>P1: I thought it was a good representation of the people, like, if I think when he joins the jihadis, I think they sounded like I’d... this is... I don’t wanna talk down on them... they sounded frustrated, which I could... you can understand why they’ve gone into what they did. But also, in some way smartened, I don’t know if that’s because of the translation or because it’s just of a rural way of life [...] there was a sort of like naivety to them, but you can see that their actions were borne of that... of their situation. (I, lines 466-475)</p>

		<p>SR: “<u>Are these the guys</u> here? As-salamu alaykum”</p> <p>SR: <u>ARSA has been accused of receiving support from foreign terror groups.</u></p> <p>SR: “<u>What inspired you? What forced you to join the group?</u>”</p> <p>M: “<u>We are farmers, we had our own farmland. We’ve been persecuted since 1982, women were beaten and killed, they were killing young children. My father was killed, my mother was killed. They slaughtered my 8-year-old son. We couldn’t bear it anymore, so I decided to join jihad?</u>”</p> <p>SR: “<u>What did you do?</u>”</p> <p>M1: <u>We took knives and sticks and went to attack them. We attacked their camp at 3am. We killed 3 or 4 people with knives and sticks.</u></p> <p>MILITANT 2 (subtitled): “<u>I slaughtered them with a long knife. I slashed them</u>”</p> <p>M1: “<u>We came up behind them and killed them. I was hit by a bullet but I recovered. He still hasn’t healed yet</u>”</p> <p>SR: “[is shown the wound] Oh my God”</p> <p>M2: “<u>We were returning after an attack</u></p>	<p><i>children, my father, my mother, my 8-year-old son, I (x6), he, our houses, small children, our religion, our land (x2), local Rohingya, our rights, foreigners, they (x6), our leader, some people</i></p>	<p>what inspired you, what forced you); MILITANT S: slative (are (x2), had, couldn’t bear, recovered, hasn’t healed, were on fire, do not regret, hate, was, are not (x2), want to put on and grow and go and do jihad), receptive (have been persecuted, were beaten and killed, was killed (x3), was hit, was shot, were being raped), agentive (decided to join, took, went to attack, attacked, killed (x2), slaughtered, slashed, came up, were returning, got home, fled, fought, came out, would return</p>		<p>under the rain; MCU of SR walking in the rain expressing his final comments (slight low angle, also looking in the camera); LS of the jihadists disappearing in the vegetation 56:06-57:00)</p>	<p>them while they talk about the crimes committed by the military.</p> <p>A3: the military – not represented</p> <p>A4: ASSK – not represented</p> <p>A7: Burma – not represented</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: not represented</p> <p>A7: not represented</p>	<p>security forces (Burmese or international is not clear) are not deployed to protect them; SR and the viewer would at least sympathise with them had they been through the same violence; the situation is <i>appalling</i>; SR fears for the safety of Myanmar and the wider region. Potential meanings: 1) Rohingya are generally harmless people and the few who are violent have been forced into the situation by the Burmese military and their crimes against them; 2) the crimes ARSA have committed are nothing compared to the crimes the military has committed: they are not armed properly and they only attacked <i>remote police outposts</i>; 3) viewers would certainly <i>at least</i> sympathise with the reasons why ARSA is</p>	<p>P1: I think he sounds like troubled when he talks to the jihadis. Like, you can see there’s a conflict in him of what they’re doing is clearly wrong, but if you’re in that situation, you might be driven to do a similar... to a similar thing (I, lines 248-250)</p> <p>P1: I think he’s just trying to get to the heart of the place, not so much an issue, but the heart of the place, the current contemporary climate there. And, also, when there’s... in a country that’s quite dominated with, like, right-wing media, he’s trying to say ‘actually people doing this... this is why they’re doing this’. So, it’s not just like ‘oh, I’m gonna join jihadis who have gone radical’</p> <p>JC: which country are you talking about?</p> <p>P1: I’m saying in the UK, so, from</p>
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	<p>where <i>we killed 8 soldiers and I was shot by the military</i>"</p> <p>SR: "During <u>one of the attacks that the Burmese say was responsible for causing their, their military crackdown, as they put it</u>"</p> <p>M1: "When <i>we got home, our houses were on fire, women were being raped, they were kicking small children into fires</i>. So <i>we fled</i> to Bangladesh"</p> <p>SR: "<u>Do you have any regrets about the attacks that you launched?</u>"</p> <p>M1: "No, <i>we do not regret it. We hate the Burmese military. We fought for our religion, for Islam. They want to destroy Islam; that is why we came out for jihad</i>"</p> <p>SR: "<u>What is it that you want us to know?</u>"</p> <p>M1: "<u>If they give us our land back peacefully, we'd return to Burma now. We'd also return if security forces protect us. If they force us to fight, we'll do jihad to get our land back.</u> By the Grace of Allah <i>we're all ready</i>"</p> <p>SR: "<u>Are you part of an international group or organisation, or are you just for the Rohingya?</u>"</p> <p>M1: "At first <i>it was just local Rohingya fighting for our rights</i>. Later,</p>	<p>A3: the military (SR: <i>remote Burmese police outposts, their military crackdown; MILITANTS: they (x5), their camp, them (x5), 3 or 4 people, 8 soldiers, the military, the Burmese military, security forces</i>)</p> <p>A4: ASSK (SR: <i>The Burmese government, the Burmese, they; MILITANTS: they</i>)</p> <p>A7: Burma (<i>Burma, Myanmar</i>)</p>	<p>(x2), <i>do jihad, fighting, came to help, came (x3), said (x2), would train, asked</i>)</p> <p>A3; SR: receptive (<i>attacks on</i>), agentive (<i>attack</i>); MILITANT S: agentive (<i>were killing, slaughtered, shooting, were kicking, protect, force</i>), receptive (<i>were attacked, were killed (x2), were slaughtered, were slashed</i>), stative (<i>want to destroy</i>)</p> <p>A4: SR: agentive (<i>blamed, say, put it</i>), MILITANT S: agentive (<i>give</i>)</p> <p>A7: -</p>						<p>committing violent actions, if they had been through what they have been through – but hasn't the programme done that for you? 4) there is the risk that this conflict gets even more out of hand if international terrorists groups get involved, so security forces (international based on previous reference) do not act promptly; 5) the repercussions of failing to act would have consequences not only on Myanmar but also on the wider region (only the bordering Bangladesh? Further afield? Unclear). The final shot of SR sharing his final comments encourage the viewer to respond to what he is saying – SR also speaks from a somehow vulnerable position (under the rain, looking/feeling very tired) which could influence</p>	<p>all our media, if you think about the BBC turning everything is 'oh, they must be [inaudible]'. Not right wing in the extreme, but when people talk about Muslims, perhaps, Islam, people talk about extremists. They don't ever look at what happened to them before, it's like 'these people have done these terrible crimes', no why they've been pushed to that extreme. So he's uncovering that a bit (I, lines 259-269)</p>
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		<p><i>foreigners came to help us</i>”</p> <p>SR: “<i>Are those international fighters, are they al-Qaeda?</i>”</p> <p>M1: “<i>They’re not al-Qaeda. Our leader came from Saudi Arabia; some people came from Pakistan. They are not al-Qaeda. They came to do jihad because of all the atrocities being committed against the Rohingya. They said they would train us; they asked if we want to put on tunics and grow beards and go and do jihad. We said yes</i>” (52:49- 56:06)</p> <p>SR: “Look, <i>I’m gonna get out on a limb here. I’m gonna say that if you or I had been through what these people have been through, there is every chance that many of us would at least sympathise with that group. What an appalling situation this is. I tell you, what worries me is that international jihadi groups are starting to latch onto this situation: if they get involved in the conflict, they will poison relations around this region between the different ethnic groups and different religions. Unless the Rohingya are given safety and</i></p>								<p>the viewer in sympathising with what he is saying even more.</p>
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		security and their land back, then <i>I fear</i> for the safety of Myanmar and of this wider region.” (56:13-56:59)									
57:00 - 58:15	Final remarks on Aung San Suu Kyi and democracy in Burma	<p>SR: <i>The Burmese government claims they welcome the Rohingya back into Burma, but from everything I've seen, that seems more than unlikely. Evidence suggest that Burmese army attacks were systematic and organised, possibly in advance. Many of the Rohingya villages attacked by the soldiers have now been bulldozed. The state-run media in Burma is busy spreading fear of Muslims and anti-Rohingya feeling inside Burma is shockingly widespread.</i></p> <p>SR: “<i>I confess I hadn't realised how bad things are for the Rohingya until coming here. The point is, they've been bad for decades. I can't really understand why the rest of the world hasn't spoken up about their treatment more assertively. I think it was because recently we've been a bit blinded by the fact that Burma has supposed to have changed into a democracy. We haven't wanted to criticise it, and we haven't wanted to criticise the country's</i></p>	<p>A1: the Rohingya (Rohingya villages, Muslims, anti-Rohingya feeling)</p> <p>A3: the military (Burmese army attacks, soldiers)</p> <p>A4: ASSK (The Burmese government, they, the country's de facto leader ASSK, she, an Asian Nelson Mandela)</p> <p>A5: int. community (the rest of the world, we (x5))</p> <p>A7: Burma (Burma (x4), the country)</p>	<p>A1: receptive (attacked, have been bulldozed), stative (is widespread).</p> <p>A3: stative (were systematic and organised); agentive (attacked by the soldiers)</p> <p>A4: SR: agentive (claim), stative (welcome, de facto leader, was), receptive (being criticised)</p> <p>A5: agentive (hasn't spoken up), receptive (have been blinded), stative (haven't wanted (x2), thought, were)</p> <p>A7: agentive (Burma has supposed to</p>	Slow, traditional type of music; B minor key (57:00-58:15)		LS and MCU of people in a village; LS of SR walking through the camp; LS of children playing with a white kite; MCU of SR talking by the camp (looking in the camera, slight low angle) and LS shots of children in the camp; final ES (landscape) of the camp (57:00-58:15)	<p>A1: the Rohingya - All the final shots of Rohingya people and of the camp have a certain innocence to them (men and women in everyday life, many children, a white kite) – this could help creating a sympathy in the viewer for their situation.</p> <p>A3: the military – not represented</p> <p>A4: ASSK - the close-up shot of SR also looking straight in the camera asks the viewer to respond to his comments regarding the West being silent and blinded by Burma's democratic transition and the opinion the West has of ASSK being wrong.</p> <p>A5: int. community – not represented</p>	<p>A1: agentive (working, playing)</p> <p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: not represented</p> <p>A5: not represented</p>	<p>The <i>statives</i> here are: it seems unlikely that the Burmese government wants to welcome the Rohingya back; evidence (whose?) suggests the army is systematically attacking Rohingya villages and many of these have been bulldozed; the state-run media is spreading fear of Muslims and there is a widespread anti-Rohingya feeling in Burma; SR hadn't realised how bad things are (and have been for decades); the world has not spoken up regarding this; the world has been blinded by Burma's apparent democracy; the world did not want to criticise Burma and ASSK (but why? Left vague); the world was wrong in thinking that</p>	<p>JC: you put 'sympathy to the cause of the Rohingya' P1: Yeah, definitely JC: erm 'shocked at the scale of the issue and how it is not a recent issue' P1: completely. I thought it began last year, basically. I didn't know that this is been going on for decades and they had sort of lived in apartheid in a different area of Burma. Yeah, I was quite mind blown to know, I thought why didn't we know this previously? Why have I got no prior knowledge of this? (I, lines 162-168)</p> <p>P1: I think that, probably, he was frustrated on the part of the Burmese people. Frustrated that... I can't... I don't know her name, the democratic</p>

		<p><u>de facto leader Aung San Suu Kyi. <i>We thought she was an Asian Mandela. How wrong we were</i></u>" (57:03-58:10)</p>		<p><i>have changed)</i></p>				<p>A7: Burma – not represented</p>	<p>A7: not represented</p>	<p>ASSK is a human rights heroine. Potential meanings: 1) the Burmese government doesn't want to help the situation and, in fact, is doing all they can from a military and propaganda point of view to complete the ethnic cleansing; 2) the world has not done anything so far, so maybe it is time the West opens its eyes and do something about it (but what? Left vague); 3) ASSK is not the human rights heroine people believe(d) she is</p>	<p>leader or saviour of Burma, Aung Suu Kyi or something like that, but I think there was real... yeah, he was disappointed that she wasn't being more proactive in making it stop (I, lines 402-405)</p>
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Part 10 – Coda (58:15-59:02)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation of the event
		Lexis	Representatio n of actors and places	Representat ion of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
58:15 - 59:02	Intro to next episode	<p>SR: Next time <i>I journey</i> deeper into <u>Burma to discover a land that's been cut off</u> for decades.</p> <p>SR: “<i>This is</i> like <u>Burma’s version of Venice</u>”</p> <p>SR: And <i>I travel</i> secretly to <u>one of Burma’s conflict zones to meet a rebel army who waged a long war against the brutal Burmese military.</u> (58:16-58:31)</p> <p>End credits: “Written and Presented by SIMON REEVE, Camera JONATHAN YOUNG, Archive UNHCR, On-line Editor BARRIE PEASE, Colourist PETER LYNCH, Dubbing Mixer MATT SKILTON, Original Music TY UNWIN, Graphic Designer TOMORROW ISCLOSED, Production Team JORDAN DOWNER, HARRY BARKER, Production Coordinator ISMA IQBAL, Production Managers CLARE LUCAS, CARLY WALLIS, Unit Manager REBECCA LAVENDER, Fixers GRACE THU, ABDULLAH AL MUYID, ALI ZOHAR SHAMIM, Assistant Producer POPPY MCPHERSON, Producer ALI FOWLE, Edit Producer CHRIS ALCOCK, Film Editor CHRIS BRAINWOOD, Produced and Directed by RUTH MAYER, this world, Executive Producers SARAH WALDRON, SAM BAGNALL, BBC Current Affairs, @ BBC MMXVIII (58:33-59:02)</p>	<p>A3: the military (<i>the brutal Burmese military</i>)</p> <p>A7: Burma (<i>Burma, a land, Burma’s version of Venice, one of Burma’s conflict zones</i>)</p>	<p>A3: receptive (<i>against the brutal...</i>)</p> <p>A7: receptive (<i>discover a land cut off</i>); stative (<i>this is Burma’s version..., ‘implied’ has conflict zones</i>)</p>	<p>Same music as in the intro. A minor key (58:15-59:01)</p>	-	<p>ES of a winding road going through a verdant landscape; ES of ‘Burma’s Venice’ and CU of SR on the boat; CU from inside a car of SR at night; LS, MCU and CU of the rebel army; fade to black; followed by end credits (58:15-59:02)</p>	<p>A3: the military – not represented</p> <p>A4: Burma – is shown through the landscape and ‘Burma’s Venice’</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: stative (landscape, beautiful town)</p>	<p>This final scene introduces the next episode. Again, the general meaning seems to be that Burma is a beautiful place but hindered by the presence of the military.</p>	

Appendix 7.1: P2 interview transcript (21st August 2019, at her workplace)

1. JC: OK, so, hello P2.
2. P2: Hi
3. JC: Thanks again for agreeing to taking part in this
4. P2: My pleasure
5. JC: And thanks for returning your questionnaire so promptly. So, the way this is gonna
6. work, the first part of the chat is gonna be about the programme you watched and we
7. are gonna have a look at the things that you mentioned in your questionnaire and
8. perhaps kind of, yeah, talk a bit more about some of them. And then we're just gonna
9. have a bit of a general discussion about other things, if that's OK?
10. P2: Yeah
11. JC: I mean, hopefully it won't take longer than an hour
12. P2: No, that's OK, that's fine
13. JC: 'cos the more we speak the more I will have to transcribe, it's in my own interest!
14. P2: [LAUGHS]
15. JC: [LAUGHS] Sweet and short (.) OK I won't go much into the first part, really, because
16. that's just to get an idea of how you watch these programmes, so... everything was clear.
17. Perhaps if you could just tell me a bit more about the reason why you watched this
18. programme... these types of programme, so travel and cultural programme
19. P2: Probably I think, actually, because I don't have the opportunity to travel very often,
20. for all sorts of reasons. So, it's a bit of escapism as well as, like, nurturing my curiosity.
21. You know, I suppose that's what it is and it's like... and I always... not always, but pretty
22. much, leave the programme feeling like I'd like to visit.
23. JC: OK
24. P2: So, I suppose I'm quite selective
25. JC: And what are these selection criteria?
26. P2: OK. So, probably places I don't know very much about. Erm, or places that I do know
27. a lot of. It's almost... there's almost no mid ground, it's almost like I either know nothing
28. about or places that I know something or I know quite a lot and I want to revisit. So, I
29. guess that's... yeah. And this is an unusual one in as much as it is... it's about music more
30. than anything else, but I don't know anything about Mali. And I had completely
31. forgotten... [PARTNER'S NAME] has been to so many countries in Africa and I'd forgotten
32. he'd been to Mali, so that was sort of an additional bonus, because we talked about Mali
33. afterwards, so...
34. JC: OK, so when you say you had kind of forgotten... before choosing the documentary...

35. the programme, that he had been to Mali?
36. P2: yeah yeah, he has been to so many countries, I don't remember all of them
37. JC: OK
38. P2: And I don't think he can remember all of them
39. JC: [LAUGHS]
40. P2: [LAUGHS] That's the thing!
41. JC: And, again, the way that you watched it, this is clear, and you mention that the BBC
42. in general has got programme that...
43. P2: I don't watch a lot of TV, so...
44. JC: Right
45. P2: I think I'm... again because I don't switch it on and see what happens, because I watch
46. on the iPlayer I am particularly selective and also I think, maybe, I fill my time well. Do
47. you know what I mean? It's like "OK, I don't want to waste time watching something that
48. is not necessarily interesting"
49. JC: Yeah
50. P2: Yeah
51. JC: And, I mean what other kind of things have you watched on BBC, or BBC 4 that has
52. created this kind of preference, if you like?
53. P2: Yeah. I really enjoyed the recent *Civilization* programme. And I particularly liked... I
54. like Simon Sharma and David... I can never pronounce his name, but you know he is...
55. they have really good presenters. The presenters are sort of... not the central point of it,
56. but I've got to be engaged by the people who are presenting. I don't like that flippant
57. sort of approach to... I guess it's documentary, but I like it to be with some sort of
58. sincerity, not just voyeuristic. I think I've put that. And that's a good example for me. It
59. wasn't like you were just watching from afar, you were immersed in what was happening.
60. JC: OK. And I guess my first point of discussion about the choice of this particular
61. programme. You know that you mentioned, and you've just done it again, that you... the
62. presenter is partly why you choose one programme rather than another one. Can you
63. just tell me a bit about your relationship with Rita Ray?
64. P2: Oh, I don't really know her very well, but I've just seen her and I have a feeling that
65. she, erm, has... I've listened to her from NOMAD, which is a festival we used to go to,
66. world music, when the boys were very little and she is from Ghana and is very passionate
67. about African music and I've heard on the radio but not... it's not something I tune into,
68. I just remember her being, like, particularly enthusiastic reporter, and I just thought
69. "that's gonna be interesting, I've never seen her on television"
70. JC: OK, so this was the first [programme that you watched with her

71. P2: [Yeah, this was the first time, yeah. So, and she was utterly
72. engaging
73. JC: OK, so your previous experience of her was just through the [radio
74. P2: [radio, yeah
75. JC: and, what did you like about her, radio and video wise?
76. P2: She was... she came across as I heard on the radio. She is able to convey the
77. enthusiasm that she has, obviously, for African music. Erm, yeah like, I guess her
78. enthusiasm. I'm... you know, I'm sort of easily swayed by enthusiastic people [LAUGHS]
79. JC: Sounds good [LAUGHS]. So, in this second part you kind of wrote down... you hadn't
80. really had any prior knowledge of what was in the actual programme
81. P2: No no no.
82. JC: You just saw the, title?
83. P2: Yeah
84. JC: How did you find the programme?
85. P2: OK, so, I just went on to iPlayer and then, you know, and on the music section.
86. Because I looked at the documentaries and I'd either seen everything that I had wanted
87. to see. There was nothing that, like, caught my eye, so then I went into music and we'd
88. just watched the Woodstock one last week, which was like... I wouldn't have chosen that,
89. but yeah, and, that just caught my eye and I thought "that looks great". So, it was really
90. just on the spur of the moment really
91. JC: And, what did you know about Mali as a country?
92. P2: Not very much. I knew it's French-speaking. Erm, I didn't really know anything about
93. the history of Mali, not even geographically, or not really anything particularly. I know...
94. we went and saw Ali Farka Touré who I know is a Malian singer. We had been to see
95. him... who was amazing.
96. JC: Here in the UK?
97. P2: Yeah, in London. Quite a long time ago, but not really anything about Mali at all.
98. JC: OK. And so you kind of... the things that you sort of associated with the place, if you
99. like
100. P2: Yeah, absolutely
101. JC: erm, "different history because of the French; rural traditional cultures"
102. P2: yeah, and I don't know enough about the French colon... you know, how they
103. colonised Africa. I don't know really how much influence that had on the music
104. necessarily, but obviously it's a country that still has hung on to that French language,
105. you know.
106. JC: cool. Then, obviously you watched it. It's my understanding that you watched it with

107. [PARTNER'S NAME].
108. P2: Yeah yeah
109. JC: Right, cool and we'll talk about that in a second
110. P2: Yeah
111. JC: Erm, but I can see from the first reaction that it's been a very positive experience?
112. P2: Yeah, it was great, very joyful, and maybe because it was about something that, erm,
113. you know, something that the presenter was passionate about. So, she was seeking out
114. all that stuff, you know, that was gonna make her excited and she definitely conveyed
115. that, you know. Not only the music, but just the people. The people were so lovely and
116. utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music
117. they were playing, you know. It was a very uplifting programme
118. JC: Was that a shared feeling with [PARTNER'S NAME] as well?
119. P2: Yeah. And he's really into music, so, yeah [LAUGHS] it was his sort of programme
120. anyway.
121. JC: OK. So you feel like it did meet your expectations going by what you've written there.
122. And the "more": what was it [
123. P2: [well, I think it was... so, OK, I came away knowing a little bit
124. more about the music side of it, but it was a much richer programme that I'd anticipated,
125. in as much as it went into a bit of the history and the diversity of the culture, the mix of
126. the traditional and the contemporary. You know, in fifty-nine minutes they cramped a lot
127. of information in, you know. So I was... it was more than I expected. You know, the... I
128. thought it was just gonna be about... not JUST gonna be about the music, but it was a
129. very, erm, what's the word? Educational I suppose as well, you know.
130. JC: So what kind of... I can I put this? What kind of image is left with you of Mali as a country?
131. P2: Erm, just culturally very rich, and still very rich. I mean, you know, still fairly traditional
132. in a lot of respects, but a very colourful country. I would say quite a poor country, but
133. even so there is... they have a richness there that's steeped in that cultural tradition, you
134. know. And through the music I think it sort of carried on, you know.
135. JC: What gave you the impression of a poor country?
136. P2: I just... there wasn't very much evidence of... well, I don't know, maybe it was the
137. places she went to, they were quite rural, they weren't particularly westernised, they
138. seemed to be, yeah, quite rural. People were living in quite moderate accommodation,
139. you know, it just seemed quite basic. So, yeah.
140. JC: And did that seem to sort of impact the people that were shown in the programme?
141. P2: Erm, I don't necessarily [
142. JC: [do you know what I mean? Does the setting that you

143. described match the way people were, if you know what I mean
144. P2: Erm.. [I don't think
145. JC: [In your imagination of poor, sort of [person would be. Do you know what I
146. mean?
147. P2: [Yeah, I don't. Yeah. No, I don't think it...
148. I think, possibly it wasn't that important. I think there's much more than not having
149. enough money. So, if you can make some really good music and you've got enough to
150. eat and... I don't know. The impression I've got is that they were fairly content.
151. JC: Cool. And, things that you've mentioned that were either interesting or surprising and
152. so on, erm, "such a large percentage of Malians ended up as slaves and transported to
153. America". Was that... is that something that you were aware already of, or?
154. P2: No, not particularly for Malians. You know that a lot of African, a lot of the slaves that
155. were in America and in England came from Africa, but I didn't know from where and
156. didn't know that such a big percentage of the slaves that were transported came from
157. Mali. And, I mean, her, you know, Rita's point was that, you know, because of that... and
158. a lot of them went to the south in America, you know, there was that very rich tradition
159. of the blues that came out of slavery. So, her thing was like 'if it was not for Malian
160. cultural music, you know, they were probably responsible for the birth of rock 'n' roll, so
161. it's like... I don't know, that seemed like quite a... I don't know, it just seemed like... it was
162. just an interesting sort of stance to take, you know.
163. JC: yeah, definitely. And, I mean obviously the main point was the music in the
164. programme. Erm, but one thing that I kind of picked up a bit on was that, obviously, there
165. were also showing how music is a form of resistance in some ways and I just wondered
166. if, you know, you had an idea about that. Did that kind of come across in that sense when
167. they talked about hip-hop and the younger people, kind of rappers. And when they were
168. talking with that female artist who was telling a story about her starting writing and
169. singing for her mum's suffering, all that sort of discussion that... did you make anything
170. out of that, or...
171. P2: I... just that, I guess, you know, music has always been... I didn't pick up on that
172. particularly, but I just think, maybe, it's just an extension of that idea that music is...
173. maybe it's a different sort of voice for repression and things like that. And, you know, and
174. also maybe going back to that whole thing about, you know, slaves in chain gangs and
175. the singing and that way of expressing some sort of suffering or some sort of resistance,
176. or... yeah. I didn't... it was a part of the film, but I don't know whether I... and it was sort
177. of like towards the end, I think, and it was, not skimmed over, but it didn't seem as in-
178. depth as the initial part of the... like, the beginning of the film, you know.

179. JC: And what kind of... I mean, you said a bit about the way things are shown as kind of
180. rural but people were kind of... seemed content at the same time. What did you make of
181. the sort of socio-political situation in Mali? Did you get any sort of information on that
182. [from the programme?

183. P2: [Well, I suppose an area that they touched on was that sort of radicalisation of
184. Muslims and they have been affected by that extreme sort of... that sort of extreme sort
185. of political activity. Erm, so I guess a lot of Africa, and I didn't know anything really about
186. Mali. In that respect it's been touched by that.

187. JC: Cool. Erm... yeah, then my last question was... obviously you said you watched it with
188. [PARTNER'S NAME]. Can you recall if there were any sort of comments or reactions to
189. some particular bits of the film that you can remember? Either yours or [PARTNER'S
190. NAME]'s?

191. P2: Yeah. No, he travelled overland from England to Africa. He drove overland in an
192. ambulance because his dad just happened to have... he wasn't a doctor [BOTH LAUGH].
193. He just happened to have an ambulance, so he was just recalling that, you know, that
194. journey across, you know, the continents to Africa and getting to Mali. And his feeling of
195. slight disappointment that he didn't remember as much as he should have done. And,
196. because he was like... he was nineteen, I think he went when he was nineteen and when
197. he was twenty-six and, you know, he's nearly seventy, so [LAUGHS].

198. JC: quite a few years ago

199. P2: Yeah, you know, but he was... I think it just made him recollect what a great place
200. Africa was in general, you know.

201. JC: And did this happen while you were watching the programme? This discussion

202. P2: No, I think we very rarely talk during a film or a programme. I think it's always
203. afterwards. Maybe if there is something really striking that happens you might make a
204. comment, but I think we are always quite engaged with what's happening, like, there in
205. the moment, you know.

206. JC: OK, cool. And you didn't get distracted, you actually sat down and watched
207. the whole thing beginning to end without distractions.

208. P2: Yeah

209. JC: No toilet breaks? [LAUGHS]

210. P2: No, no [LAUGHS]

211. JC: Brilliant. OK. That's very good, thank you, and that's pretty much, really, what I
212. wanted to cover in terms of the actual programme. Moving onto kind of more general
213. things, you mentioned that, you know, one of the reasons for you to watch this kind of
214. programmes is that is satisfies your natural curiosity

215. P2: Hu-hum

216. JC: I mean, do you feel like it's a kind of way of learning about things, this kind of

217. programmes. Do you think that they are as good or as bad as books or, I don't know, a

218. history lesson?

219. P2: I think it's a lighter way of... I think it's often a way of starting some interest. It doesn't

220. satisfy all your questions necessarily. And I think, do you know what I mean, it doesn't

221. happen or happens very rarely. But, yeah, I think... I don't know. I don't think it's as good

222. as going off and researching about something, personally. But I think it's an insight.

223. Maybe it raises questions more than it answers, for me. Usually that's what happens,

224. because... and I think, also, it's a programme that's got to entertain, I guess, in a way, and

225. so in fifty-nine minutes it's got to keep lively and keep you engaged. Whereas I, you know,

226. I suppose I then want to go and find out more about it.

227. JC: And how would you do that?

228. P2: Usually online, probably. Books... not less so now, but I think I don't have access to a

229. really good library, so... In fact, when I was doing my degree, and I did it over five years, I

230. had a fairly good resource. Whereas, we don't have that. Libraries now are not well-

231. equipped, they're not well-resourced or stocked at all. So, invariably, it's more online and

232. then you may be searching for a particular book that you may buy, do you know what I

233. mean? But I like books personally, you know, so it's a bit of a dilemma really, but I think,

234. probably more online. Yeah, and then, even then you don't feel like you have any sort of

235. deep, you know... well, I do, you know it's time as well. You sort of skim a little bit, maybe.

236. JC: OK. And, I mean talking a bit more about your personal experiences in general, like

237. in the past or at present, what is your cultural exposure? Is it something that you would

238. say you experience on a daily basis in one way or another, or is it something that if it

239. happens, it happens?

240. P2: Erm, are you talking about, I mean...

241. JC: I mean exposure to different cultures.

242. P2: OK, erm I don't know really. I don't know. In what respect?

243. JC: Just kind of, meeting people for example [or...]

244. P2: [Ah, OK. I suppose here in [NAME OF THE

245. PLACE SHE WORKS], maybe it's a bit more diverse than in [NAME OF THE PLACE SHE

246. LIVES], [LAUGHS] but on a daily basis, you know, I guess, you... there are many more

247. nationalities here, but, even so, it's quite... I've got friends who are from other

248. countries, but, yeah, I think meeting people from different cultures isn't... it's not very

249. broad here.

250. JC: And, you've recently been abroad?

251. P2: Yes, to Hungary and Slovakia, yeah.

252. JC: Is that something that happens quite often? [That you actually go to a different
253. country to visit?

254. P2: [Not as often. Not as often as I'd like,
255. but that's because we were invited to a wedding, so... I don't know whether we would
256. have gone necessarily.

257. JC: And what did you make of that cultural experience?

258. P2: Oh, I really liked it, I really liked it. I always go and never want to come back, you
259. know. [BOTH LAUGH] Even because I never spend enough time there, I suppose. Yeah,
260. and I was just really interesting. It was interesting because, erm, I have no knowledge
261. and not even an inkling of Hungarian or Slovakian language, and even, you know, my
262. friend [NAME] who is Slovakian said nobody speaks Hungarian, apart from Hungarians.
263. And nobody else understands Hungarian, so... And we went to a wedding and
264. everybody was Hungarian, but all spoke English and they were very kind and
265. interpreting for us. But, yeah, it was... it's quite unusual to be in a place where you
266. have, for me, I have no way of making... really, I don't have any idea about the
267. language.

268. JC: Hum, I guess it must have been quite tricky to try and have a cultural feel without
269. knowing the language.

270. P2: Yeah. But... and I definitely felt like I was... on this trip, I definitely felt like I was a bit
271. of a tourist, because we didn't have very much time and we just touched the surface.
272. It's not like we did anything on a deeper level, really. You know, we just didn't have
273. enough time to do that.

274. JC: What would 'a deeper level' entail?

275. P2: Well, I suppose just... I just think maybe when you have more time, you just go and
276. hang out in cafes and you just... or you just find out where the locals go and you don't...
277. I mean, I'm not a tourist... I don't aim to go to tourist destinations. People say to me
278. "Oh, you must have gone to the baths." I didn't go to the baths, because it's like... I
279. knew I didn't have time to do that and I would much rather... which we did, we just
280. walked a long way and, I don't know, you sort of acquaint yourself with places in a city
281. and you begin to get a feel for the place, you know.

282. JC: would you say that overall it was a positive experience? A negative one?

283. P2: Yeah, definitely positive. Yeah, 'cos I'd like to go back.

284. JC: That's always a good sign, isn't it?

285. P2: Yeah. [BOTH LAUGH]

286. JC: And, I mean, can you recall, whether that's many years ago or fairly recently,

287. whether that's here in the UK or abroad, can you recall any positive intercultural
288. experiences, or instances of something that made you feel happy about that
289. intercultural thing and perhaps some negative ones? What made them positive and
290. what made them negative?

291. P2: Yeah, OK. When I was 21 I went... I worked in the Middle-East, so I worked in Israel.
292. And so I was there for maybe about nine months or something. And, so, I lived there,
293. erm... and that was a really positive experience because it was... I just was immersed
294. in... and I lived on a Kibbutz, and I love that.

295. JC: Where is that?

296. P2: A Kibbutz? So it's like a communal farm, usually, or a collective.

297. JC: Ah, OK

298. P2: So... and everybody... it's a bit like [NAME OF HER WORKPLACE] really [LAUGHS]

299. JC: Without the farming [LAUGHS]

300. P2: Without the farming. But everybody... you're paid a small amount of money, but
301. you get... and as a volunteer you get all your food and lodging. So, you've got really
302. good fresh food and, you know, and you're looked after. And then we'd just travel
303. around and it was a really... yeah, that was a really really positive experience. We were
304. sort of... we embraced the whole thing. I mean, you know, I'm not Jewish but we were
305. welcomed and we were part of that whole thing.

306. JC: Could you speak [the language?]

307. P2: [No, and everybody spoke English. [LAUGHS] To my shame. Erm...
308. and negative I can't of any... I can't think of any negative experiences that I've had (1)
309. abroad. Not off hand.

310. JC: I mean, or here. It doesn't have to be abroad.

311. P2: Do you mean travelling to different places?

312. JC: Or even here. Any sort of intercultural experience, maybe with people around here.

313. P2: Nothing springs to mind, necessarily. I don't know... maybe... I don't know. I can't
314. think of anything.

315. JC: Fine. Good. A good sign I guess [BOTH LAUGH]. And then the last kind of area that I
316. wanted to talk about a bit was being British, living in Britain, and what you kind of make
317. of your society. Not just from an intercultural point view, like, in general what do you
318. like about it, what maybe you don't like so much, if anything. What's your take on being
319. British, living in Britain in the 21st century.

320. P2: I think it's really hard work. I think it's an incredibly expensive country to live in. I
321. think... can I mention Brexit?

322. JC: Yeah, you can mention whatever you like [BOTH LAUGH]

323. P2: I think, that's revealed perhaps things about people that I wasn't aware of before.

324. JC: Such as?

325. P2: I think, some elements of racism perhaps. Which perhaps wasn't revealed, because,

326. I think, being British a lot of people just don't say how you feel about things until

327. they're almost given permission to say... I don't know, it's a very British thing, we very

328. do as we're told, I think, a lot of the time

329. JC: Right

330. P2: I think, I don't know if that's true. Have you? You know, I definitely feel very

331. European and funny enough I was talking to my mum about it. 'Cos my parents both

332. voted *remain* here, well, in the European Union, and I said, you know, in a way I've

333. grown up, like, most of my life feeling that we are definitely European and not English,

334. if that makes sense. I definitely feel part of the bigger picture, rather than just here. But

335. I like England and I like English people. You know, I like their sense of humour and I like

336. the fact that we can laugh at ourselves. We are quite self-deprecating and, you know, I

337. like it. There's more things, I suppose, that I like than don't like. And the things I don't

338. like I can't really change anyway. But I think, fundamentally, I think it's quite a nice... I

339. think it's a nice place to be, you know. Yeah, I think it's alright. [LAUGHS]

340. JC: You think it's alright [LAUGHS]

341. P2: Yeah, I do. I think it's OK

342. JC: And, I mean, in terms of the rest of the world, if you like, are there any geographical

343. areas that appeal to you more than others?

344. P2: I think, I really... countries I don't know anything about, like Japan or, you know, or

345. very culturally different, I'd really like to go to. So I have a real, a yearning to go to

346. places like that. I'd like to go to... travel more around Europe. Go back and travel to

347. places I haven't been in Europe. I'd like to go back to America. I'd like to go back to

348. Russia. You know, there are lots of places... or different parts of those countries, you

349. know. I'd go anywhere actually. You know, I'm very... but Japan I'd really like to go to.

350. JC: And how do you think you'd be perceived or treated as a British in some of these

351. parts...

352. P2: Just another tourist, probably. And in a way that's definitely what I don't want to be

353. perceived as, but I think, you know, just the very fact that you go and perhaps that you

354. do only just touch the surface and you know, you don't see any much deeper than that,

355. because you're transient and you're just passing through, you know. I don't know how

356. you get around that really. You know, sometimes I think when you travel to places you

357. just... not for me, but you said, you tick that off the list and you're just "oh, been there,

358. done that", that sort of thing. But I suppose I'm looking for a deeper connection

359. somewhere along the line, you know. And I'm not really quite sure how you do that.

360. JC: Does that involve finding out about these places somehow? And, I mean, how do

361. you do that? How do you, sort of... how do you increase your knowledge or awareness

362. of different cultures?

363. P2: I don't know, I always think that, like, first-hand experience... like, people who you

364. know either from those places or that have visited those places. That's always the

365. first... that's always an important thing, rather than going online or looking in books.

366. Although that's interesting, I think I'm much more intrigued by people's personal

367. experiences when they go somewhere, and where they've been, and, you know.

368. JC: OK. And do you think the kind of current international situation makes it a bit more

369. difficult to travel to certain places?

370. P2: Yeah, definitely. And, funny enough, [NAME OF PARTNER] and I were just talking

371. about it the other day, because he travelled also overland to India and he was just saying

372. he'd really like to go back to Afghanistan. He loved Afghanistan, he loved the people and

373. he said... I don't know how easy it would be for a woman to travel in a lot of countries

374. now. That's definitely... you know I feel a bit uneasy about going to India on my own now,

375. as a woman. I never used to feel like that, but perhaps I think things have changed for

376. women travelling on their own. You know, I wouldn't think twice about travelling on my

377. own anywhere, you know, but I think maybe things have changed?

378. JC: Is that something that you have done in the past?

379. P2: Yeah yeah. But I don't... yeah, so maybe... and I'd like to go back to the Middle East,

380. you know. I'd like to go back to Jordan, I'd like to go to Syria, but, you know, so many of

381. those places are just not... I think it's probably not so possible because of the political

382. situation and things like that.

383. JC: And how would you say you have come to that conclusion?

384. P2: Probably just from talking to people. Talking to people who are from those countries.

385. But then I've also got friends who... like I've got two Israeli friends and I've got a friend

386. who goes to Egypt every year and she... you know, both of those people just say... yeah,

387. "just carry on as usual". So, it is possible, but I think from the news and things like that

388. you are led to believe that everything is, you know, very unsafe and maybe some places

389. aren't quite as unsafe.

390. JC: And what kind of news do you... what sort of news do you listen to?

391. P2: We tend to just listen to the BBC and newspapers really. Although I don't listen to

392. the news as much as I have done, because I tend to get the newspapers, because, you

393. know if you have a newspaper you can skip over articles and I haven't got to listen about

394. Brexit [BOTH LAUGH]. You know, so maybe I can be a bit more, like, just go to world news

395. and then I don't have to listen to the home-grown news.

396. JC: Are there any papers that you read more often than others?

397. P2: Yeah, I usually get the Observer on Sunday, because it's like, I don't have a lot of time,

398. but I tend to get just one newspaper and it tends to be the Observer on Sunday, just

399. because it's almost a bit of a round-up of the news through the week.

400. JC: Yeah, like a weekly digest.

401. P2: Yeah

402. JC: And you said you haven't got a TV, so you don't watch the news.

403. P2: Yeah, I do watch the news, but not every day. If it's on, or [PARTNER'S NAME] usually

404. watches the news, usually the 10 o'clock news.

405. JC: So, online?

406. P2: Yeah, you can watch online. So, sometimes I watch it but it's definitely not a daily

407. occurrence. Maybe on radio sometimes.

408. JC: Cool. Is there anything that, you know, after having these further conversations, is

409. there anything else that comes to mind, in terms of your personal experiences or the way

410. you relate yourself to other cultures, or the way you learn about other cultures?

411. P2: I think it's... I always feel quite frustrated that... you know, when I travel... well, I don't

412. have an opportunity to travel, really, very much at the moment, but it always seems to

413. be so fleeting, that's the thing. I guess that's... and I feel quite ignorant about lots of other

414. cultures, you know, because of that. Because I think living here... and actually I feel it's

415. much more diverse now than it ever has been, you know, in one way or another, but...

416. JC: Actually, how has that sort of impacted you?

417. P2: Yeah... I like it... I think it's much more... this is a much healthier... I don't know, maybe

418. you get different points of view or different ideas, different... yeah, different people's

419. ideas, you know. I supposed that's what I liked about university as well, it was quite

420. diverse. I mean, [district where she lives] has always been very... and especially [town

421. where she lives] is quite white middle-class, you know. So, I think it's better in lots of

422. ways, you know you just meet different people. Yeah, it's a bit richer.

423. JC: OK, so of there aren't any other comments...

424. P2: No, I don't think so.

425. JC: OK, that's brilliant, thank you.

Appendix 7.2: Summative analysis of P2 interaction with *Africa, a Journey into Music: Mali*

Actors	Linguistic representation	Audio representation	Visual representation	Overall text representation	Viewer representation	Interpretative code of the viewer	Evidential and ideological effects	Critical notes
A1: Rita Ray	Generally neutral, with some positive connotation in her introduction and in the exchange with the stranger in Part 13.	There is no specific audio representation for her. She is often surrounded by authentic sounds that reinforce the impression of authenticity.	She is generally shown through medium to close-up shots, often at eye-level. Her physical appearance mirrors the mix of Western and African that characterises her identity. She is very smiley and also empathetic with her interlocutors, especially if they are describing difficult situations. Moreover, she is generally shown in an agentive position (talking or walking) and only as a patient when listening to the live performances.	Rita Ray is generally depicted as an enthusiastic music professional with an expertise in African music. She is shown as fitting very well in the Malian context, at ease with all the artists she meets and almost on close terms with most of them. The overall effect is of a trustworthy person who is respected by the people she meets due to her professional and personal identity and therefore someone who is perceived as to be showing a realistic portrait of Malian music.	JC: Can you just tell me a bit about your relationship with Rita Ray? P2: Oh, I don't really know her very well, but I've just seen her and I have a feeling that she, erm, has... I've listened to her from (Nomad?), which is a festival we used to go to, world music, when the boys were very little and she is from Ghana and is very passionate about African music and I've heard on the radio but not... it's not something I tune into, I just remember her being, like, particularly enthusiastic reporter, and I just thought "that's gonna be interesting, I've never seen her on television" JC: OK, so this was the first [programme that you watched with her P2: [Yeah, this was the first time, yeah. So, and she was utterly engaging JC: OK, so your previous experience of her was just through the [radio P2: [radio, yeah JC: and, what did you like about her, radio and video wise? P2: She was... she came across as I heard on the radio. She is able to convey the enthusiasm that she has, obviously, for African music. Erm, yeah like, I guess her enthusiasm. I'm... you know, I'm sort of easily swayed by enthusiastic people (I, lines 63-78)	<i>Dominant code:</i> P2 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it.	<i>Evidential effect:</i> none in particular, as P2 seemed to be already aware of Rita Ray and her professional and personal identities. <i>Improving ideological effect:</i> P2's opinion of Rita Ray as a passionate music professional is enhanced by seeing her in a programme for the first time.	One interesting point about Rita Ray is how she lists her identities to the Western viewers in the intro and to the stranger in Part 13 with her foremost identity changed depending on the interlocutor. It is also interesting how certain issues, that are indeed very complicated and would have required a programme for themselves, are briefly treated without really taking any stance, i.e. the conflict in the north of the country, the role of castes in modern Mali and traditional Muslim customs such as polygamy.

A2: Mali/Malians

Generally neutral, but there are some negative representations both from Rita Ray (i.e. polygamy and illiteracy) and from some of the artists (mainly Mylmo) for the current situation in the country. The history and people of Mali are instead often depicted in positive terms, with references to the old empire and a glorious history and tradition

As for Rita Ray, there isn't a particular audio representation for Mali and Malians. Rather, the music seems to connect with specific topics under discussion.

The country is shown in all its variety, from lush vegetation to the river Niger and from the urban centres to the more rural areas. Malians are generally shown busy in their everyday lives. There is no depiction of extreme poverty, even if we are informed that Mali is a poor country. They are very often depicted in connection with music (e.g. dancing), a point that is strongly made by Rita Ray in terms of the importance of music as a social binder in the country.

Malians are generally depicted with great dignity, either busy in their everyday lives or enjoying music in one way or another. The country is also shown in a very favourable light, with beautiful depictions of landscapes and urban areas in good conditions. The depiction of the country and its people certainly entices the audience to travel to the country and find out more about it.

P2: Mali was unexpectedly lush and green, the landscape stunning and colourful – I had expected it to be fairly dry – it was verdant and beautiful. (Q, item 14)
 P2: Not only the music, but just the people. The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)
 JC: So what kind of... I can I put this? What kind of image left with you of Mali as a country?
 P2: Erm, just culturally very rich, and still very rich. I mean, you know, still fairly traditional in a lot of respects, but a very colourful country. I would say quite a poor country, but even so there is... they have a richness there that's steeped in that cultural tradition, you know. And through the music I think it sort of carried on, you know.
 JC: What gave you the impression of a poor country?
 P2: I just... there wasn't very much evidence of... well, I don't know, maybe it was the places she went to, they were quite rural, they weren't particularly westernised, they seemed to be, yeah, quite rural. People were living in quite moderate accommodation, you know, it just seemed quite basic. So, yeah. (I, lines 130-139)

Dominant code: P2 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it.

Evidential effect: there seem to be a newly-formed knowledge of Malian history, culture and society, especially as, by her own admission, P2 was not really familiar with this country and its people (I, lines 91-92)
Modifying ideological effect: P2 changes her opinion on what the country looks like from a geographical point of view. She also forms new opinions about Malians, their cultural and ethnical variety and the socio-economics of the country, which she describes as "quite poor".

What is interesting is that all the people interviewed are of a certain status in society including some, like the Diabate father and son, extremely wealthy. The ordinary Malians were not really given a voice and, in fact, the few that Rita Ray had some dealings with (for example the cassette stall holder and the downloader) were shown in a rather negative light. The fact that the quasi-caste system of Mali was not really dealt with also seems to agree with this desire not to interfere with this aspect of society, which undoubtedly has also repercussions on the music industry and with who is allowed access to different genres both as producers and consumers.

A3: Africa

Not particularly relevant as only referred to occasionally.

A4: music	Generally positive, not only in terms of the music itself being very good from an aesthetic point of view, but also as music is depicted as something integral to Malian society.	Being the main focus of the series, music is given plenty of space in the programme and in different forms, from live performances of almost all the artists interviews, to records being played "live" during interviews, to inserts of archive video clips and other songs.	From an aesthetic point of view, there is a strong visual component connected to the live performances, where instruments as well as the way they are being played by the musicians are shown in details through close-up shots (often accompanied by linguistic descriptions). From a social point of view, there are also many shots showing Malians enjoying music, either simply watching performances or dancing.	Music is represented as an integral part of Malian society and something that, through the Griot and their depicted role in society, can represent a way to solve the current ethnic conflicts in different parts of the country. There is also the thesis put forward that, through the slave trade, Malian music became the basis for Blues, Jazz and Rock and Roll in the USA. Finally this connection is also shown as a two-way relationship, by focusing on some musical aspects that come from the Western tradition and that Malians have incorporated in their contemporary music (e.g. electric pedals and instruments, Hip-hop flow and fashion).	P2: Wonderful music - deeply traditional but with a nod to the new and contemporary (Q, item 12) P2: The country appeared rich and diverse – the connections with ancient melodies still strong but a fusion with Western influences. (Q, item 14) P2: Such a large % of Malians ended up as slaves and transported to America – but giving birth to the Blues, Jazz in the Deep South. Malian music probably inherently responsible for Rock and Roll!!! (Q, item 14) P2: No, not particularly for Malians. You know that a lot of African, a lot of the slaves that were in America and in England came from Africa, but I didn't know from where and didn't know that such a big percentage of the slaves that were transported came from Mali. And, I mean, her, you know, Rita's point was that, you know, because of that... and a lot of them went to the south in America, you know, there was that very rich tradition of the blues that came out of slavery. So, her thing was like 'if it was not for Malian cultural music, you know, they were probably responsible for the birth of rock 'n' roll, so it's like... I don't know, that seemed like quite a... I don't know, it just seemed like... it was just an interesting sort of stance to take, you know. (I, lines 154-162)	<i>Dominant code:</i> P2 recognises the preferred reading regarding the nature of current Malian music as a mix of traditional melodies and Western influence and agrees with it. <i>Negotiated code:</i> P2 recognises the preferred reading regarding the theory of Malian traditional melodies giving birth to modern genres, but doesn't seem to fully agree with it.	<i>Evidential effect:</i> P2 has learn that a large percentage of slaves came from West Africa and Mali. She has also learnt about the aesthetics of Malian music (traditional + Western influences). Finally, she has learned of a theory according to which modern genres such as Blues, Jazz and Rock and Roll may have derived from Malian traditional melodies. <i>Modifying ideological effect:</i> P2 seems to have formed an opinion that Malian melodies alone have not resulted in modern Western genres. Moreover she seems to form the opinion that Malian music, with its mix of traditional and contemporary sounds and melodies is aesthetically beautiful.	It would be interesting to look more closely at the make up of the Malian musical industry and at the commercial relationship between Western and Malian artists. A couple of times Rita Ray hints at the fact that is is thanks to some Western musical projects if some of the artists she interviewed became popular and successful - although this could simply be 'in the West', meaning that they might have been already popular in Mali.
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A9: Isa Dembele

Neutral to positive ("was born to play this instrument")

Given the opportunity to perform his music live.

Shown in a very positive light, specifically because his little child is shown mimicking playing the same instrument while his father is doing it.

This is the first Griot artist (and related instrument) shown. The positive representation focuses not only on the aesthetic quality of his music, but also on the social class he belongs to, the Griots. The depiction and focus on his child and how "he will take up the balafon too" goes to highlight the caste-like nature of this social class, which is depicted in a positive light (see also the Griot as a separate social actor).

Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented. P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)

Dominant code: P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.

Modifying ideological effect: part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.

See the notes about the Griots in general.

A10: the Griot

Generally represented in a very positive light by those belonging to this social class and by Rita Ray. The only negative representation is given by one of the younger artists, Mylmo.

There are 6 artists + an instrument maker who belong to this social class and who are given plenty of opportunities for live performances: A9, A11, A12, A13, A14, A15, A32. It is also interesting that the last person to perform is a Griot artist (A32).

Shown in a very positive light, while performing and bringing communities together (e.g. A14 and A15). They are also shown as very wealthy (A11 and A12) and we are given a cross-generational overview of these artists, going from an older generation (A11) to a very young one (A32)

The Griots are represented as the carriers of the cultural and musical tradition in Mali, since we learn that they have historically been the bards and advisers of noble people and royalties since the time of the Malian empire in the XV century. They are at one point referred to as a caste, but there is not further investigation in the programme with regard to what this actually means in socio-economic terms. The only negative depiction made by Mylmo is not challenged by Rita Ray, but the closure of the programme with a very young Griot artist and the positive representation therein hints at a positive opinion of Rita Ray concerning the griots.

Not deemed as relevant.

Not deemed as relevant.

Not deemed as relevant.

Interesting to understand better what the role of Griots is in contemporary Mali and whether there is a de-facto caste system, which is not discussed in the programme.

A11: Tounami Diabate	Generally positive, both for his Griot heritage and for his musical success.	Given the opportunity to perform his music live, together with A12.	Shown in his home, dressed in traditional clothing and playing another of the Griot instruments, the kora. Their wealth is also represented through shots of their expensive cars with personalised number plates.	The father and son are represented together, performing live and explaining the societal role of Griots (A11) and how traditional Malian music can be fused with contemporary Western influences and artists (A12). The pair is represented as extremely successful, both linguistically and through material belongings (i.e. cars)	Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented. P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)	<i>Dominant code:</i> P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.	<i>Modifying ideological effect:</i> part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.	See the notes about the Griots in general.
A12: Sidiki Diabate	Generally positive, both for his Griot heritage and for his musical success.	Given the opportunity to perform his music live, together with A11.	Shown in his home, dressed in Western clothing and playing another of the Griot instruments, the kora. Their wealth is also represented through shots of their expensive cars with personalised number plates. Sidiki is also shown in a video clip of one of his own songs, handling a lot of cash.	Ousmane is not a famous musician, but an instrument-maker. Although he is given a brief chance to play the instrument, his presence only serves to introduce another Griot instrument and one of the most popular players who is then interviewed next (A14).	Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented. P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)	<i>Dominant code:</i> P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.	<i>Modifying ideological effect:</i> part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.	See the notes about the Griots in general.
A13: Ousmane (Mr ngonimaker)	Neutral representation	Ousmane is also given the opportunity for a brief live performance with his Griot instrument, the jeli ngon	A positive representation of the skillful instrument maker, who is also a musician.	Ousmane is not a famous musician, but an instrument-maker. Although he is given a brief chance to play the instrument, his presence only serves to introduce another Griot instrument and one of the most popular players who is then interviewed next (A14).	Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented. P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)	<i>Dominant code:</i> P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.	<i>Modifying ideological effect:</i> part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.	

A14: Bassekou Kouyate	Generally positive, not only for his musical abilities, but also for being an influential figure ("really well connected") in the Malian music scene.	He's given two opportunities to perform: the first for the purpose of the interview and the second is a live recording of a gig he has organised while Rita Ray was in town.	A positive representation both during the interview and during the gig. Proximity between him and Rita Ray is also shown with the two hugging after the gig. His influential role is also represented through the "Griot royalties" that are shown attending his gig.	Bassekou is also portrayed in a very positive light and also exemplifies what it means to be an influential Griot. He is also one of those artists that has fused tradition with Western influence by using an electric jeli ngoni and a Wah-Wah pedal.	Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented. P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)	<i>Dominant code:</i> P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.	<i>Modifying ideological effect:</i> part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.	See the notes about the Griots in general.
A15: Amy Sacko	Generally positive for her musical abilities.	She performs live alongside her husband, Bassekou.	A positive representation during the gig.	Amy seems to be represented in the programme only because she happens to be the wife of Bassekou. She is not interviewed or asked to talk about her experience as a Griot woman or whether the role of men and women differ in the Griot culture.	Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented. P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)	<i>Dominant code:</i> P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.	<i>Modifying ideological effect:</i> part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.	In addition to what already said about the Griot, it will be interesting to see if there are any gender differences between Griot women and men.

A16:
Malian
socialist
government

Neutral in the brief introduction talking about the first socialist government after the country's independence. Negative, when Kar Kar and Rita Ray talk about the early years of his career under the socialist government.

A song with a major scale accompanies the introduction, presumably more to do with independence than with the socialist government. Kar Kar's minor scale melodies accompany his description of how life was for him under the socialist regime.

The socialist president is shown in an archive, black and white piece of footage during the introduction. IN the following scene, the shot of women preparing food is shown straight after the words 'social regime' and together with Kar Kar's words "we did everything for the country, not for ourselves". This seems to equate the disadvantaged life described by Kar Kar under the socialist government with the life of women in modern Mali. In turn this could represent a veiled critique to Kar Kar for not seeing the injustice men (including him) impose onto women.

Overall, the socialist years are represented in a negative light as a time where individuals like Kar Kar where not allowed to thrive and had to work for the country rather than for themselves. The socialist government is also represented as against the Griot musical caste (this is the only time this social class is described as a caste, so possibly attributing that definition to the socialist government rather than to Rita Ray), in sharp contrast to the very positive depiction of teh Griots up to this point in the programme.

Not deemed as relevant.

Not deemed as relevant.

Not deemed as relevant.

The role of the socialist government needs to be looked at more closely, as in the programme it is clearly depicted in a negative way. Interestingly, there is no mention of how life was before independence, during the colonial period, so that a comparison can be made between the two eras. This seems to me as an important omission in the (musical) history of the country.

A17:
Boubacar
Traore (Kar
Kar)

Kar Kar's depiction is more neutral than the Griot artists that preceded him, but with some positive notes too ("the first musical star", "the Malian Elvis").

Kar Kar is given the opportunity to perform live and a vinyl copy of one of his records is also played for him.

Generally positive while performing live. However, because the conversation during the interview focuses on his troubles to be a musician in his early career the whole mood of the scene is a little sad.

Kar Kar is the first non-Griot artist to be interviewed and his testimony revolves around the socialist years rather than the inspiration for his music (a theme that seemed more the focus of the previous interviews). He is not depicted in a negative light at such, but the combination of the topics of discussion and the minor scale melodies of the songs he performs result in a somehow sadder representation of the artist and his experience.

Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented.
P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)

Dominant code: P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.

Modifying ideological effect: part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.

An aspect about Kar Kar's life that can be found in his official biography and that does not coincide with the narrative in the programme is the fact that his musical career did not decline at the time of the socialist government but after a military coup toppled President Keita (a noble like him) and banned his songs (<https://www.boubacartraore.com/biography>). The distorted narrative creates a negative association with the socialist government of post-independence Mali, which perhaps is not completely truthful.

A18: Salif
Keita

Salif Keita is represented in a positive way (e.g. "the most internationally renowned voice")

He does not perform as such for Rita Ray, but agrees to a brief vocal performance. Some of his music, however, is played as part of the soundtrack and also through video clips.

Generally positive, smiley during the interview. A series of archive images and footage also tells his music career.

Salif Keita is also a non-Griot artist ("a descendant of the Malian kings who once ruled the empire, the Malinke") and Rita Ray seems very much in awe of him ("It's such a treat, playing Les Ambassadeurs to Salif Keita here in Bamako").

Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented.
P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)

Dominant code: P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.

Modifying ideological effect: part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.

What is of interest here is that the first band Salif Keita played in was sponsored by the military government that carried the coup d'etat against the then socialist president Keita. This is not made clear in the programme, however, that only refers to the military government as "the government".

A19:
Muslim
jihadists

The jihadists are represented with negative connotations both by Rita Ray and by Mylmo in his rap song, both of whom also make reference to the sharia law introduced by the jihadists in the areas under their control.

A minor scale melody accompanies the introduction to the conflict in the north of the country, which sees the involvement of Muslim jihadists.

The jihadists are represented through archive footage showing them armed, patrolling roads and detaining people.

The jihadists, rather than the Tuareg who started the conflict in the northern area of Mali, are seen as the main culprit for the current situation as, since they infiltrated the rebel group, "the conflict quickly became a holy war".

P2: Well, I suppose an area that they touched on was that sort of radicalisation of Muslims and they have been affected by that extreme sort of... that sort of extreme sort of political activity. Erm, so I guess a lot of Africa, and I didn't know anything really about Mali. In that respect it's been touched by that. (I, lines 183-186)

Dominant code: P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.

Evidential effect: knowledge of there being a conflict in northern Mali affected by the radicalisation of Muslims, which has led to extreme political activity.
Improving ideological effect: P2 seems to believe that Muslim radicalisation creates extreme political activity and the programme reinforces this narrative.

Mylmo's song touches directly the civil war that is happening in Mali and we learn about a number of different actors for the first time. Some of them are portrayed in a fairly neutral way (the Arab Spring, Gaddafi and his fighters, MNLA, AQMI, Ansar Dine, Koulouba), whereas some others in a more negative light (the jihadists, Amadou Haya Sanogo, the Green and Red Berets, MUJAO). However, it is a very condensed narrative that needs further research. In the programme it is just left unpacked. One glaring absence from the narrative is France and other international political and commercial entities, which are very much involved in what is going on in the north of the country, due to interests in natural resources in the area.

A20: the Tuareg

The Tuareg are represented in neutral and positive ways. The neutral descriptions concern their customs and culture. The positive depiction concerns their role as victims in a conflict that has turned, in Ousmane's (A21) words "a earthly paradise into hell".

The audio representation of the Tuareg is given by the 'desert blues' that Tamkirest performs live. It is in a slow tempo and minor scales, aptly mirroring the suffering of the Tuareg as per the narrative of Tamkirest band members.

As well as the two Tamikrest band members, the Tuareg are also visually represented through the first band encountered in the programme, Super Onze, which Rita Ray will also meet in Part 10 and where we learn more about some of their culture, described by Rita Ray as "matrilineal" and "relatively progressive".

The Tuareg are represented as a victim in the ongoing conflict and as one of the more progressive ethnic groups in Mali. Their music and appearance in the programme is connected to two themes: the conflict in the north of the country (through Tamikrest) and weddings (through Super Onze).

The Tuareg are not specifically mentioned by the viewer, but the comments above apply with regard to the conflict in the north of the country.

Dominant code: based on the fact P2 thinks it was radicalised Muslims who are to blame for extreme political activity, it can be assumed that she also agrees it was not the Tuareg and they are now a victim of the conflict.

Same as above with regard to the conflict.

Same as above with regard to the conflict. It is also interesting how Rita Ray describes them as "relatively progressive": compared to whom/what?

A21 + A22
Tamikrest

Generally depicted in a neutral way (both by Rita Ray and themselves). Rita Ray also adds, however, that they are "festival favourites" due to the similarity between their music and traditional Western blues.

As above.

Visually they are depicted in a rather melancholic way, e.g. through the shots of Ousmane (A21) in the distance when talking about how they have been exiled from their land due to the conflict. They also look a bit scruffier (same for the guitar Ousmane uses) than the other artists interviewed, although this is perhaps part of their rock and roll persona. There is also focus in this part on a sunset and on the turning of day into night, which adds to the melancholic mood.

The experiences described by the band, together with their music, creates the most emotive part of the whole programme. The modes all combine to produce a sad and melancholic feel, with the minor scales and slow tempo of the song played by Tamikrest matching the sober looks on the duo and Rita Ray's faces as well as the vocabulary of suffering and struggle used by the artists. Again, a sunset is shown to end Rita Ray's encounter with the band which symbolically matches the one at the end of the previous part, thus framing this particular encounter.

Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented.
P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)

Dominant code: P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.

Modifying ideological effect: part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.

As well as performing, the duo describes the plight of the Tuaregs in northern Mali and how things have changed in recent years. Their story seems to support the narrative of the jihadists having made their homeplace 'Hell'. The linguistic representation generally portrays the Tuaregs as the victims in the conflict, although at the beginning of the previous scene we are told that it was them who started the conflict in the first place. However, Ousmane dates the struggle back to the 1970s (beginning of the military government) and, presumably, against the Malian government and at a time when there were no jihadists from Libya. The north of Mali, moreover, is also patrolled by foreign troops (most notably French) and the presence of oil and other natural resources in the area make the source of the conflicts there, as well as the number of players involved, far more complex than presented by the programme.

A23:
Songhoy

Generally represented in a neutral or positive way, both in terms of their musical abilities and of representing some sort of political and social resistance (*Resistance*, incidentally, is the name of their latest album) to the corrupt and violent situation in Mali.

Songhoy are also given the opportunity to perform and, in fact, Rita Ray goes to their studios to meet them. Their music, although in a minor scale, is in a lively tempo with a fairly repetitive and upbeat tempo, almost to signify the seriousness of the problems in the country, but also the determination with which the band is acting to change things.

They are generally shown in positive terms, performing and having fun as well as sat around a table with Rita Ray to talk about their music and the political and social implications of what they do.

As well as reinforcing the close connection between Malians and music, an argument is presented that music is in a better position than politics and politicians to help the territorial and ethnic break up in the country. The band itself is formed by people from different parts of the country and a south/north divide is made quite clear by using these words to refer to parts of the country. The general positive connotations used for Mali, music and the band serve to reinforce the idea of music as a liberating force and musicians as the 'good' side to follow in this difficult situation as opposed to the 'bad' politicians and jihadists (both of whom are described with negative connotations and are not given a *voice*).

Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented.

P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)

JC: I mean obviously the main point was the music in the programme. Erm, but one thing that I kind of picked up a bit on was that, obviously, there were also showing how music is a form of resistance in some ways and I just wondered if, you know, you had an idea about that. Did that kind of come across in that sense when they talked about hip-hop and the younger people, kind of rappers. And when they were talking with that female artist who was telling a story about her starting writing and singing for her mum's suffering, all that sort of discussion that... did you make anything out of that, or...

P2: I... just that, I guess, you know, music has always been... I didn't pick up on that particularly, but I just think, maybe, it's just an extension of that idea that music is... maybe it's a different sort of voice for repression and things like that. And, you know, and also maybe going back to that whole thing about, you know, slaves in chain gangs and the singing and that way of expressing some sort of suffering or some sort of resistance, or... yeah. I didn't... it was a part of the film, but I don't know whether I... and it was sort of like towards the end, I think, and it was, not skimmed over, but it didn't seem as in-depth as the initial part of the... like, the beginning of the film (I, lines 163-167)

Dominant code: P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.

Modifying ideological effect: part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.

In general, the current political situation and why it is that is deemed to be so bad is not discussed in the programme, but the impression left with the viewer is that things are bad.

A24: Malian politicians	Only briefly referred to by the Songhoy band members in negative terms , i.e. no having power to improve things, not being able to unite the differetn ethnic groups and lying.	Not represented.	Not representd.	Basically, politicians are described as unfit to resolve the country's problems.	Not deemed as relevant.	Not deemed as relevant.	Not deemed as relevant.	Same as above.
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A25:
Oumou
Sangare

Oumou Sangare is represented in very positive terms, particularly for her role in bringing feminist issues to the forefront and campaigning for them through her music.

She is the only artist who does not perform at all for Rita Ray, but her music is still represented through some video clips that are inserted before her interview and through one of her records played for her by Rita Ray. The major blues pentatonic scales of her songs and her powerful voice combine the gravity of the role of women in Malian society whilst highlighting the strength of this female artist who is described by Rita Ray as "a force to be reckoned with".

As well as being generally portrayed in a positive way, Oumou is shown ushering children to the side of a road with resolute manners, which highlights her respected position in society and high status. The latter is also highlighted by aerial shot of her big villa and luxurious interiors, where the meeting takes place. The video clips, however, also show some women in distress, and this visualises the suffering women Oumou sang for as we learn from her and Rita Ray.

Oumou Sangare and her music are shown in a very positive light and as the catalyst for change and an improvement in the conditions of women in the country. The description of the country and its women changes for the positive towards the end of the sequence (and the part) with shots of women working in the field exemplifying the new generation of African women who are described as 'strong, independent, rooted in tradition, but open to fresh ideas'.

Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented.
P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)

Dominant code: P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.

Modifying ideological effect: part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.

No "evidence" is presented to support how circumstances have improved for women in Malian society beside Oumou Sangare's words. It would be interesting to find out more about this issue.

<p>A26: Les Amazones d'Afrique</p>	<p>Very positive representation of the band, whose songs, we are told, address important feminist issues such as sexual violence, genital mutilation, and forced marriage.</p>	<p>The band is filmed performing live at a gig and the major scale of their song seems to mirror the strength and determination in tackling important feminist issues.</p>	<p>Very positive representation of the band performing and of the audience enjoying the gig.</p>	<p>Although the band is introduced and shown in a very positive light, they are only used an introduction to the younger guest member Rita Ray talks to, Ami Yerewolo (A27).</p>	<p>Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented. P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.</p>	<p><i>Modifying ideological effect:</i> part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.</p>
<p>A27: Ami Yerewolo</p>	<p>Very positive representation of this young female rapper, both through Rita Ray's words and her own.</p>	<p>As well as shown performing during the gig, Ami is given the opportunity to do a brief a capella performance during the interview. Her rap is full of energy.</p>	<p>Very positive both while performing on stage and during the interview. She is also visually associated with other young people and nightlife with some shots that frame her interview.</p>	<p>Through Ami Yerewolo, the focus is put on younger artists and people in general, as also stressed by showing younger Malians and nightlife. Mali is represented somehow negatively here, particularly through Ami's representation of an upsetting society (visually depicted as a tall wall with barbed wire). Again, music is seen as the answer to this political oppression.</p>	<p>Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented. P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.</p>	<p>Textually connected to this actor (as they both belong to the same part) is a discussion of how music is changing, not only through younger artist, but also through a different way of playing it and distributing it. The main argument is that artists are not getting paid for the distribution of their music, but this is balanced in Rita Ray's argument by the fact that they get exposure as the music is circulated more widely due to the low price of MP3s (a Catch 22 situation in Rita Ray's words). Could be interesting to look closer to the economic dynamics of this set up, which is by no means unique to Mali.</p>

A28: the downloader	Fairly neutral description of the downloaders, with a positive hint as they are described as "enterprising young fellows".	This new generation is represented through modern sounds and beats, played when Rita Ray arrives at his stall and by the downloader on his laptop while Rita Ray is choosing what music to buy.	Fairly neutral as the downloader seems pretty focused on his job.	This scene shows how music is changing, not only through younger artists, but also through a different way of playing it and distributing it. The whole sequence is fairly neutrally represented, with all the actors linguistically portrayed in plain terms, giving it almost a matter-of-fact feel.	Not deemed as relevant.	Not deemed as relevant.	Not deemed as relevant.	See above.
A29: Mylmo	Mylmo is represented in generally positive terms ("one of the biggest names in Malian hip-hop").	He performs live for Rita Ray and chooses a song <i>History of Mali</i> , which provides an interesting perspective on the current political and ethnical conflicts in Mali.	Fairly positive representation of Mylmo, in his Western clothes. As well as performing, he is shown greeting people.	Mylmo is depicted in a good light by Rita Ray, pretty much along the same lines as the other artists she interviewed. The song he performs is in a major scale, which conveys both the determination to get the message across to the youth and the hope that in the country will improve. The use of the jeli ngoni (a Griot traditional instrument) mirrors his statement that he's brought together griots and hip-hop, which is also visually represented through the traditional clothing of the musicians and his Western style.	Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented. P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)	<i>Dominant code:</i> P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.	<i>Modifying ideological effect:</i> part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.	See notes for A19 (jihadists)

<p>A30: political and military actors in Mali</p>	<p>Mylmo's song touches directly the civil war that is happening in Mali and we learn about a number of different actors for the first time. Some of them are portrayed in a fairly neutral way (the Arab Spring, Gaddafi and his fighters, MNLA, AQMI, Ansar Dine), whereas some other in a more negative light (the jihadists, Amadou Haya Sanogo, the Green and Red Berets, MUJAO).</p>	<p>They are referred to in Mylmo's rap.</p>	<p>They are not represented during Mylmo's performance, but some rebels are represented in a previous part through archive footage - see the visual representation of the jihadists (A19). However, in that representation it is not clear who belongs to which groups.</p>	<p>Without any further information it is not really possible to understand the role of the different actors referred to by Mylmo. An issue which has consequences on their perceived relevance as major cognitive effort is required to untangle Mylmo's narrative.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>See notes for A19 (jihadists)</p>
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A31: stranger	Neutral to positive in the actors own words - he is very happy to have met Rita Ray and welcomes her and the rest of the crew to Mali.	Not represented.	Early neutral representation. In fact he is one of the few actors who is not shown through close-up shots.	This is the only unplanned, spontaneous scene of the programme and it has been probably included to demonstrate both how welcoming Malians are and how well RR fits in that context. This increases the trust of the viewer in her as a genuine and reliable insider. This final scene brings the role of the Griot back in the foreground. Ami Diabate is the youngest artist interviewed and clearly from a generation which represents the future of Mali. The actors, particularly music, the Griots and Ami Diabate are shown in a very positive light as those with the means to solve Mali's problems. The minor scales of the music, accompanied by AD's very powerful voice and a medium to fast tempo seem to highlight the seriousness with which the Griots see their role in society as well as the gravity of what is happening in the country.	Not deemed as relevant.	Not deemed as relevant.	Not deemed as relevant.	Interestingly, RR this time identifies as a Ghanaian first and British then, unlike her brief intro at the beginning of the episode where she identifies as a Londoner first and an African second.
A32: Ami Diabate	Very positive representation of this very young artist, both for her musical abilities ("fantastic") and for her Griot heritage.	Ami performs both a short a capella song and then a song accompanied by her father.	Fairly positive representation, with a variety of shots and happy people watching her performance and dancing to her music.	Part of a generalised representation of the artists represented. P2: The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. (I, lines 115-117)	<i>Dominant code:</i> P2 recognises the positive depiction of the artists and agrees with it.	<i>Modifying ideological effect:</i> part of a newly-formed and positive, generalised opinion of Malian music.	See notes for A10 (the Griots)	

Malian
actors

Political
actors

Witnesses,
ordinary
people

Experts

Musicians

Other
actors

Appendix 7.3: Multimodal Analysis of *Africa, a Journey into Music: Mali* (BBC, 2018)

Time allocated to the different parts (with percentage up to the second decimal point)

	Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9	Part 10	Part 11	Part 12	Part 13	Part 14
<i>Themes</i>	Intro	Super Onze	Isa Dembele and Tradition	Tounami and Sidiki Diabate and The Griots	Bassekou Kouyate and the origins of the guitar	Kar Kar and the socialist years	Salif Keita and Malinke music	Ousmane, the Tuareg plight and Muslim jihadists	Songhoy Blues	Oumou Sangare and feminism	Ami Yerewolo, feminist hip hop and younger generations	Mylmo and the history of Mali rap	Random encounter and final comments	Ami Diabate and outro
<i>Times</i>	00:00 – 02:04	02:04 – 06:11	06:11 – 09:51	09:51 – 14:43	14:43 – 21:11	21:11 – 25:19	25:19 – 30:35	30:35 – 35:35	35:35 – 40:19	40:19 – 46:12	46:12 – 50:11	50:11 – 54:02	54:02 – 56:13	56:13 – 58:57
<i>Minutes</i>	2'04"	4'07"	3'40"	4'52"	6'28"	4'08"	5'16"	5'20"	4'44"	5'53"	3'59"	3'51"	2'11"	2'44"
<i>%</i>	3.49%	6.94%	5.80%	7.71%	10.72%	6.96%	8.80%	8.87%	7.58%	9.44%	6.12%	5.99%	3.60%	4.16%

Legend: positive connotation, negative connotation, neutral connotation, representation of actors and places in lexis, *representation of processes ('transitivity') in lexis*, Actor (A + number), *generic highlighting*, visual analysis (ECU = extreme close-up, CU = close-up, MCU = medium close-up, MS = medium shot, LS = long shot, ES = establishing shot)

Part 1: Series and episode intro (00:00-02:04)

Themes: intro to the episode, host and series.

Topics: music and Africa.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), South Africa (A2b)*, Nigeria (A2c)*, Africa/Africans (A3), music (A4), the audience (+ RR) (A5).

* These actors are only treated as sub-actors as they are actors in their own right in their respective episodes but only mentioned here in the ‘series intro’.

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
00:00 – 00:41	Intro to Mali episode	<p>RR: “Welcome to Mali. When <i>I think</i> of Mali and music, <i>I</i> immediately <i>think</i> of these iconic instruments and that great call and response and the melodic vocal that <i>they have</i>.” (00:05-00:16)</p> <p>RR: The <i>music found here takes us back</i> to the earliest roots of the <i>African song book</i>. But <i>Mali is just one important piece of a musical tradition as varied, ancient and fascinating as Africa</i> herself. <i>This is where I really feel</i> at home. (00:19-00:40)</p>	<p>A1: RR (<i>I</i>)</p> <p>A2: Mali/Malians (<i>Mali x3, they, here, piece</i>)</p> <p>A3: Africa/Africans (<i>varied, ancient and fascinating as Africa herself, this</i>)</p> <p>A4: music (<i>iconic instruments, great call and response, melodic vocal, music, African song book, musical tradition as varied, ancient and fascinating</i>)</p> <p>A5: the audience (+RR) (<i>implied welcome to Mali, us</i>)</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>think x 2, feel</i>)</p> <p>A2: receptive (<i>welcome to Mali, think of Mali; stative (have, is)</i>)</p> <p>A3: stative (<i>varied, ancient and fascinating, is</i>)</p> <p>A4: receptive (<i>iconic instruments, great call and response, melodic vocal; found; stative (varied, ancient and fascinating</i>)</p> <p>A5: stative (<i>‘implied’ you in welcome to Mali; receptive (takes us back)</i>)</p>	<p>Traditional music played live in the street with string instruments, drums and vocals; B key, B major scale (00:00-00:25)</p> <p>Tribal drumbeat, fast paced and repetitive, inserted (00:25-continues into next sequence)</p>	None	<p>Shots of the musicians (in traditional outfits) and of crowd listening and dancing to it in a rural setting (MCU to CU) (00:00-00:10)</p> <p>Shot of RR talking into the camera (CU, eye level) (00:10-00:13)</p> <p>Shots of the same musicians and of RR dancing with some of the people in attendance (MCU to CU) (00:13-00:25)</p> <p>Sequence of shots depicting the landscape: ES of lush and green forest, river level shot of village on the riverbank and</p>	<p>A1: RR - Orange top (African fashion) jeans, and a hairstyle closer to an African fashion than to a Western one. Shots are at a close proximity and she is often smiling, mingling at close proximity with people she meets and shown at eye level.</p> <p>A2: Mali - generally wearing traditional clothing with a mix of colours. Shots are at fairly close proximity and people look generally happy, smiling and getting involved in the music events.</p> <p>A3: Africa - shown in a combination of</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>talking, dancing; receptive (listening to music being played)</i>).</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>playing music and dancing; stative (showed sitting or standing in the streets, landscapes); receptive (listening to music being played)</i>).</p> <p>A3: agentive (<i>through the shots of people as in</i></p>	<p>Both the host, RR, and the people she interacts with are shown in a very positive way. There is a lot of energy in the scenes and a bright mix of colours. RR and people around her are busy making and enjoying music and the audience is taken in close proximity to both the musicians and the people attending the events with the POV creating the impression of being in the middle of the action. Mali is portrayed as a vibrant and beautiful place and the host is portrayed as an energetic and positive person who is not scared of ‘getting into the</p>	<p>P2: Mali was unexpectedly lush and green, the landscape stunning and colourful – I had expected it to be fairly dry – it was verdant and beautiful. (Q, item 14)</p>

							ES of savannah with a modern road in the cutting through it and a mosque in prominent position (00:25-00:28) MCU to CU of street dancing and music, children, jugglers (00:28-00:36) MCU to CU of RR with a group of children (taken from <i>part 10</i>) to go with the final line of this sequence. (00:36-00:41)	shots including people (generally happy and energetic) and landscapes. A4: music - shown through instruments (often with close-up shots too) and people playing them as well as people dancing and enjoying it. A5: audience - not shown, but metaphorically placed at the same level and in close proximity of both RR and other actors.	A2); stative (<i>shots of landscapes</i>). A4: agentive (<i>in making people dance and appreciate it</i>); receptive (<i>as in being played</i>); stative (<i>through shots of musicians and their instruments</i>). A5: agentive (<i>through the camera POV, dancing and mingling</i>); receptive (<i>through the camera POV, listening and watching</i>).	action'. The major scale of the song being played live and the energetic drumbeat inserted in post-production help creating this impression of joy and energy.	
00:41 – 02:04	Series intro	RR: “ <i>I’m Rita Ray. I’m a DJ, I’m a music obsessive, I’m a Londoner, and I’m an African.</i> ” (00:41-00:47) RR: And <i>I’m constantly amazed that we still think we know nothing about the sounds that come from here. Sounds from countries as diverse as South Africa, with its heart-breaking harmonies. Mali and its ancient</i>	A1: RR (<i>I x7, Rita Ray, DJ, music obsessive, Londoner, African, constantly amazed</i>) A2: Mali (<i>Mali, country, ancient melodies</i>) A2b: South Africa (<i>South Africa, country, heart-breaking harmonies</i>) A2c: Nigeria (<i>Nigeria, home of</i>	A1: stative (<i>am x6</i>); agentive (<i>love</i>) A2: stative (<i>‘implied’ is a country and has ancient melodies</i>) A2b: stative (<i>‘implied’ is a country and has heart-breaking harmonies</i>) A2c: stative (<i>‘implied’ is a</i>	Tribal drumbeat , fast paced and repetitive, inserted (continues from previous sequence – 00:59) Gospel style choir; E key, minor scale (00:59-01:04)	None	Shot of RR talking into the camera (CU) eye level. (00:41-00:47) CU of legs/feet of RR walking in an urban setting, followed by shot of her from behind walking and shots of people in the same setting, including street dancers and musicians (00:47-00:59) LS of the South African choir	A1: RR - Orange top (African fashion) and jeans. Shots creating proximity and an equal relationship with audience. She is also portrayed as listening to the music. A2: Mali - shots show some landscape from the country and two Malian musicians.	A1: agentive (<i>talking, mingling, walking</i>); patient (<i>listening to music being played</i>). A2: agentive (<i>playing music and dancing</i>); stative (<i>showed sitting or standing in the streets, landscapes</i>); receptive (<i>listening to</i>	RR is introduced as a bridge between Africa (through her origins) and the West (through her current residence) built using music (her passion and professional expertise). What she wears also reflects that, with a mix of Africa (hairstyle and top) and Western (jeans) fashions. She is also again showed as very much involved with the people she meets on her journey. The	JC: Can you just tell me a bit about your relationship with Rita Ray? P2: Oh, I don’t really know her very well, but I’ve just seen her and I have a feeling that she, erm, has... I’ve listened to her from (Nomad?), which is a festival we used to go to, world music, when the boys were very little and she is from Ghana and is very passionate about African music and I’ve heard on the radio but not... it’s

		<p>melodies. And <u>Nigeria, home of Afro beat and the driving force</u> of African pop. But so much of what we listen to in the West has deep roots and strong connections to the music that comes from this amazing continent. They don't call Africa "the Motherland" for nothing. It's the wellspring of the blues, of jazz, of rock and roll — this continent has it all. And living, breathing, contemporary music from here has never been more popular. (00:47-01:45)</p> <p>RR: "It is an incredible time for music in Africa." (01:45-01:49)</p> <p>RR: So what are the traditions that created the music I love so much? Who are the key players? And where do we need to start the search for the source of these unique sounds? (01:49-02:02)</p>	<p><i>Afro beat, country, driving force</i>)</p> <p>A3: Africa/Africans (African x2, here x2, Afro, amazing continent, Africa x2, they, "the Motherland", it, the wellspring, this continent, traditions, key players)</p> <p>A4: music (sounds, heart-breaking harmonies, ancient melodies, Afro beat, African pop, what (we listen to), deep roots and string connections, music x2, lues, of jazz, of rock and roll, living, breathing, contemporary, music, more popular, key players, unique sounds)</p> <p>A5: RR + the audience (we x4, the West)</p>	<p>country, home to Afro beat and a driving force)</p> <p>A3: stative (is the wellspring, has it all, I'm an African); receptive (call Africa "the Motherland"); agentive (call)</p> <p>A4: agentive (sounds come, music comes); receptive (what we listen to, that created the music I love); stative (what we listen to here has never been, it is an incredible time for music, 'implied' has in sources of those unique sounds)</p> <p>A5: stative ('implied' you in welcome to Mali); agentive (we think we know nothing, we listen to in the West, we need to start)</p>	<p>Kora (string instrument) played live by the Diabate father and son (taken from part 4); D key, D minor scale (01:04-01:10)</p> <p>Fast-paced and repetitive drumbeat (01:10-02:04)</p>		<p>from a distance (with RR visible sat on the right-hand side), then MCU (with RR still visible) (00-59-01:04)</p> <p>ES and LS of Malian savannah, followed by CU of the Diabate father and son musician playing the kora (taken from part 4) (01:04-01:10)</p> <p>Shot of Nigerian street music and dancing and of a live gig showing the artist on stage and the audience singing and dancing; then shots of a variety of musicians and dancers, a mix from the three episodes (01:10-01:45)</p> <p>Shot of RR talking to the camera (CU, eye level) (01:45-01:49)</p> <p>Shots of RR with some of the artists she met over the course of the series (01:49-02:04)</p> <p>Fade to black shot.</p>	<p>A2b: South Africa - shots show some of the people of South Africa as well a choir, looking very solemn.</p> <p>A2c: Nigeria - shots of street musicians and of a live gig.</p> <p>A3: Africa - shots show a variety of artists that the host has encountered over the course of the episodes.</p> <p>A4: music - multiple shots of music events place music as the main topic of the series.</p> <p>A5: audience - again posited close to RR and in the middle of the music events.</p>	<p><i>music being played).</i></p> <p>A2a and A2b: as A2</p> <p>A3: agentive (playing music and dancing or performing)</p> <p>A4: agentive (in making people dance and appreciate it); receptive (as in being played); stative (through shots of musicians and their instruments).</p> <p>A5: agentive (through the camera POV, dancing and mingling); receptive (through the camera POV, listening and watching)</p>	<p>different countries are shown as vibrant, happy and full of life, with music being the underlying reason for this. The fast-paced repetitive drumbeat reinforces this description. However, some of the music also reflect deeper observations made by RR, like the minor scale of the South African gospel matched with the expression 'heart-breaking harmonies' and the minor scale of the Malian kora players matching the expression 'ancient melodies'. The series introduces the different aspects the passionate host will be covering through her journey: music as life and livelihood; music as tradition, history and basis for future developments; and music as storytelling and catalyst for resistance and change.</p>	<p>not something I tune into, I just remember her being, like, particularly enthusiastic reporter, and I just thought "that's gonna be interesting, I've never seen her on television"</p> <p>JC: OK, so this was the first [programme that you watched with her</p> <p>P2: [Yeah, this was the first time, yeah. So, and she was utterly engaging</p> <p>JC: OK, so your previous experience of her was just through the [radio</p> <p>P2: [radio, yeah</p> <p>JC: and, what did you like about her, radio and video wise?</p> <p>P2: She was... she came across as I heard on the radio. She is able to convey the enthusiasm that she has, obviously, for African music. Erm, yeah like, I guess her enthusiasm. I'm... you know, I'm sort of easily swayed by enthusiastic people (I, lines 63-78)</p>
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Part 2: Super Onze (02:04-06:11)

Themes: Introduction to Mali; Super Onze and traditional music from northern Mali.

Topics: Mali, Western artists and Mali, traditional wedding music and dancing from Gao.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), Africa (A3), music (A4), the audience (+ RR) (A5), Western artists (A6), Super Onze musicians (A7), cameraperson (A8).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
02:04 – 02:52	Intro to Mali	RR: Mali, West Africa. A former French colony and a Muslim country full of history, colour and attitude. This is one of the most ethnically diverse nations on the planet. And whilst the language of government may be French, the population of 18 million people speak 50 other different tongues. Mali is also home to a rich tradition of music that fills every corner of daily life. (02:10-02:51)	A2: Mali (Mali x2, former French colony, Muslim country, full of history, colour and attitude, this, one of the most ethnically diverse nations on the planet, the population of 18 million people, home to a rich tradition of music) A4: music (a rich tradition, fills every corner of daily life)	A2: stative ('implied' is in first two sentences, this is, Mali is, language may be); agentive (people speak) A4: stative ('implied' has a rich tradition); agentive (that fills)	Funky song, guitars, bass, drums, keyboards; D key, D minor pentatonic scale (02:09-02:51)	Sound of vinyl being played (02:04-02:09)	Visual of Africa as the central illustration of a vinyl with the title of the series "Africa: A Journey into Music" and "Mali". Vinyl is played. Followed by a yellow map of Africa with the country of Mali highlighted in a pinkish colour. The map zooms in to West Africa, where Mali is (2:04-02:15) Various shots of people on the street (very colourful, busy shots); ES of a large city over the words ("18 million people") (02:15-02:42) Shot of RR walking down a pretty quiet street (MCU from behind first, then ES the air); finally, shot of motorbike driving	A1: RR - Red top (African fashion) and jeans. Shots following her down the street ask the audience to follow her. A2: Mali - shown on a "funky", colourful map. People and streets are represented as vibrant, busy and colourful and the aerial shot of the city gives an idea of its size. A3: Africa - shown on the same colourful map as a whole and then the zoom movement highlights the western part of the continent. A4: music - represented by a vinyl being	A1: agentive (walking) A2: stative (map); agentive (people busy in the streets) A3: stative (map) A4: receptive (the vinyl is played and	The starting metaphor of the vinyl being played, together with the 'authentic sound' of the vinyl being played and the title focus the viewer's attention on the main topic of the programme (and indeed of the whole series): music. Music is indeed presented as a core aspect of the country's traditions and daily life. The shots of people busy with everyday tasks, combined with the accompanying music, reinforces this idea.	P2: well, I think it was... so, OK, I came away knowing a little bit more about the music side of it, but it was a much richer programme that I'd anticipated, in as much as it went into a bit of the history and the diversity of the culture, the mix of the traditional and the contemporary. You know, in fifty-nine minutes they crammed a lot of information in, you know. So I was... it was more than I expected. You know, the... I thought it was just gonna be about... not JUST gonna be about the music, but it was a very, erm, what's the word? Educational I suppose as well, you know. (1, lines 123-129)

							towards the camera (02:42-02:52)	played and the title of the series.	<i>starts spinning</i>)	Mali is shown as a vibrant, colourful country both in the choice of the map colour palette and through the people shown in the streets. Some brief facts are provided about the country, to include the colonial history, the main religion and official language, as well as the fact that there are a variety of other languages spoken. The accompanying song, although in a minor pentatonic scale, is in a funky style, which gives it a certain lightness and joy. The viewer is encouraged to follow RR towards her first encounter.	
02:52 - 06:11	Meeting Super Onze	RR: "Oh, yeah! That is the Takamba , it's that camel—loping gait that just takes you into the desert." (02:53-03:02) RR: I'm not the first person to make this journey. The melodies and rhythms you find here have drawn in all	A1: RR (<i>I x4, person, je, you</i>) A2: Mali (<i>here, Mali x2, the country</i>)	A1: stative (<i>am x2, don't know, think</i>) agentive (<i>to make, je dense</i>) A2: stative (<i>'implied' has in 'authentic</i>	Takamba music played live with percussions, jeli ngoni and vocals. Repetitive riff which resembles a	Sounds from the room where they are filming with people talking in the background and	LS facing RR arriving at a building and following her from CU while walking in (02:52-03:14) Archive shots of Ry Cooder, Brian Eno, Damon Albarn and	A1: RR - Red top (African fashion) and jeans. shots following her invite the audience to follow her and close-up shots while dancing make the	A1: agentive (<i>walking, talking, dancing</i>); receptive (<i>getting dress up</i>)	The reference to other Western artists creates a connection between the two cultures (Western and African), although no reference is	

	<p>kinds of <u>Western artists</u> in search of inspiration and collaboration, from <u>Ry Cooder</u> to <u>Brian Eno</u>, <u>Damon Albarn</u> to <u>Robert Plant</u>, <i>all looking</i> for the <u>authentic sounds of Mali</u>. (03:03-03:23)</p> <p>RR: “<i>It’s like another world in there. You won’t believe it when you see this!</i>” (03:35-03:39)</p> <p>RR: <i>This is Super Onze from the arid north of the country. They’re playing traditional wedding music from Gao. The instruments they’re using haven’t changed for hundreds of years. But they’re still at the heart of the most modern music coming out of Mali</i> today. (03:46-04:11)</p> <p>RR: And <i>the dancing is</i> just as important as the music. (04:24-04:27)</p> <p>RR: “<i>I don’t know, I think he’s about to teach me.</i> [.] A dress? Ha—ha! OK. <i>I’m getting married!</i>” (04:28-4:38)</p> <p>RR: <i>The bride and groom may have only just met, so this dance is all about getting to know each other.</i> (05:05-05:12)</p> <p>MALE DANCER: “C’est bon.” RR: “S’il vous plait!” MD: “Merci.” RR: “C’est bon? <i>Je dense tres bien? Oui?</i>”</p>	<p>A4: music (<i>Takamba, camel-loping gait, melodies and rhythms, authentic sounds, traditional wedding music, instruments, they, most modern music, dancing, music, dance, that/the rhythm x2, incredible feeling, undulating dance</i>)</p> <p>A5: audience (+ RR) (you x8)</p> <p>A6: Western artists (<i>Western artists, Ry Cooder, Brian Eno, Damon</i>)</p>	<p>sounds of Mali’ and ‘arid north of the country’)</p> <p>A4: stative (<i>Takamba is, they are, dancing is, dance is, was an incredible feeling</i>); agentive (<i>takes you, haven’t changed, coming out of, goes straight through</i>); receptive (<i>melodies and rhythms you find, they’re playing traditional wedding music, instruments they’re using</i>)</p> <p>A5: receptive (<i>takes you, goes through you</i>); agentive (<i>you find, you could do, you lose yourself, you’re watching, you’ve never met</i>); stative (<i>you’ve got</i>)</p> <p>A6: receptive (<i>the melodies have drawn in Western artists</i>);</p>	<p>bit the snake hypnotising music; D key, D minor pentatonic scale (02:53-04:23)</p> <p>Takamba music starts again, same as before D key, D minor pentatonic scale (04:38-05:30)</p>	<p>instruments being played (04:23-04:38)</p> <p>Sounds from the room again (05:30-06:11)</p>	<p>Robert Plant (03:14-03:20)</p> <p>Back to RR walking into the building and opening a curtain over a door (03:20-03:29)</p> <p>MCU to CU of people inside the room dancing and playing musical instruments (03:29-03:35)</p> <p>CU of RR turning to the cameraperson and speaking to her (03:35-03:39)</p> <p>Shots of the members of Super Onze playing their instruments and dancing (MCU to CU) as well as CU of RR joining in and enjoying herself (03:39-04:27)</p> <p>CU of RR invited to dance, getting dressed up in traditional clothes and dancing with one of the men from Super Onze. CU of both RR and the man while dancing. Also MCU to CU of other people in the room, including musicians, ladies and children dancing along (04:27-05:30)</p>	<p>audience dance with her; close-up shots when talking create proximity with the audience.</p> <p>A2: Mali - shots in the streets create a feeling of authenticity. The shots of women and children listening to the music seems to reinforce the idea of the importance of music for Malians.</p> <p>A4: music - the shots take the audience close to the musicians and their instruments, as well as to the dancers.</p> <p>A5: audience - posited close to or following RR and in the middle of the music events.</p> <p>A6: Western artists - archive photos show the artists mentioned together with African artists.</p>	<p>A2: stative (<i>cityscape</i>); receptive (<i>listening to the music</i>)</p> <p>A4: agentive (<i>in making people dance and appreciate it</i>); receptive (<i>as in being played</i>)</p> <p>A5: agentive (<i>through the camera POV, dancing and mingling</i>); receptive (<i>through the camera POV, listening and watching</i>)</p> <p>A6: stative (<i>posing for photos</i>); agentive (<i>performing</i>)</p>	<p>made to the commercial aspects of the collaborations. The audience is again taken right in the middle of the music event and both the music and the artists are shown in a very favourable light. The minor scale of the music is counter-balanced by the energy of the repetitive riffs and rhythms and by the shots of smiling people in the room who are clearly enjoying themselves. All the actors in this scene are treated with respect and this is evident both from the language use to talk about them and by the fact that they’re given both linguistic and visual agency.</p>	
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	<p>MD (subtitled): “<i>You’re</i> better than the other women!”</p> <p>RR: LAUGHS OUT LOUD – “Merci” (05:30-05:41)</p> <p>RR: “<i>It was an incredible feeling</i> because <i>that rhythm just goes straight through</i> you. And then <i>you’ve got</i> that <u>undulating dance</u> and <i>you could just do it</i> for hours. <i>You just lose yourself</i> in the rhythm. And then, of course, <i>you’re watching</i> this guy <i>you’ve never met</i> and actually, <i>it all gets</i> really, really intimate.” (05:43-06:02)</p> <p>RR: <i>You can have</i> your dress back!” (06:07-06:08)</p>	<p>Albarn, Robert Plant)</p> <p>A7: Super Onze (<i>Super Onze, they x2, he, you</i>)</p> <p>A8: cameraperson (you x2)</p>	<p>agentive (looking for)</p> <p>A7: stative (<i>this is Super Onze</i>); agentive (<i>are playing, are using, is about to teach, can have</i>)</p> <p>A8: agentive (<i>won’t believe, see</i>)</p>		<p>MCU to CU of RR and the man stop dancing and have a brief conversation (05:30-05:43)</p> <p>RR talking to the cameraperson and into the camera, (MCU, slight low angle) the camera focuses on the hands moving as if dancing on two occasions (05:43-06:02)</p> <p>MCU to CU of some of the children and women in the room (06:02-06:11)</p>	<p>A7: Super Onze - the close-up shots create proximity with the musicians and dancers.</p> <p>A8: cameraperson - not shown.</p>	<p>A7: agentive (performing)</p> <p>A8: agentive (following RR and shooting)</p>		
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Part 3: Isa Dembele and Tradition (06:11-09:51)

Themes: Griot traditional instruments, part 1: the balafon.

Topics: Mali's economics, Isa Dembele, the balafon, the Griot.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), music (A4), Isa Dembele (A9), the Griot (A10).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
06:11 – 07:54	Mali's economics	<p>RR: The River Niger, a cultural motorway that links all the most important cities in Mali. (06:18-06:24)</p> <p>RR: “This is the N1, the Niger One” (06:25-06:29)</p> <p>RR: From the capital Bamako, all the way to Timbuktu, on the edge of the Sahara Desert. It's not a wealthy country — most make a living from farming and fishing. But Mali has other riches. This place has produced more Grammy—winning artists than any other African country. World music superstars like Ali Farka Toure and Toumani Diabate have played festivals all around the world. (06:30-07:01)</p>	<p>A1: RR (<i>me, I</i>)</p> <p>A2: Mali (<i>River Niger, cultural motorway, Mali x2, N1, Niger One, it, not a wealthy country, most, other riches, this place x2, African country, Segou, full of commerce and trade and music, Malians</i>)</p> <p>A4: music (<i>Grammy-winning artists, world music superstars, Ali Farka Toure, Toumani Diabate,</i></p>	<p>A1: receptive (<i>makes me think</i>); stative (<i>I'm</i>)</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>that links, most make, has produced, use</i>); stative (<i>this is x2, it's not, Mali has</i>)</p> <p>A4: receptive (<i>has produced</i> Grammy-winning artists; <i>bringing</i> all their different influences, different</p>	<p>Gentle music on a string instrument (Kora?); F key, F major scale (06:13-07:07)</p> <p>Gentle music on balafon; C key, C major scale (07:32-07:54)</p>	<p>Sound of the boat on the water and sound of water moving (06:11-06:30)</p> <p>Noises from busy streets (06:38-06:44)</p> <p>Sound of the boat on the water and sound of water moving. Then street noises and live noises of RR getting off the van (07:06-07:54)</p>	<p>CU of RR in a boat sailing on the river Niger. LS both from the riverbank and from inside the boat (06:11-06:24)</p> <p>MCU shot of RR (low angle) from within the boat and then LS of a passing boat (06:25-06:30)</p> <p>Map of Mali showing the route (animated) of the river Niger from the capital, Bamako to Timbuktu and out south-east of Mali (06:30-06:37)</p> <p>MCU to CU of people in the streets being busy (06:37-06:44)</p> <p>Archive footage of Ali Farka Toure and Toumani Diabate playing live concerts (06:44-07:03)</p>	<p>A1: RR - Red top (African fashion), jeans and a pair of sunglasses. She is first shown being transported on a boat and then walking in a market before reaching her destination by car. Mainly medium to close-up shots creating proximity.</p> <p>A2: - Mali beautiful landscape shots on and from the river Niger; colourful map showing the river route; shots of people being busy; aerial shots of Segou. The audience is presented with the natural beauty of the</p>	<p>A1: receptive (<i>being transported</i>); agentive (<i>walking, talking</i>).</p> <p>A2: stative (<i>landscapes</i>); agentive (<i>driving the boat, selling and buying at the market</i>)</p>	<p>This scene portrays Mali's economics. The gentle, peaceful music that accompanies the boat trip and beautiful scenery makes the audience appreciate the natural aspects of the country. Mali is presented as 'not a wealthy country' in economic terms, but rich in music and culture. Both actors (Mali/Malians and music) are presented in very favourable terms across the different modes. There is no indication as such of actual poverty (except perhaps the shot of the overcrowded boat), but the images show places that can be defined as rural (no tarmac roads or many concrete buildings or</p>	<p>JC: So what kind of... I can I put this? What kind of image left with you of Mali as a country? P2: Erm, just culturally very rich, and still very rich. I mean, you know, still fairly traditional in a lot of respects, but a very colourful country. I would say quite a poor country, but even so there is... they have a richness there that's steeped in that cultural tradition, you know. And through the music I think it sort of carried on, you know. JC: What gave you the impression of a poor country? P2: I just... there wasn't very much evidence of... well, I don't know, maybe it was the places she went to, they were quite rural, they weren't particularly westernised, they</p>

		<p>RR: “<i>This is Segou</i>, right on the River Niger. And <i>this place is just full of commerce and trade and music</i>. And <i>it just makes me think</i> about the <i>musicians who’ve been coming</i> over the years bringing all their <u>different influences</u>, their <u>different melodies</u> and their <u>different instruments</u>.” (07:06-07:31)</p> <p>RR: And <i>so many of those start out</i> as a <u>strange fruit</u> called the calabash. <i>Maliens use</i> it for all kinds of things – buckets, bowls, even drums. But <i>I’m here to see Isa Dembele transform it</i> into a balafon. (07:33-07:51)</p>	<p><i>music, musicians, different influences, different melodies, different instruments, so many of those, drums, balafon</i></p> <p>A9: ID (<i>Isa Dembele</i>)</p>	<p>melodies, different instruments); agentive (<i>have been coming, start out</i>)</p> <p>A9: receptive (<i>to see Isa Dembele</i>)</p>		<p>Brief shot of an overcrowded boat approaching the riverbank followed by a MCU shot of RR on her boat (eye level) talking into the camera; also ESS of (presumably) Segou from the river and from the air (07:03-07:35)</p> <p>LS of RR walking on a street and of markets with people handling objects made from the calabash fruit (07:35-07:47)</p> <p>MCU of man setting up ID’s balafon and CU of RR getting off the van and closing the door (07:47-07:54)</p>	<p>country and its busy people.</p> <p>A4: music - represented through the archive videos of the musicians mentioned and by showing a man setting balafons up.</p> <p>A9: ID - not shown, but someone else setting up the instruments is shown instead.</p>	<p>A4: agentive (<i>performing, setting musical instruments up</i>)</p> <p>A9: not shown</p>	<p>vehicles), and people that would not appear ‘sophisticated’ to a British audience (a person walks past the camera barefoot). There is a hint of ‘exoticizing’ the place by describing the calabash as a <i>strange fruit</i> (rather than, for example, a fruit we don’t find in our supermarkets); however, the overall description of the country and the economic situation is not judgemental or contemptuous.</p>	<p>seemed to be, yeah, quite rural. People were living in quite moderate accommodation, you know, it just seemed quite basic. So, yeah. (1, lines 130-139)</p>
07:54 – 09:51	<p>Meeting Isa Dembele, introducing the balafon instrument and the <i>griot</i></p>	<p>RR: “Bonjour, bonjour. Hello, you. <i>Isa</i>, ca va?” ISA DEMBELE: “Ca va.” RR: “Good to see you. (07:55-08:02)</p> <p>RR: “<i>I’m looking</i> at all these calabashes. <i>Tell me</i>, what do these <i>calabashes do</i>?” ID (subtitled): “The <i>calabashes are</i> like speakers” RR: “Yeah” ID (subtitled): “<i>Listen</i>. If <i>you want</i> a higher note <i>you do</i> this” RR: “Yes. <i>You get</i> another sound. Ah, yes, <i>it goes</i> higher.”</p>	<p>A1: RR (<i>I x3, city girl</i>)</p> <p>A2: Mali (<i>Mali, Malian culture, here</i>)</p> <p>A4: music (<i>calabash(es) x4, a higher note, another sound, it, unique musical bloodline, melodies, instrument, balafon x2,</i></p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>I’m, I’m heading</i>); stative (<i>I’m</i>)</p> <p>A2: stative (<i>Mali is</i>); receptive (<i>you find here</i>)</p> <p>A4: receptive (<i>I’m looking at these calabashes, if you want a higher note, get another sound, melodies you find, play this instrument,</i></p>	<p>ID and another man playing two balafons live together with some percussions; pretty sustained and lively tempo; A key, A major pentatonic (08:35-09:51)</p>	<p>Live sounds during the conversation between RR and ID, including the sound of individual calabashes (07:54-08:35)</p> <p>MCU of RR greeting people and shaking hands with ID (07:54-08:02)</p> <p>CU of the calabashes making up the balafon. Alternating MCU between RR and ID talking about the calabashes (08:02-08:35)</p> <p>Alternating MCU and CU of ID and another man (eye-level) playing two balafons; also LS and MCU of people listening and</p>	<p>A1: RR - shown greeting the musicians and kneeling down to see the instrument, usually at a medium to close-up distance to maintain proximity with the audience. She is also shown drumming along the music.</p> <p>A2: Mali - People are shown surrounding the</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>talking, drumming along</i>); receptive (<i>listening to the music</i>)</p> <p>A2: receptive (<i>listening to the music</i>)</p>	<p>This scene introduces the audience to the social class of the Griot through one of its members, Isa Dembele. Moreover, the audience is introduced to one of the instruments the Griot play, the balafon. The different modes combine to give a positive representation of both ID and his music, and of the Griot, with some low-level shots if ID</p>	

		<p>Absolutely amazing. The <i>calabash does</i> everything.” (08:02-08:35)</p> <p>RR: <i>Mali is</i> the home of a <u>unique musical bloodline</u>, the Griot. <i>Griot are</i> the <u>hereditary bards</u> of West Africa. <u>A living archive of Malian culture and masters of the melodies you find</u> here. As a Griot, <i>Isa was born to play</i> this <u>instrument</u>, literally! Traditionally, <i>the balafon is</i> one of three ancient instruments <u>played</u> only by <u>the Griot</u>, an <u>inherited right, handed down</u> through the generations. And when <i>he’s</i> old enough, <i>Isa’s little boy will take up</i> the balafon, too. (08:46-09:32)</p> <p>RR: This country life is all very well, but <i>I’m</i> a <u>city girl</u> at heart. <i>To find out more about the Griot and their traditions, I’m heading</i> south to Bamako. (09:40-09:51)</p>	<p><i>ancient instruments</i>)</p> <p>A9: ID (<i>Isa x3, you, a griot</i>)</p> <p>A10: Griot (<i>unique musical bloodline, Griot x5, hereditary bards, living archive of Malian culture and masters of the melodies, inherited right, their traditions</i>)</p>	<p>ancient instruments <i>played</i>); agentive (<i>do they do, does, goes</i>); stative (<i>calabashes are, the balafon is</i>)</p> <p>A9: stative (<i>Isa was born to play</i>)</p> <p>A10: receptive (<i>Mali is the home of ..., played by the Griot, inherited right handed down, find out about the Griot</i>); stative (<i>the Griots are, ‘implied’ have traditions</i>)</p>		<p>watching (08:35-09:41)</p> <p>MCU (low angle) of RR drumming to the music on her legs, followed by shots of the savannah from the car while driving. Finally, illustration of the map of Mali zooming in on Bamako (09:41-09:51)</p>	<p>musicians and enjoying the performance, a mix of different ages. Some of the surrounding savannah is also shown from the car.</p> <p>A4: music - represented through medium to close-up shots of the performance and of the instruments.</p> <p>A9: ID - shown as an expert, skilful musician and as a father; he is usually shown in medium to close-up shots to create proximity. Sometimes he’s shown from a lower angle, perhaps reinforcing the idea of higher social class (the Griot) he belongs to.</p> <p>A10: Griot - ID and his son are the only Griots shown (that we are aware)</p>	<p>A4: agentive (<i>in making people appreciate it</i>); receptive (<i>as in being played</i>)</p> <p>A9: agentive (<i>talking and performing</i>)</p> <p>A10: agentive (<i>talking and performing</i>)</p>	<p>almost mirroring the higher status they hold in Malian society. The qualities attributed to the Griot, however, are presented as factual and are not challenged in any way. Likewise, there is not problematising of the relationship between the Griot (who seem to be relatively affluent) and other social classes.</p>	
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Part 4: Tounami and Sidiki Diabate and The Griots (09:51-14:43)

Themes: Griot traditional instruments, part 2: the kora.

Topics: Bamako, Tounami and Sidiki Diabate, the kora, the Griot.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), Africa (A3), music (A4), the Griot (A10), Tounami Diabate (A11), Sidiki Diabate (A12).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
09:51 – 10:10	Introduction to the city of Bamako	RR: <i>This is one of the fastest growing cities in Africa</i> with a population of over two million people, and <u>home to the majority of Mali's musicians.</u> (10:00-10:10)	A2: Mali (Bamako , <i>one of fastest growing cities in Africa, home to the majority of Mali's musicians</i>) A3: Africa (<i>Africa</i>)	A2: stative (this is) A3: N/a	Guitar, bass, percussions and vocals; lively tempo; C key , C major scale (09:51- continues into next sequence)	City noises (09:57-10:04)	ES of Bamako, followed by a river shot, LS to MCU busy road shots and CU shots of RR in a taxi driving through the city, looking at a vinyl by <i>Les Ambassadeurs</i> (09:51-10:10)	A1: RR - Red top (African fashion) and jeans. Shown looking at a vinyl, the shot reinforces her expertise and passion for African music. A2: Mali - initial aerial shot gives an idea of the size of the city; busy shots give the impression of a vibrant place.	A1: agentive (<i>looking at a vinyl</i>); receptive (<i>being transported in a car</i>) A2: stative (<i>cityscape</i>); agentive (<i>people travelling and walking</i>)	The opening scene sets the geographical context for the following encounters with Malian artists. The modes operate to create an energetic, vibrant and joyful atmosphere.	
10:10 – 14:43	Meeting Tounami and Sidiki Diabate, introducing the kora instrument and talking about the <i>griots</i>	RR: <i>My first stop</i> — the home of <u>Toumani Diabate, 71st generation griot, and head of a 21st—century musical dynasty.</u> RR: “D. Music to Mali!” RR: <i>The life of a griot is certainly changing. Tounami spends</i> much of his year touring internationally. And <i>his son, Sidiki, is</i>	A1: RR (<i>my first stop, I, me</i>) A2: Mali (<i>Mali x2, a country, Mandingue Empire</i>) A3: Africa (<i>West Africa, Africa x2</i>) A4: music (<i>musical</i>)	A1: agentive (<i>want to know</i>); receptive (<i>you made me</i>) A2: agentive (<i>blends</i>) A3: stative (<i>was, is</i>) A4: receptive (<i>a country that</i>)	Song from previous sequence (finishes at 10:14) Song: <i>Fais moi confiance</i> by Sidiki Diabate G Key, G minor scale (10:24-10:42) Diabate father and son playing their kora	Live noises (10:14-10:24) Live noises (10:42-10:48)	ES of the road where, presumably, RR has arrived; MCU to CU of RR looking at some very expensive cars with personalised number plates (10:10-10:29) Archive photo of Tounami Diabate playing at a concert with Damon Albarn and Bassekou Kouyate; followed	A1: RR - is followed by the audience while looking at some of the Diabate family expensive cars. Shots while sitting and talking to the Diabate father and son are as usual at medium to close-up distance, maintaining proximity with the audience.	A1: agentive (<i>walking, looking at cars, talking</i>); receptive (<i>listening to the music</i>)	This scene, as well as introducing to the audience two important Mali musicians and their preferred instrument, the kora, looks in more depth into the social class of the Griot. TD is given ample space to flesh out the role of Griot in Mali society since the time of the Manding Empire in	P2: The country appeared rich and diverse – the connections with ancient melodies still strong but a fusion with Western influences. (Q, item 14)

	<p>both a <u>griot</u> and <u>Mali's biggest pop star</u>. (10:11-10:38)</p> <p>RR: "What <i>I really want to know</i> from <u>Toumani</u> is what a <u>griot is</u>, and what a <u>griot's role is</u> today..." (10:41-10:48)</p> <p>RR: ...in a <u>country that blends modern musical tastes</u> with the <u>most traditional handmade instruments</u>. <i>The kora, a 21—stringed harp, is the most sophisticated of the griot instruments</i>. And <i>it's been played</i> for 72 generations by <u>the Diabate family</u>. (10:48-11:12)</p> <p>RR: But <i>the griot role stretches way beyond</i> music. (11:32-11:35)</p> <p>TOUMANI DIABATE: "If West Africa was a person, <i>the griot will be the blood of this person</i>. <i>The griot is the archive of the Manding Empire</i>, since the 14th century to now. <i>It's</i> the one <i>who organises</i> the wedding, <i>it's</i> the one <i>who organises</i> the funeral</p>	<p><i>dynasty, music x3, modern musical taste, most traditional handmade instruments, the kora x5, a 21—stringed harp, most sophisticated of the griot instruments, it, each hand plucking out, repetitive riffs, melodies, this music)</i></p> <p>A6: Western artists (world's biggest pop stars, One direction, Jay-Z)</p> <p>A10: Griot (life of a Griot, a Griot x3, Griot's role x3, the Griot x5, the blood of this person, the archive of the Mandingue Empire, it, one of the jobs of the griot, you x2, the role, peacemakers x2, memory x2, archive, their base)</p>	<p><i>blends modern..., it's been played, is played, each hand plucking out the repetitive riffs); stative</i> (the kora is, melodies are ancient, the Kora has, dates back)</p> <p>A6: receptive (collaborating with the world's biggest pop starts, imagine the Kora with One Direction [and] Jay-z)</p> <p>A10: agentive (is changing, stretches, organises x2, comes and finds, keep playing, taking care, advising, has changed); stative (is x7, will be, are x2, has x2, to be born); receptive (cannot be changed, become a Griot)</p>	<p>instruments live; repetitive, fairly lively tempo; D key, D minor scale. focus on 1st, minor 3rd and 4th (10:48-11:40)</p> <p>Same as above, repetitive, fairly lively tempo; D key, D minor scale (12:55-13:26)</p> <p>Same as above but possibly different song; slower tempo; D key, D minor scale (13:54-14:37)</p>		<p>by extracts from the music video for Sidiki Diabate's <i>Fais moi confiance</i> (10:29-10:41)</p> <p>CU of RR talking into the camera (eye level) (10:41-10:48)</p> <p>Another CU shot of an expensive car with a personalised number plate and then MCU to CU inside Tounami's house (his picture first and then him and his son playing. CU shots of the hands plucking the strings, of the musicians players as well as MCU (generally eye-level) showing them and RR sitting in the same room (10:48-11:37)</p> <p>CU and MCU of Toumani Diabate talking, looking at RR (eye-level,) alternated to shot of RR (CU to MCU, eye-level) looking at him and listening (11:37-12:55)</p> <p>Again CU shots of the hands plucking the strings, of the musicians players as well as MCU (generally eye-level) showing</p>	<p>A2: Mali - some street shots with people on the background (not prominent in these scene)</p> <p>A3: Africa - not represented</p> <p>A4: music - Initially music is represented through archive photos and video. After music is represented through medium to close-up shots of the performance and of the instruments.</p> <p>A6: Western artists - the ones mentioned are not represented</p> <p>A10: Griot - TD and SD are both Griot and, as such, represented as below (A11 and A12)</p> <p>A11: TD - is first shown in professional setting in two photos (one on stage with Damon Albarn and Bassekou Kouyate and one in a photo hung in his house);</p>	<p>A2: state (cityscape)</p> <p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: agentive (in making people appreciate it); receptive (as in being played)</p> <p>A6: not represented</p> <p>A10: agentive (talking, performing)</p> <p>A11: agentive (talking, performing)</p>	<p>the 14th century (not sure how SD can be the 72nd generation, though, as that would amount to approximately 1,400 years, dating the first generation to the 7th century). All the main actors in this scene (music, Griot, TD and SD) are represented in very favourable terms and the social class of the Griot is portrayed as having a very central role in Malian society. As in the previous part, the information goes completely unchallenged and there is no reference to the socio-economic benefit of being a Griot. TD and SD are indeed portrayed as very wealthy (the expensive cars with personalised number plates) but more thanks to their musical skills ("21st century musical dynasty") than to the social class they belong to. The music (all in minor scales) seems to be the only thing slightly at odds with such a positive representation, but</p>	
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	<p>ceremonies. If there is a problem between two families, between two persons, the griot is the one who comes and finds a solution to put these things out. So that's one of the jobs of the griot. And keep playing the music.” RR: “So you're peacemakers...” TD: “Peacemakers...” RR: “...you're the memory.” TD: “...memory, archive.” RR: “Mm—hm.” TD: “And also taking care, advising.” RR: “Has the griot role changed from, say, your grandfather's time, to Sidiki's time?” TD: “The time is not the same like 50 years ago, or 100 years ago. Today the griot has a mobile phone, the griot has internet, but the role is still there. Their base cannot ever be changed. Yeah, you have to be born griot — you cannot become a griot.” (11:37-12:55)</p> <p>RR: The kora's played only with the thumb and index</p>	<p>A11: TD (<i>Tounami Diabate, 71st generation griot, and head of a 21st—century musical dynasty, Tounami x2, Diabate family</i>)</p> <p>A12: SD (<i>his son Sidiki, griot, Mali's biggest pop star, Diabate family, Sidiki x2, musician, I x2</i>)</p>	<p>A11: stative (<i>'implied' is 71st...;</i> agentive (<i>spends, played by the Diabate family</i>))</p> <p>A12: stative (is); agentive (<i>played by the Diabate family, can imagine x3</i>)</p>		<p>them and RR sitting in the same room (12:55-13:25)</p> <p>MCU to CU of Sidiki Diabate and RR talking, looking at each other (eye-level) as well as medium distance shots showing all the three characters in the room (13:25-13:57)</p> <p>Again, CU shots of the hands plucking the strings, of the musicians players as well as MCU (generally eye-level) showing them and RR sitting in the same room. In the last frame they are all applauding after the performance is finished (13:57-14:43)</p>	<p>then is shown with medium to close-up talking and performing. The image given is of an expert in both music and Griot history and sociology. He's wearing a traditional vest, unlike his son who is dresses in a Western fashion.</p> <p>A12: SD is also shown at first in a professional setting, but handling money in one of his music video. During the performance he is also shown through medium to close-up shots but, unlike his father, he's dressed in a Western fashion. He is also shown as a very skilful kora player.</p>	<p>A12: agentive (talking, performing)</p>	<p>the minor key is counter-balanced by a relatively fast tempo. Moreover, the emotive power of the melodies reinforces very effectively the historical and sociological importance of the Griot social class as depicted, reflecting a deeper level of discourse representation that goes beyond the potential benefits of belonging to this high-status social class. There is no doubt that both TD and SD truly believe in a higher moral stand of their Griot class, in the fact that there is some form of 'divine right' to be a Griot (“you cannot become a Griot”) and in the importance of their role in society. Finally, the generational questions asked by RR are mirrored by the different clothes worn by father and son.</p>	
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finger, *each hand plucking out* the repetitive riffs. But whilst *the melodies and the traditions that created them are ancient*, musicians like Sidiki can easily imagine collaborating with the world's biggest pop stars. (13:02-13:23)

SIDIKI DIABATE: (subtitled): "*The Kora has* so much to offer. *I can imagine* the Kora with, for example, One Direction"
RR: "Mm—hm."
SD (subtitled): "*I can imagine* the Kora with Jay-Z. Today *people are coming* to Africa to listen, to be inspired. And yet, *this music dates back* 200 years. There is still much to discover, *Africa is very rich culturally*" (13:25-13:55)

RR: "*You made me* sweat."
TD: "Come on!"
RR: "That was beautiful!" (14:38-14:43)

Part 5: Bassekou Kouyate and the origins of blues and the guitar (14:43-21:11)

Themes: Griot traditional instruments, part 3: the jeli ngoni.

Topics: The jeli ngoni, Bassekou Kouyate, the origins of blues, the origins of banjo and guitar.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), Africa (A3), music (A4), the Griot (A10), Ousmane (Mr ngoni-maker) (A13), Bassekou Kouyate (A14), Amy Sacko (A15).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
14:43 – 16:08	Introducing the jeli ngoni instrument and meeting Ousmane, instrument maker	<p>RR: <i>The kora is the courtly instrument of griot culture. But the last one on my list is a much more rootsy—looking affair. This instrument is the granddaddy of them all — the jeli ngoni — which led warriors into battle during the reign of the Malian Empire, way back in the 13th century.</i> (14:50-15:11)</p> <p>RR: “Ousmane... Mr Ngoni—maker! <i>It doesn’t look as though the way they make it has changed at all.</i>” (15:11-15:18)</p> <p>RR: <i>It’s a simple process. Small pegs stretch goatskin over a hollow, wooden body.</i> (15:20-15:26)</p> <p>RR: “<i>It takes a bit of strength, pulling all</i></p>	<p>A1: RR (<i>my list</i>)</p> <p>A2: Mali (<i>warriors, Malian Empire, they</i>)</p> <p>A4: music (<i>the kora, courtly instrument, last one, much more rootsy—looking affair, this instrument, granddaddy, them, jeli ngoni</i>)</p> <p>A10: Griot (<i>Griot culture, same tradition</i>)</p> <p>A13: Ousmane (<i>Ousmane x2, Mr Ngoni-maker, you x2, I, a griot</i>)</p>	<p>A1: N/a</p> <p>A2: receptive (<i>led warriors</i>); agentive (<i>they make</i>)</p> <p>A4: stative (<i>the kora is, last one on my list is, this instrument is</i>); agentive (<i>which led</i>)</p> <p>A10: N/a</p> <p>A13: agentive (<i>can you play, ‘implied’ you in go on</i>); stative (<i>I have, you’ve got, Ousmane is...born</i>)</p>	<p>Lively, moderately fast song played with the jeli ngoni, percussions and vocals;</p> <p>F key, F pentatonic major scale (14:43-15:12)</p> <p>Ousmane playing his jeli ngoni live, moderately fast tempo; C key, C major scale (15:43-16:08)</p>	<p>Live noises from the street and people in the shots (15:12-16:08)</p>	<p>ES of rural town and street, then moving on to a LS of RR walking on the street towards the camera, then CU shot of Ousmane working and LS of RR arriving and sitting on a bench next to Ousmane between two men (13:43-15:11)</p> <p>Camera shot alternating between CU of Ousmane’s hands working on the instrument and MCU of RR watching and commenting. Sometimes CU, low-angle camera shots show both Ousmane working and RR sat in the distance (15:11-15:41)</p> <p>CU of Ousmane picking his jeli ngoni and playing it. CU of hands playing the instrument as well CU of RR listening and smiling</p>	<p>A1: RR - Red top (African fashion) and jeans. Predominantly same medium to close-up shots, unless long distance shots show her on the move.</p> <p>A2: Mali - aerial shots highlight the rural settings, but also showing Muslim symbols (the minaret in the last shot). People are again surrounding the music event and enjoying it.</p> <p>A4: music - represented</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>walking, talking</i>); receptive (<i>listening to the music</i>)</p> <p>A2: stative (<i>landscape</i>); receptive (<i>listening to the music</i>); agentive (<i>walking in the streets</i>)</p> <p>A4: agentive (<i>in making</i>)</p>	<p>In this scene we are introduced to another griot instrument, the jeli ngoni. We are also given a few more reference to the old Malian Empire, its warriors and the connection between them and the instrument. We are also provided with a sense of long-lasting tradition in the making and playing of the instrument and again reference to the griot as a ‘special’ social class. The different modes provide a positive representation of the different actors, particularly with respect to Mali/Malians and their music tradition.</p>	

		<p><i>that skin over to get it</i> really tight. And <i>can you play</i> it?” OUSMANE (subtitled): “Very well. <i>I have</i> my small one in my sack” RR: “Oh, <i>you’ve got</i> your little one there? <i>Go on</i>, then! O: “OK.” (15:28-15:41)</p> <p>RR: <i>Ousmane is a griot</i> too, <i>born into the same tradition</i> as <i>Isa, Toumani</i> and <i>Sidiki</i>. (15:58-16:04)</p>					<p>and side shot with Ousmane in the foreground and RR in the background (15:41-16:04)</p> <p>Transitional ES of a town with a minaret fairly dominant (16:04 on to next sequence)</p>	<p>through the making of the instrument and close-ups of the instrument being played</p> <p>A10: Griot - Ousmane is the only griot portrayed (that we are aware)</p> <p>A13: Ousmane - medium to close-up shots while making and playing the instrument. Proximity is created.</p>	<p><i>people appreciate it</i>); receptive (<i>as in being made and played</i>)</p> <p>A10: agentive (<i>talking, building the instrument and performing</i>)</p> <p>A13: agentive (<i>talking, building the instrument and performing</i>)</p>		
16:08 - 17:44	<p>Meeting Bassekou Kouyate and talking about the origins of blues and of the banjo and guitar as instruments</p>	<p>RR: <i>The jeli ngoni may be an ancient instrument, but one man has brought it bang up-to-date</i>. Like <i>Bob Dylan did</i> before him, <i>Bassekou Kouyate has gone electric</i>. (16:08-16:19)</p> <p>BASSEKOU KOUYATE: “<i>It’s good?</i>” RR: “<i>Amazing, amazing.</i>” BK (subtitled): “<i>The Wah-Wah pedal... I was the first person to use a Wah-Wah pedal with the Ngoni</i>” RR: “<i>Incredible, because that’s centuries old</i>, but right there <i>you hear the blues</i>, don’t you?”</p>	<p>A2: Mali (<i>my country, here, slaves, Bambara people, Mali, most, we, kings, great warriors, holy men</i>)</p> <p>A4: music (<i>jeli ngoni, ancient instrument, bang up-to-date, good, amazing x2, Wah-Wah pedal x2, the ngoni, that, centuries old, the blues x3, the sound of this instrument x 3, Black American music, the father of the American banjo, the</i></p>	<p>A2: receptive (<i>taken, played for kings, great warriors, holy men; agentive (ending up); stative (have had)</i>)</p> <p>A4: stative (<i>may be, it’s good, that’s, were coming (*were/was), are coming (*are/is), the instrument is, it’s, came from</i>)</p>	<p>Bassekou Kouyate playing his electric jeli ngoni live, medium tempo, emotional blues melody; C key, C minor pentatonic blues scale (16:19-16:32)</p> <p>BK playing playing his electric jeli ngoni live, moderately fast tempo; C key, C minor pentatonic blues scale</p>	<p>Live noises from the street (16:08-16:19)</p> <p>Live noises (16:32-17:44)</p>	<p>ES from previous sequence changes onto street view from a higher vantage point showing LS of RR walking in the street towards the camera and then up the steps of a building (presumably BK’s house) (16:08-16:19)</p> <p>CU of BK’s foot on Wah-Wah pedal and then of his hands playing his electric jeli ngoni, back to the foot and pedal and then CU of BK and RR enjoying the music being played (16:19-16:32)</p> <p>MCU of RR and BK at the end of the solo, talking, then CU of the Wah-Wah pedal, BK’s face and the electrical</p>	<p>A1: RR - as before, distance shots when on the move and medium to close-up when talking or listening to the music.</p> <p>A2: Mali - aerial shots of rural areas and shots of people walking in the street.</p> <p>A4: music - represented by the performance and with close-up of the electric ngoni and of the</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>walking, talking</i>); receptive (<i>listening to the music</i>)</p> <p>A2: stative (<i>landscape</i>); agentive (<i>walking in the streets</i>)</p> <p>A4: agentive (<i>in making people appreciate it and in modifying the sound electrically</i>); receptive (<i>as</i></p>	<p>This scene introduces us to another Griot, Bassekou Kouyate and we find out that he was the first person to play the jeli ngoni as an electric instrument as well as a popular rock pedal effect, the Wah-Wah. The actors are again portrayed in a very favourable way, particularly Mali/Maliens, music and BK himself. The blues pentatonic scale used by BK highlights and reinforces the discussion about blues melodies having originated in Mali and an argument is put forward that these melodies were subsequently brought to the Americas by Malian slaves and</p>	<p>P2: Such a large % of Malians ended up as slaves and transported to America – but giving birth to the Blues, Jazz in the Deep South. Malian music probably inherently responsible for Rock and Roll!! (Q, item 14)</p> <p>P2: No, not particularly for Malians. You know that a lot of African, a lot of the slaves that were in America and in England came from Africa, but I didn’t know from where and didn’t know that such a big percentage of the slaves that were</p>

		<p>BK: “Exactly! Yes, the blues were coming from my country. The blues are coming from here.” (16:35-16:53)</p> <p>RR: <i>It’s estimated that a quarter of all the slaves taken to North America were Bambara people from Mali, most ending up around Louisiana in the Deep South. The sound of this instrument is in the very DNA of black American music.</i> (16:54-17:10)</p> <p>BK (subtitled): “<i>It is the father of the American banjo, the grandfather of the guitar. We have had this instrument since before the birth of Jesus. Our ancestors played for kings, great warriors, holy men</i>” RR: “<i>So the banjo came from this instrument?</i>” BK: “Yeah.” RR: “<i>Can you make it sound like a banjo?</i>” BK: “Yeah.” RR: “<i>Go on, then.</i>” (17:10-17:33)</p>	<p><i>grandfather of the guitar, the banjo x2)</i></p> <p>A6: Western artists (Bob Dylan)</p> <p>A10: Griot (our ancestors)</p> <p>A14: BK (one man, Bassekou Kouyate, I, the first person, you x2)</p>	<p>A6: agentive (did)</p> <p>A10: agentive (played for kings...)</p> <p>A14: agentive (has brought, has gone, to use, can you make, ‘implied’ you in go on); stative (was)</p>	(17:33-17:42)		<p>alteration on the instrument (16:32-16:53)</p> <p>LS of surrounding streets and people from a distance; then CU of the ngoni over the words “the sound of this instrument”) (16:53-17:10)</p> <p>MCU and CU of BK and RR talking; then MCU and CU of instrument while BK is playing. Final LSt of the rural street nearby (17:10-17:43)</p>	<p>Wah-Wah pedal BK uses.</p> <p>A10: Griot - BK is the only griot portrayed (that we are aware)</p> <p>A14: BK - medium to close-up shots while playing the instrument and talking. Proximity is created. Moreover, it seems that BK and RR are on a terrace in BK’s house, which overlooks the surrounding area: this convey some form of higher position and status over the people in the streets represented in some of the shots (see also next scene for comments about the higher status of BK)</p>	<p><i>in being played)</i></p> <p>A10: agentive (talking and performing)</p> <p>A14: agentive (talking and performing)</p>	<p>eventually were given the name ‘blues’.</p> <p>Likewise the jeli ngoni is claimed to be the forefather of banjos and guitars. The latter claim goes unchallenged, although string instruments were also part of the European cultures that went to the Americas before the slave trade started. The emotional minor scales played with a medium tempo from (16:19-16:32) also meaningfully relate to the sad recount of the slave trade. Notably, those who organised and perpetrated the slave trade are not overtly represented in any mode.</p>	<p>transported came from Mali. And, I mean, her, you know, Rita’s point was that, you know, because of that... and a lot of them went to the south in America, you know, there was that very rich tradition of the blues that came out of slavery. So, her thing was like ‘if it was not for Malian cultural music, you know, they were probably responsible for the birth of rock ‘n’ roll, so it’s like... I don’t know, that seemed like quite a... I don’t know, it just seemed like... it was just an interesting sort of stance to take, you know. (I, lines 154-162)</p>
17:44 – 21:11	Bassekou Kouyate’s concert	<p>RR: Tonight, Bassekou’s bringing the whole community together and throwing a party. The guests aren’t just locals, there are some</p>	<p>A1: RR (we, me, I x3)</p> <p>A2: Mali (the whole</p>	<p>A1: stative (we’ve got); agentive (I think x2, I’ve seen)</p> <p>A2: receptive (is bringing the</p>	Live music concert with jeli ngoni, vocals and percussions, fast, lively tempo ; C	Live noises from the party (17:46-18:13)	<p>MCU and CU of various people at the party at various distances; CU on RR while she talks about some of the VIP at the party and shots focusing on two men sitting in</p>	<p>A1: RR - proximity is maintained throughout with medium to close-up shots, as well as a sense of</p>	<p>A1: agentive (dancing, talking); receptive (listening to the music)</p>	<p>This scene shows more of BK performing and the connection between Malians and music. It is also an opportunity to explore further the figure of the griot, as</p>	

	<p>genuine VIPs in the house too. RR: "Oh, yes, <i>we've got</i> the great and the good behind <i>me</i> there. <i>I think everyone can see that they must be griot royalty.</i>" RR: <i>Bassekou is really well connected, and he's invited other top Griot along, adding a real sense of occasion</i> to the proceedings. (17:44-18:12) RR: <i>Lights are strung up and the PA's plugged in. Bassekou's wife, Amy Sacko, is a griot</i> too. Traditionally, <i>women don't play instruments, they just use</i> their voice. And <i>what a voice!</i> (18:14-18:32) RR: <i>Mali is a Muslim country</i>, so <i>there is</i> no <i>booze</i> at this party — just tea, and <i>it comes in</i> three separate stages. <i>The first serving is said to be like death, as it's bitter. The second is called life</i> — it's getting sweeter. And <i>the third glass is called love, and comes with a crazy amount of sugar.</i> (19:24-19:42) RR: "That was so cool!" BK: "Oh, thanks so much!"</p>	<p><i>community, the guests, locals, everyone, Mali, a Muslim country, they)</i></p> <p>A4: music (PA, instruments, their voice, that x2, cool, amazing x2, it x2)</p> <p>A10: Griot (some genuine VIPs, the great and the good, they, Griot royalty, other top Griot, Griot x3, power today ... but not always the case)</p> <p>A14: BK (Bassekou x4, really well connected, he, him, his people)</p> <p>A15: AS (Bassekou's wife, Amy Sacko, griot, women, they, what a voice x2, Amy, on song)</p>	<p>whole community); stative (the guests aren't, Mali is, they've got); agentive (can see)</p> <p>A4: receptive (PA's plugged in, women don't play instruments, they use their voice); stative (that was x2, it's amazing)</p> <p>A10: stative (there are ... VIPs, they must be, the Griot may have, that hasn't always been the case); receptive (has invited other top Griot); agentive (Griot after Griot gets up)</p> <p>A14: agentive (is bringing and throwing, has invited); stative (Bassekou is)</p> <p>A15: stative (Amy Sacko is, Amy is); agentive (don't play, use)</p>	<p>key, G minor pentatonic blues scale (18:13-19:49)</p> <p>Live music concert with jeli ngoni, vocals and percussions; slower tempo; G key, G minor pentatonic scale (20:31-20:54)</p>	<p>Live noises from the party with people cheering and applauding (19:47-20:29)</p> <p>Noises from the crowd as the electricity cut off and back on again (20:54-20:11)</p>	<p>the front row with sophisticated outfits (one more traditional, one more Western-like) (17:44-18:12)</p> <p>MCU of man setting up electric connections and CU shot of a PA console with lights on; then LS of the stage (low angle) with the band on; MCU and CU shots of Amy Sacko, lady in the audience and CU of RR listening; more MCU and CU of band playing and audience dancing and moving to the rhythm; MCU of RR and another man drinking tea on the 'love' round (accompanying the verbal explanation); finally, MCU and CU of song finishing and audience cheering and clapping (18:12-19:57)</p> <p>MCU of RR and BK hugging and talking; MCU and CU around the party and CU of RR talking into the camera (19:57-20:29)</p> <p>MCU and CU of other artists on the stage and of the audience enjoying the concert; CU on some of the accessories of the Western-style VIP who is now singing on stage (shoes and ring + bangle); shots of electricity going off and</p>	<p>equal stand with the audience through eye-level camera angles.</p> <p>A2: Mali - the guests (various ages) at the party are shown in different shots, wearing colourful outfits, dancing and enjoying the event.</p> <p>A4: music - is represented through the band playing, music equipment and people dancing (predominantly medium to close-up shots).</p> <p>A10: Griot - as well as BK and AS, two other 'griot royalties' are shown, wearing sophisticated outfits, one of which in a Western fashion. One of the two is also shown singing on stage and</p>	<p>A2: agentive (dancing); receptive (listening to the music)</p> <p>A4: agentive (in making people appreciate it and dance); receptive (as in being played)</p> <p>A10: agentive (singing); receptive (listening to the music)</p>	<p>two 'royalties' are shown and the audience gets a further glimpse into the privileged position of this social class. Once again the musicians and the music are shown in a very positive light as is the griot social class, which we are also informed to 'have power' today. We are also reminded in this scene that Mali is a Muslim country through the shots of the tea ritual at the party. Finally, the audience is really taken into the live concert, both by close shots of the musicians and the audience and by often capturing the 'live' cheers and clapping by the audience.</p>	
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	<p>RR: “<i>That was beautiful!</i>” (19:58-20:02)</p> <p>RR: “<i>It’s amazing. I’ve seen Bassekou so many times, but to see him here, in Bamako, in front of his people, it’s just something else. It just gives it so much more texture. It’s lovely. Just amazing. And Amy is on song! What a voice! Oh!</i>” (20:04-20:25)</p> <p>RR: Of course <i>it isn’t</i> over yet. <i>These parties run</i> well into the night.</p> <p>RR: And <i>griot after griot gets up</i> on that mic. (20:28-20:43)</p> <p>SHOUTING: No! RR: “<i>I think we ran out of</i> electricity. Wahey! <i>They’ve got</i> some more.” (20:56-21:03)</p> <p>RR: <i>The griots may have power</i> today, but <i>that hasn’t always been</i> the case. (21:07-21:11)</p>				<p>on again with CU of RR shouting for happiness; final ES of the party venue (20:29-21:11)</p> <p>Fade to black</p>	<p>details of his accessories are shown through close-up shots to highlight his high status.</p> <p>A14: BK - shown while performing and close to RR. The ‘griot royalties’ are shown when RR says that BK is ‘really well connected’.</p> <p>A15: AS - shown while performing on stage.</p>	<p>A14: agentive (talking and performing)</p> <p>A15: agentive (performing)</p>		
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Part 6: Kar Kar and the socialist years (21:11-25:19)

Themes: Non-griot traditional artists part 1: Boubacar Traore

Topics: Mali right after independence, Boubacar Traore, the socialist years

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), Africa (A3), music (A4), the audience (+ RR) (A5), the Griot (A10), Malian socialist government (A16), Boubacar Traore, aka Kar Kar (A17)

Time	Themes/topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
21:11 – 21:36	Historical overview of post-independence Mali	RR: In 1960, <i>Mali gained</i> independence from France. And <i>the idea of a special musical caste didn't sit</i> well with the socialist government of Modibo Keita. <i>The national radio station turned to non-griot artists to express the country's new-found, proud African identity.</i> (21:14-21:36)	A2: Mali (<i>Mali, the country's new-found, proud African identity</i>) A10: Griot (<i>a special musical caste</i>) A16: SocGov (<i>socialist government of Modibo Keita, national radio station</i>)	A2: agentive (<i>gained</i>) A10: agentive (<i>didn't sit</i>) A16: receptive (<i>the idea... didn't sit well with...;</i>); agentive (<i>turned to, to express</i>)	Song, <i>Fatema</i> by Les Ambassadeurs, lively fairly fast tempo; A key, A major scale (21:11-21:48)	-	Archive images of Mali during the time of gaining independence: people celebrating, French flag brought down, shot of socialist President Modibo Keita (high angle) (21:11-21:26) Shots of people in the street where RR and Boubacar Traore eventually appear (21:26-21:36)	A2: Malians - are shown as happy to be gained independence. A10: not represented A16: SocGov - represented through B&W archive footage of Modibo Keita	A2: agentive (<i>demonstrating, celebrating, taking the flag down</i>) A10: not represented A16: stative (<i>sitting still</i>)	This brief scene argues for a change in attitudes towards the griots within the new socialist government of post-independence Mali. For the first time the Griots are represented in a negative light ('a musical caste'), but from the point of view of the socialist government. Mali's independence is positively represented across modes. It is not very clear whether RR agrees with this view of the Griots.	

<p>21:36 - 25:19</p>	<p>Meeting Kar Kar</p>	<p>RR: Boubacar Traore, better known by his stage name, Kar Kar, was the first musical star of independent Mali. He doesn't play a traditional instrument, he plays the guitar. (21:37-21:49)</p> <p>RR: "Look at this one." RR: The electric guitar became popular throughout Africa after the Second World War, brought in by British and American soldiers. Finally, there was an instrument without ancient rules and traditions. RR: "The Malian Elvis!" (21:49-22:03)</p> <p>KAR KAR (subtitled): "I started playing music in 1958 or '59. My brother had an Italian guitar. One day he heard the sound of the guitar and he came to me and said: 'Little brother, were you the one playing those notes?' He said: 'Even though I am a professional, I have never been able to play like that'" (22:16-22:44)</p> <p>KK: "The Kora has 21 strings, the guitar has six. I was playing the guitar like it had 21 strings. In the years '59 and '60 I began to compose songs. We sang songs on the radio, but we didn't earn anything because at the time we were in a socialist regime. We did everything for the country, not for ourselves" (22:53-23:20)</p>	<p>A1: RR (<i>I, we</i>)</p> <p>A2: Mali (<i>independent Mali, the country, our custom</i>)</p> <p>A3: Africa (<i>Africa x2</i>)</p> <p>A4: music (<i>a traditional instrument, the guitar x4, the electric guitar, popular, an instrument without ancient rules and traditions, music x2, Italian guitar, the sound of the guitar, those notes, the kora, songs x2, a recording of one of his hits, haunting song, cassette x2, a vinyl copy of his record, this, good, un son traditionnel, tres tres fort</i>)</p>	<p>A1: stative (<i>I have</i>); agentive (<i>shall we have</i>)</p> <p>A2: receptive (<i>did... for the country</i>)</p> <p>A3: N/a</p> <p>A4: receptive (<i>he doesn't play... he plays..., brought by, started playing music, heard the sound, playing those notes, was playing / put aside the / his guitar, to compose / sang songs, left music, was rediscovered, rediscovered the cassette, has never seen a vinyl copy of his record, it was released</i>); stative (<i>became, there was, the guitar has, it had, song called</i>)</p>	<p><i>Fatema</i> from previous sequence</p> <p>Boubacar Traore playing live, guitar and percussion; medium tempo; A key, A pentatonic minor scale, focus on 5th, 4th and 3rd (descending) (22:04-22:53)</p> <p>Boubacar Traore playing live, guitar, percussion and vocals; medium tempo; A key, A minor scale, focus on 5th, 1st, 4th and 3rd (descending) (23:18-24:16)</p> <p>Song: <i>Mariama</i> by Boubacar</p>	<p>Live noises while RR is in the house (21:49-21:51)</p> <p>Live noises during interview (22:53-23:20)</p> <p>Live noises during interview and partly while song is played (24:16-25:02)</p>	<p>LS of RR and BT walking on the street towards the camera, smiling, hand in hand, following them until they walk close past the camera (21:36-21:49)</p> <p>Shot of RR (CU to MCU, holding a vinyl under her arm) in what is presumably BT's house, looking at pictures on display (21:49-22:04)</p> <p>LS from a window of either a courtyard or the nearby street. Then moving onto the courtyard where BT is sitting on a chair and playing with another musician (sitting on a mat) on the percussions. MCU, slight low angle, of BT and other musicians alternated with CU shot of RR listening (slight high-level angle). The music shots are also alternated with CU shots (slight low angle) of BT while talking and MCU showing RR, sitting on the mat talking to BT. There are also a</p>	<p>A1: RR - same representation as in previous scenes and sequences.</p> <p>A2: Mali - the first Malians represented in this scene are a group of women who seem to be preparing food. Then there is the aerial shot of a square with a number of people doing different things.</p> <p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: music - represented by the live performance and by close-up shots of the instruments being played and the vinyl.</p> <p>A10: not represented</p> <p>A16: Soc Gov - not represented. However, interestingly the shot of women preparing food is shown straight after the words 'social regime' and together with the words "we did everything for the</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>talking, playing the record</i>); receptive (<i>listening to the music</i>)</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>cooking, playing and walking around the square</i>)</p> <p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: agentive (<i>in making people appreciate it</i>); receptive (<i>as in being played</i>)</p> <p>A10: not represented</p> <p>A16: not represented</p>	<p>This scene introduces us to the first griot artist of the programme, Boubacar Traore, a noble (traditionally the caste of the freemen). His story is linked to that of post-independence Mali and to a socialist government that he found unjust as it didn't allow him to make a living from his music. All the actors in this scene are represented less positively than previous ones, albeit not in a negative way. This could be partly because BT is less "traditional" (i.e. more Western-like) than most of the previous artists. The tale of the socialist era is juxtaposed on to the role of women in present-day Mali and the minor scales of BT's music seem to give to the whole scene a somewhat sadder mood. Neither the socialist years nor the role of women in modern Mali are further explored, but they seem to be thematically linked. An aspect about BT's life that can be found in his official biography and that does not coincide with the narrative in the programme is the</p>
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	<p>RR: “So how <i>did you manage to earn</i> a living?” KK (subtitled): “<i>I am a noble, I am not a Griot</i>. If a <i>Griot asks</i> for money from a <i>nobleman, he will get</i> it because that’s <i>our custom</i>. But a <i>nobleman does not do</i> that. <i>I was discouraged</i> and <i>I left music</i> for 20 years” (23:28-23:50)</p> <p>RR: <i>Kar Kar put aside his guitar and moved</i> to France. But a <i>recording of one of his hits</i> from the ’60 was <i>rediscovered</i> by <i>music fans</i> abroad. A <i>haunting song called</i> Mariama. (24:00-24:13)</p> <p>KK (subtitled): “Later on, when <i>I was living</i> in Paris in the early ’90s, <i>the English rediscovered</i> the <i>cassette</i> of ‘Mariama’. <i>I’ve been back</i> on stage since then” RR: “<i>I have your record</i>, Mariama. <i>Shall we have</i> a listen?” (24:15-24:33)</p> <p>RR: <i>Kar Kar has never seen</i> a <i>vinyl copy</i> of his <i>record</i> before. <i>It was</i> only <i>released</i> on <i>cassette</i> in <i>Africa</i>. KK: “<i>This is good</i>.” RR: “<i>Un son traditionnel, oui? Tres, tres fort</i>.” (24:41-25:00)</p>	<p>A5: audience (+RR) (<i>implied you</i>)</p> <p>A10: Griot (<i>a Griot, he</i>)</p> <p>A16: SocGov (<i>socialist regime</i>)</p> <p>A17: BT (<i>Boubacar Traore, his stage name, Kar Kar x3, the first musical star, he x2, the Malian Elvis, I x9, little brother, we x4, ourselves, you, noble, not griot, a nobleman, discouraged</i>)</p>	<p>A5: agentive (<i>look</i>)</p> <p>A10: agentive (<i>asks, gets</i>)</p> <p>A16: N/a</p> <p>A17: receptive (<i>better known, not for ourselves</i>); stative (BT <i>was, we were, I am / am not / was, I have been back</i>); agentive (<i>doesn’t play, plays, started playing, was playing, began to compose, sang, didn’t earn, did, manage to earn, does not do, left, put aside, moved, was living, has never seen</i>)</p>	<p>Traore played on a portable vinyl record player; slow tempo; A# key, A# minor scale, focus on 1st, 5th, 3rd, 4th, 3rd, 2nd and 1st (descending) (24:33-onto next sequence)</p>	<p>couple of LS showing a group of women preparing food just a few meters from BT, one of which is shown over BT’s words “<i>We did everything for the country, not for ourselves</i>”. CU at 24’33” of RR putting the <i>Mariama</i> record on and shot from BT’s back while he’s looking at the record cover (22:04-25:08)</p> <p>ES of what looks like a wide yard or square with people and children playing football (25:08-25:19)</p>	<p><i>country, not for ourselves</i>”. This seems to equate the disadvantaged life described by BT under the socialist government with the life of women in modern Mali. In turn this could represent a veiled critique to BT for not seeing the injustice men (including him) impose onto women.</p> <p>A17: BT - is shown like all of the other artists, mainly at medium to close distance to create proximity with the viewer. Unlike the majority of artists before him, he is dressed in a Western fashion and so are a few of the other men around him. He also often shown from a slight lower camera angle, which could suggest an authoritative stance attributed to him.</p>	<p>A17: agentive (<i>talking and performing</i>)</p>	<p>fact that his musical career did not decline at the time of the socialist government but after a military coup toppled President Keita (a noble like him) and banned his songs (https://www.boubacartraore.com/biography).</p>	
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Part 7: Salif Keita and Malinke music (25:19-30:35)

Themes: Non-griot traditional artists part 2: Salif Keita.

Topics: Music shopping in Bamako, Salif Keita, Malinke music.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), Africa (A3), music (A4), the audience (+ RR) (A5), Malian socialist government (A16), Salif Keita (A18)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
25:19 – 27:07	Music shopping	<p>RR: <i>The records that I love</i> so much are a rarity in Mali, and <i>it got me thinking</i>. RR: “<i>I was looking through</i> my collection just before <i>I came</i> here, and <i>I realised</i> that <i>I had</i> hardly any vinyl from Mali. I mean, <i>I do collect</i> loads of records from Africa. I mean, <i>I’m addicted to</i> it, but why is it that <i>I had</i> hardly any from Mali?” (25:19-25:40)</p> <p>RR: Well, the truth is <i>vinyl has always struggled</i> with Mali’s heat. That’s why <i>records like these are</i> rare here. (25:41-25:48)</p> <p>RR: <i>The cassette is</i> still king in Mali. <i>It’s compact</i>.</p>	<p>A1: RR (I x15, me, my hands)</p> <p>A2: Mali (Mali x5, Malian superstars, thousands more you’ve never heard of, he x2, they, him)</p> <p>A3: Africa (Africa)</p> <p>A4: music (records x2, vinyl x2, cassette(s) x4, compact, durable and</p>	<p>A1: agentive (I love / was looking / came / realised / collect / like to see / can get / want to buy / looking for / can see / have done); receptive (got me); stative (I had x 2 / am / am not sure / have got)</p> <p>A2: receptive (can find Malian superstars..., done him a disservice); stative (seems to know, he’s got, could look happier)</p> <p>A3: /</p> <p>A4: stative (are a rarity / rare, cassette / it is x2); receptive (collect records, releasing albums,</p>	<p>Song: <i>Mariama</i> by Boubacar Traore; slow tempo; B key, B minor scale (from previous sequence – 25:23)</p> <p>Song: <i>Worodara</i> by Super Djata Band. Fast tempo; Eb key, Eb minor scale (25:40-26:06)</p> <p>Song: <i>Madan</i> by Salif Keita. Fast, lively tempo; C key, C major Dorian scale (27:05 into next sequence)</p>	<p>Live noises from the streets while RR is in a car on the move (25:23-25:40)</p> <p>Live noises from the market (26:06-27:07)</p>	<p>MCU of busy streets followed by shot of RR’s car and then of RR in the car (CU) talking and going through some vinyl records (25:19-25:49)</p> <p>MCU of street followed by a CU of a cassette stall at a market (25:49-26:05)</p> <p>Shot of RR from behind walking around market stalls; shot of RR buying a cassette at a stall (MCU to CU), with CU of the cassettes and, towards the end of the transaction, of the stall holder taking the money and gesticulating (26:05-26:56)</p> <p>More LS of the market streets and details of some cassette players (26:56-27:07)</p>	<p>A1: RR - same representation as in previous scenes and sequences, either medium to close-up when talking or slight farther away when walking.</p> <p>A2: Mali - generically, Malians are shown busy in the streets and at the market; specifically, we get a very quick glimpse at RR’s taxi driver and a good look at the stall holder where RR buys her cassette. For the latter we see him from behind while he searches the artist RR wants and then a close-up shot of his hands taking the</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking, looking at records, walking, buying); receptive (being served)</p> <p>A2: agentive (walking, driving, selling); stative (getting frustrated or upset)</p>	<p>For the first time in the programme music is extensively treated as a commodity and records like something to be owned and collected, rather than a cultural expression of Mali and Malians as in previous parts and scenes. The shopping experience at the market highlights this aspect and we also find lexis that is more related to commerce than art: <i>rarity / rare</i> (of a product), <i>king</i> (of the Malian music market), <i>compact, durable and cheap, to have in stock, disservice</i>. Interestingly, for the first time we see some sort of confrontation between RR and a Malian (the stall holder) with the latter</p>	

	<p>durable and cheap, and musicians are still releasing their albums on them today. (25:53-26:03)</p> <p>RR: “You know, I’d really like to see some cassettes, or any kind of music that I can get my hands on.” (26:06-26:11)</p> <p>RR: You can find all the Malian superstars, and thousands more you’ve never heard of, here in the central market in Bamako.</p> <p>RR (subtitled): “I want to buy the newest Baba Salah”</p> <p>RR: “Well, I’m looking for Baba Salah, and I can see Baba Salah up there.”</p> <p>RR: I’m not really sure how the system works. But he seems to know what he’s got in stock.</p> <p>RR: “Here it is, Baba Salah — apparently the new one. I’ve got a cassette — great!”</p> <p>RR: “They could look a bit happier about it! You’d think I’d done him</p>	<p><i>cheap, musicians, albums, any kind of music, Baba Salah x4, Malian music)</i></p> <p>A5: audience (+RR) (you x3)</p> <p>A18: SK (the most internationally renowned voice, the man)</p>	<p><i>see cassettes, buy / looking for / see Baba Salah, put Malian music); agentive (vinyl has struggled, musicians are still releasing)</i></p> <p>A5: agentive (can find, have never heard, would think)</p> <p>A18: stative (belongs to the man) agentive (put Malian music on the map)</p>				<p>money and gesticulating something that can be interpreted as a ‘that’s it’ or ‘that’s all’.</p> <p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: music - represented through shots of RR’s vinyl records as well as cassettes and cassette players at the market.</p> <p>A5: audience - posited close to or following RR around the market.</p> <p>A18: SK - briefly represented through one of the vinyl records RR is looking at, which is from one of SK’s bands, <i>Les Ambassadeurs</i> (25:46-25:48), before even mentioning him.</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: receptive (being looked at, sold and bought)</p> <p>A5: agentive (through the camera POV, walking around and shopping); receptive (through the camera POV being served)</p> <p>A18: receptive (being looked at as a record)</p>	<p>somehow unhappy about the deal (was he perhaps trying to charge “tourist” prices and was prevented from someone with RR who knew the actual going prices?) and the former not impressed with the vendor’s reaction to making a sale. Moreover, the music seems to change over the course of the scene, moving from the minor scale of Boubacar Traore at the very beginning of the sequence to an intermediate melody (minor scale but fast tempo) to a full-scale joyful tune (major scale and lively tempo) at the end of the scene and going into the next. This could possibly signal a move from the sadness of the socialist years to the joy of opening up to the world through Salif Keita’s music (the most internationally renowned voice). SF is the protagonist of the next section and is introduced without being explicitly named, but through two cues: a visual one (the vinyl by <i>Les Ambassadeurs</i> RR</p>	
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		<p>a <u>disservice</u>. Never mind.” (26:15-26:56)</p> <p>RR: Out of all these cassettes, the <u>most internationally renowned voice belongs to the man who first put Malian music on the map</u>. (26:58-27:06)</p>								looks at in the car and the song <i>Madan</i> by Salif Keita that starts over the positive description of the mysterious artist who has ‘ <i>put Malian music on the map</i> ’ at the end of the scene.	
27:07 – 30:34	Meeting Salif Keita	<p>RR: “<u>And I’m about to go and speak to Salif Keita, one of the biggest voices of Malian music, the Mensa of Mali. And this guy was a game-changer back in the day. He’s responsible for a lot of the way Malian music, Malian pop music, sounds now.</u>” (27:11-27:30)</p> <p>RR: <u>Known as the golden voice of Africa, he first arrived</u> in Bamako in the late ‘60, <u>escaping persecution for his albino skin. Penniless, Salif found work singing</u> for the government-sponsored Rail Band, before <u>joining the Malian supergroup Les</u></p>	<p>A1: RR (<i>I</i>)</p> <p>A2: Mali (<i>you, Malian culture, people, Mali, Malian kings, the empire, the Malinke x3, the part of Mali that’s closest to Spain, Malinke melody, the diverse ethnic mix of Mali, biggest crisis, the country</i>)</p> <p>A3: Africa (<i>new era of West African independence</i>)</p> <p>A4: music (<i>Malian music x2, Malian pop music, government-sponsored Rail Band, Malian supergroup Les</i>)</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>am about to go</i>)</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>had to promote, talk, ruled, mix has been, has led to crisis, has ever seen</i>); receptive (<i>promote Malian culture, talk about Mali, ruled the empire</i>); stative (<i>it’s the part..., that is Malinke</i>)</p> <p>A3: receptive (<i>defined a new era...</i>)</p> <p>A4: receptive (<i>responsible for... Malian music, playing popular songs imported, changed... Malian music, took traditional music,</i></p>	<p>Song: <i>Madan</i> by Salif Keita. Fast, lively tempo; C key, C major Dorian scale (from previous sequence – 28:17)</p> <p>Song: <i>Madan</i> by Salif Keita. Fast, lively tempo; C key, C major Dorian scale (28:32-28:49)</p> <p>Salif Keita singing live a Malinke melody; Bb key, Bb minor scale (29:14-29:29)</p> <p>Song played by RR on a portable vinyl record player; lively fast tempo; B key, B minor scale. Played from</p>	<p>Live noises from the streets while in the car (27:07-27:30)</p> <p>Live noises during interview (28:17-28:32)</p> <p>Live noises during interview (28:49-29:31)</p> <p>Live noises during interview (29:37-30:15)</p>	<p>MCU from the side of a road where RR’s car is driving by, followed by CU of RR in the car and a CU of a vinyl record by <i>Les Ambassadeurs</i> (27:11-27:32)</p> <p>Extracts of the videoclip for the song <i>Madan</i> by Salif Keita alternated with the cover of a record by <i>Rail Band</i> (SK’s first band), an archive photo of SK with <i>Les Ambassadeurs</i> (27:32-28:00)</p> <p>CU following RR from behind as she follows a man through a garden > three people sitting on chairs under a tree can be seen in the distance. Then MCU of RR (from behind) and SK (facing the camera) shaking hands and then MCU of RR sat in one of the chairs smiling and fanning herself with a record (28:00-28:16)</p>	<p>A1: RR - same representation as in previous scenes and sequences, either medium to close-up when talking or slight farther away when walking.</p> <p>A2: Mali - generically, Malians are shown in the streets in the opening and closing shots; specifically, there are a couple of people who are with SK when RR arrives and who are not there during the interview (except the person that takes RR in, whose knee and arm can be briefly seen). In the last aerial shot is again possible to</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>talking, looking at record, walking, playing the record</i>); receptive (<i>listening</i>)</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>walking</i>); stative (<i>sitting</i>)</p>	<p>This scene introduces what is depicted as one of the biggest artists in Mali, Salif Keita, another noble artist (rather than griot). The modes depict the actors in positive terms, with the exception of the final part of the scene, when the ethnical diversity of Malian people is accused of having created ‘<i>biggest crisis the country has ever seen</i>’ (also highlighted by the shot of a sunset). A brief mention to the Malinke empire is (from the rulers of which SK descends) but the topic is not covered in any further detail. We also learn that the first band (formed in 1970) SK played in was sponsored by the military government, but we are not given any further details</p>	

	<p>Ambassadeurs. <i>They started off playing popular songs imported</i> from Senegal, Cuba and France. But in just a few years, <i>they changed</i> the face of <u>Malian music</u>, and <i>defined</i> a whole <u>new era of West African independence</u>. (27:34-28:16)</p> <p>SALIF KEITA (subtitled): “After Independence <i>you had to promote Malian culture. They wanted</i> people to talk about Mali. In the ‘70s <i>we took traditional music and reimagined</i> it with <u>modern sounds</u>, with the guitar, etc., but <i>it remained very traditional.</i>” (28:16-28:34)</p> <p>RR: <i>Salif is a descendant of the Malian kings who once ruled the empire, the Malinke.</i> SK (subtitled): “<i>I always sing in Malinke. It’s the part of Mali that’s closest to Spain, Flamenco, Berber. It makes it special.</i>” RR: “<i>Would you be able to just give me</i></p>	<p><i>Ambassadeurs, popular songs, traditional music, modern sounds, guitar, it x2, very traditional, the music of Les Ambassadeurs, hugely popular, record, music innovation)</i></p> <p>A16: SocGov (they)</p> <p>A18: SK (<i>Salif Keita x2, one of the biggest voices of Malian music, the Mensa of Mali, this guy, a game-changer, responsible for a lot of the way Malian music, Malian pop music, sounds now, the golden voice of Africa, he, his albino skin, penniless, Salif x2, they x2, we, a descendant of the Malian kings, I, you x2, my first time</i>)</p>	<p><i>reimagined it, seen this record); agentive (it remained); stative (is hugely popular, it is lovely)</i></p> <p>A16: agentive (wanted)</p> <p>A18: receptive (<i>speak to / play to Salif Keita, known); stative (‘implied’ is the biggest... this guy was, he’s responsible ..., is a descendant); agentive (arrived, found work singing, joining, started off, changed, defined, took, reimagined, sing, be able to, have you seen, to see)</i></p>	<p>post-production from 30’15” (29:47-30:34)</p>		<p>Interview setting with SK on the right and RR on the left. Shot predominantly at MCU and CU (slight low angle for both) (28:16-28:32)</p> <p>Extract of the videoclip of <i>Madan</i> (28:32-28:52)</p> <p>Back to interview setting, as above, but with side CU shot of SK while singing (28:52-29:31)</p> <p>CU shot of the <i>Les Ambassadeurs</i> record in RR’s hands as she shows it to SK and then back to interview settings as above. Then CU of RR playing the record on her portable vinyl player (29:31-30:16)</p> <p>ES of some rural areas, followed by MCU and LS of motorcycles and people in the streets with final shot of a sunset (30:16-30:34)</p>	<p>see the surrounding area and landscape along the river Niger. A sunset is shown at the very end of this part accompanied by the words ‘<i>biggest crisis the country has ever seen</i>’.</p> <p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: music - is represented through the vinyl of <i>les Ambassadeurs</i>, through the archive photos and video of SK and his bands and through the brief vocal performance by SK.</p> <p>A16: not represented</p> <p>A18: SK - is dressed in a Western fashion and wearing sunglasses during the interview. He’s shown at a medium to close-up distance to create proximity and from the side while</p>	<p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: agentive (<i>in making people appreciate it</i>); receptive (<i>as in being played</i>)</p> <p>A16: not represented</p> <p>A18: agentive (<i>talking and singing</i>); receptive (<i>listening to the record</i>)</p>	<p>about that period in SK’s career.</p>	
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		<p>an example of this <u>Malinke melody</u>?” SK SINGS: # Mandjou, oh! Kana kasi # Alifa Toure den kana kasi # Ne balen djiguiya de ma kasi kuma mase # Mandjou # Allah Mandjou jo sanu jo ye. # SK (subtitled): “<i>That is Malinke</i>” (28:43-29:31)</p> <p>RR: <i>The music of Les Ambassadeurs</i> is still <u>hugely popular</u> today. RR: “<i>Have you seen this record yet?</i>” SK: “It’s <i>my first time to see</i> the cover. <i>It’s lovely.</i>” RR: “Isn’t it?” (29:31-29:43)</p> <p>RR: “It’s such a <u>treat</u>, <i>playing</i> Les Ambassadeurs to <u>Salif Keita</u> here in Bamako!” (30:10-30:16)</p> <p>RR: <i>The diverse ethnic mix of Mali has been</i> the source of so much <u>musical innovation</u>, but <i>it has also led</i> to the <u>biggest crisis the country has ever seen</u>. (30:21-30:32)</p>						<p>singing. He’s also shown through archive photos and video that reconstruct his career through the years.</p>			
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Part 8: Tamikrest, the plight of the Tuareg and Muslim jihadists (30:34-35:35)

Themes: Music as resistance, part 1: Tamikrest.

Topics: Conflict in northern Mali, Muslim jihadists, the plight of the Tuareg, Tamikrest and the ‘desert blues’.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), music (A4), Muslim jihadists (A19), the Tuareg (A20), Ousmane (Tamikrest) (A21), Tamikrest percussionist (A22).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
30:34 – 31:13	Overview of Tuareg struggle in Northern Mali and mention of Muslim jihadists	RR: In 2012, Tuareg tribes in the far north led a rebellion, seeking control over their desert homeland . Infiltrated by jihadists from Libya, the conflict quickly became a holy war. The northern half of the country fell to strict Sharia law, and music, the very lifeblood of Mali, was banned. In some parts of the country, it still is, forcing Tuareg musicians into exile. (30:39-31:13)	A2: Mali (the far north, the northern half of the country, Mali, the country) A4: music (music, it) A19: Jihadists (jihadists from Libya, holy war, strict Sharia law) A20: Tuareg (Tuareg tribes, rebellion, control, their desert homeland, the conflict) A21: Ousmane (Tuareg musicians, exile)	A2: agentive (fell to Sharia law) A4: receptive (was banned); stative (it still is (banned)) A19: agentive (infiltrated by jihadists) A20: agentive (led a rebellion seeking control); receptive (infiltrated by jihadists); stative (conflict became a holy war) A21: receptive (forcing Tuareg musicians)	Song: medium tempo blues song with guitars, percussions and vocals; G key, G minor pentatonic scale (30:34-31:14)	-	ES (archive footage) of a desert area with two jeeps driving away in the distance and another vehicle full of people appearing in the frame; archive footage of armed and veiled men, of crowds and of a bearded man shouting ‘Allah Akbar’ (slight high angle); LS and MCU of a lorry with two black flags and with armed men in army uniform on it; shot (MCU) of armed Muslim people, some of whom in military uniforms (30:34-31:06) LS showing Ousmane at a medium distance first and far distance then (over the words ‘into exile’) (31:06-31:13)	A2: Mali - the northern desert area is shown through archive footage. Malians are shown as being controlled by armed people. A4: not represented A19: jihadists - represented through archive footage, armed, detaining and stopping people. Also shown shouting ‘Allah Akbar’. A20: Tuareg - presumably both as A2 and A19. A21: Ousmane - alone (Western clothes) in a desert area (obviously not in the north).	A2: receptive (being stopped or detained) A4: not represented A19: agentive (patrolling roads, detaining people, firing arms); stative (sat on wagons and lorries, armed) A20: presumably both as A2 and A19. A21: agentive (walking)	The first scene of this part introduces the audience to the armed conflict in northern Mali and inform them that, although started by the Tuareg, it has been infiltrated by Libyan jihadists who seemingly are still in control of some, but not all areas (<i>‘in some parts it still is’</i>). The modes work together to depict the jihadists and the situation more generally in a negative way and the Tuareg musicians as victims of the situation.	JC: And what kind of... I mean, you said a bit about the way things are shown as kind of rural but people were kind of... seemed content at the same time. What did you make of the sort of socio-political situation in Mali? Did you get any sort of information on that [from the programme?] P2: [Well, I suppose an area that they touched on was that sort of radicalisation of Muslims and they have been affected by that extreme sort of... that sort of extreme sort of political activity. Erm, so I guess a lot of Africa, and I didn’t know anything really about Mali. In that respect it’s been

												touched by that. (1, lines 179-186)
31:13 - 35:35	Meeting Tamikrest	<p>RR: “<i>I’ve got Ousmane from Tamikrest coming in to talk to us and hopefully play for us. And they’ve just come down</i> from Kidal on the UN plane. (31:16-31:23)</p> <p>For bands like Tamikrest, <i>special UN flights are the only safe way to travel</i> across the desert. (31:32-31:38)</p> <p>OUSMANE (subtitled): “<i>The Sahara has always been a place for liberty and freedom. For us it has been an earthly paradise, but today it is becoming Hell. We seem to be living in limbo, we don’t have any power over anything. At least we should be entitled to a decent life, such as the right to own homes, work, education.</i>” (31:12-33:32)</p> <p>RR: For decades, <i>many Tuaregs have felt like outsiders in Mali — their nomadic lifestyle and unique culture so very different to the people of the south.</i> Like so much great music, <i>their songs are</i> about</p>	<p>A1: RR (I x6, us x2)</p> <p>A2: Mali (the Sahara, a place for liberty and freedom, an earthly paradise, Hell, Mali, the people of the south, here x2, those who migrated)</p> <p>A4: music (great music, songs, Desert Blues, protest, music x4, Tuareg blues, the music of Mali, the majority of the blues, the guitar licks of Mark Knopfler, the sound of Tuareg bands)</p> <p>A20: Tuareg (we x2, limbo, entitled to a decent life, the</p>	<p>A1: stative (I’ve got); receptive (talk and play to / for us); agentive (listen to, start hearing, I’ve played / come to play, can’t believe)</p> <p>A2: stative (has been x2, is becoming Hell); agentive (migrated)</p> <p>A4: stative (songs are about protest, came into existence, started, blues are, became fused); receptive (play / started playing music, music was used, hearing the music); agentive (to enlighten and educate)</p> <p>A20: stative (seem to be living in limbo, don’t have any</p>	<p>Song played live by Tamikrest with guitar, percussions and vocals; slow tempo; A key, A minor scale (31:24-32:14)</p> <p>Music, as above, starts again, slow tempo; A key, A minor scale (32:32-33:17)</p> <p>Music, as above, starts again, slow tempo; A key, A minor scale (33:29-33:46)</p> <p>Song: Sultans of Swing by Dire Straits played on RR’s portable vinyl player and the in post-production from 35’28”; medium tempo, blues; D</p>	<p>Live noises from the road where RR’s car is travelling (31:14-31:24)</p> <p>Live noises from the surrounding area and during interview (32:03-32:36)</p> <p>Live noises during interview (33:17-34:11)</p> <p>Live noises during interview (34:20-34:56)</p> <p>Live noise, mainly of fire crackling (35:03-35:28)</p>	<p>ES of a what looks like a town not far from the desert and then CU of RR in the front seat of a car, talking into the camera (eye level); more LS of the town as the music starts (31:13-31:27)</p> <p>MCU to CU of Ousmane and the percussionist playing live (eye-level), alternated to CU shot of RR (eye-level) listening to the music and some LS of the surrounding buildings and people from a high vantage point; LS shot of a man making a fire (slight high angle, but the man is in a squat position) and shot of another man making tea CU on the hand turning the glasses around (31:27-32:13)</p> <p>Interview setting: MCU to CU shots of Ousmane talking (slight low-angle); MCU of RR, looking saddened, over-the-shoulder of the percussionist (32:13-33:32)</p> <p>CU shot of the tea being poured in a glass; back to shot of Ousmane and the percussionist playing as well as a LS of the nearby street with a person walking along in the distance (33:32-33:17)</p>	<p>A1: RR - medium to close-up shots as in previous parts and scenes.</p> <p>A2: Mali - Generically, Malians are shown in a nearby street outside they’re houses. Specifically, there are two men making a fire and tea for everyone. The nearby town is also shown as well as a landscape at sunset.</p> <p>A4: music - is represented through the live performance and the vinyl record being played by RR.</p> <p>A20: Tuareg - unless the two men making tea are Tuareg, the artists are the only two represented.</p> <p>A21: Ousmane - medium to close-up (including extreme close-up of hands while playing) create proximity to this</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking, playing a record); receptive (listening to music)</p> <p>A2: agentive (making a fire and tea); stative (sitting outside houses, sunset)</p> <p>A4: agentive (in making people appreciate it); receptive (as in being played)</p> <p>A20: as A21 and A22</p> <p>A21: agentive (talking and performing)</p>	<p>This scene introduces the audience to a Tuareg band, Tamikrest and their <i>Desert Blues</i>. As well as performing, the duo describes the plight of the Tuaregs in northern Mali and how things have changed in recent years. Their story seems to support the narrative of the jihadists having made their homeplace ‘Hell’. The linguistic representation generally portrays the Tuaregs as the victims in the conflict, although at the beginning of the previous scene we are told that it was them who started the conflict in the first place. However, Ousmane dates the struggle back to the 1970s (beginning of the military government) and, presumably, against the Malian government and at a time when there were no jihadists from Libya. The north of Mali, moreover, is also patrolled by foreign</p>		

	<p>protest. <i>They call it "The Desert Blues".</i> (32:40-33:04)</p> <p>O (subtitled): "Traditionally, Tuareg women are the ones that play music, men only started playing music in the 1970s. This is when the Tuareg blues came into existence. [...] The first thing music was used for was to enlighten people and educate them about their situation." (33:17-31:52)</p> <p>PERCUSSIONIST (subtitled): "Our message first is to our own people. We talk about the problems of the Tuareg, we are the messengers to the world. Our people don't have other media outlets which can help their voices be heard. But we the artists are the ones to make their message understood through music." (33:52-34:11)</p> <p>RR: Though the Tuareg live a remote life, their nomadic culture has brought in influences from far and wide. (34:12-34:20)</p>	<p><i>right to own homes, work, education, many / the Tuaregs, outsiders, their nomadic lifestyle and unique culture so very different, they, Tuareg women, men, their situation, our own people, the problems of the Tuareg, our people, their voices, a remote life, their nomadic culture)</i></p> <p>A21: Ousmane (<i>Ousmane from Tamikrest, they (+TP) x2, Tamikrest x2, safe way to travel, we x3, 21st Century people, broad influences, you, such festival favourites)</i></p> <p>A22: TP: (<i>our message, we, we the artist</i>)</p>	<p>power, <i>should be entitled, have felt like outsiders, their nomadic ... 'implied' is, women are, our people don't have, the Tuareg live);</i> agentive (<i>call, play, started playing, culture has brought in</i>); receptive (<i>message is for our own people, talk about the problems..., voices to be heard)</i></p> <p>A21: agentive (<i>coming in to talk and play, come down, listen to, have named</i>); stative (<i>we are 21st ..., we have, they are festival favourites</i>)</p> <p>A22: stative (<i>message is artists are</i>); agent (<i>talk about, to make</i>)</p>	<p>key, D minor scale (35:03 on to the next sequence)</p>			<p>Back to interview setting, as above, with the tea now being drunk and with a brief break back to the live music performance (as above) and another LS of the surrounding area, now almost at dusk (33:17-33:52)</p> <p>CU from behind of the percussionist speaking, then LS of a nearby building and then side shot with the percussionist in the foreground on the left side of the frame and Ousmane in the background in the middle; back to behind the percussionist showing RR (eye-level) listening to him (33:52-34:11)</p> <p>ES of sunset (34:12-34:20)</p> <p>Back to Ousmane interview setting (now getting darker as sun is setting); other ES of sunset (34:20-34:56)</p> <p>Shot of sunset continues; then CU of RR's portable vinyl player with a fire in the background (it's now night) and CU of RR listening to the music and shaking her head; RR then is in CU, looking into the camera as she speaks, partly lit</p>	<p>actor. He's dressed in Western, rockstar type, clothes. Generally speaking, he looks quite saddened all the time and his guitar wears the signs of time.</p> <p>A22: TP - shots are similar in kind to A21. He also wears Western clothes.</p>	<p>A22: agentive (<i>talking and performing</i>)</p>	<p>troops (most notably French) and the presence of oil and other natural resources in the area make the source of the conflicts there, as well as the number of players involved, far more complex than presented by the programme. The modes all combine to produce a sad and melancholic mode, with the minor scales and slow tempo of the song played by Tamikrest matching the sober looks on the duo and RR's faces as well as the vocabulary of suffering and struggle used by the artists. Again, a sunset is shown to end RR's encounter with the band which symbolically matches the one at the end of the previous part, thus framing this particular encounter. The final song, by the fire, reinforces the connection made by the duo and RR between Mali's melodies and Western blues rock melodies, while at the same time, with a slightly faster</p>	
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		<p>O (subtitled): "<i>We are 21st Century people</i>, so <i>we have broad influences. We listen to Bob Marley, Ali Farka Toure of course, Eric Clapton, Dire Straits, Pink Floyd.</i>" RR: "<i>When I listen to those rock artists that you've just named, you see, I start hearing the music of Mali.</i> Because for me, <i>it all started from here.</i>" O (subtitled): "It is because <i>the majority of the blues are by those who migrated to America from here.</i>" (34:20-34:55)</p> <p>RR: Now, <i>anyone who has ever picked up a guitar claims to be influenced</i> by Jimi Hendrix, but Dire Straits! Really? Somewhere in the desert <i>the guitar licks of Mark Knopfler became fused</i> with the sound of Tuareg bands like <i>Tinariwen and Tamikrest.</i> Perhaps that's why <i>they're such festival favourites</i> in the West. RR: "It's the first time <i>I've played</i> Dire Straits, and <i>I've come all the way to Bamako to play</i> them. <i>I can't believe it</i>" (34:58-35:28)</p>					<p>by the light from fire; then MCU of RR sitting, looking at the portable player and listening to the music (34:56-35:35)</p>			<p>tempo and RR's anecdote of having come all the way to Bamako to play this record serves to light up spirits a little, after what is arguably the most emotionally charged part of the programme (coincidentally roughly in the middle of the programme).</p>	
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Part 9: Songhoy Blues (35:35-40:19)

Themes: Music as resistance, part 2: Songhoy Blues.

Topics: Music as a political force of national unity, Songhoy Blues.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), music (A4), Western artists (A6), Muslim jihadists (A19), Songhoy (A23), Malian politicians (A24).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
35:35 – 40:19	Meeting Songhoy	<p>RR: <i>There's another band from the north that are fusing Western influences with Malian melodies. Garba is the guitarist of Songhoy Blues, who are taking Malian music to a whole new audience abroad.</i></p> <p>RR: "Morning, Garba. Ca va bien?" GARBA: "Bien. Et toi?" RR: <i>They formed in Bamako in 2012 while living in exile from the war-torn north.</i> (35:42-36:04)</p> <p>RR: <i>They were spotted by Brian Eno and Damon Albarn during the Africa Express project, and the band landed a record deal in the UK.</i> (36:09-36:16)</p> <p>RR: <i>They're in rehearsals for an upcoming European tour to promote their new album, Resistance.</i> (36:45-36:51)</p>	<p>A1: RR (you x3)</p> <p>A2: Mali (the north x3, the war-torn north, different parts of the north, every single tribe from this country, Tuareg (people) x3, Bambara x2, everyone x2, people, they, you x7, Songhai, Malian x3, African, citizen, the north of Mali, desert, it, we x2, here, Mali x2, all those people, the same empire, he, the south x2, guitar, drumkit,</p>	<p>A1: agentive (will see, listen, go back)</p> <p>A2: receptive every..., bring Tuareg people, love my country); stative (will be around music, you are x6, haven't just..., have many melody, people used to be, speak x2); agentive (listen to, watch)</p>	<p>Song: <i>Sultans of Swing</i> by Dire Straits. As above (from previous sequence to 35:42)</p> <p>Live performance: <i>Ir Ma Sobay</i> by Songhoy (guitar, bass, drums and vocals). Repetitive, medium tempo riff and rhythm. G key, G minor scale, focus on 1st, 7th, 2nd, 7th, 1st, 7th, 5th, 4th, 3rd (36:05-37:13)</p> <p>Same as above, but with slightly</p>	<p>Noises from the street and live noises of Garba's moped approaching RR (35:42-36:24)</p> <p>Live noises during interview (37:13-38:03)</p> <p>Live noises during interview (38:26-38:50)</p> <p>Live noises during interview (39:18-39:56)</p> <p>Live noises from the street (40:17-40:20)</p>	<p>LS of people in the streets; followed by shot of RR from behind on the side of a road with a helmet in her hand (foregrounded on the right, MCU, slightly low angle) and of Garba approaching from distance on his moped; followed by Garba stopping by RR and the two shaking hands; then CU of RR putting her helmet on and jumping on Garba's moped as a passenger, followed by LS (slight low angle) of the two leaving on the moped (35:35-36:06)</p> <p>Moving shot of Garba and RR riding on the moped and of the road they're travelling on; followed by LS of the two arriving at the band's studio (36:06-36:23)</p> <p>Shots of the band performing live in their</p>	<p>A1: RR - medium to close-up when talking or slight farther away when on the moped.</p> <p>A2: Mali - shown in the streets, working, or driving vehicles or standing on the side.</p> <p>A4: music - is represented through the live performance</p> <p>A6: Africa - not represented (road shots are shown)</p> <p>A19: Jihadists - not represented (band playing is shown)</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking); receptive (listening to music, being taken on moped)</p> <p>A2: agentive (walking, working, driving); receptive (standing on the side of streets)</p> <p>A4: agentive (in making people appreciate it); receptive (as in being played)</p> <p>A6: not represented</p> <p>A19: not represented</p>	<p>This part introduces us to a younger band, the second of the 'music as resistance' theme. As well as reinforcing the close connection between Malians and music, an argument is presented that music is in a better position than politics and politicians to help the territorial and ethnic break up in the country. The band itself is formed by people from different parts of the country and a south/north divide is made quite clear by using these words to refer to parts of the country. The general positive connotations used for Mali, music and the band serve to</p>	<p>JC: I mean obviously the main point was the music in the programme. Erm, but one thing that I kind of picked up a bit on was that, obviously, there were also showing how music is a form of resistance in some ways and I just wondered if, you know, you had an idea about that. Did that kind of come across in that sense when they talked about hip-hop and the younger people, kind of rappers. And when they were talking with that female artist who was telling a story about her starting writing and singing for her mum's suffering, all that sort of discussion</p>

	<p>RR: "So, <u>you all came down from different parts of the north</u>, and <u>you formed a band</u>. What <u>did you want to do</u>?"</p> <p>SINGER: "Well, <u>to come in the club</u>, or any club around Bamako, <u>you will see every single tribe from this country</u>: Tuareg, Bambara, <u>everyone will be around music</u>. <u>People listen to</u> more music than <u>they watch</u> the news and the TV. So for <u>us</u>, the <u>music is the way to communicate</u>, to bring people together. <u>It doesn't matter if you're Tuareg</u>, if you're Songhai people, if you're Bambara or whatever. <u>You are Malian</u>, you are African, you are a citizen. <u>That's</u> the most important for <u>us</u>. <u>The politician people can't do that</u>. <u>They don't have power to bring Tuareg people and everyone together</u>. NET (subtitled): "A <u>Politician will say 'Everything is alright' when it is not</u>" (37:11-38:05)</p> <p>SINGER: "<u>Our music has come from the north of Mali</u>, from <u>desert</u>. <u>It's the blues of the desert</u>."</p> <p>GARBA (also subtitled): "Because <u>in the north we haven't just one melody</u>; when <u>you listen</u> for [to] <u>the guitar player who comes from Gao</u> and <u>guitar player who come</u></p>	<p>something special and different, my country)</p> <p>A4: music (Western influences, Malian melodies, Malian music, a record deal in the UK, rehearsals, music x3, the blues of the desert, one melody, the guitar player x2, they, many many melody, different different riff in Mali, the musicians, it)</p> <p>A6: Western artists (Brian Eno and Damon Albarn, Africa Express project)</p> <p>A19: Jihadists (the jihadist ban on music)</p> <p>A23: Songhoy (another band, Songhoy Blues, they x3, in exile, the/a band x2, their new album,</p>	<p>A4: receptive (fusing Western..., taking Malian music, landed a deal, listen to music, listen the guitar player, make something special,); stative (is the way..., it's the blues, who comes x2, they are not the same, will be Malian); agentive (musicians got together, try to together)</p> <p>A6: agentive (spotted by Brian...)</p> <p>A19: agentive (has had the opposite effect)</p> <p>A23: stative (there is another band, they are, has come from the north, is the guitarist, is</p>	<p>different riff and slightly faster tempo (38:03-38:26)</p> <p>Same as above (38:50-39:18)</p> <p>Same as above (39:56-40:17)</p>		<p>studio: MCU and CU shots of the different members, low camera angle; alternated with one shot of RR and another man (MCU, slight high angle) sitting on a sofa, listening to the band (coinciding with RR voiceover) (36:23-37:13)</p> <p>Interview setting: mainly CU (very slight low-angle) of the different participants with RR on the right-hand side and the band (the bass guitarist is never shown) on the left-hand side (37:13-38:05)</p> <p>More shots of band playing live (mainly LS, low-angle) (38:05-38:26)</p> <p>Interview setting: same as above (38:26-38:50)</p> <p>More shots of band playing live (MCU and CU, slight low-angle) (38:50-39:19)</p> <p>Interview setting: same as above. CU of Garba and Nat when the singer mentions them (Nat's shot is clearly an insert from a different point of the interview) (38:19-39:57)</p> <p>More shots of band playing live to the end</p>	<p>A23: Songhoy - like the other artists, mainly at medium to close distance to create proximity with the viewer, both while playing and during the interview. All the members are predominantly dressed in a Western fashion. Garba is also shown meeting RR and riding the moped.</p> <p>A24: politicians - not represented (band members talking are shown)</p>	<p>A23: agentive (playing the music, talking, riding the moped)</p> <p>A24: not represented</p>	<p>reinforce the idea of music as a liberating force and musicians as the 'good' side to follow in this difficult situation as opposed to the 'bad' politicians and jihadists (both of whom are described with negative connotations and are not given a voice). The music played by the band uses a minor scale, but a fairly repetitive and upbeat tempo, almost to signify the seriousness of the problem, but also the determination with which the band is acting to change things. Interesting the reference to the Western artists 'spotting' the band and them securing a record deal in the UK as a consequence. It suggests the band has achieved a certain status thanks to the "validation" of a benevolent West.</p>	<p>that... did you make anything out of that, or... P2: I... just that, I guess, you know, music has always been... I didn't pick up on that particularly, but I just think, maybe, it's just an extension of that idea that music is... maybe it's a different sort of voice for repression and things like that. And, you know, and also maybe going back to that whole thing about, you know, slaves in chain gangs and the singing and that way of expressing some sort of suffering or some sort of resistance, or... yeah. I didn't... it was a part of the film, but I don't know whether I... and it was sort of like towards the end, I think, and it was, not skimmed over, but it didn't seem as in-depth as the initial part of the... like, the beginning of the film (I, lines 163-167)</p>
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	<p>from Timbuktu, <i>they're not</i> the same. <i>We have many many melody here, different melody, but when we play we try to make all different riff in Mali</i> together.” (38:23-38:52)</p> <p>RR: “So <i>the musicians got together to try to unify Mali?</i>”</p> <p>SINGER: “Yeah. If <i>you go back</i>, like, 500 years ago, <i>all those people used to be the same empire, so he speaks</i> your language. <i>you speak</i> his language. <i>Garba is</i> from the north. <i>Net is</i> from the south. If <i>Garba played</i> his guitar and <i>Net put</i> a drumkit from the south, <i>it will make something special and different. That is</i> the connection <i>we are talking about.</i>”</p> <p>RR: “But <i>it will be Malian?</i>”</p> <p>SINGER: “In <i>Malian</i>, yes.”</p> <p>RR: “Yeah?”</p> <p>NET: “Yeah.”</p> <p>RR: “What <i>have you got to say</i> there?”</p> <p>NET: “<i>I love my country, just.</i>” (39:16-39:55)</p> <p>RR: In some ways, <i>the jihadist ban on music has had</i> the opposite effect. <i>Young Malian musicians are fighting back, touring</i> internationally and <i>promoting their culture</i> to the world. (40:01-40:12)</p>	<p><i>Resistance, you x4, us x2, our music, we x3, young Malian musicians, their culture, Garba x4, the guitarist, Net x2, I)</i></p> <p>A24: politicians (politician people, a politician)</p>	<p>from the north, <i>is</i> from the south); agentive (are fusing, are taking x2, formed x2, living, landed, to promote, came down, want to do, play, try to make, are fighting back, touring, promoting, played, put, got to say, love); receptive (were spotted)</p> <p>A24: stative (don't have power); agentive (to bring together, will say)</p>		<p>of the song they were performing (MCU and CU, slight low angle) (39:57-40:17)</p> <p>LS of the street outside the studio, with the studio (and the band's name written on one of the walls and on a sign) prominent in the frame (40:17-40:19)</p>				
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Part 10: Oumou Sangare and feminism (40:19-46:12)

Themes: Music as resistance, part 3: Oumou Sangare.

Topics: Muslim culture and weddings; Oumou Sangare; feminism.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), music (A4), audience (+RR) (A5), Super Onze musicians (A7), the Tuareg (A20), Oumou Sangare (A25).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representati on of actors and places	Representatio n of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
40:19 – 42:06	Cultural overvie w	<p>RR: Mali is a country of young people. Almost 70% are under 25. Combine this with a devout Muslim culture, and you get weddings. Lots of weddings! (40:21-40:34)</p> <p>RR: “Well, on a Sunday, Bamako is meant to be wall-to-wall weddings. ‘Dimanche a Bamako!’” (40:44-40:50)</p> <p>RR: For <u>musicians</u>, it’s the biggest day of the week. They say there can be as many as 500 ceremonies happening each Sunday in the capital alone. Super Onze have invited me to a <u>Tuareg wedding</u>. I’m hoping I can show off my new moves. (41:09-41:27)</p> <p>RR: “Merci!” [to lady she was dancing with] (41:44)</p> <p>RR: Unlike <u>other ethnic groups</u>, Tuareg culture is matrilineal, and relatively progressive. It’s the men, not the women, who wear a veil. But polygamy is still</p>	<p>A1: RR (me, I x2, my new moves)</p> <p>A2: Mali (Mali, a country of young people, almost 70%, under 25, a devout Muslim culture, wall-to-wall weddings, musicians, they, other ethnic groups, polygamy is common in Mali, men, up to four wives, women’s rights, slow to improve)</p>	<p>A1: receptive (have invited me); stative (I’m hoping); agentive (can show off)</p> <p>A2: stative (Mali is, 70% are, polygamy is); agentive (they say, rights have been slow); receptive (men are allowed)</p>	<p>Song: <i>Beaux Dimanches</i> by Amadou & Mariam. Medium tempo; G key, G major pentatonic blues scale (40:29-40:56)</p> <p>Music by Super Onze played at a wedding. Takamba music played live with percussions, jeli ngoni and vocals. Repetitive riff, which resembles a bit the snake hypnotising music; D key, D minor scale (40:47 to end of sequence)</p>	<p>Live noises from the street and on the road while RR is travelling in a share taxi (40:19-41:00)</p> <p>CU of RR getting off the taxi followed by MCU and CU shots under a tent of people dancing (including RR dancing with a lady with everyone else watching) and of the Super Onze musicians playing live; MCU shot of RR and the lady holding hands after dancing together; CU of veiled Tuareg man (41:00-42:06)</p>	<p>Two street shots with people followed by shot of RR flagging down a share taxi (MCU, slight low angle) and then following her getting on (CU from behind; shots from within the share taxi: first the driver, then CU of RR alternated to MCU traffic shots from the taxi and of other passengers (40:19-41:00))</p> <p>CU of RR getting off the taxi followed by MCU and CU shots under a tent of people dancing (including RR dancing with a lady with everyone else watching) and of the Super Onze musicians playing live; MCU shot of RR and the lady holding hands after dancing together; CU of veiled Tuareg man (41:00-42:06)</p>	<p>A1: RR - medium to close-up when talking or slight farther away when flagging down the taxi. Similar representation as before.</p> <p>A2: Mali - shots of some younger Malians in the streets and sitting or driving in traffic. Close-up on the taxi driver and of some of the other passengers on the share taxi. Close-up of guests at the wedding dancing.</p> <p>A4: music - represented through the musicians and the guests dancing.</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking, dancing); receptive (being driven)</p> <p>A2: agentive (driving, walking, dancing, getting on the taxi); receptive (sat at the side of the road, being driven)</p> <p>A4: agentive (in making people appreciate it); receptive (as in being played)</p>	<p>The initial sequence of this part gives the audience some information regarding Mali, Muslim culture and Tuareg culture. The message seems to be that, although being a Muslim country there some issues, i.e. polygamy, women rights being slow to improve. Interestingly this is the second time that the actor Mali/Malians is portrayed somehow negatively and both times Muslim/Islam is part of the narrative (causing the biggest crisis in the north and now hindering women’s rights). The Tuareg version of Muslim culture is ‘relatively progressive’ since men and not women wear a veil.</p>	

		common in <u>Mali</u> . <i>Men are allowed up to four wives</i> at a time by law and <i>women's rights have been slow to improve</i> . (41:47-42:06)	A4: music – not represented A5: audience (+RR) ('implied' you, you) A7: SO (<i>Super Onze</i>) A20: Tuareg (<i>Tuareg wedding, Tuareg culture, matrilineal, relatively progressive, the men, the women</i>)	A4: not represented A5: agentive (<i>combine, get</i>) A7: agentive (<i>have invited</i>) A20: stative (<i>culture is</i>); agentive (<i>who wear</i>)			A5: audience - following RR and seeing things through her POV. A7: Super Onze - close-up shots while performing and also when talking about men, not women wearing the veil (the man is from SO) A20: Tuareg - Shown through the guests at the wedding. Very colourful and enjoying themselves.	A5: same as RR A7: agentive (<i>performing</i>) A20: agentive (<i>dancing</i>); receptive (<i>listening to the music</i>); stative (<i>sat watching the dancing</i>)	Besides not clarifying how men wearing the veil and not women is 'more progressive' the description of the Tuareg is referentially opposed to the sharia law credo of the jihadists who are, like the Tuareg, in the north. The negative linguist connotations are also matched by the minor scale of the wedding music.		
42:06 – 46:12	Meeting Oumou Sangare and discussion about feminism	RR: <i>I'm going to meet Oumou Sangare, the wedding singer who used her incredible voice to tackle the inequalities she saw at the heart of Malian culture. But in true diva style, she's late. Very late. So I'm doing some snooping. That must be before her first record, Moussolou.</i> (42:09-42:30) RR: <i>It was Oumou's clarion call. Moussolou means women, and that's exactly who she was speaking to. With just a few traditional instruments, a violin and her voice, she laid bare the experience of women here.</i> (42:33-42:53) RR: <i>"That first record just took it to the people. She was talking about things that</i>	A1: RR (<i>I x6, my life, Rita</i>) A2: Mali (<i>inequalities [...] at the heart of Malian culture, here, people, nobody, taboo, polygamy x2, forced marriage, women's sensuality, local kids, everyone, (all the) women</i>)	A1: agentive (<i>going to meet, am doing, think x2, decide to ask, I'm spending</i>) A2: stative ('implied' there are inequalities ..., it was taboo, everyone was crying, they were suffering, Malians are music, we are very attached); agentive (<i>nobody talked about,</i>	Same Takamba music from previous sequence (to 42:16) Song: <i>Moussolou</i> by Oumou Sangare. Medium tempo; G key, G major pentatonic blues scale (42:30-42:53) Song by Oumou Sangare played on RR's portable	Noises from outside Oumou Sangare's house, mainly children playing and then talking and making noises when RR talks to them (43:11-44:00) Noises during interview (44:27-45:59)	ES of the area where Oumou Sangare's house is followed by a moving LS focusing on her house; then MCU and CU around the house, with RR looking around at various memorabilia displayed (42:06-42:34) Video clip of the song <i>Moussolou</i> by Oumou Sangare: CU of OS looking upset, followed by a shot of a group of people in a room and CU of various women (42:34-42:54) CU shot of RR (left-hand side, slight low angle) looking at something and talking; CU shot of a framed photo of a young OS;	A1: RR - medium to close-up when talking and looking around OS's house. A2: Mali - shown as the kids around OS's house, but also as suffering women from some of the archive videoclips. Some women, doing farming type of jobs are also shown at the end of the part. A4: music - represented by the archive music video and by the record played by	A1: agentive (<i>talking, looking around, playing a record</i>) A2: agentive (<i>as in the kids talking to RR, and the women working at the end of the part</i>); receptive and stative (<i>as in the women in the videoclips</i>) A4: agentive (<i>in making people appreciate it</i>); receptive (<i>as</i>	This sequence introduces the audience to the first feminist singer in Mali (or at least this is what seems implied). Again, the country and its people are portrayed with negative connotations, but specifically with regard to the status of women in the country and polygamy. The music played reflects the gravity of the situation described, with blues scales that add a sense of sadness to the representation. OS	

	<p><i>nobody talked about. It was taboo. Polygamy, forced marriage, women's sensuality. Yeah. I think she got a rep from day one. (42:54-43:10)</i></p> <p>RR: <i>There's still no sign of Oumou, so I decide to ask the local kids who their favourite artists are.</i> RR (subtitled): "Who's the best musician? Sidiki Diabate?" CHILD 1: "Mylmo" RR: "Mylmo?" CHILD 2: "Oumou Sangare" RR: "Oumou Sangare?" CHILDREN: "Oumou! Oumou!" RR: "I think that's her. Oumou!" OUMOU SANGARE: "Oui!" RR: "Hello, my dear. Waiting for Oumou. I'm spending my life waiting for Oumou." OS: "Oh, sorry" (43:13-43:51)</p> <p>RR: <i>Oumou is a force to be reckoned with. But it's a toughness that's born out of necessity. (43:53-43:02)</i></p> <p>OS: "Wow." (44:12)</p> <p>OS (subtitled): "This album was an opening for me. I sing in the street, in baptism, in marriages. The little money I earned was really to take care of my family. Rita, we were abandoned when I was two years old; my father went to live with another woman. So</p>	<p>x3, <i>they, suffering, Malians, very attached to music, better for women, a generation of African women — strong, independent, rooted in tradition, but open to fresh ideas)</i></p> <p>A4: music (traditional instruments, a violin, favourite artists, the best musician, Sidiki Diabate, Mylmo x2, this album x2, music x3)</p> <p>A25: OS: (Oumou Sangare x3, the wedding singer, her incredible voice, she x6, true diva style, late, very late, her first record, Moussolou, Oumou x10, clarion call, her voice, that first record, a reputation],</p>	<p>women <i>wept</i>, polygamy <i>made</i> my mother suffer, women <i>had the courage to raise up</i>); receptive (ask the local kids, addressing all women)</p> <p>A4: stative (favourite artists are, the album was); receptive (to use music)</p> <p>A25: receptive (to meet Oumou, waiting for Oumou/ you, were abandoned); agentive (used her voice to tackle, saw x2, was speaking to/about, laid bare, took it, was talking, got a rep, sing, earned,</p>	<p>vinyl player. Medium tempo; G key, G major pentatonic blues scale (44:04-44:27)</p>	<p>Noises from outside Oumou Sangare's house (45:59-46:12)</p>	<p>back to RR who slowly turns around past the camera (42:54-43:11)</p> <p>MCU and CU of people outside OS's house, mainly children and very young people and of RR talking to them (shots from behind of and next to RR); then shot of hand waiving in the distance and of OS waiving; then MCU shot of RR and OS hugging each other (43:11-43:52)</p> <p>Shot (MCU from behind) of RR and OS walking towards the house and then LS of OS moving ushering children to the side of the road (43:52-44:02)</p> <p>Shot of RR (CU, eye level) putting a record in her portable vinyl player; followed by shot (CU eye level) of OS looking at the cover and listening to the music. Interview setting: OS on the left, RR on the right. Frontal MCU (slight high angle) of both, alternated with CU shots of OS (eye level) with RR in the background and of CU of OS (eye level) from behind RR's shoulders (RR's head is visible in ECU). Final shot of RR and OS hugging (MCU, slight high angle) (44:04-45:58)</p>	<p>RR on her portable player. It is the first time the artist met doesn't play live.</p> <p>A25: OS - medium and close-up shots during the interview. She also shown as a young woman in a photograph and in the music video from one of her first song. In her younger version she looked more in distress. The recent woman is instead very strong, independent and emancipated.</p>	<p><i>in being played)</i></p> <p>A25: agentive (talking, performing in the video, warning the children)</p>	<p>and her music are shown in a very positive light and as the catalyst for change and an improvement in the conditions of women in the country. No "evidence" however is presented to support this, besides OS's words. The description of the country and its women changes for the positive towards the end of the sequence (and the part) with shots of women working in the field exemplifying the new generation of African women who are described as 'strong, independent, rooted in tradition, but open to fresh ideas'.</p>	
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	<p>when <i>I started singing it was about my mother's plight</i> and <i>I saw</i> that <i>everyone was crying. All the women wept, I was astounded. I was speaking about my mother,</i> but <i>they were all suffering</i> the same and I said, 'No, <u>Oumou, do something. Speak up</u>'</p> <p>RR: "Why is it important for <u>you to use music to get</u> these messages <u>across</u>?"</p> <p>OS (subtitled): "Because <i>Maliens are music, we are very attached to music, so it's easier to get messages across through music. What made my mother suffer it was polygamy. I denounced it. And by addressing my mother I was addressing all women.</i>"</p> <p>RR: "And <i>do you think things are better for women now?</i>"</p> <p>OS (subtitled): "After <u>this album women had the courage to raise up</u> in all domains"</p> <p>RR: "<i>It has been</i> worth every second waiting for <u>you.</u>"</p> <p>OS: "Thank you!" (44:25-45:57)</p> <p>RR: <i>Oumou set</i> the template for a <u>generation of African women — strong, independent, rooted in tradition, but open to fresh ideas.</u> (46:01-46:10)</p>	<p><i>a force to be reckoned with, a toughness that's born out of necessity, an opening for me, I x10, little money, my family, we, my father, my mother's (plight) x4, astound, you x3)</i></p>	<p><i>to take care, started singing, said, do, speak up, to use, denounced, was addressing, think, set the template); stative (is late, Moussolou means women, is a force, I was two/ astound)</i></p>		<p>Shots outside OS's house of children playing and of women working in the nearby fields (LS to MCU) (45:58-46:12)</p>				
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Part 11: Ami Yerewolo, feminist hip hop and younger generations (46:12-50:11)

Themes: Young artists, part 1: Ami Yerewolo.

Topics: New generations, feminism.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), Africa (A3), music (A4), audience (+RR) (A5), Les Amazones d’Afrique (A26), Ami Yerewolo (A27), the downloader (A28).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
46:12 – 48:49	Meeting Ami Yerewolo	<p>RR: <i>Les Amazones d’Afrique are a great example of how other African women are taking on the struggle. A feminist supergroup, it features the biggest female artists in West Africa. Their songs tackle sexual violence, genital mutilation, and forced marriage. Tonight, young rapper Amy Yerewolo is bringing a fresh sound to these grandes dames of Malian music.</i> (46:19-46:51)</p> <p>RR: “<i>I don’t know. It was just a moment, you know? There was the old, the young... They came from all different types of music, and it just shows you the collective power of women and song.</i>” (47:09-47:20)</p> <p>AMI YEREWOLO: “Hooray.” RR: “There you are! That was so good.”</p>	<p>A1: RR (<i>I x2, me</i>)</p> <p>A2: Mali (<i>society and its problem, the new generation, children, many, kids in Bamako, their voices</i>)</p> <p>A3: Africa (<i>African women, West Africa, sexual violence, genital mutilation, and forced marriage</i>)</p> <p>A4: music (<i>Malian music, all different types of music, collective</i>)</p>	<p>A1: stative (<i>don’t know, would love</i>)</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>have upset, express, have discovered, getting their voices</i>); receptive (<i>upset the new generation</i>); stative (<i>feel left out</i>)</p> <p>A3: agentive (<i>women are taking on the struggle</i>)</p> <p>A4: receptive (<i>little pieces you did, discovered</i>)</p>	<p>Live performance of Les Amazones d’Afrique (percussions and vocals, including rap): medium tempo; C key, C major scale. (46:12-47:09)</p> <p>Ami Yerewolo rapping: Bb Key, Bb major scale. (47:35-47:51)</p> <p>Song, acoustic guitar and drums, medium slow tempo; E key, E minor scale (48:27 on to next sequence)</p>	<p>Noises from the street (47:09-48:28)</p>	<p>Shot of Les Amazones d’Afrique performing live (MCU to CU) and CU of RR watching. Most of the female musicians are dressed in traditional clothes except Amy Yerewolo who is a more Western style (46:12-47:09)</p> <p>Shot of RR outside the club talking towards the camera, but not to it (MCU, eye level) (47:09-47:20)</p> <p>Shot of RR (MCU from behind) going backstage to speak to AY; followed by shot outside in the street where RR is interviewing AY (RR on the left, AY on the right, CU, eye level); shot of barbed wire on top of a wall (MCU, low-angle) over the words “society and its problem have upset the</p>	<p>A1: RR - same type of medium to close-up shots as before.</p> <p>A2: Mali - younger Malians, often in Western clothes are show in this sequence, they’re talking and walking in the streets at night, seemingly having a good time. Malian society is also represented by the barbed wire.</p> <p>A3: Africa - some of the artists on stage are described as West African, so arguably they represent this actor as well.</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>talking, walking</i>); receptive (<i>listening</i>)</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>talking, walking</i>); receptive (<i>listening</i>); stative (<i>the wall with barbed wire representing Malian society</i>)</p> <p>A3: agentive (<i>performing</i>)</p>	<p>This sequence introduces the viewers to the first of two younger generation artists, Ami Yerewolo. Although there is some attention given to Les Amazones d’Afrique, the focus is clearly on AY and talking about younger artists and people in general, as also stressed by showing younger Malians and nightlife. Mali is represented somehow negatively here, particularly through AY’s representation of a divided society (visually depicted as a tall wall with barbed wire). Again, music is</p>	

	<p>AY: "Thank you." RR: "Really, really good." (47:21-47:27)</p> <p>RR: "<i>I would love you to just flow</i> for <u>me</u>, just the moment, one of <u>the little pieces you did</u>."</p> <p>AY [rapping, subtitled]: "# We all have our own worries in life # You can't even carry your own 100kg # and you want to carry Ami's? # hey, leave me alone, spare me your stuff # When you can't stop a child from going his own way # just wish him good luck. # Move along, go on, move along #" "It means if <i>you can't stop</i> your child from leaving <i>you must wish</i> them well. It tells those who do not want <i>Ami to rap</i> that <i>she won't give up</i> and inshallah <i>she will succeed. I want to show that educated women can rap and bring</i> something else" RR: "What was the journey? How did <i>you get to</i> rapping?" AY: "<i>I learnt</i> in the street, <i>I have always loved</i> the street. <i>Society and its problem have upset the new generation, children feel left out</i> and <i>many express</i> it through <u>rap</u>." (47:29-48:28)</p> <p>RR: Much like the Bronx in the late '70s, <i>kids in Bamako have discovered</i> the power of <u>hip-hop</u> as a way of <i>getting their voices heard. This music isn't even sold</i> on <u>cassette</u>, it's</p>	<p><i>power of women and song, the little pieces, rap, hip-hop, this music, cassette, MP3s)</i></p> <p>A5: audience (+RR) (you x3)</p> <p>A26: AA (<i>Les Amazones d'Afrique, a great example, there a feminist supergroup, the biggest female artists in West Africa, grandes dames of Malian music, the old, they)</i></p> <p>A27: AY (<i>young rapper Ami Yerewolo, fresh sound, the young, so good, really really good, you x3, Ami, she x2, I x3, educated women)</i></p>	<p>hip-hop, <i>isn't sold, is passed)</i></p> <p>A5: receptive (shows you); agentive (<i>can't stop, must wish</i>)</p> <p>A26: stative (<i>are a great example, there was the old, they came from</i>); agentive (<i>their songs tackle</i>)</p> <p>A27: agentive (<i>is bringing a fresh sound, to flow, pieces you did, to rap, won't give up, will succeed, want to show, can rap, to rapping, I learnt, have loved</i>)</p>		<p>new generation" (47:20-48:27)</p> <p>MCU shots of nearby people, followed by shot of RR walking away; followed by an ES view of Bamako at night and MCU shots of people enjoying night life in the streets; CU of young man talking on the phone over the words "it's passed from phone to phone as MP3s" (48:27-48:49)</p>	<p>A4: music - represented through the live performances of the artists.</p> <p>A5: following RR</p> <p>A26: AA - like the other artists, mainly at medium to close distance to create proximity with the viewer while performing. The 'old' artists are all dressed in traditional clothes.</p> <p>A27: AY - same as above while performing, but dresses in a Western fashion. Close-up shots at eye level during the interview to create proximity and equality with the viewers.</p>	<p>A4: agentive (<i>in making people appreciate it</i>); receptive (<i>as in being played</i>)</p> <p>A5: same as RR</p> <p>A26: agentive (<i>performing</i>)</p> <p>A27: agentive (<i>performing, talking</i>)</p>	<p>seen as the answer to this political oppression. There is also a sharp contrast between the major scales in the live performances and the minor scale of the inserted acoustic piece. This latter starts exactly after AY has aired her criticism of Malian society and informed the viewers that children feel left out, almost as to highlight these feelings of injustice.</p>	
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		<i>passed</i> from phone to phone as MP3s (48:31-48:48)								
48:49 - 50:11	Music shopping revised	<p>RR: So <i>I'm heading back</i> to the market to look for some <u>enterprising young fellows</u> called the <u>downloaders</u>. <i>Come along, ask a couple of people</i> directions, and bingo! Here <i>I am</i>, tiny little street, and <i>there's about six</i>, seven of <u>them</u>. (48:51-49:06)</p> <p>RR: "Bonjour. <i>Vous faites</i> downloading?" DOWNLOADER: "S'assessor" RR: "Oui? Oh, merci." RR (subtitled): "<i>I would like Malian artists</i>. [...] Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. (49:15-49:28)</p> <p>RR: For the equivalent of about 30p, <i>I can have</i> an MP3 copied onto my phone or a USB stick. RR: "C'est nouveau?" D: "Oui." (49:38-49:47)</p> <p>RR: "<i>I do feel</i> a bit strange, because <i>the artists aren't getting paid</i>. But at the same time, <i>I know</i> a lot of <i>young Malian artists come down</i> to these <u>downloaders</u> and <u>give them their music free</u>, because the more <u>hits they get</u>, the better chance <i>they're going to get</i> of getting shows and getting more exposure. <i>Catch 22</i>." (49:49-50:11)</p>	<p>A1: RR (<i>I</i> x5)</p> <p>A2: Mali (<i>a couple of people, Malian</i> x2)</p> <p>A4: music (<i>Malian artists, MP3, the artists, young Malian artists, their music free, hits, they</i> x2)</p> <p>A5: audience (+RR) ('implied' <i>you</i>)</p> <p>A28: Downloader (<i>enterprising young fellows, the downloaders</i> x2, <i>them</i> x2, <i>vous</i>)</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>heading back, can have</i>), stative (here <i>I am, do feel</i> a bit strange, <i>know</i>)</p> <p>A2: receptive (<i>ask a couple of people</i>)</p> <p>A4: receptive (<i>would like Malian artists, copied, aren't getting paid</i>); agentive (<i>come down, get hits, going to get</i>)</p> <p>A5: agentive (<i>come along, ask</i>)</p> <p>A28: stative (<i>there's about six</i>); agentive (<i>faites downloading</i>); receptive (<i>come to these downloaders, give them</i>)</p>	<p>Song from previous sequence; medium slow tempo; E key; E minor scale (to 48:55)</p> <p>Various music from around the market and played by the "downloader" (49:04-49:50)</p>	<p>Noises from the streets and around the market (48:49-50:11)</p>	<p>MCU shots of a busy market and of RR walking around it; shot of RR approaching one of the "downloaders" (MCU, high angle) and of them going through some music (CU, eye-level); ECU of the downloader's hand operating the laptop and of a USB stick (48:49-49:50)</p> <p>CU of RR talking into the camera (eye-level, centre frame) (49:50-50:11)</p>	<p>A1: RR - medium to close-up shots, same as in previous sequence.</p> <p>A2: Mali - are shown in all their variety of ages and clothing through the market shots. They are busy walking, selling and buying.</p> <p>A4: music - shown in digital format, in folders on a laptop (very briefly) and also being played through the laptop speakers.</p> <p>A5: following RR.</p> <p>A28: downloader - shown 'at work', wearing Western fashion clothes and, generally, not very enthusiastic over the proceedings. He's shown from a higher angle, but he is sitting down, so probably just a logistical set up.</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>walking, talking, shopping</i>)</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>walking, selling, buying</i>)</p> <p>A4: A4: agentive (<i>in making people appreciate it</i>); receptive (<i>as in being played, sold and bought</i>)</p> <p>A5: same as RR</p> <p>A28: agentive (<i>playing and selling music</i>)</p>	<p>This scene expands on the previous one and shows how music is changing, not only through younger artist, but also through a different way of playing it and distributing it. The whole sequence is fairly neutrally represented, with all the actors linguistically portrayed in plain terms. The only negative connotations are with the fact artists are not getting payed for the distribution of their music, but this is balanced in RR's argument by the fact that they get exposure as the music is circulated more widely due to the low price of MP3s (a <i>Catch 22</i> situation in RR's words). Could be interesting to look closer to the economic dynamics of this set up, which is by no means unique to Mali.</p>

Part 12: Mylmo and the *History of Mali* rap song (50:11-54:02)

Themes: Young artists, part 2: Mylmo.

Topics: New generations, Malian politics and history, the griots.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), music (A4), audience (+RR) (A5), the Griots (A10), Mylmo (A29), political and military actors in Mali (A30).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
50:11 – 54:02	Meeting Mylmo	<p>RR: Word-of-mouth is still the best way to reach people, though, especially in a <u>country</u> where 60% of the population are illiterate. Like the <u>griots</u> before them, the rappers are now turning their <u>storytelling skills</u> to social issues. (50:16-50:31)</p> <p>RR: “<u>Mylmo!</u>” RR: <u>Mylmo is one of the biggest names in Malian hip-hop</u>. And as well as <u>using computerised beats and samples, he’s embracing the old traditions</u>. (50:32-50:43)</p> <p>MYLMO (rapping, subtitled): “Yeah! # Numerous centuries of exchange built # <u>one of the most beautiful civilisations</u> # <u>Mali</u> # <u>Country of rich culture, country of all the sciences</u> # <u>of life, of man, of peace and tolerance</u> # <u>Totems</u></p>	<p>A1: RR /</p> <p>A2: Mali (country, 60% of the population are illiterate, one of the most beautiful civilisations, Mali x4, country of rich culture, country of all the sciences, of life, of man, of peace and tolerance, totems protecting fauna and flora, kinship between men that nothing could touch, people, economic worth, full of hope, reconciliation, we, peace, everyone, who, in the North,</p>	<p>A1: /</p> <p>A2: stative (population are illiterate, Mali is country of rich... / full of hope, everyone needs to know, it’s drugs..., nothing is clear, it’s chaos, it’s your homeland x4, If you are Malian); receptive (exchange built one of..., when colonised); agentive (are talking, who did what, another coup d’etat plays out, people fell, many leaving)</p>	<p>Rap song. E key, E minor scale (50:11-50:42)</p> <p>Rap song performed live (jeli ngoni, percussions and vocals). E key, E major scale (50:42-51:28)</p> <p>Same as above (51:42-52:21)</p> <p>Same as above (53:10- to following sequence)</p>		<p>MCU and CU shots from the street and the market (both people and a stall with CU of cassette players); followed by a shot of traffic on a road; followed by a CU of RR in the passenger seat of a car (from behind her shoulder, eye-level) (50:11-50:31)</p> <p>Shot of RR (MCU, eye-level) walking past the camera and meeting Mylmo, shaking hands; followed by MCU shot from behind of RR and Mylmo walking in what looks like a yard (50:31-50:40)</p> <p>CU shot of a jeli ngoni being played by one of Mylmo’s musicians, followed by shots of the band performing live: mix of CU shots of Mylmo (right-hand side, eye-level) with other musicians in the background and of</p>	<p>A1: RR - same as in previous scenes, medium to close-up.</p> <p>A2: Mali - generally, either busy in the streets or sitting near RR and Mylmo listening to the live performance.</p> <p>A4: music - represented through the live performances of the artists.</p> <p>A5: following RR.</p> <p>A10: Griot - not represented.</p> <p>A29: Mylmo - medium to close-up shots while talking and performing. He’s</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking, walking); receptive (listening to the music)</p> <p>A2: agentive (walking, driving); stative (sitting); receptive (listening to the music)</p> <p>A4: agentive (in making people appreciate it); receptive (as in being played)</p> <p>A5: same as RR</p> <p>A10: not represented</p> <p>A29: agentive (talking, walking, performing)</p>	<p>In this scene we get a different perspective on two crucial aspects of Mali’s socio-cultural and political situation. The griots are portrayed very negatively by Mylmo, as a social class only interested in money. His song, moreover, touches directly the civil war that is happening in Mali and we learn about a number of different actors for the first time. Some of them are portrayed in a fairly neutral way (<i>the Arab Spring, Gaddafi, his fighters, MNLA, AQMI, Ansar Eddine</i>), whereas some other in a more negative light (<i>the jihadists, Amadou Haya</i></p>	

	<p>protecting fauna and flora # <u>Kinship between men that nothing could touch</u> # Even when colonised, the people kept their economic worth # After decades the colonisers left # On all the faces the joy was written # Liberty reclaimed, it's a Mali full of hope # In 1960, the year of independence #” (50:53-51:28)</p> <p>M (subtitled): “I keep hearing about reconciliation. In my opinion, if we are talking about peace everyone needs to know who did what. That’s why I wrote this song, ‘The History of <u>Mali</u>.’” (51:28-51:41)</p> <p>M (rapping, subtitled): “# While <u>in the North</u>, it’s drugs, trafficking and arms # The Arab Spring came and Gaddafi fell # His fighters came to grow # the <u>MNLA, MUJAO, AQMI</u> and also <u>Ansar Eddine</u> # But wait, we see the MNLA excluded # by its allies, and the jihadists installed # While <u>in the South</u> another coup d’etat plays out # Amadou Haya Sanogo who takes over Koulouba # The 22nd of March, the year 2012 # A dagger in the heart of</p>	<p><i>it’s drugs, trafficking and arms, in the South, another coup d’etat, a dagger in the heart of the green, yellow and red flag, people, panic, nothing clear, Aguelhok, Kidal, Timbuktu, Gao x2, chaos, houses emptied by the many, homeland x8, Malian x3)</i></p> <p>A4: music (Malian hip-hop, computerised beats and samples, the old traditions, this song, rap x3, the way to get a message to the youth, tradition, American-style Hip Hop x2, the flow, music, there’s nothing left but the muezzin and the Koranic songs)</p> <p>A5: audience (+RR) (you)</p> <p>A10: Griots (griots x4, previously [...] mediators, now</p>	<p>A4: receptive (wrote this song, music is prohibited); stative (rap is the way, the flow is, there’s nothing left)</p> <p>A5: agentive (need to blend)</p> <p>A10: receptive (happens to the griots, brought together the</p>		<p>MCU and CU shots of the other musicians playing; RR can be seen at times behind Mylmo, standing in the background, LS (50:40-51:29)</p> <p>Interview setting: Mylmo on the left-hand side and RR on the right-hand side; medium to close up shots (eye-level) of both (51:29-51:41)</p> <p>Shots of live performance, as above (51:41-52:21)</p> <p>Interview shots, as above (52:21-53:09)</p> <p>Shots of live performance, as above (53:09-53:56)</p> <p>Two ES of Bamako (53:56-54:02)</p>	<p>dressed in a Western fashion, while his musicians and background vocalists are dressed in traditional clothes. The instruments used are Griots instruments.</p> <p>A30: political and military - not represented.</p>	<p>A30: not represented</p>	<p><i>Sanogo, the Green and Red Berets, MUJAO</i>). However, it is a very condensed narrative that needs further research. In the programme it is just left unpacked. One glaring absence from the narrative is France and other international political and commercial entities, which are very much involved in what is going on in the north of the country, due to interests in natural resources in the area. As for the other actors, Mali is represented both positively with regard to his history and people and negatively through the depiction of the civil war and the percentage of illiterate people. Mylmo himself is depicted in a good light by RR, pretty much along the same lines as the other artists she interviewed. The song he performs is in a major scale, which conveys both the determination to get the message across to the youth and the hope that in the country will</p>	
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	<p>the green, yellow and red flag # The people fell into <u>panic</u> and now nothing is clear # While in <u>Aguelhok</u> as ihadists execute # No more unity in the army, weakening it # The Green and Red Berets slaughter each other #” (51:43-52:21)</p> <p>M (subtitled): “Rap is the way to get a message to the youth. I’m not talking about rap in which ‘My watch is made of diamonds, my chain is made of gold’. But to get a message across you need to blend tradition with American-style Hip Hop. The flow is always rap, American Hip Hop, but the message comes from here”</p> <p>RR: “So what happens to the griots?”</p> <p>M (subtitled): “Previously, Griots were the mediators between people who couldn’t agree. Now Griots are about money; Griots sing your praises for cash. I brought together the Griots and Hip Hop” (52:21-53:09)</p> <p>M (rapping, subtitled): “# Theihadists profit, they take Kidal # And after <u>Timbuktu</u>, they then take Gao # It’s chaos, the sharia of MUJAO # Whipping</p>	<p>[...] about money, praises for cash)</p> <p>A29: Mylmo (rappers, storytelling skills, Mylmo x2, one of the biggest names in Malian hip-hop, he, I x4, my opinion)</p> <p>A30: political and military (The Arab Spring, Gaddafi, his fighters, MNLA x2, MUJAO, AQMI, Ansar Eddine, its allies, theihadists x3, Amadou Haya Sanogo, no more unity in the army, the Green and Red Berets, the sharia of MUJAO)</p>	<p>griots); stative (Griots were/ are); agentive (sing praises for cash)</p> <p>A29: agentive (are turning, using, is embracing, keep hearing, wrote, am not talking, brought together); stative (is one of the biggest names)</p> <p>A30: agentive (Arab Spring came, Gaddafi fell, his fighters came, by its allies, Amadou Haya Sanogo takes over, theihadists execute/ profit/ take x2, the Berets slaughter, MUJAO whipping/ cutting off); receptive (to grow MNLA..., MNLA excluded, theihadists installed, takes over Koulouba); stative ([there is] no more unity in the army, the</p>					<p>improve. The use of the jeli ngoni (a Griot traditional instrument) mirrors his statement that he’s brought together griots and hip-hop, which is also visually represented through the traditional clothing of the musicians and his Western style.</p>	
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	<p>people, <i>cutting off</i> arms with impunity # <i>Houses emptied by the many already leaving</i> # In Gao the radio says that <i>music is prohibited</i> # <i>There's nothing left but the muezzin and the Koranic songs</i> # CHORIST (subtitled): "# Oh great <u>Mali</u> #" M: "# My <u>homeland</u> #" C: "# <i>If you are Malian</i> #" M: "# My <u>homeland</u> #" C: "# <i>If you are Malian</i> #" M: "# <i>It's</i> your <u>homeland</u> #" C: "# Great events have happened here #" M: "# <i>It's</i> your <u>homeland</u> #" C: "# The sun has risen for a long time #" M: "# My <u>homeland</u> #" C: "# <i>If you are Malian</i> #" M: "# <i>It's</i> your <u>homeland</u> #" C: "# Great events have happened here #" M: "# My <u>homeland</u> #" C: "# The sun has risen for a long time #" M: "# <i>It's</i> your <u>homeland</u> #" (53:10-53:56)</p>		<p>sharia of MUJAO)</p>									
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Part 13: Random encounter and final comments (54:02-56:13)

Themes: Concluding remarks

Topics: Malians and music, Ghanaian vs. Malian music.

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), Africa (A3), music (A4), audience (+RR) (A5), the Griots (A10), stranger (A31).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
54:02 – 54:55	Encounter with man	<p>RR: “<i>We are making</i> a film about <u>the music of Mali</u>.”</p> <p>MAN: “OK! OK. <i>You like Malian culture</i>.”</p> <p>RR: “<i>We like Malian culture, but we love Malian music</i>.”</p> <p>MAN: “OK, that’s fine. <i>You are from...?</i>”</p> <p>RR: “<i>I’m from Ghana</i>.”</p> <p>MAN: “Ah, <u>Ghana</u>.”</p> <p>RR: “Via the UK.”</p> <p>MAN: “UK. That’s fine. OK, <i>you are all welcome. Ghanaian music is very, very good</i>.”</p> <p>RR: “<i>I know Ghanaian music is good!</i> But <u>Malian music</u> is... I don’t know, there’s... <i>You’ve got the instruments and you’ve got the melodies and you’ve got the singers. You have it all</i>.”</p> <p>MAN: “OK! OK, <i>I am very happy to meet you</i>.”</p> <p>RR: “OK, thank you very much.”</p> <p>MAN: “<i>Enjoy your stay in Mali</i>.”</p> <p>RR: “<i>I am having a great time</i>.”</p> <p>MAN: “<i>You are welcome... And appreciate very well Bamako</i>.”</p>	<p>A1: RR (we x3, you x6, I x3, a great time)</p> <p>A2: Mali (Mali x2, Malian culture, you x4)</p> <p>A3: Africa (Ghana x2)</p> <p>A4: music (the music of Mali, Malian music x2, Ghanaian music x2, very very good, instruments, melodies, singers)</p> <p>A31: stranger (I)</p>	<p>A1: agentive (are making, like, enjoy, am having, appreciate); stative (you are from, I’m from, you are welcome x2, I know)</p> <p>A2: receptive (like Malian culture); stative (you’ve got x4)</p> <p>A3: /</p> <p>A4: receptive (about the music, love Malian music); stative (Ghanaian music is very very good/good)</p> <p>A31: stative (am very happy)</p>	<p>Mylmo’s rap song from previous sequence (to 54:06)</p>	<p>Live noises from the area where RR is (54:06-54:55)</p>	<p>Shot of RR (MCU, eye-level) sitting on a wall looking a panorama (probably Bamako, from previous ES) (54:02-54:06)</p> <p>Shot of two children (LS) on the side of a nearby road, followed by a shot of a passer-by (MCU) who stops to talk to RR; then shots of the man and RR talking (MCU, eye-level) and also shaking hands; final shot of man disappearing in a nearby building (LS) (54:06-54:55)</p>	<p>A1: RR - medium to close-up shots as in previous scenes.</p> <p>A2: Mali - panorama shot of Bamako. Also two children are shown at a distance.</p> <p>A3: Africa - not represented.</p> <p>A4: music - not represented.</p> <p>A31: stranger - medium to distant shots. The man is wearing trousers and what looks like a football jersey of an African team.</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking); stative (sitting)</p> <p>A2: stative (panorama shots of Bamako and children standing at the side of the road); agentive (children running)</p> <p>A3: not represented.</p> <p>A4: not represented.</p> <p>A31: agentive (talking, walking)</p>	<p>This is the only unplanned, spontaneous scene of the programme and it has been probably included to demonstrate both how welcoming Malians are and how well RR fits in that context. This increases the trust of the viewer in her as a genuine and reliable insider. The depiction of the different actors is positive and, interestingly, RR this time identifies as a Ghanaian first and British then, unlike her brief intro at the beginning of the episode where she identifies as a Londoner first and an African second.</p>	

		RR: "Thank you." MAN: "Thank you!" (54:08-54:51)									
54:55 - 56:13	Concluding remarks	<p>RR: Despite everything the <i>Maliens have been through, and are still living through</i> today, it's <i>their music that gives</i> them strength and binds them together. (55:00-55:10)</p> <p>RR: "<i>I always knew</i> how good <i>Malian music was</i>, but when <i>I got</i> here, it was <i>the sheer scale of music. It's everywhere.</i> And more to the point, <i>it's part of everybody's</i> daily life. The traditions, the instruments, the griots — <i>everybody taps into</i> it, even the young people who <i>you'd think</i> wouldn't want to know. <i>It's not even hanging on to the tradition.</i> It's more like they... <i>It's part of them. They feel it.</i> In <i>Ghana</i>, they call it "sankofa". Go back and find. Well, the <i>Maliens don't have to go back and find. It's with them every day, so it's not like it's set in aspic, it's very much a living, growing culture.</i> And <i>I'm a little bit jealous</i> of that!" (55:20-55:12)</p>	<p>A1: RR (<i>I x3, little bit jealous</i>)</p> <p>A2: Mali (<i>Maliens x2, their music, everybody, the young people, they</i>)</p> <p>A3: Africa (<i>Ghana, sankofa</i>)</p> <p>A4: music (<i>music, strength and binds together, Malian music, how good, the sheer scale of music, everywhere, part of everybody's daily life, the traditions, the instruments, the griots, part of them, with them every day, not like it's set in aspic, very much a living, growing culture</i>)</p> <p>A5: audience (+RR) (<i>you</i>)</p>	<p>A1: stative (<i>always knew, I am jealous</i>); agentive (<i>got here</i>)</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>have been through, are still living through, taps into, feel, don't have to go back and find</i>)</p> <p>A3: /</p> <p>A4: agentive (<i>gives strength</i>); stative (<i>music was, it was the sheer..., it's everywhere/ part/ part of them/ with them/ not set in aspic/ growing culture</i>)</p> <p>A5: stative (<i>you'd think</i>)</p>	<p>Song, acoustic guitar. Slow tempo; Db key, Db minor scale (54:55-55:23)</p> <p>Live music performed in the street, maybe same as <i>part 1</i> (55:35-55:47)</p> <p>Extract from live performance by Isa Dembele from <i>part 3</i>; A key; A major pentatonic (55:49-55:58)</p>	<p>ES of Bamako, followed by a MCU of RR sitting again on the wall, looking at the panorama; followed by the last ES of the previous part, MCU and LS of children in the streets, shot of a man sitting along a street with his kora, more shots of children and people in the streets (54:55-55:22)</p> <p>CU shot of RR, talking into the camera (eye-level, slightly on left of frame) (55:22-55:35)</p> <p>CU of people dancing and clapping to some street music performance (55:35-55:46)</p> <p>Shot of RR, as above (55:46-55:49)</p> <p>Shot of Isa Dembele playing, from <i>part 3</i> (55:49-55:55)</p> <p>Shot of RR, as above (55:55:56:13)</p>	<p>A1: RR - medium to close-up as usual, but this time also sitting, almost contemplating Bamako from a vantage point.</p> <p>A2: Mali - aerial shots of Bamako but, most importantly, a variety of shots of happy Maliens of all ages feeling connected to music, either through dancing or through holding instruments.</p> <p>A3: Africa - not represented.</p> <p>A4: music - represented through the live performances of the street artists and Isa Dembele.</p> <p>A5: audience - being spoken to by RR.</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>talking</i>); stative (<i>sitting</i>)</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>dancing</i>); stative (<i>sitting</i>)</p> <p>A3: not represented</p> <p>A4: agentive (<i>in making people appreciate it</i>); receptive (<i>as in being played</i>)</p> <p>A5: receptive (<i>listening to RR</i>)</p>	<p>This scene wraps up RR's experience in Mali and reiterates her main point about the deep connection between Maliens and music. All the modes provide a positive representation of the music and, at the same time, a composed, thought through and objective depiction of RR and her opinions.</p>	<p>P2: Yeah, it was great, very joyful, and maybe because it was about something that, erm, you know, something that the presenter was passionate about. So, she was seeking out all that stuff, you know, that was gonna make her excited and she definitely conveyed that, you know. Not only the music, but just the people. The people were so lovely and utterly engaging, you know, and passionate about what they were doing and the music they were playing, you know. It was a very uplifting programme (I, lines 112-117)</p>	

Part 14: Ami Diabate and outro (56:13-58:57)

Themes: The Griots: past, present and future.

Topics: Ami Diabate, the Griots

Actors: Rita Ray (A1), Mali/Malians (A2), music (A4), the Griots (A10), Ami Diabate (A32).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
56:13 – 58:57	Meeting Ami Diabate	<p>RR: Before <i>I leave Mali, I want to visit Ami Diabate. She's a 13-year-old griot growing up</i> here in Bamako. (56:17-56:25)</p> <p>AMI DIABATE (subtitled): “<i>My grandmother taught me to be a Griot. It's a great honour for me. Without the Griot, the world is difficult</i>”</p> <p>RR: “So when <i>you go</i> to school and <i>you see</i> your friends fighting, <i>are you the peacemaker?</i>”</p> <p>AD (subtitled): “Yes, <i>I play my role of Griot. I say</i> to them, ‘Stop fighting!’ If they do not stop fighting then <i>I'll start singing</i> so they'll listen to <i>me</i>”</p> <p>RR: “Do <i>you hear</i> about <i>what's happening</i> in Mali in the north?”</p> <p>How do <i>you think the griot can help?</i>”</p> <p>AD (subtitled): “Of course <i>the Griot can</i></p>	<p>A1: RR (I x3)</p> <p>A2: Mali (Mali x3, in the north)</p> <p>A4: music (a song, the Griot song books, these ancient melodies from Mali's past, the sound of its future)</p> <p>A10: Griots (a Griot x5, a great honour, without [...] the world is difficult)</p> <p>A32: AD (Ami Diabate, she x2, 13-year-old griot, me</p>	<p>A1: agentive (leave, want to visit); state (reckon)</p> <p>A2: receptive (leave Mali); stative (what's happening)</p> <p>A4: receptive (prepared a song, learning the Griot song books); stative (melodies will be)</p> <p>A10: stative (to be a Griot is a great honour, without the Griots the world is difficult); agentive (can help x2)</p> <p>A32: receptive (visit Ami); stative (she's a 13, to be a</p>	<p>Song, acoustic guitar solo, medium to fast tempo; G key, G minor scale (56:13-56:26)</p> <p>Ami Diabate singing a cappella; medium tempo; G key, G minor scale (57:11-57:26)</p> <p>AD singing another song, but with her father accompanying her on a guitar; G key, G minor scale (57:28-58:55)</p>	<p>Live noises during the interview (56:26-57:11)</p>	<p>ES of Bamako; followed by MCU of RR (from side to behind, eye-level) walking to the gated entrance of a house (56:13-56:26)</p> <p>Shot (LS, slight low angle) of Ami Diabate standing next to her father on a chair with a guitar. Followed by the interview setting: Ami Diabate on the right-hand side and RR on the left-hand side (CU, eye-level); same shots while AD sings the song <i>a cappella</i>; final shot with RR applauding and AD looking at someone and smiling (MCU, eye-level) (56:26-57:28)</p> <p>Shot of a group of women dressed in traditional clothes (high-angle, LS, though the space of a bannister on a balcony or terrace); followed by a</p>	<p>A1: RR - same as usual, medium to close-up shots while talking or listening to the music.</p> <p>A2: Mali - represented though some women in traditional clothes present at AD's house (possibly part of the household). Also, a man happily dancing to the music being performed.</p> <p>A4: music - through the live performances.</p> <p>A10: Griot - represented through AD and her father, both Griots.</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking, walking); receptive (listening to the music)</p> <p>A2: stative (sitting and standing); receptive (listening to the music)</p> <p>A4: agentive (in making people appreciate it); receptive (as in being played)</p> <p>A10: agentive (talking, performing)</p>	<p>This final scene brings the role of the Griot back in the foreground. Ami Diabate is the youngest artist interviewed and clearly from a generation which represents the future of Mali. The actors, particularly <i>music, the Griots and Ami Diabate</i> are shown in a very positive light as those with the means to solve Mali's problems. The minor scales of the music, accompanied by AD's very powerful voice and a medium to fast tempo seem to highlight the seriousness with which the Griots see their role in society as well as the gravity of what</p>	

	<p>help. I have prepared a song, 'Let us stop the war' (56:26)</p> <p>AD (singing) "# Let's stop fighting amongst ourselves # Who knows where it may come from? # It doesn't matter if you are right or wrong # By God, if you start a war # you will regret it big time # Look at Rwanda, they have regretted the war #" RR: "Fantastic." (57:11-57:28)</p> <p>RR: <i>Ami's been learning the griot song</i> books since <i>she was just five years old</i>. And <i>I reckon these ancient melodies from Mali's past will be the sound of its future</i> too. (58:08-58:20)</p> <p>End credits: PRESENTED BY RITA RAY, ARCHIVE AFP, BBC MOTION GALLERY, GETTY IMAGES, INA, ROLAND HAMILTON, SUSAN RYDER, GRAPHICS VICTORIA FORD, MUSIC RIGHTS CONSULTANTS CHRISTIAN SIDDELL, IVAN CHANDLER, FIXER MOHAMED AG HAMALECK, TRANSLATORS ZOE DOYARD, AKLI SH'KKA, WILFRED</p>	<p>x3, <i>a griot, you</i> x5, <i>the</i> <i>Peacemaker, I</i> x4, <i>my role of</i> <i>Griot, Ami,</i> <i>just five years</i> <i>old</i>)</p>	<p>Griot, <i>are you</i> the peacemaker, you <i>think</i>, she was just five); agentive (<i>growing up, go, see, play, say, start singing, hear, have prepared, has been learning</i>)</p>		<p>shot of a woman (from behind, MCU, eye-level) leaning at the same balcony, looking below; followed by a CU of AD and the father from behind/side (eye-level); followed by a CU shot (front/side, slight low-angle) of the two performing, alternated with: shots of RR sitting on what looks like a bongo, listening (LS, from behind the guitarist, eye-level); a LS of the duo (same as the very first one); people listening to the performance; CU of AD's hands moving; the lady watching from the balcony, but from a side angle and from below; end credits. (57:28-58:55)</p> <p>Producers and BBC logos (58:55-58:57)</p>	<p>A32: AD - is shown through a variety of shots, mainly medium to close-up while talking to RR and singing the first song, but also through some distant shots while performing with her father. She is wearing traditional clothes and appears at the same time as innocent and resolute in her role as a Griot.</p>	<p>A32: agentive (<i>talking, performing</i>)</p>	<p>is happening in the country.</p>	
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		WILLEY, ASSISTANT PRODUCER TOM COLVILE, SOUND RECORDIST NASSIM EL MOUNABBIH, COLOURIST TIM WALLER, ONLINE EDITOR TRISTAN LANCEY, DUBBING MIXER PHITZ HEARNE, PRODUCTION COORDINATOR ROSIE COLMAN, PRODUCTION MANAGER ROSIE HOLLEDGE, DEPUTY HEAD OF PRODUCTION KERSTIN HENSON, DEVELOPMENT PRODUCER KATE VINES, EDIT PRODUCER ANDRIENNE DOYARD, EDITOR TIM HANSEN, COMMISSIONING EDITOR FOR BBC JAN YOUNGHUSBAND, EXECUTIVE PRODUCER, SAM ANTHONY, FILMED, PRODUCED AND DIRECTED BY CLARE TAVERNON, A Sundog Pictures Production for BBC MUSIC © Sundog Pictures MMXVII (58:28-58:57)								
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Appendix 8.1: P3 interview transcript (13th November 2019, at his house)

1. JC: Hello P3.
2. P3: Hello Jacopo.
3. JC: Thank you very much for agreeing to do this viewing experience for me.
4. P3: You are very welcome.
5. JC: And, just to briefly say what the conversation will be like. There will be kind of three
6. parts, if you like. In the first one we will just go over some of the things that you have
7. written in the questionnaire, so that you can expand, or clarify or just add more if you
8. want to and then we will just talk about, generally, your kind of travelling and cultural
9. experience, because I understand you are very well-travelled [BOTH LAUGH] and also a
10. bit about maybe your... you know, the way you see your country, Britain, nationally,
11. internationally, that kind of thing. Hopefully it won't last more than an hour, that's kind
12. of my maximum, but it may be less than that, depending on how it goes.
13. P3: OK, let's see how it pans out.
14. JC: Brilliant. OK, so if we start with the questionnaire, I won't really cover much the first
15. section, because that's kind of more descriptive of your viewing habits, but obviously I'm
16. more interested in what you thought before and after watching the programme, which I
17. found quite enjoyable, by the way. I thought it was a nice watch. OK, so, I guess, first of
18. all, just tell me about why this programme in particular. Just because it was there or
19. because you had an interest in the place.
20. P3: Yeah, I watched several of Michael Portillo's railway journeys in the past and it wasn't
21. particularly because it was about Australia, I would have watched it with any country. I
22. enjoy his nice style, travel and dealing... talking to people, bringing people out... getting
23. them to talk about interesting things.
24. JC: He's very, sort of, affable.
25. P3: Yeah.
26. JC: Nice kind of guy.
27. P3: Yes, that's right.
28. JC: So, I don't actually know much about him. Has he been doing this for long?
29. P3: Michael Portillo is an ex-politician.
30. JC: Right, OK.
31. P3: He was a member of Margaret Thatcher's government and as far as I remember, he
32. started this TV work five, ten years ago.
33. JC: And always kind of to do with travelling somewhere.
34. P3: Erm, yes. I think he might have done some political programmes as well, but it's the

35. travel aspect that I like.

36. JC: Yes, I bet. So, you said you watched some other programmes that he's done before.

37. P3: Yes, that's in the UK. Most of his journeys seem to be... he's done quite a number

38. going around the UK.

39. JC: Is it always by train?

40. P3: Yes, it is about railway journeys around the UK mostly. It is only more recently that

41. he's started to do the journeys abroad. [CAT WALKS ON THE TABLE] I'm sorry, we've got

42. an intruder [LAUGHS].

43. JC: [LAUGHS] No problem at all, a beautiful intruder. And, so this Australia one is the first

44. that you watched abroad with him or has he done other stuff abroad?

45. P3: This was the third in a series. I've watched some of the first one, but I missed the

46. second one, so... I intend to watch the rest. I think there's another three programmes.

47. JC: OK, so it's a bit of a longer series, and it's all about Australia.

48. P3: Yes, all about Australia.

49. JC: Just by the title being "Australian railway". And did the episode that you watched

50. compare favourably with previous ones? Was it a very similar format?

51. P3: Yes. There was a lot of chat with Australians on a train journey, very affable. And they

52. had a good laugh. But yes, similar, very similar.

53. JC: And I noticed he's kind of working off this Bradshaw guidebook. I was surprised.

54. P3: [LAUGHS] Bradshaw was... goes back to the Victorian times. Bradshaw was the railway

55. guy. The timetable, all train times and a bit of a description about the places.

56. JC: So, it's all connected with trains and railways.

57. P3: All to do... all connected with railways, yeah.

58. JC: So, is that a means of transport that you particularly like when travelling?

59. P3: Erm, I do. I'm not a very experienced train traveller, but I do enjoy a train journey,

60. usually when we are on holiday. If there is like a small railway, I do take notes and I take

61. [NAME OF WIFE], we go and have a trip on the railway. But one of our best travel

62. experiences actually was when we had a trip to Canada and from Vancouver we took the

63. train to the Rocky Mountains.

64. JC: Nice! Actually, I think you mentioned this at some point around [NAMES OF COMMON

65. FRIENDS].

66. P3: Yes, I may have. And that was a fantastic journey.

67. JC: Was it a very long train journey?

68. P3: It was two days, but we didn't sleep on the train. We stopped at a place called

69. Kamloops and carried on with the journey the next day.

70. JC: Brilliant. Right, OK. So, we kind of talked about the programme and you have already

71. watched some of the episodes in this series.

72. P3: Yeah.

73. JC: And was that what you were expecting before watching it. Obviously, you knew that

74. it was going to be from Adelaide to Perth, because that's kind of in the title, wasn't it, of

75. the actual programme.

76. P3: Yeah, that's it.

77. JC: [READING FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE] Erm, and "the presenter will interview a wide

78. range of people met on the journey". OK, very good.

79. P3: Erm, can I say?

80. JC: Sure, please.

81. P3: I was surprised. Australia has never really been a country that attracted me very

82. much. I've always thought of it as not being that exciting or interesting place to go, but

83. this programme has... and I would quite like to go there now [LAUGHS].

84. JC: So, why... why was that so, before?

85. P3: It's just an image you get of places and I'd always thought it was very barren and...

86. yeah, between the cities there's no much to see in the way of countryside, but there was

87. some interesting things, like the goldmine on the way, and...

88. JC: That was very interesting.

89. P3: Yeah, it opened up a new view of Australia for me, in a way. Gave me more of an

90. interest.

91. JC: So, given the opportunity, would you go now?

92. P3: [LAUGHS] I would, but I know [NAME OF WIFE] wouldn't go, so it's not likely that we

93. will go. It's too far.

94. JC: It's a long flight, isn't it? Quite far to get to. Indeed.

95. P3: Yeah.

96. JC: And then other things that you sort of associated with, or thought that would come

97. up, you mention, obviously, this "vast area of underdeveloped land"

98. P3: Yes [BOTH LAUGH AS THE CAT WALKS AROUND THE TABLE]. Come on you! [TO

99. THE CAT] This is Rosie. Come on you. Very friendly girl, aren't you?

100. JC: She is! [BOTH LAUGH]

101. P3: Yes, that's what I was saying, the undeveloped land and not anything very attractive

102. to look at. That's the thoughts that I had.

103. JC: And did you see much of that? I mean there was...

104. P3: Yeah, there was quite a lot. But, there were places in between that made it

105. worthwhile. You know, places of interest.

106. JC: True. So, you put down "Australians have the image of being tough, outgoing and

107. friendly”.

108. P3: Yeah.

109. JC: Was that matched by... where did you get this idea from?

110. P3: I thought... it's just a stereotype. Through your life you build up pictures of things. It's

111. like stereotype, isn't it?

112. JC: Have you known any? Have you worked with any Australians? Or met them on

113. holiday?

114. P3: Not to a very large... I have worked with Australians. Not to get to know them very

115. well. But television... Australian sportsmen, cricket isn't... rugby players [LAUGHS]

116. JC: Of course, yes.

117. P3: You get images, don't you that form an impression of people.

118. JC: And these two or three episodes that you have watched with Michael Portillo are the

119. first ones about Australia? So, as a kind of longer documentary, if you like, or programme

120. about the country. Or had you seen before...

121. P3: No, it was... oh goodness... I can't remember what... where they were. But a lot of it

122. was actually on the train, talking to Australians and they were having a good laugh,

123. joshing.

124. JC: So, would you stick with this definition after watching these couple of episodes?

125. P3: [LAUGHS]

126. JC: “Tough, outgoing and friendly”?

127. P3: Yes, I would actually [BOTH LAUGH]

128. JC: Fair enough.

129. P3: Definitely, yeah.

130. JC: Yes, definitely from the people he was chatting to on the train and when they were

131. playing that...

132. P3: Gambling game, yeah.

133. JC: They seemed a nice bunch of people.

134. P3: Yes, outgoing and ready to join in.

135. JC: Yeah, fair enough. And then you also mentioned that “Aboriginal people may retain a

136. separate culture”.

137. P3: Yes, but that didn't really come up. There wasn't... I don't remember seeing any

138. reference to the Aborigines or...

139. JC: Was there anything in the previous episode, perhaps?

140. P3: No.

141. JC: There may be something in the following ones.

142. P3: Yeah.

143. JC: There is three more to go, isn't there?

144. P3: Yes. There was no... In fact, I don't remember seeing any variety of ethnicity at all.

145. They were all white people.

146. JC: So, just because you mentioned Aboriginal people, what kind of, or how you got to

147. form an idea about, you know, them having a separate culture?

148. P3: Yes, again, it's through the reading, through the TV. They always seem to be a

149. separate... they have a separate way of life from the white Australians.

150. JC: Do they... yes, they're also part of sporting teams?

151. P3: Yes.

152. JC: Rugby for sure, I don't watch cricket unfortunately, but rugby I do and there seem to

153. be quite a mix of ethnicities in that sort of context.

154. P3: Yeah, that's true.

155. JC: OK, so, then after watching the programme, in terms of what kind of impressed you,

156. "Admiration for the people who built the infrastructure and industries of the country.

157. Their resilience, bravery and courage. Sadness for the Fairbridge orphans".

158. JC: OK. Well, let's talk a bit the building of the infrastructures. What did you find

159. particularly...

160. P3: Building the railways over a huge tract of land in very stark conditions. It must have

161. taken... you must have been very tough to undergo that and survive.

162. JC: I mean, they were talking about one thousand miles or something? It took them five

163. years just for the bit that was missing between Kar...

164. P3: Kalgoorlie

165. JC: That's it! [BOTH LAUGH] And Adelaide. That definitely takes a bit of work, doesn't it?

166. P3: Yes, it certainly does.

167. JC: And is that something that you had heard or learnt about before, these kind of

168. engineering marvels in Australia or in other countries?

169. P3: I've read a lot about Brunel and building the Great Western Railway, how they drove

170. through tunnels and building bridges. Yeah, it is something that is of interest. I enjoy

171. museums and seeing how that is done.

172. JC: I guess you share that with [NAME OF COMMON FRIEND] as well?

173. P3: Yes.

174. JC: I know he's quite into his trains and engineering, kind of broadly speaking.

175. P3: Yes, [NAME OF COMMON FRIEND] likes to know how things work, how they're put

176. together.

177. JC: Definitely. And with regard to your second point "Sadness for the Fairbridge orphans",

178. is that, again, something that you knew about already, or heard before?

179. P3: Yeah, I'd heard a little bit about it before, but I didn't realise it was such vast numbers
180. of people involved in it and it went on over a long period of time. I thought it was just
181. something from the '50s and it was just a few years, but it didn't, it went on for... it started
182. a lot earlier than that and went on a lot longer. And it's... I don't know, it got to me that
183. there were those poor people, the way they were treated. And we talk a lot about human
184. rights today, but they had none.

185. JC: I guess, yeah. Different times in many ways, but yeah, nonetheless, you're right, that
186. kind of concept seemed to come out of the programme too, about human rights not
187. being totally adhered to. And again, just out of curiosity, when you... how did you hear
188. before about this Fairbridge...

189. P3: Probably from the newspapers. I didn't know it was called the Fairbridge Project, but
190. I knew that orphans had been sent to Australia and lived in spartan conditions. I didn't
191. know it was to such a great extent.

192. JC: But was it about twenty years ago that you first heard about it, or thirty years ago?

193. P3: I don't know, it's just something I'm aware of. Probably in the last ten years or
194. something I read about it somewhere.

195. JC: OK, so, you enjoyed the programme in general "it was interesting and amusing /
196. entertaining". Anything you want to add in that sense? I mean, you have mentioned quite
197. a few reasons why you thought it was interesting and amusing. Can you recall any bits
198. that were particularly amusing?

199. P3: I remember the dancing bit, that was quite funny. The lady hugged him and said,
200. "That could be a bit intimidating". And he said "I quite enjoy it" [BOTH LAUGH]

201. JC: I remember that as well, actually. And what did you make of him trying to... he was
202. very hands-on, wasn't it? He helped refilling the train with water, he went into the
203. kitchen and helped carving the lamb.

204. P3: Oh yes, that's right.

205. JC: What did you make of that? Were you surprised he was getting his hands dirty, so to
206. speak, or...

207. P3: No, not really. I think that's the type of guy he is. He gets involved with things, as he
208. has on the previous programmes.

209. JC: Right, OK.

210. P3: Yeah, it just adds a little bit of extra interesting things, doesn't it?

211. JC: Sure. And you think he really had two heads on his spin or was that staged? What did
212. you make of that?

213. P3: You know, I thought the same thing. I think they might have... it might have come up
214. lucky the first time, but probably, quite likely they would have staged... waited, kept

215. throwing until they got the right... you know these things are manipulated sometimes.

216. JC: It was just funny that at the first attempt... [BOTH LAUGH] It is possible, though. It is

217. possible of course. OK, so, one thing that you found interesting was "the wine producer

218. and how it was started by a man from Kent".

219. P3: Yeah, that's right, from Dover. A smuggler, I think. They said he was a smuggler

220. [LAUGHS]. Which is not...

221. JC: A smuggler at night, wasn't it?

222. P3: Yeah, and he used to bring things over from France, land them a night. I think there

223. are some tunnels in [NAME OF HIS TOWN] where smugglers had... going back to two

224. hundred years or so, they were bringing in stuff.

225. JC: What did you think about his sort of achievements, if you like, once in Australia?

226. P3: Fantastic, wasn't it, really. If you think about it, they went to Australia with... spent all

227. their money to invest in land and it was a gamble. They... I think, the type of people that

228. went were that type of people that would work hard and make a success of that.

229. JC: Yeah, I think they made it quite clear that the Western part of Australia was the one

230. where people kind of voluntarily went, rather than...

231. P3: Rather than the convicts.

232. JC: Rather than the convicts, if you like, yeah. Do you know anyone who has actually gone

233. to Australia? Acquaintances?

234. P3: No. I know [NAME OF COMMON FRIEND]'s mum and dad went there when they were

235. younger.

236. JC: Sure, you're right.

237. P3: I know [NAME OF COMMON FRIEND] always wanted to go.

238. JC: Is that where they went, Western Australia?

239. P3: I'm not sure where in Australia they went. But my brother was in the civil service and

240. worked for the Foreign Office and he was posted to Darwin, in the north of Australia.

241. JC: Was he? Alright, OK.

242. P3: Two periods of three years.

243. JC: What did he make of it?

244. P3: We could have gone to visit, but we were put off by the reporting back that it's very

245. hot and humid all the time up that way. [NAME OF WIFE] wasn't keen to go and I didn't...

246. JC: How long ago was that?

247. P3: How long... uh, erm... it must have... I think they probably came back twenty years

248. ago. They did two tours out there. But their sons were brought up out there and they had

249. the time of their lives.

250. JC: Did they stay there?

251. P3: No, they weren't old enough, they had to come back. Yeah, they came back. I think
252. they were still too young to make their own lives.

253. JC: Fair enough.

254. P3: But I know they enjoyed the sport particularly. Rugby, swimming. It was a good life
255. for children, apparently. So they said.

256. JC: That sounds pretty good, actually.

257. P3: [NAME OF WIFE] has got a cousin out in Australia as well. She's got... two, two cousins.
258. One, [NAME]. Have you... have you met [NAME], [NAME OF WIFE]'s cousin, in [NAME OF
259. NEARBY TOWN]? They're associated with [NAME OF COMMON FRIEND]

260. JC: Were they at [NAME OF COMMON FRIEND]'s wedding?

261. P3: Thinking now, no, I don't think they were. But, it's her sister and brother, they went
262. when they were much younger [INAUDIBLE], but they've come back and visited a couple
263. of times. And she's enjoyed the life, she's very happy that she went. The other one, I can't
264. remember his name, a bit of a criminal [LAUGHS], unfortunately, has not done so well.

265. JC: OK. And they're both still there?

266. P3: They are still there, but they're both getting on in years now, so. They stayed out
267. there.

268. JC: And the other thing you were surprised about, going back to this, is "how much gold
269. and other minerals are still being produced".

270. P3: Yes. Yeah, I knew there was gold. There has been a gold rush in Australia, but looking
271. at that, they were still producing at that mine. It's quite...

272. JC: It's quite an impressive site as well

273. P3: Yes, the operation there is very good and they're producing a lot of gold. I thought it
274. would have all dried up years ago, the gold, but they are still producing a lot there. I was
275. surprised. And they mentioned another mineral, I don't remember which one it was.

276. JC: Oh, yeah.

277. P3: They are quite rich in minerals there.

278. JC: Yeah, I wasn't aware of that either. It was a surprising bit of news. And "interested to
279. hear the views of the group of Australians towards the end. They were mainly expressing
280. pride in their global and diverse society but were ambiguous about their British heritage
281. and ties to the monarchy."

282. P3: Yeah.

283. JC: Were you... oh "I expected that the younger people would be keen for the country to
284. become a republic". So, first of all, were you surprised that the kind of ties... I mean they
285. had a show of hands about who is a royalist and it was kind of 50/50 at least, wasn't it?

286. P3: Yes, but even though some weren't royalists, I don't think they were fiercely anti-

287. royal and yet I... again, it's just an impression, I thought the younger Australians would
288. prefer to have a republic, would want to repudiate the British heritage. Independent
289. people... would want to be independent and not tied to another country.
290. JC: Yeah, they didn't seem to be too bothered, did they?
291. P3: No.
292. JC: In fact, 'cos then they talked about the visit from Prince... I don't know if it was...
293. P3: Harry, was it?
294. JC: Harry or Alfred? Some... it was a young person describing the whole thing, wasn't she?
295. P3: Yeah, they are still... there is still interest in the royal family.
296. JC: I guess I'm actually not too sure what the institutional organisation is like. I mean,
297. obviously, they have a Prime Minister, I know that. And they must have, well, chambers,
298. as we do in England. But then is it the same as in England, where the Queen is actually
299. the Head of State?
300. P3: The Queen is the Head of State.
301. JC: It's the same exactly as Britain, as in the constitutional structure, if you like.
302. P3: Yes
303. JC: Would she still have, kind of... I mean, she hasn't got a lot of power here either, but
304. would she have some veto powers over there? I don't know actually.
305. P3: No, I think it's more a ceremonial role out there. As it is here, really.
306. JC: Yeah, fair enough.
307. P3: Where they go through the motions of her signing off laws. If she was to rebel and
308. say "No, I'm not signing that.", then they would have to change the constitution.
309. JC: I wonder if they refer to the Australian government as 'Her Majesty's Government' as
310. well. That's interesting.
311. P3: I'm not sure, but they're all part of the Commonwealth, that's another thing that
312. comes into this.
313. JC: Of course. OK, before we kind of move on, is there anything else about the programme
314. that we haven't spoken about and that you would like to mention?
315. P3: Erm, just that I was surprised at the size of the city, Perth. It's amazing in such a short
316. time that it's grown to such a size, in a relatively short time. I suppose that's something
317. we see all over the world now, growth in population and therefore the urban centres are
318. getting bigger.
319. JC. Certainly. OK, brilliant. So, travelling seems to have been one of the instigators
320. for watching this programme. Can you tell me a bit how many different countries you've
321. visited? Which ones have left an impression on you and for what reason?
322. P3: We've been to a lot of countries in Europe and a lot of countries in the Americas. But

323. we haven't really travelled any further than that. So, the US, Canada, a lot of the
324. Caribbean countries. We've visited Panama and Costa Rica, on a cruise. And Colombia,
325. we had a stop in Colombia. But, you know, all the usual countries in Europe. We've been
326. in France, Germany, Luxemburg, Belgium, Italy
327. JC: Good you mentioned that [BOTH LAUGH]
328. P3: Several times! [BOTH LAUGH] And, joking aside, it is one of my favourite places, Italy.
329. So, I suppose, overall, at a rough estimate, I have probably been to between forty and
330. fifty different countries.
331. JC: And what would, kind of, drive your choices. In the past, what made you want to go
332. to, say, Canada instead of, I don't know, Mexico for example, or Italy instead of Greece?
333. I don't, know, just to say a couple of names.
334. P3: Well, Canada was really one of the favourite holidays. We wanted to go there
335. particularly for the scenery, wildlife. We'd like to see bears and the such. It was the train
336. journey as well, one of the drivers that, you know, it was a two-week holiday. Going back
337. to what I was saying about Australia, you build an image of somewhere over the years
338. and some places are, you know, more attractive than others. For the US, we first went to
339. Florida. That was about twenty years ago, and that was [NAME OF WIFE]'s choice. We
340. went on a tour of Florida, including three days at Disney [LAUGHS], and that's what
341. attracted [NAME OF WIFE] more than anything.
342. JC: Is she into rides and theme parks?
343. P3: No, more... yes, theme parks, certainly. But, she's a bit delicate because of her
344. arthritis, so she can't go on anything too... you know, that's gonna jerk her about too
345. much. But, that holiday, also, included a visit to the Kennedy Space Centre and you go
346. down into the Everglades. And that's... they appeal to me more than the Disney thing.
347. Having said that, I did thoroughly enjoy the Disney thing when I got there [BOTH LAUGH].
348. The rides. I was more on the rides than [NAME OF WIFE] was.
349. JC: Did you find these places, like, around the US which supposedly are quite similar, you
350. know in terms of way of living, to the UK, quite different culturally? Or were they pretty
351. much like being here?
352. P3: Canada, I think they are more an outdoor, what you would call an outdoor-oriented
353. country. They get stuck indoors during the winter quite a lot. Yeah, but it's definitely the
354. outdoors that attracted us to Canada. Their culture is pretty much very similar to ours.
355. There's obviously big differences... some differences in the US, their gun laws and
356. attitudes.
357. JC: How did you get on with the Americans?
358. P3: Not bad, really. I think they were generally courteous, willing to engage with us. Good

359. to have a conversation with.

360. JC: Same in Europe?

361. P3: Yes, yes, pretty much the same. Most European people speak English [LAUGHS].

362. JC: Which helps, I guess.

363. P3: It does, yes. I'm afraid I don't speak any other language. I know some words in other

364. languages, but not a very big vocabulary. I mean, this is something that we found from

365. the beginning: almost everywhere you go in Europe there are some people who speak

366. good English. It makes us lazy [LAUGH]

367. JC: Maybe [LAUGH]. Have you ever ventured, sort of East of Europe or South of Europe?

368. You know, Asia or Africa?

369. P3: The only African... Egypt, which is the most we've... we went on a trip on the Nile.

370. Well, first we were on a cruise, a Mediterranean cruise and we went on a trip to visit the

371. pyramids of Giza, just a little taste of it and then we went on a bit of a cruise on the Nile.

372. Yes, that was very good, very interesting. Saw lots of temples, antiquities.

373. JC: Yeah, I guess it is one of the oldest places...

374. P3: Yeah.

375. JC: We are yet to go to Egypt, but it's on...

376. P3: It's on the list.

377. JC: It's just a bit of a dangerous place at the moment. Well, not a dangerous place, but

378. there is quite a lot going on at the moment, to be fair.

379. P3: Yes, that's it. I think they've started again going... flights back to the Red Sea holiday

380. resorts. But, yes, you do have concern about terrorist bombings. I would recommend... I

381. don't know what kind of thing you're into, but that was one of the best river cruises that

382. we've done, on the Nile. It's not just the antiquities and the things that we visited, but on

383. the ship they seem to make every effort on the entertainment side. Very courteous and

384. helpful.

385. JC: Did you get much of a chance on that cruise to stop at towns and see, as well as

386. shopping, or not?

387. P3: Not a lot, but we did stop in Luxor and had a walk around.

388. JC: What did you make of that?

389. P3: It's... it was interesting, but a lot of beggars. You get constantly [LAUGHS] a lot of

390. people trying to...

391. JC: We had a similar experience in India, especially in the big cities like Kolkata, Varanasi.

392. Similar sort of thing.

393. P3: Yeah. That reminds me now, when we visited the pyramids, people tried to sell you

394. things. It's not just begging, but they are very intrusive [LAUGHS]

395. JC: It's hardcore, kind of, hard sales, isn't it? [BOTH LAUGH]

396. P3: Yes.

397. JC: True.

398. P3: Yes, in your face. [BOTH LAUGH]

399. JC: Literally!

400. P3: Yeah [BOTH LAUGH]. On the ship we had an Egyptian evening and everyone had to

401. dress up. So... I can't remember where we were exactly, but we went around these

402. bazaars, and I was intending to buy a robe, an Egyptian robe. [LAUGHS] And I was walking

403. along and I was almost dragged into [BOTH LAUGH] "You try this on, you try this on". And

404. I ended up buying this...

405. JC: Of course you did! [BOTH LAUGH]

406. P3: [NAME OF WIFE] said... [NAME OF WIFE] was not pleased. She'd walked on a bit and

407. turn around and found I wasn't there [LAUGHS]

408. JC: Alright!

409. P3: They are rather [INAUDIBLE] "Oh, you could have got one cheaper somewhere else!"

410. [BOTH LAUGH]

411. JC: But did it do the job? Was it appreciated?

412. P3: Yes, yes that's right. And I had a little fez as well. [LAUGHS]

413. JC: Have you still got it? Did you keep it, as a souvenir?

414. P3: I think it's still upstairs in the wardrobe, yeah [LAUGHS]

415. JC: Brilliant! [LAUGHS]

416. P3: I've got a picture of [NAME OF COMMON FRIEND] wearing in actually, on the night

417. before he married [NAME OF COMMON FRIEND]

418. JC: Right, on his stag do! OK! [BOTH LAUGH]

419. P3: I'll have to get it out one time. [BOTH LAUGH]

420. JC: Definitely! And, yeah, so you obviously had experiences of cultures abroad. What

421. about in this country? Anyone in your social circle or work? Did you have many

422. opportunities to talk or deal with people from different cultures or countries?

423. P3: I have in the past, mostly. I've always lived in [NAME OF LOCAL AREA] and I have

424. worked in London. I worked in what was call an 'unemployment benefit office' and

425. almost everybody, every member of staff, was from a different place.

426. JC: Right.

427. P3: So, it was very interesting. We used to socialise quite a lot then. This is going back

428. some years, twenty, twenty-five, thirty years. But, yeah we used to have some good time.

429. JC: And was it easier or more difficult to work in a multicultural environment, as opposed

430. to, you know, one where you were mainly surrounded by Brits?

431. P3: No, we got on fine. And they spoke English. [LAUGHS]

432. JC: Sure, sure.

433. P3: There was no problem with any discrimination or anything. The management treated
434. everybody the same. No evidence of any discrimination. And I always... never had any
435. feelings of them being different to me.

436. JC: Sure

437. P3: They were just people to me and we got on... I got on with Indians. There was an
438. Afghan chap. I remember an Afghan chap and he was very... he was a bit different, but,
439. you know, we got on. I think that's [LAUGHS]... that's me. I'm quite happy to talk to
440. anybody and don't treat any... the only time I felt as if somebody was not the same as me
441. is when I was at school. I went to school in a Medway town, in Rochester, and there were
442. a lot of Indians and, in those days it was normal to racially... not hatred, but feeling that
443. perhaps they're a bit inferior. That's the way people were brought up. And I remember
444. some of the Indian and the Pakistani kids at school and they were not treated very nicely.

445. JC: What, by teachers or by peers?

446. P3: No, mostly by peers. I think the teachers were, generally anyway, decent enough to
447. all kids. As kids, we were not always nice to them. Yeah, I feel quite ashamed of it in some
448. ways now, but I think that's past. I lot of that is past. Probably there is still racial
449. discrimination in this country, but not to the same extent as there was then. We've been
450. educated and we understand now about diversity.

451. JC: So, do you feel like, in general, that nowadays the country is more... I mean, you
452. mentioned, not hatred, applies to those times. Do you think there is a lot less of that
453. nowadays?

454. P3: Oh, definitely, yeah. I know there is. I know there is a lot less of that. There are... there
455. probably still is some of it, but not to the same extent that there was in those days.

456. JC: Do you think it's gone from being acceptable to unacceptable, effectively?

457. P3: Yes.

458. JC: So, it still happens, but people don't accept it anymore.

459. P3: That's right. People stand up and don't accept it now. [3] I was... first... as a very young
460. kid I was a member... my dad was in the air force. We lived in a lot of different... we lived
461. around quite a lot. And I always remember walking across, I think it was at [NAME OF
462. LOCAL AIRPORT], and my mum was taking myself and my two brothers somewhere and
463. she saw a black man approach and she said [LOWERS HIS VOICE TO MAKE AN
464. IMPRESSION OF HER] "Don't you say anything to that black man!"

465. JC: Right.

466. P3: [NERVOUS LUGHTER] And that's what it was. I wasn't... They just thought of them as

467. different. But I'm sure it's much better now.

468. JC: Fair enough, fair enough. OK, that's very good. And since we've kind of moved on this

469. kind of social and political aspects, if you like. I mean, if you look at society nowadays,

470. and, you know, let's say the way it's kind of changed since those times. Do you think that

471. we are now in a better position than we were, you know, forty years ago, fifty years ago.

472. What kind of things do you value as being very positive or positive at the moment and

473. what kind of things do you value as being perhaps not so good about how things are going

474. in the country or, you know, amongst society as you've experienced it yourself?

475. P3: I'm not quite sure what you...

476. JC: I guess, what do you feel as being good about Britain today and what do you feel as

477. being maybe not so good, if anything?

478. P3: Humm. Well, what we've already talked about. I think it's good that we can all get on

479. a lot better without any, or with very little feeling of animosity towards other people.

480. Erm [4] now what I feel about this country now, we've got... erm, I don't like all the

481. expansion and the building everywhere and a lot of it it's due to overpopulation. Now, I

482. don't dislike anybody coming into the country, but I think we've got too many immigrants

483. coming and it weighs down all our system. It is not the same. You used to get an

484. appointment at the doctor with no trouble, but with so many people the population has

485. grown so much and a lot of that is through immigration. But that's, in a way that's... the

486. quality of life has gone down in things like, just driving your car. The roads are packed.

487. Lots of people trying to get to work. So that's not good. Now, I hate to see the English

488. countryside being all built on. And it seems, particularly in Kent, that we are losing a lot

489. of countryside.

490. JC: Yeah, you must have seen quite a few changes in this area. I mean, I have seen some

491. and I've only been here ten years.

492. P3: Yes, that's right [BOTH LAUGH]. That's it then. Well, it seems to have accelerated in

493. the last fifteen, twenty years, these building. I mean, I don't blame people for coming

494. here or... but the fact that they are here, it sorts of overcrowd it.

495. JC: I guess it puts a strain on [the infrastructures. That's definitely, like a fair comment.

496. P3: [Puts a strain on resources, yeah.

497. JC: So what would you say, like [

498. P3: [and let me just say, so, about people coming here

499. illegally. [(NERVOUS?) LAUGHTER] I can't understand why everybody who want to... not

500. everybody, but a large number of people want to come specifically to the UK. Is that

501. because of the benefits? I don't know really.

502. JC: Mind you, in theory they wouldn't be able to access the system if they were illegal.

503. P3: Yeah, yeah, no [BOTH LAUGH], but... that's true, but they have ways and means. But
504. I do sometimes feel resentful of people who come here not contributing, not contributing
505. to society.

506. JC: Sure. Because it's a collective effort, isn't it?

507. P3: Most of the immigrants that come here are working and contributing. That's fine,
508. there's no problem with them. But it's the overcrowding that is the problem.

509. JC: So, would the solution be along the lines of what Australia does, or Canada does, or
510. the US? Where you have to have a sponsor, if you like, to work, effectively.

511. P3: I don't know how we would sort it out, but yeah perhaps something like that would
512. help, but we know for certain that we need more people working in the NHS. It's like the
513. fruit picking: people come mostly from Europe to do that. It's... I don't know why but
514. British people don't seem to want to do that type of job now. In the previous generations
515. it used to be mostly women that would... housewives and that, then they would have a
516. job in the summer picking fruit.

517. JC: Yes? Right, OK. I didn't know that, for example.

518. P3: Yes, it was very much a seasonal work. Sometimes they would take the kids out in the
519. fields with them.

520. JC: So they had a day out! [BOTH LAUGH]. Day out in the fields.

521. P3: Eating fruit [BOTH LAUGH]

522. JC: That's one way of entertaining them!

523. P3: I don't know if you know about hop-picking and that. Do you know? From years ago,
524. it was the annual thing, that Londoners use to come down to Kent and pick hops.

525. JC: Oh, alright, OK.

526. P3: Yeah, for a few weeks and they would stay in rough accommodation supplied by the
527. farmers.

528. JC: OK. And when did that sort of die out? Because I've never seen it in my time here.

529. P3: I suppose, probably in the sixties and seventies. Because there was a lot of hop
530. growing in Kent. I think there's still some, but not nearly as much as there was. And, it
531. was. It was the annual holiday for Londoners, coming to earn some money picking hops
532. in Kent.

533. JC: And in terms of what goes on here, how do you find out? You know, how do you make
534. your opinions or learn about things that are going on in the country?

535. P3: Through the newspapers and the TV news. I'm an avid watcher of the BBC news and
536. ITV. No quite so keen these days, it seems to be all the... what with Brexit and it's dragging
537. on and it's starting [LAUGHS]

538. JC: Fair enough.

539. P3: I'm not... I do use an iPad and sometimes I look at the BBC website and the news from
540. there as well, but that's my main thing. And I do... I like to talk to people. My job is visiting
541. people at home and I like to converse and get people tell me things about the past and
542. they talk about all sorts of things, football [LAUGH]

543. JC: And when talking to people, do you see like, differences in the perception of what
544. goes on as compared to what the news show or do you think they are pretty much the
545. same ideas and [INAUDIBLE]. I mean, for example, just to give you an example, if the TV
546. says like "things are going very bad with the economy", and so on and so forth, people
547. seem to think "well, actually no. I don't think see as much of a difference as they say" or
548. do they seem to think [

549. P3: [that's a good example. Generally, I think people don't take a lot
550. of notice of news, politics, and they just get on with their lives not knowing even much
551. about what's going on in the... not everybody, but a lot of people.

552. JC: And why would you say that is? Is that because they are content with their lives or
553. because they don't care or because they don't see any difference [P3 LAUGHS] in the
554. future anyway?

555. P3: I don't know, they just don't want to necessarily want to engage. They're happy with
556. their own lives, or not necessarily happy with their own lives, but they just get on with
557. their own affairs. On the other hand, there is other people that do like to keep up with
558. what's happening.

559. JC: And are you also interested a bit in international affairs and politics or is it less of an
560. interest for you?

561. P3: Yeah, I do keep an eye on what's going on throughout the country. I'm interested to
562. know what's happening with the elections, although that can get a bit overbearing at
563. times, a bit too much.

564. JC: And are there any other countries that you're interested, for whatever reason, to
565. know about?

566. P3: I am interested generally in the world and what's going on elsewhere, but not another
567. country particularly.

568. JC: And do you see this kind of programmes as a way of learning about the world or other
569. countries?

570. P3: Yes, certainly. I'm very interested in finding out about other places and that's a good
571. way of finding out.

572. JC: It is a way to go somewhere without going somewhere.

573. P3: Yeah, it is. Things like Michael Palin. Have you ever seen Michael Palin?

574. JC: Yes, I have seen some. Is he still doing any of that sort of [

575. P3: [I don't think there is
576. anything going currently?
577. JC: So, did you use to watch his stuff as well?
578. P3: Yes, I've watched some of his things in the past. And that Joanna Lumley, she did
579. something on Egypt.
580. JC: Oh yeah, yes. She also did the silk road. She went through [Georgia and all the 'stan'
581. P3: [That's right, yeah. I
582. didn't watch all of that. I saw bits and pieces of it.
583. JC: And kind of based on your experiences abroad, in Europe, or when you go to Europe
584. or somewhere else, I mean, how do you think Britain is seen abroad? What kind of
585. image do you think people have of Britain?
586. P3: You can tell me a bit more about that [BOTH LAUGH]
587. JC: I have been here for too long! I don't know anymore, sorry, I would be too biased
588. [BOTH LAUGH]
589. P3: I think, generally, as far as I can tell, we are sort of well-accepted and liked. There is
590. sometimes, perhaps, a perception of us, of the old empire that perhaps some people
591. may not appreciate. Our role in the world previously. But I think, generally, Britain is
592. quite accepted as a reasonable place (4) multicultural society, adhere to the rules. I
593. think people see us as being fair, the old thing about queuing for buses.
594. JC: That's definitely one of the things that strikes the most when you first visit the
595. country: queues everywhere [BOTH LAUGH]. And when you say that some people say
596. things about the imperial past, do you mean people here in this country or people in
597. different countries that may still have a bit of, not a problem, but have some sort of
598. animosity, if you like.
599. P3: Yeah, maybe, not animosity. I don't know how to express it. They still retain a
600. memory of it and it colours their view of us.
601. JC: Have you actually ever come across such... you know, someone who had those kinds
602. of thoughts? Or have you seen it somewhere?
603. P3: No, I suppose, really, it's my perception of what people might think. I can't really
604. think of an example.
605. JC: Fair enough, it's hard, isn't it?
606. P3: Yeah.
607. JC: Absolutely. Brilliant, OK. Right. Unless you want to add anything else off your own
608. back, either about the programme or what we've talked about, you know, your cultural
609. and social experiences, perceptions and opinions.
610. P3: I can't really think of anything further. I don't know if I told you, when my dad was

611. in the RAF I spent a couple of years in Cyprus, when we were kids. That was our first
612. experience of abroad.

613. JC: Right.

614. P3: So, I did actually live outside of the country.

615. JC: What kind of memories do you keep of that?

616. P3: Sorry?

617. JC: What kind of memories do you have from that time?

618. P3: I was seven when we went to Cyprus. I remember getting off the aeroplane and
619. how hot it was [BOTH LAUGH]. But thinking back then, I don't think British people
620. generally had a lot of respect for the local people there. (6) Adults then didn't have a lot
621. of respect for the local people.

622. JC: Mind you, it was a different time, wasn't it?

623. P3: It was. Yeah, very different.

624. JC: I mean, if you're talking about when you were seven years old.

625. P3: Yeah, the early 1960s. So, it was a long time ago. But again, it's testimony of how
626. things have changed. I don't think British people would treat or would have the same
627. attitude, in general anyway.

628. JC: Yeah, of course.

629. P3: But it was good. It was a nice couple of years. [We lived...]

630. JC: [Did you go to school there?]

631. P3: Yes, we did. We used to get... it was actually an RAF school, so we didn't have a lot
632. of interaction with the local people, really. We used to get up and go to school quite
633. early in the morning and finish at lunch time. And it was all fun and games, swimming
634. and [INAUDIBLE] in the afternoons. Like a long holiday [LAUGHS]

635. JC: So, your father was in the RAF?

636. P3: Yes.

637. JC: All of his working life?

638. P3: He joined up in the Second World War.

639. JC: So, he fought in the Second World War?

640. P3: Yes. He was a radio operator on a flying boats and he used to [

641. JC: [on a flying boats?]

642. P3: Well, an aircraft, but they used to call them flying boats. Yeah, it was a great big
643. thing with hulls and they could land in the water.

644. JC: OK, right.

645. P3: They're submarine hunting. German submarine hunting. I don't think he saw much
646. in the way of actual fighting. They dived a few bombs and depth charges and things

647. like that. But very rarely came to contact with another... with a German aircraft. Yeah,
648. that was his thing. They used to make these boats... Sunderland flying boats they were
649. called and they used to make them in the Medway. My dad worked in a factory there
650. before he was old enough to join the forces. And, of course, when he joined up that was
651. his... had his training on radios and was put into flying boats, the Sunderlands that he'd
652. helped building. And then he came out after the war, [was demoted?], didn't get on
653. very well in civilian life and so he joined up again. He had a long career and finished in
654. 1968, I think it was.

655. JC: And that was the only time he was deployed abroad, when he went to Cyprus.

656. P3: No, mostly in the UK, but he flew a lot over... they used to go down to Africa on...
657. they called it 'Transport Command'. He used to fly down to Malta, stay the night in
658. Malta and then down into Africa, different countries in Africa.

659. JC: Right. That's quite a life.

660. P3: It was. Yes, it was. He enjoyed it.

661. JC: Did he talk much about it with you?

662. P3: He didn't tell us much about the war time until... not at all really, but a bit more as
663. he got older. Yes, he told us about... I mean, our own interest was his... they were
664. issued... when they were night flying, they'd been issued with rations of things like
665. boxes of Kit Kat. Of course, we used to "Got any flight rations, dad?" [BOTH LAUGH]

666. JC: That's funny.

667. P3: He'd bring home a Kit Kat or two. But it was interesting because we lived on RAF
668. camps and used to see the various aircrafts, the air shows and things like that.

669. JC: So, I was quite interested because you said that the aircrafts and stuff were made in
670. Medway.

671. P3: In the Medway, yes, in Chatham, Rochester.

672. JC: And how do you see... I see like a very a big change in the British economy, not
673. producing much anymore.

674. P3: Yeah.

675. JC: What did you make of that, was that a shock as it was happening?

676. P3: Not a shock as such, but it's really quite sad all these great British companies, you
677. know, car makers and that, went to the wall, didn't they? And then they were
678. overtaken by foreign companies coming in and the foreign companies managed to run
679. the factories better. It was a strange... because if you think about the '70s the unions
680. were to the fore and management couldn't... management didn't seem strong enough
681. to keep these... you know, the workers had control almost. And that's why a lot of
682. British industries went to the wall. But then other things come along and we've got

683. much more of a tourist industry now, haven't we? Financial... the City, and such like.

684. JC: And was that in any way...

685. P3: I think probably the North was more effected.

686. JC: Fair enough, places like Leeds and Sheffield. And do you think that made any

687. different in how communities gel together? Say like, in a town people were working in

688. the same factor.

689. P3: Oh yeah, obviously that's fractured communities to a certain extent. When I left

690. school, I worked in the Royal Navy Dockyard in Chatham and that was the biggest

691. employer in that town. I'd left, but then in 1982 that got closed down. I think that made

692. everyone in the Medway towns think, "Oh, it's gonna be very bad. It's gonna be hard to

693. get a job". Other things take over.

694. JC: Although Medway towns are a bit like Thanet in a way. There is not a hell of a lot of

695. work around, is there?

696. P3: No, but there is still some industry. Hospitals are the biggest employers in the

697. country at the moment. People travel up to London from the Medway towns.

698. JC: True, it's not far, is it?

699. P3: No. I did it myself.

700. JC: Right.

701. P3: But as I said, I think the North was more affected by the closing down of the

702. traditional industries and you hear about the North/South divide. You get the

703. perception that the Northerners have got a bit of animosity towards the Southerners.

704. JC: Do you think that's still the case, then, to this day?

705. P3: Erm, yeah to a certain extent. But not really generally. I've got... my sister lives in

706. Yorkshire and to the Yorkshire people Yorkshire is the greatest place on earth [BOTH

707. LAUGH]

708. JC: And do you think the animosity is reciprocated? Are Southerners fine with

709. Northerners?

710. P3: Yeah, I think so, generally.

711. JC: Because in Italy it's the same, but they're both as bad as each other [BOTH LAUGH]

712. P3: I've heard this before. Someone I spoke to, one of my customers... quite recently I

713. think it was. He was from the South and you talk to people about... I talk about holidays

714. and things to people, the lakes and that and they're "Oh, I've never been up there".

715. [BOTH LAUGH]

716. JC: There is a bit of that, I think. It goes both ways. I'm not saying that we don't like

717. them and they don't like us in general, but, you know, as you hear some Northerners

718. complain about the Southerners, so you hear the Southerners slagging off the

719. Northerners, for whatever reason.

720. P3: Is it almost a snobbery thing, then? Is it the same as British? Do the Northerners

721. think that they are better than the Southerners?

722. JC: I think, it's kind of the opposite than here, in that the North of Italy has always been

723. the most kind of productive, richest part of the country. So, they may have a bit that

724. sort of snobbish... not all of them, of course, but, you know, some of them may have

725. that snobbish ideal. Whereas the Southerners, I guess, resent that, because they think

726. that that is not true, that they're not less worthy, if you like, than the Northerners and

727. some resent that and then bite back by saying, you know "you're all work and no life"

728. kind of thing. [BOTH LAUGH] That's the sort of idea. "You're all sad, all you do is work,

729. work, work". I don't know, there's some of that. And there's a big food divide as well,

730. like, in the South they think that the food is much, much better. There you go [BOTH

731. LAUGH]

732. P3: Is there still a big thing... does the mafia come into people consciousness a lot in

733. Italy?

734. JC: Yeah, yeah. The thing is that, historically, this kind of criminal organisations have

735. always provided when the State couldn't.

736. P3: Ah.

737. JC: So, let's say that you had a situation like here in Thanet or in places like Chatham or

738. Gillingham, where you have loads of unemployment and the State could not manage to

739. basically provide wages and things, the criminal organisation would come in and,

740. effectively, employ them and pay their wages and pay wages to their families if they

741. went to prison. So, they were seen, unfortunately, because there was a weak State,

742. they were seen as a replacement effectively.

743. P3: Yeah.

744. JC: That's how they've thrived effectively. They provided the economic... not social or

745. physical security because they could get killed or imprisoned any time, but at least the

746. financial support for lots of families who didn't have any. I mean in this country, you've

747. got [

748. P3: [So, a lot of people see them as friend, rather than...

749. JC: Well, I mean, I wouldn't say that most people like what they're doing. They probably

750. hate what they're doing. They just can't see a viable alternative, basically. I think that's

751. the way most people see that. Because obviously in this country you've got a fairly

752. strong welfare system: even if you're not working or you can't find work, you can still

753. have a roof over your head and some food in your fridge and everything. In Italy,

754. unfortunately, there isn't such a thing. There is very good basic services, you know,

755. everyone gets schooling and NHS equivalent, and so on and so forth, but in terms of
756. actual living means, as in like having a roof over your head and food in your fridge,
757. there isn't as good a welfare system as there is in this country. So, people are really...
758. P3: They fall through the net [
759. JC: [and that's one of the answers they find. Not a pleasant
760. state of affairs, to be honest, but...
761. P3: Yeah. I think to a certain extent the IRA were like that. You know, in previous times,
762. not now, people looked at them for protection and help if they'd fallen on hard times.
763. JC: Yeah. Well, thanks K., this is very good, brilliant. We've gone over the hour and I'm
764. sorry about that.
765. P3: No, no. It's been very interesting.
766. JC: And I hope [
767. P3: [Have I got the job? [BOTH LAUGH]
768. JC: Yes, indeed. You're hired. But yeah, I hope that wasn't too dire.
769. P3: No, not all.
770. JC: I thought we had a nice chat about a number of things, which is good.
771. P3: I hope it's useful.
772. JC: Yeah, I'm sure.

Appendix 8.2: Summative analysis of P3 interaction with Australian Great Railway Journeys: Adelaide to Perth

Actors	Linguistic representation	Audio representation	Visual representation	Overall text representation	Viewer representation	Interpretative code of the viewer	Evidential and ideological effects	Critical notes
A1: Michael Portillo	Generally neutral. This serves the purpose to portray MP as a balanced, not-biased, trustworthy source and helps by-passing <i>epistemic vigilance of the source</i> .	When shown in shots where he is not speaking, MP is generally accompanied by sustained tempo musical pieces in major scales. These create an association of energy, positivity and adventure with his character. The initial piece of music in the second scene of part 7 is an interesting one, since the major scale of the piece is now combine with a slow tempo, almost signalling a change in mood. This is then fully realised with the remainder music pieces in the scene, all in minor scales.	MP is shown through a variety of camera shots and angles, although never from a relatively high-angle (with the exception of aerial shots who are, however, establishing shots) - therefore he is always represented as equal to the audience (eye-level shots) or as someone with some form of authority (low-angle shots). More interestingly is his appearance, always clean-shaven, smartly dressed and wearing very colourful outfits: these two elements could be connected to upper-middle class values, where the smart casual (rather than smart or even formal of the upper classes) is matched by vibrant colour that carry ideas such as originality, freedom/will to transcend established canons and optimism. Moreover, MP is often shown getting his hands dirty, helping people along his journey: this element helps create a feeling of proximity between him and the people he meets and, by association, the audience (who are likely to be similar to the people MP meets, i.e. 'ordinary' people).	MP is shown as an enthusiastic and affable traveller, who feels at ease in many different situations and is able to make the people he interacts to equally comfortable in his presence. He is shown as a knowledgeable person, but not an expert, although, arguably the guidebook he carries is given that role and he is shown as closely associated with it (carrying it around, having it on his dinner table and in bed). Moreover, he is represented as a very hands-on type of person, helping people he talks to while they do their jobs. The combination of the modes serve to bypass the <i>epistemic vigilance of the source</i> by creating an authoritative, objective persona, who is at the same time hard-working, affable and optimistic. This persona, however, would only work with people who share some of those values and who are from a similar background to MP, i.e. middle-class or above, possibly sympathetic with conservative rather than progressive politics.	P3: I have watched previous episodes and know the style of the presenter well (Q, item 10) P3: I watched several of Michael Portillo's railway journeys in the past and it wasn't particularly because it was about Australia, I would have watched it with any country. I enjoy his nice style, travel and dealing... talking to people, bringing people out... getting them to talk about interesting things (I, lines 20-23) P3: There was a lot of chat with Australians on a train journey, very affable. And they had a good laugh (I, lines 51-52) JC: I remember that as well, actually. And what did you make of him trying to... he was very hands-on, wasn't it? He helped refilling the train with water, he went into the kitchen and helped carving the lamb. P3: Oh yes, that's right. JC: What did you make of that? Were you surprised he was getting his hands dirty, so to speak, or... P3: No, not really. I think that's the type of guy he is. He gets involved with things, as he has on the previous programmes. JC: Right, OK. P3: Yeah, it just adds a little bit of extra interesting things, doesn't it? (I, lines 201-210)	<i>Dominant code:</i> P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it.	<i>Evidential effect:</i> none in particular, as P3 seemed to be already aware of Michael Portillo and his professional and personal identities. <i>Improving ideological effect:</i> P3 enjoys watching Portillo's programmes, so it can be deduced that each of them strengthens his positive judgement about the host.	It is an interesting thing in itself that a high-profile politician (MP from 1984 to 2005 with only a brief 2-year interruption, minister under Thatcher and Major, and contestant for the Conservative leadership) is given a job as a television host, as one wonders how much of his politics are embedded in the programme. It should be noted, however, that MP has not written the programme, but just presented it. MP has got conservative ideologies, which have been publicly displayed both when he was a politician and after. He is also a very romantic person, meaning that he looks at the old times gone as better than modern days, which again entail a whole set of ideological preferences, last but not least the idea of Britain as a dominant world power.

A2:
Bradshaw's
Book

Generally neutral, simply referred to as Bradshaw, Bradshaw's Handbook or the guidebook. The processes the book is involved are mainly agentive and verbal ('says', 'warns'). As for MP, this serves the purpose to portray the book as a balanced, not-biased, trustworthy source and helps by-passing *epistemic vigilance of the source*.

Usually the book is read by MP while on trains and the same music described for MP above applied to the book, i.e. major scales with upbeat and *allegro* tempos.

The book can be seen as shown in a fairly positive light for a number of reason: 1) the condition of the book is very good for a 100-year old book; 2) close up of the pages MP is reading enhance its trustworthiness; 3) the animated additions that are made to it bring the book to life and give the book a contemporary feel. Moreover, the book is often shown in close proximity to MP, whether in his hands, on his dinner table or in bed with him. This visual proximity enhances the idea of how important and valuable this book is, and again helps by-passing *epistemic vigilance of the source*.

The book is represented as a trustworthy source and as the starting point of the adventure MP has embarked on. There is also a lot of intertextuality connected to the book, as it is also used in other 'Great Railway Journeys' programmes made by MP.

JC: And I noticed he's kind of working off this Bradshaw guidebook. I was surprised.
P3: [LAUGHS] Bradshaw was... goes back to the Victorian times. Bradshaw was the railway guy. The timetable, all train times and a bit of a description about the places.
JC: So, it's all connected with trains and railways.
P3: All to do... all connected with railways, yeah. (I, lines 53-57)

Dominant code: P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it.

Evidential effect: none in particular, as P3 seemed to be already aware of the book (possibly from watching other programmes where it was used).

Improving ideological effect: P3's opinion of what the book is about seems to be strengthened by the programme he watched for the research. Moreover, P3 seems to trust the validity of the book as a source of information, as the latter is not questioned.

Although MP uses the book as a source of information about Australia, it has to be said that he doesn't engage with it uncritically. For example, in the first episode (which P3 says he has watched) MP questions the BB which stated that indigenous people's life was precarious when the first white settlers arrived. Similarly, in episode two the guide MP is with challenges what the BB says about who were the first explorers to successfully cross the Blue Mountains and MP seems happy to concede.

A3:
Australia/
Australians

Australia (rather than Australians) is mainly reresented through neutral connotation, with some positive connotations connected to its natural beauties and wealth of natural resources. The only negative connotations are connected with the Nullarbor Plain, described as 'fearsome' and 'notorious'. There is also a wide range of processes: agentive ones are often used to describe the occurrence of historical events connected with the making of Australia as a modern country; receptive ones are

Generally speaking, the programme is full of major scale musical pieces, which give a sense of adventure and excitement around all the different Australian locations that are shown. Exception to this are some of the music pieces used while crossing the Nullarbor Plain, which use minor scales.

Both Australia and Australia people are shown in a variety of ways. Positive: panorama shots of the continent and some of its natural resources (e.g. gold); negative: the barren looks of the Nullarbor Plain; some of the Australian people shown in the gambling scene (part 5) are dressed in pretty simple clothes, which contrast with MP's smart/casual style; neutral: Australians are shown busy in their everyday lives, walking around the town centres, sitting on benches or doing physical activity; Australia is also shown on maps, sometimes animated to show the railway connections and MP's journey across the continent. A number of old photos are also shown, thus creating a comparison between what the country looked like and what it looks like now; the same goes for people, although an obvious absence (except in one drawing) is the visual representation of first nation people.

Australia is generally shown as a vast land, scarcely populated and with very modern cities. The people shown are almost predominantly white with, quite literally, no first nation people to be found across the whole of Western Australia, nor in the past nor in the present. This visualisation of Australia seems to reinforce the colonial story of a continent completely unpopulated and therefore rightfully to be claimed by the British Empire as its own. First nation people are indeed encountered in some of the other episodes (predominantly episodes 1 and 2 and 5) but even there their tragic fate and the still existing inequalities that pervade almost any aspects of their lives is only superficially commented on, if compared, for example to other documentary representations of this issue (John Pilger's documentaries being a notable example). The viewer is never shown any old photos of first nation people in chains or any footage of any first nation people living in very precarious conditions in the cities and outback of the continent. The overall impression given by MP is that what happens in the past is not anymore and as long as it is

P3: I was surprised. Australia has never really been a country that attracted me very much. I've always thought of it as not being that exciting or interesting place to go, but this programme has... and I would quite like to go there now [LAUGHS].
 JC: So, why... why was that so, before?
 P3: It's just an image you get of places and I'd always thought it was very barren and... yeah, between the cities there's no much to see in the way of countryside, but there was some interesting things, like the goldmine on the way, and...
 JC: That was very interesting.
 P3: Yeah, it opened up a new view of Australia for me, in a way. Gave me more of an interest.
 JC: So, given the opportunity, would you go now?
 P3: [LAUGHS] I would, but I know [NAME OF WIFE] wouldn't go, so it's not likely that we will go. It's too far.
 JC: It's a long flight, isn't it?
 P3: Yeah.
 JC: And then other things that you sort of associated with, or thought that would come up, you mention, obviously, this "vast area of underdeveloped land" [...]
 P3: Yes, that's what I was saying, the undeveloped land and not anything very attractive to look at. That's the thoughts that I had.
 JC: And did you see much of that? I mean there was...
 P3: Yeah, there was quite a lot. But, there were places in between that made it worthwhile. You know, places of interest.
 JC: True. So, you put down "Australians have the image of being tough, outgoing and friendly".
 P3: Yeah.

Dominant code: P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it, as far as Australia as a country and white Australians are concerned. Moreover, I believe P3 also recognises the preferred reading in terms of Australia being a white country, but challenges it and is surprised that aboriginal people or 'any variety of ethnicity at all' are shown alongside the white Australian population.

Evidential effect: P3 learns new information regarding attractions and places Australia has to offer.

Modifying ideological effect: P3's opinion of what Australia looks like changes from negative to positive. Moreover, I wonder whether the fact he challenged the 'all-white' representation of Australia also made him reassess his opinion on the programme's epistemic trustworthiness. However, it is interesting how the last sentence in P3's representation suggests that the Aboriginal people choose to live in a different way to the white Australians, rather than being somehow forced to be in a different position by being the victims of inequalities on the part of white Australians. In

The main points that need to be raised are: 1) this depiction of Australia as a place that did not belong to anyone and was there to be taken; 2) the fact that it is represented as a white-only country and assessed solely through a Western capitalist lens; 3) the complete absence of first nation people, their past and present struggles (the former of which are superficially discussed in parts of the other episodes; the latter of which are not discussed at all). Also of interest is the choice of some of the locations and events that are covered by the programme, as not directly connected to trains and railways: Hugh Hamilton Wines, Royal Flying Doctor, Fairbridge and the Royal Family. Why were they chosen for inclusion? My first explanations are: to show the settler as courageous, entrepreneurial people; to show some of the innovation brought about by the Westerners (medical assistance); to show the issue is being discussed while suppressing key information about it; to strengthen the position of the British Royal Family and justify their existence and what has been done in their name (including colonising Australia in the first place).

often connected with the idea of Australia being a place to be explored and conquered; stative process are mainly connected with geographical descriptions. Overall, the impression given is of a continent rich in natural resources that was there to be made use of in a capitalistic fashion and that has been developed into the modern and efficient place that it is now (compare also the various places when treated as individual actors) as a consequence of the arrival of the white

acknowledged, it can also be forgiven.

JC: Was that matched by... where did you get this idea from?

P3: I thought... it's just a stereotype. Through your life you build up pictures of things. It's like stereotype, isn't it?

JC: So, would you stick with this definition after watching these couple of episodes?

P3: [LAUGHS]

JC: "Tough, outgoing and friendly"?

P3: Yes, I would actually [BOTH LAUGH]

JC: Fair enough.

P3: Definitely, yeah

JC: Yes, definitely from the people he was chatting to on the train and when they were playing that...

P3: Gambling game, yeah.

JC: They seemed a nice bunch of people.

P3: Yes, outgoing and ready to join in.

JC: Yeah, fair enough. And the you also mentioned that "Aboriginal people may retain a separate culture".

P3: Yes, but that didn't really come up. There wasn't... I don't remember seeing any reference to the Aborigines or...

JC: Was there anything in the previous episode, perhaps?

P3: No.

JC: There may be something in the following ones.

P3: Yeah.

JC: There is three more to go, isn't there?

P3: Yes. There was no... In fact, I don't remember seeing any variety of ethnicity at all. They were all white people.

JC: So, just because you mentioned Aboriginal people, what kind of, or how you got to form an idea about, you know, them having a separate culture?

P3: Yes, again, it's through the reading, through the TV. They always seem to be a separate...

any case, it seems that the epistemic vigilance of the content was not successfully bypassed.

Improving ideological effects: P3's opinion about white Australians is strengthened by the representation of people in the programme.



settlers. In this particular episode the indigenous Australians are never mentioned, a very important absence.

they have a separate way of life from the white Australians.(I, lines 81-149)

A4: trains / railway

Trains and the railway system are only represented through positive or neutral connotations. Positive connotations: attributes of the trains; neutral: name of trains. In terms of processes, the whole variety is used with different functions. Stative: facts such as length of the tracks and positive attributes; receptive: as being used for trains or being built for railways; agentive: conquering the plains, connecting places. The overall linguistic representation shows trains as a vital aspect of Australian modernity and

Same as above really, generally speaking a sense of excitement and adventure is conveyed through the major scales of the music that accompanies the train journeys. Notable exception is the train journey that takes MP to Pinjarra (Fairbridge) which introduces a sad narration through its minor scale musical piece.

Trains are shown through a variety of shots, both from the outside and from the inside. The connotations are generally very positive, going from extremes such as the luxury of the Indian Pacific Train to 'normal positive' of well-kept and functional local trains. The only negative representation of a train is the derailed one Prince of Wales was travelling on, shown in an old photo. The construction of the railway is also well-documented throughout the programme, particularly for the stretch of railways built across the Nullarbor Plain.

Overall, the trains are shown in a very positive light, and it couldn't really be otherwise since they are the main focus of the television programme, at least as far as their role of facilitators in the geographical development of the programme is concerned. There don't seem to be any issues whatsoever with the railway system in Australia and all the train shown as being used are in very good conditions. The aerial shots of the train moving through desert plains reinforces the image of trains as being the real engine of progress in Australia and the engineering marvels that allowed a fuller exploitation of the country's natural resources (gold in the specific of this episode).


JC: So, it's all connected with trains and railways.
P3: All to do... all connected with railways, yeah.
JC: So, is that a means of transport that you particularly like when travelling?
P3: Erm, I do. I'm not a very experienced train traveller, but I do enjoy a train journey, usually when we are on holiday. If there is like a small railway, I do take notes and I take [NAME OF WIFE], we go and have a trip on the railway. But one of our best travel experiences actually was when we had a trip to Canada and from Vancouver we took the train to the Rocky Mountains.
JC: Nice! Actually, I think you mentioned this at some point around [NAMES OF COMMON FRIENDS].
P3: Yes, I may have. And that was a fantastic journey.
JC: Was it a very long train journey?
P3: It was two days, but we didn't sleep on the train. We stopped at a place called Kamloops and carried on with the journey the next day. (I, lines 56-69)
JC: OK. Well, let's talk a bit the building of the infrastructures. What did you find particularly...
P3: Building the railways over a huge tract of land in very stark conditions. It must have taken... you must have been very tough to undergo that and survive.
JC: I mean, they were talking about one thousand miles or something? It took them five years just for the bit that was missing between Kar...
P3: Kalgoorlie
JC: That's it! [BOTH LAUGH]
And Adelaide. That definitely takes a bit of work, doesn't it?
P3: Yes, it certainly does.
JC: And is that something that you had heard or learnt about

Dominant code: P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it.

Evidential effect: P3 learned new information regarding specific railway constructions in Australia.

Improving ideological effects: P3's opinion about the marvels of railway engineering is strengthened by the programme.

The main point of discussion here is that, despite some superficial information about how difficult it was to build railways in Australia (particularly across the Nullarbor Plain), no details are given regarding the socio-economic conditions of those who built them or how the construction of the railway impacted on the first nation people both directly through the construction itself and indirectly through facilitating the mass-scale exploitation of natural resources and connected destruction of natural settings, some of which had a strong cultural and spiritual value for the first nation people (here connect the articles about the impact of mining in Western Australia on the aboriginal people).



national
identity.
The
constructio
n of the
railway
system,
moreover,
is
something
to admire
for the
level of
engineering
and human
skills it
required.

before, these kind of engineering
marvels in Australia or in other
countries?

P3: I've read a lot about Brunel
and building the Great Western
Railway, how they drove through
tunnels and building bridges.

Yeah, it is something that is of
interest. I enjoy museums and
seeing how that is done. (I, lines
158-171)

Britain and British settlers and important figures are generally represented positively or in a neutral way. The only negative representations is given as failing to address the reports from Fairbridge. Positive: attributes such as 'entrepreneurial' and pioneers for the settlers; neutral: name of British royals and other important people or descriptions of the settlers; negative: ignored reports of abuses, did not listen. They are also shown predominantly through stative and agentive processes, which

The audio representation for this actor follows the patterns of the representations of trains, with the only minor melodies connected with the Fairbridge narrative.

The great majority of representations of British individuals is through old B&W photographs in which they are either posing for the camera or doing some sort of work. This reinforces the agentive representation given by the linguistic modes. In no occasion are they shown committing crimes against the first nation people or of any other nature.

The British are represented as the driving force behind the construction of modern day Australia which, as we saw already, is represented as a successful example of colonisation. In this representation even the convicts 'propped up' the building of settlements and cities, thus contributing in a positive way to the making of the nation. The only negative representation is given with regard to the Fairbridge affaire, but more as in not acting in response to wrongdoings than as in being responsible for the wrongdoings in the first place. There is no hint in any of the modal representations of any wrongdoings by the settlers against the first nation people. Instead, the settlers are represented as brave, courageous and entrepreneurial, people to be admired and celebrated for their success.

P3: Admiration and awe for the people who built the infrastructure and industries of the country.

Their resilience, bravery and courage (Q, item 12)

P3: I think, the type of people that went were that type of people that would work hard and make a success of that (I, lines 227-228)

P3: the only time I felt as if somebody was not the same as me is when I was at school. I went to school in a Medway town, in Rochester, and there were a lot of Indians and, in those days it was normal to racially...

not hatred, but feeling that perhaps they're a bit inferior.

That's the way people were brought up. And I remember some of the Indian and the Pakistani kids at school and they were not treated very nicely.

JC: What, by teachers or by peers?

P3: No, mostly by peers. I think the teachers were, generally anyway, decent enough to all kids. As kids, we were not always nice to them. Yeah, I feel quite ashamed of it in some ways now, but I think that's past. I lot of that is past. Probably there is still racial discrimination in this country, but not to the same extent as there was then. We've been educated and we understand now about diversity (I, lines 440-450)

P3: I was... first... as a very young kid I was a member... my dad was in the air force. We lived in a lot of different... we lived around quite a lot. And I always remember walking across, I think it was at [NAME OF LOCAL AIRPORT], and my mum was taking myself and my two brothers somewhere and she saw a black man approach and she said [LOWERS HIS VOICE TO MAKE AN

Dominant code: P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it. I also find interesting the comments about how things have now changed, as I feel this is part of the main critique of the programme, i.e. only (superficially) showing the wrongs of the past and ignoring the current racial and cultural discriminations.

Evidential effects: there don't seem to be any contextual effects.

Modifying ideological effects: possibly P3's opinions about the people who went to Australia being hard-workers and his admiration for those who built the infrastructures and industries (I guess not necessarily just Brits) was created (certainly strengthened) by the programme.

No questioning of the ethical grounds of the colonial conquest, of how the British took land that had been inhabited for thousands of years by the first nation people. Admittedly, there are some discussions in episodes 2 and 5 of the violence suffered by Aboriginal people when the settlers first arrived, but these are fairly superficial. Also, a more detailed picture of the responsibilities of the British government in the Fairbridge affaire is not given, leaving the impression that they were only to blame for not acting on the reports from the school rather than being accomplice in splitting families up in the UK and continuing to send children to Australia despite being aware of the living conditions of the children and the abuses that happened in some of the 'schools'.

portray them as putting their positive attributes (even as convicts) into action. Interestingly, even the three instances of receptive processes have British actors that are not explicitly mentioned. Stative: attributes; agentive: exploring, creating, discovering, bringing wealth and capitals, got rich; receptive: settlements had been established, the colony was not yet formed.

IMPRESSION OF HER] “Don’t you say anything to that black man!”

JC: Right.

P3: [NERVOUS LUGHTER] And that’s what it was. I wasn’t... They just thought of them as different. But I’m sure it’s much better now. (I, lines 459-467)

P3: I was seven when we went to Cyprus. I remember getting off the aeroplane and how hot it was [BOTH LAUGH]. But thinking back then, I don’t think British people generally had a lot of respect for the local people there. (6) Adults then didn’t have a lot of respect for the local people.

JC: Mind you, it was a different time, wasn’t it?

P3: It was. Yeah, very different. JC: I mean, if you’re talking about when you were seven years old.

P3: Yeah, the early 1960s. So, it was a long time ago. But again, it’s testimony of how things have changed. I don’t think British people would treat or would have the same attitude, in general anyway. (I, lines 618-627)

A6: Hugh Hamilton Wines	Very positive representation of the company and of the wine industry more generally.	Major scale musical pieces accompany this part (2), including pieces with fiddles that give an atmosphere of tradition, despite the fact that if there is any tradition in Australia that should be the First Nation people's.	Very positive representation, with aerial shots of the lush valley in which the company is and shots that show how the wine is produced. Moreover, the wine itself is given plenty of visual space and so is the brand.	Wine-making is represented as a well-established and financially important industry in Australia and HHW is shown as an example of this. There is also an element of promotion of HHW, as bottles are showcased, and the product is tasted and appreciated. The name of the company is made clearly visible on branded objects such as the bottle cork and the tasting glasses. It is worth noting that this product can be bought in the UK (e.g. in Waitrose) and is at the higher end of the supermarket price range.	P3: I was interested in the wine producer and how it was started by a man from Kent (Q, item 14) JC: OK, so, one thing that you found interesting was "the wine producer and how it was started by a man from Kent". P3: Yeah, that's right, from Dover. A smuggler, I think. They said he was a smuggler [LAUGHS]. Which is not... JC: A smuggler at night, wasn't it? P3: Yeah, and he used to bring things over from France, land them a night. I think there are some tunnels in [NAME OF HIS TOWN] where smugglers had... going back to two hundred years or so, they were bringing in stuff. JC: What did you think about his sort of achievements, if you like, once in Australia? P3: Fantastic, wasn't it, really. If you think about it, they went to Australia with... spent all their money to invest in land and it was a gamble. They... I think, the type of people that went were that type of people that would work hard and make a success of that. JC: Yeah, I think they made it quite clear that the Western part of Australia was the one where people kind of voluntarily went, rather than...	<i>Dominant code:</i> P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it.	<i>Evidential effects:</i> P3 has learned about HHW and the story of RH. <i>Modifying ideological effects:</i> the representation of these actors possibly created an opinion in P3's mind of the type of people who emigrated to Australia or, at the very least, it strengthened an already existing one.	No comments or discussions are made with regards to the actions of the pioneers once in Australia against First Nation People (the Kaurua people specifically for this area) and on how ethical it was to dispossess these people of land they had inhabited for thousands of years (see e.g. Cook & Short, 2009 who discuss the connection between land-grabbing and genocide; also Moses, 2004, Ch. 11 for widespread practices to get rid of indigenous people in Western Australia)
A7: Mary Hamilton	Neutral connotations, but also positive when talking about South Australians (which MH is).		Generally neutral, but made positive by the association of Mary with her business, which is represented very positively.	MH is presented as a successful business woman and proud Southern Australian.				

A8: Richard Hamilton

Positive connotations when talked about by MP and MH. Negative connotations in the newspaper article that talks about him. In terms of processes, the agentive ones are either positive or neutral, portraying RM as a someone who was able to create something from nothing. The stative and receptive ones are either neutral or negative, and refer to information about RH and his criminal activities as reported by the newspaper and MH.

Only shown in an old photo. A copy of the newspaper article that talks about him is also shown.

Although some negative connotations about RH are brought up through MH's story and the newspaper article (being a smuggler and hence a black sheep), these are shrugged off by both MP and MH as mischievous, rather than criminal, character traits. The final judgement on him and his fellow 'pioneers' is of extraordinary individuals, who are 'adventurous and entrepreneurial' and showing 'incredible tenacity'.

P3: Rather than the convicts. (I, lines 217-231)

<p>A9: Adelaide</p>	<p>The city is represented with neutral or positive connotation. In terms of processes, there are stative which convey geographical information and value judgements; there are also some receptive processes and these are only neutral.</p>	<p>Major scale music accompanies MP's visit of the city and his description. The only minor scale piece accompanies the description of 'Light's Vision', adding nostalgia, rather than sadness, to it, almost to say, 'these were the great men we once had' (see also below).</p>	<p>Adelaide is shown through beautiful aerial and panarama shots, highlighting its modern buildings and green spaces. Going by this visual representation of the city there are no run-down areas or anything that may provoke negative feelings in the viewer.</p>	<p>The overall representation serves to give a wonderful depiction of Adelaide, almost as if it is the ideal city to live in.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>As it was for the previous scene, there is no questioning of how ethical it was to claim the vast area of land as belonging to the British sovereign, particularly considering that, if it was the best possible spot to build a city, chances are that at least parts of it were used by the Kaurna people before the arrival of the Europeans.</p>
<p>A10: Colonel William Light</p>	<p>This actor is represented with positive connotations ('enlightened', 'masterplan'). Processes used for him are agentive to describe his work designing the city and stative to express positive value judgements about him and his work.</p>	<p>The main description of Colonel Light and his work is accompanied by a minor scale piece which seems to add nostalgia, rather than sadness, to it, almost to say, 'these were the great men we once had'. This is due to the fact that the co-occurring modes have generally got positive, rather than negative, connotations.</p>	<p>William Light is represented in an old drawing (FS, eye-level), showing him in uniform, standing by a rock and holding either a document tube holder or a monocular telescope. He is also represented through the statue on the 'Light Vision' panorama spot, and, because of the very low angle, he is shown as almost a divine figure, pointing towards the city he 'created' (this verb is used twice by MP in connection to CWL). Here too he is in uniform.</p>	<p>This scene pays tribute to the person who was responsible for its planning and design, Colonel William Light, who is shown almost as a God-like figure with a vision of creation that is considered a masterplan.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>There are some debates regarding whether it was Colonel Light who designed the city plan or one of his assistants, George Kingston (e.g. Jonston, 2004). However, these seem to be not-very-well-documented minority positions (Bell, 2017).</p>

<p>A11: Adelaide Man</p>	<p>Represented through the personal pronouns <i>you</i> and <i>I</i> and with agentive processes.</p>	<p>There is no music playing during the impromptu interview, but there are major scale pieces framing it.</p>	<p>The young white man is represented with shots to create proximity and, at a distance, shown with MP kneeling before him, almost as to say: 'this person holds the truth and deserve reverence'. He is wearing a jacket (possibly part of a suit, but no clear) and white shirt, which suggests he is a white-collar type of worker.</p>	<p>The two people interviewed in the street are called in to corroborate MP's opinion that CWL's legacy should be seen as a positive one, 'worth of praise [rather than blame]'. Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>Nothing in particular regarding the two people interviewed.</p>
<p>A12: Adelaide Woman</p>	<p>Represented through the personal pronouns <i>you</i> and <i>I</i> and with agentive processes.</p>	<p>There is no music playing during the impromptu interview, but there are major scale pieces framing it.</p>	<p>Same representation as above for the young (multiracial?) woman as for the man. She is wearing a grey top and a short black shirt; her occupation is unclear.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	

A13: Tango	Tango is represented with a variety of connotations, including negative ones when reporting the feelings of people towards it in 1913. It is also represented through a variety of processes	As well as tango music being played diegetically, there is a major scale music piece accompanying the historical narration of the arrival of tango.	Tango is visually represented through the dancers and their attributes, which generally speaking are very elegant and at times extravagant (e.g. the detail of the red shoes one of the male dancers is wearing). Moreover, it is shown through old ads and venues.	This scene introduces a cultural element to the programme by focussing on Tango. This is framed in a wider social picture that portrays South Australia as a very idyllic place where free settlers (as opposed to convicts) managed to achieve contemporary work-life balance standards, partly through the founders' vision ('from its foundation') and partly through social struggle ('some trade unions'). Everyone involved with tango are shown as smart and well-presented, possibly an association to be made between secular values and high standards and status. The minor melodies of the tango music may clash a little with such representation, but again the juxtaposition of the different modes seems to give a rather romantic view of tango and of past times that are kept in high regard by the host and the tango dancers.	JC: OK, so, you enjoyed the programme in general "it was interesting and amusing / entertaining". Anything you want to add in that sense? I mean, you have mentioned quite a few reasons why you thought it was interesting and amusing. Can you recall any bits that were particularly amusing? P3: I remember the dancing bit, that was quite funny. The lady hugged him and said, "That could be a bit intimidating". And he said "I quite enjoy it" (I, lines 195-200)	<i>Dominant code:</i> P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it.	<i>Evidential effects:</i> presumably P3 learned about the history of tango in Australia, although this is not explicitly stated at any point. <i>Improving ideological effects:</i> the tango scene seems to strengthen P3's liking for MP.	It is not clear whether this praise-worthy social set up and activities like tango were enjoyed by all social classes or only by the more privileged ones. This scene also connects MP to the audience, by showing him in a position (the beginner tango dancer) that most viewers would probably empathise with. This creates an image of him as fallible and thus enhances proximity and trust in the host on the part of the audience.
A14: Andrew Gill	Neutral representation and only described through agentive processes.	Diegetic tango music.	Very smartly dressed and shown "overseeing" MP's attempt at dancing.	Not deemed as relevant.				

A15: Adrienne Gill	Neutral representation and only described through agentive processes. However, she also somehow represent herself when talking generically of the role female dancers have in tango, which is also represented through receptive processes.		Very smartly dressed and shown "guiding" MP during their dance.		JC: OK, so, you enjoyed the programme in general "it was interesting and amusing / entertaining". Anything you want to add in that sense? I mean, you have mentioned quite a few reasons why you thought it was interesting and amusing. Can you recall any bits that were particularly amusing? P3: I remember the dancing bit, that was quite funny. The lady hugged him and said, "That could be a bit intimidating". And he said "I quite enjoy it" (I, lines 195-200)	
A16: Check-in Lady	Not represented	There is a gentle major scale music piece in the background while MP checks in and is assisted by the young lady.	Shown at work, in her work uniform, smiling.	Professional and pleasant, but represented through her job rather than individual identity.	Not deemed as relevant, however could have contributed to the idea of Australians as being friendly.	None.
A17: Matt	Functional attributes, also first name. Neutral, agentive processes are connected with this actor, whom we encounter on two separate occasions.	There are two major scale music pieces in the background while MP is assisted by Matt.	Shown at work, in his work uniform, smiling.	Professional and pleasant; represented through his job but also on slightly closer terms to MP than the check-in lady was, e.g. he is shown entering MP's berth first thing in the morning while MP is in bed, in his pyjamas.	Not deemed as relevant, however could have contributed to the idea of Australians as being friendly.	None.

A18:
Nullarbor
Plain

First representation: neutral and negative connotations. In terms of processes, it is mainly stative with a couple of receptive ones. Second representation: neutral and positive connotations connected exclusively to stative processes.

A minor scale piece starts as the train enters the Plain. A gentle, major scale melody accompanies the second representation of the Plain at sunset.

Shown through archive footage and photos as well as shots taken for the programme. It is often shown through the train windows, but also through wide aerial shots that help convey its dimensions. However, also shown at sunset, with a very beautiful light.

The main narrative while entering the Plain is the conquer of the Nullarbor, which is the only actor to be represented with negative connotations, both through the lexis and through the use of the slow, minor scale melody that accompanied its description. In the final scene connected to the Plain however, the Nullarbor is shown in a completely different light and in a positive way across the modes, particularly at the beginning of the scene. One possible interpretation could be the narrative of the tamed wilderness after the conquest. After having discussed how the British/Australians conquered the hellish desert, this scene highlights the gentle character of the conquerors who can also appreciate the wilderness they have successfully domesticated.

Not deemed as relevant.

The conquest of the Nullarbor seems to be used as a metaphor for the colonial attitude and modernist mindset more generally, i.e. the will of humans to win over the difficulties and struggles of inhospitable lands that are ultimately tamed and subjugated to our needs and wants.

A19: Debb Mann	<p>This actor is introduced through her professional identity and then also referred to in more informal terms in the second encounter with MP. The linguistic connotations are neutral and, since she talks about the history of the railway construction, provide an aura of authority and trustworthiness.</p>	<p>There is no music during the interview, possibly to eliminate distractions from the soundscape.</p>	<p>Although she is introduced as the train manager, Debb is not only shown in her professional role, but also in the role of an expert who can authoritatively discuss the history of the construction of the railway across the Nullarbor Plain.</p>	<p>Debb Mann is represented as a professional, but also as an expert. The co-occurrence of modes (neutral linguistic connotations, lack of music and professional appearance and settings) work towards creating feelings of trust in her on the part of the viewer.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>it is interesting that a train industry senior member (DB, the train manager), is also 'consulted' as a historian by MP when, perhaps, consulting an actual historian might have provided the audience with a more authoritative account that included issues such as the working conditions of the construction workers that were not addressed (or at least not included in the final text) by DB and MP. Moreover, one could argue that the fact Deb trusts MP to help him with her job implied that MP is a trustworthy, reliable person, hence contributing to by-passing <i>epistemic vigilance of the source</i>.</p>
A20: Railway construction workers	<p>These actors are presented as collectivised and also referred to by their nationalities (Italians, Greek Chinese). The connotations are generally neutral or positive with plenty of agentive processes</p>	<p>There is no music while this actor is discussed.</p>	<p>Shown through archive footage and photos as a generic mass, rather than individuals. It is not possible to ascertain their ethnicity from the photos. Their tools and the camels they used to support them are also shown.</p>	<p>All involved in the effort to complete the construction of the railway are shown in a generally positive way, including the workers who did 'an amazing job' despite the 'primitive tools' they had.</p>	<p>P3: Building the railways over a huge tract of land in very stark conditions. It must have taken... you must have been very tough to undergo that and survive. JC: I mean, they were talking about one thousand miles or something? It took them five years just for the bit that was missing between Kar... P3: Kalgoorlie JC: That's it! [BOTH LAUGH] And Adelaide. That definitely takes a bit of work, doesn't it? P3: Yes, it certainly does. (I, lines 160-166)</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> P3 learned about the difficult conditions under which the railway were built in Australia. <i>Dominant code:</i> P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it. <i>Modifying ideological effects:</i> the programme created feelings of admiration for the people who built the infrastructures in such difficult conditions.</p> <p>Not much is said regarding the working conditions (pay, hours, rights) beside the fact that they were working in a hostile natural environment. Also, not much is said regarding the relationship between the British and the immigrants (the British are already not immigrants anymore, as they have claimed the country as theirs).</p>

	as well as some statures. As a whole, they are represented as very hard-working and resilient.					
A21: Cook	The town is represented through neutral connotations and both agentive and stative processes.	The time in Cook is accompanied by a Western-style minor piece.	Shown through some aerial and ground shots that highlight its remote location.	The town is connected to a romantic idea of colonialism, with pioneers that would face incredible challenges in order to bring civilization in the most remote parts of the world.	Not deemed as relevant.	There is also an interesting association made between the Cook, the driver Mark and old pioneers by the use of a Western film type of music and the cowboy looks of MP in this scene. Mark and MP are shown to be enthusiastic and hard-working, which could be an interpretation the audience is also invited to apply to the first pioneers whom the Western film imagery recalls. This view would match the depictions given so far of the British colonisers, whose audacity and industriousness has been foregrounded and whose actions against the first nation people have been suppressed.
A22: Train driver Mark	Mark is shown through neutral and positive linguistic connotations and through agentive and some stative processes.	Mark's interview is accompanied by a Western-style minor piece.	Shown in his professional capacity. The MCU to CU types of shot create proximity with the viewer.	Mark is represented as a modern-day pioneer and the viewer is invited to associate his good attributes (hard-working, practical, focussed) with the colonial settlers.	Not deemed as relevant, however could have contributed to the idea of the settlers being hard-working and brave through associations between Mark's character and old settlers / pioneers.	

A23: the audience

Not particularly relevant as only referred to occasionally.

A24: Couple on train

Neutral connotations and use of personal pronouns. The processes are largely agentive.

No music, but live sounds from the train journey.

The older (white) couple is shown through MCU shots that create proximity with the audience. MP is also sitting fairly close to them. They are wearing smart / casual clothes.

Not sure how indicative of the typical train traveller in Australia the passengers of this train are, but the representation stemming from them is of white, middle-class and in retirement age (i.e. with the disposable income to be able to afford such an expensive train journey).

Not deemed as relevant, however could have contributed to the idea of MP being affable and pleasant.

If we were to judge Australia's ethnic make-up from the passengers of this train, we would think that it is an all-white country.

A25: Train passengers

Neutral and positive connotations to describe how well train passengers are looked after on the Indian Pacific Train.

Some percussions can be heard while the train passengers are shown having their dinner at Rawlinna.

They are only really shown at dinner time, eating, drinking and conversing at the tables. They are all white and most of what looks like retirement age.

Sam is shown as a friendly, professional young (white) male

Not deemed as relevant, however could have contributed to the idea of Australians as being friendly.

One could argue that the fact Sam trusts MP to help him with his job implied that MP is a trustworthy, reliable person, hence contributing to by-passing *epistemic vigilance of the source*.

A26: Sam Markham

Sam is shown through neutral and positive connotations. The processes are largely agentive or stative.

No music during the interview and percussions when he is shown handing one of the serving dishes over to MP.

He is shown in his professional role, together with one of his assistants. The MCU provide proximity with the friendly chef.

A27:
Kalgoorlie

Kalgoorlie is represented through neutral and positive connotations, and almost exclusively through stative processes that express MP's value judgements. There are also some negative connotations attached to Kalgoorlie when described as notorious (in the past) for gambling, brothels and drinking dens.

Major scale piano piece, high notes, seemingly magical music. The negative description in the linguistic mode is also reinforced by the minor melody of a blues guitar piece.

The images show a pretty, colourful town, very orderly and with no traffic. From what we are shown we are led to think there are not unpleasant areas in this town.

Kalgoorlie is represented almost as a magical place and this is due to its association with gold mines.

Not deemed as relevant.

The overall positive depiction of the town, across modes, seems to suggest the association: money > beauty (through the images and description nice town) > order (through the description of the town) > desirable (through the major scale magical music). This therefore suggests the underpinning socio-economic ideology of money and wealth as the basis for happiness and progress. The concluding scene of part 5 explores one of the aspects connected with the history of Kalgoorlie and its gold mining past and present: gambling. The initial music seems to frame it in a negative fashion, although it may also signify nostalgia for the past. None of the social issues mentioned by MP (drinking, prostitution and gambling) is discussed in any sociological fashion by looking at what problems those behaviours carried with them (see e.g. Bolton, 2008, Ch. 4). Instead, the scene focuses on one of them, gambling, and specifically to the historical evolution of one game, 2 Up, in the area.

<p>A28: Kanowna Belle mine and gold</p>	<p>These actors are represented through neutral and positive connotation s. There are agentive, receptive and stative processes used. Gold and its extraction processes have no negative effects.</p>	<p>Same magical music as before as well as some fiddle music (still major) when talking about the discovery of gold in the area</p>	<p>The mine is shown through aerial shots that highlights its dimensions. Gold is seen both as gold bars (present and archive footage) and in its liquid form while being moulded producing lots of sparks.</p>	<p>Gold and the gold mines are represented as something almost magical and with positive effects.</p>	<p>P3: Also surprised at how much gold and other minerals are still being produced. (Q, item 14) P3: Yes. Yeah, I knew there was gold. There has been a gold rush in Australia, but looking at that, they were still producing at that mine. It's quite... JC: It's quite an impressive site as well P3: Yes, the operation there is very good and they're producing a lot of gold. I thought it would have all dried up years ago, the gold, but they are still producing a lot there. I was surprised. And they mentioned another mineral, I don't remember which one it was. JC: Oh, yeah. P3: They are quite rich in minerals there. (I, lines 270-277)</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> P3 learned about gold mining in Western Australia. <i>Modifying ideological effects:</i> the programme changed P3's opinion regarding the extent to which gold and other minerals are still produced in Australia.</p>	<p>This scene focuses on gold mines and on the benefits gold brought to Australia in general and to Western Australia in particular. Following the previous scene, it therefore helps corroborate the idea that wealth and money as the basis for happiness and progress. The modes (especially the major scales of the musical pieces) all contribute to create this association, especially when it comes to representing gold. The precious material is very positively represented across all modes, with a mix of poetic and magical feelings evoked in the audience. However, there is no discussion of the negative impact the gold rush had on the people or vegetation in the district (and still has).</p>
<p>A29: Historian Timothy Moore</p>	<p>Neutral connotation , but use of TM's professional title. Both these aspects serve the purpose to establish TM as a trustworthy , expert source of information .</p>	<p>No music during the interview, possibly to eliminate any distractions in the soundscape.</p>	<p>He is shown wearing some protective gear. He is shown through a variety of shots, including CUs that create proximity with the viewers.</p>	<p>TM is represented as an expert figure.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p></p>	<p>It has to be noted that Timothy Moore, a local historian, has no academic affiliations. This, of course, does not make him less trustworthy as a historian, but it might have been interesting to hear different perspectives about the gold rush in Western Australia and the impact it had on nature and first nation people.</p>	

<p>A30: C.Y. O'Connor</p>	<p>Neutral and positive connotations to describe this actor and his actions. Mainly agentive processes as well as some stative ones.</p>	<p>Keyboard major chords; low, solemn tempo.</p>	<p>Shown through an old B&W portrait photo, smartly dressed and well-groomed.</p>	<p>C.Y. O'Connor is represented in very positive terms as the person who contributed to the expansion of the gold industry in Kalgoorlie, and of the town itself.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>The person who contributed to the success of mining in the region, C.Y. O'Connor, is also shown in a positive light ('a god') and there is also some incorrect information and some omissions regarding him: he didn't see the completion of the pipeline as he committed suicide a year before it was completed; he was the target of a journalism campaign due to accusation of wasting taxpayers money (which some think might have led to commit suicide); his suicide (itself and interesting event to mention) is not mentioned at all when talking about him.</p>
<p>A31: Gold mine General Manager Jim Coxon and the processing plant</p>	<p>These actors are shown through neutral connotations and predominantly through agentive and stative processes. This could serve the purpose of presenting a 'matter-of-fact' type of narrative.</p>	<p>The magical piano piece when the gold is moulded is part of the visit at the processing plant.</p>	<p>JC is also wearing protective gear. He is shown through a variety of shots, including CUs that create proximity with the viewers. The processing plant is also shown through different shots that highlight the size of some of the machines used and the machinery used to make the gold bars.</p>	<p>The representation of the processing plant and its General Manager is very much matter-of-fact, with description of the various processes and visual that highlight industrial processes and work-related aspects (e.g. health and safety).</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>There is stresses on the 'health & safety' discourse throughout the whole sequence, with all the actors wearing protective gear. The 'health and safety' discourse can be seen more broadly as shifting the focus from 'job security' to 'control and security on the job'. Adherence to H&S regulations also stresses the idea of 'following rules' and 'looking after the workers' well-being', which in turn puts a positive light on the actors seen to partake in it.</p>

A32: Danny Sheehan and 2 Up

These actors are shown through neutral and positive connotations (the latter particularly for the game). There are mainly stative processes describing the rules of the game and its history.

Same magical music as at the end of the previous scene when MP gets two heads and wins the game

DS is shown through a variety of shots, including CUs to create proximity with the viewer. His appearance denotes working-class belonging and his affable manners are highlighted by the fact MP is very close to him and laughing with him. The gaming 'arena' is shown both through an aerial shot and from closer shots from within that highlight its simplicity and rural essence. The arena and the gamblers (with the exception of MP) seem to both denote the fact this game is for lower social classes, despite the claim by MP of there being 'big stakes'. The game is also shown as being lawful, with the detail of the 'No alcohol. No persons under 18' written on the sign.

Gambling in general is framed in a positive way, both by the depiction of it as 'a game' given by DS and not challenged by MP and by the over-theatrical happiness displayed as a result of winning at the game.

Not deemed as relevant.

Since gambling is represented in a positive way, by association, also those who gamble (in game as in life) are seen in a positive way and, in this case, these are the British proctors, who gambled their own lives to 'get really rich'. From an ideological point of view, the scene also reinforces the already discussed association of wealth with happiness, since in order to get rich it is acceptable to risk your own life (and that of your family as many male proctors had wives and children). The positive representation are created multimodally for the British, Kalsoorie and gambling not as much as visually (although attributes such as cars in the old B&W photos contribute to this), but by talking about the popularity of gambling (although more in the past than now) and its connection to wealth. Musically, the same magical and dream-like piece that was played when showing how gold bars are made is used to accompany the happy shots of MP winning at the gambling game. One interesting aspect that is conveyed visually is how gambling is acceptable and enjoyed by all social classes. This is conveyed through the mix of people shown at the gambling arena (lower-middle class mostly) and MP (higher-middle class) all enjoying the gambling game.

A33: Royal
Flying
Doctor
Service

This actor is represented through neutral and positive connotations. There is a majority of stative processes describing the service, but also some agentive and receptive processes.

The first piece of music connected with this actor is the same magical music that was used for the gold scenes (major). However, at the end of the scene there is also a minor piano and cello piece which also accompanies the representation of John Flynn. This creates a connection between the founder of the service and a future of hope, symbolized by the closing shot of a rainbow.

The focus is on the equipment the organisation can rely on, aircrafts and machinery. These are shown both from the past through archive footage and in the present through MP's visit of AB's aircraft. The name of the organisation is also visible at various points on aircrafts, AB's uniform and buildings.

The overall representation of the service focuses on its history and on the good it can provide thanks to modern equipment and technology, as well as to its capable staff. The modes, particularly the linguistic and the visual, operate to create a sense of professionalism and excellence. There is medical terminology used by a practising doctor and medical equipment is shown on one of the aircrafts. The whole idea of this service is connected to the concepts such as technological advances and hope for the future, thus creating an association between them.

Not deemed as relevant.

The fact the organisation name has got the adjective 'royal' in it, and the fact the doctor interview is a British one work to connect the idea of Britishness to the ideas of professionalism, efficiency and, most importantly, just cause and beneficial for the people. This could be in turn associated with the whole history of Great Britain in Australia as a benevolent, professional and efficient one, thus helping perpetrate the myth of the benevolent West that brings progress all around the world. It would be very interesting to see if everyone in Australia was benefitting from the service, including the first Australian people, in the first decades of service. In general, the issue of access to healthcare for indigenous people being worse is well-documented and might have been considered here (see e.g. Awofeso 2011; Gibson et

<p>A34: Andrew Barnes</p>	<p>This actor is only represented through neutral connotations and through agentive and stative processes. This serves to portray an aura of matter-of-fact</p>	<p>There is no audio representation clearly connected to this actor.</p>	<p>He is shown in his work uniform and in his professional capacity in his work environment. He is well-groomed and clean-shaven, thus abiding to British (and Western more loosely) attributes of professionalism, cleanliness and tidiness.</p>	<p>The actor is represented as a professional who can provide an expert account of the service.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	<p>al. 2015 and Li 2017). Important to consider here is also the fact that this stop seems completely unrelated with the theme of railway journeys, thus signalling a particular agenda behind the choice for inclusion in the programme.</p>
<p>A35: John Flynn</p>	<p>This actor is represented through neutral and positive connotations, and through agentive and stative processes.</p>	<p>A minor scale piano and cello piece is associated with this actor. Rather than sadness, this expresses nostalgia for such figures and their actions</p>	<p>He is shown in an old B&W photo portrait. He is smartly dressed, well-groomed and clean-shaven.</p>	<p>John Flynn is portrayed as an important personality that has done good for the Australian country and people. Incidentally, he features on one of the Australian banknotes.</p>	<p>Not deemed as relevant.</p>	

A36: Perth and Fremantle

As with other cities in the programme, Perth and Fremantle are represented through neutral and positive connotations, stressing their modern look and optimistic feelings MP perceives while there. There is a mix of agentive, receptive and stative processes, with the latter carrying the positive connotations.

There are a number of major, fast tempo musical pieces accompanying the depiction of these actors.

Shown through aerial views and also through shots of the modern buildings and harbour area, with commercial ships. Everything shown is in very good state of keeping. As for the other cities, going by the representation of the programme, there are no unpleasant areas in Perth, or any issues with living there.

The introductory scene to this part shows the audience the city of Perth and the port of Fremantle and highlights how well the colony has done over the past couple of hundred years. The modes work together to this effect, with all providing positive representations of the city and its port.

P3: Erm, just that I was surprised at the size of the city, Perth. It's amazing in such a short time that it's grown to such a size, in a relatively short time. I suppose that's something we see all over the world now, growth in population and therefore the urban centres are getting bigger. (I, lines 315-318)

Dominant code: P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it. However, it is not explicitly clear that P3 also thinks Perth is a great city.

Evidential effects: P3 learned about how much Perth has grown in the last decades.
Improving ideological effects: the programme strengthened P3's opinion that a global growth in population is resulting in the expansions of urban centres.

As for previous historic accounts, there is no mention of what happened to the First Nation people that inhabited this part of the country; in fact they are only shown in the old drawing watching the initial settlement from a distance, armed, almost as if they were planning some form of attack against the British settlers.

A37:
Kingsley
Fairbridge

This actor is represented through neutral and positive connotations. Both genitive and stative processes (the only ones used) carry some of the positive connotations (he is described as a philanthropist with a vision).

A minor piano melody accompanies the description of this actor.

Shown in an old B&W photo with three children: everyone seems happy.

The founder of this migration scheme, Kingsley Fairbridge, is linguistically represented in a fairly positive light, which seems to be reinforced by one of the final remarks of MP that say that 'the origins of the scheme were idealistic' and it is only because the scheme was set up 'in an age where paternalism ruled' that things went badly.

P3: Sadness for the Fairbridge orphans. (Q, item 12)
JC: Definitely. And with regard to your second point "Sadness for the Fairbridge orphans", is that, again, something that you knew about already, or heard before?
P3: Yeah, I'd heard a little bit about it before, but I didn't realise it was such vast numbers of people involved in it and it went on over a long period of time. I thought it was just something from the '50s and it was just a few years, but it didn't, it went on for... it started a lot earlier than that and went on a lot longer. And it's... I don't know, it got to me that there were those poor people, the way they were treated. And we talk a lot about human rights today, but they had none.
JC: I guess, yeah. Different times

Dominant code: P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it.

Evidential effects: P3 learned more information regarding this issue.

Improving ideological effects: the programme strengthened P3's opinion that the pupils were not treated well and that they lived in "spartan conditions".

This is one of the longest sequences in the programme and probably the most emotional, as it deals with allegations of abuse suffered by 'child migrants'. The first observation to make here is the choice to actually talk about it, as it is very loosely connected to railways. It could be argued that the programme talks about it to make amends, since British governments were partly responsible for the suffering caused to the children, both for sending them in the first place and for ignoring reports of abuse and exploitation. The founder of this

A38:
Fairbridge
scheme and
school

The scheme and the school in Punjarra are majoritavely described with neutral and negative connotations, although there are some positive connotations too, thus creating an ambiguous representation. The majority of the processes are stative and these are only neutral or negative, thus providing an overall damning 'factual' description of the school. Some of the agentive and receptive processes, however, are positive and these show that the experience was different, even positive,

Minor piano melodies accompany the representation of these actors, thus providing sad feelings to the audience overall.

The buildings and surrounding area are shown through a number of shots and indoors of the buildings are also shown, with details of accommodation facilities (beds, dining table). Moreover, the site is shown both in the present and through old B&W photos. The church building is also shown during the interview with RC and RH. Although some of the facilities look pretty basic, overall the depiction is fairly neutral.

The text represents the school and the scheme in neutral or negative terms overall, providing a general feeling of sadness for the fate of the pupils, who never experienced love. However, we are also provided with more positive examples of pupils that feel the experience had positive as well as negative aspects to it and this provides a level of ambiguity in terms of the worth of the scheme. MP's final assessment, although acknowledging that physical and sexual abuse had clearly taken place, is still ambivalent with the absence of feeling of love being the only unequivocal fact about the scheme.

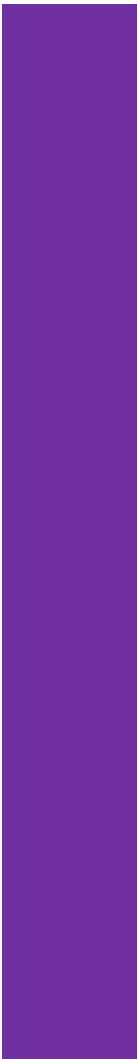
in many ways, but yeah, nonetheless, you're right, that kind of concept seemed to come out of the programme too, about human rights not being totally adhered to. And again, just out of curiosity, when you... how did you hear before about this Fairbridge...

P3: Probably from the newspapers. I didn't know it was called the Fairbridge Project, but I knew that orphans had been sent to Australia and lived in spartan conditions. I didn't know it was to such a great extent.

JC: But was it about twenty years ago that you first heard about it, or thirty years ago?

P3: I don't know, it's just something I'm aware of. Probably in the last ten years or something I read about it somewhere. (I, lines 177-194)

migration scheme, Kingsley Fairbridge, is linguistically represented in a fairly positive light, which seems to be reinforced by one of the final remarks of MP that say that 'the origins of the scheme were idealistic' and it is only because the scheme was set up 'in an age where paternalism ruled' that things went badly. MP makes it clear at the end of the scene that 'the human rights of the children were overwritten [and] some were clearly physically and sexually abused'. However, neither in the former children's testimonies, nor in the old B&W photos, these points are ever reinforced. The children are only shown in situations that are not particularly upsetting and the testimonies themselves are only allusive at some serious breach of human rights, rather than explicitly reporting them. Other texts regarding this same topic, e.g. the drama 'Oranges and Sunshine' (2011), testimonies provided by other former pupils, e.g. David Hill or the Independent Enquiry into Child Sexual Abuse Report (2018), provide far more disturbing and vivid accounts of a number of horrible abuses suffered by the children, here including sexual ones. Although the overall tone of the representation, particularly through the music mode and extensive use of minor scale pieces, creates a sad feeling around the topic, the



for some of
the pupils.

linguistic representations and the choice of testimonies leaves the viewer with the idea that the Fairbridge scheme and schools were well-intentioned projects that suffered a few hiccups in the process. One important aspect that is not made clear, for example, is the involvement of the British governments in the scheme and the fact that parent and children were lied to when approached and persuaded to take part into the scheme. Not all children were actually orphans as DS is; many were told their parents had died or, even worse, some children were taken from their families, without proper consent being given. Likewise, the scale and nature of abuses is never made sufficiently clear in any of the modes, with MP limiting his overall conclusion with the remark that no children had experienced feelings of love while in the care of the institutions involved. If we therefore look back at the initial point I raised, i.e. why talk about such an issue in a programme that revolves around trains and railways, the answer

A39: Derek Smith

This former pupil (still involved with the heritage site) is depicted through neutral connotations (mainly describing what life was like as a pupil of the school) and some positive ones connected to the idea of having succeeded in life, both professionally and personally. Similarly to the scheme, the pupils are represented through a variety of neutral, negative and positive connotations, thus suggesting a mix of experiences and responses to being part of the scheme.

Minor piano melodies accompany the representation of these actors, thus providing sad feelings to the audience overall.

Shown through various shots. He is wearing a white shirt with beige trousers and a light rain jacket. He looks slightly emotional on occasions, particularly towards the end of his interview.

DS is represented as one of those who feel like they benefited from the scheme as they had a successful life, both professionally and personally.

A40: Fairbridge children

Similarly to the scheme, the pupils are represented through a variety of neutral, negative and positive connotations, thus suggesting a mix of experiences and responses to being part of the scheme.

Minor piano melodies accompany the representation of these actors, thus providing sad feelings to the audience overall.

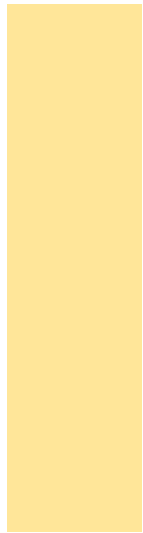
They are shown through a number of old B&W photos, which show them posing for group photos, working in the fields and with animals, sitting at in the classroom during a lesson, resting on beds. They generally seem happy or at least they never seem upset.

The overall representation of the pupils and their experience is ambivalent, which basically reflects the final remark made by Derek Smith: "For me personally, I think it was the most wonderful thing that could have happened to me. But for some of my friends who were here, I think it was the worst possible thing that can happen to them. And I think everywhere in between."

seems to be more to be able to show that the BBC talked about it, rather than to seriously make amends for the mistakes made and give dignity back to the children who had suffered a lot worse conditions and abused than what is reported in the programme. In a programme that, overall, praises the actions and work of many British people (Hugh Hamilton, Colonel Light, C.Y. O'Connor) the absence of Dr Margaret Humphreys and her contribution to uncovering the whole scandal is quite remarkable. Finally, another point that is never made too clear is that one of the stated purposes for this migration schemes to happen was to populate the colonies with white people, which is something that can be connected more in general with the coloniser/colonised policies, to the advantage of the colonisers.

<p>A41: Roz Crawford</p>	<p>Shown through neutral connotations and a variety of processes. As for some of the other actors, this serves to portray her as objective and trustworthy.</p>	<p>Minor piano melodies accompany the representation of these actors, thus providing sad feelings to the audience overall.</p>	<p>Mainly shown through MCUs and CUs. She is wearing a grey cardigan over a black floral top and also has a walking stick. She is shown outside a church, which is also what she says she enjoyed the most as a child at Fairbridge.</p>	<p>Although these two actors are meant to provide the negative representations of being a Fairbridge pupils, the overall depiction of their experiences falls short of fully doing that, as bad feelings (never reports of actual experiences as pupils) are counter-balanced by some positive ones. It seems to me that the cut of RH's recount could have taken out a very emotional description from his days as a pupils.</p>				
<p>A42: Richard Hinch</p>	<p>Shown through neutral connotations and a variety of processes. As for some of the other actors, this serves to portray him as objective and trustworthy.</p>	<p>Minor piano melodies accompany the representation of these actors, thus providing sad feelings to the audience overall.</p>	<p>Mainly shown through MCUs and CUs. He is wearing a blue shirt, a pair of blue jeans and a baseball cap. He looks visibly emotional at one point, but then there is a cut.</p>					
<p>A43: Jessica Barratt</p>	<p>As with the other 'expert' figures, JB is represented through neutral connotations to portray objectivity and trustworthiness.</p>	<p>Some major scale musical pieces frame JB's interview with MP</p>	<p>She is shown through a variety of shots. She is wearing a dark light dress.</p>	<p>JB is represented as a trustworthy source of information.</p>	<p>P3: interested to hear the views of the group of Australians towards the end. They were mainly expressing pride in their global and diverse society but were ambiguous about their British heritage and ties to the monarchy. I expected that the younger people would be keen for the country to become a republic". (Q, item 14) JC: So, first of all, were you surprised that the kind of ties... I mean they had a show of hands about who is a royalist and it was kind of 50/50 at least, wasn't it? P3: Yes, but even though some</p>	<p><i>Dominant code:</i> P3 recognises the preferred reading embedded in the text and agrees with it.</p>	<p><i>Evidential effects:</i> P3 learned that Australian do not seem too keen on the idea of a republic. <i>Modifying ideological effects:</i> the programme changed P3's opinion with regards to the relationship between</p>	<p>It would be interesting to see what first nation Australians think about the issue of having a republic, but their opinion is not of interest to the programme. Moreover, even the representation of white Australians opinion about this issue seem manipulated, as a 2018 survey showed that a small minority still supports the British monarchy (https://www.theguardian.com/australia-</p>

A44: The British Royal Family	The British Royal Family and some of its members are depicted through natural and positive connotations. All three types of processes are used in their representation.	Major scale pieces accompany the representation of these actors.	Shown through the statue of Queen Victoria (through a low-angle) and old B&W photos of the Prince of Wales during his visit. He is either wearing uniforms or very smart suits and he is usually surrounded by other people, often dignitaries.	The Royal Family is shown as being liked by the Australians both in the past and, majoritatively, also in the present.	weren't royalists, I don't think they were fiercely anti-royal and yet I... again, it's just an impression, I thought the younger Australians would prefer to have a republic, would want to repudiate the British heritage. Independent people... would want to be independent and not tied to another country. JC: Yeah, they didn't seem to be too bothered, did they? P3: No. JC: In fact, 'cos then they talked about the visit from Prince... I don't know if it was... P3: Harry, was it? JC: Harry or Alfred? Some... it was a young person describing the whole thing, wasn't she? P3: Yeah, they are still... there is still interest in the royal family. JC: I guess I'm actually not too sure what the institutional organisation is like. I mean, obviously, they have a Prime Minister, I know that. And they must have, well, chambers, as we do in England. But then is it the same as in England, where the Queen is actually the Head of State? P3: The Queen is the Head of State. JC: It's the same exactly as Britain, as in the constitutional structure, if you like. P3: Yes JC: Would she still have, kind of... I mean, she hasn't got a lot of power here either, but would she have some veto powers over there? I don't know actually. P3: No, I think it's more a ceremonial role out there. As it is here, really. JC: Yeah, fair enough. P3: Where they go through the motions of her signing off laws. If she was to rebel and say "No, I'm not signing that.", then they would have to change the constitution.	younger generations of Australians and the British Royal Family.	news/2018/feb/21/australians-unswayed-by-royal-nuptials-as-support-for-monarchy-hits-record-low), which is also what P3 thought was the case.
A45: Barbecue guests	As with previous actors the guests are also shown through neutral connotations. They are only shown through stative processes, to highlight their thoughts and opinions on the Royal Family today.	The same major musical piece connects the discussion about the Royal Family from past to present, thus creating an association between the two.	Shown sitting around the table (all white people, a mix of generations)	The guests are represented as the typical Australian and expressing their opinions.			



JC: I wonder if they refer to the Australian government as 'Her Majesty's Government' as well. That's interesting.
P3: I'm not sure, but they're all part of the Commonwealth, that's another thing that comes into this. (I, lines 284-312)

- Australian actors
- Historic actors
- Witnesses, ordinary people
- Experts
- Workers or professionals
- British actors
- Other actors

Appendix 8.3: Multimodal Analysis of *Great Australian Railway Journeys: Adelaide to Perth* (BBC, 2019)

Time allocated to the different parts (with percentage up to the second decimal point)

	Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9
<i>Themes</i>	Intro	Hugh Hamilton Wines	Adelaide and tango	Nullarbor Plain	Kalgoorlie	Royal Flying Doctor	Perth and Fairbridge	Royal Family	Outro
<i>Times</i>	00:00 – 02:57	02:57 – 08:27	08:27 – 14:31	14:31 – 26:23	26:23 – 36:09	36:09 – 40:18	40:18 – 53:02	53:02 – 58:13	58:13 – 59:17
<i>Minutes</i>	2'57"	5'30"	6'04"	11'52"	9'46"	4'09"	12'44"	5'11"	1'04"
<i>%</i>	4.34%	8.92%	10.24%	19.45%	15.98%	6.91%	21.02%	8.63%	1.75%

Legend: positive connotation, negative connotation, neutral connotation, representation of actors and places in lexis, *representation of processes ('transitivity') in lexis*, Actor (A + number), *generic highlighting*, visual analysis (ECU = extreme close-up, CU = close-up, MCU = medium close-up, MS = medium shot, LS = long shot, ES = establishing shot)

Part 1: Series and episode intro (00:00-02:57)

Themes: series and episode intro.

Topics: summary of the main points discussed in the programme and series.

Actors: Michael Portillo (A1), Bradshaw's Book (A2), Australia/ Australians (A3),²⁹ trains/railway (A4), Britain/ British (A5).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
00:00 – 01:02	Series intro	MICHAEL PORTILLO: My 1913 <u>Bradshaw's Handbook</u> to the chief cities of the world has brought me to <u>Australia</u> . I will ride some of the <u>longest trains and the world's steepest railway</u> . I'll climb Blue Mountains and cross red deserts. I'll swim above coral reefs and walk upon golden sands. As I journey across <u>this spectacular continent</u> , I'll discover the gold and silver, coal and wool on which this nation was built . I'll encounter her <u>indigenous people and her national heroes</u> , and discover the	A1: MP (<i>me, I x6</i>) A2: BB (<i>Bradshaw's Handbook</i>) A3: Australia/ns (<i>Australia, this spectacular continent, this nation, her indigenous people and her national heroes, the millions of immigrants who now call themselves Australians</i>) A4: trains (<i>longest trains, the world's steepest railway</i>)	A1: receptive (<i>has brought me</i>); agentive (<i>I will ride / 'll climb / 'll swim / walk / journey / 'll discover x2 / 'll encounter</i>) A2: agentive (<i>has brought me</i>) A3: receptive (<i>was built, encounter her ..., discover the origins of the millions ...</i>) A4: receptive (<i>ride some of the longest...</i>)	Epic sounding music with an initial marching , adventurous rhythm. Brass and string instruments with a classical music feel. A key: A major scale . (00:00-01:01)	Live noises in the background from the mix of shots from the series (00:00-01:01)	Shot from above of a train running, followed by shot of MP on the train, looking outside the window (CU, eye-level), followed by shot of sunset or sunrise from inside the train, followed by another shot of the train running (00:00-00:04) Shot of the cover page of the Bradshaw's book (henceforth BB) (CU, full title: <i>Bradshaw's Through Routes to the Chief Cities and Bathing and Health Resorts of the World</i>), followed by a mix of shots (mainly wide landscape shots) of MP in different Australian locations with landmarks (e.g.	A1: MP - CUs and MCUs invite intimacy between the viewer and MP. MP is always wearing bright clothes, baldly matched, which as well as being part of his TV persona, give out a sense of full-of-life ness and positivity. A2: BB - the CU shot of a book in very good conditions despite being over 100 years old, combined with the clearly visible full title, gives the book a certain authority as trustworthy, thus contributing to bypass the viewer's epistemic vigilance with respect to the source.	A1: agentive (<i>reading, travelling, talking</i>); stative (<i>sitting</i>); receptive (<i>being transported</i>) A2: receptive (<i>being carried around by MP</i>)	The series intro functions to entice the viewer to the whole series, showing extracts from different episodes and showing people and places in a very positive light. As well as the host and the country he visits, trains are given plenty of space, since the programme focuses on this means of transport to showcase the destination. The positive connotations are created through all the different modes and the adventurous sounding music piece builds up excitement in the audience with regards to what will follow.	

²⁹ Unless directly referred to as Australians, actors will be considered to be Australians only when relating to events after the year 1949 when, officially, the Australian citizenship was introduced by the Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948. Prior to that year, actors will be considered British or of other nationality.

		origins of the <u>millions of immigrants who now call themselves Australians.</u> (00:03-00:50)					Sydney Opera House); also shots of what looks like an ‘indigenous person’ putting some colour on MP’s face and the following ‘national’ heroes’ (kangaroo, koala and rugby, in this order) (00:04-00:50)	A3: Australia/ns - shots of sunsets, modern cityscapes and landmarks as well as the ‘national heroes’, show Australia as a varied and beautiful place. A4: trains – shots portray trains in very good conditions, from different perspectives (aerial, close-up, external and interiors) and in different settings (rural and urban), thus highlighting the important role they have in the programme and beyond.	A3: stative (beautiful panorama and aerial shots) A4: agentive (<i>running, transporting people</i>)		
01:02 - 02:57	Episode intro	MP: “ <i>This rail adventure begins in the state of South Australia and I will ride the Indian Pacific, one of the very few genuinely transcontinental trains in the world. Across the fearsome Nullarbor Plain, once described as the sort of place</i>	A1: MP (I x4, me) A2: BB (my guidebook) A3: Australia/ns (the state of South Australia, the fearsome	A1: agentive (I will ride / board / stop / marvel / traverse / take, crossing into); receptive (takes me) A2: / A3: receptive (once described as ..., the West could be reached,	Classical music piece, medium/ fast tempo. Brass and string instruments. B key. B major scale. (01:02-01:53)	Live noises in the background from the mix of shots from the series (01:02-02:57)	Shot from above of a train running through a fairly bare landscape; followed by shot of MP (wearing a colourful outfit: orange shirt and light blue jacket) inside the train flicking through the BB (CU, MP on the right hand side of the screen); followed by	A1: MP – same as above. Moreover he is shown getting excited at the sight of gold bars, enjoying the luxury of the train and celebrating after winning at a gambling game. A2: BB – shown as being very close to MP (even by being on a bread plate,	A1: agentive (<i>reading, travelling, talking, winning and celebrating</i>); stative (<i>sitting</i>); receptive (<i>being transported</i>) A2: stative (<i>laying on a table</i>); receptive (<i>being flicked</i>)	This scene introduces the audience to the current episode and focuses its attention to a number of points that will be discussed in it. The ‘conquest’ of the Nullarbor Plain is one of the key narratives of the episode, and its traversing occupies almost 20% of the	

	<p>one gets into in bad dreams, towards Perth, one of the remotest cities on the planet. By the time of my guidebook, Australia was an independent federated nation. Yet the West, with all its rich deposits of gold, could be reached only by a long sea voyage. Politics and economics dictated that a railway must conquer the notorious Nullarbor.” (01:10-01:54)</p> <p>MP: My route, which stretches nearly 1,700 miles, starts in McLaren Vale, the South Australian wine region. Then, takes me north to Adelaide, the state’s coastal capital. I’ll board the mighty Indian Pacific railway to travel deep into the desert. I’ll stop at the ghost town of Cook before crossing into Western Australia and onto Kalgoorlie, where the gold rush began. My final destination will be Perth and its port of Fremantle, where British</p>	<p>Nullarbor Plain, the sort of place one gets into in bad dreams, Perth, one of the remotest cities on the planet, Australia x2, an independent federated nation, the West, rich deposits of gold, politics and economics, the notorious Nullarbor, McLaren Vale, the South Australian wine region, Adelaide, the state’s coastal capital, the desert x2, the ghost town of Cook, Western Australia, Kalgoorlie, the gold rush, Perth and its port of Fremantle, final destination, the nation’s riches, the outback)</p> <p>A4: trains (rail adventure, the Indian Pacific, one of the very few genuinely transcontinental trains in the world, as railway, route, the mighty Indian Pacific railway)</p> <p>A5: British (British)</p>	<p>conquer the notorious Nullarbor, crossing into Western Australia, marvel at the nation’s riches, traverse the desert); stative (Australia was an independent..., ‘implied’ is one of the very... / one of the remotest ..., ‘implied’ has rich deposits ..., gold rush began, final destination will be); agentive (politics and economics dictated)</p> <p>A4: stative (begins, stretches, starts) receptive (will ride / board the Indian Pacific); agentive (must conquer)</p> <p>A5: agentive (set foot)</p>	<p>Classical music piece, medium/ fast tempo, repetitive riff. Brass and string instruments. B key, B major scale. (01:54-02:55)</p>		<p>another shot of the train running as if taken through one its windows (01:02-01:10)</p> <p>Shot of MP on the train, sitting at a laid table, talking to the camera with his BB on the bread side plate (MCU, very slight high angle); inserted shots of the Nullarbor Plain (seen from the train window) and a shot from above of the train running through the same plain (01:10-01:54)</p> <p>Animated insert of the BB opening to the section about Australia (shown by a map with ‘Australia’ clearly written on it); the animation zooms in on the map and animated red line connects the various stops (the written names also appear) of the journey as MP says them (01:54-02:31)</p> <p>Shot of MP sitting on another train, followed by a mix of shots taken from this episode that visualise the summary made by MP: the gold bars, MP’s luxurious room on the train and MP winning at a gambling game (02:31-02:57)</p>	<p>possibly associated with being as good as bread) and an essential aspect of his narrative. Through the animation, the book is also shown as coming to life.</p> <p>A3: Australians – the Nullarbor Plain is the ‘face’ of Australia in this scene. The animated map in the book is used to provide factual information on its geography with a focus on south-western regions. Finally, the three depictions of MP interacting with Australia that summarise the episode focus on the positives of money: the nation’s riches is represented by gold bars; the luxury of the train is what differentiates past and present in the desert; gambling (and winning) is to be celebrated</p> <p>A4: trains – same as above</p> <p>A5: British – not represented</p>	<p>through), agentive (animated, opening itself and ‘mutating’ with the route appearing)</p> <p>A3: receptive (being travelled across); stative (having gold); agentive (gambling)</p> <p>A4: agentive (running, transporting people)</p> <p>A5: not represented</p>	<p>whole episode. At first analysis, Australia is presented through a variety of connotative lenses. However, the negative connotations only refer to the Nullarbor Plain and serve to make its ‘conquest’ even more worthy of praise. The means through which the conquest was accomplished, i.e. the railway, is again presented in very positive terms. Finally, another important actor is introduced in this scene, the British, which is something that will be expanded on as the programme develops. The final observation relates to the monetary essence of the relationship between MP and Australia: the focus on gold, luxury and gambling reflects the capitalist socio-cultural paradigm whereby money is the engine of progress and society and something to aspire to, as it provides us with higher standards of living and status.</p>	
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	<p><i>convicts and then orphans first set foot</i> in <u>Australia</u>. On my journey, <i>I'll marvel</i> at the <u>nation's riches...</u> (01:55-02:36)</p> <p>MP: "What would they be worth, do you think?" JC: "Probably just shy of \$2 million sitting right in front of us." (02:37-02:40)</p> <p>MP: <i>Traverse the desert</i> in style... MP: "Explorers perished crossing this plain. Today, it's a little easier" MP: And <i>take</i> a <u>gamble in the outback</u>. (02:42-02:51)</p>	<p><i>convicts, orphans)</i></p>								
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Part 2: Hugh Hamilton Wines (02:57-08:23)

Themes: Winemaking in South Australia

Topics: History of winemaking in Australia, Hugh Hamilton Wines, Richard Hamilton, British settlers.

Actors: Michael Portillo (A1), Bradshaw’s Book (A2), Australia/ Australians (A3), Britain/ British (A5), Hugh Hamilton Wines (A6), Mary Hamilton (A7), Richard Hamilton (A8).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
02:57 – 08:23		<p>MP: In 1836, <i>these rolling hills and fertile valleys became part of a new kind of British colony.</i> MP “<i>The white settlements in New South Wales and Tasmania had been established as penal colonies, but South Australia, by sharp contrast, was created by voluntary emigrants who were free men.</i> <i>Adventurous and entrepreneurial, some of them saw wine as a good business, and the guidebook tells me that, ‘Claret and Burgundy types are now produced. Total yield in 1911 was nearly six million gallons, of which over half came from South Australia.’</i> (03:03-03:45) MP: <i>Hugh Hamilton Wines is</i></p>	<p>A1: MP (me x4, Michael, I) A2: BB (the guidebook) A3: Australia/ns (these rolling hills and fertile valleys, New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia x5, at Glenelg in Adelaide, this state, the new colony of South Australia, South Australians, other Australians x2) A5: British (British colony, the white settlements, penal)</p>	<p>A1: receptive (tells / tell me x3); agentive (I think) A2: agentive (tells me) A3: stative (valleys became part, are they different); receptive (South Australia was created, called South Australia); agentive (this state produces, other Australians think) A5: receptive (settlements had been established, colony that was not yet formed); agentive (created)</p>	<p>Guitar arpeggio and keyboard, slow / medium tempo. C key, C major scale. (02:57-03:39) String instrument (possibly a fiddle?); slow tempo. G key, G major scale. (03:46-04:14) Acoustic guitar, medium/ fast tempo. F key, F major scale.</p>	<p>Some live noises and bird sounds during the interview (03:47-06:30) Sound of paper being stripped from around the bottleneck (07:12) Sound of bottle being opened and wine being poured into glasses (07:43-07:50) Sound of glasses touching</p>	<p>Wide aerial shots of a green, lush valley covered by vineyards in a sunny day, insert of a shot of MP walking through a vineyard (LS), again dressed in a colourful outfit (bright dark blue trousers, white shirt and pink jacket, also wearing a traditional Australian hat) (02:57-03:16) Shot of MP standing in the middle of a vineyard with the BB in his hands, from which he is also shown reading (LS, eye-level) (03:16-03:46) Close-up shot of red grapes on the vine, followed by an aerial shot of a vineyard and a distant shot (low angle) of a man</p>	<p>A1: MP – as well as the usual CU and MCU shots, MP is portrayed through some LS shots that place him in the beautiful, lush valley where HHW is located. We also see him for the first time wearing a traditional Australian hat, which could hint at his willingness to embrace the local culture. A2: BB – shown as being read by MP in the vineyard. A3: Australia/ns – shown through aerial shots of the green, lush valley where HHW is located. A5: British – they are not shown as settlers or, except through the B&W photo of RH.</p>	<p>A1: agentive (walking, talking, tasting wine, reading) A2: receptive (being held and read) A3: stative (panorama and aerial shots) A5: not represented</p>	<p>This part introduces the viewer to a number of themes, but predominantly winemaking in Australia and the difference between people who had been sent to Australia as convicts and people to had moved to Australia out of their own choice. Interestingly, it has nothing to do with trains and railways, which are completely absent from this part. The narrative around the free settlers is developed through a character, Mary Hamilton, and her business, Hugh Hamilton Wines, as the living testimony of the efforts of one man and his family (the focus is clearly on him as we are not told anything about the other family members). All the actors are</p>	<p>P3: Admiration and awe for the people who built the infrastructure and industries of the country. Their resilience, bravery and courage (Q, item 12) P3: I was interested in the wine producer and how it was started by a man from Kent (Q, item 14) JC: OK, so, one thing that you found interesting was “the wine producer and how it was started by a man from Kent”. P3: Yeah, that’s right, from Dover. A smuggler, I think. They said he was a smuggler [LAUGHS]. Which is not... JC: A smuggler at night, wasn’t it? P3: Yeah, and he used to bring things over from France, land them a night. I think there are some</p>

	<p>Australia's oldest surviving family wine business. Its boss, Mary Hamilton, can trace the company's roots back six generations to one of those first settlers. MP: "Mary, hello." MARY HAMILTON: "Hello, Michael." MP: "What a glorious location for the vineyard." MH: "It's beautiful, isn't it?" MP: "Your business was begun, I think, by your great—great—great—grandfather." MH: "That's right." MP: "Tell me about him." MH: "Richard Hamilton was a tailor on the high street of Dover in Kent. And at the age of about 47, which in equivalent terms would have made him a very old man, he packed up his whole life, went and put down £80, which would've been his life savings, on 80 acres in a colony that was not yet formed, called South Australia." MP: "Absolutely amazing. And he had a family, presumably?" MH: "Yes, he had nine children. And so I guess he rolled the dice on their</p>	<p><i>colonies, voluntary migrants, free men, adventurous and entrepreneurial, some of them, a colony, the pioneers)</i></p> <p>A6: HHW (<i>Hugh Hamilton Wines, Australia's oldest surviving family wine business, the company, glorious location, the vineyard, beautiful, business, Australian wine, an industry of more than 40 billion Australian dollars, here they</i>)</p> <p>A7: MH (<i>boss, Mary Hamilton, Mary x2, I x4, you x4, in awe of what he did, we x2, our Adelaide accent, a bit posh, a little bit English, South Australians, proud that they arrived in a free settled state</i>)</p>	<p>by voluntary migrants, some saw); stative (<i>were free men, 'implied' were adventurous and entrepreneurial)</i>)</p> <p>A6: stative (<i>is Australia's ... / beautiful, Australian wine is an industry ...); receptive (was begun); agentive (they grow)</i>)</p> <p>A7: agentive (<i>can trace, 'implied you' tell x3, guess, speculated, make of, think x2, chose, suppose, arrived); stative (are different / proud that they arrived ..., to be a bit posh); receptive (we get ribbed, you're thought)</i>)</p>	<p>(06:31-06:54)</p> <p>Ukulele and keyboard s, medium /fast tempo. G key, G major scale (08:23 to the end of part)</p>	<p>during the toast (08:22)</p>	<p>supervising some wine production processes; followed by another aerial shot of MP walking through the vineyard; followed by a distant side shot of MP still walking; followed by a shot from behind of MP walking (MS, eye-level) and eventually meeting MH (who wears black jeans and a black blouse) who is approaching from a distance and greeting her with a handshake; followed by another aerial shot of the vineyard over the words 'what a glorious location...beautiful, isn't it' (03:46-04:12)</p> <p>Frontal shot of MP (on the left) and MH (on the right) walking through the vineyard while talking (MS, with some CU and one distant shot, eye-level); insert of an old B&W portrait photo of Richard Hamilton, wearing a long beard and smart black jacket; insert of an aerial shot of the vineyard with MP (and MH?) walking; insert of other aerial shots of the vineyard;</p>	<p>A6: HHW – the company, its ground and infrastructures are given plenty of visibility, with shots showing not only the vineyard, but also machinery and the tasting room (shown both from the outside and from the inside). The products are also given visibility through the CU of the bottles and the brand itself is given visibility, with the name of the winemakers clearly readable on both the cork and the tasting glass – a fair bit of publicity for a brand that is also sold in the UK.</p> <p>A7: MH - MCU and CU shots help create proximity with this actor, who is shown as an expert winemaker as well as a proud South Australian.</p> <p>A8: RH – this actor is only shown in a B&W photo and, indirectly, through the reproduction of the newspaper article about him, that describes him as a black sheep.</p>	<p>A6: stative (<i>panorama and aerial shots); receptive (as in the product being produced, drunk, enjoyed, showcased)</i>)</p> <p>A7: agentive (<i>walking, talking, tasting wine</i>)</p> <p>A8: stative (<i>portrait photo and writing in newspaper</i>)</p>	<p>portrayed in a positive light, particularly, the business itself and Richard Hamilton. Although some negative connotations about RH are brought up through MH's story and the newspaper article (him being a smuggler and hence a black sheep), these are shrugged off by both MP and MH as mischievous, rather than criminal, character traits. The final judgement on him and his fellow 'pioneers' is of extraordinary individuals, who are 'adventurous and entrepreneurial' and showing 'incredible tenacity'. No comments or discussions are made with regards to their actions once in Australia against First Nation People (the Kurna people specifically for this area) and on how ethical it was to dispossess these people of land they had inhabited for thousands of years. There is also an element of promotion of HHW, as bottles are showcased, and the product is tasted and</p>	<p>tunnels in [NAME OF HIS TOWN] where smugglers had... going back to two hundred years or so, they were bringing in stuff. JC: What did you think about his sort of achievements, if you like, once in Australia? P3: Fantastic, wasn't it, really. If you think about it, they went to Australia with... spent all their money to invest in land and it was a gamble. They... I think, the type of people that went were that type of people that would work hard and make a success of that. JC: Yeah, I think they made it quite clear that the Western part of Australia was the one where people kind of voluntarily went, rather than... P3: Rather than the convicts. (I, lines 217-231)</p>
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		<p>future, as well. Packed them all up, and they hopped on this ship called the Katherine Stewart Forbes. Sixteen weeks at sea, and then they docked here at <u>Glenelg</u> in <u>Adelaide</u>. And that's where their new life began.” MP: “What an <u>extraordinary thing</u> to do. Have you speculated on why he wanted to make a <u>new life</u>?” MH: “He had two lives, it turns out. He was a tailor by day, but by the light of the moon, he was a smuggler. He was very conveniently located in Dover to be able to hop down to the beach and receive some contraband Bordeaux from France on a regular basis!” MP: “Oh, so he was in wine, in a way.” MH: “He was! So, it must have been a real shock to arrive here and find that there wasn't a drop to be found. So he penned a letter possibly in desperation, an SOS, saying, ‘<i>For the health of the family,</i>’ this was to some friends in South Africa, ‘<i>please send me out some grapevine cuttings.</i>’ He planted probably the</p>	<p>A8: RH (<i>one of those first settlers, great— great— great— grandfather x2, him x2, Richard Hamilton x2, a tailor x2, at the age of about 47, a very old man, he x20, his life savings, absolutely amazing, nine children, their new life x2, an extraordinary thing, two lives, a smuggler, in wine, a fabulous Australian — South Australian story, this character, incredible tenacity, the whole challenge late in life, his passion for wine, my great— great— great— grandfather Richard, Dover tailor, under a veil of mystery, Mr Hamilton Esq of Dover, a tailor and landowner of some repute,</i></p>	<p>A8: agentive (<i>begun by your great ..., he packed up x2 / went / put / rolled / wanted, they hopped / docked / penned / planted x2 / would have been producing / could have consumed / starts selling / did / does, to be able to hop down, receive, to arrive, find, to take on the whole challenge, moving, go, arrives, finds, arrived, leaves, to have left, to have been dealing); stative</i> (RH was a tailor x2 / smuggler / located / in wine, made him a very old man, would have been his life savings, he had a family / nine children / two lives, their new life began, does he mean, ‘implied’ is A BLACK SHEEP INDEED); receptive (<i>is believed, intrigue surrounds Mr Hamilton, who’s rumoured</i>)</p>			<p>insert of aerial shots of MP and MH walking; insert of a still shot from inside the vineyard (04:12-06:30)</p> <p>Aerial shot of the vineyard followed by an aerial shot of the building where the testing room is; followed by a shot from behind of MP and MH going up the steps leading to the testing room (ES, low-angle); followed by a frontal shot of the two walking towards the entrance door (ES, eye-level); followed by a shot of the two walking through the testing room (ES, eye-level) (06:30-06:45)</p> <p>Frontal shot of MP and MH stopping by a table with two wine glasses and a bottle of wine (MS, slight low-angle); insert of the vineyard as seen from the tasting room; insert of MP and MH sitting at the table (distant, eye-level); followed by a shot of MP (on left) and MH (on right) sitting at the table (MS, slight low-angle) with MH handling the bottle of wine; insert of three bottles of the</p>			<p>appreciated. The name of the company if made clearly visible on branded objects such as the bottle cork and the tasting glasses. It is worth noting that this product can be bought in the UK (e.g. in Waitrose) and is at the higher end of the supermarket price range.</p>	
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	<p>first grape vines in South Australia. He would have been producing more, from what we can see, than he could have personally consumed. So, he probably starts selling it to the neighbours.”</p> <p>MP: “<u>A fabulous Australian — South Australian story</u>. And what do you make of this character, your great—great—great—grandfather? What does he mean to you?”</p> <p>MH: “<u>In awe of what he did</u>, but <u>the pioneers generally, I think</u> it shows <u>incredible tenacity just to even take on the whole challenge late in life of moving</u> as far away as you could possibly go on the promise that life would be better here, and then arrives and finds that <u>his passion for wine</u> is not accommodated. So, he does something about it.” (03:47-06:30)</p> <p>MP: Today, <u>Australian wine is an industry of more than 40 billion Australian dollars</u>. And this state produces more than half of it. Here, they grow 8 different</p>	<p><i>with a shop, some intrigue, Mr Hamilton, dealing in contraband, A BLACK SHEEP INDEED)</i></p>			<p>same wine as MH is holding, in the foreground coming into focus, with the vineyard in the background; close-up shot of the paper wrapped around the neck of the bottle and MP’s fingers touching it; close-up shot of MH’s hand taking the paper off the bottle and handing it over to MP; close-up shot of MP’s hands holding the paper, followed by close-up shot of the paper, clearly showing the written content, which is read out loud by MP; insert close-ups of MP uttering the words ‘under a veil of mystery’ and ‘some intrigue... English Channel’; close-up of the corkscrew, with Hugh Hamilton written on it clearly visible, coming out of the bottle and of a glass starting to being filled; frontal shot of the two with MH pouring the wine (slight high-angle); medium shot with focus on the glasses while MP and MH take a sip, followed by close-up of MP drinking and a close-up of one of the glasses with ‘Hugh</p>				
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	<p>varieties on 80 acres. MP: “Well, <u>Mary</u>, <i>you certainly chose</i> the right spot for your tasting room, didn’t you?” MH: “It looks different every day, which makes life interesting.” MP: “Ah! Now, <i>tell me</i> about this fellow here.” MH: “So, this is our 1837 Bloodline Shiraz, 1837 being the year that <i>my great—great—great—grandfather Richard arrived</i> in South Australia. It’s what <i>he planted</i> first.” MP: “What is this wrapped around it?” MH: “This is <u>Richard Hamilton’s</u> story.” MP: “That goes on every bottle?” MH: “This goes on each bottle.” MP: “July 28th, 1837, The Kent And Surrey News And Advertiser. ‘<i>Dover tailor leaves for the new colony of South Australia under a veil of mystery. Mr Hamilton Esq of Dover, a tailor and landowner of some repute, with a shop on Snargate Street, is believed to have left with his family. Some intrigue surrounds Mr Hamilton, who’s rumoured to have been dealing in</i></p>					<p>Hamilton’ written on it clearly visible; shot of MP and MH talking (MCU, slight high-angle); medium distant shot of MP and MH sat at the table, followed by shot of MP and MH toasting (MCU, slight low-angle); final shot of vine leaves from a low angle, with the sun in the background (06:45-08:27)</p>				
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	<p><i>contraband</i> <i>Bordeaux from</i> <i>across the English</i> <i>Channel. <u>A BLACK</u></i> <i><u>SHEEP INDEED!</u></i>” (06:32-07:42)</p> <p>MP: “Mm! It’s a lovely, rich, generous wine, isn’t it? <i>Tell me</i> about <u>South Australians</u>. <i>Are they</i> different from other <u>Australians?</u>”</p> <p>MH: “<i>I think other Australians think we’re</i> different. <i>We often get ribbed</i> a little bit for our <u>Adelaide accent.</u>”</p> <p>MP: “<i>You’re thought to be</i> a bit <u>posh?</u>”</p> <p>MH: “Oh, <u>a little bit English</u>, yeah. <i>I suppose</i> maybe <u>South Australians are</u> quite <u>proud that they arrived in a free settled state</u>, as opposed to arriving in chains.”</p> <p>MP: “Ha—ha! Very nicely put.”</p> <p>MH: “Cheers.”</p> <p>MP: “To the free state!” (07:52-08:22)</p>									
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Part 3: Adelaide and tango (08:27-14:31)

Themes: Adelaide and tango.

Topics: Adelaide, Colonel William Light, tango

Actors: Michael Portillo (A1), Bradshaw's Book (A2), Australia/ Australians (A3), Britain/ British (A5), Adelaide (A9), Colonel William Light (A10), man (A11), woman (A12), tango (A13), Andrew Gill (A14), Adrienne Gill (A15)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
08:27 – 11:28	Adelaide	<p>MP: Just west of <u>McLaren Vale</u>, at <u>Seaford</u>, <i>I'm taking the Adelaide Metro into the city.</i> (08:29-08:35)</p> <p>MP: "<i>Bradshaw's tells me it comprises two towns. 'South of the river, the commercial division, and the seat of government six miles from the sea. North Adelaide is laid out with the private residences of the wealthy on a gently rising hill.'</i> <u>Adelaide had a reputation for being grand, even posh. From what my guidebook tells me, it was also well planned.</u>" (08:43-09:08)</p> <p>MP: Stretching for 12 miles between the <u>gulf of St Vincent</u> and the <u>Adelaide Hills</u>. <u>Australia's fifth—biggest city is</u></p>	<p>A1: MP (I x2, me x2)</p> <p>A2: BB (Bradshaw's, my guidebook)</p> <p>A3: Australia/ns (McLaren Vale, at Seaford, gulf of St Vincent, Adelaide Hills, Australia)</p> <p>A4: trains (Adelaide Metro)</p> <p>A5: British (Queen Adelaide, wife of Britain's King William IV)</p> <p>A9: Adelaide (the city x2, it x3, two towns, the commercial</p>	<p>A1: agentive (I'm taking, I've heard it); receptive (tells me x2)</p> <p>A2: agentive (tells x2)</p> <p>A3: /</p> <p>A4: receptive (taking the Adelaide Metro)</p> <p>A5: receptive (named after)</p> <p>A9: stative (comprises two towns, South of the river</p>	<p>Ukulele and keyboard s, medium /fast tempo. G key, G major scale (from previous part to 08:40)</p> <p>Same music as before. G key, G major scale (09:03-09:27)</p> <p>Piano piece, gentle, medium tempo. C key, C minor scale (09:30-10:23)</p>	<p>Train live noises (08:34-09:28)</p> <p>Live street noises (09:41-09:57)</p> <p>Live street noises (10:24-10:50)</p> <p>Live street noises (11:04-11:28)</p>	<p>Frontal shot of MP walking on what looks like a bridge, same outfit as previous part (LS, slight low-angle); followed by a shot of other people walking; followed by a shot from behind of MP boarding a metropolitan train (LS, slight low-angle); followed by shot of the train doors closing and of the train departing (08:27-08:43)</p> <p>Shot of MP on the train, reading from the BB (CU, slight low-angle showing the book and MP on the left as well as the aisle of the train on the right); insert of the book page MP is reading from (08:43-09:08)</p> <p>Shot of the sea from the train window; followed by shot of MP on the train (MS, low-angle); followed</p>	<p>A1: MP - in this scene, MP is often shown from a slight low angle, which could reinforce his status as an authoritative and trustworthy host. He is also shown as expertly handling city plans and pointing at places on it.</p> <p>A2: BB - as well as shown being read by or in the hands of MP, the close-up shot of one of the pages from which MP is reading reinforces the authenticity of what MP is saying.</p> <p>A3: Australia/ns - people are shown walking in the streets and in the train station.</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking, walking, reading, analysing documents); receptive (being transported)</p> <p>A2: receptive (being read and carried)</p> <p>A3: agentive (walking)</p>	<p>As well as showcasing the city of Adelaide, this scene seems to be a tribute to the person who was responsible for its planning and design, Colonel William Light. Both the city and CWL are shown in a very positive light across the modes. The minor scale of the gentle piano music that accompanies the description of 'Light's Vision' seems adding nostalgia, rather than sadness, to it, almost to say, 'these were the great men we once had'. The two people interviewed in the street are called in to corroborate MP's opinion that CWL's legacy should be seen as a positive</p>	

	<p>famed for its <u>green credentials</u>, <u>affordable rents</u>, and <u>laidback lifestyle</u>. <u>Named after Queen Adelaide</u>, wife of Britain's King William IV, its location was hotly debated. But the surveyor general of the new colony, Colonel William Light, pressed ahead with his plan to create a perfect capital. It was to be laid out north and south of the River Torrens, encircled by green open space. A statue known as Light's Vision looks down over the city from Montefiore Hill. MP: "He created a design with lovely squares in the southern part, and here are the villas of the wealthy ascending the hill. And he surrounded the whole thing with nearly 2,500 acres of parkland. He said that he would leave it to posterity to judge whether he was worthy of praise or shame. His design is still recognisable in the city today, and it has proved to be enlightened." (09:31-10:51)</p> <p>MP: With its grid pattern, wide streets and open spaces, Light's masterplan was well ahead of its time, and seems to</p>	<p>division, the seat of government, North Adelaide, the private residences of the wealthy on a gently rising hill, Adelaide, a reputation for being grand, even posh, well planned, Australia's fifth—biggest city, famed for its green credentials, affordable rents, laidback lifestyle, its location, a perfect capital, lovely squares, your city, the 20 Minute City, big city, we, a big little city)</p> <p>A10: CWL (the surveyor general of the new colony, Colonel William Light, his plan, a statue known as Light's Vision, he x5, worthy of praise or shame, his design, still recognisable, enlightened, Light's masterplan, well ahead of its time, ideal for modern urban living, the plan, pretty</p>	<p>'implied' are the commercial ... , North Adelaide is laid out, Adelaide had, it was well planned, city is famed, we are a big little city); receptive (named after, location was hotly debated, was to be laid out, encircled by, called the 20 ...)</p> <p>A10: agentive (pressed ahead, to create, looks down, created, surrounded, said, would leave); stative (was worthy ... , his design is still recognisable, masterplan was well ahead, seems ideal, the plan is pretty good / logical / easy to get around, it has proved to be enlightened)</p>	<p>Classical music; brass and string instruments. Medium / fast tempo. D key, D major scale (10:50-11:07)</p>		<p>by shot of the train from the outside; followed by a over-the-shoulder shot of MP looking outside the window (CU, low-angle); followed by a shot of a train running; followed by a shot of people in a train station walking past the camera; followed by a frontal shot of MP walking on the platform (MS, slight low-angle); followed by a shot of MP walking past the camera in the train station (LS, very low-angle) (09:08-09:30)</p> <p>Shot of people crossing a road; followed by two aerial shot of Adelaide; followed by a shot of the railway building (LS, low-angle); followed by shot of MP walking out of the station, putting his hat on and crossing a street (LS, slight low-angle); followed by two urban shots; followed by shot of MP walking by a fountain (LS, slight low-angle); followed by shot of building and tilting down to MP approaching from the opposite side of the road; insert of a drawing showing a town in the background, some shepherds in the foreground on the left and a group of imperial soldiers (recognisable by the red shirt with white cross) walking</p>	<p>A4: trains – as well as similar shots to the ones seen in previous scenes (interior and exterior of modern, well-kept vehicles), the low-angle shot of the railway building reinforces the idea of the importance of this means of transport for the programme and beyond.</p> <p>A5: British – represented by the imperial soldiers in the drawing, marching.</p> <p>A9: Adelaide - is shown through a varied number of shots (including aerial ones) that showcase her modern and green characteristics.</p> <p>A10: CWL – William Light is represented in an old drawing (FS, eye-level), showing him in uniform, standing by a rock and holding either a document tube holder or a monocular telescope. He is also represented through the statue on the 'Light Vision' panorama spot, and,</p>	<p>A4: agentive (running, transporting people)</p> <p>A5: agentive (marching)</p> <p>A9: stative (panorama and aerial shots, planning maps)</p> <p>A10: stative (standing both in the drawing and as a statue); agentive (pointing in the statue version)</p>	<p>one, 'worth of praise [rather than blame]'. As it was for the previous scene, there is no questioning of how ethical it was to claim the vast area of land as belonging to the British sovereign, particularly considering that, if it was the best possible spot to build a city, chances are that at least parts of it were used by the Kaurua people before the arrival of the Europeans.</p>	
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		<p>me ideal for modern urban living. MP: "What do you think of the plan of your city?" MAN: "<i>I think it's</i> pretty good, actually." MP: "Yeah?" MAN: "<i>It's</i> pretty logical, and easy to get around." MP: "<i>I've heard it called The 20 Minute</i> City, what does that mean?" WOMAN: "Cos it takes 20 minutes to get everywhere!" MP: "And is that true?" WOMAN: "<i>I actually think</i> it is. 20 minutes to, like, half an hour. Maybe 35!" MP: "Well, that's quite unusual for big cities." WOMAN: "Well, <i>we're</i> kind of like a big little city." (10:53-11:27)</p>	<p>good, pretty logical, easy to get around) A11: Man (you, I) A12: Woman (I)</p>	<p>A11: agentive (think x2) A12: agentive (think)</p>		<p>away from the town, on the right-hand side; insert of a drawing of (presumably) Colonel William Light; followed by shot of MP walking (ES, slight high-angle); followed by aerial view of city; followed by shot of MP arriving at some panorama spot (ES, slight high-angle); followed by shot of the statue of Colonel William Light (LS, very low-angle); followed by close-up shots of an old city plan and MP's fingers pointing at parts of it and medium close-up of MP looking at it; followed by frontal shot of MP walking along the banister of the panorama spot, with a bronze plaque visible with Light's Vision written on it (MS, eye-level); followed by a shot of MP walking away from the panorama spot (ES, slight high-angle) (09:30-10:54)</p> <p>Aerial shot of Adelaide; followed by shot of MP crossing a road (LS, slight low-angle); followed by urban shots; followed by interview with two people in the street: first shot showing MP kneeling by the couple who is sitting on a bench (ES, eye-level); then MS to CU shots of all the participants while talking (slight</p>	<p>because of the very low angle, he is shown as almost a divine figure, pointing towards the city he 'created' (this verb is used twice by MP in connection to CWL). Here too he is in uniform.</p> <p>A11: Man – The young white man is represented with shots to create proximity and, at a distance, shown with MP kneeling before him, almost as to say: 'this person holds the truth and deserve reverence'. He is wearing a jacket (possibly part of a suit, but no clear) and white shirt, which suggests he is a white-collar type of worker.</p> <p>A12: Woman – Same representation as above for the young (multiracial?) woman as for the man. She is wearing a grey top and a short black shirt; her occupation is unclear.</p>	<p>A11: agentive (talking); stative (sitting)</p> <p>A12: agentive (talking); stative (sitting)</p>		
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							low-angle) (10:54-11:28)				
11:28 – 14:31	Tango	<p>MP: From its foundation, South Australia aimed to be a utopia for free settlers, with no religious discrimination or unemployment. By the 1870s, some trade unions had even achieved an eight—hour working day, creating time for rest and relaxation. (11:32-11:50)</p> <p>MP: At the time of <u>my guidebook</u>, a dance craze that began in Argentina and swept across Europe arrived on these shores. Andrew and Adrienne Gill run classes here in the park. (11:51-12:04)</p> <p>MP: “That was wonderful. I’m Michael. Great to see you. How lovely to see you both. When did the tango grip Australia?” ANDREW GILL: “1913. Very early on. Not well received at first. It was a bit scandalous. I think they worried about it corrupting society.” ADRIENNE GILL: “They thought it was too sensual for polite society, and it’s kind of interesting — I understand it because tango</p>	<p>A1: MP (I x2, Michael, against my better judgement, you x11, your arm(s) x2, your left hand, your shoulders, your balance)</p> <p>A2: BB (my guidebook)</p> <p>A3: Australia/ns (South Australia, a utopia, with no religious discrimination or unemployment, some trade unions, time for rest and relaxation, these shores, Australia, they x3, changes in fashion, more daring, the people, a local clergyman)</p> <p>A5: British (free settlers)</p>	<p>A1: stative (I’m Michael, are worried); receptive (I’m persuaded, go up to / give / follow you); agentive (to have a go, you can do / can invite / can bring and complete / take / relax / let drop / need to do / stand / go / can walk / avoid / walk, bringing your left hand, standing)</p> <p>A2: /</p> <p>A3: agentive (aimed to be a utopia, had even achieved an eight-hour ..., creating time, worried, thought, loved, to condemn it as voluptuous ...); stative (changes in fashion were becoming more daring, were attracted)</p> <p>A5: /</p>	<p>Classical music; brass and string instruments. Medium / fast tempo. G key, G major scale (11:28-11:50)</p> <p>Tango music. D key, D minor scale (11:51-12:15)</p> <p>String instrument, classical music; medium / fast tempo. C key, C major scale (12:53-13:10)</p> <p>Tango music. A key, A minor scale (14:07-14:23)</p>	<p>Live street noises (12:16-12:53)</p> <p>Live street noises (13:12-14:06)</p> <p>Live street noises (14:23-14:31)</p>	<p>Shot of MP crossing a road, with cityscape in the background (ES, low-angle); insert of a drawing showing (presumably) Adelaide towards the end of the XIX century, with many people in the streets and various shops and businesses; insert of an old black and white photo showing a very large gathering of people superimposed to the words ‘some trade unions’; shot of MP walking by a stretch of water and of 5 people on a rowing boat over the words ‘rest and relaxation’ (ES, slight high-angle) (11:28-11:51)</p> <p>Shots of tango dancers in the foreground, with MP walking towards them in the background; close-up of dancing shoes moving and shot of a group of four pairs of dancers (ES, slight high-angle); shot of the Gill couple while dancing (MCU, eye-level); over-the-shoulder shot of MP approaching the dancers, taking his hat off and stopping to watch; more shots of the different pairs dancing; shot from behind of MP approaching the Gill couple and shaking their hands with his hat</p>	<p>A1: MP – back to eye-level shots, rather than low-angle (expert or authoritative shots) to match his beginner level as tango dancer</p> <p>A2: BB – not represented</p> <p>A3: Australia/ns – the trade unions are the main Australian actor showed, used an old B&W photo and they are shown as powerful in the sense of being surrounded by a very large gathering of people. Moreover, some people are showing rowing on a river.</p> <p>A5: British – shown through old drawing of Adelaide as the ‘free settlers’</p> <p>A9: Adelaide – shown both through old photos and drawings and through shots of MP walking around the city. In both cases it is shown as an orderly and</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking, walking, dancing)</p> <p>A2: not represented</p> <p>A3: agentive (addressing and gathering people, rowing on a river)</p> <p>A5: agentive (walking in the streets)</p> <p>A9: stative (old photos and drawings, urban shots)</p>	<p>This scene introduces a cultural element to the programme by focussing on Tango. This is framed in a wider social picture that portrays South Australia as a very idyllic place were free settlers (as opposed to convicts) managed to achieve contemporary work-life balance standards, partly through the founders’ vision (‘from its foundation’) and partly through social struggle (‘some trade unions’). Australia/ns are indeed shown in a positive light across the modes, particularly the linguistic and music ones. What is not clarified, however, is whether this praise-worthy social set up was enjoyed by all social classes or only by the more privileged ones. Tango as an example of activity within such work/life balance is also shown in a positive light; the negative connotations are attributed to what a</p>	<p>JC: OK, so, you enjoyed the programme in general “it was interesting and amusing / entertaining”. Anything you want to add in that sense? I mean, you have mentioned quite a few reasons why you thought it was interesting and amusing. Can you recall any bits that were particularly amusing? P3: I remember the dancing bit, that was quite funny. The lady hugged him and said, “That could be a bit intimidating”. And he said “I quite enjoy it” (I, lines 195-200)</p>

	<p><i>actually influenced</i> a lot of the <i>changes in fashion as well that were becoming a bit more daring</i> too, so... You know, but <i>the people loved it. They were attracted to this new phenomenon, and it was taking off</i> all over the world, actually.” (12:16-12:53)</p> <p>MP: <i>Adelaide’s Tivoli Theatre tapped into the new trend. Free lessons were given</i> daily, followed by <i>performances known as ‘tango teas’, prompting a local clergyman to condemn</i> it as ‘<i>voluptuous, sensuous, amorous dancing</i>’. Against my <i>better judgment, I’m persuaded to have a go</i>.</p> <p>ADRIENNE: “<i>The embrace is</i> really important. So, <i>I can’t just go</i> up to you and just <i>give you</i> a massive hug like this. This...”</p> <p>MP: “No, no, no”</p> <p>ADRIENNE: “...would be a bit intimidating, wouldn’t it?”</p> <p>MP: “Ah, it was OK, actually!”</p> <p>ADRIENNE: “So, what <i>we could do, there’s a bit of a nice way to invite</i> a woman into <i>your arms</i>. So, what <i>you can do is you can invite me</i> by</p>	<p>A9: Adelaide (<i>Adelaide’s Tivoli Theatre</i>)</p> <p>A13: Tango (<i>dance craze, the Tango, a bit scandalous, too sensual, tango, this new phenomenon, the new trend, free lessons, performances known as ‘tango teas’, voluptuous, sensuous, amorous dancing, the embrace, a nice way to invite</i>)</p> <p>A14: Andrew (<i>Andrew Gill, I x2</i>)</p> <p>A15: Adrienne (<i>Adrienne Gill, I x3, we, a woman, me x2, my back, her, her toes, her feet</i>)</p>	<p>A9: agentive (<i>tapped into</i>)</p> <p>A13: stative (it was a bit scandalous / too sensual, the embrace is really important, there is a nice way); agentive (craze that began, swept, arrived, grip, corrupting, influenced, was taking off, prompting); receptive (not well received at first, lessons were given, followed by, clergyman to condemn it as voluptuous ...)</p> <p>A14: agentive (<i>run classes, think, can see</i>)</p> <p>A15: agentive (<i>run classes, understand, can’t just go, give, could do, can accept, to follow</i>); receptive (<i>invite a woman / me, go towards her, standing on her toes</i>)</p>		<p>in the foreground left on one of the bollards (ES, eye-level); shot of MP (on left) and the Gills (on right) talking (MS, eye-level); insert of a wide shot showing a plane flying over the city; insert of an old black and white photo of Tivoli Theatre; insert of two early XX century ads for tango dancing; back to the trio talking and laughing over an awkward moment; close-up of dancing details while Adrienne shows MP how to hold her; shot of MP and Adrienne dancing with no music (ES, slight high-level) and close-up of their legs and feet while dancing; shot of a nearby pelican with MP’s arm out of focus in the foreground; close-up as well as distant shots of MP and Adrienne as well as three other pairs dancing with the music; distant shot of MP kissing Adrienne’s hand after finishing and everyone applauding; shot of MP holding hand with both the Gills while thanking them (MS, eye-level) (11:51-14:31)</p>	<p>modern (for the time) city</p> <p>A13: Tango – it’s shown both through old ads and venues and, most importantly through the dancers and details of both their bodies and accessories they were, both of which are very smart and well-presented.</p> <p>A14: Andrew – as the other dancers (all middle-aged, white people), he his dressed in fairly formal clothing, clean-shaven and smiley. MCU shots at eye-level create proximity and a connection with the audience.</p> <p>A15: Adrienne – she is also very smartly dressed and represented through MCU and eye-level shots, as well as CU and ECU shots while dancing.</p>	<p>A13: stative (<i>old ads</i>); agent (<i>dancers dancing</i>)</p> <p>A14: agentive (<i>talking, dancing</i>)</p> <p>A15: agentive (<i>talking, dancing</i>)</p>	<p>clergyman said about it and are framed as based in the religious values of the beginning of XX century, rather than in contemporary, secular values. Everyone involved with tango are shown as smart and well-presented, possibly an association to be made between secular values and high standards and status. The minor melodies of the tango music may clash a little with such representation, but again the juxtaposition of the different modes seems to give a rather romantic view of tango and of past times that are kept in high regards by the host and the tango dancers. This scene also connects MP to the audience, by showing him in a position (the beginner tango dancer) that most viewers would probably empathise with. This creates an image of him as fallible and thus enhances proximity and trust in the host on the part of the audience.</p>	
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	<p><i>bringing your left hand up and I can acceptance that. You can bring your arm just across my back and complete the embrace.</i>"</p> <p>MP: "Oh."</p> <p>ADRIENNE: "Now, just <i>take</i> a deep breath and <i>relax</i> and <i>let your shoulders drop.</i>"</p> <p>ANDREW: "All <i>you need to do</i> is clearly <i>stand</i> on one, and <i>start to go</i> for a walk towards <i>her.</i>"</p> <p>ADRIENNE: "The more confidently <i>you can walk</i>, the easier it is for <i>me to follow</i> you. Look at that!"</p> <p>ANDREW: "Now, <i>I can see you're worried</i> about <i>standing</i> on <i>her toes.</i>"</p> <p>MP: "Mm—hm."</p> <p>ANDREW: "And that's making <i>you avoid</i> them a lot. But if <i>you then walk</i> in closer to <i>her feet</i>, it's actually easier for <i>your balance.</i>"</p> <p>MP: "OK, here it goes." (12:54-14:06)</p> <p>ADRIENNE: "Thank you so much."</p> <p>MP: "Thank you. Thanks."</p> <p>ANDREW: "Well done!"</p> <p>MP: "Thank you, both." (14:25-14:31)</p>									
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Part 4: Train journey across the Nullarbor Plain (14:31-26:23)

Themes: Crossing the Nullarbor Plain

Topics: Building the railway, the Indian-Pacific train, life on the train.

Actors: Michael Portillo (A1), Bradshaw's Book (A2), Australia/ Australians (A3), trains (A4), Britain/ British (A5), Adelaide (A9), check-in lady (A16), Matt (A17), Nullarbor Plain (A18), Debb Mann (A19), railway construction workers (A20), Cook (A21), train driver Mark (A22), the audience (+ MP) (A23), couple on train (A24), train passengers (A25), head chef Sam Markham (A26)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
14:31 – 16:33	The Indian Pacific Train	<p>MP: As evening descends, <i>I must bid farewell to Adelaide to embark on the journey of a lifetime.</i> MP: "Good evening." CHECK-IN LADY: "Hello, how are you today?" MP: "Very well, thank you." <i>Travelling to Kalgoorlie, please.</i> CL: "Yes, no worries." MP: "How long will it take?" CL: "30 hours." MP: "<i>What a trip.</i>" CL: "There's your passport back." MP: "Thank you so much." CL: "<i>You're in carriage G, room number one.</i>" MP: "Yes." CL: "To get there, <i>you just go through the glass doors just</i></p>	<p>A1: MP (I x4, you x4, Michael, me x2) A3: Australia/ns (Kalgoorlie x2, Sydney, Perth) A4: trains (the journey of a lifetime, 30 hours, what a trip, carriage G, room number one, the night train, not just any night train, the Indian Pacific, very nice lounge, sculpted a bit</p>	<p>A1: agentive (I must bid farewell / am boarding / 'll be travelling / 'll be crossing, to embark, travelling, you go through, turn); stative (you're in carriage ...); receptive (waiting for / looking after you, awaiting me) A3: / A4: stative (what a trip 'implied' this is, 'implied' this is a very nice lounge / sculpted / just for the people / one of the world's epic railways / a modern design ..., stretching almost ...); receptive (boarding the train ...)</p>	<p>Classical music; string instruments; medium / fast tempo. D key, D major scale (14:31-16:30)</p>	<p>Live noises (14:44-15:05)</p>	<p>Shot of the river from previous part, followed by night shot of the city from the river and another aerial shot of a lit-up Adelaide at night; shot of MP entering a train station taking his hat off (ES, eye-level); followed by shot of people on a platform; followed by a shot behind the back of MP approaching the check-in desk for the Indian Pacific train; shots of MP (on right) and check-in lady (on left) doing the check-in (MS, eye-level); CU of MP's boarding card being placed on the hat; CU of the eagle statue (symbol of the Indian Pacific Railway company)</p>	<p>A1: MP – usual MCU to CU shots, although with a slight low-angle when describing the <i>Indian Pacific</i> train. A3: Australia/ns – some people are shown on the train platform, walking A4: trains – the Indian Pacific train is shown in all its luxury and detailed shots also enhance its status (e.g. the low-angle CU of the Eagle, its symbol; or the CU of the name written on the side of the train; or the 'Platinum' sign of MP's carriage, the glass of champagne)</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking, walking, boarding the train); receptive (being attended to by the CL and Matt) A3: agentive (walking) A4: agentive (moving); stative (statue, information screen and interior shots); receptive (being boarded) A9: stative (panorama shots)</p>	<p>This scene takes the audience on the Indian Pacific train by following MP through the boarding procedure. Although it is evident that they are boarding a very luxurious train, the price is never mentioned (3,559 AUD, equivalent to 1,950 GBP, for a one-way platinum ticket from Adelaide to Perth), perhaps as this would turn a dear, but affordable dream into an unaffordable one. Every actor in this scene is shown in a positive light across the different modes, with the exception of the NP, which is depicted as a dangerous place by MP, thus setting up</p>	

	<p>by the eagle statue, and your attendant will be waiting for you at the door.” MP: “Turn left at the eagle.” CL: “Yes.” MP: “Thank you very much. Bye—bye now!” (14:35-15:05)</p> <p>MP: “I’m boarding the night train, and not just any night train — the Indian Pacific. I’ll be travelling more than 2,000km to Kalgoorlie. That’s almost half the total distance between Sydney and Perth. And I’ll be crossing the Nullarbor Plain, the most formidable barrier, the most inhospitable environment ever encountered by the white man.” (15:13-15:36)</p> <p>MP: “Good evening. G1 for <u>me</u>.” MATT: “G1?” MP: “Yes.” MATT: “<u>Michael</u>?” MP: “Yes.” MATT: “G’day, Michael. My name’s <u>Matt. I’ll be looking after you</u> for your trip.” MP: “Thank you very much.” MATT: “Welcome aboard.” MP: “Thanks. Very nice lounge, sculpted a bit like a yacht or a private plane, and this is</p>	<p><i>like a yacht or a private plane, just for the people in this carriage, one of the world’s epic railways, stretching almost 2,500 miles from the Pacific Ocean on the east to the Indian Ocean on the west, a modern design, very spacious indeed)</i></p> <p>A9: Adelaide (Adelaide)</p> <p>A16: CL (you)</p> <p>A17: Matt (your attendant, Matt, I)</p> <p>A18: Nullarbor (Nullarbor Plain, the most formidable barrier, the most inhospitable environment ever encountered by the white man)</p>	<p>A9: receptive (bid farewell to Adelaide)</p> <p>A16: /</p> <p>A17: agentive (will be waiting, I’ll be looking after you)</p> <p>A18: stative (NP implied’ is the most formidable ...)</p>		<p>referred to by the lady (CU, low angle); shot from behind of MP going through home doors with the eagle statue on his right; close up of the train information screen showing the details of MP’s train (14:31-15:13)</p> <p>Frontal shot of MP talking into the camera, standing by a passing train (MS then CU, slight low angle); followed by shot of MP walking past the camera and then in front of it with the train in the background and the name ‘Indian Pacific’ clearly visible (LS, eye-level); shot from behind of MP approaching the train attendant, Matt, and then shot of the two while checking details and introducing themselves – clearly visible on the right is a sign saying ‘Platinum’ that identifies the carriage MP is about to board (MS, eye-level); close-up shot of the word ‘Indian’ written on the side of the train; followed by a shot of MP entering the carriage lounge, which is very</p>	<p>A9: Adelaide – shown at night-time, all lit-up</p> <p>A16: CL – shown at work, in her work uniform, smiling</p> <p>A17: Matt - shown at work, in his work uniform, smiling</p> <p>A18: Nullarbor – not represented</p>	<p>A16: agentive (working)</p> <p>A17: agentive (working)</p> <p>A18: not represented</p>	<p>the heroic narrative of its conquest, which begins in the next scene.</p>	
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		<p>just for the people in this carriage.”</p> <p>MP: <i>This is one of the world’s epic railways, stretching almost 2,500 miles from the Pacific Ocean on the east to the Indian Ocean on the west.</i></p> <p>MP: “<i>A modern design, very spacious indeed. Awaiting me</i> one of the great marques of French champagne. Goodnight.” (15:40 - 16:30)</p>					<p>luxurious, with leather upholstery; followed by a shot of people on the platform (faces are pixelated); close-up shots of the bottom right corner of one of the window as the train departs; shot of the dining carriage; followed by a shot from behind of MP approaching his room (MCU, eye-level); close-up of the hat with the boarding card being hung on a wall lamp; followed by shot of MP in the room talking about it (MS, eye-level); followed by CU of MP’s hand picking up a glass of champagne; shot of MP taking a sip (MS, eye-level); close-up of the hand putting the glass back on the table; shot of MP waving good bye into the camera before closing the door (MCU, slight low angle) (15:13-16:32)</p> <p>Fade to black</p>				
16:33 – 20:22	Railway engineering	<p>MP: “Come in.”</p> <p>MATT: “Good morning, <u>Michael</u>.”</p> <p>MP: “Morning, <u>Matt</u>. That looks very welcome.”</p> <p>MATT: “Here’s your green tea. <i>I’ll</i></p>	A1: MP (<i>Michael, your green tea, you, we x5, I x2</i>)	A1: receptive (<i>put it here for you</i>); stative (<i>are we still, we are currently</i>); agentive (<i>we’ll soon be approaching, have a look, I’d like to</i>)	Classical music; brass and string instruments. Medium / fast tempo. D	Live noises from the train (16:34-17:08)	Shots of the train running from outside; followed by shot of Matt knocking on MP’s door and walking in (in the foreground) to find MP (in the	A1: MP – to begin with he is shown in a fairly intimate setting, in bed and in his PJs. This could serve the purpose to reinforce the connection with the audience, who	A1: agentive (<i>talking, reading, walking</i>); receptive (<i>being attended to by Matt</i>)	The main narrative in this scene is the conquest of the Nullarbor Plain, which is the only actor to be represented with negative connotations, both	JC: So, it’s all connected with trains and railways. P3: All to do... all connected with railways, yeah. JC: So, is that a means of transport

	<p>just put it here for you.” MP: “Thank you. Are we still in <u>South Australia</u>?” MATT: “We’re currently still in <u>South Australia</u>, but we’ll soon be approaching the Nullarbor.” MP: “May I have a look outside?” MATT: “Of course.” MP: “Ooh, <u>wildlands</u>. That looks great, thank you very much indeed.” MATT: “You’re very welcome.” (16:40-17:08)</p> <p>MP: “Explorers perished crossing this plain. Today, it’s a little easier.” MP: By federation in 1901, all six states were linked by rail except for Western Australia, where there was still a gap of over 1,000 miles between <u>Kalgoorlie and the South Australian town of Port Augusta</u>. In 1912, a team set out from each end to lay the track. Five years later, they met up at Ooldea on the <u>Nullarbor Plain</u>, having created a transcontinental railway. I’d like to talk about all that with <u>the train manager, Deb</u></p>	<p>A2: BB (<i>my guidebook</i>)</p> <p>A3: Australia (<i>South Australia x2, wildlands, great, six states, Western Australia x3, Kalgoorlie x3, the South Australian town of Port Augusta, Ooldea, the other states x2, Perth x2, Adelaide x2, Sydney, the federal government, Australian government, West Australian government, they x2, isolated, Porta Augusta, Cook</i>)</p> <p>A4: trains (<i>rail, the track, a transcontinental railway x2, breaking news, the project, railway communication, the/a railway x3, that, a pretty large chunk, missing, the main difficulties of building, coincides with the First World War, the railway line x2, this line, the longest stretch</i>)</p>	<p><i>talk, enter, topping up, drop off</i></p> <p>A2: /</p> <p>A3: stative (<i>‘implied’ there are wildlands, WA government to have / to be able to travel, they felt isolated</i>); receptive (<i>were linked, joining Western ...</i>); agentive (<i>adopted by the federal government, to complete, they used to travel / found it really hard, WA had built</i>)</p> <p>A4: agentive (<i>linked by rail, joining, providing, pick up water, they’d have to move water, they’ll spend the night, returning</i>); receptive (<i>lay the track, complete the railway, had built a railway, that / the railway was completed, that’s still done, built the railway line, drop off our drivers</i>); stative (<i>railway was breaking news, that</i>)</p>	<p>key, D major scale (16:34-16:46)</p> <p>Same music as above starts again (17:08-17:50)</p> <p>Classical music; brass instruments; G key, G minor scale (19:39-20:22)</p>	<p>from the train (17:51-19:17)</p> <p>Live noises from the train (19:28-19:39)</p>	<p>background) in bed, in his PJs, holding the BB (MS, slight high-level); followed by shot of Matt opening the blinds and of the window showing trees; followed by shot of MP in bed with a tea and the BB in his hands talking into the camera (MS, slight low angle) (16:33-17:16)</p> <p>Aerial shot of the outside landscape, savannah-like; followed by an old map showing the Australian railway and a gap between Port Augusta and Kalgoorlie that is connected by an animated black line; archive footage showing men ploughing the land with horses and a railway being built; old black and white photo of an open train carrying material; followed by a shot of MP and DM sitting at one of the train’s dining tables (ES, eye-level, with MP on the left from the back and DM on the right from the front); followed by shot of MP (on left, with his BB) and DM (on right) sat at the table talking (MS, eye-level) and alternated</p>	<p>is allowed privileged, almost familial access to MP. Another interesting representation of MP is at the end, where he is shown in a hi-vis vest, thus effectively showing him as part of the crew. Effectively, both representations tend to reinforce the idea of MP as being one of ‘us’ (a family member or close friend and a worker), hence enhancing its trusted status and contributing to lower the audience’s epistemic vigilance towards the source.</p> <p>A2: BB – interesting to note the BB is with MP at all times, even in the intimacy of the bedroom, potentially meaning that reading it is not just work for MP, but also a leisure-type of activity.</p> <p>A3: Australia – shown as an old B&W map, animated to show the gap between Kalgoorlie and Port Augusta being connected. The map has a title ‘TRANS AUSTRALIAN RAILWAY – LENGTH 1051 MILES’ and the names of the major cities</p>	<p>A2: agentive (<i>being read</i>)</p> <p>A3: agentive (<i>the animated map, people working</i>); stative (<i>landscape shots</i>)</p>	<p>through the lexis and through the use of the slow, minor scale melody that accompanied its description. All involved in the effort to complete the construction of the railway are shown in a generally positive way, including the workers who did ‘an amazing job’ despite the ‘primitive tools’ they had. Not much is said, however, regarding the working conditions (pay, hours, rights) beside the fact that they were working in a hostile natural environment. In summary the main theme is the supremacy of people of nature (the conquest of the desert plain) with no regard in what the human costs may be. Finally, the scene is also used to enhance MP’s character as close to the audience, by showing him in intimate settings and as part of the crew, which can result in lower epistemic vigilance of the source on the part of the audience. To this end, it is also interesting that the external source of information is represented by a</p>	<p>that you particularly like when travelling? P3: Erm, I do. I’m not a very experienced train traveller, but I do enjoy a train journey, usually when we are on holiday. If there is like a small railway, I do take notes and I take [NAME OF WIFE], we go and have a trip on the railway. But one of our best travel experiences actually was when we had a trip to Canada and from Vancouver we took the train to the Rocky Mountains. JC: Nice! Actually, I think you mentioned this at some point around [NAMES OF COMMON FRIENDS]. P3: Yes, I may have. And that was a fantastic journey. JC: Was it a very long train journey? P3: It was two days, but we didn’t sleep on the train. We stopped at a place called Kamloops and carried on with the journey the next day. (I, lines 56-69) JC: OK. Well, let’s talk a bit the building of the infrastructures. What did you find particularly... P3: Building the railways over a huge tract of land in very stark conditions. It must have taken... you must have been very tough to</p>
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	<p>Munn. (17:11-17:50)</p> <p>MP: “At the time of <u>my</u> guidebook, the transcontinental railway was kind of breaking news. ‘The project joining Western Australia with the other states providing railway communication from Perth, Adelaide, and Sydney has now been adopted by the federal government.’ Why was it so important to the Australian government to complete the railway?”</p> <p>DEB MUNN: “It was more so important to the West Australian government to have that ability to be able to travel quickly across to <u>the other states</u>. They felt very isolated. They used to travel by ship, which would take weeks.”</p> <p>MP: “Western Australia had already built a railway from <u>Perth</u> to <u>Kalgoorlie</u>, is that right?”</p> <p>DM: “That’s correct. That was completed in 1896.”</p> <p>MP: “And from <u>Kalgoorlie</u> to <u>Port Augusta</u>, I mean, that’s a pretty large chunk that was missing.”</p> <p>DM: “Yeah, 1,051 miles.”</p>	<p><i>of straight railway track in the world, train, our drivers)</i></p> <p>A5: British (explorers)</p> <p>A17: Matt (Matt, I, we x3)</p> <p>A18: Nullarbor (Nullarbor, this / the plain, Nullarbor Plain x2, it x3, the largest limestone plate in the world, very porous, no freshwater, no trees to have shelter, a really harsh environment to survive, the outside temeparture can get in excess of 50 degrees, the vast Nullarbor, its name from the Latin nullus arbour, meaning “no trees”, an amazing 100,000 square miles of flat semi—arid desert, its southern edge, its heart)</p> <p>A19: DB (the train manager, Deb Munn)</p>	<p>was missing, <i>were</i> the main difficulties, <i>coincides</i> with the FWW, this line <i>includes</i> the longest ...)</p> <p>A5: stative (perished); agentive (crossing)</p> <p>A17: agentive (put it, we’ll soon be approaching); stative (are we still, we are currently)</p> <p>A18: receptive (approaching / enter the Nullarbor, perished crossing this plain); stative (it’s the largest limestone ... / very porous / a really harsh environment / an amazing [...] desert, there’s no fresh water / no trees, outside temperatures can get); agentive (taking its name)</p>		<p>shots of the two during the conversation (CU, eye-level); shot of the landscape from the train window over the words ‘difficulties of building across the plain’; inserts of archive footage showing men building the railway line and being transported on an open train over the words ‘a lot of itinerant workers — Italians, Greeks... a lot of Chinese would have been out there, as well’; insert of old photograph showing men at work over the words ‘primitive tools’ and another one showing camels over the words ‘with the help of camels’ (17:16-19:38)</p> <p>Shot of the moving tracks from the train; shots of the plain from the train and of MP looking outside the window (CU, eye-level); followed by a long aerial shot of the train running across the plain; followed by shot of MP in the train flicking through the BB (CU, eye-level); shots of Cook from the approaching train</p>	<p>connected by the railway are also written at their location on the map. Places and people (although not necessarily Australians) are also shown in old footage and photos. Finally, the Australian landscape is shown through the train windows.</p> <p>A4: trains – usual mix of exterior and (luxurious) interior shots, as well as dynamic and static ones.</p> <p>A5: British – not shown in a very specific way, but presumably they are part of the people shown in the archive footage and photos.</p> <p>A17: Matt – shown in his professional role, wearing a uniform.</p> <p>A18: Nullarbor – shown through archive footage and photos as well as shots taken for the programme. It is often shown through the train windows, but also through wide aerial shots that help convey its dimensions.</p> <p>A19: DB – shown not in her</p>	<p>A4: agentive (moving); stative (interior shots)</p> <p>A5: agentive (working)</p> <p>A17: agentive (talking, working)</p> <p>A18: stative (aerial shots); receptive (being built on, being traversed by the train)</p> <p>A19: agentive (talking)</p>	<p>train industry senior member (DB, the train manager), who is also ‘consulted’ as a historian by MP when, perhaps, consulting an actual historian might have provided the audience with a more authoritative account that included issues such as the working conditions of the construction workers that were not addressed (or at least not included in the final text) by DB and MP.</p>	<p>undergo that and survive.</p> <p>JC: I mean, they were talking about one thousand miles or something? It took them five years just for the bit that was missing between Kar...</p> <p>P3: Kalgoorlie</p> <p>JC: That’s it! [BOTH LAUGH] And Adelaide. That definitely takes a bit of work, doesn’t it?</p> <p>P3: Yes, it certainly does.</p> <p>JC: And is that something that you had heard or learnt about before, these kind of engineering marvels in Australia or in other countries?</p> <p>P3: I’ve read a lot about Brunel and building the Great Western Railway, how they drove through tunnels and building bridges.</p> <p>Yeah, it is something that is of interest. I enjoy museums and seeing how that is done. (I, lines 158-171)</p>
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	<p>MP: “What <i>were the main difficulties of building</i> across the <u>plain</u>?” DM: “<i>It’s the largest limestone plate in the world.</i> So, when it rains out there, <i>it’s very porous</i> and the water runs away. <i>There’s no freshwater. There’s really no trees to have shelter. It’s a really harsh environment to survive.</i> In the summer, <i>the outside temperatures can get in excess of 50 degrees.</i>” MP: “And then, in addition to that, of course, <i>it coincides</i> with the First World War.” DM: “Yes, <i>they found it</i> really hard to find <u>workers</u>. <i>You’d get</i> a lot of itinerant workers — <u>Italians, Greeks... A lot of Chinese would have been</u> out there, as well.” MP: “When <i>the railway was completed</i>, how <i>did the locomotives pick up</i> water?” DM: “<i>They’d have to move</i> water out across <u>the railway line</u>. And <i>that’s still done</i> to this day.” MP: <i>This line famously includes the longest stretch of straight railway track in the world</i>, almost 300 miles</p>	<p>A20: workers (a team, they x2, workers, itinerant workers — <u>Italians, Greeks, a lot of Chinese, people, primitive tools, an amazing job</u>)</p>	<p>A19: stative (‘implied’ is the train manager) A20: receptive (you’d get a lot of itinerant ...); stative (Chinese would have been there, had primitive tools); agentive (set out, to lay, met up, having created, built, did it / an amazing job)</p>		<p>and from the air; followed by a shot behind the back of MP showing him getting off the train in a hi-vis vest (19:38-20:22)</p>	<p>professional role (as Matt is), but a source of information. A20: workers – shown through archive footage and photos as a generic mass, rather than individuals. It is not possible to ascertain their ethnicity from the photos. Their tools and the camels they used to support them are also shown.</p>	<p>A20: agentive (working)</p>		
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		<p>long across the Nullarbor Plain. DM: “<i>People that built the railway line, they had such primitive tools and they did it with picks, and axes, and shovels, and with the help of camels — they did an amazing job.</i>” (17:51-19:39)</p> <p>MP: Around 14 hours after leaving Adelaide, <i>we enter</i> the vast Nullarbor. <i>Taking its name from the Latin nullus arbour, meaning “no trees”, it’s an amazing 100,000 square miles of flat semi— arid desert.</i> Although <i>you can drive</i> along its southern edge, here at its heart, the only way to cross it is by train. Our first stop will be Cook. As well as <i>topping up</i> on fuel and water, <i>we’ll drop off our drivers</i> at the end of their shift. <i>They’ll spend</i> the night here before <i>returning</i> home in the morning. (19:42-20:19)</p>									
20:22 – 22:20	Cook	<p>MP: “Adelaide is 1,000km behind me, and Perth 1,600 ahead. <i>We are</i> about 100km from the nearest sealed road, and yet <i>Cook receives thousands of visitors from all over the world each</i></p>	<p>A1: MP (<i>me, we, us, I, you</i> x2)</p> <p>A3: Australia (Adelaide,</p>	<p>A1: stative (<i>we are</i> about 100km); receptive (<i>driven us</i>); agentive (<i>I’ve offered, helping, want to pull out, should start to feel</i>)</p> <p>A3: /</p>	Acoustic guitar, almost Western film style; slow tempo. D key, D	<p>Live noises (20:22-21:29)</p> <p>Live noises (21:36-22:20)</p>	Frontal shot of MP walking towards the camera in his hi-vi vest (ES, slight low-angle); followed by aerial shot showing MP near the train; following by shot of people	A1: MP – he is shown in his hi-vis vest, talking to the driver and then helping the train manager. As well as wearing a cowboy hat he also wears a handkerchief	A1: agentive (<i>talking, walking, helping refill the water</i>)	As well as showing the audience the unusual town of Cook, the scene shows some of the ‘behind the scenes’ of how the Indian Pacific train operates. However, this is also an	<p>P3: I have watched previous episodes and know the style of the presenter well (Q, item 10)</p> <p>JC: I remember that as well, actually. And what did you make of him trying to... he</p>

	<p>year, thanks to the <u>Indian Pacific</u>. <u>It once had a hospital and a school</u>, but no more. <u>It now has a permanent population of just four people.</u>" (20:22-20:50)</p> <p>MP: "Hello." MARK: "Right, how's it going?" MP: "<u>Mark</u>, very good to see you. And <u>you've driven us</u> here." MARK: All the way from <u>Port Augusta</u>." MP: "Ah. Well, thank you very much indeed. Is that fairly tiring? <u>You're driving</u> all night." MARK: "Well, <u>I've been awake</u> since 2:00 this morning. <u>There's two of us</u> anyhow. <u>We do stints</u>, <u>we take</u> turns in driving, <u>we do</u> probably about two hours each and <u>we swap over</u>." MP: "<u>You enjoy</u> it?" MARK: "Oh, <u>I love</u> it. <u>I wouldn't do</u> anything else in the world, to be honest with you." MP: "Why is that?" MARK: "Oh, <u>you're out in the open</u>, <u>you're cruising</u> along, <u>you've got</u> really no—one bothering you. <u>You'll see</u> big storms come in front of you. Then the next minute, it's sunshine. <u>You'll see</u> fog, <u>you can't see</u></p>	<p><i>Perth, Port Augusta</i>)</p> <p>A4: trains (<i>the Indian Pacific, the train x2, so many showers and loos all the way along the train, our restaurants, our bars</i>)</p> <p>A19: DB (<i>Deb, you x2, we</i>)</p> <p>A21: Cook (<i>Cook, thousands of visitors from all over the world each year, it x2, a hospital and a school, a permanent population of just four people.</i>)</p> <p>A22: Mark (<i>Mark, you x10, I x3, us, we x4, out in the open, cruising along, no—one bothering you, it just blows your mind away</i>)</p>	<p>A4: stative (<i>there are so many showers ...</i>); agentive (<i>our restaurant use</i>)</p> <p>A19: receptive (<i>helping Deb</i>); stative (<i>have you any idea how much water</i>); agentive (<i>you put, we replenish</i>)</p> <p>A21: agentive (<i>receives thousands ...</i>); stative (<i>once had a hospital, now has a permanent ...</i>)</p> <p>A22: agentive (<i>have driven, are driving, we do x2 / take / swap over, enjoy, I love / wouldn't do, you're cruising, you'll see x2, you can't see</i>); stative (<i>I've been awake, there's two of us, you're out in the open, you've got no-one bothering you</i>)</p>	<p>minor scale (20:50-21:02)</p> <p>Same music as above (21:29-21:36)</p> <p>Guitar arpeggio and keyboard, medium tempo. C key, C major scale (22:15 to next scene)</p>	<p>wandering off the train over the words 'Cook receives thousands of visitors'; followed by aerial shot of MP walking near the train; followed by shot from the side of MP walking past a train worker (MS, eye-level); followed by another aerial shot of the train 'station'; followed by shot of MP approaching the driver Mark by the front of the train and shaking his hand (ES, slight low-angle); shot of MP (on right) and Mark (on left) talking (MCU to CU, eye-level); followed by shot of side of the train with workers refilling the carriages with water (MS to distant, eye-level); close-up of a meter counting the water being pumped in; followed by shot of MP walking alongside the train (ES, eye-level); followed by shot of DM busy with one of the pumps and MP approaching and talking to her (MCU, eye-level); shot of MP pulling the hose and helping DM with the refilling (LS to CU to MS, eye-</p>	<p>around his neck, which matches well the Western film style music that accompanies part if this scene.</p> <p>A3: Australia – represented by the shots of the Nullarbor Plain</p> <p>A4: trains – as well as exterior shots of the train moving, we are given a close-up view of some of the working parts passengers would not normally pay attention to (the water tanks).</p> <p>A19: DM – shown doing her job.</p> <p>A21: Cook – shown through some aerial and ground shots that highlight its remote location.</p> <p>A22: Mark – shown in his professional capacity. The MCU to CU types of shot create proximity with the viewer.</p>	<p>A3: stative (<i>aerial shots</i>)</p> <p>A4: stative (<i>stationary while refilling</i>); agent (<i>moving</i>)</p> <p>A19: agentive (<i>talking, working</i>)</p> <p>A21: stative (<i>aerial shots</i>)</p> <p>A22: agentive (<i>talking</i>)</p>	<p>opportunity to continue to establish MP as an ordinary person, who is happy to get his hand dirty helping out. As for the previous scene, this may achieve the purpose of increasing trust in MP and lowering the audience's epistemic vigilance of the source. There is also an interesting association made between the driver Mark and old pioneers by the use of a Western film type of music and the cowboy looks of MP. Mark and MP are shown to be enthusiastic and hard-working, which could be an interpretation the audience is also invited to apply to the first pioneers whom the Western film imagery recalls. This view would match the depictions given so far of the British colonisers, whose audacity and industriousness has been foregrounded and whose actions against the first nation people have been suppressed.</p>	<p>was very hands-on, wasn't it? He helped refilling the train with water, he went into the kitchen and helped carving the lamb. P3: Oh yes, that's right. JC: What did you make of that? Were you surprised he was getting his hands dirty, so to speak, or... P3: No, not really. I think that's the type of guy he is. He gets involved with things, as he has on the previous programmes. JC: Right, OK. P3: Yeah, it just adds a little bit of extra interesting things, doesn't it? (I, lines 201-210)</p>
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		<p>two foot in front of you, things like that. You know, <u>it just blows your mind away.</u>" (20:53-21:29)</p> <p>MP: <i>I've offered to make myself useful, helping Deb to top up the train's water.</i> MP: "<i>Have you any idea how much water you put on the train?</i>" DM: "It's about 30,000 litres each time <i>we replenish</i> our supply." MP: "Cos, I mean, <i>there are so many showers and loos all the way along the train, aren't there?</i>" DM: "And <i>our restaurants, and our bars, as well, use</i> them. So, if you <i>want to just pull that out.</i>" MP: "Just like that?" DM: "Yep. Now, <i>you should start to feel</i> the water coming through." MP: "And this water is coming out of that water tower?" DM: "Yeah, that's correct. The water from here, it's brought in by train." MP: "It has a little way of telling you when it's finished, doesn't it?" DM: "It does, steady..." (21:30-22:17)</p>					level); medium shot of the water tank; followed by shot from behind of MP getting back on the train (20:22-22:20)				
22:20 – 26:23	Life on the train	MP: From Cook, <i>I'll cross into Western Australia,</i>	A1: MP (I x6, <i>my destination, Michael, mate</i>	A1: agentive (I'll <i>cross, stopping, are doing something</i>	Guitar arpeggio and	Live noises from the	Shot from the platform of the train departing	A1: MP – As in the previous scene, MP is shown 'hands-	A1: agentive (<i>talking, walking, helping the chef,</i>	As well as showing other aspects of the journey on the	P3: I watched several of Michael Portillo's

	<p>stopping at Kalgoorlie. My destination will be Perth, the state's capital. (22:29-22:38)</p> <p>MP: "It's a really beautiful sunset over the Nullarbor Plain, and it's interesting because, like this, it doesn't seem such a very forbidding place. And zooming through it in the luxury of this train, you kind of forget that if, by chance, you left the train and were out there on your own you would die." (22:43-23:03)</p> <p>MP: From 1917, Australians could travel the breadth of the country by rail, although different track gauges meant they had to change trains at least five times. But in 1969, the gauges were standardised. And a year later, the newly-named Indian Pacific train embarked on its first uninterrupted journey. Although you can now fly across this continent in five and a half hours, some Australians still prefer to take their time and enjoy it over four days. MP: "Hello, how are you?"</p>	<p>x2, we x1, you x3, <i>delighted, a good job, my journey, my next stop)</i></p> <p>A3: Australia (<i>Western Australia x2, Kalgoorlie x2, Perth, the state's capital, Australians, the country, they, this continent, some Australians, Australia x2, Sydney, Rawlinna x2, the outback x2)</i></p> <p>A4: trains (<i>in the luxury of this train, (the / a) train(s) x9, rail, different track gauges, the gauges, the newly-named Indian Pacific train, its first uninterrupted journey, absolutely relaxing, they, decent wines, a different experience)</i></p> <p>A18: Nullarbor (<i>a really beautiful sunset, Nullarbor Plain, interesting,</i></p>	<p>rather special, <i>want to give a hand, are doing a good job, think, can tell, can take, to continue, I'll spend the night); stative</i> (destination will be, 'd be delighted, I'm back, my next stop will be)</p> <p>A3: agentive (<i>could travel, had to change, prefer to take, enjoy); receptive</i> (travel the country)</p> <p>A4: receptive (<i>left / boarded the train, gauges were standardised); stative</i> (different track gauges meant, it's been absolutely relaxing / a different experience, they have a few decent wines); agentive (Indian Pacific train embarked)</p> <p>A18: stative (<i>it's a really beautiful sunset / interesting, it doesn't seem such a very forbidding place)</i></p>	<p>keyboard, slow / medium tempo. C key, C major scale (from previous scene to 23:40)</p> <p>Medium tempo percussions (25:13-25:46)</p> <p>Medium tempo percussions and keyboard. E key, E minor scale (25:58-26:21)</p>	<p>train (22:38-23:07)</p> <p>Sound from archive footage (23:07-23:28)</p> <p>Live noises from the train (23:28-25:13)</p> <p>Live noises (25:22-26:08)</p>	<p>again; followed by aerial shot of the train leaving Cook; inserted animated map showing the next leg of the journey from Cook to Kalgoorlie and then on to Perth; followed by a shot of the sunset from outside the train window; followed by a shot of MP sitting on the train, talking to the camera and looking outside his window (MS, eye-level); followed by another shot of the plain from the train (22:20-23:06)</p> <p>Archive footage of train travelling; of more works being done on the railway line; and of the inaugural train journey of the Indian Pacific from Sydney to Perth; followed by shot of the plain from the train; followed by shot from behind of MP walking through a carriage (MS, eye-level); followed by shot of the plain from the train; followed by shot of MP (on right) sitting with an older couple (on left) (MCU, eye-level); followed by shot of plain from the train after sun has just set (23:06-24:12)</p>	<p>on', helping the chef in the kitchen (also wearing an apron) and helping the staff serve the food to the tables for dinner.</p> <p>A3: Australia – as well as through the animated map, Australia and Australians are shown in some archive footage and, presumably, amongst the passengers having the dinner that closes the scene.</p> <p>A4: trains – the Indian Pacific is shown both through archive footage and, as in previous scenes, on the current journey. This time the audience is allowed to go to another area passengers would not normally access, which is the train kitchen.</p> <p>A18: Nullarbor – the plain is shown in at sunset and at night, with a shiny full moon. This gives a more romantic view of the plain, which also mirrors the linguistic description.</p> <p>A23: audience – not represented.</p> <p>A24: CoT – the older couple is</p>	<p><i>servicing the other passengers)</i></p> <p>A3: agentive (<i>travelling, eating, chatting)</i></p> <p>A4: agentive (<i>running, carrying passengers); stative</i> (<i>stationary while passengers are having their dinners)</i></p> <p>A18: stative (<i>panorama shots and shots from the moving train)</i></p> <p>A23: not represented</p>	<p>Indian Pacific train, i.e. the kitchen operations and a romantic evening dinner under the stars, this scene continues to build MP as a hands-on, helpful and therefore trustworthy host. Unlike in previous scenes, however, the Nullarbor Plain is shown in a completely different light and in a positive way across the modes, particularly at the beginning of the scene. One possible interpretation could be the narrative of the tamed wilderness after the conquest. After having discussed how the British/Australians conquered the hellish desert, this scene highlights the gentle character of the conquerors who can also appreciate the wilderness they have successfully domesticated. Finally, there is still plenty of promotional material for the Indian Pacific as the name is shown at various points in the scene and happy passengers are interviewed and shown having a great time while 'feasting in style'.</p>	<p>railway journeys in the past and it wasn't particularly because it was about Australia, I would have watched it with any country. I enjoy his nice style, travel and dealing... talking to people, bringing people out... getting them to talk about interesting things (I, lines 20-23)</p> <p>P3: There was a lot of chat with Australians on a train journey, very affable. And they had a good laugh (I, lines 51-52)</p>
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	<p>WOMAN ON TRAIN: “Very good.” MP: “What’s made you want to do this by <u>train</u>?” WOMAN: “<i>We’re actually celebrating our 50th wedding anniversary.</i>” MP: “Congratulations.” WOMAN: “So, we just thought we’d stay in <u>Australia</u>, do something different in <u>Australia</u>.” MP: “And you boarded the train where?” WOMAN: “Sydney.” MP: “How do you find it, then, being on the train so very long?” MAN: “That’s why it’s been absolutely <u>relaxing</u>. <i>Met</i> some nice people. They even have a few decent wines here, and that helps the journey, as well.” WOMAN: “It’s just a different experience coming on the train.” (23:07-24:10) MP: There are 211 passengers on board, and it’s Head Chef Sam Markham’s job to make sure that they’re all well fed. MP: “Hello, <u>Sam</u>.” SAM MARKHAM: “G’day, <u>Michael</u>. How are you, <u>mate</u>?”</p>	<p>(not) <i>such a very forbidding place, it x2, out there, in the middle of the desert under a starry sky</i>) A23: audience (+ MP) (you x5, on your own) A24: CoT (you x2, we x3, our 50th wedding anniversary) A25: passengers (211 / the other passengers, they, well fed, we x2) A26: SM (Head Chef Sam Markham, Sam, quite a task on your hands, we x6, an outback dinner under the stars, quite an operation, you x5, me, a chef, a great dinner)</p>	<p>A23: agentive (forget, left, die, can fly); stative (were out there) A24: agentive (want to do, are celebrating, thought, ‘d stay, do, boarded, find, coming, (‘implied’ we) met); stative (being on the train) A25: stative (there are 211, they are well fed); receptive (tell the other passengers); agentive (we are going to have / will feast in style) A26: stative (it’s [SM]’s job, you have quite a task, we have a slow-cooked / Lamington cheesecake / three, it’s quite an operation, kitchens do you have, being a chef, you don’t have the ability, you’re on); agentive (to make sure, we do an outback dinner / put out, we like, you’re working, go home, reset); receptive (give me a hand)</p>		<p>Frontal shot of MP walking the carriage towards the camera through, wearing an apron (ES to MS, eye-level); followed by close-up of SM working (eye-level); followed by shot of MP entering the kitchen, with Neville and SM in the foreground and MP in the background (eye-level); followed by shot of MP (on left) and SM (on right) talking (MCU, eye-level); close-up on Neville cooking the sausages; close-up of MP carving the meat (hand and knife) (24:12-25:13) Shot of the plain from the train, now almost dark; followed by shot of sign in the dark with Rawlinna written on it; followed by a shot of the train and then of MP getting off, still with his hat on (LS, low-angle); close-up of wine being poured in wine glasses (over the words ‘in style’); shot of a man taking food to a table; followed by shot of SM handing a serving dish to MP and MP taking it to one of</p>	<p>shown through MCU shots that create proximity with the audience. MP is also sitting fairly close to them. A25: passengers – they are only really shown at dinner time, eating, drinking and conversing at the tables. A26: SM – he is shown in his professional role, together with one of his assistants. The MCU provide proximity with the friendly chef.</p>	<p>A24: agentive (talking, travelling) A25: agentive (eating, drinking, conversing) A26: agentive (talking, working)</p>		
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	<p>MP: "Very good to see you." SM: "Nice to meet you." MP: "So <i>you have quite a task on your hands</i>, don't you, and tonight <i>we're doing</i> something rather special?" SM: "<i>We do an outback dinner under the stars at Rawlinna</i>. So, <i>we have</i> a slow—cooked lamb leg, roasted chopped potatoes, and a coleslaw <i>we put out</i>. And <i>we have</i> a Lamington cheesecake for dessert. Neville is actually getting the sausages ready. So, yeah." MP: "<i>It's quite an operation</i>, isn't it?" SM: "It is. Yeah, definitely." MP: "So how many <i>kitchens do you have</i> on the train?" SM: "Currently, <i>we have</i> three. <i>You want to give me</i> a hand?" MP: "<i>I'd be delighted</i> to." SM: "About a centimetre thick <i>we like</i> it. That's great. All right, <i>you're doing a good job</i>. It's not easy when it's this tender. It just tends to pull apart on you." MP: "How different is <i>it being a chef</i> on a <u>train to being</u> in a restaurant?"</p>					<p>the tables; followed by shots of people sitting at various tables; followed by shot of MP sitting at table and eating dinner (MCU, slight low-angle); followed by shot of MP and his table toasting (LS, eye-level); followed by shot of the plain at night; followed by shot of the train in the darkness; followed by outdoor seen from the departing train; followed by shot of a full moon in the sky; followed by another shot of the outside from the train; followed by another shot of two encountering trains at night (25:13-26:21)</p> <p>Fade to black (26:21-26:23)</p>				
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	<p>SM: "It's completely different. You're working with different people sort of every trip. You don't have the ability to go home and reset like you would a normal restaurant."</p> <p>MP: "Right."</p> <p>SM: "So, you're on here for six days at a time."</p> <p>MP: "Well, I think I can happily tell <u>the other passengers</u> that we're going to have a great dinner tonight. Thank you."</p> <p>SM: "I'm looking forward to it." (24:13-25:13)</p> <p>MP: Here at <u>Rawlinna</u>, in the middle of <u>the outback</u>, we will feast in style.</p> <p>SM: "Here you go, <u>mate</u>. You can take that one out."</p> <p>MP: "Thank you very much."</p> <p>SM: "Careful, it's a bit hot."</p> <p>MP: "Is anybody hungry here?"</p> <p>GUEST: "Sure!"</p> <p>MP: "Yeah, there we go."</p> <p>GUEST 2: "Thank you so much."</p> <p>MP: "Oh—ho—ho... Oh! Bon appetit."</p> <p>GUEST 3: "Thank you."</p> <p>MP: "May I join you? The lamb is excellent, but I think</p>									
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	<p>it's given an extra flavour by being out here <u>in the middle of the desert under a starry sky</u>, picnic—style. To our continued journey. Very nice to meet you all, cheers.”</p> <p>GUEST 4: “Thank you!” (25:17-26:00)</p> <p>MP: <i>I'm</i> back on <u>the train to continue my journey</u> across <u>Western Australia</u>. <i>My next stop will be Kalgoorlie</i>, 250 miles away, where <i>I'll spend</i> the night. (26:08-26:18)</p>									
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Part 5: Kalgoorlie and the gold mines (26:23-36:09)

Themes: Life and gold mining in Western Australia.

Topics: Kalgoorlie and the gold rush; gold mining; C.Y. O'Connor and the Goldfields Pipeline; '2 Up' and gambling.

Actors: Michael Portillo (A1), Bradshaw's Book (A2), Australia/ Australians (A3), trains (A4), Britain/ British (A5), the audience (+ MP) (A23), Kalgoorlie (A27), Kanowna Belle mine (A28) historian Timothy Moore (A29), C.Y. O'Connor (A30), gold mine GM Jim Coxon (A31), Danny Sheehan (A32).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
26:23 – 27:18	Kalgoorlie	MP: <i>Western Australia is the country's largest state, and there are vast areas that are uninhabited. But this morning, in one of its remotest spots, I'm surprised to discover a city.</i> MP: <i>'Kalgoorlie,' says the guidebook, 'is the headquarters of the East Coolgardie Goldfields on a mineral belt that stretches five miles north and south.'</i> And it has the feel of a frontier town. But <i>the Wild West? Not really.</i> <i>Bradshaw's tells me that it had a tram and electric lights.</i> And look at <i>the architecture — it is elegant and</i>	A1: MP (<i>I, me</i> x2) A2: BB (<i>the guidebook</i> x2, <i>Bradshaw</i>) A3: Australia (<i>Western Australia, vast areas that are uninhabited, one of its remotest spots, East Coolgardie Goldfields, a mineral belt</i>) A27: Kalgoorlie (<i>a city, Kalgoorlie, the headquarters of the East Coolgardie Goldfields, it</i> x3, <i>a frontier town, (not really) the Wild West, tram and electric lights, elegant and decorated, gold mined, worth</i>)	A1: stative (<i>am surprised</i>); receptive (<i>tells me</i> x2) A2: agentive (<i>says, tells</i> x2) A3: stative (<i>is the country's largest state, there are vast areas, mineral belt that stretches</i>) A27: receptive (<i>discover a city</i>); stative (<i>is the headquarters, has the feel of a frontier town, had a tram, the architecture is elegant, the gold mines was worth, this wasn't Hicksville, it was Moniesville</i>)	Piano piece, high notes, seemingly magical music; medium / fast tempo; C key, C major scale (26:23-26:45)	Live noises from the street (26:45-27:18)	Aerial shots of bare land; followed by urban shots of Kalgoorlie; followed by shot of MP walking on pavement and then crossing a road, reading his BB (MS, eye-level) (26:23-27:18)	A1: MP – shown walking around the town, reading from the BB. A2: BB – shown in MP's hands, being carried and read. A3: Australia – Western Australia and its vast barren land is shown through aerial shots at the beginning of the scene. A27: Kalgoorlie – the city is shown at the same at time as BB and only in its present form (i.e. no archive footage). The images show a pretty, colourful town, very orderly and with no traffic. From what we are shown we are led to think there are not unpleasant areas in this town.	A1: agentive (<i>walking, reading, talking</i>) A2: receptive (<i>being carried and read</i>) A3: stative (<i>aerial shots</i>) A27: stative (<i>urban shots of streets and architecture</i>)	The scene introduces the city of Kalgoorlie and informs us of its connections to gold mines. The overall positive depiction of the town, across modes, seems to suggest the association: money > beauty (through the images and description nice town) > order (through the description of the town) > desirable (through the major scale magical music). This therefore suggests the underpinning socio-economic ideology of money and wealth as the basis for happiness and progress.	

		decorated. <i>The guidebook tells me that by 1911, the amount of gold mined was worth half a billion pounds in money of the day. This wasn't Hicksville. It was Moniesville.</i> " (26:28-27:18)	<i>half a billion pounds in money of the day, this, (not) Hicksville, Moniesville)</i>								
27:18 – 33:34	The Kanowna Belle mine	MP: <i>Kalgoorlie, the largest city in the Australian outback, is home to around 33,000 people. And mining on and around its golden mile is still very much alive.</i> 12 miles northeast <i>is the Kanowna Belle mine</i> , which <i>began</i> operations as recently as the 1990s. MP: " <i>An immense hole in the ground</i> , about 800 metres in diameter, about 300 metres deep. <i>I reckon I could bury the Eiffel Tower in there upside down. It is a gold mine.</i> And the idea is that if <i>you take</i> out tens of thousands of tonnes of rock, <i>you will be rewarded</i> with a few thousand ounces of gold, and that <i>will</i>	A1: MP (I x10, you x2, my retirement) A3: Australia (Western Australia x5, eastern Australia, the West, the state, Australia, we, Perth x2, Kalgoorlie x4, Darting Mountain Range, the richest colony in the world) A4: trains (a railway x2, that, a huge railway system, Trans—Australia Railway) A5: British (Patrick Hannan Tom Flanagan, the Irish prospectors, Hannan, the big	A1: agentive (could bury, am meeting, to explore, don't see, saw, have to see, tell, have been to, can see x2); stative (reckon, believe, what I love) A3: receptive (transformed Western Australia, WA was given); agentive (we'll build you); stative (this becomes the richest colony in the world) A4: receptive (would need a railway, that gets pushed through); stative (there's a huge railway system that stretched) A5: agentive (discovered by PH and TF, found, finds, come in, are sinking, hitting, the wealth is coming, they all want, do	Same music as above; medium / fast tempo; G key, C major scale (27:18-28:16) Fiddle music; slow / tempo; G key, G major scale (28:36-28:57) Keyboard chords; low tempo, G key, G major scale (30:12-30:39) Same magical music as at the beginning of the scene	Construct ion noises from archive footage (29:50-29:55) Noises from the processing plant (31:06-33:33)	Urban shots of Kalgoorlie; insert of frontal shot of MP walking in town past a string of shops (ES, eye-level); insert of some people walking around town (27:18-27:29) Shot of some form of construction tower (low-angle, from the base of the tower); followed by three aerial shots of the Kanowna Belle mine, in two of which MP can also be seen wearing a hi-vi vest; followed by shot of MP at the edge of the mine, wearing working protection gear (helmet, glasses and boots as well as the hi-vi vest) (LS, eye-level); insert of another aerial shot with MP visible; back to MP by the edge of the mine (27:29-28:08) Shot of MP (right) and TM (left, also	A1: MP – Similarly to the other people with him in this scene, MP is shown wearing work protective gear. This at the same time stresses how he is on the same level as the people he talks to and the 'health & safety' discourse, a discourse that for some is seen as shifting the focus from 'job security' to 'control and security on the job'. Adherence to H&S regulations also stresses the idea of 'following rules' and 'looking after the workers' well-being', which in turn puts a positive light on the actors seen to partake in it. A3: Australia – shown through contemporary and archive footage. In the latter types of images they are shown building railways and pipelines, standing by temporary	A1: agentive (talking, walking, handling gold bars) A3: agentive (building); stative (standing by mines, pipelines and gold bars)	This scene focuses on gold mines and on the benefits gold brought to Australia in general and to Western Australia in particular. Following the previous scene, it therefore helps corroborate the idea that wealth and money as the basis for happiness and progress. The modes (especially the major scales of the musical pieces) all contribute to create this association, especially when it comes to representing gold. The precious material is very positively represented across all modes, with a mix of poetic and magical feelings evoked in the audience. The person who contributed to the success of mining in the region, C.Y. O'Connor, is also shown in a positive	P3: Also surprised at how much gold and other minerals are still being produced. (Q, item 14) P3: Yes. Yeah, I knew there was gold. There has been a gold rush in Australia, but looking at that, they were still producing at that mine. It's quite... JC: It's quite an impressive site as well P3: Yes, the operation there is very good and they're producing a lot of gold. I thought it would have all dried up years ago, the gold, but they are still producing a lot there. I was surprised. And they mentioned another mineral, I don't remember which one it was. JC: Oh, yeah. P3: They are quite rich in minerals there. (I, lines 270-277)

	<p>make you very rich." MP: <i>I'm meeting local historian Timothy Moore to explore how this prized mineral transformed Western Australia.</i> MP: "<i>I believe there was a gold rush in eastern Australia</i> shortly after that in California. But what happens in the West is much later, is that right?" TIMOTHY MOORE: "In 1893, <i>gold is discovered</i> here in <i>Kalgoorlie</i> by <i>Patrick Hannan and Tom Flanagan</i>. And <i>that starts the gold rush</i> in <i>Western Australia</i>. <i>It's the biggest gold rush</i> in the late 19th, early 20th century." MP: Although <i>small deposits had been discovered</i> before in <i>the state, the Irish prospectors found what became the most lucrative goldfield</i> in <i>Australia</i>. And the news spread like wildfire.</p>	<p><i>mining companies, they x3, Anglo Saxon money, the wealth, Great Britain, the big families, they all, the capital, Western Australia's first premier, John Forrest</i></p> <p>A23: audience (+MP) (you x3, very rich)</p> <p>A27: Kalgoorlie (Kalgoorlie x2, the largest city in the Australian outback, home to around 33,000 people, its golden mile, mining is still very much alive)</p> <p>A28: KB mine and gold (Kanowna Belle mine, an immense hole in the ground, a gold mine, this prized mineral, a/the gold rush x2, (the) gold x11, the biggest gold rush, small deposits, the most lucrative goldfield, it, from the little fellow to the big company, golden mile, the</p>	<p>they do, they built, appointed by WA ...); stative (was it Anglo Saxon money, you've got all the big families, this is the capital)</p> <p>A23: agentive (take); receptive (you will be rewarded, that will make you very rich)</p> <p>A27: stative ('implied') is the largest city / home, 'implied' has a golden mile, mining is still very much alive)</p> <p>A28: stative (12 miles northwest is the Kanowna Belle mine, ('implied') is an immense ... , it is a gold mine, there was a gold rush, it is the biggest gold rush, became the most lucrative, this is (huge) boom time x2, this would have been a sea of people, would need a railway, discoveries of gold ('implied' had) an impact, it explodes, gold is still king / in</p>	<p>when the gold is shown coming out; medium / fast tempo; C key, C major scale (32:42-33:11)</p>		<p>wearing protective gear) walking towards each other with the mine in the background (ES, eye-level); followed by shot of TM (LS, eye-level); followed by shot of two lorries driving in the mine (ES, high-angle); followed by shot of MP and TM talking with the mine in the background (LS, moving to MS in following shot, eye-level); insert of old B&W photograph over the names 'Patrick Hannan and Tom Flanagan', showing a group of six Western white men (with trousers, shirts and hats) by a tent, with a sign on the left saying 'A Merry Christmas. Kalgoorlie 1895); insert of another old black and white photo over the words 'although small deposits [...] lucrative goldfield', showing five white men (with trousers, shirts, waistcoats and hats) posing on a rocky hill (presumably a mine); insert of another old B&W photo showing five white men and eight camels in a field; followed by a</p>	<p>accommodation near mines, working in a bank and taking part into what look like celebrative events (e.g. the opening of the pipeline. We cannot really differentiate between ethnicities in the archive footage, although there don't seem to be any first nation people.</p> <p>A4: trains – only represented as a railway being built.</p> <p>A5: British – it is not clear who are British and who are not, with the exception of the Irish (then part of the British Empire) prospectors who found the gold in Kalgoorlie. Some, however, may be the well-dressed individuals in some of the archive footage by the big mining machinery and in the bank, as it is made clear that all the wealth and the capital came from big families from Britain.</p> <p>A27: Kalgoorlie – briefly shown at the beginning of the scene, with MP and other people walking around town.</p>	<p>A4: receptive (being built)</p> <p>A5: stative (standing by big machinery and gold bars in a bank)</p> <p>A27: stative (urban shots)</p>	<p>light ('a god') and there is also some incorrect information and some omissions regarding him: he didn't see the completion of the pipeline as he committed suicide a year before it was completed; he was the target of a journalism campaign due to accusation of wasting taxpayers money (which some think might have led to commit suicide); his suicide (itself and interesting event to mention) is not mentioned at all when talking about him. Likewise, there is no discussion of the impact the gold rush had on the people or vegetation in the district (and still has).</p>	
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		<p>MP: “How quickly does it move from the little fellow to the big company?” TM: “We’re looking at about five months from the time that Hannan finds the gold and until the big mining companies come in. Within months, they’re sinking shafts into the golden mile and just hitting the walls of gold.” MP: “And was it Anglo Saxon money as well?” TM: “Yeah, all the wealth is coming from Great Britain. So, you’ve got all the big families. They all want a piece of the action, and this is the capital that you need to start the big mines.” MP: “So, at the end of the 19th century, beginning of the 20th century, this is boom time.” TM: “This is huge boom time. This would have been just a sea of people. 2,000 a week are coming on to the goldfields during</p>	<p><i>walls of gold, the big mines, boom time, huge boom time, a sea of people, 2,000 a week, the goldfields, the gold rush period such a place, very important to have water, (not) much water around here, the impact of these discoveries of gold, the mine, two grams to ten grams in a tonne of rock, one big hole in the ground, area full of mines, four underground mines, gold price, going well, little bit of a mini boom, more gold, (gold) bars (of gold) x5, a precious metal, really heavy, spectacular, A fluid, burning river, absolutely superb, sparkles like little stars, twinkling, an amazing sight, extremely heavy, not quite as refined, little jagged edges here, three delightful gold bars, about 1,000 ounces,</i></p>	<p>there / really heavy / spectacular, gold bar(s) <i>is/are/has</i> got extremely heavy / not quite as refined / little jagged edges here / delightful / be worth / wonderful, <i>is</i> the area full of mines, gold price <i>is</i> going well, <i>there is</i> a little bit of a mini boom, [the golden river <i>is</i>] absolutely superb), that’s an amazing sight, just shy of \$2 million sitting in front of us; agentive (<i>began</i> operations, prized mineral <i>transformed, move,</i> 2000 a week <i>are coming,</i> it [the gold] <i>sinks / is going to be coming out / coming out / is creating / moves,</i> a river <i>making its way, sparkles are twinkling;</i> receptive (gold <i>is discovered / found out / has to be extracted / you get out x2, starts the gold rush, small deposits had been discovered, finds the gold, hitting the walls of gold, start the big mines, don’t see much water, extract gold, saw one big hole ..., operate four underground mines, form gold bars, bars have been cooled, they’re cleaned off, ready to be sent</i>)</p>		<p>shot of TM talking to MP (CU, eye-level); followed by a shot of the two (ES, eye-level); followed by shots of both TM and MP while talking (CU, eye-level); insert of an aerial shot of the mine with the two men visible, still talking; insert of another old B&W photo over the words ‘This is huge boom time [...] gold rush period’, showing a group of eleven Western white men, seven of whom particularly well dressed (in suits with bowties or cravats), posing by a large mining machine; followed by shots of MP and TM talking; insert of another old B&W photo over the words ‘And one of the bribes [...] during Federation’, showing a group of workers on the railway, with one man pictured from behind posing in some form of supervisor role; followed by archive footage of the railway being constructed; back to MP and TM talking; insert of an old B&W photograph over the words ‘They</p>	<p>A28: KB mine and gold – the mine is shown through aerial shots that highlights its dimensions. Gold is seen both as gold bars (present and archive footage) and in its liquid form while being moulded. A29: TM – similarly to MP, he is shown wearing some protective gear. He is shown through a variety of shots, including CUs that create proximity with the viewers. A30: CYC – shown through an old B&W portrait photo, smartly dressed and well-groomed. A31: JC and processing plant – JC is also wearing protective gear. He is shown through a variety of shots, including CUs that create proximity with the viewers. The processing plant is also shown through different shots that highlight the size of some of the machines used and the machinery used to make the gold bars.</p>	<p>A28: stative (<i>gold bars</i>); agentive (<i>moving from mould to mould</i>); receptive (<i>being hold and handled</i>) A29: agentive (<i>talking</i>) A30: stative (<i>standing</i>) A31: agentive (<i>talking, working</i>)</p>		
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	<p>the gold rush period.” MP: “Such a place would need a railway.” TM: “Yes. And that gets pushed through real quick by 1896. So, less than, say, three years, there’s a huge railway system that stretched from the coast inland. And one of the bribes that Western Australia was given during Federation was that, “We’ll build you a railway across the country.” You end up with the <u>Trans—Australia Railway.</u>” MP: “Very important to have water, and I don’t see much water around here. What do they do for that?” TM: “They built this pipeline, <u>one of the great engineering feats of the early 20th century.</u> It’s a pipeline that goes from <u>Perth</u> to <u>Kalgoorlie.</u> C.Y. O’Connor is the guy that builds the pipeline, and he’s like a god out here because he brings us the</p>	<p><i>just shy of \$2 million, wonderful)</i></p> <p>A29: TM (<i>local historian Timothy Moore, we</i>)</p> <p>A30: CYOC (<i>this/a pipeline x2, one of the great engineering feats of the early 20th century, C.Y. O’Connor, the guy, like a god out here, he x2, Charles Yelverton O’Connor, engineer—in—chief, his Goldfields pipeline</i>)</p> <p>A31: JC and the processing plant (<i>Jim Coxon, the general manager, Jim, you x5, the processing plant, some enormous machinery, we x13, lots of operations, the gold room, the mine, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, up to 40 people, smaller, a cottage industry, an amazing amount of heat</i>)</p>	<p>A29: receptive (<i>meeting local historian</i>); stative (<i>we’ll still have mining, got other minerals</i>)</p> <p>A30: receptive (<i>CYOC was appointed</i>); stative (<i>pipeline that goes, he is like a god, it’s still used today</i>); agentive (<i>they built, who builds, he brings / completed, bringing</i>)</p> <p>A31: stative (<i>is the general manager, you’ve got some enormous machinery, (‘implied’ there are) lots of operations, it’s smaller / a cottage industry, we have about 1,000 ounces</i>); agentive (<i>what is it [the machinery] doing, it’s taking rocks / granding them up, we add chemicals x2 / operate / are exploring / put / place / call / pull off / have put / are heating up / going to lift up / pour out,</i></p>		<p>built this pipeline [...] to Kalgoorlie’, showing a group of people, both men and women, all well-dressed, posing by part of the pipeline; back to MP and TM talking; old B&W portrait photograph of (presumably) C.Y. O’Connor over the words ‘Charles Yelverton O’Connor [...] John Forrest’, showing him in a dark suit with white shirt and cravat and a light colour hat; insert of two old B&W photographs over the words ‘He completed his [...] still used today’ of men working on the pipeline, both labourers in the ditch and supervisors; back to MP and TM talking; insert of an old B&W photo of a group of labourers (in humble clothing) posing by a large tent over the words ‘Up until the 1880s [...] ticking over’; insert of old B&W photo of nine men in what must be a bank, well dressed, with a large number of gold bars and signs that say ‘Bank of Adelaide. London’, over the words ‘Gold is found [...]</p>				
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	<p>water.” (27:20-30:12)</p> <p>MP: Charles Yelverton O’Connor was appointed engineer—in—chief by Western Australia’s first premier, John Forrest. He completed his Goldfields pipeline in 1903, bringing water 330 miles over the Darting Mountain Range to Kalgoorlie. It’s still used today.</p> <p>MP: “So, what is the impact of these discoveries of gold on Western Australia?”</p> <p>TM: “Up until the 1880s, we have an agricultural society. It’s barely ticking over. Gold is found out in Kalgoorlie. It explodes, and this becomes the richest colony in the world. We’ll still have mining here for a long time. Got other minerals like nickel, but gold is still king around here.” (30:13-30:56)</p> <p>MP: Once the rock is cut out of the mine, the</p>		<p><i>try and extract</i> the gold, <i>take, do you get out</i> x2, you <i>have reduced / heat / melt / make / will form</i>, the mine <i>operates</i> 24 hours ..., people <i>working</i>); receptive (<i>tell you, heat is being generated</i>)</p>		<p>richest colony in the world’; back to MP and TM talking (28:08-30:57)</p> <p>Aerials shots of the mine followed by an aerial shot of the processing plant; followed by shot of MP (right) and JC (left, also in protective gear) walking toward each other with a big machine in the background (ES, eye-level); followed by shot of the two shaking hands (MS, eye-level); insert shots of part of the machine with stone being transported into it by a conveyor belt and the rock being grinded by the machine; back to MP and JC talking (various shots, ES and CU); inserted shots of machinery at work during the conversation; followed by shot of MP and JC walking away (CU and then ES); followed by shot of the two inside the building (LS, eye-level); followed by a close-up shot of the crucible; followed by shot of MP and JC talking (right) and man working by the crucible (left) (LS, eye-level); insert of</p>				
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	<p>mines. <i>The gold price is going well. There's a little bit of a mini boom in Kalgoorlie and we're really exploring the district for more gold.</i>"</p> <p>MP: "So, once you've reduced it to talcum powder size, how <i>do you get the gold out</i> of it?"</p> <p>JC: "So, <i>we basically put</i> it into water. <i>We add</i> some chemicals, and then <i>we place</i> that onto what <i>we call</i> carbon. <i>We pull</i> that carbon <i>off</i> and <i>take</i> it to the <u>gold room</u>. So, <i>you heat</i> it up, <i>melt</i> it, and <i>make</i> it into <u>gold bars</u>."</p> <p>MP: "Aha. That, <i>I have to see</i>. May I?"</p> <p>JC: "Yes, absolutely."</p> <p>MP: <i>The mine operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week, with up to 40 people working</i> every shift.</p> <p>MP: "<i>I'll tell you</i> what <i>I love</i> about this. <i>I've been to</i> many steel plants, which are on an enormous scale,</p>									
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	<p>but with a <u>precious metal</u>, <i>it's</i> smaller. <i>It's</i> almost like a <u>cottage industry</u>. <i>An amazing amount of heat is being generated</i>. So, clearly, <i>the gold is</i> in there.”</p> <p>JC: “That’s right. Yeah, so <i>we’ve put</i> it into this crucible here and <i>we’re heating it up</i> to 1,300 degrees centigrade. When it gets to the right temperature, <i>we’re going to lift it up</i> and <i>pour it out</i>. And because <i>the gold’s really heavy, it will sink</i> to the bottom, and then <i>we’ll form gold bars</i>.”</p> <p>MP: “<u>Gold bars!</u>”</p> <p>JC: “So, <i>you can see</i> the crucible now tipping up. <i>The gold is going to be coming out</i> any moment. <i>You can see it coming</i> now.”</p> <p>MP: “<i>That is spectacular!</i> And <i>it is creating a cascade, a waterfall</i>, as <i>it moves</i> from mould to mould. <i>A fluid, burning river making</i> its way</p>									
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		<p>downstream. How <u>absolutely superb</u>. <i>Sparkles like little stars are twinkling</i> within the molten liquid. Oh, <i>that's an amazing sight</i>.” MP: Once <i>the bars have been cooled</i> in water, <i>they're cleaned off</i>, ready to <i>be sent</i> to the mint in Perth. MP: “<i>It's extremely heavy. It's not quite as refined as the bar of gold that you might find</i> in a vault. <i>It's got little jagged edges here. Three delightful gold bars</i> there. What <i>would they be worth</i>, do you think?” JC: “So, <i>we have here about 1,000 ounces</i>. So, probably <i>just shy of \$2 million sitting</i> right in front of us.” MP: “Wonderful. <i>My retirement</i>.” (30:58-33:33)</p>									
33:34 – 36:09	‘2 Up’	<p>MP: As a <u>booming mining town</u>, <i>Kalgoorlie became notorious</i> for its <u>drinking dens, brothels, and gambling</u>. <i>One of the most popular betting</i></p>	<p>A1: MP (<i>I x3, me x2, we, you x5, bad luck for you</i>)</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>come across, can I see, trying to do, trying to get</i>, if two heads come up you <i>win</i>, if you <i>head</i> them, you <i>win</i>, if I <i>tail</i>); receptive (<i>tell me</i>); stative (<i>we're in</i>)</p>	<p>Blues guitar piece; slow tempo; C key, C minor scale (33:34-34:01)</p>	<p>Live noises from the gaming joint (33:52-36:04)</p>	<p>Shot of MP walking through the processing plant (ES, eye-level); followed by old B&W photos over the words ‘Kalgoorlie became [...] and gambling’,</p>	<p>A1: MP – shown as in previous scenes shot-wise. In this scene he contrasts sharply with the way DS and the other people in the arena look. You can see a clear social class contrast</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>talking, walking, playing the game, winning</i>)</p>	<p>The concluding scene of part 5 explores one of the aspects connected with the history of Kalgoorlie and its gold mining past and present: gambling. The initial music seems</p>	

	<p><i>games from the gold rush era is still enjoyed by the locals.</i> (33:37-33:50)</p> <p>Just outside town, Danny Sheehan hosts weekly sessions. MP: “<u>Out in the bush, I’ve clearly come across a classy gaming joint. But the rules of the game are obscure to me.</u> Obviously, <u>they’re spinning coins, heads and tails, but there are two coins, not one. And it looks like big stakes.</u>” MP: “Are you Danny?” DANNY SHEEHAN: “Yeah.” MP: “<u>Tell me about this game, what’s the story?</u>” DS: “<u>It’s a traditional Australian gambling game.</u>” MP: “Yeah.” DS: “<u>2 Up.</u> In the 1890s, when <u>they first discovered</u> gold here in <u>Australia, it was very big</u> because <u>people just loved gambling, they were gamblers.</u> To come here, <u>they were</u></p>	<p>A3: Australia (Australia, Western Australia, they)</p> <p>A5: British (they x2, people x2, gamblers, gambling with their life)</p> <p>A27: Kalgoorlie (a booming mining town, Kalgoorlie, notorious for its drinking dens, brothels, and gambling, the locals, outside town, a whole town full of people like that)</p> <p>A32: DS and 2 Up (one of the most popular betting games from the gold rush era, Danny Sheehan, out in the bush, a classy gaming joint, the rules of the game, obscure, spinning coins, heads and tails, two coins, not one, big stakes, Danny, this game, a traditional Australian gambling game,</p>	<p>A3: agentive (changed the laws)</p> <p>A5: agentive (discovered gold, they were gambling with their life, could get typhoid, could find gold); stative (loved gambling, they were gamblers, get lost in the bushes, get really rich)</p> <p>A27: stative (‘implied’ is a booming ..., became notorious, when you got a whole town ...); agentive (enjoyed by the locals)</p> <p>A32: receptive (betting game [...] is still enjoyed, it’s played, who built pit); stative (rules of the game are obscure, they are spinning coins, there are two coins, it looks like big stakes, it’s a traditional ..., it was very big, Two-up was the game of choice, is this the traditional place, it’s a purpose-built facility, is this game legal, it’s legal in WA, it was illegal out here for years / incredibly popular,</p>	<p>Same magical music as at the end of the previous scene when MP gets two heads and wins the game; medium / fast tempo; C key, C major scale (36:03 to the end of the part)</p>		<p>showing a very large crowd of people as well as horse and carts; another photo shows a busy road in (presumably) Kalgoorlie, again with people, horses, carts and shops; followed by a behind-the-back shot of MP walking on the side of a country road past a sign that says ‘Bush 2 Up. No alcohol. No persons under 18’ (distant, low-angle); followed by an aerial view of the rural area where the gambling arena is located; followed by shots of people playing the game; followed by shot of MP entering the arena (MS, eye-level); followed by shot of MP sitting in the audience (CU, eye-level); followed by shot of MP and DS talking (MS and CU, eye-level); insert of a drawing over the words ‘when they first discovered [...] gambling with their life’, showing a rural setting with a village, people, horses and carts as well as what looks like a family in the right-hand side foreground with also a shotgun visible; insert of</p>	<p>between MP (a high middle-class person) and the other gamblers (working class too, possibly, middle class). His description of the arena as a ‘classy gaming joint’ is clearly sarcastic. At the end of the scene he is shown exulting theatrically after winning the bet.</p> <p>A3: Australia – Australians are shown as the gambling participants in the arena, having fun. They’re mostly wearing very casual, if not quite basic, clothes, making MP stand up in his extravagant, colourful, smart casual attire.</p> <p>A5: British – shown as prospectors in old B&W photos. They are usually armed. They are shown both in cowboy-type attires as prospectors and with wealthy attributes like cars when showing partaking the illegal gambling games.</p> <p>A27: Kalgoorlie – the town is shown in old B&W photos and it is busy with people carrying out their daily</p>	<p>A3: agentive (gambling)</p> <p>A5: agentive (gambling); stative (posing for photos as prospectors)</p> <p>A27: stative (old photos and aerial shots)</p>	<p>to frame it in a negative fashion, although it may also signify nostalgia for the past. None of the social issues mentioned by MP (drinking, prostitution and gambling) is discussed in any sociological fashion by looking at what problems those behaviours carried with them. Instead, the scene focuses on one of them, gambling, and specifically to the historical evolution of one game, 2 Up, in the area. Gambling in general is framed in a positive way, both by the depiction of it as ‘a game’ given by DS and not challenged by MP and by the over-theatrical happiness displayed as a result of winning at the game. By associations, also those who gamble (in game as in life) are seen in a positive way and, in this case, these are the British proctors, who gambled their own lives to ‘get really rich’. From an ideological point of view, the scene also reinforces the already discussed association of</p>
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	<p>actually <u>gambling with their life</u>. Could get typhoid or get lost in the bush. But the chance was they could find all this gold and get really rich. So when you got a whole town full of people like that, well, all gaming is going to flourish. And '2 up' was the game of choice." MP: "And this sort of arena that we're in here, <u>this kind of pit</u>, is this the traditional place where it's played?" DS: "Yeah, that's it, it's a purpose-built facility." MP: "Who built this pit?" DS: "Me dad and his mate." MP: "And is this game legal?" DS: "Yeah, it is legal in Western Australia, you can get a permit to run it. It was illegal out here for years, you know, but we used to run it illegally, but then they changed the laws a bit. Dad's day, it was incredibly popular, you know, you'd get</p>	<p>2-up x2, very big, gambling, gaming, the game of choice, arena, this kind of pit, the traditional place, a purpose-built facility, me dad and his mate, (game) legal x2, you, illegal out here for years, we x2, illegally, incredibly popular, dad's day [...] hundreds of people out here, now [...] 40 or 50, not a really big thing, regulars who love the game, the method, ladies and gentlemen, (all your) bets x2)</p>	<p>dad's day [...] you'd get hundreds ..., now you get 40 or 50, it's not really a big thing, you got your regulars who really love the game, if two heads come up you win); agentive (DS hosts, 'implied' you tell / place your bets, gaming is going to flourish, me dad [built], you can get a permit, to run, we used to run it illegally, we've put)</p>		<p>and old B&W photo over the words 'could get typhoid [...] really rich' showing four men, dressed in a cowboy fashion and wearing guns around their waists, with four camels behind them; back to MP and DS talking; insert of an aerial shot of the arena; insert of old B&W photo over the words 'Yeah, it is legal [...] illegal out here for years', showing an aerial view of (presumably) a clandestine gambling meeting in a field; back to MP and DS talking; insert of an old B&W photo over the words 'they changed the laws [...] hundreds of people out there', showing another aerial view of a (presumably) clandestine gambling meeting (this time there are also cars, indicating wealthy participants); back to MP and DS talking; followed by shot of DS showing the coins to MP and MP playing the game (MS as well as aerial shot when he throws the coins in the air; followed up by CU of the two coins landing with</p>	<p>activities. In the present, the focus is on the remote setting of the gambling joint outside of town.</p> <p>A32: DS and '2 Up' – DS is shown through a variety of shots, including CUs to create proximity with the viewer. His appearance denotes working-class belonging and his affable manners are highlighted by the fact MP is very close to him and laughing with him. The gaming 'arena' is shown both through an aerial shot and from closer shots from within that highlight its simplicity and rural essence. The arena and the gamblers (with the exception of MP) seem to both denote the fact this game is for lower social classes, despite the claim by MP of there being 'big stakes'. The game is also shown as being lawful, with the detail of the 'No alcohol. No persons under 18' written on the sign.</p>	<p>A32: agentive (DS talking and hosting the game); stative (aerial and other shots of the arena); receptive (as in the game being played, coin tossed, money won or lost, etc.)</p>	<p>wealth with happiness, since in order to get rich it is acceptable to risk your own life (and that of your family as many male proctors had wives and children). The positive representation are created multimodally for the British, Kalgoorlie and gambling not as much as visually (although attributes such as cars in the old B&W photos contribute to this), but by talking about the popularity of gambling (although more in the past than now) and its connection to wealth. Musically, the same magical and dream-like piece that was played when showing how gold bars are made is used to accompany the happy shots of MP winning at the gambling game. One interesting aspect that is conveyed visually is how gambling is acceptable and enjoyed by all social classes. This is conveyed through the mix of people shown at the gambling arena (lower-middle class mostly) and MP (higher-middle</p>	
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	<p>hundreds of people out here. But now <i>you get</i>, like, <u>40 or 50</u> people. So <i>it's not a really big thing</i>, but <i>you got your regulars who really love the game.</i>"</p> <p>MP: "<i>Can I see the method?</i>"</p> <p>DS: "<i>We've put</i> little crosses on the tail side, see? What <i>you're trying to do</i> is <i>you're trying to get</i> two heads to come up. <i>If two heads come up, you win.</i>"</p> <p>MP: "Bets, <u>ladies and gentlemen.</u> <i>Place</i> all your bets."</p> <p>DS: "Very good, all right. So, <i>if you head</i> them, <i>you win</i> \$50, all right?"</p> <p>MP: "And <i>if I tail</i> them?"</p> <p>DS: "<u>Bad luck for you.</u>"</p> <p>PEOPLE: Oh. Tails. Heads. Yes! Go on, tails! Heads!" (33:55-35:56)</p>					heads up; followed by shot of MP exulting (MS, eye-level); followed by shots of MP running around the circular arena (MS and aerial) (33:34-36:09)			class) all enjoying the gambling game.
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Part 6: The Royal Flying Doctor Service (36:09-40:18)

Themes: Royal Flying Doctor Service

Topics: Royal Flying Doctor Service, healthcare provision

Actors: Michael Portillo (A1), Bradshaw's Book (A2), Australia/ Australians (A3), Britain/ British (A5), the Royal Flying Doctor Service (A33), Andrew Barnes (A34), John Flynn (A35).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
36:09 – 40:18	The Royal Flying Doctor Service	<p>MP: <u>In the remotest parts of Australia's vast outback</u>, it can feel like <u>little has changed</u> since the <u>gold rush</u> over a century ago.</p> <p>MP: "<u>Bradshaw's warns me</u> that to the <u>West I will encounter</u> mainly <u>waterless desert</u>. In fact, <u>the state of Western Australia is about ten times the size of the United Kingdom, with a tiny population, very sparsely distributed</u>. <u>Providing it</u> with medical services <u>has always been a challenge</u>." (36:09-36:39)</p> <p>MP: At the airport on the edge of town is the <u>Kalgoorlie branch of the nation's Royal Flying Doctor Service</u>. <u>One of five facilities across Western Australia</u>. <u>Andrew Barnes originally trained</u> as a GP in London and <u>has been a flying doctor</u> for over 20 years.</p>	<p>A1: MP (<i>me, I</i> x3, <i>Michael</i> x2)</p> <p>A2: BB (<i>Bradshaw</i>)</p> <p>A3: Australia (<i>in the remotest parts of Australia's vast outback, little, gold rush, the West, waterless desert, (the state of) Western Australia</i> x3, <i>about ten times the size of the United Kingdom, with a tiny population, very sparsely distributed, a challenge, patient</i> x2, <i>about 1,500km, the people in the</i></p>	<p>A1: receptive (<i>warns me</i>); agentive (<i>will encounter, ask, take a look, come</i>)</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>warns</i>)</p> <p>A3: stative (<i>Australia (Australia 'implied' has a vast outback, WA is about ten times / 1,500km from top to bottom, WA 'implied' has a tiny population, providing medical services has always been a challenge, it may be several hours, who might be out on a cattle station ..., do they have a kind of dirt runway, there can be, medical care is often very difficult, most</i></p>	<p>Same magical music as at the end of the previous part; medium / fast tempo; C key, C major scale (from beginning to 37:02)</p> <p>Piano and cello music; slow tempo; D key, D minor scale (37:48-38:34)</p> <p>Same music as above starts again (40:04-40:18)</p>	<p>Live noises from the airport (36:39-38:29)</p> <p>Noise of an airplane from archive footage (38:13-38:29)</p>	<p>Shots of the rural Australian outback; followed by shot of MP talking to the camera on the runway of an airport (MS, eye-level); followed by shot of an airplane being taken out of a hangar; followed by shot of an airplane taking off in a rural setting (36:09-36:52)</p> <p>Shot of MP coming out of the Royal Flying Doctor Service building (sign on the left) (ES, eye-level); followed by close-up of an airplane's front nose engine; followed by shot of MP approaching the airplane and AB coming out of it (ES, eye-level); followed by shot of MP and AB talking by the airplane (MS and CU, eye-level); insert of archive footage over the words 'the</p>	<p>A1: MP – same types of shots as in previous scenes.</p> <p>A2: BB – not represented</p> <p>A3: Australia – shown through the initial aerial shots of the vast, semi-desert outback and also at the end, with a rainbow over a not too distant mountain. It is also in the background in the archive footage of the first flying doctor airplanes. Some (presumably) Australians are shown in the archive footage around the airplanes and one person is shown taking AB's aircraft out of the hangar.</p> <p>A5: British – not explicitly represented. However, the adjective 'Royal' in the name of the</p>	<p>A1 – agentive (<i>talking, walking</i>)</p> <p>A2 – not represented</p> <p>A3: stative (<i>aerial or panorama shots</i>); agentive (<i>working</i>)</p> <p>A5: stative (<i>as in the word 'Royal' in the name and logos of the organisation</i>)</p>	<p>This part discusses a theme which, as a whole, doesn't seem to have much to do with railways and train, which are here completely absent. The viewer learns about the Royal Flying Doctor Service. The modes, particularly the linguistic and the visual, operate to create a sense of professionalism and excellence. There is medical terminology used by a practising doctor and medical equipment is shown on one of the aircrafts. The fact the organisation name has got the adjective 'royal' in it, and the fact the doctor interview is a British one work to connect the idea of Britishness to the ideas of professionalism, efficiency and, most importantly,</p>	

		<p>MP: “Andrew, hello.” ANDREW BARNES: “Michael, very pleased to meet you.” MP: “It’s wonderful to be here. <u>What a very smart aircraft, and this does a pretty good job for you?</u>” AB: “You know, <u>it may have just one engine</u>, but <u>can get up to almost 500km an hour.</u>” MP: “So what is the maximum distance that <u>you might have to travel to see a patient?</u>” AB: “<u>From top to bottom is about 1,500km</u>. So although <u>that may be only three and a half, four hours of flying time, you’d have to refuel</u> in the middle, plus <u>there’s</u> the pick-up time. So for <u>the people in the remote areas, it may be several hours before they get decent medical help.</u>” MP: “And <u>these people, who might be out on a cattle station or sheep station, do they have a kind of dirt runway?</u>” AB: “Yes, <u>there can be</u>. I mean, <u>the reality is it’s all very professional these days</u>. But <u>we do still land</u> with flares, you know, just oil flares at night. <u>That still happens</u> depending on the state of the airstrip.” (36:42-37:47)</p>	<p><i>remote areas, several hours before they get decent medical help, these people, out on a cattle station or sheep station, a kind of dirt runway, the medical care for people in the outback is often very difficult, the tyranny of distance, most people, an Australian, very isolated people, an extremely sick patient on full life support)</i></p> <p>A5: British (United Kingdom, Britain, the UK)</p> <p>A33: RFDS ((Kalgoorlie branch of the nation’s) Royal Flying Doctor Service x3, one of five facilities across Western Australia, very smart aircraft, this, pretty good job, just one engine, almost 500km an hour, three and a half,</p>	<p>people <i>have got</i> mobile phones ...); agentive (little <i>has changed</i>, a patient <i>communicate</i>); receptive (see a patient, they <i>get</i> decent medical help)</p> <p>A5: /</p> <p>A33: stative (RFDS ‘implied’ is at the airport ... / one of five facilities ... / the first, and now the largest in the world / pretty much constantly in use, it <i>may have</i> just one engine, <i>may be</i> only three and a half ... , <i>there’s</i> the pick-up time, the reality <i>is it’s</i> all very professional,</p>		<p>service, the first [...] John Flynn, originally from Melbourne’ showing a flying doctor airplane, followed by an old B&W portrait photo of John Flynn; back to MP and AB talking; back to archive footage over the words ‘it was his determination [...] in the 50s and 60s’, showing one of the airplanes flying; back to MP and AB talking; followed by shot of MP and AB getting on the plane (ES, eye-level); followed by shots (you can see MP’s hat appearing and disappearing between the reverse angle shots) of MP and AB getting on the plane and sitting down by some of the medical equipment (MCU, and CU of some of the machines, slight low-angle); inserts of shots of airplanes in the airport; back to MP and AB on the plane; close-up shot of one the airplane’s mirrors; shot from the airport of a hill with a rainbow visible on the right-hand side (36:52-40:17)</p>	<p>service (shown at different points) obviously refers to the British monarchy. Moreover, AB is British.</p> <p>A33: RFDS – the focus is on the equipment the organisation can rely on, aircrafts and machinery. These are shown both from the past through archive footage and in the present through MP’s visit of AB’s aircraft. The name of the organisation is also visible at various points on aircrafts, AB’s uniform and buildings.</p> <p>A34: AB – he is shown in his work uniform and in his professional capacity in his work environment. He is well-groomed and clean-shaven, thus abiding to British (and Western more loosely) attributes of professionalism, cleanliness and tidiness.</p> <p>A35: JF – he is shown in an old B&W photo portrait. He is smartly dressed, well-groomed and clean-shaven.</p>	<p>A33: stative (as in <i>shots of aircraft around the airport and medical equipment</i>); agentive (flying)</p> <p>A34: agentive (talking)</p> <p>A35: stative (posing for a photo portrait)</p>	<p>just cause and beneficial for the people. This could be in turn associated with the whole history of Great Britain in Australia as a benevolent, professional and efficient one, thus helping perpetrate the myth of the benevolent West that brings progress all around the world. The minor scale of the musical piece used to accompany the description of JF and how he started the service, rather than sadness, expresses nostalgia for such figures and their actions (incidentally, JF features on one of Australian banknotes). This again marries well with the idea of the benevolent West. It would be very interesting to see if everyone in Australia was benefitting from the service, including the first Australian people, in the first decades of service. In general, the issue of access to healthcare for indigenous people being worse is well-documented and might have been considered here.</p>	
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		<p>MP: <i>The service — the first, and now the largest in the world — was founded</i> in 1928 by a clergyman. AB: “<i>John Flynn</i>, originally from Melbourne, <i>trained</i> as a pastor, so <i>was</i> actually <i>not medically trained</i>. But <i>he did a few expeditions into the outback</i> and <i>realised</i> that <i>the medical care for people in the outback is often very difficult</i>. Something which <i>he described</i> as <i>the tyranny of distance</i>. <i>It was his determination and vision that led to</i> the formation of the <i>Royal Flying Doctor Service</i>.” MP: “In the old days, how <i>would a patient communicate</i> with the doctor?” AB: “<i>It started off with the Morse code and then pedal wireless</i>. And of course, since then <i>there’s been development to VHF radio, which was the main way of communicating in the ‘50s and ‘60s</i>. And now, of course, <i>most people have got</i> mobile phones, mobile phone towers, and in the very remote areas, satellite phones.” MP: “<i>What’s it like to be part of this service? I ask</i> because <i>you come</i> from Britain. <i>you’re</i> not an <i>Australian</i> originally?”</p>	<p><i>four hours of flying time, all very professional these days, we x3, the/this service x3, the first, and now the largest in the world, started off with the Morse code and then pedal wireless, development to VHF radio, the main way of communicatin g in the ‘50s and ‘60s, the dream job, incredible, the variety of things, general practice in very remote areas, quite a sophisticated aircraft, the intensive care in a telephone box, more like the TARDIS, impressive, two patients in here, two stretcher patients and one sitting patient, the hospital to the patient, all the technology, but major surgery, a mechanical</i></p>	<p>that still <i>happens, there has been</i> development ..., which <i>was</i> the main way of communicating ..., this <i>is</i> the dream job / incredible / a mechanical ventilator / a monitor ..., ‘<i>implied</i>’ is the intensive care in a telephone box / superb, it’s more like the TARDIS / impressive, you <i>can have</i> two patients / two stretcher ..., the principle [...] <i>is</i> that we bring the hospital, we <i>would expect to have</i>); <i>agentive</i> (<i>can get up to</i> almost 500km an hour, you’d <i>have to refuel</i>, still <i>land</i> with flares, it <i>started off</i> with the Morse code ..., we <i>bring</i> the hospital ... / all the technology ..., RFDS transports); <i>receptive</i> (the service was <i>founded, can do</i> variety of things / general practice)</p>			<p>Fade to black.</p>				
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	<p>AB: “Yes, I got lost. Ah, look, for me, I mean, coming from the UK, this is the dream job. Incredible, the variety of things that I can do. I can do general practice in very remote areas, with very isolated people. And then the following day, I could be flying in the middle of the night with an extremely sick patient on full life support.”</p> <p>MP: “It sounds like you may have quite a sophisticated aircraft, may I take a look on board?”</p> <p>AB: “Yes, of course, Michael, come in.”</p> <p>MP: “Thank you, very much.” (36:42-39:07)</p> <p>AB: “Welcome to my office. The intensive care in a telephone box.”</p> <p>MP: “It’s more like the TARDIS. It’s impressive. So, you can have two patients in here?”</p> <p>AB: “You can have two stretcher patients and one sitting patient. The principle of this is that we bring the hospital to the patient. So we bring all the technology, but major surgery. Well, this is a mechanical ventilator. This here is a monitor, for example, which would measure blood pressure, pulse, oxygen saturation.”</p> <p>MP: “What’s the most dramatic thing that</p>	<p><i>ventilator, a monitor which would measure blood pressure, pulse, oxygen saturation, pretty much constantly in use, six or seven aircraft in the air at a given time, across Western Australia, in Flynn’s time [...] a couple of hundred patients a year, these days [...] over 300,000 patients every year, superb)</i></p> <p>A34: AB (Andrew Barnes, as a GP, a flying doctor for over 20 years, Andrew, you x4, from Britain, not an Australian, I x3, the most dramatic thing x2)</p>	<p>A34: agentive (trained, you might have to travel to see, can do x2, could be flying, you have had to do, they would be flying); stative (has been a flying doctor, be part of this service, come from Britain, you’re not an Australian, coming from the UK, you may have quite a sophisticated, most dramatic thing is having to apply ...)</p>									
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	<p><i>you've had to do in mid-air?"</i></p> <p>AB: "Oh, the most dramatic thing is without doubt, <u>having to apply non-invasive ventilation to a patient who's having trouble breathing.</u>"</p> <p>MP: "And is the service pretty much constantly in use?""</p> <p>AB: "Oh, yes, on an afternoon like this, we would expect to have six or seven aircraft in the air at a given time, across Western Australia. In Flynn's time, maybe they would be flying a couple of hundred patients a year. These days across Australia, The Royal Flying Doctor Service transports over 300,000 patients every year."</p> <p>MP: "Superb!" (39:11-40:10)</p>	<p>A35: JF (a clergyman, John Flynn, originally from Melbourne, a pastor, not medically trained, a few expeditions into the outback, his determination and vision, Flynn)</p>	<p>A35: agentive (founded by a clergyman, trained as a pastor, <i>did, described, that led</i>); stative (was not medically trained, <i>realised</i> that the medical care ..., it was his determination and vision)</p>							
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Part 7: Perth and the Fairbridge School (40:18-53:02)

Themes: Child migration in Western Australia.

Topics: Perth, Fremantle, the Fairbridge Scheme, child migration.

Actors: Michael Portillo (A1), Bradshaw's Book (A2), Australia/ Australians (A3), Britain/ British (A5), C.Y. O'Connor (A30), Perth and Freemantle (A36), Kingsley Fairbridge (A37), Fairbridge scheme and school (A38), Derek Smith (A39), Fairbridge children (A40), Roz Crawford (A41), Richard Hinch (A42).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
40:18 - 44:08	Perth	<p>MP: <i>Nearing</i> the end of my 1,700 mile journey, I'll shortly be arriving in the capital of Western Australia.</p> <p>MP: "I'm using the Transperth suburban railway to enter Perth for the first time. I'm promised 'trees, which afford a grateful shade during the hot summer.' But today is a perfect autumn day."</p> <p>MP: <i>In the southwest corner of this continent, on the Indian Ocean, the nation's fourth city is closer to Bali than it is to Sydney.</i> (40:27-40:58)</p> <p>MP: "'Perth,' says Bradshaw's, 'in a beautiful natural situation on the Swan River, about 12</p>	<p>A1: MP (my 1,700 mile journey, I x4, we)</p> <p>A2: BB (Bradshaw, the guidebook)</p> <p>A3: Australia (Western Australia, a colony with a responsible government, no more than 90,000 inhabitants, people)</p> <p>A4: trains (Transperth suburban railway)</p> <p>A5: British (convict labour, 37 shiploads of convicts, including</p>	<p>A1: agentive (nearing, I'll be arriving, I'm using, to enter, begin to build up); receptive (I'm / have been promised)</p> <p>A2: agentive (says Bradshaw / the guidebook)</p> <p>A3: agentive (became a colony); stative (there were no more ..., people remember his name)</p> <p>A4: receptive (using the Transperth)</p> <p>A5: agentive (propped up by convict labour)</p>	<p>Classical music, medium / fast tempo; D key, D major scale (40:18-41:05)</p> <p>Classical music, medium / fast tempo; C key, C major scale (41:42-42:21)</p> <p>Classical music, sustained tempo; F key, F major scale (42:31-43:23)</p>	<p>Noises from the train (40:35-40:48)</p> <p>Noises from the train and streets (40:58-41:42)</p> <p>Noises from the airplane (42:21-43:14)</p> <p>MP's voice recorded through the radio system (42:24-42:30 and 42:40-43:01)</p>	<p>Panorama shot of a large body of water, a motorway and a city in the distance; followed by a shot of Perth's skyline; followed by a close-up shot of a modern bridge; followed by a shot of a train approaching; followed by a shot of MP on the train reading the BB (CU, slight high-angle); followed by shot of the train now approaching closer with 'Perth' clearly visible on the destination sign; followed by shot of MP on the train, talking into the camera with other passengers visible in the background (MC, slight low-angle); followed by shot of Perth skyline from the sea; followed by close-up of some modern towers and</p>	<p>A1: MP – Shown through a variety of shots and enjoying a plane flight over Perth and Freemantle.</p> <p>A2: BB – the book is shown on three occasions being read by MP.</p> <p>A3: Australia – Australians are shown walking around the city of Perth, busy in their everyday lives. First Nation are shown in a drawing, armed.</p> <p>A4: trains – shown both from outside (moving) and inside (transporting MP and other passengers</p> <p>A5: British – not shown, although the old drawing shows the first British</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking, walking, reading, flying); receptive (being transported); stative (standing with Perth or the harbour in the background)</p> <p>A2: receptive (being read)</p> <p>A3: agentive (walking)</p> <p>A4: agentive (moving, transporting)</p> <p>A5: stative (as in the settlement); receptive (as being watched by</p>	<p>The introductory scene to this part shows the audience the city of Perth and the port of Fremantle and highlights how well the colony has done over the past couple of hundred years. The modes work together to this effect, with all providing positive representations of the city and its port. As for previous historic accounts, there is no mention of what happened to the First Nation people that inhabited this part of the country; in fact they are only shown in the old drawing watching the initial settlement from a distance, armed, almost as if they were planning some form of attack against the British settlers.</p>	<p>P3: Erm, just that I was surprised at the size of the city, Perth. It's amazing in such a short time that it's grown to such a size, in a relatively short time. I suppose that's something we see all over the world now, growth in population and therefore the urban centres are getting bigger. (I, lines 315-318)</p>

		<p><i>miles above Fremantle, which forms its harbour at the mouth of the river. In 1890, when Western Australia became a colony with a responsible government, there were no more than 90,000 inhabitants.' This remote city, capital of a vast, unpopulated colony, struggled for survival, propped up by convict labour until the discovery of gold. Since which time it's done pretty well."</i> (41:05-41:42)</p> <p>MP: Founded in 1829, <i>it's still one of the most— isolated cities in the world, but with its population of two million forecast to more than double by the middle of the century, huge investment is transforming its central business district. The Swan River flows through the city centre, southwest to the Port of Fremantle. At the newly developed Elizabeth Quay, I've been promised</i> a bird's-eye view.</p>	<p><i>Australia's very last)</i></p> <p>A30: CYC (architect responsible for the water pipeline out to Kalgoorlie, CY O'Connor, his name)</p> <p>A36: Perth and Freemantle (the capital of Western Australia, Perth x6, trees, which afford a grateful shade, in the southwest corner of this continent, on the Indian Ocean, the Nation's fourth city, closer to Bali than it is to Sydney, in a beautiful natural situation on the Swan River, about 12 miles above Fremantle, remote city, capital of a vast, unpopulated colony, done pretty well, one of the most— isolated cities in the world, its population of two million,</p>	<p>A30: agentive (redesigned by the same architect ...); receptive (people remember his name)</p> <p>A36; stative ('implied' has trees ..., 'implied' is in the southwest ... / on the Indian Ocean / a remote city / capital of a vast ..., is closer to Bali ... / one of the most isolated ... / quite stunning / beautiful / brash / new / optimistic / now part / principal seaport / important business centre / well-ordered, was originally separate); agentive (which forms its harbour, struggled for survival, it's done pretty well, to double, huge investment is transforming, the Swan River flows, Perth occupies a very large water, it competes, stretches around 50 miles, it received); receptive (propped up by convict labour, founded, population forecast, Fremantle was founded, the town's fortunes were made, the harbour was redesigned)</p>		<p>skyscrapers; followed by a shot of a boat; followed by a shot of a train arriving at a platform; followed by a shot of MP getting off the train (ES, low-angle); followed by panorama shot of Perth; followed by shot of MP reading the BB with modern buildings in the background (MS, low-angle); followed by similar shot, but further away (LS, low-angle) (40:19-41:42)</p> <p>Old colour drawing of (presumably) Perth, with the bay and dwellings in the background and what look like a couple of first nation people in the foreground on the right; followed by another skyline panorama shot of modern Perth; followed by urban shots including buildings and people; followed by aerial view of the city with the Swan River in focus; followed by shot from a bridge of MP walking on it towards the camera (ES, eye-level); followed by shot of MP walking on the bridge from below (ES, low-angle);</p>	<p>settlement in the Perth/Fremantle areas as well as two, armed First Nation people observing the settlement from afar.</p> <p>A30: CYC – not represented</p> <p>A36: Perth and Freemantle – shown through aerial views and also through shots of the modern buildings and harbour area, with commercial ships. Everything shown is in very good state of keeping.</p>	<p>the two, armed First nation people)</p> <p>A30 – not represented</p> <p>A36: stative (various shots highlighting the beautiful parts of the city)</p>		
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	<p>MP: “What a beautiful day for flying.” PILOT: Perfect day for flying, isn’t it?” (41:44-42:17)</p> <p>MP: “An exhilarating rush of wind, as <i>we begin to build up</i> some speed.” (42:24-42:30)</p> <p>MP: “What is clear now is what a very large water <i>Perth occupies. The skyline of Perth is quite stunning, it’s beautiful. It competes</i> with Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane. <i>It’s brash, it’s new, it’s optimistic.</i>” MP: <i>The greater urban area of Perth stretches</i> around 50 miles along the coast. <i>The port city of Fremantle was originally separate</i> from <u>the capital</u>, but <i>is now part of the Perth metropolitan area.</i> (42:40-43:15)</p> <p>MP: “‘<i>Fremantle,</i>’ <i>says the guidebook, ‘the principal seaport of the state. An important business centre, a well ordered city, with ample communication</i></p>	<p><i>huge investment, its central business district, the Swan River, Port of Fremantle, the newly developed Elizabeth Quay, a very large water, quite stunning, beautiful, brash, new, optimistic, the greater urban area, around 50 miles along the coast, the port city of Fremantle, originally separate, now part, Perth metropolitan area, Fremantle x2, the principal seaport of the state, an important business centre, a well ordered city, with ample communication both by railway and steamer with Perth, town’s harbour)</i></p>				<p>followed by urban shot; followed by shot of MP meeting and shaking hands with the plane pilot (MS, eye-level); followed by shot of the two approaching the plane (ES, eye-level); followed by shot of some large bird on some rocks (LS, high-angle); followed by shot of the plane taken off on water (MS, eye-level); followed by shot of MP on the plane (CU, eye-level); followed by shots of plane taking off and flying; back to MP on the plane; shots from land of plane flying; followed by shots of Perth from the plane alternated with shots of MP on the plane (as before); followed by aerial shots of the Port of Fremantle (41:42-43:20)</p> <p>Shot of MP walking in the port area (LS, eye-level); followed by shot of some docks with (on the left) people sitting at tables in the foreground and a panoramic wheel in the background; followed by shot of MP, reading the BB, with the sea and a large</p>				
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		<p><i>both by railway and steamer with Perth.</i> In fact, Fremantle was founded before Perth, further up the Swan River. It received 37 shiploads of convicts, including <u>Australia's very last.</u> The town's fortunes were made when the harbour was redesigned by the same architect responsible for the water pipeline out to Kalgoorlie. People here remember his name, <u>CY O'Connor.</u> And you can see why!" (42:23-44:08)</p>					commercial ship in the background (MS, slight low-angle); insert of a close-up shot of a fisherman bronze statue; insert of a shot of the harbour with some boats and piers; back to MP but closer shot (CU, eye-level (43:20-44:08)				
44:08 – 53:02	The Fairbridge School	<p>MP: Following the convicts of the 1800s, Fremantle during the early 20th century became the gateway for a very different group of Britons. To uncover their story, I'm taking a suburban train south, to the small town of Pinjarra. MP: “Western Australia”, says Bradshaw's, “is only 10 or 11 days' sail from India. It is the nearest of the Australian states to England, 10,850 miles.” You sense that relative proximity</p>	<p>A1: MP (<i>I, you</i>)</p> <p>A2: BB (<i>Bradshaw</i>)</p> <p>A3: Australia (<i>the small town of Pinjarra, Western Australia, only 10 or 11 days' sail from India, the nearest of the Australian states to England, relative proximity, Australia x5, an annexe to its prison system,</i></p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>to uncover, I'm taking, sense</i>)</p> <p>A2: agentive (<i>says</i>)</p> <p>A3: stative (<i>is only 10 or 11 ..., was the recipient, the Child Welfare Department was responsible ...</i>); receptive (<i>used Australia as an annex ...</i>); agentive (<i>have apologised</i>)</p>	<p>Classical music, slow /medium tempo; G key, G major scale (44:08-45:05)</p> <p>Piano music, medium tempo; F key, F minor scale (45:07-46:00)</p> <p>Piano music; slow tempo; G key, G</p>	<p>Noises from the train (44:30-45:16)</p> <p>Live noises (46:00-46:39)</p> <p>Live noises (46:55-47:05)</p> <p>Live noises (47:20-50:07)</p>	<p>Shot of the harbour with some boats and cranes; followed by shot of a beach with some people on it (distant shot and then closing on to the beachgoers, over the words ‘gateway for a very different group of Britons’); followed by shot of train running over a bridge; followed by close-up shot of the BB; followed by shot of MP on the train (MCU, eye-level); close-up on the page of BB from which MP reads; followed by shot of MP still reading aloud (MS,</p>	<p>A1: MP – shown similarly to previous scenes, nothing particularly striking.</p> <p>A2: BB – shown both in MP's hands and with CU shots with details of the pages MP is reading from</p> <p>A3: Australia – the area around the Fairbridge School is shown through some aerial shots. The Australian flag is also shown at 52:06 with the words ‘British and Australian governments apologised...’.</p> <p>Some Australians</p>	<p>A1: agentive (<i>walking, talking, visiting the school buildings</i>)</p> <p>A2: receptive (<i>being read</i>)</p> <p>A3: stative (<i>aerial shots</i>); agentive (<i>flag moving, at the seaside, travelling, working</i>)</p>	<p>This is one of the longest scenes in the programme and probably the most emotional, as it deals with allegations of abuse suffered by ‘child migrants’. The first observation to make here is the choice to actually talk about it, as it is not in any way connected to railways. It could be argued that the programme talks about it to make amends, since British governments were partly responsible for the suffering caused to the children, both for</p>	<p>P3: Sadness for the Fairbridge orphans. (Q, item 12)</p> <p>JC: Definitely. And with regard to your second point “Sadness for the Fairbridge orphans”, is that, again, something that you knew about already, or heard before? P3: Yeah, I'd heard a little bit about it before, but I didn't realise it was such vast numbers of people involved in it and it went on over a long period of time. I thought it was just something from the '50s and it was just a few years, but it didn't, it went on</p>

	<p>today. There's a nonstop flight to London and the time difference is only seven hours. Beginning in the 18th century, Britain used Australia as an annexe to its prison system. In the 20th century, it began to export a different kind of social problem, and sparsely—populated Western Australia was the recipient." (44:10-45:06)</p> <p>MP: "Thank you very much." TRAIN MANAGER: "My pleasure." MP: "Bye—bye." (45:15-45:16)</p> <p>MP: In 1913, a small group of British children began a new life, here at <u>Fairbridge Farm School.</u> The Fairbridge scheme was the brainchild of South African-born philanthropist Kingsley Fairbridge. With the support of both the <u>British and Australian governments,</u> he aimed to ease the pressure on British orphanages, and at the same time to boost Australia's</p>	<p><i>sparsely—populated Western Australia, the recipient, Australian government</i> x2, <i>Australian's population, much-needed labour, the Child Welfare Department, responsible for our health, education and general wellbeing, WA)</i></p> <p>A4: trains (a suburban train)</p> <p>A5: British (convicts, a very different group of Britons, Britain, a different kind of social problem, British government x2, British orphanages, United Kingdom x2, fairly well-heeled people, the likes of Rudyard Kipling, nobody)</p> <p>A36: Perth and Fremantle (Fremantle, gateway)</p>	<p>A4: receptive (taking a suburban train)</p> <p>A5: agentive (used Australia, began to export, the report was ignored by / children continued to be sent by [implied British authorities], nobody listened, have apologised)</p> <p>A36: agentive (became the gateway)</p>	<p>minor scale (46:39-47:22)</p> <p>Piano music; slow tempo; E key, E minor scale (50:07-50:39)</p> <p>Piano music; slow tempo; G key, G minor scale (52:06-52:59)</p>	<p>slight low-angle) (44:08-45:07)</p> <p>Shot of train approaching station; followed by shot of MP standing up from his seat and walking away to get off (MS, low-angle); shot of MP getting off the train and greeting train manager (MS, eye-level); followed by shot of old train on the track; close-up shot of a sign on a building that reads 'Pinjarra Heritage Train Station'; followed by shot of MP walking on a street past a lorry and a shop (LS, low-angle); two aerial shots of the surrounding area; followed by old B&W photo of (presumably) Kingsley Fairbridge over the words 'Kingsley Fairbridge [...]. Australian governments', showing him with three very young children (LS, eye-level for children, low-angle for him); followed by another aerial shot of the area; followed by a close up of the school entrance gate with Fairbridge written on it and two signs, 'Caution. Horses' (left) and 'Slow.</p>	<p>are also shown at the seaside at the beginning of the scene and on the train.</p> <p>A4: trains – as before, shown both from outside and inside while transporting MP and other people.</p> <p>A5: British – Britain or British people are never shown, except the child migrants in old photos.</p> <p>A36: Perth and Fremantle – shown through a beautiful beach at the beginning of the scene.</p> <p>A37: KF – shown in an old B&W photo with three children: everyone seems happy.</p> <p>A38: Fairbridge S+S – the buildings and surrounding area is shown through a number of shots and indoors of the buildings are also shown, with details of accommodation facilities (beds, dining table). Moreover, the site is shown both in the present and through old B&W photos. The church building is also shown during the</p>	<p>A4: agentive (moving, transporting people); receptive (being used)</p> <p>A5 – not represented</p> <p>A36: stative (panorama shots)</p> <p>A37: stative (posing in the photo)</p> <p>A38: stative (aerial and interior shots)</p>	<p>sending them in the first place and for ignoring reports of abuse and exploitation. The founder of this migration scheme, Kingsley Fairbridge, is linguistically represented in a fairly positive light, which seems to be reinforced by one of the final remarks of MP that say that 'the origins of the scheme were idealistic' and it is only because the scheme was set up 'in an age where paternalism ruled' that things went badly. MP makes it clear at the end of the scene that 'the human rights of the children were overwritten [and] some were clearly physically and sexually abused'. However, neither in the former children's testimonies, nor in the old B&W photos, these points are ever reinforced. The children are only shown in situations that are not particularly upsetting and the testimonies themselves are only allusive at some serious breach of human rights, rather than explicitly reporting them. Other texts</p>	<p>for... it started a lot earlier than that and went on a lot longer. And it's... I don't know, it got to me that there were those poor people, the way they were treated. And we talk a lot about human rights today, but they had none. JC: I guess, yeah. Different times in many ways, but yeah, nonetheless, you're right, that kind of concept seemed to come out of the programme too, about human rights not being totally adhered to. And again, just out of curiosity, when you... how did you hear before about this Fairbridge... P3: Probably from the newspapers. I didn't know it was called the Fairbridge Project, but I knew that orphans had been sent to Australia and lived in spartan conditions. I didn't know it was to such a great extent. JC: But was it about twenty years ago that you first heard about it, or thirty years ago? P3: I don't know, it's just something I'm aware of. Probably in the last ten years or something I read about it somewhere. (1, lines 177-194)</p>
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	<p>population and <u>provide much-needed labour</u>. But this was to become a dark chapter in both nation's histories. The school is now a heritage site open to the public. Former pupil, Derek Smith, is president of the Old Fairbridgian's Association. MP: "Derek, how did the idea come about to move children from the <u>United Kingdom to Australia</u>?" DEREK SMITH: "Well, that was Kingsley Fairbridge's vision. He observed the condition the children were in, in the workhouses in London. His vision was to move these to a better climate and a better health environment. But he was able to gather support from some <u>fairly well-heeled people, the likes of Rudyard Kipling</u>." MP: "What were the children to do in Australia?" DS: "They would learn the practice of farming. Bearing in mind that all the children that came here in the</p>	<p>A37: KF (South African-born philanthropist Kingsley Fairbridge x2, he x4, his vision, Fairbridge x2, his wife, Ruby, the couple)</p> <p>A38: Fairbridge S+S (Fairbridge Farm School, the Fairbridge Scheme x3, Fairbridge x3, this, a dark chapter in both nation's histories, school(s) x 2, a heritage site open to the public, the idea, vision, tents on a farm just south of Pinjarra, this site, this place x3, as a family-style thing, each cottage had 12 to 14 children and a cottage mother, no privacy, the scheme x3, a bit basic, very basic iron, conditions, a whole modernisation programme, a/the cottage</p>	<p>A37: agentive (aimed to ease, to boost, provide, observed, were cared for by Fairbridge, the couple bought, began to build, set up, ended up, died); stative (his vision was to move)</p> <p>A38: stative (was the brainchild / to become a dark chapter / Kingsley Fairbridge's vision / very clinical / the most wonderful thing that could have happened [for DS] / the worst possible thing that can happen [for some otherds] / everywhere in between, is now a heritage site / a bit basic, was able to gather, each cottage had 12 to 14 ..., there was no privacy / a line drawn in the sand / no-one to go up to ..., there are seven beds, they are very basic iron, were conditions like this, beds were, where was the cottage mother, that was her accommodation, 'implied' was a bit more comfortable ... / very structured, what was the discipline like, discipline was simple, whether the punishment was</p>		<p>Children' (right); followed by shot of MP and DS (wearing beige trousers and raincoat, white shirt) and walking (MS, eye-level); followed by shot of some wooden houses and close-up of one if the windows; shot of MP and DS talking under the porch of one of the houses (ES, then CU, eye-level); insert of old B&W photo over the words 'his vision [...] environment', showing a group of children (in shorts and barefoot) of various ages as well as an older lady standing in a field by a house; back to MP and DS talking (MS, eye-level); insert of old B&W photo over the words 'What were the children [...] farming', showing two adults workin in a farm and two children near some horses; back to MP and DS talking (CU, eye-level); insert of old B&W photos over the words 'Initially [...] his wife Ruby', one showing a group of eight young boys with what look like sacks of some produce; one showing a</p>	<p>interview with RC and RH.</p> <p>A39: DS – shown through various shots. He is wearing a white shirt with beige trousers and a light rain jacket. He looks slightly emotional on occasions, particularly towards the end of his interview.</p> <p>A40: children – they are shown through a number of old B&W photos, which show them posing for group photos, working in the fields and with animals, sitting at in the classroom during a lesson, resting on beds. They generally seem happy or at least they never seem upset.</p> <p>A41: RC – mainly shown through MCUs and CUs. She is wearing a grey cardigan over a black floral top and also has a walking stick. She is shown outside a church, which is also what she says she enjoyed the most as a child at Fairbridge.</p> <p>A42: RH – mainly shown through MCUs and CUs. He</p>	<p>A39: agentive (talking, walking)</p> <p>A40: stative (posing in group photos or laying on beds); agentive (working and studying)</p> <p>A41: agentive (talking)</p> <p>A42: agentive (talking)</p>	<p>regarding this same topic, e.g. the drama 'Oranges and Sunshine' (2011), testimonies provided by other former pupils, e.g. David Hill or the Independent Enquiry into Child Sexual Abuse Report (2018), provide far more disturbing and vivid accounts of a number of horrible abuses suffered by the children, here including sexual ones. Although the overall tone of the representation, particularly through the music mode and extensive use of minor scale pieces, creates a sad feeling around the topic, the linguistic representations and the choice of testimonies leaves the viewer with the idea that the Fairbridge scheme and schools were well-intentioned projects that suffered a few hiccups in the process. One important aspect that is not made clear, for example, is the involvement of the British governments in the scheme and the fact that parent and children were lied to when</p>	
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	<p>first two to three parties were boys.” (45:19-46:39)</p> <p>MP: Initially, the children lived in tents on a farm just south of Pinjarra, and were cared for by Fairbridge and his wife, Ruby. But in 1920, the couple bought this site and began to build accommodation. DS: “He set this place up as a family-style thing. Each cottage had 12 to 14 children and a cottage mother. Later ventures, they ended up with children in dormitories and there was no privacy.” MP: Fairbridge died in 1924. But during the 70 years of the scheme’s operation, more than 3,000 boys and girls became pupils here. (46:40-47:18)</p> <p>MP: “This is a bit basic, isn’t it? There are seven beds and they’re just...well, very basic iron. Were conditions like this for you?” DS: “Er, beds were. This was the cottage in</p>	<p>mother x2, just a bit more comfortable for her, very structured, discipline x2, a line drawn in the sand, whether the punishment was justified, the punishments were what? Beatings?, excessive use of the cane, very clinical, Love? Nah, didn’t exist, no-one to go up and, when you had a bad day, you cried, no-one to cuddle, it just didn’t exist, this organization gave the opportunity, for me [DS] the most wonderful thing that could have happened, for some of my friends [...] the worst possible thing that can happen, everywhere in between, at first [...] a great success, more schools, a report from a former principal, exploitation, slavery and</p>	<p>justified, the punishments were what, ‘implied’ there was excessive use of the cane, love / it didn’t exist, the origins [...] were idealistic; agentive (the idea come about to move, they lasted / went through, the Fairbridge scheme helped, one thing this organization did, it gave the opportunity, a report told of exploitation, will go down in history as a scandal, paternalism ruled); receptive (bought this site, was regarded a great success, more schools were opened, [the report] was ignored)</p>		<p>classroom with maths written on the blackboard, the teacher facing the camera and the children (all boys) from the back; another showing a lady (presumably Ruby) on some stepladders pruning some bushes with a little girl standing by the stepladders; followed by shot of the Fairbridge House (LS, name clearly visible); back to MP and DS talking (MS, eye-level); followed by shot of a wooden building with its name, Nightingale, on a sign; followed by an old B&W photos over the words ‘Fairbridge died [...] scheme’s operations’, one showing a group of five/six boys laying on beds under an open veranda and one boy on a horse; one showing four boys holding lambs; followed by shot of MP and DS walking into a wooden house (ES, eye-level); followed by shot of MP and DS entering an old dorm where there are still the iron frames of the beds (LS and MS, slight low-angle); followed by shot of MP and DS entering a dining</p>	<p>is wearing a blue shirt, a pair of blue jeans and a baseball cap. He looks visibly emotional at one point, but then there is a cut.</p>	<p>approached and persuaded to take part into the scheme. Not all children were actually orphans as DS is; many were told their parents had died or, even worse, some children were taken from their families, without proper consent being given. Likewise, the scale and nature of abuses is never made sufficiently clear in any of the modes, with MP limiting his overall conclusion with the remark that no children had experienced feelings of love while in the care of the institutions involved. If we therefore look back at the initial point I raised, i.e. why talk about such an issue in a programme that revolves around trains and railways, the answer seems to be more to be able to show that the BBC talked about it, rather than to seriously make amends for the mistakes made and give dignity back to the children who had suffered a lot worse conditions and abused than what is reported in the programme. In a programme that,</p>	
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	<p>1921, which <i>the children came</i> to, and <i>they lasted</i> till basically 1939, and then <i>they went through a whole modernisation programme.</i>"</p> <p>MP: "The dining room, evidently. <i>Kids ate</i> together. <i>Where was the cottage mother?</i>"</p> <p>DS: "<i>That was her accommodation</i> there."</p> <p>MP: "Oh, yes. Just a bit <u>more comfortable for her</u>. So, Derek, how <i>did you become a Fairbridge kid</i> and <i>come to Australia?</i>"</p> <p>DS: "<i>I was brought up by my grandmother. My grandmother passed away</i>, and <i>I was put</i> into the <u>Fairbridge scheme</u>."</p> <p>MP: "What age <i>were you?</i>"</p> <p>DS: "<i>I was born</i> in 1944 and <i>I arrived</i> in 1953. So <i>I was eight</i> when <i>I got</i> here."</p> <p>MP: "What <i>was your official legal status</i> here?"</p> <p>DS: "When <i>we stepped off</i> the ship at Fremantle, <i>we became wards</i> of the state. That means <i>the Child Welfare Department was</i></p>	<p><i>sexual abuse, the staff, a scandal, the origins [...] idealistic, paternalism)</i></p> <p>A39: DS (Former pupil, Derek Smith, president of the Old Fairbridgian's Association, Derek x3, you x10, a Fairbridge kid, I x8, my grandmother x2, official legal status, we x2, wards of the state, everyone, me x4, politeness, punctuality and presentation, no-one to complain to, any warmth, love, affection, total absence of it, as a civil engineer and lecturer, didn't have any structure to my life, my own house, two wonderful children and a wonderful wife)</p>	<p>A39: stative (is president, age were you, I was born, I was eight, what was your official ... / your routine, everyone was in bed by 9, do you think, there were things, they were politeness, punctuality and presentation, you knew / had no-one to complain to, did you experience any warmth, 'implied' I experienced total absence of it, I didn't have any structure, I own my own house, I have two wonderful ...); agentive (how did you become a Fairbridge kid, come, passed away, arrived, got, stepped off, became wards of the state, would get up at sun, up and wash, make your beds, have breakfast, work in the garden, go to school, I've always followed those, if you went across that line, Derek left / worked); receptive (was brought up, was put into the Fairbridge scheme, you were reasonably educated, things</p>			<p>room (LS, slight low-angle); followed by shot of a bed that still seems in use; followed by shot of MP and DS sitting at a table in the dining room (MS, high-angle); followed by shot of MP and DS talking (CU and MCU, slight low-angle); insert of old B&W photos over the words 'very structured [...] bed by nine', one showing two young boys carrying a sack full of wood' one showing three boys gathering hay; one showing four boys making iron tools; back to MP and DS talking (same as above); insert of an old B&W photo over the words 'looking back [...] drummed into me', showing a group photo outside one of the houses with about thirty boys and one man (well-dress); back to MP and DS talking; followed by shot of some windows from one of the houses; followed by shot of the house; followed by close-up on a flower; followed by shot of another house; back to MP and DS talking (45:07-50:08)</p>			<p>overall, praises the actions and work of many British people (Hugh Hamilton, Colonel Light, C.Y. O'Connor) the absence of Dr Margaret Humphreys and her contribution to uncovering the whole scandal is quite remarkable. Finally, another point that is never made too clear is that one of the stated purposes for this migration schemes to happen was to populate the colonies with white people, which is something that can be connected more in general with the coloniser/colonised policies, to the advantage of the colonisers.</p>	
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	<p>responsible for our health, education and general wellbeing.” MP: “What was your routine here?” DS: “<u>Very structured. We would get up usually at sun. Up and wash, make your beds, have breakfast, work in the garden, go to school. There was an evening meal. Everyone was in bed by 9, and it was power off.</u>” MP: “Looking back, do you think you were reasonably educated?” DS: “0h, absolutely. There was things that were drummed into me, and they were politeness, punctuality and presentation. I’ve always followed those wherever I can.” MP: “What was the discipline like?” DS: “<u>Discipline was simple. There was a line drawn in the sand. You knew that if you went across that line, you were punished. Whether the punishment was justified, you had no-one to complain to.</u>”</p>	<p>A40: children ((a small group of) British children x2, a new life, (the) children x8, the workhouses in London, they x4, the practice of farming, the first two to three parties, boys, more than 3,000 boys and girls, pupils, kids x2, some people, child migrants, former Fairbridge pupils, compensation, others, claims, human rights of the children, some, clearly phisically and sexually abused, some, the experience, none of them, anything resembling love)</p> <p>A41: RC (former pupils, Roz Crawford, you x5, Roz, I x7,</p>	<p>that were drummed into me, you were punished, Fairbridge Scheme helped you, it gave me the opportunity)</p> <p>A40: stative (the condition children were in, were boys, lived in tents, some think, none can remember anything that resembles love); agentive (children began, were the children to do, would learn that came x2, became pupils, ate together, have won compensation, continue to pursue claims, some look back on the experience, they did better here, who went through this place); receptive (move children, were cared for, some people got beatings, British children continued to be sent, human rights were overwritten, they were brought / were [...] abused, they had been left)</p> <p>A41: receptive (remain affected by their time here, the church for me played a big part);</p>			<p>Shot of a window from inside one of the buildings; followed by aerial shots of some of the buildings; followed by aerial shot of a red-brick church; followed by shot of MP approaching RC and RH by the church and shaking hands (ES, slight low-angle); followed by shots of MP, RC and RH talking (CU and MS, eye-level; distant shot over the words ‘I loved the church’, showing it)(50:08-52:06)</p> <p>Aerial shot of the church; followed by aerial shot of the area; followed by shot of MP walking within the heritage grounds, talking to the camera and then walking away past it (MS, eye-level); followed by aerial shot of the area (52:06-53:01)</p> <p>Fade to black.</p>				
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	<p>MP: “The punishments were what? Beatings?” DS: “Some people got beatings. <u>Excessive use of the cane.</u>” MP: “While you were here, did you experience any warmth, love, <u>affection?</u>” DS: “No. <u>Total absence of it.</u> It was very clinical. <u>Love?</u> Nah. Just didn’t exist. There was no-one to go up and, when you had a bad day, you cried. No-one to cuddle. It just didn’t exist.” MP: Derek left the school at 16 and <u>worked as a civil engineer and lecturer.</u> MP: “Do you look back and think that the Fairbridge scheme helped you?” DS: “I didn’t have any structure to my life. One thing this organization did, at least <u>gave me the opportunity.</u> I own my own house. I have two wonderful children and a wonderful wife. For me personally, I think it was the most wonderful thing that could have happened to me.</p>	<p>12 [<i>years old</i>], [<i>crying</i>] <i>did make no difference, no choice</i> x2, <i>no choice whatsoever, your experience of Fairbridge, took the good with the bad, the church</i> x2, <i>me, we</i> x5, <i>one of the jobs, happy hymns, with no help from anybody</i>)</p> <p>A42: RH (<i>former pupils, Richard Hinch, Richard, you</i> x3, <i>six [years old, when arrived]</i>, I x6, 16 [<i>when out</i>], <i>good memories</i> (x2) and <i>bad memories</i> (x2), <i>university, 32 years in the Fire Service, to the top of the trees, absolutely not [owe anything to Fairbridge]</i>)</p>	<p>stative (how old were you, I <i>turned</i> 12, I <i>didn’t want to come</i>, you <i>had</i> no choice, I <i>think</i>, bits I <i>enjoyed</i>, I <i>loved</i> the church, you <i>had</i> Evensong); agentive (you <i>came</i> here, I <i>came</i>, I <i>cried</i>, would you <i>summarise</i>, you <i>took</i> the good with the bad, I <i>try and remember</i>, we <i>used to have to</i>, we <i>had to</i>, we <i>had to come up and clean</i>, we / I <i>used to come up / to sing</i>, I’ve <i>accomplished</i>, I’ve <i>done</i>)</p> <p>A42: receptive (<i>remain affected by their time here</i>); stative (how old were you, you <i>were</i> six, I <i>was</i> 16, I’ve <i>got</i> good memories and bad memories, good memories <i>are to do</i> with kids, bad memories <i>are to do</i> with the staff, I <i>hated</i> going to school, I <i>thought</i>, I <i>needed</i> to study, you <i>don’t feel</i> you <i>owe</i> much); agentive (<i>got out, grew up, I’m going to stop</i>, I <i>left</i> x2, <i>to achieve</i> something, I <i>put</i> myself <i>through</i> university, I <i>spent</i> 32 years ..., <i>rose</i> to the top)</p>										
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	<p>But <i>for some of my friends who were here, I think it was the worst possible thing that can happen</i> to them. And <i>I think everywhere in between.</i>" (47:22-50:07)</p> <p>MP: In its early days, <i>the scheme was regarded as a great success and more schools were opened</i> in <u>Australia</u>, Canada and Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. But in 1949, <i>a report by a former principal told of exploitation, slavery and sexual abuse, going back as far as the 1930s. It was ignored and British children continued to be sent to the schools. Former pupils like Roz Crawford and Richard Hinch remain affected</i> by their time here.</p> <p>MP: "How old <i>were you when you came</i> here, <u>Roz</u>?"</p> <p>ROZ CRAWFORD: "<i>I turned 12 in the month after I came here. I didn't want to come. I cried and nobody listened. Did make no difference.</i>"</p>									
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		<p>MP: "Of course, <u>you had no choice</u> about it."</p> <p>RC: "<u>No choice, no choice whatsoever.</u>"</p> <p>MP: "How <i>would you summarise</i> your experience of <u>Fairbridge?</u>"</p> <p>RC: "Well, <i>you took the good</i> with the bad. Erm, <i>I think</i> in my case, <i>I try and remember</i> bits that <i>I enjoyed. I loved</i> the church. <i>The church, for me, played</i> a big part. <i>We used to have to, it was</i> one of the <u>jobs we had to do, we had to come up and clean</u> it. <i>We used to come</i> each Sunday, and once a month, <i>you had</i> Evensong. <i>I used to come up</i> here and <i>we all used to sing</i> our <u>happy hymns</u>, you know?"</p> <p>MP: "And Richard, how old <i>were you?</i>"</p> <p>RICHARD HINCH: "<u>Six.</u>"</p> <p>MP: "<i>You were</i> six, yeah?"</p> <p>RH: "<i>Got out</i> when <i>I was 16. I've got good memories and bad memories.</i> The <i>good memories are to do</i> with <u>the kids I grew up</u> with. <i>I'm going to stop</i> there."</p>									
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	<p>MP: "It sounds like <i>the bad memories were to do</i> with the <u>staff</u>."</p> <p>RH: "Pretty much, yeah. <i>I hated</i> going to school here. Once <i>I left</i> this place, <i>I suddenly thought, to achieve</i> something <i>I needed to study</i>, and <i>I put myself through</i> <u>university</u>. <i>I spent 32 years in the</i> Fire Service here in <u>WA</u>. <i>Rose to the top of the trees</i>."</p> <p>MP: "<i>You don't feel you owe</i> much, or anything, to Fairbridge?"</p> <p>RH: "No. Absolutely not."</p> <p>RC: "What <i>I've accomplished, I've done</i> after <i>I left</i> here, with no <u>help from anybody</u>." (50:08-52:06)</p> <p>MP: <i>The British and Australian governments have apologised</i> for the treatment of <u>child migrants</u>. <i>Former Fairbridge pupils have won</i> <u>compensation</u> and others <i>continue to pursue</i> <u>claims</u>.</p> <p>MP: "<i>Fairbridge will go down</i> in history as a <u>scandal</u> because <i>human rights of the children were</i></p>									
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	<p><i>overwritten</i> when <i>they were brought</i> here. And then <i>some were clearly physically and sexually abused</i>. On the other hand, <i>some look back</i> on the <u>experience</u> and <i>think</i> that <i>they did</i> better here than if <i>they'd been left</i> in the <u>United Kingdom</u>. And it seems that <i>the origins of the scheme were idealistic</i> in an age where <i>paternalism ruled</i>. But <i>none of those who went through this place can remember anything resembling love</i>.” (52:07-52:54)</p>									
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Part 8: The British Royal Family connections (53:02-58:13)

Themes: Australia and the British Royal Family

Topics: British Royal Family, royal visits to Australia, contemporary Australia and the British Royal Family.

Actors: Michael Portillo (A1), Bradshaw's Book (A2), Australia/ Australians (A3), Britain/ British (A5), Perth and Fremantle (A36), Jessica Barratt (A43), the British Royal Family (A44), barbecue guests (A45)

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning- making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
53:02 – 55:47	Royal visits	MP: Back in Perth's central business district, amongst its shiny skyscrapers, there are reminders of Australia's colonial past. Although this nation has forged its own identity since gaining independence in 1901, it's still part of the British Commonwealth, and the British monarch remains head of state. To trace this city's royal past, I'm meeting history blogger Jessica Barratt. MP: "Here we have a statue of Queen Victoria. And we're in the King's Park. When was there first a royal visit to Australia?" JESSICA BARRATT: " The first royal visit was in 1867 with Prince Alfred — Queen Victoria's son. " MP: " Prince of Wales, the future	A1: MP (I, we x3) A3: Australia (this nation, its own identity, part of the British Commonwealth, Australia x2, Albany, Western Australia, the Australian people, the soldiers who participated during the war, a horde of Western Australians, Bridgetown, they) A4: trains (train x2, railway accident, the track(s) x2)	A1: agentive (to trace, I'm meeting); stative (we have / are x2) A3: agentive (has forged its own identity, gaining independence, who filed past); stative (it's still part of the British Commonwealth, they considered him); receptive (say thank you to the Australian people, acknowledge a horde of Western Australians) A4: agentive (the tracks had spread, the train was building up speed)	Classical music, medium / fast tempo; A key; A major scale (53:03-53:41) Classical music; medium / fast tempo; C key; C major key (55:42 to end of scene)	Live noises from the street (53:03-53:41)	Urban and panorama shots of Perth; followed by shot from behind of MP walking around Perth's central business (MS, low-angle); followed by urban shots focusing on colonial buildings; followed by close-up of a colourful bird on a tree; followed by panorama shot with, in the middle, the Australian flag; followed by shot from behind of MP and JB walking up some steps (LS, low-angle); followed by frontal shot of the two at the top of the steps (LS, eye-level); followed by shot of a statue of Queen Victoria (MS then LS, low-angle); followed by shot of MP and JB (right) and Queen Victoria (left) (ES, high-angle); followed by shot from behind	A1: MP – similar representations to previous scenes. Nothing particularly remarkable to note. A3: Australia – some Australians are walking in the business district were MP is. Some other people are shown in the B&W photos of the Prince of Wales. A4: trains – the only train shown is the derailed one of the Prince of Wales' accident. A5: British – some of the colonial British buildings are shown around Perth. Also, some of the people on the old B&W photos would have been British. A36: Perth and Fremantle – Perth is shown through a number of	A1: agentive (walking, talking) A3: agentive (walking); stative (posing for photos) A4: stative (derailed) A5: stative (buildings and people posing in photos) A36: stative (panorama and urban shots)	The first scene of this part introduces the main theme, which is the connection between the British Royal Family and Australia. This connection is shown in positive terms, both through the positive and humorous account of the Prince of Wales' visit in 1920 and through the major scales of the music that accompanies MP around Perth first and JB's interview then. Interesting to note that the historian MP chose to interview is not an established academic, but a history blogger who collaborates	

	<p>king Edward VIII, came here after World War I. Tell me about that visit.” JB: “He arrived in Perth on July 1st, 1920, travelling by train from Albany. He spent ten days here within Western Australia, and it was part of an extensive tour from May to August around Australia, over 100 towns.” MP: “Quite a work rate.” JB: “It certainly is. It would have been exhausting for him.” MP: “What do you think was the British ambition for the tour? Why did it occur?” JB: “It was a way to say thank you to the Australian people and to the soldiers who participated during the war. So, lots of different balls and civic events organised. And he came here for a garden party.” MP: “Ha-ha, you have the invitation!” JB: “Yes.” MP: “‘Civic Garden Party in honour of HRH, the Prince of Wales to the official enclosure in front of the Queen Victoria statue,’ the very place where we are now, ‘on the 3rd July, 1920.’ What was the prince’s mood during the tour?”</p>	<p>A5: British (the <i>British Commonwealth</i>)</p> <p>A36: Perth and Fremantle (<i>Perth’s central business district, shiny skyscrapers, reminders of Australia’s colonial past, this city’s royal past a statue of Queen Victoria, the King’s Park, Perth</i>)</p> <p>A43: JB (<i>history blogger Jessica Barratt, you x2</i>)</p> <p>A44: BRF (the <i>British Monarch, head of state, a/the (first) royal visit x2, Prince Alfred — Queen Victoria’s son, Prince of Wales, the future king Edward VIII, he/him x17, part of an extensive tour, quite a work rate, exhausting for him, the British ambition, a way to say thank you, lots of different balls and civic events, a (civic) garden party x2, in honour of HRH, the Prince of</i>)</p>	<p>A5: /</p> <p>A36: stative (<i>‘implied’ has shiny skyscrapers, there are reminders ...</i>)</p> <p>A43: stative (<i>you think, you have the invitation</i>)</p> <p>A44: stative (<i>remains head of state, when was there a royal visit, the first royal visit was in 1867, it was part of an extensive tour, ‘implied’ was quite a work rate, it would have been exhausting, what was the British ambition, it was a way to say thank you, what was the prince’s mood, he found it, he was on his way north / in a railway accident / not injured / in an accident); agentive (<i>came here x2,</i></i></p>		<p>the back of MP and JB with the statue in the background, facing them (ES, low-angle); back to frontal shot (LS, slight low-angle); insert of old B&W photo of Prince Albert over the words ‘he arrived [...] from Albany’, showing him taking his hat off to salute people (MS, low-angle) and old MP and JB with statue on left and cannons on right (ES, slight high-angle); back to frontal shot of MP and JB (LS, slight low-angle); insert of old B&W photo over the words ‘quite a work [...], did it occur’, showing Prince Albert reading something on a stage surrounded by dignitaries (LS, low-angle); back to frontal shot of MP and JB (LS, slight low-angle); insert of old B&W photo over the words ‘so, lots of [...] garden party’, showing Prince Albert with other dignitaries at an outdoor event, with a large crowd attending (ES, high-angle); back to frontal shot of MP and JB (LS, slight low-angle); close-up of the invitation, clearly showing what MP</p>	<p>panorama and urban shots that highlight its most appealing parts.</p> <p>A43: JB – she is shown through a variety of shots. She is wearing a dark light dress.</p> <p>A44: BRF – shown through the statue of Queen Victoria (through a low-angle) and old B&W photos of the Prince of Wales during his visit. He is either wearing uniforms or very smart suits and he is usually surrounded by other people, often dignitaries.</p>	<p>A43: agentive (<i>talking, walking</i>)</p> <p>A44: agentive (<i>greeting and talking</i>); stative (<i>posing for photos or as a statue</i>)</p>	<p>with ABC News.</p>	
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	<p>JB: “He found it a little bit over—planned, I think. And, in particular, with the garden party event, he actually had to stand in front of <u>Queen Victoria</u> and acknowledge a horde of Western <u>Australians who filed past him</u> all the time, raising his hat to them for forty-five minutes. He was on his way north towards <u>Bridgetown</u>, when he was in a railway <u>accident</u>. The tracks had spread due to rain and his carriage toppled over into the ditch.” MP: “Was he injured?” JB: “No, he wasn’t injured. One newspaper reported that the prince was saved by a cow, that the cow was on <u>the track</u> and the people were just shooing it out of the way. So the train was just building up speed again. He was said to have emerged from the carriage and said, “At last, we have done something that is not in the programme!” The fact that he was in an accident, they considered him a good sport that he still carried on with the tour. By the time he left, he was</p>	<p><i>Wales, prince x2, Queen Victoria, his carriage (not injured x2, we, in an accident, a good sport, Prince Charming)</i></p>	<p><i>arrived, travelling, spent, had to stand and acknowledge, raising his hat, his carriage toppled over, to have emerged, said, we have done, carried on, left); receptive (events organised, the prince was saved by a cow, he was said, they considered him a good sport, he was referred to as Prince Charming)</i></p>		<p>is reading aloud; back to MP and JB (CU of MP, then back to LS, slight low-angle); insert of old B&W photo of words ‘and acknowledged [...] for forty-five minutes’, showing Prince Albert on a stage taking his hat off to salute people (LS, low-angle); back to frontal shot of MP and JB (LS, slight low-angle); insert of old B&W photo over the words ‘the tracks [...] he wasn’t injured’, showing Prince Albert standing with other people (some of whom smiling) by the derailed train (LS, eye-level); back to JB (CU, eye-level); insert of old B&W photo over the words ‘were just shooing [...] from the carriage’, showing Prince Albert by the derailed train (MS, eye-level); back to JB (CU, eye-level); insert of same old B&W photo (but cropped in) of Prince Albert saluting the crowd over the words ‘the fact [...] carried on with the tour’; back to frontal shot of MP and JB (L:S, slight low-angle) (52:02-55:47)</p>				
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		<i>referred to as Prince Charming.</i> " (53:12-55:47)									
55:47 – 57:20	Australia ns and the Royalty today	MP: These days, <i>the royal family are more frequent</i> visitors down under, but <i>I wonder</i> whether <i>they're still as popular?</i> <i>Jessica has invited me to join her family and friends</i> for a barbecue. MP: "Matt, good to see you." MATT: "You too!" MP: "So, I believe <i>this is in the Australian DNA</i> , isn't it?" MATT: "Yeah, absolutely!" MP: "Barbecuing." MATT: "Uh—huh." MP: "Those prawns look nice. <i>I will take</i> them over. Thank you, <i>Matt</i> . Hello, everyone." ALL: "Hello, <i>Michael!</i> " MP: " <i>Can I join</i> your barbie?" ALL: "Yeah! Of course!" MP: "It seems to me that <i>Australia used to be very much connected with</i> Britain, but <i>less so now.</i> " MAN 1: "Well, <i>I feel like Australia is more multicultural than ever.</i> But <i>I think that's a positive thing.</i> " WOMAN 1: "Yeah. <i>I think we're not just connected to</i> Britain, we're connected to	A1: MP (<i>I x3, me, Michael</i>) A3: Australia (<i>[barbecuing] is in the Australian DNA, Australia x3, very much connected to Britain before, but less so now, more multicultural than ever, a positive thing, not just connected to Britain, we x2, connected to everywhere in the world now, less keen on monarchy</i>) A5: British (<i>Britain</i>) A43: JB (<i>Jessica, her family and friends</i>) A44: BRF (<i>the royal family, more frequent visitors down under, they, still as popular, the Queen has monarchy x2, the Queen, she x2, on the</i>)	A1: agentive (<i>wonder, to join, will take, can I join</i>), receptive (<i>has invited me</i>); stative (<i>I was born</i>) A3: stative (<i>[barbecuing] is in the Australian DNA, Australia used to be very much connected / more multicultural than ever, that's a positive thing, we're not just connected to Britain / connected to everywhere in the world now, people will be less keen on monarchy</i>); agentive (<i>they were voting</i>) A5: / A43: agentive (<i>has invited</i>) A44: stative (<i>are more frequent visitors / still as popular, the Queen has gone, she's been on the throne x2,</i>	Classical music; medium / fast tempo; C key; C major key (from end of previous scene to 56:02)	Live noises (56:02-57:20)	Shot of the Western Australian Botanic Garden sign with runner passing in front of camera; shot of a group of people sitting in picnic chairs in the park with the city skyline in the background; shot of MP and JB walking through the park (distant, low-angle); shot of a table with JB's friend sitting around it (FS, eye-level); close up of sausages and vegetable grilling on the barbecue; shot of MP approaching Matt (who's cooking) and shaking hands (MS, eye-level); close-up of the prawns grizzling; shot of MP moving away from the barbecue with the prawns, the table with people is on the left (distant, eye-level); shot of MAN 1 and WOMAN 1 (CU, eye-level); shot of MP approaching the table and greeting everyone (MS, eye-level); close-up of hotdog; shot of MP talking to the people (MCU, eye-level); shot of people around the table	A1: MP – same as in previous representations, but also shown helping out with the barbecue. He is also wearing his Australian hat (maybe to fit in?) A3: Australia – some people are showing jogging in the park and sitting. A5: British – not represented A43: JB – showing walking with MP and sitting around the table. A44: BRF – not represented A45: Guests – shown sitting around the table (all white people, a mix of generations)	A1: agentive (<i>walking, talking, helping</i>) A3: agentive (<i>jogging</i>); stative (<i>sitting in the park</i>) A5: / A43: agentive (<i>walking</i>); stative (<i>sitting</i>) A44: / A45: agentive (<i>talking, eating</i>); stative (<i>sitting</i>)	This scene explores the connection of modern-day (white) Australians with the British Royal Family. Although there seem to be mixed feelings amongst JB's family and friends, the closing remark of one of the older ladies is that Australians will still be connected with the royal family in the future thanks to 'the resurgence of popularity of the younger members of the royal family'. Needless to say, it would have been interesting to see what first nation Australians think about this issue.	P3: interested to hear the views of the group of Australians towards the end. They were mainly expressing pride in their global and diverse society but were ambiguous about their British heritage and ties to the monarchy. I expected that the younger people would be keen for the country to become a republic". (Q, item 14) JC: So, first of all, were you surprised that the kind of ties... I mean they had a show of hands about who is a royalist and it was kind of 50/50 at least, wasn't it? P3: Yes, but even though some weren't royalists, I don't think they were fiercely anti-royal and yet I... again, it's just an impression, I thought the younger Australians would prefer to have a republic, would want to repudiate the British heritage. Independent people... would want to be independent and not tied to another country. JC: Yeah, they didn't seem to be too bothered, did they? P3: No. JC: In fact, 'cos then they talked about the visit from Prince... I don't know if it was... P3: Harry, was it? JC: Harry or Alfred? Some... it was a young person describing the whole thing, wasn't she? P3: Yeah, they are still... there is still interest in the royal family.

	<p>everywhere in the world now.” MP: “<i>Who’s a royalist</i> here?” WOMAN 2: “<i>Bit of a secret royalist.</i>” MP: “Secret royalist?” WOMAN 2: “Yeah!” WOMAN 1: “<i>Partial royalist.</i> 50/50.” MAN 1: “Yeah. 50/50.” MP: “Anyone a <i>Republican</i>?” WOMAN 2: “<i>Not really.</i>” WOMAN 3: “<i>Little bit.</i>” MP: “Little bit? Even in a few years’ time, you know, when things have changed a bit, <i>they were voting</i> in <u>Australia on the monarchy</u>, what <i>do you think</i> might happen?” WOMAN 2: “<i>I think</i> after <i>the Queen’s gone, people will be less keen on monarchy.</i>” WOMAN 4: “Because <i>she’s been</i>, well, <u>on the throne since ‘52</u>, hasn’t she?” MP: “<i>She’s been</i> on the throne since the week <i>I was born</i>. Or the other way around!” WOMAN 5: “<i>I think</i> that with <u>the resurgence of popularity of the younger members of the royal family</u>, <i>I think it’s going to</i></p>	<p><i>throne since ‘52, the resurgence of popularity of the younger members of the royal family)</i></p> <p>A45: Guests (<i>Matt x2, I x7, a royalist, bit of a secret royalist, partial royalist, a Republican, you</i>)</p>	<p><i>‘implied’ there is the resurgence of popularity of the younger members of the royal family); agentive (it’s going to stay, surprised if it changes)</i></p> <p>A45: stative (<i>I/you feel / think x6, who’s a royalist, ‘implied’ am bit of a secret royalist / partial royalist / not really a Republican / little bit Republican, I would be very surprised</i>)</p>		<p>followed by shot of MAN 1 and WOMAN 1 while talking (CU, eye-level); shot of MP talking to the people (MCU, eye-level); shot of people raising their hands around the table (MS, eye-level); shot of MAN 1 and WOMAN 1 (MCU, eye-level); followed by shot of MP (ECU) on left with JB (MCU) in the background (eye-level); shot of people around the table shaking their heads (MS, eye-level); shot of MP talking to the people (MCU, eye-level); shot of the table with a little dog next to it (distant, eye-level); shot of WOMEN 2 and 4 (CU, eye-level); shot of WOMAN 1 smiling (CU, eye-level); shot of MP talking to the people (MCU, eye-level); shot of JB smiling (CU, eye-level); shot of WOMAN 5 (MS, eye-level, on left) with her half of the table all the way to MP (further away, on right); shot of the whole table toasting with a little dog next to it (distant, eye-level); shot of the dog (CU) (55:47-57:20)</p>				<p>JC: I guess I’m actually not too sure what the institutional organisation is like. I mean, obviously, they have a Prime Minister, I know that. And they must have, well, chambers, as we do in England. But then is it the same as in England, where the Queen is actually the Head of State? P3: The Queen is the Head of State. JC: It’s the same exactly as Britain, as in the constitutional structure, if you like. P3: Yes JC: Would she still have, kind of... I mean, she hasn’t got a lot of power here either, but would she have some veto powers over there? I don’t know actually. P3: No, I think it’s more a ceremonial role out there. As it is here, really. JC: Yeah, fair enough. P3: Where they go through the motions of her signing off laws. If she was to rebel and say “No, I’m not signing that.”, then they would have to change the constitution. JC: I wonder if they refer to the Australian government as ‘Her Majesty’s Government’ as well. That’s interesting. P3: I’m not sure, but they’re all part of the Commonwealth, that’s another thing that comes into this. (I, lines 284-312)</p>
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		<p><i>stay. I would be very surprised if it changes for a long time.</i></p> <p>MP: “Well, it’s lovely to see you all. What an amazing afternoon. Cheers!”</p> <p>ALL: “Cheers!”</p> <p>(55:48-57:20)</p>									
57:20 – 58:13	Final remarks	<p>MP: “<i>Perth is</i> about as far from Adelaide as London from Sicily or Boston from Miami, with <u>little habitation in between</u>. <i>There was also a cultural gulf between convict—assisted Western Australia and South Australia</i>, whose <i>proud population had arrived by choice</i>. By the time of my <u>guidebook</u>, <i>the west had been lured</i> into federation with the rest, with the promise that <i>its isolation would be ended</i>. As <i>I travelled on the Indian Pacific</i>, <i>I glimpsed</i> that <i>history, was awestruck</i> by the <u>distances</u> and <i>marvelled</i> at the <u>railway engineering that brought Australia together</u>.”</p> <p>(57:31-58:12)</p>	<p>A1: MP (I x2)</p> <p>A2: BB (guidebook)</p> <p>A3: Australia (with little habitation in between, a cultural gulf between convict—assisted Western Australia and South Australia, whose proud population had arrived by choice, the west, its isolation, history, distances, Australia)</p> <p>A4: trains (the Indian Pacific, railway engineering)</p> <p>A36: Perth and Fremantle (Perth)</p>	<p>A1: agentive (travelled, glimpsed, marvelled); receptive (was awestruck)</p> <p>A2: /</p> <p>A3 stative (‘implied’ there is little habitation ... , there was also a cultural gulf ...); agentive (proud population had arrived by choice); receptive (the west had been lured into federation, its isolation would be ended)</p> <p>A4: agentive (engineering that brought Australia together)</p> <p>A36: stative (Perth is as far ...)</p>	<p>Classical music; slow / medium tempo; G key, G major scale (57:20-58:13)</p>	<p>Shot of a canopy in the park; followed by panorama shot of a residential area by a body of water; followed by a panorama shot of Perth’s skyline and another shot of the buildings from the river (low-angle); followed by shot of MP talking into the camera with the skyline in the background (MCU, eye-level) (57:20-58:12)</p>	<p>A1: MP – for the final remarks, MP is show through a long MCU shot at eye-level, that puts him in close proximity with the viewer and on an equal basis, as a friend would be.</p> <p>A2: BB – can be just seen in MP’s hands.</p> <p>A3: Australia – not represented</p> <p>A4: trains – not represented</p> <p>A36: Perth and Fremantle – some final panorama shots of both the natural and urban beauties of the city.</p>	<p>A1: agentive (talking)</p> <p>A2 – receptive (being hold)</p> <p>A3: /</p> <p>A4: /</p> <p>A36: stative (panorama shots)</p>	<p>In his concluding remarks there are three actors that are highlighted in positive terms: the proud British who arrived to Australia by choice, (British) railway engineering and Perth. The purpose of the finale remarks therefore seems to be to praise the British who came to Australia, connected it through their engineering skills and the result of which is a country that has cities like Perth in it. No mention of what this cost in human lives, both in terms of the construction of the country and in the killings of first nation people. No mention of how the whole country’s wealth of</p>	<p>P3: I was surprised. Australia has never really been a country that attracted me very much. I’ve always thought of it as not being that exciting or interesting place to go, but this programme has... and I would quite like to go there now [LAUGHS].</p> <p>JC: So, why... why was that so, before?</p> <p>P3: It’s just an image you get of places and I’d always thought it was very barren and... yeah, between the cities there’s no much to see in the way of countryside, but there was some interesting things, like the goldmine on the way, and...</p> <p>JC: That was very interesting.</p> <p>P3: Yeah, it opened up a new view of Australia for me, in a way. Gave me more of an interest.</p> <p>JC: So, given the opportunity, would you go now?</p> <p>P3: [LAUGHS] I would, but I know [NAME OF WIFE] wouldn’t go, so it’s not likely that we will go. It’s too far.</p> <p>JC: It’s a long flight, isn’t it? Quite far to get to. Indeed.</p> <p>P3: Yeah.</p> <p>JC: And then other things that you sort of associated with, or thought that would</p>	

										<p>natural resources was monopolised by the white British, which is still largely the case to this day.</p>	<p>come up, you mention, obviously, this “vast area of underdeveloped land” [...]</p> <p>P3: Yes, that’s what I was saying, the undeveloped land and not anything very attractive to look at. That’s the thoughts that I had.</p> <p>JC: And did you see much of that? I mean there was...</p> <p>P3: Yeah, there was quite a lot. But, there were places in between that made it worthwhile. You know, places of interest.</p> <p>JC: True. So, you put down “Australians have the image of being tough, outgoing and friendly”.</p> <p>P3: Yeah.</p> <p>JC: Was that matched by... where did you get this idea from?</p> <p>P3: I thought... it’s just a stereotype. Through your life you build up pictures of things. It’s like stereotype, isn’t it?</p> <p>JC: So, would you stick with this definition after watching these couple of episodes?</p> <p>P3: [LAUGHS]</p> <p>JC: “Tough, outgoing and friendly”?</p> <p>P3: Yes, I would actually [BOTH LAUGH]</p> <p>JC: Fair enough.</p> <p>P3: Definitely, yeah</p> <p>JC: Yes, definitely from the people he was chatting to on the train and when they were playing that...</p> <p>P3: Gambling game, yeah.</p> <p>JC: They seemed a nice bunch of people.</p> <p>P3: Yes, outgoing and ready to join in.</p> <p>JC: Yeah, fair enough. And the you also mentioned that “Aboriginal people</p>
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Part 9: Outro (58:13-59:17)

Themes: Teaser for the following episode of the series.

Topics: Cricket, sheep, steam trains and rainforests.

Actors: Michael Portillo (A1), Bradshaw’s Book (A2), Australia/ Australians (A3), Britain/ British (A5), cricket (A46).

Time	Themes/ topics	Linguistic Analysis			Audio Analysis		Visual Analysis			Overall meaning-making	Audience representation
		Lexis	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes	Music	Sounds	Shots	Representation of actors and places	Representation of processes		
58:13 – 59:17	Next episode	<p>MP: Next time... <i>I’ll discover the cultural and sporting capital of Australia...</i> MP: “<i>This is a temple. This is holy ground.</i>” MP: ...<i>have</i> a close shave with a sheep... MP: “Getting me as a shearer, this poor ram has been fleeced!” MP: ...and <i>ride the rails</i> through a rainforest. MP: Oh, wow! Look at that!” (58:17-58:41)</p> <p>End credits: Presented by MICHAEL PORTILLO, With thanks to ADELAIDE METRO, GREAT SOUTHERN RAIL, PUBLIC TRANSPORT AUTHORITY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA, RED BARON SEAPLANES, Archive ANDREW GREGORY, GETTY IMAGES PONDS, SHUTTERSTOCK, NATIONAL FILM AND SOUND ARCHIVE OF AUSTRALIA, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA, STATE LIBRARY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA, STATE LIBRARY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA, Graphics and Titles GOGGLEBOX</p>	<p>A1: MP (I)</p> <p>A3: Australia (the cultural and sporting capital of Australia, rainforest)</p> <p>A4: trains (the rails)</p> <p>A46: cricket (a temple, holy ground)</p>	<p>A1: agentive (will discover, have, ride)</p> <p>A3: receptive (discover the cultural ...)</p> <p>A4: receptive (ride the rails)</p> <p>A46: stative (this is a temple / holy ground)</p>	<p>Classical music piece, medium/ fast tempo, repetitive riff. Brass and string instruments. B key, B major scale. (58:13-58:45)</p> <p>Same as first piece. Classical music; medium / fast tempo. A key; A major scale. (58:47-59:17)</p>	<p>Live noises from some of the scenes (58:13-58:45)</p>	<p>Shot of train running; followed by shot of MP walking past a building covered in murals (ES, slight low-angle); followed by shot of mural artist at work (MCU, slight low-angle); followed by shot of MP boarding a train (LS, eye-level); followed by shot of a cricket stadium; followed by shot of MP walking on the cricket grounds (MS, eye-level); followed by aerial shot of the stadium; followed by aerial shot of a rural area; followed by shots of MP shaving a sheep (ECU of hands, LS, and MCU, low-angle); followed by shot of a steam engine train running through a rain forest; followed by shot of MP with legs hanging out of the train while over</p>	<p>A1: MP – same as in previous scenes, but also ‘working’ as a shearer</p> <p>A3: Australia – shown through aerial views and panoramas.</p> <p>A4: trains – old steam train shown riding over a bridge in a rainforest</p> <p>A46: cricket – shown through a big cricket stadium</p>	<p>A1: agentive (walking, talking, shaving a sheep); receptive (being transported)</p> <p>A3: stative (aerial and panorama shots)</p> <p>A4: agentive (moving, transporting people); receptive (being used)</p> <p>A46 – stative (aerial shots and shots from inside the stadium)</p>	<p>The outro serves to entice the viewer to watch the next episode by showing some of the topics and places MP will cover. The major scale of the piece accompanying the end of the programme serve to build excitement and anticipation in the viewers.</p>	

	<p>CREATIVE, Music JON WYGENS, Sound Recordist IAN EASON, Dubbing Mixer DENIS ESTEVEZ, Colourist & Online Editor YASSER RAHMAN, Production Accountant ALEX GIBSON, Production Lawyer PATRICK TAPPER, Head of Production ESTHER JOHNSON, Production Team OWEN PRICE, MATT HODGKINSON, SAM WINDERLICH, UMAIR NAUSHAHI, Technical Supervisor NEAL DAVIES, Production Coordinator HANNAH RIESNER, Post Production Coordinator LOUISE MEAR, Archive Research MATTHEW HAWES, Research ELLA ST JOHN MCGRAND, Online Editor LIZ ROE, Story Producer BELLA LLLOYD, Line Producer KATIE WIXON NELSON, Commissioning Editor ALEXANDRA MCLEOD, Executive Producer JOHN COMERFORD, Edit Producer NICOLA BUNGEY, Filmed & Directed by DAVID MONCHIN, Series Editor ALISON KREPS, followed by the producers' logos: Boundless West Part of Fremantle, for BBC, albert sustainable production certification, © FremantleMedia Ltd MMXVIII (58:47-59:17)</p>					<p>a high bridge (MS, eye-level); followed by shot of the train running over the bridge (low-angle); followed by a mix of shots from the programme. Followed by end credits (58:13–59:17)</p>			
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