Nationalism in business discourses

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

EU – European Union

LL – Linguistic Landscape

LLA – Linguistic Landscape Analysis/Approach

MCDA – Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

MNC – Multinational Corporation/Company

NSM – Natural Semantic Metalanguage

PhD – Doctor of Philosophy

UK – United Kingdom

US – United States

VW – Volkswagen

Summary

This thesis investigates how representations of national identity are used in business discourses in the context of globalization. In a series of three case studies employing critical discourse analysis, this thesis by publication explores the tensions between cultural nationalism and economic globalization in the media, in marketing, and in restaurant signage.

The first case study examines news coverage of the BP oil spill that occurred in the United States in 2010 but was caused by a multinational company headquartered in the United Kingdom. Using social actor and transitivity analysis, this study asks how the media establish a link between multinational corporations and nation states. To address this central question, the study investigates how (1) corporate responsibility is assigned, (2) the role of the nation state is portrayed, and (3) victim status is allocated in the news. Findings show that the nature of the problem is constructed differently according to diverging national interests or priorities of the two nations represented by the media sources analyzed.

The second case study examines a marketing campaign by the Australian supermarket chain Woolworths drawing on multimodal critical discourse analysis. The main research question is how advertising discourse establishes a link between nation states and multinational corporations. To address this central question, this study investigates how the campaign represents (1) the world, (2) various imagined communities, and (3) Australia. Findings suggest that banal forms of cosmopolitanism go hand in hand with banal forms of nationalism in the campaign. These ideologies naturalize discourses of a world of distinct nations while they serve to promote consumption.

The third case study investigates how the relationship between nation and cuisine is established in the urban linguistic landscape. Specifically, this study examines restaurant signage in four suburbs of Sydney, Australia, using a linguistic landscape and multimodal critical discourse analysis approach. The main research question is how nations are emplaced in the culinary linguistic landscape of the city. To address this central question, this study investigates (1) which languages are used, and (2) how national and (3) cosmopolitan identities are represented. Findings demonstrate that these banal forms of nationalism and cosmopolitanism contribute to imagining Sydney as diverse, yet nationally grounded.

Overall, the three case studies demonstrate how discourses of national identity serve profit-oriented actors as a resource to deflect criticism and to create positive associations with their brand. Specifically, discourses of national interest may serve to mitigate corporate responsibility, to promote consumption and, paradoxically, to create a cosmopolitan brand identity. The thesis has implications for research on banal nationalism, multiculturalism and business discourses. This research also makes a methodological contribution to critical discourse analysis by triangulating datasets from different genres and contexts.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Signature: Date: 26 November 2018

Rahel Cramer

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Diese Marke [Volkswagen] lebt vom Ruf, solide zu sein, verlässlich, technisch gut, umweltverträglich – eben deutsch. (Doll, 2015)

(This brand [Volkswagen] depends on the image of having substance, being reliable, technologically advanced, environmentally sustainable – in a word, German.)

1. Introduction

1.1 Genesis of the project

1.1.1 From essentialist to constructive perspectives on national identity

In 2015, when I was finishing the writing up of my master's thesis, a series of thought processes began that ultimately led to this research project. My Master thesis focused on "Australian" and "German" ways of speaking and was undertaken within the theoretical framework of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). The NSM approach claims that every culture has its core values which find their expression in key words of the language of the given community (Wierzbicka, 1997). It is hence assumed that there is a straightforward relationship between national languages and cultures and that there are inherent differences between all linguistic and cultural communities. The theoretical underpinnings of my master's research therefore proceeded from essentialist perspectives on national identity, language and culture similar to the understanding of national identity in the epigraph above: it was implicit that certain qualities were intrinsic to the identity of Germans (Cramer, 2015a, 2015b; Goddard & Cramer, 2016).

However, my lived experiences at the time seemed to diverge more and more from these perspectives on national identity and culture. As a study abroad student from Germany, I was living and studying in Australia, was making friends with people from various national backgrounds and was communicating almost exclusively in my second language, English. I

felt that static notions of national identity, language and culture, including the assumption that national identity was a core trait of a person, did not suffice to explain what was going on in my culturally and linguistically diverse environment.

With Brian Street's "Culture is a verb" (1993), I later discovered a perspective on national identity that resonated with my experiences. Street argues that culture is something we *do* rather than something we *have.* He proposes the following approach to studying language and culture:

> The job of studying culture is not of finding and accepting its definitions but of discovering how and what definitions are made, under what circumstances and for what reasons. (Street, 1993, p. 25)

From this perspective, culture is not understood in an essentialist way, or as a predefined category, but as a discursive construction. This approach builds on the theoretical position of social constructionism (Holstein & Gubrium, 2013). In constructionist research, the social world is viewed as constructed via discursive practices, i.e. as produced, composed and maintained by the practical activities of social actors in their respective environment (Silverman, 2013). Constructionist researchers therefore focus on the processes that bring social reality into being by asking the question *how* - a perspective on national identity which I will discuss in more detail in Section 1.2.2.

In summary, while essentialist perspectives underpinned my postgraduate research project, my lived experiences raised critical questions about the way in which national identity was constructed in discourse.

1.1.2 From singular to multiple perspectives on national identity

Related to this first point, is a second point that led me to rethink the theoretical approach to national identity and culture underlying my master's research. Essentialist perspectives on

national identity go hand in hand with singular notions of national identity, i.e. the assumption that we have one national identity that is a core trait of our person.

My experiences in a linguistically and culturally diverse environment as a study abroad student illustrated otherwise. I was using mainly English but switched back to German in communication with my partner at the time and used a mix of Italian and English with my co-students and teachers in Italian class. I learned how to cook "Nasu no Agebitashi" and how to greet and farewell someone in Japanese from one of my newly-made friends at university, while I taught her to cook "Schnitzel" and told her how I greeted friends in my home country. Rather than enacting a single (German) identity, or several clearly separable identities, I felt like I was living multiple overlapping identities.

This shift from single to multiple perspectives on national identity not only appears to have affordances regarding an understanding of my own and other individuals' identities. As I explain below, I became interested in the way in which multinational companies (MNCs) constructed their identities when I was living overseas for the first time. MNCs such as Audi and VW are often associated with the nation in which they have their headquarters, as in the epigraph above. However, they usually have subsidiaries in multiple other countries.

In summary, a shift from singular to multiple perspectives on national identity raised critical questions about the way in which the identities of MNCs were constructed in discourse. This intersection of national identity and MNCs brings me to the next point, namely the use of national identity in business discourses.

1.1.3 From national identity to its uses

My interest in MNCs such as Audi and VW mentioned above was raised when I noticed that they used German in addition to English in their marketing in Australia. For example, Audi's marketing slogan was "Vorsprung durch Technik" ("ahead through technology") and Volkswagen used "Volkswagen – Das Auto" ("Volkswagen – the car") in their advertising at

the time this research project started developing. By drawing on the national language of the country where they are headquartered, these companies associate themselves with German national identity when operating internationally. They hence see an economic benefit in using identity discourses that emphasize their national origin while operating globally. This illustrates the complex relationship between cultural nationalism and economic globalization.

Based on my observations and the transformation from essentialist to constructive and singular to multiple perspectives to the use of national identity, I arrived at the following research problem:

> How are representations of national identity used in business discourses in the context of globalization?

The remainder of this chapter provides an overview of existing literature that underpins this research. This is followed by an explanation of the methodological approach to data analysis, i.e. critical discourse analysis. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of the remaining four chapters that constitute this thesis.

1.2 Conceptual framework

In this section, I first introduce the ideas of "banal nationalism" (Section 1.2.1) and "imagined communities" (Section 1.2.2) as the central theoretical concepts of this research. I then discuss the role of unity and diversity regarding discursive constructions of national identity (Section 1.2.3). Subsequently, I consider the shift from political to economic definitions and applications of national identity to map the narrow context of this research: the use of nationalism in business discourses (Section 1.2.4). Based on this review of existing literature, I finally formulate three main research questions.

1.2.1 Banal nationalism

The term "banal nationalism" was introduced by Billig (1995) to highlight the use of nationalism in everyday discourses for the legitimization of the nation state. In contrast to extremist forms of nationalism, banal forms of nationalism are not primarily aimed at maintaining the nation, but are particularly effective in doing so due to their ubiquitous and subtle nature (Piller, 2017).

Banal forms of nationalism include the use of flags, banknotes and national anthems in everyday contexts, but also sporting events organized along national teams and the weather forecast projected against national maps, which create a sense of national belonging. They are often produced by government institutions such as the educational system but taken up and reproduced by the media and the private sector for example in the marketing and advertising of businesses. The relationship between governments and the media, and banal nationalism in marketing and advertising will be discussed in more detail in the literature reviews of the three analysis chapters of this thesis, i.e. Section 2.2, 3.2 and 4.2, respectively.

This theoretical concept draws attention to the importance of researching nationalism in everyday contexts: because of its ubiquitous and subtle nature it can be easily overlooked and remain uncontested; however, it arguably lays the foundation for extremist or more extreme and even violent forms of nationalism of which we are seeing a resurgence in many parts of the world. Therefore, the rationale for researching banal forms of nationalism, aptly formulated by Billig (1995, p. 177), is as follows:

> If the future remains uncertain, we know the past history of nationalism. And that should be sufficient to encourage a habit of watchful suspicion.

In the spirit of this quote, this thesis aims to shed some more light on banal forms of nationalism by considering their use in business discourses. I will explain the context of this research in more detail in Section 1.2.4.

1.2.2 Imagined communities

In the introduction of this chapter, I touched on essentialist notions of national identity. Nations have been defined by essentialist concepts which take language, culture and territory as objective criteria (Wodak, 2009, p. 18). The problem with essentialist definitions is that some nations may not fulfil these criteria or only do so because of interventions, for example language policies. Meanwhile, other communities may not be considered as nations at all although they fulfil these criteria (Wodak, 2009, p. 19).

The term "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1983) provides an alternative perspective to essentialist ideas of national identity. The concept underlines the constructed nature of national identity and other identities that refer to collectives that are too large for its members to know all other members. More specifically, it sees national communities produced via narratives of national culture, i.e. discourses with which people can identify (Wodak, 2009, p. 22). These discourses have been shown to revolve around a number of components, including a temporal dimension of past, present and future, a spatial, territorial and local dimension, and a personal dimension, which includes representations of sameness, uniqueness and difference (Wodak, 2009, p. 26f). National communities are imagined as internally similar and internationally different via these components. These discourses of intranational homogeneity and international heterogeneity operate on multiple levels, i.e. national identities are imagined in relation to a subnational and supranational level. The concept of imagined communities and research on the topic will be further discussed in the literature review of Chapter 3, i.e. Section 3.2.

Overall, the notion of "imagined communities" allows a critical perspective on discursive constructions of national identity. The complexity erased in discourses of national identity will be discussed in the next section, focusing on the tensions between unity and diversity in the process of nation building.

1.2.3 Unity vs. diversity

As mentioned in the previous sections, banal forms of nationalism contribute to creating a shared sense of national belonging and, thereby, to constructing imagined communities. This requires the conceptualization of some form of national unity.

For example, during the French revolution, the French state became constructed as homogenous despite the diversity of the populations living within its national territory (Habermas, 2003). Cultural, ethnic and linguistic minorities were hence excluded in the process of nation building. Therefore, there is a tension between the desire for national unity and the diversity of national populations.

However, in recent years, some nations have embraced diversity as a defining aspect of national identity. For example, Australia considers itself an immigration nation and has constructed a multicultural national identity since the 1980s (Spillman, 1997; Stratton & Ang, 1994). This contrasts with European states that, until recently, did not think of themselves as immigration nations, as well as the United States of America that, albeit an immigration country, bases itself on a common American cultural identity (Schlesinger, 1992 cited in Stratton & Ang, 1994). National unity is, in the case of Australia, frequently constructed through representations of diversity. Representations of unity in diversity can also be found in non-immigration nations. However, representations of diversity are in such cases emplaced within the nation whereas they are emplaced outside the nation in the case of Australia.

Similar to representations of unity, representations of diversity appear to be selective, namely in the sense of an external and an internal dimension (Anthias, 2013). According to the external dimension, national identities may be constructed as diverse by means of criteria that appeal to the outsider. For example, Australian identity has shown to include representations of Aboriginality if these representations are thought to raise the country's attractiveness as a tourist destination (Curran & Ward, 2010). The internal dimension sees national identity

constructed as diverse in the sense of a balance between sustaining "good" difference and maintaining a harmonious society (Anthias, 2013):

> Against the background of the state's concern with the construction of (national) unity, multiculturalism can be seen not as a policy to foster cultural differences but, on the contrary, to direct them into safe channels. (Stratton & Ang, 1994)

This means that minorities may still be excluded or marginalized in nations that are constructed as multicultural, depending on the way their difference is viewed in the cultural context. The discussion of national unity in diversity will be taken up in the literature reviews of Chapter 3 (Section 3.2) and Chapter 4 (Section 4.2).

All in all, although multiculturalism has emerged as a topic in discourses of national identity, the literature raises concerns regarding the way in which multiculturalism is represented. This is due to the continuing focus on national unity that is achieved via selective diversity discourses. In the next section, I will discuss how representations of national identity have come to be used and hence shaped by economic discourses.

1.2.4 Profit seeking through national discourses

Discourses of national identity have changed with increasing economic globalization. Historically, concepts of language, culture, and identity have been associated with the nation state (Bauman & Briggs, 2003). However, they are increasingly reframed in economic terms to generate profit due to changed market conditions (Duchêne & Heller, 2012). These changes have been examined through the dichotomy of discourses of "pride" and "profit" (Duchêne & Heller, 2012). Discourses of pride call people into enacting their national identity and thereby help to reproduce the nation; in contrast, discourses of "profit" frame identity and language as a matter of added value (Duchêne & Heller, 2012). The shift from discourses of pride to discourses of profit, or at least the addition of the latter, is for instance evident in discourses

about language learning. While learning a national language may predominantly have been constructed as a right of citizens, it may now be presented as an asset on the job market (cf. Piller, 2017).

Representations of national identity have been shown to be used in various profit-oriented discourses. For example, advertising discourse draws on representations of national identity and national languages to promote products (Kelly-Holmes, 2016; White, 2009). Likewise, commercial signs feature associations with national identity to market products and services (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Hasan Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Leeman & Modan, 2009). Specifically, food businesses and items are likely to be branded via invocations of nationality (Ichijo & Ranta, 2015). Research on representations of national identity in advertising discourse will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, Section 3.2; and research on representations of national identity in commercial signage will be reviewed in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.

The incorporation of discourses of pride in discourses of profit indicates a shift of power from the nation state to the economic sector and suggests tensions between cultural nationalism and economic globalization. National discourses in business contexts are harnessed for the economic aims of the author to promote their goods and services, in contrast to nationalism in political or government discourse. However, the mundane nature of these forms of nationalism does not make them less effective in shaping people's understanding of the social world, as the theoretical concept of banal nationalism illustrates (see Section 1.2.1): it is because these forms of nationalism are mundane and ubiquitous that they are not perceived as nationalist and, hence, effective in reinforcing the nation (Piller, 2017).

The described changes from discourses of pride to discourses of profit suggest that business discourses are an important context to explore how national identity is constructed and used in the context of globalization. Moreover, the literature not only indicates that nationalism has

become an important resource across various business discourses, but problematizes the way in which national identity is represented in these discourses and how these representations contribute to constructing our social world (for example Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Ichijo & Ranta, 2015; Kelly-Holmes, 2016; Leeman & Modan, 2009; White, 2009). Therefore, the described discursive changes may have implications for the way in which we understand national identity and the global economy.

To contribute to understanding how discourses of national identity are deployed to seek profit in the context of globalization, this research seeks to investigate how representations of national identity are used in business discourses. It aims to illustrate the discursive effect of nationalism in three different but interrelated contexts: media, marketing and restaurant signage. Drawing on banal nationalism, imagined communities, research on diversity discourses and research on business discourses, the three central research questions of this thesis are:

1. How does the media establish a link between nation states and multinational corporations?
2. How does advertising discourse establish a link between nation states and multinational corporations?
3. How are nations emplaced in the culinary linguistic landscape of the city?

To answer these research questions, the thesis consists of a series of three case studies. First, this thesis offers a case study that investigates how the intersection of nation states and MNCs is constructed by the media. Second, it examines how the link between nation states and MNCs is established in advertising discourse. Finally, the thesis explores how the relationship between national identity and cuisine is established in urban linguistic landscapes.

The media have become an important domain of social practice, and other domains of social practice such as the economy, politics and family life are mediated through the media

(Fairclough, 2003b). Thus, the media constitutes a mediator of state and business practices. In other words, much of what we know about the practices of governments and corporations is brought to us by the media. An investigation of how the connection between nation states and MNCs is constructed in media discourse, in Chapter 2, is therefore the point of departure of this research. Arguably, the use of representations of national identity in marketing and advertising is possible and effective due to the link between nation states and MNCs established by the media. The findings from the media study, hence, serve as the framing for the examination of how nationalism is used in MNC marketing, in Chapter 3, and in restaurant signage, in Chapter 4.

In the following, I describe my methodological approach to data analysis overall and in each of the three case studies.

1.3 Methodological approach

As explained in Section 1.1.1, this research is based on social constructionist theory as a theoretical model in that it views social reality as constructed by the discursive practices of social actors in their given context (Holstein & Gubrium, 2013). In line with constructionist perspectives on social reality and discourse, this thesis takes a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to data analysis.

In CDA, discourse is understood as a process of knowledge construction that is controlled by social actors and establishes social relations (Foucault, 1972; Marshall & Rossman, 2014). More narrowly, discourse is understood as structures of representation which are used to create connections between individuals and groups (Fairclough, 2003a). Consequently, the value of analyzing representations of national identity in business discourses lies in illuminating the constructed and ideological nature of these discourses and in elucidating their discursive potential, i.e. the way in which these representations or ideologies shape our understanding of the social world. More precisely, by using CDA, this study aims to advance our understanding

of how representations of national identity shape our understanding of the relationship between national identity and the global economy.

To do so, this research will examine rich datasets from different genres and contexts by investigating nationalism in the media, advertising and restaurant signage. By examining where these different data intersect, the data can be triangulated, which enhances the reliability of the findings (Silverman, 2013). Since the data in the three contexts come in various forms, including written language, images, colors and scripts, a different approach to CDA will be deployed in each of the three case studies.

The focus on different genres and contexts that involve various semiotic data builds on Halliday's (1978) social semiotic theory and his view of culture as a set of interconnected semiotic systems. The approaches to data analysis in each case study were chosen in alignment with Halliday's theory and the given data. I will briefly introduce the three approaches, i.e. Social Actor Analysis (Section 1.3.1), Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (Section 1.3.2) and Linguistic Landscape Analysis (Section 1.3.3), below. Each of them will be explained in more detail in the respective analysis chapter.

1.3.1 Social Actor Analysis

The first case study, incorporated in Chapter 2, draws on Social Actor Analysis (SAA) (Van Leeuwen, 1996) to analyze media coverage of an environmental disaster involving an MNC. This study seeks to investigate how the link between MNCs and nation states is established via the representations of government actors, corporate actors and victims involved in the environmental disaster in news texts.

SAA enables me to examine how the media assigns different roles and agencies to the various social actors by their semantic and grammatical choices. This is because SAA, by drawing on Halliday's (1985) transitivity model, seeks to investigate a "sociosemantic inventory" (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 32) of representation of social actors, instead of orienting

towards linguistic operations or categories. It thus allows the interweaving of an analysis of social and linguistic categories. Chapter 2 will explain the various categories of representation used in SAA and the grammatical participant roles in Halliday's theory as they are relevant to the analysis (Section 2.5).

SAA fits well with the overall constructionist perspective underlying this research due to two main arguments that distinguish it from other CDA approaches. First, it problematizes that instances of representation may be overlooked if analysis ties itself too closely to merely linguistic categories, as there is no precise alignment between linguistic and sociological concepts. Second, it argues that meaning is tied to culture rather than language, in other words, that:

> a given culture (or a given context within a culture) has not only its own, specific array of ways of representing the social world, but also its own specific ways of mapping the different semiotics on to this array. (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 34)

This alignment between ways of representation and semiotic realization further undergoes historical change. Therefore, SAA proposes an inventory of categories that can be used across semiotics - i.e. for the analysis of verbal and increasingly used visual representations - and that hold validity across cultural change.

In line with the view that culture is a set of interrelated semiotic systems, the SAA of media discourse will be combined with the two distinct but compatible methodological approaches to data analysis of advertising discourse (Chapter 3) and restaurant signage (Chapter 4). These approaches will be discussed in the subsequent two sections.

1.3.2 Multimodal Discourse Analysis

While the first case study of this research project examines how the link between nation states and MNCs is constructed by the media as an external actor, the second case study investigates

how MNCs themselves establish this relationship in their advertising. In this case study, incorporated in Chapter 3, I adopt Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996; Machin, 2007), since the marketing campaign under investigation draws on linguistic and other semiotic resources.

Taking an MCDA approach to data analysis, allows me to explore how particular discourses are connoted through the use and combination of visual and other semiotic resources (Machin, 2007, p. 13). This is because multimodal research is based on the premise that, beside spoken and written modes, other semiotic modes contribute to meaning making (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). Furthermore, multimodal analysis is a "grammar approach" in that it is concerned with the meaning potential of signs used in combination with one another (Machin, 2007). Particularly, it examines visual signs in addition to linguistic signs. Building on Halliday's (1978) social semiotic theory, meaning is viewed to be created not by individual lexical signs but by the choices available to combine signs and the patterns that govern these. A step-by-step description of the MCDA of the MNC marketing campaign is incorporated in the methodology section of Chapter 3, Section 3.4.

MCDA is congruent with social constructionism because meaning is viewed as socially constructed. In line with the view of culture that underpins this research, it enables me to extend my study to a different genre and context and, thereby, to the analysis of different semiotic systems of representation. A further enhancement of this research lies in the addition of yet another genre and context where I adopt Linguistic Landscape Analysis.

1.3.3 Linguistic Landscape Analysis

The third case study, constituting Chapter 4 of this thesis, explores how representations of national identity are emplaced in restaurant signage in the context of a global city. This study adopts a Linguistic Landscape Approach (LLA) (Landry & Bourhis, 1997), since it moves from

the discursive practices of a single business actor (Chapter 3) to those of a specific industry in a given space.

By taking an LLA, I can consider how the linguistic and other semiotic choices of urban restaurateurs in a given space contribute to the ideological make-up of this space. This is because linguistic landscape analysis concentrates on the way in which linguistic objects in public spaces are articulated and on the forces that underlie their construction (Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 40). Furthermore, linguistic landscapes are understood to have "emblematic significance" (Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 41):

> LL [linguistic landscape] is a major ingredient of the picture perceived by both residents and visitors of a given locality describing its "personality" and distinguishing it from other places. (Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 42)

Due to the major focus of linguistic landscape analysis on linguistic objects, my third case study additionally draws on MCDA (see previous section) to analyze other semiotic elements used on restaurant signage. An in-depth explanation of the LL approach and the analysis are provided in the methodology section of Chapter 4, i.e. Section 4.4.

In summary, the three approaches to data analysis outlined in Sections 1.3.1 to 1.3.3 fit well with the constructionist perspective underlying this research as they assume that the social world is constructed via the choices of representation in a given context. They are further linked as they take into account not only verbal/written language, but also emphasize the importance of visual representations regarding the creation of social reality.

In the next section, I will outline the structure of my thesis in detail.

1.4 Overview of the thesis

Following this Introduction, this thesis by publication consists of three substantive analysis chapters – one for each research article submitted for publication – and a concluding chapter.

The three analysis chapters explore how representations of national identity are discursively constructed and deployed in the context of the global economy, with an examination of the discursive effect of these representations. The three analyses investigate the research problem across different contexts and genres.

Chapter 2, first published in *Discourse & Communication* in December 2017, focuses on the news coverage of the BP oil spill that occurred in the United States in 2010 but was caused by a multinational company headquartered in the United Kingdom. Using SAA and Transitivity, this study asks how the media establish a link between MNCs and nation states. To address this central question, the study investigates how (1) corporate responsibility is assigned, (2) the role of the nation state is portrayed, and (3) victim status is allocated in the news. Findings show that the nature of the problem is constructed differently according to the diverging national interests or priorities of the two nations represented by the media sources analyzed.

Chapter 2 illustrates how the media establish a link between MNCs and nation states in the reporting on a global issue. It demonstrates the tension between nationalism and globalization. Chapter 3, currently under revision for publication in *Social Semiotics*, examines this tension further by examining a marketing campaign by the Australian supermarket chain Woolworths drawing on MCDA. The main research question is how advertising discourse establishes a link between nation states and multinational corporations. To address this central question, this study investigates how the campaign represents (1) the world, (2) various imagined communities, and (3) Australia. Findings suggest that banal forms of cosmopolitanism go hand in hand with banal forms of nationalism in the campaign. These ideologies naturalize discourses of a world of distinct nations while they serve to promote consumption.

Chapter 3 illustrates that food plays a central role in establishing the link between the MNC and national identity in the campaign. It is an important part of the deployed discourses of

nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Chapter 4, submitted for peer review to *Linguistic Landscape. An international journal* in November 2018, examines the intersection of national identity and cuisine in more detail. It investigates how the relationship between nation and cuisine is established in the urban linguistic landscape. Specifically, this study examines restaurant signage in four suburbs of Sydney, Australia, using a Linguistic Landscape and MCDA approach. The main research question is how nations are emplaced in the culinary linguistic landscape of the city. To address this central question, this study investigates (1) which languages are used, and (2) how national and (3) cosmopolitan identities are represented. Findings demonstrate that these banal forms of nationalism and cosmopolitanism contribute to imagining Sydney as diverse, yet nationally grounded.

The thesis concludes with Chapter 5, where I bring together the findings of the three case studies constituting this thesis by revisiting my research questions. I argue that, overall, the three case studies demonstrate how discourses of national identity serve profit-oriented actors as a resource to deflect criticism and to create positive associations with their brand. Specifically, discourses of national interest may serve to mitigate corporate responsibility, to promote consumption and, paradoxically, to create a cosmopolitan brand identity. The chapter further discusses the contributions of this research to research on banal nationalism, imagined communities, diversity discourses and business discourses. This research also makes a methodological contribution to CDA by triangulating datasets from different genres and contexts.

Preface to Chapter 2

This chapter is the first publication arising from this research project. It was written in the first half of my PhD candidature and evolved from a comparative analysis of media coverage on the Volkswagen (VW) emissions scandal in 2015 and the BP oil spill in 2010. The VW scandal became public shortly after I had started my PhD candidature. Due to its global scale and the involvement of a multinational corporation (MNC) strongly associated with a national identity it presented a case well suited to investigate the overarching research problem and, more specifically, the first research question of this thesis, focusing on how the media establishes a link between nation states and MNCs. I decided to conduct a comparative analysis by including media coverage on the BP oil spill, in order to explore whether the link between nation and MNC was set out differently in the case of different nations. The connection between VW and Germany was expected to be much stronger in the media than the connection between BP and the UK, as I had previously done a small pilot study of media discourse on the VW scandal, the results of which were published as a research blog post on *Language on the Move* (Cramer, 2015). However, the findings of the analysis of the two cases showed otherwise. The media established a strong link between nation and MNC in the reporting about BP but less so in the scandal around VW.

The paper that evolved from this research and was incorporated as Chapter 2 in this thesis focuses on the BP oil spill. This is because the completion of the analysis coincided with the British referendum in June 2016 to exit the European Union. This allowed me to relate the economic entanglement of nations and corporations to an important political issue at the time, which highlights the significance and timeliness of this research.

An earlier version of this research was presented at the Linguistic Society of New Zealand Conference 2016: Doing and Applying Linguistics in a Globalized World in November 2016. The paper was submitted to *Discourse & Communication* thereafter in July 2017. *Discourse & Communication* is a high-ranking journal in its field with a 2017 Impact Factor of 0.789 and ranked 61 out of 84 for Communication (Clarivate Analytics, 2018).

The article was recommended for publication in August 2017 with minor revisions. Most importantly, the reviewers suggested to make explicit that Halliday's (1978) Transitivity model was used in combination with Van Leeuwen's (1996) Social Actor Analysis (SAA) as a framework. This was only implicit in an earlier version of the paper. They also recommended explaining the terminology used in Transitivity and SAA more clearly. Accordingly, Transitivity was explicated as part of the framework in the section on the methods of analysis and terms were explained at relevant points in the sections containing the analysis. This resulted in the paper improving significantly, as it better reflects the theoretical and methodological rigor of the analysis. The article was first published on Sage's Online First in December 2017 and appeared in Volume 12, Issue 2 of the journal published in April 2018. To draw it to the attention of a wider readership, a summary of the article was published on *Language on the Move* in March 2018 (Cramer, 2018). The paper's Altmetric score is in the top 25% (SAGE Publishing, 2018).

Cramer, R. (2018). 'The BP is a great British company': the discursive transformation of an environmental disaster into a national economic problem. *Discourse and Communication*, 12(2), 109-127.

DOI: 10.1177/1750481317745744

Preface to Chapter 3

This chapter is the second paper arising from this research and centers on the analysis of an Australian supermarket's marketing campaign. The "Woolworths World Explorers" campaign was launched a few months after I had finished data collection and analysis for the first case study at the end of 2016. It was a high-profile marketing campaign at the time it was run and noticed not only by me but also by many of my peers. Many of us shopped at Woolworths and so the way in which different nationalities were represented in the campaign became the topic of some discussion. Some of my colleagues' children also started collecting the cards distributed by Woolworths as part of the campaign, which made it easy for me to access the data. This campaign therefore presented a timely opportunity for me to investigate my second research question of how the link between nation states and multinational corporations (MNCs) is established in advertising discourse. I also chose to analyze this campaign because of its uptake by people in my environment. With its focus on advertising discourse, this case study extends the investigation of the research problem in media discourse to another context and genre. Furthermore, it expands the data from textual to other semiotic representations, most importantly images, and the methodological framework by way of multimodal discourse analysis (MCDA).

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 2nd Hong Kong University PhD Conference in Sociolinguistics on Multimodal and Mediated Discourse Analysis in September 2017. The discussion evolving from my presentation at the conference enabled me to further improve the paper, in particular the literature review, before I submitted it for peer review to *Social Semiotics. Social Semiotics* is another high-ranking journal in the disciplines of Linguistics and Communication, ranked 98 out of 181 for Linguistics

and 66 out of 84 for Communication, and with a 2017 Impact Factor of 0.754 (Clarivate Analytics, 2018).

The reviewers' reports were received mid-September 2018. The reviewers requested revisions regarding the theoretical underpinnings of this research and the provision of a clearer explanation of the data analysis. While the reviews were received too close to submission to be integrated into the paper, they are substantially reflected in the thesis introduction (Chapter 1).

3. “It’s this diversity that makes Australia such a unique country”: nationalism in a multinational marketing campaign

Abstract

Multinational corporations use nationalism as a marketing tool to promote products. Conversely, marketing facilitates positive images of the nation. The advertising of multinational corporations therefore covertly contributes to people's understanding of identity in a global context. It is against this background that this research investigates how the relationship between nation states and multinational corporations is established in advertising discourse. Drawing on multimodal critical discourse analysis as a theoretical framework, this study examines a marketing campaign of the multinational supermarket chain Woolworths in Australia. The main research question is "How does advertising discourse establish a link between nation states and multinational corporations?" To address this central question, this study investigates how (1) the world is represented in advertising discourse, (2) various imagined communities are represented in advertising discourse, and (3) Australia is represented as different from all other nations in the campaign. Findings suggest that banal forms of cosmopolitanism go hand in hand with banal forms of nationalism in the campaign. Under the guise of educating customers, these ideologies serve to promote consumption while they obfuscate Woolworths' identity as a profit-seeking entity.

3.1 Introduction

Nationalism, in an increasingly globalized world, continues to play an important role in society (Bishop & Jaworski, 2003, p. 244). For the nation state, it is a key discursive resource to secure political legitimacy (Piller, 2016). In government-created discourses, nationalism is used overtly to contribute to this process. However, it is often those discourses where nationalism remains covert and subordinated to the more obvious aims of a social actor that make people identify with a nation. Marketing discourse constitutes an important example.

Marketing is driven by strong underlying interests, often profit, and is frequently based on manipulative aims of communication (Habermas, 1989). Nationalism, in this case, may influence the recipient implicitly because it is obscured by the aim of business actors to sell products. Furthermore, marketing promotes positive attitudes towards the nation as it lives on the association of positive images, desires and dreams with products. Marketing campaigns that draw on nationalism thereby contribute to retaining the nation as a key aspect of identity while supporting corporate interests (Piller, 2017).

Research on the way in which national identities are constructed in marketing discourse can advance an understanding of the discursive link between nation states and multinational corporations (MNCs). This research aims to contribute to the existing body of research on nationalism in marketing discourse reviewed in Section Two by investigating how semiotic conceptualizations of national identity are used as a tool by business actors to advertise products and achieve business purposes.

I begin with a review of literature on theories relevant to the analysis of nationalist discourse and existing research on nationalism in the marketing domain to demonstrate that there is a lack of linguistic research investigating the discursive link between nation

states and MNCs. I address this research lacuna by asking (1) how the world, (2) various imagined communities, and (3) Australia are represented in a marketing campaign by the Australian MNC Woolworths. After that, I provide some background on MNCs and supermarkets in Australia, Woolworths and the campaign under examination. I then give an explanation of the method of analysis, i.e. multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA), and a description of the data set. In the analysis, I address the three research questions of this study by discussing selected examples from the data in depth. Findings include that the world is set out as a world of nations, in which nations are defined by the same properties and whose differences are thereby obscured; the only exception is the nation the MNC is associated with, i.e. Australia. In conclusion, the naturalization of national identity in the marketing campaign leads to an obfuscation of the company's status as a profit-seeking MNC while it serves product promotion.

3.2 The commodification of national identity in MNC marketing campaigns

Studies on nationalism have drawn on the concepts of banal nationalism and imagined communities to investigate how nations are constructed in discourse. While nationalism has been discussed in relation to extremism, Billig (1995) introduced the term "banal nationalism" to draw attention to those forms of nationalism that are not a priori aimed at sustaining the nation but are highly effective in doing so. Banal forms of nationalism include the use of national anthems at sports events or national flags on product packaging. They function as daily reminders of shared national belonging, as they are ingrained in everyday contexts (Piller, 2017). Banal forms of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002) are closely linked to and therefore often hidden behind the banal signifiers of national identity. They, similarly, appear in every kind of everyday culture, such as in the form of a variety of foods offered at supermarkets and restaurants, or the mixing of

elements from different cultures in music (Beck, 2004). They shape people's reality implicitly as an accompaniment of globalization, because they are closely bound up with consumption; however, they do not advance "cosmopolitan responsibility" (Beck, 2002), i.e. a responsibility that extends across national borders and advances a shared global future.

Banal forms of nationalism contribute to the "imagining" of national communities. The concept of "imagined communities", introduced by Anderson (1994), is used to refer to any community, such as the nation, that is too large for its members to know all other members and is, therefore, imagined. Nations are not built on fixed criteria; instead, they are imagined, as are the criteria themselves, for example national languages (Billig, 1995, p. 10). There is a temporal, a spatial and an interpersonal dimension to this imagination (Wodak, 2009). In discourses of national identity in Europe, communities are imagined as having a shared past, present and future; they are associated with a certain place; and communities are imagined as intranationally "the same" but internationally "different" (Wodak, 2009). The "gaze" (Urry, 1990) of the outsider, such as tourists, is important in this context. The gaze shapes the way in which local populations perform national identity (cf. Urry & Larsen, 2011). For example, national monuments and heritage sites serve to create a sense of shared national belonging despite the factual diversity of populations (Pretes, 2003). Similarly, public building projects can constitute a strategy of "banal imagining" of the nation (McNeill & Tewdwr-Jones, 2003). In other instances, however, diversity can become a defining aspect of national identity. For example, it is part of the historical formation of American and Australian national identity (Spillman, 1997). Australian national identity, based on racial and cultural unity at its inception, now includes multiculturalism as a core element (Stratton & Ang, 1994). Yet, it is a selective

diversity that is employed to distinguish Australian identity from other national identities, in particular British identity. On the one hand, this is related to an external dimension of the diversity discourse in that diversity is constructed via properties that are thought to appeal to the outsider-gaze, presumably to secure Australia's popularity in an international context (Curran & Ward, 2010). On the other hand, the diversity discourse has an internal dimension in that there is an interest in the balance of sustaining a "good" difference and creating a harmonious society with core values (Anthias, 2013).

The literature illustrates how nationalism as an ideology, used in a variety of contexts, contributes to the imagining of national communities and presents them as natural. It thus informs people's understanding of the global world.

In the context of commercial discourse, banal forms of nationalism may blur the relationship between political symbols and goods for exchange. The intersection between nationalism and commercial discourse is characterized by the economization of the social (Kania-Lundholm, 2014): the growing dominance of economic power and the emergence of new contexts in which nationalism is communicated has resulted in the commercialization of the national and the nationalization of the commercial. These practices lead to the representation of nationhood in economic language, and, hence, as a seemingly apolitical and de-historicized concept. Companies participate to varying degrees in nationalist discourse, depending on whether they are committed to economic objectives only or political objectives additionally, and whether a link between a company and nationalism needs to be established or has already been developed (Prideaux, 2009). This means that MNCs may function as nationalist actors, i.e. actors supporting the nation state, and engaging with and influencing wider national discourses on national identity.

The association of brands with national identity in advertising is achieved through discourse. The brewer Stella Artois, for example, uses French language and accents to associate the brand with Belgium (Kelly-Holmes, 2016). MNCs can become successful actors on the global market if they deploy such associations effectively, as for instance the Australian beer brand Foster's Lager (White, 2009).

A discursive link between nation states and MNCs may obfuscate both the social realities within a given nation, as well as a company's multinational identity. Research from a sociolinguistic perspective can shed some light on the discursive potential of nationalism in MNC advertising and may contribute to denaturalizing this ideology.

This paper addresses the research lacuna by investigating the discursive link between nation states and MNCs in the "World Explorers" campaign, a marketing campaign run by Australia's largest supermarket chain, Woolworths, in 2016. To address the central research problem of how national identity and MNCs are linked in marketing discourse, this study examines the following research questions:

(1) How is the world represented in the campaign?

(2) How are various imagined communities represented in the campaign?

(3) How is Australia represented as different from all other nations in the campaign?

In the following section, some information on the specific context of the analysis, namely Australian supermarkets and the "World Explorers" campaign, will be provided.

3.3 MNCs in Australia, Woolworths and the "World Explorers" campaign

Woolworths is the largest supermarket chain in Australia, with 995 stores operating in the country and 115,000 employees. They are part of Woolworths Limited, which is the second largest retailer, ranking eighth of the top 20 companies in Australia (Market Index,

2017) and 24th of the top 250 retailers world-wide in 2015 (Deloitte, 2017, p. 17). As such, their services are regularly accessed by many Australians. They closely associate themselves with Australian identity by declaring that they pride themselves on working closely together with Australian growers and farmers, sourcing 96% of fruit and vegetables, and 100% of fresh meat from Australia, and by referring to themselves as "Australia's Fresh Food People" on their corporate website and in their marketing material (Woolworths Group Limited, 2017a).

In 2016, Woolworths ran the "World Explorers" campaign, a collectibles program with a proclaimed educational purpose. For a duration of eight weeks, customers received packs of cards and stickers with each 20 Australian dollars spent. In addition, they could purchase hard-copy material and access digital material on Woolworths' website.

3.4 Methodology

The campaign draws heavily on representations of various nations and is therefore well suited to investigating how national identity is constructed in discourse. With its limitation to eight weeks, it also provides a clearly definable data set. National identity is constructed via texts, images, audio and audio-visual files, though mostly through the first two, in the campaign. As texts elaborate on images and images elaborate on texts (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996), this research applies multimodal analysis (Machin, 2007). Multimodal analysis is concerned with the meaning potential of signs used in combination with one another. It is a "grammar approach" as it builds on Halliday's (1985) argument that meaning is created not by individual lexical signs but by the choices available to combine signs and the patterns that govern these. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), this applies not only to linguistic but also visual signs. Multimodal analysis is

therefore well suited to examine how the lexical and visual signs used in the campaign are combined to express meaning.

More specifically, this study draws on MCDA (Van Dijk 2001, 1993, Wodak and Meyer 2009). This is because, in this paper, nationalism is understood as an ideology that naturalizes the division of the world into different nations. Investigating nationalism critically can reveal how this ideology is discursively created, maintained and reinforced, in the specific context of this study, for marketing purposes.

All items that were part of the campaign were collected and the corpus thus comprises the following data set:

56 flip-cards and stickers represent a country each (or a federal state or territory in the case of Australia). Cards come in sets of eight. All cards in a set have the same color and are assigned to one of seven regions of the world, namely Africa (orange), Asia (pink), Australia (green), Europe (light blue), North America (red), Oceania (dark blue) and South America (turquoise). The front of each card and the sticker displays a cartoon character, either a boy or a girl, as a national representative. Each character carries an individual first name. Each card can be folded three ways, so that it holds information on three sides. One side holds information about the country phrased as if stated by the cartoon character, and information on a "national" dish under the heading "Food for thought"; another side displays a factoid under the heading "Did you know?"; and the last side provides a factoid under the heading "Weird but true" and a prompt for an activity under "Have a go". The plastic wrapping of the packs of cards and stickers holds the campaign's logo: the representative of Western Australia, of Italy and of India shown in front of what looks like a wooden road sign reading "Woolworths World Explorers" in capitals. Characters and sign seem to pop out of a two-dimensional image of the globe in

dark green with shapes of the continents in light green. The background reiterates the illustration of a world map in the same colors.

A *list of regions and countries*, and their representative's names could be downloaded from Woolworths' FAQs site for the duration of the campaign.

An *activity and collector's album* is structured like a story book with "Dan", the representative of Western Australia, as a narrator. It contains information on how to use the different items of the campaign, two pages of information per region with space to insert the collected cards, and activities such as crosswords and riddles. The sections with information on the different regions start with short introductions told from the perspective of the narrator; this is followed by a picture of a character from one of the region's countries as a representative, who introduces themselves and provides information on the region. The information appears in four paragraphs, each with a heading, and an image next to them that revisits the textual information, visually by means of a photograph and textually by means of a short phrase. The images look like holiday snaps one may find in photographic albums.

An *activity booklet* comprises activities assigned to nine different countries, each explained on a separate page. The explanations are entitled with an imperative telling the recipient to engage in the activity. They are printed in white on a green background. The name of the country the activity is assigned to is displayed underneath. The name of the country, the introduction to the activity, as well as subheadings, are printed in the color of the region where the country is located, for instance orange for Africa. The region is also indicated by the outline of the respective continent displayed in the same color in the right corner on the top of each page.

A *world map* could be accessed for the duration of the campaign online. Images of the national representatives of Italy, Japan, Bolivia, Western Australia, New Zealand, Egypt and Mexico are portrayed against the background of the various continents, so that they function as representatives for the seven regions on the map. By clicking on the images, one can access information about three nations within the region selected from the various cards. In addition, customers could listen to a language sample, a text of 25-63 words voiced by one of the region's representatives. A written translation to English was provided underneath the link.

The section "World Explorers lunches", in Woolworths' database of recipes, features seven recipes (Woolworths Group Limited, 2017b). Five of them are explicitly assigned to a certain country, either linguistically ("Chilean", "Mexican", "Moroccan", "Greek") or visually (image of a Japanese flag).

The campaign was analyzed according to the three sub-questions: first, any strategies to represent the world were identified; second, any properties used to create national identities in the campaign were identified; third, the analysis investigated what additional properties were used to construct Australian national identity as different from all other nations. Section 5, 6 and 7 present the findings to these questions, respectively.

3.5 Framing the world as a set of distinct nations

This section investigates how the campaign establishes a framework that provides points of comparison for the various national communities imagined. The campaign creates an image of the world as a world of nations by deploying several discursive strategies.

Nationhood requires the imagining of a certain type of community rooted in a specific place that stretches beyond the places of citizens' immediate experiences (Billig, 1995, p. 74). Woolworths draws on this notion of a bounded national territory, or the "spatial

dimension" (Wodak, 2009). Visually, the campaign indicates that the world is divided into a set of nations and regions defined by a bounded territory and a specific location by means of the world map (Figure 1) and by means of images of the continents in the activity booklet (Figure 2).

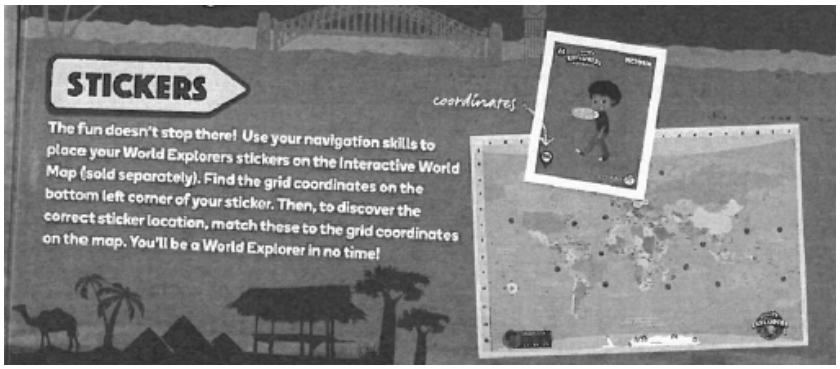

Figure 1: Image of the world map (activity and collector's album, 3)

The world map indicates each country's location on the globe and recipients are asked to place the stickers of the national representatives on this map:

> (1) Use your navigation skills to place your World Explorers stickers on the Interactive World Map (sold separately). Find the grid coordinates on the bottom left corner of your sticker. Then, to discover the correct sticker location, match these to the grid coordinates on the map. (activity and collector's album, 3)

The guideline that there is only one "correct sticker location" establishes a strong association between "nation" and "territory". This fosters the notion that certain people belong to certain places and vice versa. The detachment of the continents from the context of the world map in the activity booklet (Figure 2) illustrates that the campaign can draw on already established public knowledge about the spatial scope of continents.

Figure 2: Image of the African continent (activity booklet)

Bounded territory is additionally indicated by means of visual representation and naming of landmarks, for example of the islands of the Philippines (Figure 3), but also

monuments, for example Machu Picchu in Mexico and the pyramids in Egypt. Thus, landmarks are used in the same way as monuments and public building projects in tourism in the US state of South Dakota and the re-branding of the Welsh city of Cardiff (McNeill & Tewdwr-Jones, 2003; Pretes, 2003): they are a form of banal imagining as they contribute to a sense of shared national belonging.

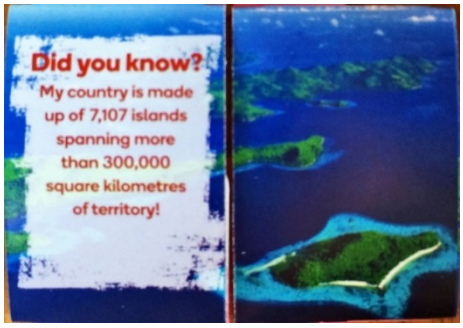

Figure 3: Image of the Philippine islands (card for Philippines)

Another strategy to indicate a sense of space is the use of deixis, such as "here":

> (2) We love baked coconut *kaukau* here... (card for Papua New Guinea; original emphasis)

Since every card is attributed to a specific nation, "here" is an indicator of national territory in the text on the card. In Example (2), for instance, "here" refers to Papua New Guinea.

The territoriality principle serves to frame the world as a set of nations and overrides other possible conceptualizations of the world. Comments about climate or geographical characteristics, for example, appear on some of the cards but do not lead to a framing of the world according to zones. Political alliances are completely excluded.

In addition to the territoriality principle the campaign repeatedly draws attention to national symbols to index national identity. National symbols, such as flags, anthems, and banknotes, indicate national particularity but also universality (Billig, 1995, p. 86): they create difference but follow similar patterns to do so. In the campaign, they serve to manifest and naturalize a global order of distinct nations.

The activity booklet, for example, features the American flag (Figure 4) and Australian banknotes (Figure 5). In both cases, recipients are asked to create their own emblems based on personal experiences, such as hobbies, friends, the places they live in or someone special they may want to honor. In this way, they are reminded of their national belonging and with whom they share it. Other national symbols appear in the form of text, as for example the Spanish national anthem, "Marcha Real", on the card for Spain (Figure 6).

Figure 5: Image of the American flag (activity booklet)

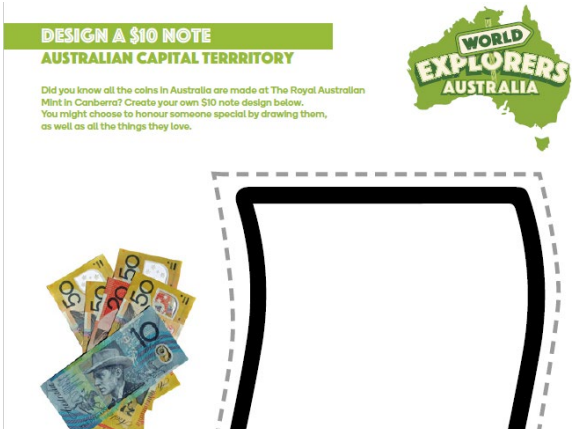

Figure 4: Image of Australian bank notes (activity booklet)

A world of nations is further constructed by the association of each nation with a national representative: each country is represented by a distinct cartoon character, which appears on the respective card and sticker; some of them reappear in the activity and collector's album, the activity booklet, and on the world map. The representation of social actors as individuals or groups conveys different meanings (Machin, 2007, p. 118ff). In the campaign, the nation is represented by an individual with a name and a "story" rather than an anonymous group. This underlines the unity of the nation, on the one hand (one character represents all citizens), and national distinctness, on the other hand (all characters appear different

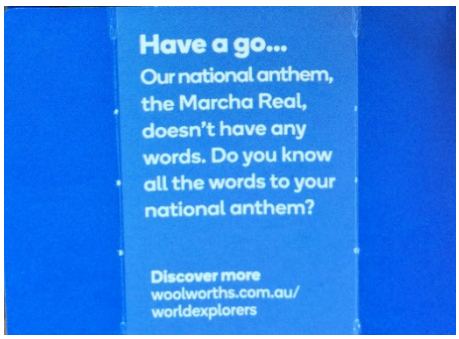

Figure 6: Textual representation of the Spanish national anthem (card for Spain)

and give different information). They always wear a national dress and hold a national dish, as on the images of stickers displayed in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Examples of national representatives (left to right: stickers for South Australia, Columbia, India and South Africa)

The national representatives also greet recipients of the campaign in their national language, for example Spanish in the case of the Peruvian character (Figure 8). More detail on the properties of the national representatives including language use will be provided in Section 6.

The representation of national identity by means of a character, dish, dress and language is applied to all nations represented in the campaign. In this way, the campaign contributes to the impression that national structures are given: national indicators are uniform, and the nation is depicted as homogenous. Limiting the properties of national representatives to preferred food, dress and language, while excluding people's faith, political point of view and way of life contributes to establishing a framework of nations: communities, other than national, remain invisible.

Figure 8: National representative and language for Peru (card for Peru).

In summary, the campaign deploys various forms of banal nationalism to construct the world as a set of distinct nations: the territoriality principle, national symbols and national representatives. Other than as would be the case with alternative views, such as the world as a world of continents, geographical zones or political alliances, this framework emphasizes national identity as the defining aspect of the global world.

3.6 Imagining distinct communities

Billig aptly argues that "[n]ationalism inevitably involves a mixture of the particular and the universal: if 'our' nation is to be imagined in all its particularity, it must be imagined as a nation amongst other nations" (1995, p. 83). This section explores how, based on the framework of distinct nations, various national communities are imagined in the campaign. Each nation is linguistically and semiotically represented by means of a similar set of properties, which all appear on the cards.

Each nation is represented by way of one cartoon character who is displayed with a stereotypical dress and dish. The character representing Mexico, for example, wears a colorful poncho and a wreath of flowers in her hair; she holds a plate of corn chips and guacamole which is described as a "Mexican dip" on the inside of the card (Figure 9). Italicization of the dish's name highlights their distinctness additionally. The character, with their preferences regarding clothes and food, is presented as a generic example of a Mexican citizen.

Figure 9: National representative, dress and dish for Mexico (card for Mexico)

Additionally, each country is associated with national culture. For instance, "Sumo" is identified as the national sport in Japan, Reggae music is linked with Jamaican national identity, and Chile is portrayed as the home country of great poetry (Figure 10). The association of nations with distinct culture is reiterated in the activity booklet. For example, in relation to "Ghana" recipients are invited to make an instrument using rice:

(3) In Ghana we like to eat Jollof, which is a dish made with rice.

But you can also make musical instruments out of rice.

They're called maracas. Here's how to make your own!

At the same time as these associations are part of the national discourse in the campaign, they are a form of banal cosmopolitanism. Recipients are encouraged to engage with other nationalities by way of cultural activities. However, they learn that they can do so while staying in their local environment so that interaction and communication

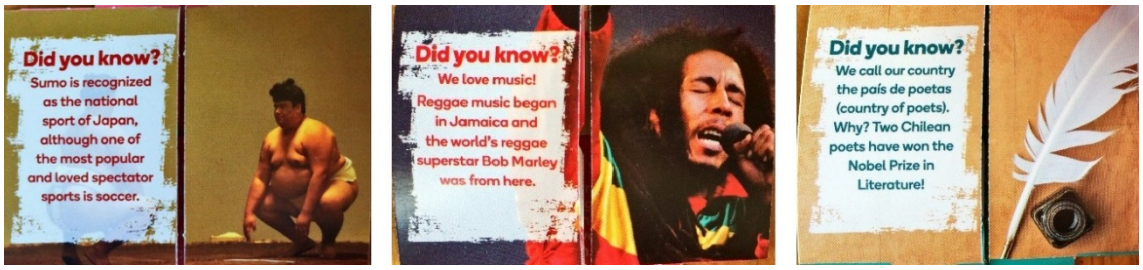

Figure 10: Examples of national culture (left to right: cards for Japan, Jamaica and Chile)

between people is not encouraged. Moreover, the activities are all standardized so that nations appear culturally homogenous.

Nations are also associated with a language each in the campaign. If this language is not English, it is only used for greetings, names of national dishes or cultural artefacts, as in Excerpt (3). The representative of Peru, for example, greets recipients with Spanish "Hóla!" and uses a Spanish term to name the Peruvian national dish, "chupe de congrejos". The national character of Thailand, by contrast, greets recipients with Thai "Sawadee ka!" and uses the Thai term "tom sum" to refer to a Thai salad. The characters

introducing the regions in the activity and collector's album also greet the recipient in "their" national language. Where a language other than English is used more extensively, as in the case of the language samples on Woolworths' website, they are translated to English. In this way, languages other than English are used in a similar way as in the context of beer branding, namely to index national identity (Kelly-Holmes, 2016). The effect is that national communities are depicted as monolingual, even in the case of highly multilingual countries such as Cameroon.

The campaign is based on an essentialist notion of nationality, i.e. "the notion that clear and necessary criteria for inclusion can be found which are shared among all members and no non-members of the nation" (Calhoun, 1997, p. 18). By drawing on a set of unifying properties to represent nations, the campaign constructs them as homogenous communities. This attempt to construct national identities is in contradiction to the increased multiplicities and overlaps of identities (Calhoun, 1997, p. 27):

> People have long inhabited multiple social worlds at the same time. Multilinguality is as 'natural' as monolinguality. Trade has established linkages across political and cultural frontiers. The great religions have spread across divergent local cultures and maintained connections among them.

The set of properties used to construct national identity moreover limits the expression of difference between various nations in the campaign. Nations are, thus, presented as "different in the same way" (Smith-Khan, 2017) and social or political issues of individual nations rendered invisible.

Compared to all other properties, the theme "food" receives specific attention in the campaign. In addition to the visual representation of national dishes and textual information about national food on the cards, the online database of "World Explorers

lunches" attributes the included dishes to seven different nations, either linguistically by naming them as in the case of "Pork *Souvlaki*…And *Greek* Salad" (my emphasis), or semiotically by drawing on national symbols as in the case of the Japanese sushi platter (Figure 11). Food has been identified as a useful appeal to culture and locality in an increasingly globalized world (Ichijo & Ranta, 2015). Moreover, the emphasis on food is clearly in line with Woolworths marketing goal, i.e. selling groceries.

The representation of national food choices plus the provision of national recipes can be interpreted as a form of banal cosmopolitanism like the cultural activities in the activity booklet in this section earlier (Beck, 2002): recipients learn that they can engage with other cultures by enjoying their food; they are able to do so without ever leaving Australia by purchasing ingredients at their local Woolworths' store. Appeals to cosmopolitanism are hence used as a strategy to sell products while they reinforce nationalism. They also cover the challenges people may nowadays face "in trying to come to terms with differences, border crossings and interstitial positions" (Calhoun, 1997, p. 25). In other words, the campaign trivializes globalization.

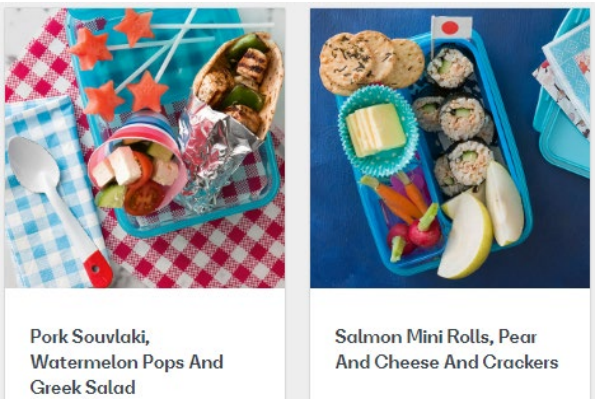

Figure 11: Examples of national lunches (online database of World Explorers lunches)

In summary, all national communities represented in the campaign are portrayed as homogenous. Since the various nations are constructed by a set of identical criteria, differences between them are limited to these properties, and properties or issues that do not have equivalents in other nations are excluded. Additionally, the focus on food and banal forms of cosmopolitanism supports the corporation's aim to promote their products.

3.7 Celebrating Australia's diversity

As demonstrated so far, all countries are depicted as homogenous in the campaign. The only exception is Australia, which is portrayed as diverse. Not only is it represented by means of eight cards, instead of just one like all other nation states; the displayed

Figure 12: National representatives for Australia (top left to bottom right: cards for Western Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, South Australia, Australian Capital Territory, Queensland, New South Wales, and Northern Territory

characters represent different ethnicities, which is implied by way of their appearance (Figure 12) and their names. For instance, the girl representing Tasmania has red hair and a Scottish name ("Isla"), and the character representing Northern Territory has dark skin and an Indigenous Australian name ("Jarli"). Australia is thereby depicted as ethnically heterogeneous.

In fact, diversity does not seem to be merely one feature of Australian identity as in Stratton and Ang's (1994) and Spillman's (1997) study; instead the campaign emphasizes diversity. For instance, in the activity and collector's album, it says:

(4) From dry deserts and flowing rivers, lush tropical rainforests and high mountain ranges to wide open skies, white sandy beaches, ancient cultures and global cities - it's this *diversity* that makes Australia such a unique country and a very special continent. (activity and collector's album, p. 8; my emphasis)

(5) Our spectacular country is full of amazing produce and we turn it into some pretty tasty meals! Australian cuisine is influenced by *lots of different* cooking styles *from around the world* - and it really shows off our country's fabulously *diverse* culture. (activity and collector's album, p. 8; my emphasis)

The quotes suggest that Australia offers a variety of natural landscapes (deserts, rivers, rainforests, mountains and beaches), historic, as well as modern, sights (ancient culture and global cities), and different cuisines. Likewise, references to multiculturalism are used to emphasize Australia's cultural diversity:

(6) This *wide variety* of backgrounds, together with the culture of Indigenous Australians who have lived on the Australian continent for more than 50,000 years, has helped create a uniquely Australian identity and spirit. (activity and collector's album, p. 9; my emphasis)

Aboriginal Australians are referred to with the modifier "Indigenous" and thereby differentiated from "default" Australians referred to without a modifier. Culturally, they are also defined as "different" by way of associations with cultural artefacts, such as the digeridoo:

(7) The didgeridoo is an instrument of great importance to Indigenous Australians. They're also totally unique - no two didgeridoos make the same sound! (activity booklet)

The campaign creates a difference between non-Indigenous and Indigenous people. However, Indigenous culture is represented only by stereotypical associations such as the digeridoo and images of Aboriginal art in the activity and collector's album. The campaign draws on associations of Indigenous identity to the extent only where it adds to Australia's uniqueness without letting the national community appear ununited, in a similar way to how Australian governments have aimed to construct Australian national identity so as to appeal to the international gaze (Curran & Ward, 2010). While diversity is celebrated in the campaign, it is "selective" (Curran & Ward, 2010). The effect of this selective diversity is that the social inequalities that exist between non-Indigenous and Indigenous Australians remain hidden. The Australian Human Rights Commission, for example, explained that, "despite some improvements in recent years, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people continue to be one of the most vulnerable groups in Australia." (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2014)

That the campaign constructs Australia's diversity as selective is also discernible in the fact that, linguistically, Indigenous Australians are not portrayed as different at all. The language sample for Australia on Woolworths' website is entitled "Australian" and features an English-speaking voice recording. This contrasts with the linguistic representation of New Zealand, for example, which is by means of a language sample of Maori. Similarly, the languages of Australia's migrant population are excluded. The campaign is therefore an instantiation of the "monolingual mindset" (Clyne, 2005 cf. Gogolin 1994, 2008): Australia is depicted as multicultural but linguistically homogenous. The resourcefulness and maybe more importantly the disadvantages that exist based on language in the country are, thus, rendered invisible (see for example Piller, 2016; Piller & Takahashi, 2011).

The campaign draws recipients' focus onto Australia, additionally, by placing the representative of Western Australia in the center of the campaign's logo and by assigning the role of the narrator to him in the activity booklet. "Dan" dominates the campaign's logo as he appears slightly larger and in front of the representatives of Italy and India (Figure 13). On the first page of the activity booklet, he welcomes readers to "Woolworths World Explorers" and invites them to join him on a tour around the world to visit the various regions and countries:

(8) Hello! Welcome to Woolworths World Explorers! I'm Dan from Western Australia. Join me on an amazing adventure around the planet! We have an action packed itinerary ahead of us and throughout our travels, we're going to meet some of my wonderful friends from different regions of the world. Together, we will discover intriguing and fun facts about where they come from, the yummy foods they like to eat and so much more. Our first stop will be the wild and wonderful Africa, followed by the spicy cities of Asia. We'll visit our sun-kissed country, Australia and then go on to explore the ever-exciting Europe. After that, we will navigate our way over to the vast lands of North America and across the oceans to Oceania, with our final stopover in the rich and colourful region of South America. That is a whole lot of kilometres to cover in such a short period of time, so we better get going!

By referring to Australia as "our sun-kissed country", he addressed recipients as co-citizens to explore nations other than Australia.

While the properties used to construct Australian identity do not reflect the linguistic and material realities in Australia, the campaign draws a link between the nation and Woolworths by means of the representational choices. First, this is achieved by means of color: the producers of the campaign chose the color of Woolworths' logo for the cards and stickers of the Australian states and territories (Figure 12), as well as for the "World Explorers" logo. Figure 13 features an excerpt from Woolworths' website that holds information about the campaign. Woolworths' logo, located in the left corner on top of the page, is colored in the same dark and light greens as the logo of the campaign that dominates most of the displayed excerpt.

Figure 13: Excerpt from Woolworths' website: Woolworths' and the "World Explorers" logo

Second, the Australian characters mostly present fresh produce items, such as olives, nuts, and mangos (Figure 12). This is directly connected with Woolworths' slogan, "Australia's Fresh Food People", which promotes the company as an advocate for fresh produce from Australia. Woolworths is thereby "nationalized" (Kania-Lundholm, 2014), i.e. it is presented as Australian despite its multinational identity. The choice of fresh produce items in the cards representing Australia, also relates back to the diversity theme and banal cosmopolitanism applied in the campaign: the earlier mentioned diversity of cooking styles (Excerpt 4) can be enacted by using natural resources from the country, for which Woolworths promotes themselves as the number one distributer. The

associations with national identity in the campaign are, thus, used in a similar way to Foster's Lager in White's (2009) study, to contribute to the MNC's profit making on the global market. Vice versa, Woolworths works as a "nationalist actor" (Prideaux, 2009): they support the nation state by creating a positive image of the national community.

In summary, the campaign, perhaps unsurprisingly, emphasizes Australian national identity. However, the emphasis is not only quantitative but also qualitative: the campaign highlights Australia's diversity, a diversity that is, however, selective in that it is limited to a diversity of ethnicities, landscapes and cuisines. While material, social and linguistic inequalities are made invisible by the choices of representation of Australia, the campaign links the company to Australia.

3.8 Discussion and conclusion

This research was designed to examine the intersection between nationalism and corporate marketing. Therefore, the study analyzed how national identities were represented in the context of a marketing campaign by an Australian MNC to achieve business purposes. It started from the premise that the advertising of MNCs covertly contributes to people's understanding of national identity in a global context. The study presented evidence that the way in which Woolworths deploys nationalism in their marketing campaign reinforces an ideology that portrays national identity as the defining element of each and everyone's identity and obfuscates the company's status as a profit-seeking MNC, while it serves product promotion. While the framing of the world as a world of nations is not unusual – indeed, it is precisely its ubiquity which makes it banal – this research aimed to denaturalize this eminently normalized discourse.

Certainly, the campaign's main aim is to promote Woolworths' products. However, the fact that it does so by using a framework of distinct nations and essentialist

understandings of national communities under the guise of education, socializes recipients into this way of seeing the world and of viewing their and other people's identity. This study, therefore, has implications for social justice: by portraying communities as intranationally homogenous, and internationally different by means of the same properties, the campaign disregards the challenges people may face within national borders, as well as when crossing national borders, due to material, social and linguistic difference (Knox, 2015).

Analytically, this research illustrates that banal cosmopolitanism is related to banal nationalism in the campaign: nationalism becomes insidious since extremist nationalism is excluded and only banal nationalism is used; moreover, the campaign encourages recipients to enact their cosmopolitan identity by drawing on national resources. This illustrates the tension between nationalism and globalization.

Moreover, while Woolworths pretends to contribute to children's education, the campaign really obscures their profit-seeking identity and contributes to profit-making, as a key-concept of the campaign is "food". It seems at least questionable when MNCs, such as Woolworths in the present case, assign themselves educational remits; specifically, when what they "teach" contributes to nationalism, while citizens, maybe more than ever, need to be equipped with the ability to critically view the power structures in society to advance social justice.

Preface to Chapter 4

This chapter is the third paper arising from this research project. It explores how nations are emplaced in the urban culinary linguistic landscape. The decision to focus on restaurant signage in this case study evolved from the findings of the second case study, where food proved to be an important topic in the discourses of national identity in the supermarket marketing campaign. Further, the findings in that study that there was a relationship between banal nationalism and cosmopolitanism made focusing on a global city context a logical next step. Sydney was the city I lived in when I was undertaking my doctoral research, and thus a convenient choice. But the focus on this city also enabled me to extend and deepen my investigation in nationalist discourses about Australia in Chapter 3. Therefore, the analysis concentrates on restaurant signage in four suburbs in the city of Sydney, Australia, that are known for their culinary scene. With the integration of Linguistic Landscape Analysis (LLA) into the Critical Discourses Analysis (CDA) of this thesis and the focus on commercial signage as a form of often-overlooked advertising, I was able to extend the contributions made by this thesis by two methodological contributions to CDA (see Section 5.2.5).

This paper was submitted for peer review to *Linguistic Landscape. An international journal* in November 2018. Established in 2015, *Linguistic Landscape. An international journal* is a relatively new journal. I chose this journal for two main reasons. First, the research in this paper fits within the journal's scope, which involves an inquiry about ideologies underlying language use in public spaces and the application of various research methodologies. Second, it also builds on the work of researchers who have published papers in the journal or are part of the editorial board (e.g. Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Hasan Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Blackwood, 2016; Jaworski, 2015).

4. “Takes your tummy to Italy”: nationalism in Sydney’s culinary linguistic landscape

Abstract

In the context of globalization, advertising discourse in urban areas has become increasingly multilingual and draws ever more on associations with disparate national identities. Especially the hospitality sector deploys representations of national identity as a symbolic resource to promote its products and services. In turn, nationalism in hospitality advertising contributes to people's understanding of identity in our global era. It is against this background that this research investigates how the relationship between nation and cuisine is established in the urban linguistic landscape. Specifically, this study examines restaurant signage in four suburbs of Sydney, Australia. The main research question is "How are nations emplaced in the culinary linguistic landscape of the city?" To address this central question, this study investigates (1) which languages are used, and (2) how national and (3) cosmopolitan identities are represented. Findings demonstrate that banal forms of nationalism and cosmopolitanism contribute to imagining Sydney as multilingual and multicultural, yet nationally grounded. The study indicates that these ideologies promote the consumption of national cuisines as a means to index socioeconomic distinction.

4.1 Introduction

Globalization has led to increasing diversity and the accessibility of goods from around the world in many places. Consequently, advertising discourse in urban areas has become increasingly multilingual and draws ever more on associations with disparate national identities. The hospitality sector in particular sector deploys representations of national identity as a symbolic resource to promote its products and services (Ichijo & Ranta, 2015).

Nationalism in the promotion of food remains hidden behind commercial aims but influences recipients as it constitutes the basic premise on which this discourse is based. It reinforces the perception that there are clear cut boundaries between national identities by way of what and how various nations eat (Ichijo & Ranta, 2015).

At the same time, the way in which national identities are represented in culinary discourses in urban environments influences the way in which the identity of these spaces is defined (Peck & Banda, 2014). More precisely, the presence of various national cuisines in a specific space – the presence of the global in the local – may contribute to constructing places as diverse and cosmopolitan.

Research on the way in which nations are emplaced in restaurant advertising in urban environments therefore lends itself to advancing an understanding of the intersection of nationalism and cuisine in the context of globalization. A linguistic study of this relationship can offer an understanding of how language choice contributes to public understandings of the relationship between the local/national and the global.

This study seeks to contribute to the existing body of research on the intersection of nationalism and cuisine reviewed in Section Two by examining how semiotic representations of national identity are used as a tool by the hospitality industry in urban

areas to advertise cuisine. The main research problem of this study therefore is: how are nations emplaced in the culinary linguistic landscape of the city?

The next section gives an overview of relevant literature on nationalism and multilingualism in linguistic landscapes and illustrates that there is a gap in research investigating the discursive link between national identity and cuisine in urban areas. This research lacuna will be addressed by asking (1) which languages are used, and (2) how national and (3) how cosmopolitan identities are represented in the culinary linguistic landscape of Sydney, Australia. In this section, Bourdieu's (1983, 1986) model of consumption of capital will also be introduced as the main lens through which the corpus was examined and through which the conclusion will be evaluated. Following this, I provide some background about Sydney and four specific suburbs of the city to justify the choice of these suburbs as research sites. After that, I explain the methods of analysis, i.e. linguistic landscape and multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA), and describe the data set. In the analysis, I address the three research questions by discussing quantitative data and examples from the qualitative data in depth. Findings include that Sydney is constructed as multilingual and multicultural through the emplacement of national identities and cosmopolitan identities in the culinary linguistic landscape of the city. I argue that the commodification of national and cosmopolitan identities promotes consumption.

4.2 The commodification of national identity through cuisine

The intersection of nationalism and cuisine has been studied through the concept of banal nationalism (e.g. Ichijo & Ranta, 2015). In contrast to extremist forms of nationalism, banal forms of nationalism are the daily and more covert reminders of national identity which are not a priori intended to reinforce the nation (Billig, 1995; Piller, 2017). Banal

forms of nationalism include national symbols and imagery, such as flags, anthems and banknotes, as well as national languages.

Representation of languages and identities in discourse are related to the way in which social power relationships are understood, as existing research on multilingualism in linguistic landscapes illustrates: the inclusion or absence of languages in a linguistic landscape supports the dominance of some, and the peripheral status of other identities, because languages index identities (Shohamy, 2006). Likewise, the priority that some languages enjoy over others in the composition of linguistic landscapes may reinforce social power structures as it reproduces a "visual ideology" (Cosgrove, 1985; see Jaworski, 2014; Leeman & Modan, 2009). This means that languages are valued or devalued depending on the "visual grammar" mobilized, i.e. the value of a language depends on its presence or absence on certain, more valuable signs and its use in combination with other, more dominant languages, as well as their relative placement on these signs (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). Language choice in linguistic landscapes is hence not only borne out of the power relations among different groups but contributes to maintaining them (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Hasan Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, 2006).

Languages in advertising have moreover been shown to be associated with different levels of prestige, which can make language choice an effective business strategy. These associations may be domain-specific in some instances. For example, Italian and French have been shown to be linked with prestige regarding food, fashion and cosmetics (e.g. Kelly-Holmes, 2000; Piller, 2001, 2003). However, linguistic and multimodal resources may lose their connection with an identifiable ethno-linguistic and ethno-national identity, if they are deployed for commercial purposes. A whole new visual-linguistic register, "globalese", has emerged because businesses draw on various languages in

creative ways to achieve economic gain (Jaworski, 2015). “Globalese” indexes places as global or cosmopolitan and presupposes its audience as globalized, i.e. as able to understand the new register. Language may hence not always be an indicator for ethno-linguistic vitality; another option is that it may be used for aesthetic reasons rather than for communicative purposes (Leeman & Modan, 2009, p. 347).

The branding of food businesses and items as national through banal forms of nationalism contributes to maintaining national belonging and enables national claims of quality and authenticity (Johnston & Baumann, 2014); at the same time, it is related to the growing celebration of diversity (Anthias, 2013; Ichijo & Ranta, 2015). In today’s world, it has become desirable to offer a variety of foods because “diversity sells” (Cook & Crang, 1996). Vice versa, spaces with diverse food offerings have been shown to function as cosmopolitan places, or a “cosmopolitan canopy”, i.e. a somewhat neutral setting where diverse people are expected to get along: they provide strangers with the opportunity to socialize and, thus, reduce barriers between socially, ethnically or nationally diverse people (Anderson, 2004, p. 17). At the same time, eateries are key sites of cultural consumption (Leeman & Modan, 2009). Places offering food associated with a certain nationality or ethnicity have become more numerous with the growing interest of local populations in alternative culinary experiences (Frost, 2011), and the increasing popularity of eating out as a social and cultural practice (Möhring, 2008). The composition of food spaces may thus illustrate a link between banal forms of nationalism and banal forms of cosmopolitanism, for example the availability of a variety of foods in local areas (Beck, 2002). Banal forms of cosmopolitanism are closely bound up with consumption and thus do not necessarily advance a shared global future in which a “cosmopolitan responsibility” is extended across national borders (Beck, 2002).

These trends can be explained by Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital" (1983, 1986): cultural capital, in its fundamental state, takes an embodied form. It can be acquired – incorporated – only symbolically and by means of investment of personal time and money by the individual. The consumption of a variety of national and ethnic foods, for example, requires access to disposable income, time, and knowledge ("connoisseurship") and is therefore limited to populations with previously acquired economic, social and cultural capital. Embodied (cultural) capital cannot immediately be transferred from one individual or group to another, since it has been transformed into part of the person, into their habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). It can therefore become a source of distinction, especially in the case of scarce cultural capital.

An analysis of the linguistic landscape formed by the language choices, as well as other semiotic choices, of urban eateries in their advertising can provide new insights into the ideological reproduction of national and cosmopolitan identities in the context of globalization. It can thus contribute to understanding the connection between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Therefore, the central research problem of this study is: how are nations emplaced in the culinary linguistic landscape of the city? This will be examined in the context of Sydney. Bourdieu's model of consumption of capital shall be used as a lens to examine the corpus of this study and to evaluate the findings in the conclusion. The chief aim of this research is to contribute to the denaturalization of banal nationalism and cosmopolitanism by addressing this question. The main research problem will be addressed via the following three research questions:

(1) Which languages are used in the culinary linguistic landscape of Sydney?

(2) How are national identities represented in the culinary linguistic landscape of Sydney?

(3) How are cosmopolitan identities represented in the culinary linguistic landscape of Sydney?

The next section provides relevant background about Sydney and the four suburbs where the data for this research was collected.

4.3 Context

Like many urban areas around the world, Sydney has undergone great economic and social change in recent decades. The confluence of various factors in this process has led to the development of a diverse food scene in the city:

> The emergence of international finance, the relative decline and decentralization of manufacturing to the fringe of the city, the gentrification of the inner city, and a new focus on leisure and pleasure have been accompanied by the emergence of a focaccia and cappuccino city culture, with cafes and restaurants from African to Thai (…) spilling over onto the pavements and promenades, celebrating the delights of a multicultural cuisine. (Connell, 2000, p. 11)

Sydney's "global" city status together with the growing importance and diversity of the food scene in the city make Sydney a suitable context for this research focusing on the national identity-hospitality industry nexus.

This study focuses on four centrally located suburbs that are part of Sydney's tourist trails and feature commercial areas with numerous eateries: Leichhardt, Redfern, Rose Bay and The Rocks. Leichhardt is located five kilometers west of Sydney's Central Business District (CBD), in the local government area (LGA) of the Inner West Council. Redfern and The Rocks are both part of the LGA of the City of Sydney, located three kilometers south and one kilometer north-west of Sydney's CBD, respectively. Rose Bay

is located seven kilometers east of Sydney's CBD, and is part of the LGAs of Waverley Council and Woollahra Council. All four areas are suburbs with popular eateries, which are promoted for their vibrant "foodscapes":

> Taste the delicious flavours of Leichhardt, a delightful inner Sydney neighbourhood and nicknamed Little Italy for its moreish Italian cuisine (2018a).
>
> From cutting-edge shows and galleries to a vibrant market and a buzzing cafe and bar scene, Redfern and Waterloo are lively inner Sydney destinations. (Destination NSW, 2018b)
>
> Rose Bay offers many memorable adventures on beautiful Sydney Harbour. (...) Your tastebuds are in for a treat, with a delicious range of places to eat. (Destination NSW, 2018d)
>
> There [at The Rocks] are markets, museums, galleries and delicious food and wine experiences. (Destination NSW, 2018c)

Due to the focus on restaurant signage of this study, the four suburbs have been chosen because they are all known for their restaurants.

The next section illustrates the linguistic landscape approach to data collection adopted in this study; it also explains the methods of analysis, i.e. MCDA.

4.4 Methodology

Methods of data collection and analysis were chosen according to the linguistic landscape approach (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) and the focus on language choice of the hospitality industry of this study. Data collection was conducted in the main commercial areas in the four suburbs in Sydney using an etic approach to counting signs and undertaking a critical discourse analysis to public signage in the model of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996). All

shop signs bearing the names of food related businesses, i.e. restaurants, cafes, bars and pubs, were photographed along the main commercial areas in each suburb. In this way this paper does not give voice to anyone else other than the author as it does not include data collected from interviews with restaurateurs responsible for the signage, or of the dining public. Table 1 displays the length of the stretch of streets in which data was collected and the number of eateries/signs photographed in each suburb.

Suburb	**Length of stretch of streets**	**Number of eateries/signs**
Leichhardt	1450 m	64
Redfern	1150 m	39
Rose Bay	3640 m	34
The Rocks	1470 m	38
Total	**7710 m**	**175**

Table 1: Length of the stretch of streets in meters and number of eateries/signs according to suburb.

Data analysis was conducted in several steps. First, data was analyzed quantitatively by counting the occurrences of any given language in the naming of the eateries, since languages index identities (Shohamy, 2006). Names were categorized according to "English only", "English and Language other than English (LOTE)", "LOTE only" and "globalese". The justification for this simplified binary of English and LOTE lies in the different status assigned to English and all other languages in Australia. English enjoys the status of Australia's de-facto official language and is the language spoken by the majority of the country's population both in public and at home, while all other languages are spoken by comparatively small numbers of residents and most are relegated to the home (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a). Additionally, as the de-facto official language used overwhelmingly in public life, "English" is used here to refer to the standard language. By contrast, "Globalese" was used to tag those instances where various languages were used in creative ways, e.g. clipped together, truncated, etc. (Jaworski, 2015). The problematic nature of 'globalese' lies in a paradox: by combining

fragments of national languages for marketing purposes, it feeds into the idea of the world as one place as a banal form of cosmopolitanism. However, it only represents elitist and aspirational identities, namely identities of those who can or choose to access the commodities being advertised through 'globalese' (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009; Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010b). For consistency, proper names were not tagged as LOTE lexemes since they may or may not be recognized as "foreign" depending on the context (Edelman, 2009). In following Edelman, I acknowledge that other linguistic landscape researchers have made other choices. Tufi and Blackwood (2010), for instance, developed a three-step methodology to analyze proper names, especially brand names, in the context of linguistic landscape analyses. This methodology addresses the problem of the often-ambiguous association of a brand name with a language and the finding that this association may vary across different nations and/or for different viewers of signs. Such an analysis requires perception data for sign viewers, and therefore could not be adopted in this research.

After coding all data as 'English only', 'English and LOTE', 'LOTE only' or 'globalese', it was determined what LOTEs were used on those signs that featured English and a LOTE, or a LOTE only. This was to explore patterns of linguistic diversity in the various suburbs. The "visual grammar" of the signs was also analyzed (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996): composition and color of signs "as components of a socio-semiotic system of power relations" (cited in Blackwood, 2016, p. 165; Hall, 1997) were considered, as well as font size, placement and modality of text, to identify what languages and national identities received prominence and how this was achieved.

Subsequently, further qualitative analysis was conducted: discursive strategies other than language use deployed on the signs to invoke national identity and associate the

eateries and cuisine with nationality were identified. These strategies included use of national labels, reference to national cuisine, use of national symbols, and use of national imagery. In order to explore how national identities/cuisines were semiotically represented, the semiotic features of the collected items were analyzed through an MCDA approach (Machin, 2007; Van Dijk, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Sections Five to Seven present the findings from the data analysis. A discussion and conclusion follow in Section Eight.

4.5 Imagining Sydney as multilingual

National identities are emplaced via languages in the linguistic foodscape of Sydney. This section presents the findings from the quantitative and qualitative analysis of language use on the signs of the eateries in the four suburbs.

Languages	**Leichhardt**	**Redfern**	**Rose Bay**	**The Rocks**	**Total**
English only	24 (37%)	25 (64%)	28 (82%)	27 (71%)	104 (60%)
English and LOTE	26 (41%)	9 (23%)	3 (9%)	10 (26%)	48 (27%)
LOTE only	10 (16%)	2 (5%)	2 (6%)	0	14 (8%)
'Globalese'	4 (6%)	3 (8%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	9 (5%)

Table 2: Language use on eateries' signs in the four suburbs and total numbers

Table 2 shows the use of English only, English and LOTE, LOTE only and globalese on the signs of the eateries. The use of English and LOTEs on the signs varies across suburbs. EO signs dominate among the signs in Rose Bay, The Rocks and Redfern to decreasing degrees. In Leichhardt, the number of EO signs is slightly outweighed by English and LOTE signs, and LOTE only signs amount to a considerable proportion of signs. There are only a few instances of LOTE only signs in Redfern and Rose Bay, and none in The Rocks. However, about a quarter of signs in The Rocks and Redfern are English and LOTE signs. A small portion of signs were tagged as "globalese" across

suburbs, most of which were found in Leichhardt and Redfern. Taken together, English and LOTE, LOTE only and globalese signs constitute a substantial part of the signs as they account for 40% of all signs. In other words, multilingual signs are a common occurrence in the culinary linguistic landscape of Sydney. Incidentally, the percentage is very similar to the percentage of Sydney residents using a LOTE at home, namely 38.2% in the 2016 census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017b).

Table 3 shows what LOTEs were used on those signs that featured English and a LOTE, or a LOTE only according to suburb. It illustrates that a great range of LOTEs are used, especially in Leichhardt and Redfern, and to a lesser degree in The Rocks and Rose Bay. This includes not only European languages but several Asian and one Indigenous Australian language. Italian predominates among the LOTEs used on both types of signs: 33% of the English and LOTE signs are English-Italian, and 71% of the LOTE only signs are Italian. Most of the Italian signs are located in Leichhardt, which is also the suburb with the highest percentage of English and LOTE, and LOTE only signs overall.

Languages	**Leichhardt**		**Redfern**		**Rose Bay**		**The Rocks**		**Total**	
English and LOTE	12	Italian	2	Thai	1	Italian	3	Italian	16	Italian
	4	Japanese	1	Biri[i]	1	Japanese	3	Japanese	9	Japanese
	3	Chinese	1	Chinese	1	Chinese	2	French	5	Chinese
	3	Greek	1	Greek			1	German	4	Greek
	1	French	1	Japanese			1	Spanish	3	Spanish
	1	Irish	1	Korean					3	French
	1	Spanish	1	Spanish					2	Thai
	1	Vietnamese	1	Turkish					1	Biri
									1	German
									1	Irish
									1	Korean
									1	Turkish
									1	Vietnamese
LOTE only	7	Italian	2	Italian	1	French			10	Italian
	1	Portuguese			1	Italian			1	French
	1	Spanish							1	Portuguese
	1	Turkish							1	Spanish
									1	Turkish

Table 3: LOTEs used on eateries' signs in the four suburbs and total numbers

Figure 1: Sign of restaurant "fàn tǒng" in Leichhardt

The prevalence of EO signs across suburbs is unsurprising since English is widely considered Australia's national language and the language spoken by the majority of Sydney residents (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017b). The dominance of Italian among the LOTEs used on the signs across suburbs can be explained by several factors. First, the domain-specific prestige of Italian in food advertising makes the language an attractive symbolic resource for food businesses (Kelly-Holmes, 2000; Piller, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2017). Second, substantial Italian migration into Leichhardt from 1917 until after the Second World War led to the establishment of Italian eateries in this suburb, which contributed to the number of Italian eateries in Sydney overall (Burnley, 2000). Third, a conscious effort of the state government to maintain the association of Leichhardt with Italian identity may be another contributing factor (Inner West Council, 2013). The presence of a great variety of other LOTEs for which these factors do not exist, is more surprising. This illustrates the special relationship between food/cuisine and national identity: food is often constructed as national, which "makes it a medium through which (…) national identity is practiced and experienced, while, (…) it is imagined, constructed and reproduced." (Ichijo & Ranta, 2015, p. 3f.) The overall effect of this widespread use of a variety of LOTEs in the signs of eateries across suburbs is that Sydney comes to be constructed as multilingual.

This representation of Sydney as multilingual is strengthened further through the LOTEs' dominance on the eateries' signs in several instances. This is the case due to

Figure 2: Sign of restaurant "Metaxi Mas Deli Cafe" in Redfern

Figure 3: Sign of restaurant "Taste of Szechuan" in Redfern

the visual grammar of signs on which LOTEs appear in conjunction with English (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). For example, the Chinese characters and their transliteration "fàn tong" (English "rice bucket") appear in large fonts and more visible coloring on the sign in Figure 1 whereas the English sentence is placed in smaller lettering and less visible white coloring underneath. Similarly, the Greek name "Metaxi Mas" (English "between us") appears in large bold lettering on the sign in Figure 2, whereas the English lexemes next to it are printed in smaller letters. Another sign features English and Chinese for the name of the eatery with the Chinese writing considerably larger and printed in black so that it appears more visible than the English writing (Figure 3). An additional Chinese sentence placed above the English name contributes further to the visual dominance of Chinese on this sign. The way in which LOTEs are used on the signs can be interpreted as a banal form of nationalism that contributes to the authentication of the individual eateries as nationally or ethnically authentic (Billig, 1995; Ichijo & Ranta, 2015). The visual ideology (Cosgrove, 1985) of Sydney's culinary linguistic landscape moreover emphasizes linguistic diversity which may be related to the fact that "diversity sells" (Cook & Crang, 1996).

The construction of Sydney as multilingual is further established through the use of different scripts on the signs of various eateries in the four suburbs. In addition to the occurrence of the Latin script, Chinese script predominates (see examples

Figure 4: Sign of restaurant "Tavernaki" in Leichhardt

in Figure 1 and 3) and there are several instances of Greek and Japanese script use. For example, one sign in Leichhardt displays Greek "Ταβερνάκι" as the name of the restaurant (Figure 4). Another sign displays the name of the restaurant in Japanese hiragana script in addition to the transliterated name "Tomonaga" and an English description of the type of cuisine (Figure 5). Like language use, script use can be interpreted as a banal form of nationalism. The discursive effect of these banal forms of nationalism can be explained in turn as a banal form of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002): the construction of Sydney as linguistically diverse is an index of cosmopolitanism.

Figure 5: Sign of restaurant "Tomonaga" in Leichhardt

In summary, the number of multilingual signs, the variety of languages used on them, and their visual grammar combine to construct Sydney as multilingual. Banal nationalism is related to banal cosmopolitanism since language use in restaurant signage draws on and reinforces the strong link between cuisine and national identity while it constructs the city's identity as cosmopolitan.

4.6 Imagining Sydney as multicultural

The previous section illustrated how languages are used to index nationality, as well as the discursive effects of these representations. This section explores how other semiotic resources are used to index national identity in this context. It presents the findings from the qualitative analysis of other discursive strategies including use of national labels, reference to national cuisine, use of national symbols and use of national imagery.

Figure 6: Linguistic reference to nationality: signs of restaurants "Tany's Japanese Restaurant" in Redfern and "1 Best Thai" in Rose Bay

National identities are represented via the use of linguistic references to nationality. For example, on the signs in Figure 6, the restaurant's cuisine is explicitly identified as "Japanese" or "Thai", respectively. EO signs with a referential content to another nation and language, such as these, are qualitatively different from EO signs without such reference. The use of national labels may be related to the legal requirements to provide country of origin and producer information, in some contexts (Ichijo & Ranta, 2015, p. 66); however, on the eateries' signs it is a free choice. They may be used to support claims of quality and authenticity, since geographical specificity has been found to be linked with assertions of food's authenticity in food related discourse (Johnston & Baumann, 2014). The use of these labels on the eateries' signs, portrays cuisine as nation-specific and homogenous. At the same time, these EO signs contribute to the portrayal of Sydney's cuisine as diverse through the representation of a multiplicity of national cuisines in the foodscape.

Another strategy to represent national identities is through linguistic and semiotic references to national cuisine. For example, an association with Turkish cuisine is invoked by means of the Turkish lexeme "sofra" which may denote a low table or table cloth used for dining in Turkish speaking contexts (Figure 7). The halal symbol in the top left corner of the same

Figure 7: Linguistic reference to national cuisine: signs of restaurants "Sofra" in Leichhardt, "Appetito" in The Rocks and "bún me" in Leichhardt

sign may add further to this as Turkish food is identified as halal food. Similarly, a link with Italian cuisine is drawn via the Italian lexeme "Appetito" (English "appetite") which is part of the formulaic expression "Buon appetito" used to wish each other an enjoyable meal in Italian speaking contexts (Figure 7). A connection with Vietnamese cuisine is established in the same way through the Vietnamese lexemes: "bún me" may denote a type of noodle used in Vietnamese cooking, or be a play on "Bánh mì", a type of sandwich in Vietnamese cuisine (Figure 7).

Semiotic references to national food culture are used in addition to such linguistic references or by themselves. A stylized image of two fish in addition to the linguistic reference to a popular Japanese dish, "Sushi", may invoke associations with Japanese cuisine (Figure 8). Likewise, a stylized lemon may invoke associations with Mediterranean cuisine in the context of a monolingual Italian shop sign: Italian identity is invoked via the two Italian lexemes "capriccio" (English "whim") and "osteria" (English "tavern") (Figure 8). An image of chopsticks, or an image of a round-faced cartoon character who is using chopsticks to eat a bowl of noodles, may invoke associations with Asian cuisine in a similar way (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Semiotic reference to national cuisine: signs of restaurants "Sushi Maru", "capriccio" and "Mekong" in Leichhardt, and "Sek Fun BBQ Noodle House" in Redfern

The linguistic and semiotic references to national food culture are a form of banal nationalism which depict cuisines as homogenous: since items are imagined as part of a nation's food culture, they contribute to imagining

the nation "by projecting a particular image of what the nation eats and what its food-related boundaries are" (Ichijo 2015: 9). Simultaneously, they contribute to the construction of the local food scene as diverse and thereby of Sydney as multicultural.

National identities are further emplaced via national symbols on the signs of Sydney's eateries. National symbols, such as flags and emblems, suggest national particularity as they create distinction between various nations; however, they suggest national universality at the same time, as they draw on identical criteria to construct this distinction (Billig, 1995, p. 86). For example, several eateries such as "Appetito" in Figure 7 and "Bar Italia" in Figure 9 use the color of the Italian flag on their signs. Colors work in conjunction with other semiotic resources, such as the country name displayed in the national language on the sign of "Bar Italia": the country name is framed by the colors of the flag, which creates a strong association of the restaurant with Italian identity. This emplacement of nationality via national symbols contributes further to the overall representation of Sydney as multicultural.

Figure 10: Use of national colors: sign of restaurant "Bar Italia" in Leichhardt

Figure 9: Use of national imagery: sign of restaurant "Delpiero" in Leichhardt

National identity is invoked, linguistically or semiotically, via national imagery in addition to the strategies discussed so far. For instance, the "Tudor Hotel" in Redfern references the English royal dynasty in power from 1485 to 1603 and hence invokes British identity. Similarly, Italian identity is invoked via reference to the national poet "Dante" in the naming of one restaurant and via the image of ruins of the Roman empire on the sign of another restaurant in Leichhardt (Figure 10). Greek identity is emplaced via reference to the ancient epic "Odyssey" in the name of a restaurant in the same suburb. The representation of Thai national identity is via exotic animals. For example, one eatery in Rose Bay carries the name "Blue Monkey Thai" and features a blue monkey on its sign (Figure 11), while the sign of another restaurant in this suburb bears an elephant next to their name "1 Best Thai" (Figure 6). Aboriginality is represented semiotically via an image that may be recognized as Indigenous art (Figure 12). Anglo-Australian identity, then again, is emplaced via semiotic references to settlement history. For example, one eatery in The Rocks references the country's colonial past with the name "First Fleet Bar & Bistro" (Figure 13). Another eatery uses implicit reference by naming themselves after Captain Arthur Phillip of the First Fleet as explained on their website (Phillips Foote Restaurant, 2018) (Figure 13). A third eatery uses the image of a compass to refer to the arrival of the first settlers by ship (Figure 13). The emplacement of European, Asian, Indigenous and Anglo-Australian identities via different national imageries – ranging from history and literature to animals, art and colonialism – contributes further to the

Figure 11: Use of national imagery: sign of restaurant "Blue Monkey Thai" in Rose Bay

discursive construction of Sydney as culturally diverse. This adds to the city's representation as cosmopolitan via language use as demonstrated in the previous section.

Figure 12: Use of national imagery: sign of café "Biri Biri", Redfern

In summary, the way in which national identities are represented in the foodscape creates a multicultural mélange which portrays Sydney as multicultural. Multiculturalism in addition to multilingualism establishes the city's cosmopolitan identity.

Sections Five and Six showed how national identities are represented via language use and via other discursive strategies on eateries' shop signs in Sydney. The findings suggest that banal forms of nationalism are linked with banal forms of cosmopolitanism in that they contribute to constructing the city as multilingual and multicultural. The following section therefore examines further how cosmopolitan identities are represented in the culinary linguistic landscape of the Sydney.

Figure 13: Use of national imagery: signs of eateries "First Fleet Bar & Bistro", "Phillip's Foote" and "The Rocks Café" in The Rocks

4.7 Imagining Sydney as a global city

The signs analyzed so far emplace a national identity each in the culinary linguistic landscape of Sydney. Some signs, however, draw on resources of various national identities. These signs will be discussed in this section.

The creative use of languages, i.e. "globalese", is one way in which cosmopolitanism is invoked on eateries' signs in the data (Jaworski, 2015). The languages and other semiotic resources on globalese signs, though not clearly attributable to one national language, can often be traced back to their source language, according to Jaworski (2015,

p. 232). One restaurant in Leichhardt, for example, bears the name “Bonarchè Burgers” (Figure 14). The lexeme “Bonarchè” cannot be ascribed to a national language. Indeed, it is a portmanteau of “Bond” and “Archer”, the surnames of the owners (Altmedia, 2013). It does, however, raise associations with foreignness through the use of the accent, which is a common feature of French and Italian, for example. On a sign in Redfern, the truncated name of the suburb has been combined with the Italian lexeme “forno” (English “oven”). Associations of localness are thereby joined with connotations of foreignness (Figure 14). Another example of globalese is “7ettimo” (Figure 14). The beginning of the Italian lexeme “settimo” (English “seventh”) has been replaced here with the number seven which denotes a meaning similar to the meaning of the Italian lexeme. The number is, however, universally recognizable among readers of the Latin script which is in contrast to the Italian lexeme. On another sign, reading “Thainamic”, the beginning of the English lexeme “dynamic” has been substituted with the phonetically similar “Thai” (Figure 14). The meaning potential of such signs is “displaced foreignness” or “typographic-orthographic cosmopolitanism”, i.e. they are part of a “largely commodified register indexing the global” (Jaworski, 2015, p. 232). However, they call up nationality, such as French, Italian and Thai in the above examples, at the same time. In other words, it is not an

Figure 14: Use of globalese: sign of eateries “Bonarchè Burgers”, “7ettimo” and “Thainamic” in Leichhardt and “Redforno” in Redfern.

anational cosmopolitanism that is being invoked, but a cosmopolitanism that derives from the ability to play with specific languages and national imageries.

Figure 15: Use of national symbols: sign of restaurant "Mercantile Hotel" in The Rocks

The merging of different national symbols is another way in which cosmopolitan identity is emplaced in the culinary linguistic landscape of Sydney. One eatery displays a shamrock which has long functioned as a metaphor for Ireland (Figure 15) (Henchion & McIntyre, 2000). The shamrock appears in combination with a kangaroo which has been internationally recognized as a symbol of Australia (Harper & White, 2010). The combination of Irish and Australian symbols establishes a link between the two national identities: Irish and Australian identity are literally "merged" like the shamrock and the kangaroo on the sign. The sign is qualitatively different from previously discussed signs such as the sign of "Bar Italia" (Figure 9): the kangaroo in the shamrock creates a hyphenated identity rather than emplacing an unchanged national identity (e.g. Italian) in Sydney. This association between Australian and Irish identity contributes further to the overall representation of Sydney as multicultural and, hence, cosmopolitan.

In summary, the combined effect of globalese signs, signs where different national identities have been merged and the use of signs that displace unchanged national identities into the culinary linguistic landscape of Sydney is that Sydney is constructed as cosmopolitan.

4.8 Discussion and conclusion

This research was designed to explore the intersection of nationalism and the hospitality industry in the context of urban environments. The study therefore examined how national and cosmopolitan identities are emplaced in the culinary linguistic landscape of four suburbs in Sydney. It proceeded from the assumption that culinary linguistic landscapes contribute to people's understanding of identity in globalization. The study presented evidence that the way in which restaurant signs in Sydney use nationalism perpetuates an image of the city as linguistically and culturally diverse and promotes consumption. It was the aim of this study to denaturalize banal forms of nationalism and cosmopolitanism found in culinary discourse by explaining their discursive effects.

This study demonstrated the variety of national cuisines on offer in the four suburbs of Sydney. It showed how the combination of various national languages and national associations contributes to producing a cosmopolitan feel for the city. This illustrates the connection between banal forms of nationalism, such as the consumption of national cuisines and environments, and banal forms of cosmopolitanism (cf. West, 2006): national identities, due to their use in this commercial space, become a form of banal cosmopolitanism that is nationally grounded.

The composition of the culinary linguistic landscape therefore reflects and reinforces Sydney's status as a global city (Burnley, 2000), where residents and tourists can enact their cosmopolitan identities through consumption. The availability of a diverse range of food may be interpreted as part of the symbolic economy deployed by urban governments and planners to "aestheticiz[e] and commodify[…] the urban environment in order to produce distinctive urban experiences that attract tourists and residents." (Leeman & Modan, 2009, p. 339) The commodification of national cuisines in Sydney is thus

intertwined with the socioeconomic development of the city since the diverse food scene attracts individuals who have an interest in and the means to consume different cuisines.

The title quote "Takes your tummy to Italy", taken from the menu of one of the restaurants in The Rocks included in the data of this study, summarizes the discursive effect of Sydney's culinary linguistic landscape: essentially, the nation becomes an object of consumption through food and consuming distant nations in this way becomes an index of a cosmopolitan identity. As explained in Section Two, this may be linked with the rising interest of local populations into different culinary experiences (Frost, 2011), and the growing popularity of eating out as a social and cultural practice (Möhring, 2008).

According to Bourdieu's theory, the consumption of a variety of cuisines may become a resource for individuals to distinguish themselves from individuals who are not able to make the same investment, who are unable to access diverse food options due to physical distance (from the city), or who refuse to eat "foreign" food. The ability to consume national cuisines, including the consumption of the linguistic landscape that comes with it, for example the use of certain formulaic expressions and "authentic" names for dishes, can thus become part of the cosmopolitan identity of the city dweller. Vice versa, cosmopolitanism can be invoked to claim elitist or aspirational identities (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009; Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010a). Engagement with linguistic and cultural diversity, therefore, becomes limited to those forms that can be commodified.

i Biri is one of several languages of Australia's largest language family Pama-Nyungan (Endangered Languages Project, 2018). It was spoken in Queensland southeast of Charters Town, but no current speakers are known.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I will summarize the findings from the three case studies that make up this thesis. I will then critically discuss the findings of this research overall by turning to the contributions of this research to existing research on banal nationalism, imagined communities, diversity discourses, nationalism in business discourses, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

5.1 Revisiting the research questions

As stated in Section 1.1.3, the overarching research problem addressed in this thesis is:

> How are representations of national identity used in business discourses in the context of globalization?

Within this overall question, this research explores the tensions between cultural nationalism and economic globalization in the media, in marketing, and in restaurant signage. The following specific research questions were identified:

1. How does the media establish a link between nation states and multinational corporations?
2. How does advertising discourse establish a link between nation states and multinational corporations?
3. How are nations emplaced in the culinary linguistic landscape of the city?

I will revisit these questions in turn in the remainder of this section. Since each question maps onto a case study, these summaries will be descriptive. I turn to a more critical discussion afterwards.

5.1.1 Research question 1: How does the media establish a link between nation states and multinational corporations?

The discursive link between the nation state and the multinational corporation (MNC) involved in the BP oil spill in 2010 is constructed differently according to diverging national interests represented by the media sources analyzed in Chapter 2. This results from the distinct representation of corporate responsibility, the role of the nation state and victim status in the media. Overall, these discourses of national interest serve to insulate the MNC from global criticism.

First, media sources establish a strong link between the MNC and the nation from which it originates by highlighting the importance of the company's economic wellbeing for the nation's economic wellbeing. This is achieved by making the investment of British pensions into BP shares relevant in the news reporting on the BP oil spill (Section 2.5). Since the media refrain from questioning this economic dependency of British citizens on the profits of the corporation, they contribute to naturalizing the interdependence of the nation and the MNC and hence to intertwining discourses of national identity and market discourses.

Second, the humanization of the MNC helps to depict it as a victim of the actions of foreign governments rather than the social actor responsible for the oil spill (Section 2.5). More precisely, BP is represented as being embodied in British citizens. In this way, criticism of BP is interpreted as criticism of British citizens and the nation.

Third, by involving British politicians in the discussion of the implications of the BP oil spill, the media diverts attention away from environmental implications to potential economic consequences for the British nation. Representatives of the UK government are cited in raising concerns about the consequences of the US government's actions for BP.

Their presence in the news reporting may therefore be interpreted as additional evidence of the connection made between the corporation and the nation.

Overall, the way in which corporate responsibility, the role of national governments, and victim status are assigned could be understood as discourses of national interest. These discourses reconstruct an environmental disaster into an economic problem for the nation. Hence, they function as a resource to protect the MNC from global criticism.

How corporations themselves draw on representations of national identity to support their interests is explored in the case study constituting Chapter 3. I will revisit the research question underlying this chapter in the following.

5.1.2 Research question 2: How does advertising discourse establish a link between nation states and multinational corporations?

The discursive link between nation states and the MNC is constructed via discourses of distinct nations in the supermarket marketing campaign analyzed in Chapter 3. These discourses include the portrayal of national identity as a defining trait of a person, the highlighting of the MNC's core product, food, as a distinctive element of national identity and the emphasis on Australian national identity. Overall, these discourses serve the MNC's interest in promoting the sales of their products.

First, an emphasis on national identity as a defining element of everyone's identity provides the basis to establish a link between nation and MNC. By drawing on banal forms of nationalism such as the territoriality principle, national symbols and national representatives, the supermarket marketing campaign portrays a set of internally homogenous and internationally different countries (Section 3.5). This framework of distinct nations places an emphasis on national identity which would not have been the

case with alternative views of the world, e.g. the world as climate zones or political alliances.

Second, the construction of food as one of the inherent criteria of national identity within this framework functions as a resource to associate nation and MNC. Not only does the campaign place importance on the MNC's main product with an emphasis on food (Section 3.6), but the semiotic association of fresh produce with Australian national identity ties in with the MNC's slogan "Australia's fresh food people", more specifically (Section 3.7).

Finally, quantitative and qualitative representation of Australian national identity in the campaign help to raise associations between nation and MNC. Australia is constructed as diverse in terms of ethnicities, landscapes and cuisines and thus portrayed as distinct from all other nations in the campaign. Moreover, Australian national identity is represented via the color of the company's logo and the logo of the campaign.

Taken together, the emphasis on national identity, food and Australia could be interpreted as discourses of distinct nations. These discourses serve to brand Woolworths as Australian and, hence, help to promote the MNC's products and consumption more generally.

The specific link between nation and cuisine was explored in more detail in the research question underlying the case study in Chapter 4. This question will be revisited in the next section.

5.1.3 Research question 3: How are nations emplaced in the culinary linguistic landscape of the city?

This research builds on existing research on the national identity-cuisine nexus and on the findings of the second case study of this research project by showing how national

identities are emplaced in the culinary linguistic landscape of the city. In this context, national identities are emplaced via invocations of national difference and authenticity. In combination, these discursive strategies contribute to marketing the city as cosmopolitan.

First, national identities are indexed via national languages on restaurant signage in the linguistic landscape of the city (Section 4.5). As a result, a high number of signs across the city are multilingual. Moreover, they not only feature various languages and different scripts but the visual grammar on several of these signs prioritizes the language other than the majority language. This contributes to constructing the city as linguistically diverse.

Second, national identities are emplaced via the use of various other semiotic resources such as national labels, linguistic or semiotic reference to national cuisine, national symbols or national imagery (Section 4.6). Displacing unchanged national identities into the linguistic landscape of the city, these strategies help to construct the image of a culturally, in addition to a linguistically, diverse space.

Lastly, while in some cases, one national identity is emplaced on each of the signs in the culinary linguistic landscape of the city, in other cases, multiple national identities are referenced. This is either via globalese, i.e. the creative use of several languages (Jaworski, 2015), or the merging of different national symbols (Section 4.7).

The way in which national identities are emplaced via restaurant signage in the linguistic landscape was interpreted as a banal form of cosmopolitanism: taken together, the signs contribute to constructing the city as cosmopolitan. This cosmopolitanism is built on and presupposes national identities.

In the next section, I illustrate the connections between the three research questions by discussing the combined contributions of this research project to existing knowledge in relevant fields.

5.2 Contributions

This research makes at least four contributions to research on banal nationalism, diversity discourses, imagined communities and nationalism in business discourses. The thesis also makes some methodological contributions to CDA. The contributions relate to the relationship between banal nationalism and banal cosmopolitanism, the role of food in nationalism, the dichotomy of an external and internal perspective of nationalism, the dialectical relationship between membership in the nation and membership in economic communities, and the extension of CDA via Linguistic Landscape Analysis (LLA) and via the analysis of commercial signage as a form of advertising discourse. I discuss these contributions in turn, below.

5.2.1 Banal nationalism and banal cosmopolitanism

This research makes an analytical contribution to existing research on banal nationalism in that it demonstrates that banal forms of nationalism are related to banal forms of cosmopolitanism. The findings from the three case studies illuminate the dialectical nature of this relationship.

Banal forms of nationalism are used in the marketing campaign of the Australian supermarket chain Woolworths, analyzed in Chapter 3, and in the culinary linguistic landscape of Sydney, analyzed in Chapter 4. In the marketing campaign, banal forms of nationalism create a discourse of distinct nations. At the same time, however, they function as a banal form of cosmopolitanism in that they encourage recipients of the campaign to enact their cosmopolitan identities by drawing on foreign national resources,

most importantly food (Section 3.6). In the culinary linguistic landscape, banal forms of nationalism invoke associations of national difference and authenticity (Section 4.6). As in Chapter 3, they work overall as a banal form of cosmopolitanism in that they depict the city as diverse.

The findings from these two case studies thus show that the discourses of cosmopolitanism used in the marketing campaign and in restaurant signage are nation-based rather than transcending national identity. This indicates that nationalism is central to the discourses under examination and serves as an ideology that is compatible with and undergirds cosmopolitanism.

The dialectical relationship between nationalism and cosmopolitanism is further illustrated by the media case study included in Chapter 2 of this thesis. The mass media had previously been shown to contribute to banal cosmopolitanism in that they bridge the spatial distance between people and, hence, create a sense of belonging to a global, even though fragmented, civilization (Beck, 2004 cf. Featherstone, 1993).

> Thus, in so far as global everyday existence becomes an integral part of media worlds, a kind of globalization of emotions and empathy takes place. (Beck, 2004, p. 152)

Arguably, in the media coverage on the BP oil spill, this banal form of cosmopolitanism is prevented due to the nationalist transformation of the environmental disaster. The deployed discourses of national interest reduce or suppress empathy in a cosmopolitan sense - for example for people in the Gulf of Mexico, fishermen whose livelihoods have been destroyed, future generations and non-human animals affected by the disaster - to an empathy with anyone but British co-nationals. In this way, the findings of the media

case study also exemplify the entanglement and maybe paradoxical relationship of nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

Taken together, the findings from the three case studies illuminate the dialectical relationship between banal forms of nationalism and banal cosmopolitanism: while the kind of friendly nationalism used in the marketing campaign and in restaurant signage goes hand in hand with cosmopolitanism, the defensive nationalism in the media coverage of the BP oil spill eliminates cosmopolitanism as it limits empathy to co-nationals.

5.2.2 National identity and food

Case studies 2 and 3 illustrate that food is a key issue in nationalism. More specifically, the studies show that food may serve as a resource to index both national unity and diversity.

Food is at the heart of the national discourses in Woolworths' marketing campaign and Sydney's culinary linguistic landscape. Certainly, this is not surprising since the focus is on the campaign of a supermarket in Case Study 2 and on the signage of restaurants in Case Study 3. However, the studies show how food serves to index national unity and diversity in a similar way across these different contexts. In Woolworths' marketing campaign, food is key to promoting the company's products and the brand. By assigning each nation a specific dish, nations are indexed as internally homogenous but internationally heterogenous. Food is, therefore, central to establishing a framework for understanding the distinct nations in the campaign. At the same time, it is used to construct Australia as diverse and thereby as different from all other nations represented in the campaign. It is hence also crucial to creating a link between nation and company: by displaying the many representatives of Australia with various foods, Woolworths' identity as a supplier of fresh produce - as expressed in their marketing slogan

"Australia's fresh food people" - is highlighted and the company branded as Australian. Likewise, the many restaurants in Sydney associate the nation represented in their signage with the cuisine they offer, whereby food comes to depict individual nations as internally united. However, at the same time, food helps to portray the identity of the city as diverse, since various national cuisines are emplaced alongside each other in the culinary linguistic landscape. Therefore, in the same way as food is key to promoting the brand as Australian in Woolworths marketing campaign, it is central to constructing the image of Sydney as a diverse Australian city.

All in all, the analyses in Chapters 3 and 4 extend our understanding of the role of food as a key feature of "friendly" nationalism in business discourses and its role as an index of national unity and diversity.

5.2.3 External and internal perspectives of nationalism

This research contributes to existing knowledge about national identity and diversity in that it illustrates the difference between external and internal perspectives on national identity. It has explored the representation of the self and other in national discourses. The findings further show that, in line with what perspective is taken in discourse, nationalism is compatible with different views of foreign nations. In regard to the internal perspective, Case Studies 2 and 3 make an additional contribution to research on diversity discourses that is specific to Australia.

The national discourses deployed across the three contexts explored in this thesis correspond to different perspectives or foci. In the media coverage of the BP oil spill, nationalism has an external focus. The British home nation is constructed as under attack from outside, namely by the American government. This leads to a portrayal of the nation as homogenous that serves to deflect harm to the nation from external actors. This

perspective contrasts with the way in which national identity is constructed in Woolworths' marketing campaign, where the focus is internal. In the marketing campaign, Australia is depicted as diverse and inclusive in a self-affirming manner; other nations are homogenized, which helps to set Australia further and more clearly apart from them. In communicating to Australians that they are part of a distinct albeit diverse nation, the nationalism in this campaign corresponds to an internal perspective on national identity. The discourses of national identity in restaurant signage, further, show how internal and external perspectives coincide. In the sense of an external perspective, nations are constructed as relatively homogeneous on most individual signs. But because of their emplacement in the suburbs of Sydney, the effect is one of creating a sense of diversity. This diversity is in terms of a multicultural mélange rather than numerous separate identities, since national identities are emplaced in one space and together with signs indexing cosmopolitan identities. In the sense of an internal perspective, Sydney's identity is hence constructed as inclusive of various national identities.

The dichotomy of external and internal perspectives on national identity further shows that nationalism is compatible with different views of other nations. US government actors as representatives of the foreign nation are depicted as a threat to the British home nation in the media, which amounts to a hostile view of other nations. Conversely, nations other than Australia are presented as the purveyors of exotic foods and interesting customs in the marketing campaign, which corresponds to a benign view of other nations. This benevolent perspective towards foreign nations as the providers of diverse foods is also expressed in the culinary linguistic landscape of Sydney, even though various nations are ultimately incorporated in the identity of the city, as argued in Chapter 4 and earlier in

this section. In that sense, Case Study 1 shows the limits of the kind of cosmopolitan discourse observed in Case Studies 2 and 3 in situations of conflict.

Case Studies 2 and 3 make an additional contribution to existing research on diversity discourses by showing how representations of Australia's internal diversity in official or government discourses (see for example Curran & Ward, 2010) are taken up and shaped in business discourses. The range within which Australia's diversity is conceived in the data is extremely narrow. More precisely, it is limited to the representation of the same number of boys and girls, different hair colors and skin tones, and food. Linguistic diversity is also represented but it is indexed merely by the ability to use formulaic expressions – for example how to say "welcome", "thank you", or "bon appetit", and name dishes in different languages. Certainly, business discourses are not expected to provide elaborate accounts of the diversity of populations. However, certain additional representations of diversity such as diversity of religions may easily have been incorporated (for example in the marketing campaign) but may have been excluded as they may not promote the advertiser's economic interests and due to the potential controversy associated with certain types of diversity (cf. Anthias, 2013).

In summary, this research illustrates the difference in perspective between external and internal national discourses. According to these perspectives, nationalism is compatible with a hostile and a benign view of other nations. Moreover, the business discourses' focus on economic goals may restrict internal diversity to a narrow range, such as in the case of Australia.

5.2.4 National and economic communities

This study contributes to existing knowledge about imagined communities and the intersection of discourses of pride and discourses of profit in that it illustrates how

national communities are imagined in profit-seeking discourses. The study indicates that there is a dialectical relationship between membership in the nation and membership in economic communities.

National communities are defined in economic terms across the business discourses explored in this research. The national discourses deployed in the media coverage of the BP oil spill establish a link between the nation and BP, which depicts citizens as united in their dependence on the economic wellbeing of the company. The national community becomes thus defined in economic terms: the interests of the nation and the MNC are represented as joint and membership in the nation portrayed as membership in an economic community. To some degree this is similar to the way in which membership in the nation is portrayed in the marketing campaign and in restaurant signage: being Australian is defined as consuming diverse foods, and being part of a nation means consuming national food.

However, there is an added layer due to the involvement of discourses of banal cosmopolitanism in the context of the marketing campaign and the culinary linguistic landscape. As argued throughout this thesis, these discourses encourage citizens to enact their cosmopolitan identities by way of consumption. This association of cosmopolitan identity with consumer identity ultimately makes it a weak form of identity and allows for the stronger sense of national identity to reemerge and to override cosmopolitan identities in times of crisis.

5.2.5 Contributions to critical discourse analysis

This research contributes to CDA by triangulating data from different genres and contexts. More specifically, it contributes to CDA in that it integrates LLA into the

analysis and analyzes commercial signage as a form of advertising that is often overlooked in research focusing on advertising discourse.

First, and most generally, in line with the argument that the investigation of the same phenomenon across different settings can enhance the reliability of findings (Silverman, 2013), this approach reveals common trends across the three different settings investigated. Significantly, the findings show that intertwined discourses of national identity and discourses of profit permeated media, advertising and culinary linguistic landscape discourse. The multi-genre and multi-context approach therefore allowed me to illustrate that the use of nationalism for profit takes place and is brought to the public via a variety of discourses involving various actors.

Second, and more narrowly, the incorporation of LLA into the CDA of this research constitutes a methodological innovation. LLA has been integrated as a complementary approach in ethnographic research (e.g. Grey, 2017). The current research demonstrates that LLA can be used in conjunction with Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) to enable the investigation of a social problem in yet another context and genre of the overall CDA of this thesis. In alignment with social semiotic theory and the point of view that culture is a set of interrelated semiotic systems (Halliday, 1978), it can be argued that the integration of LLA in this CDA study allowed me to extend the perspective beyond contexts traditionally explored by CDA.

Third, and related to the second point, this study contributes to CDA in that it examines commercial signage as a type of advertising discourse. Research on advertising discourse often focuses on advertisements in a narrower sense. As I have shown in this research, commercial signage forms part of the business discourses surrounding us and provides fruitful data to investigate the ideologies that shape our social world. More precisely, via

an examination of commercial signage, I was able to show how these ideologies emerge out of the combined effect of a number of bottom-up processes and how they serve to create and market the identity of a given place.

In summary, by carrying out a CDA of business discourses encompassing different contexts and genres this study illustrates the value of combining LLA with CDA: this combination allows the examination of the research problem in the context of culinary linguistic landscapes in addition to media and advertising discourse. Moreover, it enables the investigation of commercial signage as a form of advertising discourse that has been less examined but that contributes to illustrating the manifestation of prevailing ideologies in public space through the practices of various social actors.

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